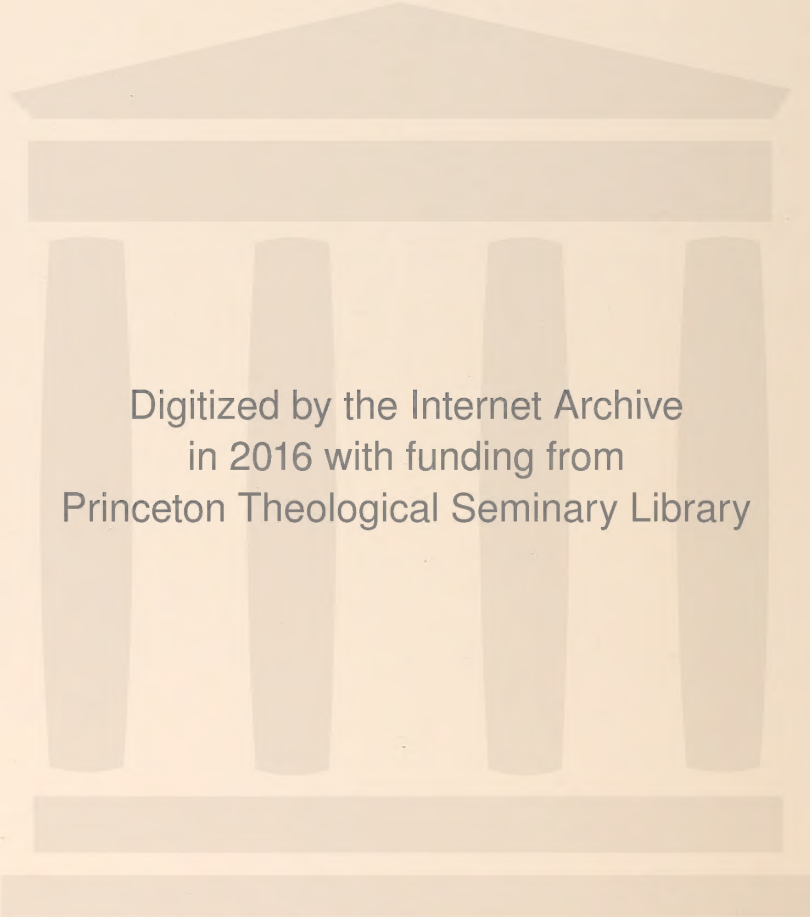


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# THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

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## I.

### MILTON AND TENNYSON.

“ Blessings be with them and immortal praise,  
Who gave us noble lives and nobler cares,  
The Poets, who on earth have made us heirs  
Of truth and pure delight by heavenly lays.”—WORDSWORTH.

TWO rivers, rising in the same lofty region and fed by kindred springs, are guided by the mountain-slopes of their environment into channels which, though not far apart, are widely different. The one, deeper and stronger from its birth, after a swift and lovely course through fair uplands of peace, is shattered suddenly by the turmoil of a fierce conflict, lifting but one foam-crested wave of warning, is plunged into the secret and tumultuous warfare of a deep cañon, emerging at length with wondrously augmented current, to flow majestically through a land of awful, thunder-riven cliffs, towering peaks, vast forests, and immeasurable plains,—a mighty land, a mighty stream. The other river, from a source less deep, but no less pure and clear, passing with the same gentle current through the same region of sweet seclusion, meets with no mighty obstacle, is torn by no wild cataract in its descent, but with ever-growing force and deepening, widening stream sweeps through a land less majestic, but more beautiful, not void of grandeur, but free from horror,—a land of shadowy vales and gardens; mysterious cities hung in air, and hills crowned with ruined castles,—a stream brimming and bright and large, whose smooth, strong flow often conceals its unsounded depth, and mirrors, not only the fleeting shores, but also the eternal stars, in its bosom.

Such is the figure in which I see the poetry of Milton and of Tennyson flowing through the literature and life of our English race.

They are, without doubt, the two great religious poets of England. I do not mean by this to say that they are equal or alike in their greatness. Milton is assuredly a poet of the first order. The world has but three, or at most five, names worthy to stand beside his. For Tennyson, his most ardent admirer will hardly dare to claim more than the highest rank in the second order. But there is a deep community of temperament and of moral purpose, a striking coincidence of tastes and methods, a series of resemblances and analogies between the two poets, which have never yet been carefully observed, and which will justify me in the study of their works side by side, by way of comparison and contrast.

There are two direct references to Milton in the works of Tennyson; and these we must examine first of all, in order that we may read in them, if possible, the attitude of his mind toward the greater master.

In the Palace of Art, the royal daïs on which the soul is to hold her intellectual throne is hung round with choice paintings of wise men.

“For there was Milton like a seraph strong,  
Beside him, Shakespeare bland and mild;  
And there the world-worn Dante grasped his song,  
And somewhat grimly smiled;

“And there the Ionian father of the rest;  
A million wrinkles carved his skin;  
A hundred winters snowed upon his breast,  
From cheek and throat, and chin.”

This tells us the rank which Tennyson, in his twenty-third year, assigned to Milton; and it tells us, too, how clear and true was the picture which he had formed of Milton's genius. His sign is strength, but strength seraphic; not the rude force of the Titan, but a power serene, harmonious, beautiful; a power of sustained flight, of far-reaching vision, of lofty utterance such as belongs to the seraphim alone. For the angels are lower beings, some weak, some strong, followers in the heavenly host; the cherubim are silent and mysterious creatures, not shaped like men, voiceless and inaccessible; but the seraphim hover on mighty wings above the throne of Jehovah, chanting his praise one to another, and bearing his messages from heaven to earth. This, then, is the word which Tennyson chooses, and chooses with the divine instinct of a great poet, to summon the spirit of Milton before us,—*a seraph strong*. That phrase is worth more than all of Johnson's blundering criticisms.

The second reference to Milton in the works of Tennyson is found among the Experiments in Quantity, which he published in the *Cornhill Magazine*, in 1863, and which now appear at the close of



the second volume of his collected works. We have here the expression of his mature opinion carefully considered and uttered with the strength of a generous and clear conviction; an utterance well worth weighing, not only for the perfection of its form, but also for the richness of its contents and the revelation which it makes of the poet's own nature. Hear with what power and stateliness it begins, rising at once to the height of the noble theme :

“O, mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies,  
O, skilled to sing of Time or Eternity,  
God-gifted organ-voice of England,  
Milton, a name to resound for ages ;  
Whose Titan angels, Gabriel, Abdiel,  
Starr'd from Jehovah's gorgeous armories,  
Tower, as the deep-domed empyrean  
Rings to the roar of an angel onset,—  
Me rather all that bowery loneliness  
The brooks of Eden mazily murmuring  
And bloom profuse and cedar arches  
Charm, as a wanderer out in ocean,  
Where some refulgent sunset of India  
Streams o'er a rich ambrosial ocean isle,  
And crimson-hued the stately palm-woods  
Whisper in odorous heights of even.”

Thus the brief ode finds its perfect close, the rich, full tones dying away in the prolonged period, as the strains of some great music are lost in the harmonious hush of twilight. But one other hand could have swept these grand chords and evoked these tones of majestic sweetness,—the hand of Milton himself.

It was De Quincey, that most nearly inspired, but most nearly insane of critics, who first spoke of the Miltonic movement as having the qualities of an organ voluntary. But the comparison which with him was little more than a fortunate and striking simile, is transformed by the poet into a perfect metaphor,

“A jewel, five words long  
That on the stretched fore-finger of all Time  
Sparkles forever.”

The great organ, pouring forth its melodious thunders, becomes a living thing, divinely dowered and divinely filled with music;—an instrument no longer, but a *voice*, majestic, potent, thrilling the heart,—the voice of England pealing in the ears of all the world and all time. Swept on the flood of those great harmonies, the mighty hosts of angels clash together in heaven-shaking conflict. But it is the same full tide of music which flows down in sweetest, lingering cadence to wander through the cool groves and fragrant valleys of Paradise. Here the younger poet will more gladly dwell,

finding a deeper delight in these solemn and tranquil melodies than in the roar and clang of battles, even though angelic.

Is it not true? True, not only that the organ voice has the two-fold gift of beauty and grandeur; true, not only that Tennyson has more sympathy with the loveliness of Eden than with the mingled splendors and horrors of the celestial battle-fields; but true, also, that there is a more potent and lasting charm in Milton's description of the beautiful than in his description of the sublime. I do not think that *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, and *Comus* have any lower place in the world, or any less enduring life, than *Paradise Lost*. And even in that great epic there are no passages more worthy to be remembered, more fruitful of pure feelings and lofty thoughts, than those like the Hymn of Adam, or the description of the first evening in Eden, which show us the fairness and delightfulness of God's world. We have forgotten this; we have thought so much of Milton's strength and sublimity that we have ceased to recognize what is also true, that he, of all English poets, is by nature the supreme lover of beauty.

## I.

This, then, is the first point of vital sympathy between Tennyson and Milton; their common love of the beautiful, not only in nature, but also in art. And this we see most clearly in the youth and in the youthful writings of the two poets.

There is a strange resemblance in their early circumstances and tastes. Both were born and reared in homes of modest comfort and refined leisure, under the blended influences of culture and religion. Milton's father was a scrivener, or copying lawyer: deprived of his possessions because he obeyed his conscience to become a Protestant, but amassing a competence by his professional labor, he ordered his house well, softening and beautifying the earnest sobriety of Puritan ways with the pursuit of music and literature. Tennyson was born in a country rectory, one of those fair homes of peace and settled order which are the pride and strength of England,—homes where "plain living and high thinking" produce the noblest types of manhood. His father also, like Milton's, was a musician, and surrounded his seven sons with influences which gave them poetic tastes and impulses.

Cambridge was the university to which Tennyson was sent, and this had been the student-home of Milton. There is much that is alike in the college life of the two poets. A certain loftiness of spirit,



an habitual abstraction of thought, separated them from the mass of their fellow-students. They were absorbed in communion with the great minds of Greece and Rome. They drank deep at the springs of ancient poesy. Not alone the form, but the spirit of the classics became familiar to them. They were enamored of the beauty of the old world's legends, the bright mythologies of Hellas, and Latium's wondrous histories of gods and men. For neither of them was this study and love of the ancient poets a transient delight, a passing mood. It took strong hold upon them; it became a moulding power in their life and work. We can trace it in all their writings. Allusions, themes, illustrations, similes, forms of verse, echoes of thought, conscious or unconscious imitations,—a thousand tokens remind us that we are still beneath the influence of the old masters of a vanished world,—

“The dead, but sceptered sovereigns, who still rule  
Our spirits from their urns.”

And here, again, we see a deep bond of sympathy between Tennyson and Milton: they are certainly the most learned, the most classical of England's poets.

Following their lives beyond the university, we find that both of them came out into a period of study, of seclusion, of leisure, of poetical productiveness. Milton retired to his father's house at Horton, in Buckinghamshire, where he lived for five years. Tennyson's home was at Somerby, in Lincolnshire, until his father's death in 1831, and after that, we may conjecture, with his mother at Hampstead, near London. The position and circumstances of the two young poets were wonderfully alike. Both were withdrawn from the whirl and conflict of active life into a world of lovely forms, sweet sounds, and enchanting dreams; both fed their minds with the beauty of nature and of ancient story, charmed by the music of divine philosophy, and by songs of birds filling the sweet English air at dawn or twilight; both loved to roam at will over hill and dale and by the wandering streams; to watch the bee, with honeyed thigh, singing from flower to flower, and catch the scent of violets hidden in the green; to hear the sound of far-off bells swinging over the wide-watered shore, and listen to the sighing of the wind among the trees, or the murmur of the waves on the river-bank; to pore and dream through the long night-watches over the legends of the past, holding converse with all forms of the many-sided mind, until the cold winds woke the gray-eyed morn, and the lark's song startled the dull night

from her watch-tower in the skies ; they dwelt as idlers in the land, but it was a glorious and fruitful idleness, for they were reaping

“ The harvest of a quiet eye  
That broods and sleeps on his own heart.”

How wonderful, how precious are the results of these peaceful years. *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Arcades*, *Comus*, *Lycidas* ; *Isabel*, *Recollections of the Arabian Nights*, *Ode to Memory*, *The Dying Swan*, *The Palace of Art*, *A Dream of Fair Woman*, *Mariana*, *The Lady of Shalott*, *The Lotos-Eaters*, *Ænone*,—these are poems to be remembered, read and re-read with ever fresh delight, the most perfect things of their kind in all literature. Grandeur poems, more passionate, more powerful, are many ; but there are none in which the pure and supreme love of beauty, Greek in its healthful symmetry, Christian in its reverent earnestness, joined to a marvellous artistic sensibility and delicate power of expression, has produced work so complete and exquisite as the early poems of Milton and Tennyson.

Their best qualities are the same. I am more impressed with this the more I read them. They are marked by the same clear-eyed observation of nature, the same sensitive perception of her beauty, the same charm of rich and musical description. Read the *Ode to Memory*,—for instance, the description of the poet's home :

“ Come from the woods that belt the gray hill-side,  
The seven elms, the poplars four  
That stand beside my father's door ;  
And chiefly from the brook that loves  
To purl o'er matted and ribbed sand,  
Or dimple in the dark of rushy coves,  
Drawing into his narrow earthen urn,  
In every elbow and turn,  
The filtered tribute of the rough woodland  
O ! hither lead my feet !  
Pour round my ears the live-long bleat  
Of the thick-fleeced sheep from wattled folds  
Upon the ridged wolds,  
When the first matin-song hath waken'd loud  
Over the dark dewy earth forlorn,  
What time the amber morn  
Forth gushes from beneath a low-hung cloud.”

Compare with this some lines from *L'Allegro* :

“ To hear the lark begin his flight,  
And singing startle the dull night  
From his watch-tower in the skies,  
Till the dappled dawn doth rise !  
  
Some time walking, not unseen,  
By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green,  
Right against the eastern gate  
Where the great sun begins his state,



Rob'd in flames and amber light,  
 The clouds in thousand liveries dight ;  
 While the ploughman, near at hand,  
 Whistles o'er the furrow'd land,  
 And the milkmaid singeth blithe,  
 And the mower whets his scythe,  
 And every shepherd tells his tale  
 Under the hawthorn in the dale.  
 Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures  
 While the landscape round it measures ;  
 Russet lawns and fallows gray,  
 Where the nibbling flocks do stray ;  
 Mountains on whose barren breast  
 The labouring clouds do often rest ;  
 Meadows trim with daisies pied,  
 Shallow brooks and rivers wide."

Here is the same breadth of vision, delicacy of touch, atmospheric effect, the same sensitiveness to the simplest variations of light and sound, the same power to shed over the quiet scenery of the English country the light of an ideal beauty. It is an art far beyond that of the landscape painter, and all the more exquisite because so well concealed.

Another example will show us the similarity of the two poets in their more purely imaginative work, the description of that which they have seen only with the dreaming eyes of fancy. Take the closing song, or epilogue of the Attendant Spirit in *Comus* :

"To the ocean now I fly  
 And those happy climes that lie  
 Up in the broad fields of the sky.  
 There I suck the liquid air,  
 All amidst the gardens fair  
 Of Hesperus, and his daughters three,  
 That sing about the golden tree :  
 Along the crisped shades and bowers  
 Revels the spruce and jocund Spring ;  
 The graces and the rosy-bosomed Hours  
 Thither all their bounties bring ;  
 There eternal summer dwells,  
 And west-winds, with musky wing,  
 About the cedarn alleys fling  
 Nard and cassia's balmy smells.  
 Iris there with humid bow  
 Waters the odorous banks, that blow  
 Flowers of more mingled hue  
 Than her purpled scarf can shew,  
 And drenches with Elysian dew  
 Beds of hyacinths and roses."

Compare with this Tennyson's *Recollections of the Arabian Nights*, with its dream of dusky gardens filled with secret music, slow-moving waters, long alleys breathing fragrance, and slopes of

sward inlaid with braided blooms. Here is more than a mere resemblance of words and themes, more than an admiring imitation or echoing of phrases; here is an identity of taste, spirit, temperament. But the resemblance of forms is also here. We can trace it even in such a minor trait as the skilful construction and use of double-words. This has often been remarked as characteristic of Tennyson, singled out as a distinguishing feature of his poetry. But Milton uses them almost as freely and quite as magically. In *Comus*, which has a little more than a thousand lines, there are fifty-four double-epithets; in *L'Allegro* there are sixteen to a hundred and fifty lines; in *Il Penseroso* there are eleven to one hundred and seventy lines. Tennyson's *Ode to Memory*, with a hundred and twenty lines, has fifteen double-words; *Mariana*, with eighty lines, has nine; the *Lotos-Eaters*, with two hundred lines, has thirty-two. And if I should choose at random fifty such words from the early poems, I do not think that any one, not knowing them by heart, could tell at first glance which were Milton's and which Tennyson's. Let me try the experiment with the following list:

Low-thoughted, empty-vaulted, rosy-white, rosy-bosomed, violet-embroidered, dew-impearled, over-exquisite, long-levelled, mild-eyed, white-handed, white-breasted, pure-eyed, sin-worn, self-consumed, self-profit, close-curtained, low-browed, ivy-crowned, grey-eyed, sea-nymphs, far-beaming, pale-eyed, down-steering, flower-in-woven, dewy-dark, moon-loved, smooth-swarded, quick-falling, slow-dropping, coral-paven, lily-cradled, amber-dropping, thrice-great, dewy-feathered, purple-spiked, live-long, foam-fountains, sand-built, night-steeds, full-flowing, sable-stoled, sun-steeped, star-led, pilot-stars, full-juiced, dew-fed, brazen-headed, even-song, wisdom-bred.

It will puzzle the reader to distinguish with any degree of certainty the authorship of these words. And this seems the more remarkable when we remember that there are two centuries of linguistic development and changing fashions of poetic speech between *Comus* and *Ænone*.

Not less remarkable is the identity of spirit in Tennyson and Milton in their delicate yet healthful sympathy with Nature, their perception of the relation of her moods and aspects to the human heart. This, in fact, is the key-note of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. The same world, seen under different lights and filled with different sounds, responds as deeply to the joyous, as to the melancholy, spirit. There is a profound meaning, a potent influence in the outward shows of sky and earth. While the Lady of Shalott dwells in her pure seclusion, the sun shines, the lily blossoms on the river's breast, and the blue sky is unclouded; but when she passes the fatal line, and the curse has fallen on her, then



"In the stormy east-wind straining,  
The pale yellow woods are waning,  
The broad stream in his banks complaining,  
Heavily the low skies raining,  
Over towered Camelot."

Thus, also, when the guilty pair in Eden had transgressed that sole command on which their happiness depended,

"Sky lowered, and muttering thunder, some sad drops  
Wept at completing of the mortal sin."

Here is no "pathetic fallacy." Ruskin may say what he will. There is nothing false in this, but rather the clear perception and embodiment of a great truth which every man who has communed with Nature has felt, though he could not prove or express it,—the truth that the world without answers to the world within, and by the things which are seen, things invisible and eternal are shadowed forth and known.

It follows, of necessity, that he who looks thus on Nature will be sincere and reverent. The vision of beauty will breed high thoughts and pure desires in him. He will be free alike from the morbid fury of sickly passions overwrought, and the hollow artificiality of cold indifference. He will look on the world with a calm, large, devout regard, as Adam saw for the first time the wonders and delights of Paradise. And this is true both of Milton and of Tennyson. They are equally removed from the feigned, conventional adoration of Pope, who erected his temple of Nature in a stuccoed grotto at Twickenham, and the moody, melodramatic nature-passion of Byron, which was, in truth, but the painted background to his hatred and disgust for humanity. They are as far above the melodious, incoherent, Bacchantic chantings of Swinburne, as above the feebly-rapturous inanities of the Della Cruscan school. What Arthur Hallam said of Tennyson's early poems, applies with equal truth to Milton: "There is a strange earnestness in his worship of beauty," and, I may add, a perfect moral sanity and wondrous elevation of thought.

Look at the Lady in Comus. She is the sweet embodiment of Milton's youthful ideal of virtue, clothed with the gracious fairness of opening womanhood, armed with the sun-clad power of chastity. Darkness and danger cannot

"Stir the constant mood of her calm thoughts."

Evil things have no power upon her, but shrink abashed from her presence.

"So dear to heaven is saintly chastity  
That when a soul is found sincerely so,  
A thousand liveried angels lackey her,  
Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt ;

And in clear dream and solemn vision,  
 Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,  
 Till oft converse with heavenly habitants  
 Begin to cast a beam on th' outward shape,  
 The unpolluted temple of the mind,  
 And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,  
 Till all be made immortal."

And now, beside this loveliest Lady, bring Isabel, with those

"Eyes not down-dropt nor over-bright, but fed  
 With the clear-pointed flame of chastity,  
 Clear, without heat, undying, tended by  
 Pure vestal thoughts in the translucent fane  
 Of her still spirit."

Bring also her who, for her people's good, passed naked on her palfrey through the city streets,—Godiva, who

"Rode forth, clothed on with chastity;  
 The deep air listened round her as she rode,  
 And all the low wind hardly breathed for fear."

These are sisters, perfect in purity as in beauty, and worthy to be enshrined forever in the love of youth. They are ideals which draw the heart, not downward, but upward by the power of "*das ewig Weibliche*."

There are many other points of resemblance between the early poems of Milton and Tennyson on which we might dwell with pleasure; echoes of thought like that sonnet, beginning

"Check every outflash, every ruder sally  
 Of thought and speech: speak low, and give up wholly  
 Thy spirit to mild-minded melancholy,"—

which seems almost as if it might have been written by Il Penseroso: coincidences of taste and reading such as the fondness for

"Him that left half told  
 The story of Cambuscan bold,  
 Of Camball and of Algarsife  
 And who had Canace to wife,"—

"Dan Chaucer, the first warbler, whose sweet breath  
 Preluded those melodious bursts that fill  
 The spacious times of great Elizabeth  
 With sounds that echo still":

likenesses of manner such as the imitation of the smooth elegiac poets in Lycidas and Ænone. But the limits of this essay forbid more illustrations. I can only sum up my study of these early poems in the words with which Arthur Hallam described Tennyson's second volume of poems. He says that they are marked by five distinctive qualities. First, his luxuriance of imagination and his control over it; second, his power of embodying himself in ideal characters;



third, his vivid picturesque delineation of objects and peculiarity with which he holds all of them fixed in a medium of strong emotion ; fourth, the variety of his lyrical measures and exquisite modulation of words and cadences ; and fifth, his elevated habits of thought. Strike out, perhaps, the second of these, and add the quality of absolute moral purity and seriousness, and the description will apply just as closely to the early poems of Milton.

## II.

There are two causes which have power to change the natural and premeditated course of a man's life,—the shock of a great outward catastrophe, and the shock of a profound inward grief. When the former comes to a man, it shatters all his cherished plans, renders the execution of his favorite projects impossible, directs the current of his energy into new channels, plunges him into conflict with circumstances, turns his strength against corporeal and incorporeal foes, and produces a change of manner, speech, life, which is at once evident and tangible. With the latter, it is different. The inward shock brings with it no alteration of the actual environment, leaves the man where he stood before, to the outward eye unchanged, free to tread the same paths and pursue the same designs ; and yet, in truth, not free, most deeply, though most subtly, changed ; for the soul, being once shaken from her serene repose, and losing the self-confidence of youth, either rises into a higher life or sinks into a lower ; meeting the tremendous questions which haunt the darkness of a supreme personal bereavement, she finds an answer either in the eternal Yes or in the eternal No ; and though form and accent and mode of speech remain the same, the thoughts and intents of the heart are altered forever.

To Milton came the outward conflict ; to Tennyson, the inward grief. And as we follow them beyond the charmed circle of their early years, so strangely one in outline and atmosphere, we must trace the parallel between them, if indeed we can find it at all, far below the surface ; although even yet we shall see some external resemblances amid many and strong contrasts.

Premonitions of this outward change and divergence may be easily discerned in the youthful writings of both poets. The melodious lament of Milton's muse for Lycidas is broken by the stern, deep note of anger against the false shepherds, the enemies of religious liberty, and we hear the pre-murmur of imminent strife in the warning,—

“But that two-handed engine at the door  
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.”

The splendor of the Palace of Art, that most exquisite and lofty dream of selfish, supersensual pleasure, is shattered by the entrance of a great moral question, and the proud, self-centered soul, torn by the throes of spiritual conflict, is brought down to labor with and for humanity. I think we feel that neither of the men who wrote these two poems will shrink or fly from the life-struggles, so different and yet so similar, which lie before them.

Milton's catastrophe was the civil war, sweeping over England like a flood. But the fate which involved him was none other than his own conscience. This it was that drew him, by compulsion more strong than sweet, from the florid literary hospitality of Italian mutual laudation societies into the vortex of tumultuous London, made him “lay aside his singing robes” for the heavy armor of the controversialist, and leave his “calm and pleasant solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark on a troubled sea of noises and harsh disputes.” His conscience, I say, not his tastes: all these led him the other way. But an irresistible sense of duty caught him, and dragged him, as it were, by the neck to the verge of the precipice, and flung him down into the thick of the hottest conflict that England has ever seen.

Once there, he does not retreat. He quits himself like a man. He is not a Puritan. He loves many things that the mad Puritans hate,—art, music, fine literature, nature, beauty. But one thing he loves more than all,—liberty! For that he will fight,—fight with the Puritans, fight against anybody, desperately, pertinaciously, with grand unconsciousness of possible defeat. He catches the lust of combat, drinks delight of pen-battle. The serene poet is transformed into a thundering pamphleteer. He launches deadly bolts against tyranny in Church, in State, in society. He strikes at the corrupt clergy, at the false, cruel king, at the self-seeking bigots disguised as friends of freedom. He is absorbed in strife. Verse is forgotten. But one brief strain of true poetry bursts from him at the touch of personal grief. The rest is all buried, choked down, concealed. The full stream of his energy, unstinted, undivided, flows into the struggle for liberty and truth; and even when the war is ended, the good cause betrayed by secret enemies and foolish friends, the freedom of England sold back into the hands of the treacherous Stuarts, Milton fights on, like some guerilla captain in a far mountain region, who has not heard, or will not believe, the news of surrender.

The blow which fell on Tennyson was secret. The death of



Arthur Henry Hallam, in 1833, caused no great convulsion in English politics, brought no visible disaster to Church or university, sent only the lightest and most transient ripple of sorrow across the surface of society; but to the heart of one man it was the shock of an inward earthquake, upheaving the foundations of life and making the very arch of heaven tremble and crack. Bound to Hallam by one of those rare friendships which surpass the strength of passion, Tennyson felt his loss in the inmost fibres of his being. The world was changed, darkened, filled with secret conflicts. The importunate questions of human life and destiny thronged upon his soul. The ideal peace, the sweet, art-satisfied seclusion, the dreams of undisturbed repose, became impossible for him. He must fight, not for a party cause, but for spiritual freedom and immortal hopes, not against corporate and embattled enemies, but against unseen foes, thrones, principalities, and powers of darkness.

I think we have some record of this strife in poems like *Two Voices* and *The Vision of Sin*. The themes here treated are the deepest and most awful that can engage the mind. The worth of life, the significance of suffering, the reality of virtue, the existence of truth, the origin and end of evil, human responsibility, Divine goodness, mysteries of the now and the hereafter,—these are the problems with which the poet is forced to deal, and he dares to deal with them face to face. I will not say that he finds, as yet, the true solution; there is a more profound and successful treatment of the same problems to follow in *In Memoriam*. But I say that, so far as they go, these poems are right and true; and in them, enlightened by grief, strengthened by inward combat, the poet has struck a loftier note than can be heard in the beautiful poems of his youth.

For this, mark you, is clear. The poet has now become a man. The discipline of sorrow has availed. Life is real and earnest to him. He grapples with the everlasting facts of humanity. Men and women are closer to him. He can write poems like *Dora*, *Ulysses*, *St. Simon Stylites*, as wonderful for their difference in tone and subject as for their common virility and absolute truth to nature. He has learned to feel a warm sympathy with

“Men, my brothers, men, the workers”;

to care for all that touches their welfare; to rejoice in the triumphs of true liberty; to thunder in scorn and wrath against the social tyrannies that crush the souls of men; and

“The social lies that warp us from the living truth.”

It is true that there is no actual and visible conflict, no civil war raging to engulf him. He is not called upon to choose between his love of poetry and his love of country, nor to lay aside his singing-robes even for a time. It is his fortune, or misfortune, to have fallen upon an age of peace and prosperity and settled government. But in that great unseen warfare which is ever waging between truth and error, right and wrong, freedom and oppression, light and darkness, he bears his part and bears it well, by writing such poems as *Locksley Hall*, *Maud*, *The Princess*, *Aylmer's Field*; and these entitle him to high rank as a poet of humanity.

Are they then so far apart, Milton and Tennyson, the Latin Secretary of Cromwell and the Poet Laureate of Queen Victoria, the straitened tenant of a hired house in London and the fortunate possessor of Farringford,—are they so far apart as their circumstances would seem to place them? I think not. I think that even now, in this most divergent middle period, we may trace some deep resemblances, under apparent contradictions.

It is a noteworthy fact that a most important place in the thought and writing of both these men has been occupied by the subject of woman and marriage. How many of Tennyson's poems are devoted to this theme! *The Miller's Daughter*, *The Lord of Burleigh*, *Lady Clare*, *Locksley Hall*, *The Princess*, *Maud*, *Enoch Arden*, *Aylmer's Field*, and the great Arthurian Epic, all have the thought of union between man and woman, and the questions which arise in connection with it, at their root. And in *The Coming of Arthur*, Tennyson makes his chosen hero rest all his power upon a happy and true marriage:

"What happiness to reign a lonely king  
Vext with waste dreams? For saving I be joined  
To her that is the fairest under heaven,  
I seem as nothing in the mighty world,  
And cannot will my will nor work my work  
Wholly, nor make myself in mine own realm  
Victor and lord. But were I joined with her,  
Then might we live together as one life,  
And reigning with one will in everything,  
Have power on this dark land to lighten it,  
And power on this dead world to make it live."

Compare with this Adam's complaint:

"In solitude  
What happiness? Who can enjoy alone?  
Or all enjoying what contentment find?"

his demand for a companion equal with himself, "fit to participate all rational delight"; and his description of his first sight of Eve:



"She disappeared and left me dark. I wak'd  
To find her, or forever to deplore  
Her loss, and other pleasures all abjure."

Mark the fact that those four tremendous pamphlets on Divorce with which Milton horrified his enemies and shocked his friends have underlying all their errors and extravagances the great doctrine that a genuine marriage must be a true companionship, and union of souls—a doctrine equally opposed to the licentious, and to the conventional, view of wedlock. He would have joined with Tennyson in his bitter invectives against marriages of convenience and avarice. He would have joined also in praise of what Bayne well describes as "that true marriage, that healthful and holy family life, which has its roots in mutual affection, in mutual fitness, and which is guarded by a constancy as strong as heaven's blue arch and yet as spontaneous as the heart-beats of a happy child." But in praising this, Milton could have spoken only of what he had desired and missed; Tennyson speaks of what he has possessed and known. A world-wide difference, more than enough to account for anything of incompleteness or harshness in Milton's view of woman.

What gross injustice the world has done him on this point! Married at an age when a man who has preserved the lofty ideals and personal purity of youth is peculiarly liable to deception, to a woman far below him in character and intellect, a pretty fool utterly unfitted to take a sincere and earnest view of life, deserted by her a few weeks after the wedding-day, met by stubborn refusal and unjust reproaches in every attempt to reclaim and reconcile her, accused by her family of disloyalty in politics, and treated as if he were unworthy of honorable consideration, what wonder that his heart experienced a great revulsion, that he began to doubt the reality of such womanhood as he had described and immortalized in *Comus*, that he sought relief in elaborating a doctrine of divorce which should free him from the unworthy and irksome tie of a marriage which was in truth but an empty mockery? That divorce doctrine which he propounded in the heat of personal indignation, disguised beneath the calm exterior of the professed philosopher, was surely false, and we cannot but condemn it. But can we condemn his actual conduct, so nobly inconsistent with his own theory? Can we condemn the man, as we see him forgiving and welcoming his treacherous wife driven by stress of poverty and danger to return to the home which she had frivolously forsaken; welcoming also, and to the best of his ability sheltering, her whole family, who were glad enough, for all their royalist pride, to find a refuge from the perils of civil war in the house of the de-

spised schoolmaster and Commonwealth-man ; bearing patiently, for his wife's sake, with their burdensome presence in his straitened dwelling-place, until the death of the father-in-law, whose sense of honor was never strong enough to make him pay one penny of his daughter's promised marriage-portion,—can we condemn Milton as we see him acting thus ? And as we see him, after a few months of happy union with a second wife, again left a widower with three daughters, two of whom, at least, never learned to love him ; blind, poor, almost friendless ; disliked and robbed by his undutiful children, who did not scruple to cheat him in the marketings, sell his books to the rag-pickers, and tell the servants that the best news they could hear would be the news of their father's death ; forced at length in very instinct of self-protection to take as his third wife a plain, honest woman who would be faithful and kind in her care of him and his house ; can we wonder if, after this experience of life, he thought somewhat doubtfully of women ?

But of woman, woman as God made her and meant her to be, woman as she is in the true purity and unspoiled beauty of her nature, he never thought otherwise than nobly and reverently. Read his sonnet to his second wife, in whom for one fleeting year his heart tasted the best of earthly joys, the joy of a perfect companionship, but who was lost to him in the birth of her first child :

“ Methought I saw my late espoused saint  
 Brought to me like Alcestis from the grave,  
 Whom Jove's great son to her glad husband gave,  
 Rescued from death by force though pale and faint.  
 Mine, as whom washed from spot of child-bed taint  
 Purification in the old Law did save,  
 And such as yet once more I trust to have  
 Full sight of her in Heaven, without restraint,  
 Came vested all in white, pure as her mind ;  
 Her face was veiled, yet to my fancied sight  
 Love, sweetness, goodness in her person shined  
 So clear as in no face with more delight.  
 But O, as to embrace me she inclined,  
 I waked, she fled, and day brought back my sight.”

Surely there is no more beautiful and heartfelt praise of perfect womanhood in all literature than this ; and Tennyson has never written with more unfeigned worship of wedded love.

It is true, indeed, that Milton declares that woman is inferior to man “ in the mind and inward faculties,” but he follows this declaration with the most exquisite description of her peculiar excellences :

“ When I approach  
 Her loveliness, so absolute she seems  
 And in herself complete, so well to know



Her own, that what she wills to do or say  
 Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best :  
 Authority and reason on her wait  
 As one intended first, not after made  
 Occasionally ; and to consummate all  
 Greatness of mind and nobleness their seat  
 Build in her loveliest, and create an awe  
 About her as a guard angelic placed."

It is true that he teaches, in accordance with the explicit doctrine of the Bible, that it is the wife's duty to obey her husband, to lean upon, and follow, his larger strength when it is exercised in wisdom. But he never places the woman below the man, always at his side ; the divinely-dowered consort and counterpart, not the same, but equal, supplying his deficiencies and solacing his defects,

" His likeness, his fit help, his other self,"

with whom he may enjoy

" Union of mind or in us both one soul."

And such love as this

" Leads up to heaven ; is both the way and guide."

Compare these teachings with those of Tennyson in *The Princess*, where under a veil of irony jest mixed with earnest, he shows the pernicious folly of the modern attempt to change woman into a man in petticoats, exhibits the female lecturer and the sweet girl graduates in their most delightfully absurd aspect, overthrows the visionary towers of the Female College with a baby's touch, and closes the sweetest of all satires with a picture of the true relationship of man and woman, which may stand forever as the final word of Christian philosophy on this theme.

" For woman is not undevelop't man,  
 But diverse : could we make her as the man,  
 Sweet love were slain ; his dearest bond is this—  
 Not like to like, but like in difference.  
 Yet in the long years liker they must grow ;  
 The man be more of woman, she of man ;  
 He gain in sweetness and in moral height,  
 Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world ;  
 She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,  
 Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind :  
 Till at the last she set herself to man  
 Like perfect music unto noble words.  
 Then comes the statelier Eden back to men :  
 Then reign the world's great bridals chaste and calm :  
 Then springs the crowning race of humankind.  
 May these things be !"

Another point in which we may trace a deep resemblance between

Milton and Tennyson, is their intense love of country. This is not always a prominent characteristic of great poets. Indeed, we may question whether there is not something in the poetic temperament which unfits a man for actual patriotism, makes him an inhabitant of an ideal realm rather than a citizen of a particular country; inclines him to be governed by disgusts more than he is inspired by enthusiasms, and to withdraw himself from a practical interest in the national welfare into the vague dreams of Utopian perfection. In Goethe we see the cold indifference of the self-centered artistic mind, careless of his country's degradation and enslavement, provided only the all-conquering Napoleon will leave him his poetic leisure and freedom. In Byron we see the wild rebelliousness of the poet of passion, deserting, disowning, and reviling his native land in the sullen fury of personal anger. But Milton and Tennyson are true patriots—Englishmen to the heart's core. They do not say, "My country right or wrong!" They protest in noble scorn against all kinds of tyrannies and hypocrisies. They are not bound in conscienceless servility to the tail of any mere political party. They are the partisans of England, and England to them means freedom, justice, righteousness, Christianity. Milton sees her "rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks"; or "as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and scaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms." Tennyson sings her praise as

"The land that freemen till,  
That sober-suited Freedom chose,  
The land where girt with friends or foes,  
A man may speak the thing he will."

He honors and reveres the Queen, but it is because her power is the foundation and defence of liberty; because of her it may be said that

"Statesmen at her council met  
Who knew the season when to take  
Occasion by the hand, and make  
The bounds of freedom wider yet,  
By shaping some august decree,  
Which kept her throne unshaken still,  
Broad-based upon the people's will,  
And compassed by the inviolate sea."

Think you he would have written thus if Charles Stuart, bribe-taker, extortioner, tyrant, dignified and impotent hypocrite, had been his



sovereign? His own words tell us on which side he would have stood in that great revolt. In the verses written on The Third of February, 1852, he reproaches the Parliament for their seeming purpose to truckle to Napoleon, after the *coup d'état*, and cries:

"Shall we fear *him*? Our own we never feared.  
From our first Charles by force we wrung our claims,  
Pricked by the Papal spur, we reared,  
We flung the burthen of the second James."

And again, in the poem entitled England and America in 1782, he justifies the American Revolution as a lesson taught by England herself, and summons her to exult in the freedom of her children.

"But thou, rejoice with liberal joy!  
Lift up thy rocky face,  
And shatter, when the storms are black,  
In many a streaming torrent back,  
The seas that shock thy base.

"Whatever harmonies of law  
The growing world assume,  
Thy work is thine,—the single note  
From the deep chord that Hampden smote  
Will vibrate to the doom."

Here is the grand Miltonic ring, not now disturbed and roughened by the harshness of opposition, the bitterness of disappointment, the sadness of despair, but rounded in the calm fulness of triumph. "The whirligig of Time brings in his revenges." The bars of oppression are powerless to stay the tide of progress.

"The old order changeth, giving place to new,  
And God fulfils himself in many ways."

If Milton were alive to-day he would find his ideals largely realized; freedom of worship, freedom of the press, freedom of education, no longer things to be fought for, but things to be enjoyed; the principle of popular representation firmly ingrained in the constitution of the British monarchy, (which Tennyson calls "a crowned Republic,") and the spirit of "the good old cause," which seemed lost when the second Charles came back, now victorious in English Liberalism, and peacefully guiding the destinies of the nation into a yet wider and more glorious liberty.

But what would be the effect of such an environment upon such a character as his? What would Milton have been in this nineteenth century? If we can trust the prophecies of his early years; if we can regard the hints of his own preferences and plans, from whose fruition a stern sense of duty, like a fiery-sworded angel, barred him out, we must imagine the course of his life, the development of his genius,

as something very different from what they actually were. An age of peace and prosperity, the comfort and quietude of a well-ordered home, freedom to pursue his studious researches and cultivate his artistic tastes to the full, an atmosphere of liberal approbation and encouragement,—circumstances such as these would have guided his life and work into a much closer parallel with Tennyson, and yet they never could have made him other than himself. For his was a seraphic spirit, strong, indomitable, unalterable; and even the most subtle influence of surroundings could never have destroyed or changed him fundamentally. So it was true, as Macaulay has said, that “from the Parliament and from the court, from the conventicle and from the Gothic cloister, from the gloomy and sepulchral rites of the Roundheads, and from the Christmas revel of the hospitable cavalier, his nature selected and drew to itself whatever was great and good, while it rejected all the base and pernicious ingredients by which these finer elements were defiled.” And yet the very process of rejection had its effect upon him. The fierce conflicts of theology and politics in which for twenty years he was absorbed, left their marks upon him for good and for evil. They tried him as by fire. They brought out all his strength of action and endurance. They made his will like steel. They gave him the God-like power of one who has suffered to the uttermost. But they also disturbed, at least for a time, the serenity of his mental processes. They made the flow of his thought turbulent and uneven. They narrowed, at the same time that they intensified, his emotions. They made him an inveterate controversialist, whose God must syllogize and whose angels were debaters. They crushed his humor and his tenderness. Himself, however, the living poet, the supreme imagination, the seraphic utterance, they did not crush, but rather strengthened. And so it came to pass that in him we have the miracle of literature,—the lost river of poetry springing suddenly, as at divine command, from the bosom of the rock, no trickling and diminished rill, but a sweeping flood, laden with richest argosies of thought.

### III.

How to speak of *Paradise Lost*, I know not. To call it a masterpiece is superfluous. To say that it stands absolutely alone and supreme is both true and false. Parts of it are like other poems, and yet there is no poem in the world like it. The theme is old; had been treated by the author of *Genesis* in brief, by *Du Bartas* and other rhymers at length. The manner is old, inherited from *Homer*,



Dante, Virgil. And yet, beyond all question, *Paradise Lost* is one of the most unique, individual, unmistakable poems in the world's literature. Imitations of it have been attempted by Montgomery, Pollok, Bickersteth, and other pious versifiers, but they are no more like the original than St. Peter's in Montreal is like St. Peter's in Rome, or than the pile of dingy limestone on New York's Fifth Avenue is like the Cathedral of Milan, with its

"Chanting quires,  
The giant windows' blazoned fires,  
The height, the space, the gloom, the glory,  
A mount of marble, a hundred spires!"

Imitation may be the sincerest flattery, but imitation never produces the deepest resemblance: for the man who imitates is concerned with that which is outward; but kinship of spirit lies below the surface. He who is nearest of kin to a master-mind will himself be too great for the work of a copyist; he will be influenced, if at all, unconsciously; and though the intellectual relationship may be expressed also in some external traits of speech and manner, the true likeness will be in the temper of the soul and the sameness of the moral purpose. Such likeness, I think, we can discern between *Paradise Lost* and Tennyson's greatest works, *The Idylls of the King*, and *In Memoriam*.

It is a striking and significant fact that Milton, when he first conceived the purpose of writing a great English poem, was, for a long time, most strongly attracted by the Arthurian legend. It was his cherished design to do for the literature of England that which Tasso and Ariosto had done for that of Italy, "that which the greatest and choicest wits of Athens and Rome, and those Hebrews of old did for *their* country." And for this end he could find, at first, no better plan than to

"Revoke into song the kings of our island,  
Arthur yet from his underground hiding stirring to warfare,  
Or to tell of those that sat round him as Knights of his Table;  
Great-souled heroes unmatched, and (O might the spirit but aid me),  
Shiver the Saxon phalanxes under the shock of the Britons."

What led him to abandon this subject is not difficult to conjecture. What he would have made of it had he attempted it, we can less easily imagine. It must have been a grand and sonorous epic, filled with majestic descriptions of battle, after the Homeric manner, and closely knit into a continuous unity by the central figure of Arthur as the ideal champion of Christianity against Heathenism.

Very different is the manner in which Tennyson has approached this theme. Drawn to it at first by a more fortuitous and æsthetic

interest (as we may infer from the fragmentary character of the *Lady of Shalott* and *Morte d'Arthur*), fascinated anew from time to time by the mysterious beauty of the complex mythos, he has wandered at will through the shadowy labyrinth of legends which gather about the name of Arthur, choosing such portions as pleased him for description, and building at last a poem which is more like a Gothic cathedral than a Grecian temple. The unity is subjective rather than objective. The ground plan is there,—the great cross of human will and divine purpose,—but it is concealed and confused by a wilderness of clustering columns and branching chapels. Arch and capital are covered with miracles of carving. We are lost in admiration of the delicate details. The great design seems doubtful and obscure.

With *Paradise Lost* this is never the case. It is one throughout. The central thought is always manifest and supreme. Its method is classical, historical, synthetic. The *Idylls of the King* are romantic, pictorial, analytic. Each method has its own advantages. But while the latter is more in harmony with the modern spirit, and was doubtless chosen by Tennyson for this reason, the former is the method of the loftiest minds which work not for an age, but for all time. To attempt it, means for any save the most potent and strenuous spirit, an ignominious failure.

Bearing in mind this great difference, we can trace the intimate resemblances between the two poems. First, in manner and style there is a close relationship. Both Milton and Tennyson have been led by their study of the classic poets to understand that rhyme is the least important element of good verse, the best music is made by the concord rather than by the unison of sounds, and the coincidence of final consonants is but a slight matter compared with the cadence of syllables and the accented harmony of long vowels. Indeed it may be questioned whether the inevitable recurrence of the echo of rhyme does not disturb and break the music more than it enhances it. Certainly Milton thought so, and he took great credit to himself for setting the example, "the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming."

There were many to follow him in this path, but for the most part with ignominious and lamentable failure. They fell into the mistake of thinking that because unrhymed verse was more free it was less difficult, and making their liberty a cloak of (poetic) license, they poured forth floods of accurately-measured prose under the delusion that they were writing blank-verse. The fact is that this is the one form of verse which requires the most delicate sensitiveness of ear,

the most careful elaboration, and the long and patient training of a life "wedded to music." In Cowper, Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, Browning, these preconditions are wanting. And with the possible exception of Matthew Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustum," the first English blank-verse worthy to compare with that of *Paradise Lost* is found in Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. There is nothing else in the language so grandly and purely musical.

There is a shade of contrast in the movement of the two poems. Each has its own distinctive quality. In Milton we observe a more stately and majestic march, more of rhythm; in Tennyson, a sweeter and more perfect tone, more of melody. These qualities correspond in verse, to form and color in painting. We might say that Milton is the greater draughtsman, as Michael Angelo; Tennyson the better colorist, as Raphael. But the difference between the two painters is always greater than that between the poets. For the methods by which they produce their effects are substantially the same; and their results differ chiefly as the work of a strong, but sometimes heavy hand differs from that of a hand less powerful, but better disciplined.

De Quincey has said, somewhere or other, that finding fault with Milton's versification is a dangerous pastime. The lines which you select for criticism have a way of justifying themselves at your expense. That which you have condemned as a palpable blunder, an unpardonable discord, is manifested in the mouth of a better reader as majestically right and harmonious. And so when you attempt to take liberties with any passage of his you are apt to feel as when coming upon what appears to be a dead lion in a forest. You have an uncomfortable suspicion that he may not be dead, but only sleeping; or perhaps not even sleeping, but only shamming. Many an unwary critic has been thus unpleasantly surprised. Notably Drs. Johnson and Bentley, and in a small way Walter Savage Landor, roaring over Milton's mistakes, have proved themselves distinctly asinine.

But for all that, there *are* mistakes in *Paradise Lost*. I say it with due fear, and not without a feeling of gratitude that the purpose of this essay does not require me to specify them. But a sense of literary candor forces me to confess the opinion that the great epic contains passages in which the heaviness of the thought has infected the verse, passages which can be read only with tiresome effort, lines in which the organ-player's foot seems to have slipped upon the pedals and made a ponderous discord. This cannot be said of the *Idylls*. Their music is not broken or jangled. It may never rise to the lofti-



est heights, but it never falls to the lowest depths. Tennyson has written nothing so strong as the flight of Satan through Chaos, nothing so sublime as the invocation to Light, nothing so rich as the first description of Eden, but taking the blank-verse of the *Idylls* through and through, as a work of art it is more finished, more expressive, more perfectly musical than that of *Paradise Lost*.

The true relationship of these poems lies, as I have said, beneath the surface. It consists in their ideal unity of theme and lesson. For what is it in fact with which Milton and Tennyson concern themselves? Not the mere story of Adam and Eve's transgression; not the legendary wars of Arthur and his knights; but the everlasting conflict of the human soul with the adversary, the struggle against sin, the power of the slightest taint of evil to infect, pollute, destroy all that is fairest and best. Both poets tell the story of a *Paradise Lost*, and lost through sin; first, the happy garden designed by God to be the home of stainless innocence and bliss, whose gates are closed forever against the guilty race; and then, the glorious realm of peace and love and law which the strong and noble king would make and defend amid the world's warfares, but which is secretly corrupted, undermined, destroyed at last in ruin and in blackening gloom.

It is the great catastrophe of human failure, foreshadowed first in Eden, repeated in a thousand trials, on a thousand moral battle-fields, in every man's experience, the same strife

"Of Sense at war with Soul,"

the same bitter ending of defeat and fall.

To Arthur, as to Adam, destruction comes through that which seems, and indeed is, the loveliest and the dearest. The beauteous mother of mankind, fairer than all her daughters since, drawn by her own highest desire of knowledge into disobedience, yields the first entrance to the fatal sin; and Guinevere, the imperial-moulded queen, radiant with purity and grace, led by degrees from a true friendship into a false love for Lancelot, infects the court and the whole realm with death. Vain are all safeguards and defences; vain all high resolves and noble purposes; vain the instructions of the archangel charging the possessors of Eden to

"Be strong, live happy, and love! but first of all  
Him whom to love is to obey!"

vain, the strait vows and solemn oaths by which the founder of the Round Table bound his knights

"To reverence the King as if he were  
 Their conscience, and their conscience as their King,  
 To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,  
 To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,  
 To love one maiden only, cleave to her,  
 And worship her by years of noble deeds."

All in vain! for sin comes creeping in; and sin, the slightest, the most seeming-venial, the most beautiful, is the seed of shame and death. This is the profound truth to which the *Idylls of the King* and *Paradise Lost* alike bear witness. And to teach this, to teach it in forms of highest art which should live forever in the imagination of the race, was the moral purpose of Milton and Tennyson.

But there is another aspect of this theme which is hardly touched in the *Idylls*. Sin has a relation to God as well as to man, since it exists in His universe. Is it stronger than the Almighty? Is His will wrath? Is His purpose destruction? Is darkness the goal of all things, and is there no other significance in death; no deliverance from its gloomy power? In *Paradise Lost*, Milton has dealt with this problem also. Side by side with the record "of man's first disobedience," he has constructed the great argument whereby he would

"Assert eternal Providence  
 And justify the ways of God to men."

The poem has, therefore, parallel with its human side, a divine or philosophic side, for which we shall look in vain among the *Idylls of the King*. In them Tennyson does not attempt to pierce the black cloud, to illuminate the future, to assert the divine wisdom and love in spite of earth's sorrow and darkness. He has approached this problem from another stand-point in a different manner. And if we wish to know his solution of it, his answer to the mystery of death, we must look for it in *In Memoriam*.

This poem is an elegy for Arthur Hallam, finished throughout its seven hundred and twenty-four stanzas with all that delicate care which the elegiac form requires, and permeated with the tone of personal grief; not passionate, but profound and pure. But it is such an elegy as the world has never seen before, and never will see again. For not only is it the work of long and patient years, elaborated with such skill and adorned with such richness of poetic imagery as other men have thought too great to bestow upon an epic; not only is it the most exquisite and perfect work of mortuary art, worthy, in this regard, to be compared with that world-famous tomb which widowed Artemisia built for the Carian Mausolus; but it is something infinitely grander and better. Beyond the narrow range of personal loss and loneliness, it sweeps into the presence of the eternal realities, faces the great questions of our

mysterious existence, and reaches out to lay hold of that hope which is unseen but abiding, whereby alone we are saved. It is

The record of a faith sublime,  
And truth through clouds at last discerned,  
The incense of a love that burned  
Through pain and doubt defying Time ;

The story of a heart at strife  
That learned, at last, to kiss the rod,  
And passed through sorrow up to God,  
From living to a higher life.

Naturally we expect to find a vast difference between this poem and *Paradise Lost*. The plan demands it. The contrast between the elegiac and the epic forms has never been more strongly marked than here. And it may seem almost absurd to seek, and impossible to discover, any resemblance between these long-rolling, thunderous periods of blank-verse and those short swallow-flights of song which "dip their wings in tears and skim away." The comparison of *In Memoriam* with *Lycidas* would certainly appear more easy and obvious; so obvious, indeed, that it has been made a thousand times, and is fluently repeated by every critic who has had occasion to speak of English elegies.

But this is just one of those cases in which an external similarity conceals a fundamental unlikeness. It is like the resemblance which has been traced between one of the portraits of Milton and William Wordsworth, on the surface only. For, in the first place, Edward King, to whose memory *Lycidas* was dedicated, was far from being an intimate friend of Milton, and his lament has no touch of the deep heart-sorrow which throbs in *In Memoriam*. And, in the second place, *Lycidas* is in no sense a metaphysical poem; does not descend into the depths or attempt to answer the vexed questions, while *In Memoriam* is, in its very essence, profoundly and thoroughly metaphysical; more so, perhaps, than any other great poem except *Paradise Lost*.

There is a point, however, in which we must acknowledge an essential and absolute difference between the great epic and the great elegy, something deeper and more vital than any contrast of form and metre. *Paradise Lost* is a theological poem. *In Memoriam* is a religious poem. The distinction is narrow, but deep. Milton approaches the problem of human life and death from the side of reason, resting, it is true, upon a supernatural revelation, but careful to reduce all its contents to a logical form, demanding a clearly-formulated and closely-linked explanation of all things, and seeking to establish his system of truth upon the basis of sound argument. His



method is purely rational. Tennyson's is emotional. He has no linked chain of deductive reasoning; no sharp-cut definition of objective truths. His faith is subjective, intuitive. Where proof fails him, he will still believe. When the processes of reason are shaken, disturbed, frustrated; when absolute demonstration appears impossible, and doubt claims a gloomy empire in the mind, then the deathless fire that God has kindled in the breast burns toward that heaven which is its source and home, and the swift answer of immortal love leaps out to solve the mystery of the grave. Thus Tennyson *feels* after God, and leads us by the paths of faith and emotion to the same goal which Milton reaches by the road of reason and logic.

Each of these methods is characteristic not only of the poet who uses it, but also of the times in which it is employed. *Paradise Lost* does not echo more distinctly the age of the Westminster divines than *In Memoriam* represents the age of Maurice and Robertson. It is a mistake to think that the tendency of our present theology is toward rationalism. That was the drift of Milton's time. Our modern movement is toward emotionalism, a religion of feeling, a subjective system in which the sentiments and affections shall be acknowledged as lawful determinants of truth. And this tendency has its right as well as its wrong, its golden mean as well as its false extreme. Whether it has ever led Tennyson too far; whether it has ever swept him beyond the truth, it does not now become me to discuss. But this much is clear: it has never carried him away from the sure anchorage of Christian faith, nor is there any substantial difference between the final teachings of *In Memoriam* and of *Paradise Lost*. Is Tennyson a Pantheist because he speaks of

"One God, one law, one element,  
And one far-off divine event  
To which the whole creation moves"?

Then so is Paul a Pantheist when he tells us that in God "we live and move and have our being"; so is Milton a Pantheist when he makes the Son say to the Father:

"Thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee  
Forever, and in me all whom thou lovest."

Is Tennyson an Agnostic because he speaks of the "truths that never can be proved," and finds a final answer to the mysteries of life only in a hope which is hidden "behind the veil"? Then so is Paul an Agnostic, because he sees but through a glass darkly; so is Milton an Agnostic, because he declares

"Heaven is for thee too high  
 To know what passes there. Be lowly wise ;  
 Think only what concerns thee and thy being.  
 Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid ;  
 Leave them to God above."

Is Tennyson a Universalist because he says :

"Oh, yet we trust that somehow good  
 Will be the final goal of ill  
 To pangs of nature, sins of will,  
 Defects of doubt, and taints of blood" ?

Then so is Milton a Universalist when he exclaims :

"O, goodness infinite, goodness immense,  
 That all this good of evil shall produce,  
 And evil turn to good !"

The faith of the two poets is one ; the great lesson of *In Memoriam* and *Paradise Lost* is the same. The hope of the universe is in him whom Milton and Tennyson both call "immortal Love." To Him through mists and shadows we must look up,

"Gladly behold, though but his utmost skirts  
 Of glory, and far-off his steps adore."

Thus our cry out of the darkness for the light shall be answered. Knowledge shall grow from more to more.

"Light after light well-used we shall attain,  
 And to the end persisting safe arrive."

But this can come only through self-surrender and obedience, only through the consecration of the free-will to God who gave it ; and the highest prayer of the light-seeking, upward-striving human soul is this.

"O, living will that shalt endure,  
 When all that seems shall suffer shock,  
 Rise in the spiritual Rock,  
 Flow through our deeds and make them pure,

"That we may lift from out the dust  
 A voice as unto him that hears,  
 A cry above the conquered years,  
 To one that with us works and trust,

"With faith that comes of self-control,  
 The truths that never can be proved  
 Until we close with all we love,  
 And all we flow from, soul in soul."

I must bring this essay to an end before it is, in any sense, complete. Many points of resemblance in vocabularies, in metrical devices, in the use of scientific and literary material, have been passed over for want of space. But I think enough has been said to prove

a real intellectual and moral kinship between Milton and Tennyson, and to exhibit a profound analogy in their works, which has hitherto escaped the notice of the critics. And if this piece of vacation work, hasty and incomplete, should have no other result, it has, at least, deepened and quickened my sense of reverent gratitude to these two masters of English verse.

That rugged old rhymer, Ebenezer Elliott, once said of some one's essays, "they contain rural pictures which, before God, I believe have lengthened my days on earth." I might not venture to say that, for the length of my days is to me unknown; but I know that be they few or many, they are infinitely better and sweeter, more filled with divine light and life by reason of the influences which have flowed into them from the poetry of Milton and Tennyson.

HENRY J. VAN DYKE, JR.



## II.

### HILARY OF POITIERS AND THE EARLIEST LATIN HYMNS.

WHEN Master Peter Abelard was preparing his own hymns for use in the Abbey of the Paraclete, he prefaced them with a brief treatise. There were ninety-three of them, arranged for all the services of Heloise and her nuns, and he answers the request of his abbess-wife by sending them, somewhere in the neighborhood of the year 1135. "At the instance of thy requests, my sister Heloise," he writes, "formerly dear in the world and now most dear in Christ, I have composed what are called in Greek, 'hymns,' and in Hebrew, 'tillim.'" For it is plain that she has a vivid recollection of his "wild, unhallowed rhymes, writ in his unbaptised times," and she would now have him tune his lyre, as Robert Herrick did, to a loftier strain.

Hence he made for these gentle sisters a hymn-book of their own, and so became the Watts or Wesley of their matins and vespers. With characteristic self-confidence he only included what he had himself prepared; but this introduction casts a great deal of light upon the knowledge and piety of the time respecting hymns.

"I remember," continues Abelard, "that you asked me for an explanation. 'We know,' you said, 'that the Latin, and especially the French Church, have in psalms, and also in hymns, followed more a custom than an authority.'" This was quite true; and the remark is eminently characteristic of Heloise, whose scholarship was admirable, and whose disposition was of a sort to crave and cling to a stronger nature. He then quotes for her the decree of the fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), by which Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose of Milan are established as the great fathers of Christian song in the Western Church, and by which the praise of God in hymns is sanctioned and commended.

To much the same effect are the words of Augustine of Hippo, centuries earlier. His beloved mother, Monica, had died, and nothing

appeared to comfort him so much as one of these same holy songs. "Then I slept, and woke up again and found my grief not a little softened; and as I was alone in my bed, I remembered those true verses of thy Ambrose. For thou art the

" 'Maker of all, the Lord  
And Ruler of the height,  
Who, robing day in light, hast poured  
Soft slumbers o'er the night,  
That to our limbs the power  
Of toil may be renewed,  
And hearts be raised that sink and cower,  
And sorrows be subdued.' "

This is the *Deus creator omnium* of the great bishop of Milan; and this, in consequence of Augustine's quotation, is among the best authenticated and earliest hymns of the Latin Church.

But there were more ancient hymns than the Ambrosian or Augustinian. They bear the name of Hilary, and with them Latin hymnology really begins. It is true that in the previous century—the third—Cyprian of Carthage had written religious poetry, but he composed nothing which could be sung. There is, indeed, nothing previous to Hilary.

And now let us go back to the creation of this first and noblest light. For Hilary was a heathen—a heathen of the heathen—in Roman Gaul. He was born in Poitiers (Pictavium) about the beginning of the fourth century. His father's name was Francarius, whose tomb—although he must at first have lived as an idolater—is said by Bouchet to have been "for upward of fifteen hundred years" in the parish church of Clissonium (Clisson, S.E. of Nantes). We are indebted to Jerome for the main facts of Hilary's life, and to Fortunatus for a large share in the filling up of the outlines. Hilary was so celebrated a man that contemporary references are more abundant and helpful in his career even than in that of Shakespeare. In those days he was at the summit of renown, a notable exception to the case of the prophet, "not being without honor save in his own country." "For who," says Augustine, "does not know Hilary the Gallic bishop!" And Jerome wrote to Saint Eustacia that Hilary and Cyprian were the "two great cedars of the age."

He was doubtless well educated. His Latin was good and copious, without possessing very great polish. His Greek was sufficient to fit him to translate the creeds of the Eastern church, and to become familiar with their hymns. We have his own testimony that he lived in comfort, if not in luxury; and the inference is plain that his family were of consequence in the place. It was in his leisure that he took up Moses and the prophets; and there, in that famous

old town of his birth, the mists of his idolatry thinned away. We do not know that any external pressure was brought to bear upon his mind, or that he was led by anything except a natural curiosity into this new learning.

Poitiers itself is a noble situation for such an intellect. It is perched on a promontory, and surrounded on all sides by gorges and narrow valleys. The isthmus, which joins it back to the ridge, was once walled and ditched across. The Pictavi, and afterward the Romans, understood the military advantages of the spot. It has always been the abode of scholars and of warriors. Here Francis Bacon once studied. Here Clovis, founder of the Merovingian dynasty, beat Alaric, in 507, in fair battle. Here Radegunda the Holy lies buried. Here Forpinatus, the poet-bishop, dwelt. Here Charles Martel hammered the Saracens in 732. Here, in the Cathedral of St. Pierre, rest the ashes of Richard Cœur de Lion. Here, beneath these walls, fought Edward the Black Prince against King John of France, in 1356, when the English had the best of the day. For they had learned—as bishop Hugh Latimer says that he himself was taught—how to draw the cloth-yard shaft to a head, and let it fly with a deadly aim. “In my tyme,” said Latimer, “my poore father was as diligent to teach me to shote as to learne anye other thyng, and so I thynke other menne dyd theyr children. Hee taughte me how to drawe, how to laye my bodye in my bowe, and not to drawe with strength of armes as other nacions do, but with strength of the bodye. I had my bowes boughte me accordyng to my age and strength as I encreased in them; so my bowes were made bigger and bigger, for men shall never shot well excepte they be broughte up in it.”\* It was such archery as this that laid the flower of France in the dust, and put John, their king, into prison.

Poitiers is thus a noble and appropriate birth-place for one who before the time of Charles the Hammerer was called the “Hammer of the Arians” (*Malleus Arianorum*), and who combined fighting with praying all through his life. Places and circumstances and the untamable blood of heroes, have more to do with the making of men than we suppose; and Hilary was so distinctly a son of Cæsar’s Gaul that he became its large, true, and free expression, appropriate to its landscape and harmonized to its atmosphere.

And as to his emergence from heathenism there can be nothing more satisfactory to us than his own story. He has recorded that when he found, in Exodus, how God was called “I am that I am”

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\* Sixth sermon before Edw. VI.



and when he read in Isaiah (xl. 12) of a deity who "held the wind in his fists" and again (lxvi. 1) of him who said, "Heaven is my throne and earth is my footstool," then this "*Dens immensus*" surpassed all his heathen conceptions of grandeur and power. And when he read (in Ps. cxxxviii. 7) how this great God loved and cared for his children, so that one could say, "Though I walk in the midst of trouble thou wilt revive me; thou shalt stretch forth thine hand against the wrath of mine enemies, and thy right hand shall save me"—then he was drawn toward this mighty being by a sentiment of confidence and trust. He also—turning the pages of the Wisdom of Solomon, (xiii. 5) in the Apocrypha—found it written that "by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionately the Maker of them is seen." And then, encountering the gospel of John, its opening sentences clarified his mind. All became plain. He accepted with calmness, firmness, and dignity the great doctrines of the Christian faith. He was imbued with John's conception of that Word, "which was in the beginning" and "which was God." From that moment he had a theology which was as pure as crystal and as indestructible as adamant. There is no muddiness about his ideas from this time onward; though Ariens buzz and sting; and calamities rain upon him; and the path of duty is deep with mire and the future is dark. Every one of these things passes away. His own language as to this great change in his belief is as characteristic as it is beautiful: "I extended my desires further, and longed that the good thoughts I had about God, and the good life which I built on them, might have an eternal reward." Like one of his own favorite saints in the gospel and the apocalypse of John, he was thus "led by the Spirit of God" to become one of the chanting choir before the throne.

It matters very little, therefore, to us of to-day, that, in 1851, Pius IX., himself a man of sweet and gentle temper, made Hilary a "Doctor of the Church"—a distinction reserved for those greatest ones, like Augustine and Chrysostom, whose learning and eloquence are world-renowned. The dead bishop did not need this posthumous distinction. He has long been recognized—to quote Prof. Dörner—as "one of the most original and profound," albeit not the easiest to understand at all times, of the great teachers of the Christian Church. We may hereafter attach more value to his work even than we do at present.

This then was the man who had determined to enter upon a Christian life. He was already married and had one daughter—Abra by name—and possessed a certain repute, as a man of reading and of affairs. His origin protected him from a contempt of pagan learning

—and his marriage protected him from that one-sided development which has Romanized the once Catholic church. The period in which he lived was one of transition—from classic literature to Christian literature, and from the Latin of far-off Virgil and Cicero to the Latin which was to become the uniting tongue of all scholars in that Babel of the middle ages. This language was now shaping itself to its new work and becoming, like English under the genius of Chaucer, a living speech. In the moulding hands of these first Christian writers it became flexible, not always fluent or graceful or even strictly grammatical, but capable at least to carry what would otherwise have been lost. Greek was gone, and French and German and English had not yet appeared. As a Gallo-Roman, then—a post-classic Latinist—Hilary gives in his allegiance to Christianity, and his wife and daughter are baptized with him into the true faith.

So far much is conjectural; and more is vague and to be derived from the shadows cast upon the screen of history by the “spirit of the years to come yearning to mix itself with life.” We emerge, however, into historical certainty about the year 351. Then, on the death of their bishop,—who is thought to have been Maxentius, the brother of St. Maximin of Trêves,—his townspeople clamored for Hilary. The “*Histoire Littéraire de la France*” sets this election down for the year 350, but the *Histoire Littéraire*, in this and a great many other instances, is profuse and multitudinous and not absolutely safe. We are certainly not far out from the correct date, in saying 351.

It illustrates a condition of things which are suggestive of the simplicity of the early Church, when we find that in spite of his being a married man and a father—and in spite of Cyprian’s and of Tertullian’s praises of celibacy—Hilary was heartily chosen and almost forced into the episcopate. In this position he exhibited “all the excellent qualities of the great bishops.” We are told that he was “gentle and peaceable, given particularly to an ability to persuade and to influence.” With these he joined “a holy vigor which held him firm against rising heresies.” And Cassian says that Hilary “had all the virtues of an incomparable man.” The fact, after all, speaks for itself more loudly than these commendations. He was so much one of themselves that the people of Poitiers would not have selected him, if they had not known him to be the best man for the mitre.

From this time began that career of stainless honor which has outlasted the very walls which echoed his voice. He was known from Great Britain to the Indies. He ranks second only to Augus-

tine as a defender of the faith, and—as we already noted—he is classed by Jerome with the great bishop of Carthage, whose portrait is given to us so vividly in Charles Kingsley's "Hypatia." And to us of our century and of our convictions in favor of charity and culture, it is particularly praiseworthy that he never gave up his secular scholarship: and that he never flagged or faltered in defending opinions which were as large and liberal as they were undeniably orthodox. He was an oak which stood against the blast unshaken, and which yet held, in the heart of its great branches, sweet nests of singing birds and leafy coverts of shade and peace.

Hilary was not suffered to be inactive. It was the period at which the Arian heresy was in full incandescence. No one holding the opinions of the bishop of Poitiers could well remain neutral. He had—in conformity with a custom soon to become a law—separated his life from that of his home, but he appears always to have cherished a warm love for his wife and child. This placed him, however, in perfect freedom from other cares and at liberty to devote himself to the eradication of false doctrine. Constantius the Emperor was an Arian, and this made the perplexity of the position very great. An honest man might ruin all by his blunt independence—but an honest man dare not be silent. And, besides, Hilary had neither attended the Synod of Arles (353) nor that of Milan (355) and was somewhat out of the ecclesiastical tide.

That he was no coward was soon shown to everybody's satisfaction. He prepared a letter to the Emperor, as brave as it was keen—and which touched up with a vigorous lash the cringing sycophants and shuffling hypocrites about the court. Hilary is notably strong when he denounces the substitution of force for reason—and perhaps his doctorate only came to him in 1851 (when he could not well care much for it), because this doctrine of his was not altogether what Mother Church has been in the habit of teaching and practicing! I may quote the recent work of the Rev. R. T. Smith upon "The Church in Roman Gaul" as fully confirming this statement. St. Martin of Tours is there called to bear testimony, that the bishop of Poitiers held such opinions just as sturdily in his days of power as in these times of trial and persecution. He was, in short, a thoroughly sincere man, and it took him only a few years—until 355—to get into the hottest bubbling spot of all the chaldron. At that date, in company with other leaders of the church in Gaul, he drove out a very pestilent fellow—Saturninus, the bishop of Arles—as a seditious and irreconcilable element in their midst. With him was cast out Valens, and with Valens was cast out Ursacius. But of all these, Bishop Saturninus was the angriest and the most revengeful.



A year of something like good order followed—when lo, the Arians came to the front with a synod of their own complexion at Beziers. Here Hilary found himself in the vocative case altogether. The tables were turned upon him and it was he who must now go forth a banished man. The power was against him, and he set out with bowed head and sad heart, upon one of those pride-humbling journeys which have not seldom brought the greatest results to religion, and which not a few of the best men have taken in their day. In this manner Bernard went to meet Abelard; Martin Luther went to the diet at Worms; and John Bunyan took his way to Bedford jail.

Principal among the causes of his sadness was that he was snatched away from his constant and congenial duty of explaining the Scriptures to the people of his diocese. Still he had nothing for it but to go; and so somewhere about 356, we find him in Phrygia. He is accompanied by Rodnaus, bishop of Toulouse, who had plucked up considerable courage by seeing how well Hilary took his defeat.

In 357 the Church in Roman Gaul sent him their greeting—from which that of his own Poitiers people was not absent. And the Gallic bishops, having perceived him to be capable of much good service in his enforced residence abroad, bade him inform himself and them, upon the creeds and customs of the Eastern Church. This he had already, to a degree, undertaken. And, in 359, whom do we find entering a convocation of bishops at Seleucia, but our very Hilary, opposing with a strong and unflinching philosophic power all those—and there were many there—who denied the consubstantiality of the Word.

There were one hundred and sixty of these bishops at Seleucia; of whom one hundred and five—a very handsome majority—were “demi-Arians.” Of the remaining fifty-five there were nineteen “*Anomœans*” (Anomœans)—those who held that the Son was *unlike* the Father in essence, or *ἀνόμοιος*—and the rest were “*blasphemateurs*” of different grades of badness. It was the natural outcome of the difficulties with Athanasius, where the royal authority was on the side of the Arians. The Roman Catholic historians are therefore not complimentary to this synod,—or rather “double council,” of Seleucia and Rimini—and this was assuredly no very comfortable body of Christians for a banished bishop to exhort. But he did it, with effect, and proceeded to the council at Constantinople (360) and did it again—and presently (361) Constantius died and the Nicene Creed was victorious.

So was Hilary, who—in 360–361—returned to Poitiers, where, as

soon as his crozier was once more well in hand, he levelled Saturninus and compelled him to abandon his diocese. He then turned upon Auxentius of Milan, who only escaped the same, or a worse fate by clinging to Valentinian, the reigning Emperor, and was denounced by Hilary as a hypocrite for his pains. Our bishop appears in these days to have been decidedly a member of the Church Militant; and perhaps it was natural enough when one had survived the reigns of Constantius, Julian the apostate, and Jovian, for him to be as he was. I am not commenting upon these exciting scenes—I desire rather to go back and show how they produced the hymns of which we are to speak.

It was in 357—at the same date with the letters from the bishops and from the churches—that Abra his daughter wrote to him, herself. From this epistle we learn that her mother still lived, and we observe the dutiful and loving daughter apparent in every line. In reply Hilary sends a well-composed, and even imaginative, letter. Under the figures of a pearl and a garment he charges her to keep her soul and her conduct pure. He rather recommends a single life—but not in any such extravagant eulogy of celibacy as some would have us suppose. It is more after the style of what Grynæus affirmed of him—that he was so moderate in these opinions as to suffer his canons to marry—since it would be hard for an unbiased mind to draw any harsh conclusions from the language; yet all this is of small consequence compared with the enclosure—two Latin hymns, one for the morning and one for the evening, which she may use in the worship of God. The first of these is the *Lucis largitor splendide*,—but the second is probably lost. It is said that it was the hymn *Ad coeli clara non sum dignus sidera*—"To the clear stars of heaven I am not worthy," etc. This is very doubtful indeed—so much so that we may decline to receive it on several grounds. It is to be found in the superb folio edition of Hilary's works (Paris, 1693) prepared by the Benedictines of St. Maur. Yet if internal evidence is to weigh at all we must reject it without scruple. It is not a hymn in any true sense, and certainly has no reference to the *evening* hour of worship. It contains a gross phrase or two, which are not suggestive of Hilary, who would scarcely have said that he would "despise Arius" by "modulating a hymn" against him, nor would he have spoken of the "barking Sabellius" or the "grunting Simon." The verses are unpleasantly flavored with earthliness, and to think that a young girl would be inclined to sing ninety-seven lines of an abecedary—or "alphabet-hymn"—is absurd. Moreover, the editors of the edition of 1693 only print four stanzas and express their own disbelief that

Hilary wrote it, based upon these facts and upon their no less important criticism of the style, which is *masculine* throughout and refers to ideas highly inappropriate to the use intended. Mone is nearer to the correct doctrine when he assigns it to a period between the sixth and eighth centuries. Daniel (iv. 130) prints it in full and quotes Mone's remark that an Irish monk is likely to have been its author. It is in the metre familiar to modern eyes in the *Integer vitæ* of Horace, but it displays neither taste nor poetry nor any religious fervor. That it begins each stanza with a consecutive letter of the alphabet is no proof of anything except wasted ingenuity. So that, I repeat, we do well to reject it and to leave it rejected.

All, then, that is left us is the *Lucis largitor splendide*—"Thou splendid giver of the light." The letter went back from Seleucia to Poitiers and carried this hymn, at least, with it. Hilary had sent this and its companion "*ut memor mei semper sis*,"—"that you may always remember me." And we may fancy the lovely high-born daughter of that earnest and scholarly man as, daily and nightly, she sits at her window—perchance with her gaze wistfully turned to the eastward. There she sang these simple, beautiful hymns—she the first singer of the new hymns of the Latin Church. Among the themes for Christian art yet left to us there is hardly one more suggestive than this—for Abra doubtless sang her father's hymns to her father's loyal people. It may even be supposed that he gave her the tunes as well as the words, and that, by morning and by night, the battle-scarred Poitiers re-echoed this voice of the exiled bishop.

Of the hymn itself as much can be said in favor, as we have just said against its pretended and ill-matched companion. It breathes the Johannean sentiments throughout. It celebrates the Light, the Son of God, the glory of the Father, "clearer than the full sun, the perfect light and day itself." To one who is acquainted with the Greek hymns it is instantly suggestive of those pellucid songs—its atmosphere is all peace and its trust is as restful to the tired spirit as the quiet coming of the rising day. It may easily have been a translation from the Greek, or, even more easily, the natural up-gush of melody which was touched into life by the frequent hearing of the Eastern hymns. Hilary never learned it in an Arian church nor did he find it among controversialists. Its nest, where it was first reared, was in some corner of a catacomb or in some nook of the Holy Land. This hymn, then, we may safely accept as the oldest, authentic, original, Latin "song of praise to Christ as God."

Whether the bishop of Poitiers had much or little learning, he



wrote a valuable book on "Synods," and translated for us many useful and otherwise inaccessible confessions of faith and statements of doctrine. Erasmus—himself no brave man, nor one likely to estimate moral courage properly—calls this letter to Abra "*nugamentum hominis otiose indocti*"—the trifling production of a man lazily uneducated! Well, perhaps it would have been as well if some of that same "luxurious ignorance" of Hilary could have secured the "laborious learning" of Erasmus from exhibiting, at the end of life, its own inefficiency. Jerome said that whoever found fault with Hilary's knowledge was compelled to concede his philosophic skill; and it reminds one of the remark of Dante Rossetti, who said that nothing in our age could stand comparison with a sonnet of Shakespeare, for, rough as it might seem, *Shakespeare wrote it*. It was this manhood behind the Latin which went for more than all Rotterdam!

Hilary is credited with a great deal, doubtless, that he never wrote. So he is, by Fortunatus, with miracles which he never performed. Alcuin and others assign to him the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but this was certainly more ancient than Hilary, being quoted by Athanasius in his treatise on Virginity. He could at best merely have translated it. This he might also have done for the *Te Deum laudamus*. And since we know that he prepared a *Hymnarium*—the first actual hymn-book of the Western Church—we have some reason to think that he would not have altogether forgotten the greatest chants of the early Christians. This hymn-book is utterly lost to us. This is not the same as the *Liber Mysteriorum*—the book of the mysteries—and its existence, like that of its companion work, rests upon the testimony of Jerome. Doubtless in it there were other poems and songs from which the Hilarian authorship has been broken or lost. It was not the ancient custom either to preserve the author's name, or even to retain the precise form of his hymn. He threw his little lyric—as the Israelites did their jewelry—into the common treasury of the Church; and in the Breviaries, where so many of these hymns are to be discovered, a later and more critical scholarship may identify some of them hereafter. As delicate insects are preserved in amber, we there find much that we should otherwise have lost; but, like that very amber, when its electricity is excited, his was that sort of reputation which attracted many anonymous trifles—as, for example, the *Ad coeli clara*—to itself.

Of Hilary's other writings we have the full text. His commentaries on the Psalms, and on Matthew; his controversial pamphlets against Constantius; his book of "Synods"—these are accessible in the *Patrologia* of Migne.

It was undoubtedly believed at the time of the fourth Council of Toledo that he had written many pieces in favor of God, and of the triumphs of apostles and martyrs; and both Jerome and Isidore of Seville declare him to have been the first among the Latins to write Christian verse. But to show how uncertain is the conjecture that is thus started, I may mention that the *Ut quæant laxis* of Paul Winfried, the "Deacon," is credited to Hilary, by the *Histoire Littéraire*. The same authority also claims for him the first *Pange lingua* (*Pange lingua gloriosi, prælium certaminis*), which is sometimes assigned to Claudianus Mamertus, but is the well-authenticated composition of Venantius Fortunatus, the troubadour and friend of Rade-gunda, the wife of Clotaire. We may as well admit that a great man did not necessarily do all the great things of his day.

Besides, the search after truth in this matter is complicated marvellously by the trade of the hymn-tinkers, who put new bottoms and tops and sides to a great many religious lyrics. Here is a case in point in Mone (vol. iii., p. 633). The hymn begins *Christum rogemus et patrem*—"we call on Christ and on the Father." It has seven stanzas. The *first* stanza is from a morning hymn, supposed to be by Hilary. The *second* is from an Ambrosian hymn. The *third* and *fourth* are from another Ambrosian hymn to the archangel Michael. The *fifth* is from a very noble Ambrosian hymn—the *Acterna Christi munera*—of which Daniel says that it itself has been "wretchedly torn to pieces by the Church" (*ab ecclesia misere dilaceratum*). The *sixth* and *seventh* stanzas are also Ambrosian—from the *Jesu corona virginum*. Thus this single hymn of seven stanzas is mere patchwork, gathered from that Ambrosian hymnody which the Breviaries supply. And finding all the rest of it credited to Ambrose and to his century, we are inclined to doubt that Hilary should be considered as the author of any portion at all.

Indeed the identification of Hilary's hymns—except the *Lucis largitor*—is purely conjectural. It rests mainly on the hymnological acumen of Cardinal Thomasius, which may or may not be liable to error. Kayser refuses, on one ground or another, to positively endorse any, except the one which all now concede. Next to this in probability stands the *Beata nobis gaudia* (though it is doubted by Prof. March), and then the *Deus pater ingenite*, which is taken from the Mozarabic Breviary. The *Jam meta noctis transiit*, the *In matutinis surgimus*, and the *Jesu refulsit omnium* have only the authority of Thomasius. The *Jesus quadragenariae*, Daniel says, is an old hymn, but very certainly composed later than the time of Hilary. The *Ad coeli clara* we have already rejected. Thus we have one authentic

and five conjectural Hilarian hymns. There is, however, great doubt resting on the *Jesu refulsit omnium*; and if I consulted merely my own judgment, I should declare against it, if only in view of the *rhymes*—a characteristic which it would scarcely possess if it were genuinely of the fourth century. And while we are upon this somewhat ungrateful duty of trying to set matters right, shall we pass over the slip which Mrs. Charles makes in her capital little book? \* For she says that “The Hilary who wrote the hymns was the canonized bishop of Arles.” There was, much later, a Hilary of Arles; and there was another Hilary of Rome, and there were also others of the same name; but none of them wrote hymns. He of Arles assuredly did not.

Of our own Hilary it may be added that the rest of his life was earnest, but comparatively quiet. We shall find Gregory of Tours, and Fortunatus, asserting that he raised the dead and healed the sick, and cast out devils (some of them in the shape of snakes) from a boy's stomach; but these stories belong naturally to a credulous and superstitious age. More to the purpose is it to find that the bishop had entered upon the composition of tunes for his hymns, and had taken up calligraphy and the ornamentation of manuscripts. There was a book of the gospels found, on which was endorsed, “*Quem scripsit Hilarius Pictavensis quondam sacerdos*”—“which Hilary of Poitiers, formerly a priest, wrote.” A similar book was left by St. Perpetuus, bishop of Tours, to Bishop Euphronius, Fortunatus' friend. This is attested by his will, executed in 474. “I saw,” says Christian Druthmar (ninth century), “a book of the gospels, written in Greek, which was said to have been St. Hilary's, in which were Matthew and John,” etc. But whether Hilary wrote this is naturally an open question.

The good bishop died at Poitiers—as Jerome and Gregory of Tours declare—but the date is still a matter of some uncertainty. Valentinian and Valens were upon the throne, and it is safe to say that 367–8 was the year. The fourteenth day of January has also been assigned by some authorities, but with no better reason than a generally received tradition to this effect, and the fact that this is his day in the Roman calendar. His body was, however, scattered rather widely. It was removed from its tomb in the time of Clovis—a bone of his arm was in Belgium, and some other portions of his anatomy were in Limoges. About the year 638, Dagobert is stated to have placed his remains in the Church of St. Dionysius, and so confident

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\* “Christian Life in Song,” Am. ed., p. 74.



of this fact were the people of Poitiers, in 1394, that they vehemently asserted that they had his relics there in perfect safety. "Calvinistic heretics" were said to have burned the mortal remnants of the great "hammer of the Arians," and the Pictavians took this method to meet the calumny. For aught we know to the contrary they were perfectly right, and the dust of their bishop is still resting peacefully in their midst.

For his works, the Paris edition of 1693 is the best; but the *Patrologia* of J. P. Migne contains all that any one can need or care to see. It is the full reprint of the Paris volumes, together with biographical and critical notes, in Latin, prepared with great diligence and research; but, of course, from the Roman Catholic point of view.

SAMUEL W. DUFFIELD.

### III.

## STUDIES IN ESCHATOLOGY.

ESCHATOLOGY, or the doctrine of the last things from death to the general judgment, is exciting considerable attention in various churches, and is one of the departments of theology which demands careful reconsideration and adjustment. All profitable dogmatic discussion must proceed on a biblical and historical basis, and all true progress must be made in the line of previous conquests of Christian thought.

The object of this article is historical rather than doctrinal, and is confined to biblical and patristic eschatology. The scholastic, Roman Catholic, and orthodox Protestant eschatology are only incidentally touched, and would require separate articles.

### THE JEWISH ESCHATOLOGY.

As the New Testament is based on the Old, the Christian eschatology presupposes the Jewish, but excels it in clearness and fulness as the light of the sun outshines the dawn of the morning. We must distinguish three phases in the development of the ideas of future life before the advent of Christ, the Mosaic, the prophetic, and the post-exilian.

1. The Mosaic writings are almost silent about the future life, and this undeveloped eschatology is no small argument for their antiquity. The silence is all the more remarkable as the Jews came from Egypt, where the belief in immortality and endless migrations after death had a very strong hold on the mind of the people. It pervaded the mythology, and built those wonderful pyramids near Memphis, and the rock sepulchres in Thebes on the borders of the desert, for the preservation of the mummies of kings and queens to the day of the resurrection. The Pentateuch lays great stress on the *temporal* consequences of the observance or non-observance of law. Not a word is said in the Decalogue about eternal reward and punishment. The only promise it contains is, "that thy days may be long upon

the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Warburton derived from this fact an argument for the divine legation of Moses. We must remember the theocratic character of the Mosaic economy. The law had a civil and political as well as a moral aspect. It was a basis of temporal government, and the state as such is concerned only with this world, and with temporal rewards and punishments.

But the silence of the Pentateuch is only relative, and the Sadducees who accepted it were wrong in their denial of the resurrection. It contains not a few significant hints at a future life. It is symbolized in the tree of life in Paradise. It is implied in the mysterious translation of Enoch as a *reward* for his piety; in the prohibition of necromancy; in the patriarchal phrase for dying: "to be gathered to his fathers," or "to his people"; and in the self-designation of Jehovah as "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," for "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." What has an eternal meaning for God, must itself be eternal. This is the profound meaning which our Saviour puts into that passage (Ex. iii. 6, 16), and thereby he silenced the Sadducees out of the book of the law which they themselves recognized as their highest authority (Matt. xxii. 32).

2. In the latter writings of the Old Testament, especially during and after the exile, the doctrine of immortality and resurrection comes out plainly. The wonderful Goël-passage which stands right in the heart of the book of Job, as a flash of lightning which clears up the dark mysteries of providence in this life, teaches the immortality and the future vision of God. The scepticism of the book of Ecclesiastes is subdued by the fear of Jehovah, who "shall bring every work into judgment with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil" (xii. 14). Daniel's vision reaches out even to the final resurrection of "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth to everlasting life," and of "some to shame and everlasting contempt," and prophesies that "they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever" (xii. 2, 3).

But before Christ, who first revealed true life, the Hebrew Sheol, the general receptacle of departing souls, remained, like the Greek Hades, a dark and dreary abode, and is so described in the Old Testament. Cases like Enoch's translation and Elijah's ascent are altogether unique and exceptional, and imply the meaning that death is not necessarily the transition to another life.

3. The Jewish Apocrypha (the Book of Wisdom, and the Second Book of Maccabees), and the later Jewish writings (the Book of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Ezra) show some progress: they distin-



guish between two regions in Sheol: Paradise or Abraham's Bosom for the righteous, and Gehinom or Gehenna for the wicked; they emphasize the resurrection of the body, and the future rewards and punishments.

4. The Talmud adds various fanciful embellishments. It puts Paradise and Gehenna in close proximity, measures their extent, and distinguishes different departments in both, corresponding to the degrees of merit and guilt. Paradise is sixty times as large as the world, and hell sixty times as large as Paradise, for the bad preponderate here and hereafter. According to other Rabbinical testimonies, both are well-nigh boundless. The Talmudic descriptions of Paradise (as those of the Koran) mix sensual and spiritual delights. The righteous enjoy the vision of the Shechina and feast with the patriarchs, and with Moses and David on the flesh of the leviathan, and drink wine from the cup of salvation. Each inhabitant has a house according to his merit. Among the punishments of hell the chief place is assigned to fire, which is renewed every week after the Sabbath. The wicked are boiled like the flesh in the pot, but the bad Israelites are not touched by fire, and are otherwise tormented. The severest punishment is reserved for idolaters, hypocrites, traitors, and apostates. As to the duration of future punishment, the school of Shammai held that it was everlasting; while the school of Hillel inclined to the milder view of a possible redemption after repentance and purification. Some Rabbis taught that hell will cease, and that the sun will burn up and annihilate the wicked. The teaching of the Talmud on this point has recently been called into dispute. Canon Farrar maintains that Gehenna does not necessarily and usually mean hell in our sense, but (1) for Jews, or the majority of Jews, a short punishment, followed by forgiveness and escape; (2) for worse offenders a long but still terminable punishment; (3) for the worst offenders, especially Gentiles—punishment followed by *annihilation*. He quotes several modern Jewish authorities of the rationalistic type, *e. g.*, Dr. Deutsch, who says: "There is not a word in the Talmud that lends any support to the damnable dogma of endless torment." I have consulted Dr. Gottheil, the Rabbi of the Temple in Fifth Avenue, New York, who personally seems to take the liberal view of Deutsch, but admits different interpretations of the Talmud.\* Dr.

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\* The following is the reply of Dr. Gottheil, which he kindly permits me to publish :

"681 MADISON AVE., N. Y. City, July 31, 1883.

"THE REV. DR. SCHAFF.

"*Dear Sir* :—To answer your question concisely, and yet in a manner worthy to be embodied in a scientific treatise, would be a laborious task of several days' work. I don't know whether you ask this of me. All I can say in a general way is this : that voices are not wanting in the Rabb.

Ferdinand Weber, who is good authority, says in his book on the Jewish theology of Palestine (p. 375), that some passages in the Talmud teach total annihilation of the wicked, others teach everlasting punishment, *e. g.* *Pesachim* 54<sup>a</sup>: "The fire of Gehenna is never extinguished." Josephus (whose testimony Farrar arbitrarily sets aside as worthless) attests the belief of the Pharisees and Essenes in eternal punishment.\* It is true that Rabbi Akiba (about 120) limited the punishment of Gehenna to twelve months; but only for the Jews. The Talmud assigns certain classes to everlasting punishment, especially apostates and those who despise the wisdom of the Rabbis. The chief passage is *Rosh Hoshanah*, f. 16 and 17: "There will be three divisions on the day of judgment, the perfectly righteous, the perfectly wicked, and the intermediate class. The first will be at once inscribed and sealed to life eternal; the second at once to Gehenna (Dan. xii. 2); the third will descend into Gehenna and keep rising and sinking" (Zech. xii. 9). This opinion was indorsed by the two great schools of Shammai and Hillel, but Hillel inclined to a liberal and charitable construction.

The Mohammedans share the Jewish belief, but change the inhabitants; the Koran assigns Paradise to the orthodox Moslems, and Hell to all unbelievers (Jews, Gentiles, and Christians), and to apostates from Islam.

#### THE HEATHEN ESCHATOLOGY.

Belief in immortality is a universal human instinct, and hence is found among all nations. But the heathen notions are very vague and confused. The Hindoos, Babylonians, and Egyptians had a lively sense of immortality, but mixed with the notion of endless migrations and transformations through various forms of vegetable and animal life. The Buddhists, starting from the idea that existence is want, and want is suffering, make it the chief end of man to escape such migrations, and, by various mortifications, to prepare

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writings which affirm the eternity of punishment; but they carry no more weight than a thousand other hagadic fancies, and they, moreover, often admit of a construction by which the dogmatic side appears merely subsidiary to a moral idea or a historical explanation. The ruling idea of the Talmud is, that God has created all beings in the exercise of his attribute of mercy **מדת הרחמים** that none, therefore, can ever fall under the exclusive dominion of **מדת הדין** and thus remain unredeemed forever. Modern Judaism takes its stand altogether on this noble principle, giving it the utmost emphasis in its teachings. Without it the fatherhood of God would be worse than an empty phrase—a mockery.

\* Eternal punishment in the christological relation to the so-called fall of Adam is quite unknown to the Talmud.

"Respectfully yours,

G. GOTTHEIL."

\* *Ant.*, XVIII., 1, 3; *Bell. Jud.*, II., 8, 11.

for annihilation or absorption in the unconscious dream-life of Nirvana. The popular belief among the ancient Greeks and Romans was that man passes after death into the under world—the Greek *Hades*, the Roman *Orcus*. According to Homer, Hades is a dark abode in the interior of the earth, with an entrance at the western extremity of the ocean, where the rays of the sun do not penetrate. Charon carries the dead over the stream, Acheron, and the three-headed dog, Cerberus, watches the entrance, and allows none to pass out. There the spirits exist in a disembodied state, and lead a shadowy dream-life. A vague distinction was made between two regions in Hades, an Elysium (also “the Islands of the Blessed”) for the good, and Tartarus, for the bad. “Poets and painters,” says Gibbon, “peopled the infernal regions with so many phantoms and monsters, who dispensed their rewards and punishments with so little equity, that a solemn truth, the most congenial to the human heart, was oppressed and disgraced by the absurd mixture of the wildest fictions. The eleventh book of the *Odyssey* gives a very dreary and incoherent account of the infernal shades. Pindar and Virgil have embellished the picture; but even those poets, though more correct than their great model, are guilty of very strange inconsistencies.”

Socrates, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch rose highest among the ancient philosophers in their views of the future life, but they reached only to belief in its probability—not in its certainty. Socrates, after he was condemned to death, said to his judges: “Death is either an eternal sleep, or a transition to a new life; but in neither case is it an evil,” and he drank with playful irony the fatal hemlock. Plato, viewing the human soul as a portion of the eternal, infinite, all-pervading deity, believed in its pre-existence before this present life, and thus had a strong ground of hope for its continuance after death. All the souls pass into the spirit-world—the righteous into the abode of bliss, where they live forever in a disembodied state, the wicked into Tartarus, for punishment and purification, and the incorrigibly bad for eternal punishment. His ideas prepared the way for the doctrine of purgatory. Plutarch, the purest and noblest among the Platonists, thought that immortality was inseparably connected with belief in an all-ruling Providence, and looked to the life beyond as promising a higher knowledge of, and closer conformity to, God, but only for those few who are here purified by virtue and piety. In such rare cases departure might be called an ascent to the stars, to heaven, to the gods, rather than a descent to Hades. At the death of his daughter, he comforted her mother with the hope in the blissful state of infants who die in infancy. Cicero reflects in classi-



cal language "the ignorance, the errors, and the uncertainty of the ancient philosophers with regard to the immortality of the soul." Though strongly leaning to a positive view, he yet found it no superfluous task to quiet the fear of death in case the soul should perish with the body. The Stoics believed only in a limited immortality, or denied it altogether, and justified suicide when life became unendurable. The great men of Greece and Rome were not influenced by the idea of a future world as a motive of action. During the debate on the punishment of Catiline and his fellow-conspirators, Julius Cæsar openly declared in the Roman Senate that death dissolves all the ills of mortality, and is the boundary of existence, beyond which there is no more care nor joy, no more punishment for sin, nor any reward for virtue. The younger Cato, the model Stoic, agreed with Cæsar; yet, before he made an end to his life at Utica, he read Plato's *Phædon*. Seneca once dreamed of immortality, and almost approached the Christian hope of the birthday of eternity, if we are to trust his rhetoric; but afterward he awoke from the beautiful dream and committed suicide. The elder Pliny, who found a tragic death under the lava of Vesuvius, speaks of the future life as an invention of man's vanity and selfishness, and thinks that body and soul have no more sensation after death than before birth; death becomes doubly painful if it is only the beginning of another indefinite existence. Tacitus speaks but once of immortality, and then conditionally; and he believed only in the immortality of fame. Marcus Aurelius, in sad resignation, bids nature, "Give what thou wilt, and take back what thou wilt."

These were noble and earnest Romans. What can be expected from the crowd of frivolous men of the world who moved within the limits of matter and sense, and made present pleasure and enjoyment the chief end of life? The surviving wife of an Epicurean philosopher erected a monument to him, with the inscription, "To the eternal sleep." Not a few heathen epitaphs openly profess the doctrine that death ends all; while, in striking contrast with them, the humble Christian inscriptions in the catacombs express the confident hope of future bliss and glory in the uninterrupted communion of the believer with Christ and God.

Yet the scepticism of the educated and half-educated could not extinguish the popular belief in the imperial age. The number of cheerless and hopeless materialistic epitaphs is very small as compared with the many thousands which reveal no such doubt, or express belief in some kind of existence beyond the grave.

Of a resurrection of the body the Greeks and Romans had no con-

ception, except in the form of shades and spectral outlines, which were supposed to surround the disembodied spirits, and to make them, to some degree, recognizable. Heathen philosophers, like Celsus, ridiculed the resurrection of the body as useless, absurd, and impossible.

#### THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Christ is the Resurrection and the Life, and has brought immortality to light. The Christian Church is based upon the resurrection of Christ; it could not have been established, nor continued for any length of time, without that fact. After the crucifixion, the apostles were on the brink of despair, and exposed to the ridicule and scorn of the Jewish hierarchy, which, in that dark hour, had apparently achieved a complete victory and buried all their hopes of a Messianic kingdom. But on the morning of the resurrection the tables were turned. The timid, trembling, demoralized disciples became heroes, and boldly proclaimed their faith in the risen and ever-living God before the people and the Sanhedrin, and were willing to undergo all manner of persecution and death itself in the sure hope of a blissful immortality. They succeeded, and the Christian Church stands to-day stronger than ever, as a living witness of the resurrection.

The teaching of Christ and the apostles effected an entire revolution in the eschatological creed of the world.

In the first place, Christianity gives to the belief in a future state the absolute certainty of divine revelation, sealed by the fact of Christ's resurrection, and thereby imparts to the present life an immeasurable importance, involving endless issues.

In the next place, it connects the resurrection of the body with the immortality of the soul, and thus saves the whole individuality of man from destruction.

Moreover, Christianity views death as the punishment of sin, and therefore as something terrible, from which nature shrinks. But its terror has been broken, and its sting extracted by Christ.

And finally, Christianity qualifies the idea of a future state by the doctrine of sin and redemption, and thus makes it to the believer a state of absolute holiness and happiness, to the impenitent sinner a state of absolute misery. Death and immortality are a blessing to the one, but a terror to the other; the former can hail them with joy; the latter has reason to tremble. The Bible inseparably connects the future life with the general judgment, which determines the ultimate fate of all men according to their works done in this earthly life.

To the Christian, this present life is simply a pilgrimage to a better country, and to a city whose builder and maker is God. Every day he moves his tent nearer his true home. His citizenship is in heaven; his thoughts, his hopes, his aspirations are heavenly. This unworldliness, or heavenly-mindedness, far from disqualifying him for the duties of earth, makes him more faithful and conscientious in his calling; for he remembers that he must render an account for every word and deed at a bar of God's judgment. Yea, in proportion as he is heavenly-minded and follows the example of his Lord and Saviour, he brings heaven down to earth and lifts earth up to heaven, and infuses the purity and happiness of heaven into his home.

Faith unites us to Christ, who is life itself in its truest, fullest conception—life in God, life eternal. United with Christ, we live indeed, shedding round about us the rays of his purity, goodness, love, and peace. Death has lost its terror; it is but a short slumber, from which we shall awake in his likeness, and enjoy what eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor ever entered the imagination of man. "Because I live, ye shall live also."

#### THE ESSENTIAL FAITH OF THE CHURCH, AND PRIVATE SPECULATION.

This is the New Testament eschatology. But we must distinguish between what is essential to faith and what is private opinion and speculation concerning that mysterious world beyond the grave to which every human being travels and from which no traveller returns.

The coming of Christ to judgment with its eternal rewards and punishments is the centre of the eschatological faith of the Church in all its branches—Greek, Latin, and Evangelical. The judgment is preceded by the general resurrection, and followed by life everlasting.

This faith is expressed in the œcumenical creeds.

The Apostles' Creed :

"He shall come to judge the quick and the dead," and "I believe the resurrection of the body and life everlasting."

The Nicene Creed :

"He shall come again, with glory, to judge the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end." "And we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come."

The Athanasian Creed, so called, adds to these simple statements a damnatory clause at the beginning, middle, and end, and makes salvation depend on belief in the orthodox catholic doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, as therein stated. But that document is of much later origin, and cannot be traced beyond the sixth century.



The liturgies which claim apostolic or post-apostolic origin, give devotional expression to the same essential points in the eucharistic sacrifice.

**The Clementine liturgy :**

"Being mindful, therefore, of His passion and death, and resurrection from the dead, and return into the heavens, and His future second appearing, wherein He is to come with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead, and to recompense to every one according to his works."

**The liturgy of James :**

"His second glorious and awful appearing, when He shall come with glory to judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to his works."

**The liturgy of Mark :**

"His second terrible and dreadful coming, in which He will come to judge righteously the quick and the dead, and to render to each man according to his works."

Beyond this well-defined region of faith and public teaching lies the cloudy domain of private opinion and speculation, and here every church allows, or ought to allow, a large margin of freedom. Wise and good men have differed, and will probably always differ, in this world about such questions as the time of the Second Advent ; the preceding revelation of Antichrist, his character and duration ; the millennium, whether it be literal or figurative, whether it will precede or succeed the Second Advent ; the nature of the millennial reign of Christ, whether it be personal or spiritual ; the condition of the disembodied state between death and resurrection ; the final fate of the heathen and of the countless millions of children dying in infancy ; the proportion of the saved and the lost ; the locality of heaven and hell. These are all open questions in eschatology, on which men cannot help thinking and speculating, but on which it becomes us to be modest and reserved, remembering that we absolutely know nothing certain about the future world but what God has chosen to reveal to us in the Holy Scriptures. That world may be very far from us in the stars or beyond the stars, within the universe or outside of it, if it have boundaries, or it may be very near and round about us. But we do know what is sufficient for faith—that in our Father's house are many mansions, and that Christ has prepared a place for every one of his faithful followers.

## THE PATRISTIC ESCHATOLOGY.

### I. ON THE STATUS INTERMEDIUS.

Among the darkest points in eschatology is the middle state, or the condition of the soul between death and resurrection. It is difficult to conceive of a disembodied state of happiness or woe without

physical organs for enjoyment and suffering. Justin Martyr held that the souls retain their sensibility after death, otherwise the bad would have the advantage over the good. Origen seems to have assumed some refined, spiritual corporeity which accompanies the soul on its lonely journey, and is the germ of the resurrection body ; but the speculative opinions of that profound thinker were looked upon with suspicion, and some of them were ultimately condemned. The idea of the sleep of the soul (*psychopannychia*) had some advocates, but was expressly rejected by Tertullian. It was revived by the Anabaptists in the time of the Reformation, and refuted by Calvin in one of his earliest writings (1534). Others held that the soul died with the body, and was created anew at the resurrection. Eusebius ascribes this notion to some Christians in Arabia. The prevailing view was that the soul continued in a conscious, though disembodied, state, by virtue either of inherent or of communicated immortality. The nature of that state depends upon the moral character formed in this life either for weal or woe, without the possibility of a change except in the same direction. A *second probation* for one and the same individual was not taught by any of the fathers, nor by any other divine of note. Even the Roman purgatory is in no sense a state of *probation*, but simply of continued *purification* of imperfect Christians whose eternal fate is decided in this life, and who will ultimately enter heaven when their sanctification is completed. The only reasonable question is whether those who never had a probation in this life, as the heathen and children dying in infancy, shall have one in the future world ; in other words, whether the gospel offer of salvation is confined to the visible church in this world, or extends in some form or other, at some time or other, to all human beings. The former is the old orthodox view ; the latter is the prevailing view among modern evangelical divines of Germany, who hold it on the ground of the even justice and boundless mercy of God, who sincerely desires the salvation of all men, and made abundant provision for the salvation of all. As to the last point there can be no doubt ; even supra-lapsarian Calvinists maintain that Christ's atonement is *sufficient* for all, though *efficient* only for the elect.

The patristic doctrine of the *status intermedius* was chiefly derived from the Jewish tradition of the Sheol, from the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19, *seq.*), and from the passages of Christ's descent into Hades. The utterances of the ante-Nicene fathers are somewhat vague and confused, but receive light from the more mature statements of the Nicene and post-Nicene fathers, and may be reduced to the following points :

1. The pious who died before Christ, from Abel or Adam down to John the Baptist (with rare exceptions, as Enoch, Moses, and Elijah), were detained in a part of Sheol, waiting for the first Advent, and were released by Christ after the crucifixion and transferred to Paradise. This was the chief aim and result of the *descensus ad inferos*, as understood long before the fourth century, when it became an article of the Apostles' Creed, first in Aquileja (where, however, Rufinus explained it wrongly, as being equivalent to burial), and then in Rome. Hermas of Rome and Clement of Alexandria supposed that the patriarchs and Old Testament saints, before their translation, were baptized by Christ and the apostles. Irenæus repeatedly mentions the descent of Christ to the spirit-world, and regards it as the only means by which the benefits of the redemption could be made known and applied to the pious dead of former ages. The schoolmen of the middle ages gave that part of Sheol or Hades the name *Limbus Patrum*, as distinct from the *Limbus Infantum*. The *Limbus Patrum* was emptied by the descent of Christ, and replaced by *Purgatory*, and this will be emptied at the day of judgment. The *Limbus Infantum* for unbaptized children will continue as a place and state, not of punishment and actual suffering, but of privation of happiness.

2. Christian martyrs and confessors and other eminent saints pass immediately after death into the highest heaven to the blessed vision of God. These, however, are rather exceptional cases, like the translation of Enoch and the ascension of Elijah under the old dispensation.

3. The great majority of Christian believers, being more or less imperfect at the time of their death, enter for an indefinite period into a preparatory state of rest and happiness, usually called Paradise (comp. Luke xxiii. 41) or Abraham's Bosom (Luke xvi. 23). There they are gradually purged of remaining infirmities until they are ripe for heaven, into which nothing is admitted but absolute purity. Origen assumed a constant progression to higher and higher regions of knowledge and bliss. After the fifth or sixth century, certainly since Pope Gregory I., Purgatory was substituted for Paradise, and the idea of penal suffering for preparatory bliss. This was a very important change, which we shall discuss again.

4. The locality of Paradise is uncertain: some imagined it to be a higher region of Hades beneath the earth, yet "afar off" from Gehenna, and separated from it by "a great gulf" (comp. Luke xvi. 23, 26); others transferred it to the lower regions of heaven above the earth, yet clearly distinct from the final home of the blessed. The former seems to have been the idea of Tertullian, the latter that



of Irenæus. The one subsequently prevailed in the Latin, the other in the Greek Church.

5. Impenitent Christians and unbelievers go down to the lower regions of Hades (Gehenna, Tartarus, Hell) into a preparatory state of misery and dreadful expectation of the final judgment. From the fourth century Hades came to be identified with Hell, and this confusion passed into many versions of the Bible, including that of King James, where the two distinct words are indiscriminately rendered hell. This is an unfortunate and misleading blunder. It has been corrected in the Revised Version of the New Testament. It ought to be corrected also in the Apostles' Creed. Christ descended into Hades: this we know from Peter (Acts ii. 31; see the Greek and the Revised Version); and he was in Paradise the very day of his death: this we know from his own lips (Luke xxiii. 43); but it is nowhere stated in the Bible that he descended to Hell or Gehenna. When shall ministers have the courage to correct that objectionable article by substituting Hades (*i. e.*, the spirit-world, the realm of the departed) for Hell (*i. e.*, the place of torment)?

6. The future fate of the heathen and of unbaptized children was left in hopeless darkness, except by Justin and the Alexandrian fathers, who extended the operations of divine grace beyond the limits of the visible church. Justin Martyr must have believed, from his premises, in the salvation of all those heathen who had in this life followed the light of the Divine Logos (that is Christ before his incarnation), and died in a state of unconscious Christianity, or preparedness for Christianity. For, he says, "those who lived with the Logos were Christians, although they were esteemed atheists, as Socrates and Heraclitus, and others like them." The great and good Augustine made an end to this liberal view of the early Greek fathers and framed the fearful dogma of the absolute necessity of *water-baptism* for salvation, and thus excluded even all unbaptized infants forever from heaven. And this remained and is to this day the doctrine of the Latin Church. On this point fortunately Calvin broke loose from the logic of Augustine by giving up the premise, and suspending salvation on eternal election, which may extend far beyond the boundaries of the visible church and sacraments. Zwingli was the first to embrace all children dying in infancy among the elect.

7. There are, in the other world, different degrees of happiness and misery, according to the degrees of merit and guilt. This is reasonable in itself, and supported by many Scripture passages.

8. With the idea of the imperfection of the middle state and the possibility of a progressive amelioration, is connected the commemo-

ration of the departed, and prayer in their behalf. No trace of the custom is found in the New Testament nor in the canonical books of the Old, but an isolated example, which seems to imply habit, occurs in the age of the Maccabees, when Judas Maccabæus and his company offered prayer and sacrifice for those slain in battle, "that they might be delivered from sin" (2 Macc. xii. 39, *seq.*). In old Jewish service-books there are prayers for the blessedness of the dead. The strong sense of the communion of saints unbroken by death easily accounts for the independent rise of a similar custom among the early Christians. Tertullian bears clear testimony to its existence in North Africa at his time (he died about 220 in extreme old age). "We offer," he says, "oblations for the dead on the anniversary of their birth," *i. e.*, their celestial birthday. He gives it as a mark of a Christian widow, that she prays for the soul of her husband, and requests for him refreshment and fellowship in the first resurrection; and she offers sacrifice on the anniversaries of his falling asleep. Eusebius narrates that at the tomb of Constantine a vast crowd of people, in company with the priests of God, with tears and great lamentation offered their prayers to God for the emperor's soul. Augustine calls prayer for the pious dead in the eucharistic sacrifice, "an observance of the universal church, handed down from the fathers." He fully approved of it, and remembered in prayer his godly mother Monnica at her dying request.

This custom is confirmed by the ancient liturgies, which express in substance the devotions of the ante-Nicene age, although they were not committed to writing before the fourth century. The commemoration of the pious dead is an important part in the eucharistic prayers. Take the following from the liturgy of St. James:

"Remember, O Lord God, the spirits of whom we have made mention, and whom we have not made mention, who are of the true faith, from righteous Abel unto this day; do Thou Thyself give them rest there in the land of the living, in Thy kingdom, in the delight of Paradise, in the Bosom of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, our holy fathers; whence pain and grief and lamentation have fled away: there the light of Thy countenance looks upon them, and gives them light for evermore."

The Clementine liturgy, in the eighth book of the "Apostolical Constitutions," has likewise a prayer "for those who rest in faith," in these words:

"We make an offering to Thee for all Thy saints who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets, just men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, elders, deacons, subdeacons, singers, virgins, widows, laymen, and all whose names Thou Thyself knowest."

9. These views of the middle state in connection with prayers for the dead, show a strong tendency to the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, which afterward came to prevail in the West through

the great weight of St. Augustine and Pope Gregory I. But there is, after all, a considerable difference. The ante-Nicene and Nicene idea of the middle state of the pious excludes, or at all events ignores, the idea of *penal suffering*, which is an essential part of the Catholic conception of Purgatory. It represents the condition of all the pious dead as one of *comparative happiness*, inferior only to the perfect happiness after the resurrection. Whatever and wherever Paradise may be, it belongs to the *heavenly* world; while Purgatory is supposed to be a middle region between heaven and hell, and to border rather on the latter. The sepulchral inscriptions in the catacombs have a pre-vaillingly cheerful tone, and represent the departed souls as being "in peace" and "living in Christ," or "in God." The same view is substantially preserved in the Oriental church, which holds that the souls of the departed believers may be aided by the prayers of the living, but are nevertheless in light and rest, with a foretaste of eternal happiness.\*

Yet alongside with this prevailing belief, we find already before the middle of the third century, traces of the purgatorial idea of suffering, the temporal consequences of sin, and a painful struggle after holiness. Origen, following in the path of Plato, used the term "purgatorial fire," by which the remaining stains of the soul shall be burned away; but he understood this figuratively, and connected it with the consuming fire at the final judgment; while Augustine and Gregory I. transferred it to the middle state. The common people and most of the fathers understood it of a material fire; but this is not a matter of faith, and there are Roman divines who confine the purgatorial sufferings to the mind and the conscience. A material fire would be very useless without a material body.

A still nearer approach to the Roman purgatory was made by Tertullian and Cyprian, who taught that a special satisfaction and penance was required for sins committed after baptism, and that the last farthing must be paid (Matt. v. 20) before the soul can be released from prison and enter into heaven.

It was again St. Augustine, the greatest light of the Latin Church in the fifth century, and the chief architect of catholic orthodoxy, who gave doctrinal and logical shape to this Tertullianic and Cyprianic notion. He strengthened it by a literal interpretation of Paul's passage of salvation "as by fire," *i. e.*, a narrow escape from destruction (1 Cor. iii. 13-15), and by an inference from the passage on the unpardonable sin (Matt. xii. 32). He reasoned thus: If the

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\* See the Longer Russian Catechism in *Creeeds of Christendom*, Vol. II., p. 503.



blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is the only sin which cannot be forgiven either in this world nor in that which is to come, it necessarily follows that all *other* sins *may* be forgiven in the future life on condition of repentance, and before the final judgment.\* This became the prevailing doctrine of the Western church (but not in the East, where St. Augustine was scarcely known and exerted no influence whatever). Gregory the Great, the best of the popes, and an ardent admirer of Augustine, gave it additional authority. This doctrine of Purgatory gathered around it many superstitions, masses for the dead, and the pernicious traffic in indulgences for the release of departed relatives and friends, which culminated in the shameful excesses of Tetzels and Samson at the time of the Reformation. Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin revolted with righteous indignation against these abuses; but while they rooted out the mediæval doctrine of Purgatory, they failed to substitute a better theory of the middle state, and left it for our days to reconsider this whole question and to reach positive results. The Protestant creeds almost totally ignore the middle state, and pass from death immediately to the final state after the general judgment, and the old Protestant theologians nearly identify the pre-resurrection state of the righteous and wicked with their post-resurrection state—except that the former is a *disembodied* state of perfect bliss or perfect misery. By this confusion the resurrection and the general judgment are reduced to an empty formality.

## II. PATRISTIC DOCTRINE OF FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

The subject of future punishment has been very prominently brought into view recently by the controversy between Canon Farrar and the late Dr. Pusey. Both agree in rejecting Universalism and in holding to the Romanizing theory of "future purification" (instead of probation), which increases the number of the saved by withdrawing vast multitudes of imperfect Christians from the awful doom. Both profess to abhor what they choose to term the popular notion about Hell with all its extravagances. But Farrar goes much further in the attempt to reduce Hell to the smallest possible dimensions of time and space, or to a very narrow pit, and he claims on his side a number of the early fathers; while Dr. Pusey, in the last of his books (1880), tries to show that all the fathers, with the exception of a few who were condemned as heretical, taught the doctrine of everlasting punishment in the strict and proper sense of that term,

\* *De Civitate Dei*, xxi. 24.

although without the excesses of certain popular preachers. There is no doubt that a marked change is going on, not only in the Church of England, but also among Dissenters and in the various Churches of America, in favor of milder and more liberal views. Sermons, like that of Jonathan Edwards on the sinner in the hands of an angry God, could not be preached nowadays without emptying the church. Modern theology is controlled by the idea of God's love rather than the idea of his justice. The change of views on the subject of infant salvation in the Calvinistic churches amounts to an actual revolution, as has been shown by Dr. Prentiss in the last number of this REVIEW.

Three theories are possible on the fate of the impenitent or hopelessly wicked after the general judgment: *everlasting punishment, annihilation, restoration* (after remedial punishment and repentance). All these theories had advocates in the patristic age, but the first was predominant, and ultimately prevailed. Let us consider them separately:

1. EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT always was, and always will be, the orthodox doctrine on that dark and terrible subject. It rests on the highest authority, from which there is no appeal. Christ, who knew more than any living being, and who came into this world for the express purpose of saving sinners by the sacrifice of his own spotless life, has furnished the strongest arguments for that doctrine that can be found in the Bible. If we had to deal only with Paul, we might come to the Universalist conclusion by pressing his parallel between the first and second Adam, the universal fall, and the universal redemption, and such passages as, "God shall be all in all" (Rom. v. 12 *seq.*; 1 Cor. xv. 22, 28). But we are forced to understand him and every other apostle in consistency with the teaching of the Master, and it is the Master who speaks of the worm that never dies and the fire that never is quenched (Mark ix. 48), of the unpardonable sin that cannot be forgiven either in the present or the future æon (Matt. xii. 32), of the son of perdition, for whom it would have been better if he had never been born (Matt. xxvi. 24). It is the Master who contrasts eternal life and eternal punishment in a manner that the limitation of the one would imply a limitation of the other (Matt. xxv. 46). Admitting, as every scholar must, that *αἰώνιος* is itself not necessarily unlimited any more than the *αἰών* to which it belongs, the force of the argument lies in the connection and in the contrast: "eternal life" for the righteous, "eternal punishment" for the hopelessly impenitent. And this is the last word on the subject from the mouth of him who shall himself be the Judge and pronounce the final verdict. Here the curtain falls, and all beyond is

hidden from our sight. Fortunately, however, our Lord's infinite mercy, his treatment of little babes, his prayer of pardon for his own murderers, permit us to hope and believe that the overwhelming majority of the human race, for which he shed his precious blood, will ultimately be saved.

But now to the patristic views. Dr. Pusey claims all the Apostolic Fathers,—Clement, Ignatius, Barnabas, and Hermas,—for the doctrine of everlasting punishment; but their views on this and nearly all other subjects are rather vague and indefinite, and cannot be pressed except as tending in that direction. They were not theologians, and their epistles were purely practical, urging the readers to holy living.

Justin Martyr (d. 166) is the first Christian thinker who brought considerable philosophical (especially Platonic) culture into the Church, and applied it to the defence of Christianity against the abuses, slanders, and persecutions of the heathen. His position is disputed. Petavius, Dr. Edward Beecher, and Canon Farrar, claim him for the theory of annihilation of the wicked. It is true that he rejects, with several ante-Nicene fathers, the Platonic theory of the intrinsic or metaphysical immortality of the soul, and holds to a conditional immortality which depends upon the will of God, and which may be forfeited. In the Dialogue with Trypho, he puts into the mouth of the old Christian, by whom he was converted on the sea-shore, the sentence:

"Such as are worthy to see God die no more, but others shall undergo punishment *as long as it shall please Him that they shall exist and be punished.*" \*

But in twelve other passages he speaks of the fate of the wicked in a way that is inconsistent with annihilation.

"Briefly," he says, † "what we look for, and have learned from Christ, and what we teach, is as follows. Plato said to the same effect, that Rhadamanthus and Minos would punish the wicked when they came to them; we say that the same thing will take place; but that the Judge will be Christ, and that their souls will be united to the same bodies, and will undergo an *eternal* punishment (αἰώνιον κόλασιν); and *not*, as Plato said, for a period of only a thousand years (χιλίωνταετη περίοδον)."

In another place ‡: "We believe that all who live wickedly and do not repent, will be punished in eternal fire" (ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρί).

We cannot on this account charge him with inconsistency. As a philosopher, he could believe either in the mortality or immortality of the soul as he made it depend on the will of the Creator. As a

\* *Dial.*, a. s. Comp. the note of Otto, *Justini Op.* II., 26. † *Apol.* I., 8. ‡ *Apol.* I., 21.



believer in the Scriptures, he believed in the immortality of the good and bad, God choosing to reward the one and to punish the other for ever and ever. His psychology *might* have landed him in the annihilation theory, but his theology prevented it.

The same may be said of Irenæus (d. about 200) who has likewise been claimed for annihilation, and even for restoration. Farrar charges him with inconsistent wavering between these two theories. He denies, like Justin Martyr, Tatian, Arnobius, and others the inherent and necessary immortality of the soul, and makes the continuance in life, as well as life itself, a gift of God. He reasons that whatever is created had a beginning, and therefore *may* have an end. Whether it will or not, depends upon man's gratitude or ingratitude to the Creator. He who preserves the gift of life and is grateful to the Giver, shall receive length of days for ever and ever (*accipiet et in saeculum saeculi longitudinem dierum*); but he who casts it away and becomes ungrateful to his Maker, "*deprives himself of perseverance forever*" (*ipse se privat in saeculum saeculi perseverantia*. *Adv. Hær.* II., 34, § 3). From this passage, which exists only in the imperfect Latin version, Dodwell, Beecher, and Farrar infer that Irenæus taught annihilation, and interpret *perseverantia* to mean continued existence; but Massuet (see his note in Stieren's Ed., I., 415) and Pusey (p. 183) explain *perseverantia* of continuance in *real* life in God, or eternal happiness. The passage, it must be admitted, is not clear, for *longitudo dierum* and *perseverantia* are not identical, nor is *perseverantia* equivalent to *existentia* or *vita*. In Book iv., 20, 7, Irenæus says that Christ "became the dispenser of the paternal grace for the benefit of man, . . . lest man, falling away from God altogether, should *cease to exist*" (*cessaret esse*); but he adds, "the life of man consists in beholding God" (*vita autem hominis visio Dei*). In the fourth Pfaffian Fragment ascribed to him (Stieren, I., 889), he says that Christ "will come at the end of time to destroy all evil (*εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι πᾶν τὸ κακόν*) and to reconcile all things (*εἰς τὸ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα*, from Col. i. 20), that there may<sup>be</sup> an end of all impurity." This passage, like 1 Cor. xv. 28, and Col. i. 20, looks toward universal restoration rather than annihilation, but admits, like the Pauline passages, of an interpretation consistent with eternal punishment. (See the long note in Stieren.) We must depend, then, upon such passages in Irenæus which leave no room for doubt as to his real conviction. In paraphrasing the apostolic rule of faith, he mentions eternal punishment, and in another place he accepts as certain truth that "eternal fire is prepared for sinners" because "the Lord openly

affirms, and the other Scriptures prove" it.\* Ziegler† comes to the same conclusion, that Irenæus teaches the eternity of punishment in several passages, or presupposes it, and quotes III., 23, 3; IV., 27, 4; 28, 1; IV., 33, 11; 39, 4; 40, 1 and 2.

Hippolytus of Rome, a pupil of Irenæus and the most prominent and fertile writer in the early part of the third century, in his recently discovered *Philosophumena*, or *Refutation of all Heresies*, agrees with Irenæus. He approves the eschatology of the Pharisees as regards the resurrection, the immortality of the soul, the judgment and conflagration, everlasting life, and "everlasting punishment"; and in another place he speaks of "the rayless scenery of gloomy Tartarus, where never shines a beam from the radiating voice of the Word."

According to Tertullian, the future punishment "will continue, not for a long time, but forever." It does credit to his feelings when he says that no innocent man can rejoice in the punishment of the guilty, however just, but will grieve rather.

Cyprian thinks that the fear of hell is the only ground of the fear of death to any one, and that we should have before our eyes the fear of God and eternal punishment much more than the fear of men and brief suffering.

The Latin fathers of the Nicene and post-Nicene ages are almost unanimous on this subject, especially Jerome and Augustine. There is no dispute about their opinion.

2. The final ANNIHILATION of the wicked removes all discord from the universe of God at the expense of the natural immortality of the soul, and on the ground that sin will ultimately destroy the sinner, and thus destroy itself.

This theory is attributed to Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and others, who believed only in a conditional immortality which may be forfeited; but, as we have just seen, their utterances in favor of eternal punishment are too clear and strong to justify the inference which they *might* have drawn from their psychology.

Arnobius, however, an apologist of the third century, strongly expressed belief in actual annihilation; for he speaks of certain souls that "are engulfed and burned up, or hurled down, and, having been reduced to nothing, vanish in the frustration of a perpetual destruction."

In recent times Dr. R. Rothe has revived this theory. He holds

\* *Adv. Haer.* III., 4, 1; II., 28, 7; see Pusey, pp. 177-181.

† *Irenæus*, p. 312.

that the wicked, after their conversion has become a moral impossibility, will be annihilated.\* Nitzsch intimates that they will become a perpetual ruin. In England the annihilation theory has gained currency in connection with the view that immortality is a gift of grace to believers in Christ. It is advocated by Edward White in his *Life in Christ*.

3. The APOKATASTASIS, or final restoration of all rational beings to holiness and happiness. This seems to be the most satisfactory solution of the problem of sin, and secures perfect harmony in the creation, but it does violence to freedom which involves the power to perpetuate resistance, and it ignores the hardening nature of sin and the ever-increasing difficulty of repentance. If conversion and salvation are an ultimate necessity, they lose their moral character and moral aim.

Origen, the great light of the Eastern Church in the middle of the third century, was the first Christian Universalist. He taught from Platonic premises a final restoration of fallen men and angels. He set forth this view with becoming modesty, as a speculation rather than a dogma, in his youthful work, *De Principiis* (written before 231), which was made known in the West by the loose version of Rufinus (398). In his later writings there are only faint traces of it. He seems at least to have modified it, and exempted Satan from final repentance and salvation; but this would leave a discord in the moral universe and defeat the end of the Universalist theory. He also obscured it by his notion of the necessary mutability of free will, and the constant succession of fall and redemption.

Universal salvation (including Satan) was clearly taught by Gregory of Nyssa, a profound thinker of the school of Origen (d. 395), and, from an exegetical stand-point, by the eminent Antiochian divines, Diodorus of Tarsus (d. 394), and Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 429), and many Nestorian bishops. Chrysostom, a pupil and admirer of Diodorus and friend of Theodore, usually employs the popular language of the Church, but explains I Cor. xv. 28 in a way that looks toward an apokatastasis as a final possibility. In the West, also, at the time of Augustine (d. 430), there were, as he says, "multitudes who did not believe in eternal punishment." But the view of Origen was rejected by Epiphanius, Jerome, and Augustine, who strongly taught the doctrine of everlasting punishment. Universalism was at last condemned as one of the Origenistic errors under the Emperor Justinian (543). Pusey contends (pp. 125-137) that Origen

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\* *Dogmatik*, II., 335.



was condemned by the fifth Œcumenical Council, 553; but Hefele conclusively proves that the fifteen anathematisms against Origen were passed by a *local* Synod of Constantinople in 543, under Mennas.\* The same view was before advocated by Dupin, Walch, and Döllinger.

Since that time the doctrine of the final salvation of all men has been regarded as a heresy, except by the Universalists, who make it one of their three articles of faith. It is, however, tolerated in some orthodox Protestant Churches (*e. g.*, the Lutheran, Episcopal, and Congregational) as a private speculative opinion or charitable hope.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

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\* See his *Conciliengesch.*, second ed., Vol. II., 859 *seq.*

#### IV.

### PRESBYTERIAN WORSHIP.

THE word *Liturgy* in the Greek literally means *work for the people*, or public work. In the Greek States it first designated a burdensome public duty which the richer citizens discharged at their own expense. Then it expressed any work of a public kind. In the Septuagint version of the Old Testament it was applied to the worship or public service of God. In the New Testament this is the exclusive use of the word. Thus Luke i. 23: "It came to pass when the days of his (Zacharias') *ministration* were fulfilled"; Acts xiii. 12: "As they *ministered* to the Lord"; Rom. xv. 16: "That I should be the *minister* of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God"; Heb. viii. 2, 6: "A *minister* of the sanctuary"; "Now hath he obtained a more excellent *ministry*"; Heb. ix. 21: "All the vessels of the *ministry*"; Heb. x. 11: "Every priest standeth daily *ministering* and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices." Because acts of charity for others, and especially for Christian brethren, are a part of the service of God, the word is also applied to them. Rom. xv. 27: "If the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to *minister* unto them in carnal things"; 2 Cor. ix. 12: "The administration of this *service* not only supplieth the want of the saints, but is abundant also by many thanksgivings unto God"; Phil. ii. 17, 25, 30: "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and *service* of your faith I joy and rejoice with you all"; "He that *ministered* to my wants"; "Because for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life, to supply your lack of *service* toward me." As engaged in the service of God for the saints, angels are described by the word. Heb. i. 7, 14: "Who maketh his angels spirits, and his *ministers* a flame of fire"; "Are they not all *ministering* spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?" And it is once appropriated to civil magistrates, because properly looked at, they are in God's service: "They are God's *ministers*" (*leitourγοι*.) These are the only instances in which the word *Liturgy* in any of its grammatical forms is used in the New Testament.

By a very natural transition the term which thus designated the

service of God was afterward applied to the way in which the service was performed and the form of words in which it was rendered, so that the lexicon now defines it: "In a general sense the established formulas for public worship or the entire ritual for public worship in those churches which use written forms. But in a restricted sense among Roman Catholics, the mass; and in the Anglican Church, the communion service."

In the earlier and in the modern sense of the word, all public worship must be, in a greater or less degree, liturgical. "There may be a ritual of form without a form of words"; and forms of words cannot be avoided or safely rejected by any one. "Some form there must be in all edifying worship." It is in one sense true, as President R. W. Hitchcock claimed in his Philadelphia Council paper, that "The Westminster Directory concedes the liturgical idea"; though in another, as Dr. Shields says, it "differs from a liturgy in being a prescription of thoughts rather than of words, of rules rather than of materials of devotion."

But in common usage the word has a very narrow and restricted meaning. "The responsive element is the popular feature in a liturgy," says Dr. Schaff; and that is the feature which is particularly thought of when a service is now spoken of as being liturgical; though, as we shall show, some of the best books and writers that are claimed as liturgical repudiate this feature. The responsive element again manifests itself in a twofold form: the alternate reading by the minister and the congregation of the verses of the Scriptures, or at least of the Psalms; and the recitation by the people of prescribed forms of prayer, under the leadership of the minister; to which is also added the recitation of the "Apostles' Creed" as their confession of faith. Connected with this is the observance of certain festival days, at least Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter, for which special liturgical services are provided.

It is proposed in this article to consider this question: Is a Liturgy which prescribes written forms of prayer to be recited, in whole or in part, by the congregation, in unison or alternation with the minister; which provides for responsive readings of the Scriptures; and which observes what are called the great Christian festivals; consistent with or permissible in Presbyterian worship?

#### GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

The essential idea of worship is that of formal communion between God and his people—a communion between rational spirits in sympa-



thetic participation; in reciprocating rational address. The Word, read or preached, is God speaking to his hearing people; prayer is from beseeching suppliants to a gracious Hearer; song is from adoring hearts to a present, condescending majesty. Any act done in the name of God, in the service of God, in the recognized presence of God, is properly a religious act; it is worship, however, only as it embraces a conscious address to God, or a conscious devout listening to him as directly addressing in person his worshipping subjects. *Thou and I* is an essential in it.

The reading of the Scriptures in worship is the communication of God's thoughts to the intelligence of his worshipping people; hence it cannot properly be performed in the movements peculiar to song, as by intonation or chanting on the one hand, or on the other by a multiplicity of voices. Such treatment of the Word is irrational—an offence against the reason and nature of things, and consequently offensive to sound taste and a hindrance to the designed effect of this part of worship, which can be none other than to "give the sense" of God's Word to the people.

The sermon is, in worship, the address of God, representatively through the convictions, the emotions, the words of the preacher, to his people. It must be ranked as the leading part in worship, since in the meeting of God with his people it must be what God has to say which constitutes the commanding and controlling feature. Therefore it should be shaped to direct and regulate all the parts of worship.

Prayer must be conceived and offered as pure address to God—reverential, elevated in thought, and grave in expression—never low or flippant or chatty; expressive of the feelings and thoughts common to the congregation of worshippers.

The essential idea in all admissible song in the worship of God is, that it be expressive of sentiments animating the breasts of the body of worshippers. Any song which is not so expressive, all "voluntaries," in which the body of worshippers cannot express the actual sentiments they have or ought to have, lacks the very essence of worship. There is, however, a place for music, vocal and instrumental, as preparatory and auxiliary to worship.

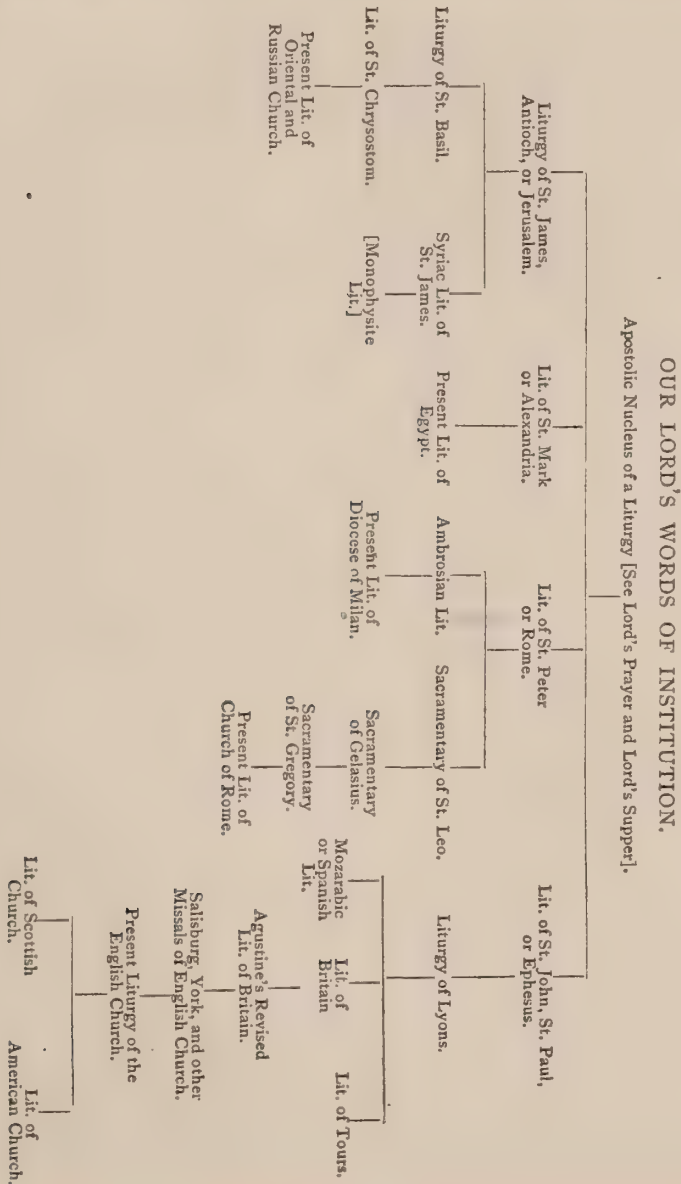
This is, we think, a sound statement of the general principles of Presbyterian worship.\*

#### THE NEW TESTAMENT NON-LITURGICAL.

It is scarcely necessary to say to those with whom we are specially concerned in this discussion, that there is not, in the New Testament,

\* Prof. Day, of New Haven, had an article in *The New Englander* for January, 1882, which expressly presented these principles.

the slightest trace of any of the elements of a liturgy, as we have limited the word. But for the purpose of emphasizing the utter baselessness of the claim that is still in a few quarters, as it once was in more, made for inspired authority for the full-fledged books that rule in some branches of the Christian Church, it is worth while to gaze upon the following, which has been drawn out by liturgists as the genealogical table of the principal Liturgies now used in the Churches:



That is as seriously amusing as is the old Hindoo teaching concerning the foundations which support the earth. It will be observed that the only apostolic "nucleus" which is claimed for a liturgy is found in the words with which our Lord directed prayer and instituted the Supper. Glance a moment at those words.

The Lord's Prayer appears in two places in the New Testament. Put them side by side:

Matt. vi. 6-13.

But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thine inner chamber, and having shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall recompense thee. And ~~in~~ praying use not vain repetitions, as the Gentiles do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him. After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil *one*.

Luke xi. 1-4.

And it came to pass, as he was praying in a certain place, that when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples. And he said unto them, When ye pray, say,

Father,  
hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come.

Give us day by day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And bring us not into temptation.

(R. V.)

These two directions were given on two entirely different occasions. Luke omits the prayer from his report of the Sermon on the Mount, a fact utterly inconsistent with the claim which high liturgists make for the prayer. In the place in which he does record it—while in substance it is almost the same—it is, in form, very different from that which it wears in Matthew. "That this is not a requisition of punctilious adherence to the form, much less of its exclusive use," says Dr. J. A. Alexander, on Matt. vi. 9, "is clear from the existence of two equally authoritative forms, a circumstance which has occasioned much embarrassment to scrupulous liturgists." It would be as proper in geometry to say that a cube and a square are the same form, as to claim that these two prayers were designed, not as suggestive models, but as a form. If either is to be received as an authoritative verbal prescription for perpetual and unvaried use, it would certainly seem that the form preserved by Luke should be maintained. His introductory statement, "When ye pray, say," has a more iron-clad verbal force than Matthew's, "After this manner [or thus] pray ye." And yet Luke's form is the one which liturgists do not use. Strictly, too, the prayer is given in Matthew as an individual private prayer for the "inner chamber," not "common," social, church prayer. Add to these considerations the fact that no example of the use of it, or of quotation from it, appears in the New Testament or in the apostolic



age, and the argument which has been drawn from it for prescribed forms of prayer to be read and recited in public worship vanishes with the Indian world-supporting elephants and tortoises.\*

We have four inspired accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper. They all tell us what Jesus did and what he commanded to be done until he shall come again; but no form of words is prescribed for the observance of the command. The Church has taken the narrative-words of the Master and consecrated them for repeated and perpetual use, but no direction was given that such should be the case; and indeed the most liturgical of the churches does not follow the acts or words of the Redeemer in the service of the institution.

The baptism precept is the nearest approach to a prescribed formula that the New Testament contains; but even that does not positively lay down the words of administration. In the Old Testament a form for the Benediction does appear; but there is no one inflexible form for it in the New Testament.

The only thing that looks like an oral response from the people, in the worship of the apostolic churches, is found in the "Amen" of 1 Cor. xiv. 16. It was the custom in the Jewish synagogue for the people to respond to the prayers by audibly saying "Amen"; and it would seem that this had passed over into the Christian congregations. Paul's reference to the practice seems to be an indorsement of it.

#### IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

In "The Presbyterian exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer," presented at the Savoy Conference, A.D. 1661, this assertion was made:

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\* Augustine (*De Magistro*) declared that Jesus did not intend to teach his disciples what *words* they should use in prayer, but what *things* they should pray for; and understands it to be meant chiefly as a directory for *secret* and *mental* prayer.

We have been surprised to see the assertion from Prof. S. M. Hopkins in one of our denominational papers, that "Jesus himself prescribed a form of prayer for his disciples, '*After this manner,*' said he, '*pray ye when ye pray, SAY, Father, hallowed be thy name.*'" But where did the Professor get that sentence? What right has he, when the very question is one of form, to take scraps from two different narratives, in two different documents, of two different occasions, to make such an intensified sentence? And if we have been commanded in prayer to use specific words, why does he not settle, in his own mind, what those words were, and adhere to them? As it is in the Liturgy which he has issued, he is utterly self-inconsistent. He repeats and repeats the Lord's Prayer, but he adopts the form neither of Matthew nor of Luke, neither of the authorized nor the Revised version, nor the one which he says is "a part of our symbols," and "printed in our Confession of Faith"; nor does he adhere to any one form. In one place he has it, "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one. Amen." In another, it is: "Our Father *who* art in heaven." In another: "*forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors; and deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever.*" In another, "the glory, for ever *and ever.*"

"As to that passage in his majesty's commission where we are authorized and required to compare the present liturgy with the most ancient liturgies which have been used in the Church in the present and most primitive times, we have in obedience to his majesty's commission, made inquiry, but cannot find any records of known credit concerning any entire forms of liturgy within the first three hundred years, which are confessed to be as the most primitive, so the purest ages of the Church, nor any impositions of liturgies for some hundreds of years after. We find, indeed, some liturgical forms fathered upon St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Ambrose, but we have not seen any copies of them, but such as give us sufficient evidence to conclude them either wholly spurious, or so interpolated, that we cannot make a judgment which in them hath any primitive authority."

The investigations, pursued through the two centuries which have passed since the Savoy Conference, have discovered nothing to overturn that assertion. It is not necessary to enter upon a wearisome citation and examination of the passages in ancient writers which bear upon the question. The confessions of a dignitary of the Established Church of England, who has made one of the latest contributions to the discussion, will be sufficient. The Rev. G. A. Jacobs, D.D., Head Master of Christ's Hospital, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament," writes (pp. 217-231):

"Since forms of prayers were in use in the Jewish Synagogues, and in some heathen religious services, a scrupulous adherence to the words of a sacred formula was considered essential, the churches, whether of Jewish or Gentile Christians, could not have been unprepared for, or naturally averse to, prescribed and settled formularies of devotion for their own use. But did they, in fact, employ them? . . . Were the public *prayers* in the apostolic churches set forms, known beforehand, and repeated on every occasion, like our own? . . . All the evidence directly deducible from the New Testament, is against the use of such formularies in the apostolic age. Nor throughout the second century is any reliable testimony to be found indicative of any considerable alteration in this respect. On the contrary, the prayers of the Church, described by Justin Martyr, seem to have depended upon the ability and discretion of the officiating minister, as much as they did in the preceding century. And none of the passages sometimes cited from other patristic authors of this period are at all at variance with Justin's account."\*

"It is not until the third century that any evidence at all, clear and conclusive, of the use of settled forms of prayer in Christian churches is to be found in contemporary authorities. And even in that century, although the evidence *is* conclusive as far as it goes, it does not make it certain that other prayers suggested by particular circumstances or occasions were altogether excluded. In the fourth century several distinct liturgies are found clearly established in different churches, and having been then committed to writing, some of the most celebrated of them are still preserved. This, therefore, very briefly expressed, is the sum and substance of the contemporary patristic testimony; and it points us conclusively to the third and fourth centuries, and not to the apostolic age, for the distinct appearance and growth to maturity of formal liturgies in Christian churches. . . . The 'times and seasons' observed as sacred in the apostolic church will next demand a brief notice, to complete our view of its religious worship. And here it must be at once acknowledged that there is in the New Testament no trace whatever of any of those annual days of hallowed commemoration which are now celebrated in Christian churches. However seemly, grateful, and edifying we may justly esteem it to mark the anniversaries of our Lord's birth, death, and resurrection with other days of special import in the Christian year, they were not distinguished in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the primitive church, but are of a later and unapostolic origin."

The development and extension of the liturgical idea, once begun, were speedy and complete. It grew with the decay of the spiritual life and of an intelligent and educated ministry; with the overshadowing advance of hierarchies; and with the increasing leaven of sac-

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\* Dr. Jacobs cites and examines "all the evidences about liturgical forms in the second century which the diligence of the learned has been able to collect."

ramentarianism. When the Reformation came, liturgies were full-blown and at the pinnacle of their power.

#### THE REFORMED.

The churches of the Reformation did not at once break free from the liturgical thraldom.

"With the English and Lutheran reformers, the object seems to have been to make as few changes in existing forms as possible. . . . It is to be said for the Reformers that they seem to have acted in view of the existing circumstances of the communities by which they were surrounded, and from one of them, the most eminent of them all, Luther, we have the distinct disavowal of all wish and expectation that his work, in this respect, should be imposed upon other churches or continued in his own any longer than it was found for edification."\*

The Calvinistic liturgies differed from the Lutheran in two important respects: "the absence of responsive portions and the discretion conferred upon the officiator in the performance of public worship." To understand what a skeleton liturgy was that of Calvin, which is so often referred to, observe its terms:

"On week-days the minister uses such words in prayer *as may seem to him good*, suiting his prayer to the occasion, and the matter whereof he treats in preaching. For the Lord's Day in the morning is commonly used the Form ensuing. After the reading of the appointed chapters of Holy Scripture, the Ten Commandments are read. Then the minister begins thus": [Invocation; Exhortation; Confession]. "This done, shall be sung in the congregation a Psalm; then the minister shall begin afresh to pray, asking of God the grace of his Holy Spirit, to the end that his word may be faithfully expounded, to the honor of his name, and to the edification of the Church; and that it be received in such humility and obedience as are becoming. *The form thereof is at the discretion of the minister.*" "At the end of the sermon, the minister having made exhortation to prayer, beginneth thus" [Intercession: for Rulers: for Pastors: for all conditions of men: for afflicted persons: for persecuted Christians: for the congregation: The Lord's Prayer: The Creed: The Blessing.]"

Would that be called a liturgy now?

John Knox also prepared one, which was introduced into Scotland. "It differs from that of Calvin in that it more clearly leaves to the minister officiating to decide whether he shall use any form of prayer given or one of his own compositions, extemporaneously or otherwise." Its repeated directions are:

"When the congregation is assembled at the hour appointed, the *minister* useth one of these two confessions, *or like in effect* [models therefor] exhorting the *people* diligently to examine themselves, *following in their hearts the tenor of his words*. . . . This done the *minister* readeth from the Holy Scriptures; the *people* then *sing* a Psalm all together in a plain tune; which ended, the *minister* *prayeth* for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, *as the same shall move his heart*, and so proceedeth to the sermon, using after this prayer the following *or such like*. . . . Then the *people* *sing* a psalm; which ended, the minister pronounceth one of these blessings and so the congregation departeth. . . . It shall not be necessary for the minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with some manner of confession, to proceed to the sermon; which being ended, he either useth the prayer for all estates before mentioned, or else *prayeth as the Spirit of God shall move his heart*, framing the same according to the time and manner which he hath entreated of."

\* Prof. C. Walker, of the P. E. Theological Seminary of Alexandria, Va., in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, V., 462.



The distinction between the Lutheran and the Calvinistic forms, and the absence in the latter of the responsive element from the prayers and from the reading of the Scriptures, should be borne in mind as having an important bearing on this discussion. Dr. Charles Baird, in his very interesting "Eutaxia" thus states the difference:

"The first is that of an *imposed* ritual, *responsive* in its character, and prescribed to the *minister and people* for their common use. Such is the practice of the Anglican and Lutheran communities. Another method is that of a *discretionary* ritual, *NOT responsive*, and supplied to *the minister alone* for his guidance as to the matter and manner of worship; leaving freedom of variation, as to the latter, according to his judgment. Such was the usage of the Church of Scotland, for the first century of her existence; such is the practice of every Reformed Church on the continent of Europe at the present time." He adds in a note: "In France and Switzerland but few copies of the Liturgies in use are printed, and they are to be procured, as a general thing, only by ministers."

This is not liturgical, according to the common impression which the word now makes and according to its use in this discussion.

#### THE WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY.

*The Directory* of the Westminster Assembly made a further and an advancing departure from the strict idea of a liturgy in words, while adhering to the prescription of an order of service. The order which it gave for the ordinary Sabbath service was: Prayer of Invocation; reading of the Word; singing of a Psalm; Prayer; Sermon; Prayer; Psalm; Benediction. That order was positively prescribed. "The minister is" to do thus and thus. As to the reading of the Word, it was assigned exclusively to the minister, no provision being made for responsive reading by the people either of the Psalms or of any other part of the Bible; though "it is the duty of Christians to praise God publicly, by singing of Psalms together in the congregation," . . . and "that the whole congregation may join therein, every one that can read is to have a Psalm-book." As to what and how much should be read the provisions were:

"How large a portion shall be read at once is left to the wisdom of the minister; but it is convenient, that ordinarily one chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the chapters are short, or the coherence of matter requireth it. It is requisite that all the canonical books be read over, in order that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the Scriptures, and ordinarily where the reading in either Testament endeth on one Lord's day, it is to begin the next. We commend also the more frequent reading of such Scriptures as he that readeth shall think best for edification of his hearers, as the book of Psalms, and such like."

For all the regular and ordinary prayers, very full topical forms were drawn up: "to this effect." It was also added: "Because the prayer which Christ taught his disciples is not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it also be used in the prayers of the Church." Nowhere, however, was

it recognized as proper for the people to join audibly in the prayers, nor was any responsive "Amen" suggested. The administration of the sacraments was provided for between the singing of a third Psalm and the Benediction. Baptism was to be accompanied by some words of instruction touching the sacrament and of admonition and exhortation, in which "the minister is to use his own liberty and godly wisdom"; the exact words of administration were prescribed; and the service was to be concluded with a prayer "to this or the like purpose." The Supper was to be prefaced by a short exhortation, warning, and invitation, and the reading of the words of institution, and by sanctifying and blessing the elements with prayer, "to this effect"; and was to be closed with an exhortation and a prayer of thanksgiving. The marriage ceremony consisted of a prayer, instruction, the contract in specific words to be used by the parties, with right hands clasped in each other, the declaration of the two as husband and wife, and prayer. No service for the burial of the dead was prepared. "Praying, reading, and singing thereat," it was declared, "should be laid aside," because "they had been grossly abused"; but it "was very convenient" for the minister to put the concourse "in remembrance of their duty." Finally: "There is no day commanded in Scripture to be kept holy under the gospel but the Lord's day, which is the Christian Sabbath. Festival days, vulgarly called *Holy-days*, having no warrant in the Word of God, are to be discontinued." But the observance of lawfully-appointed fast and thanksgiving days was provided for.

As to the rules which governed them the Westminster divines wrote in words that should be remembered:

"Our care hath been to hold forth such things as are of divine institution in every ordinance; and other things we have endeavored to set forth according to the rules of Christian prudence, agreeable to the general rules of the Word of God; our meaning therein being only that the general heads, the sense and scope of the prayers, and other parts of public worship, being known to all, there may be a consent of all the churches in those things that contain the substance of the service and worship of God: and the ministers may be hereby directed in their administrations to keep like soundness in doctrine and prayer, and may, if need be, have some help and furniture, and yet so as they become not hereby slothful and negligent in stirring up the gifts of Christ in them; but that each one, by meditation, by taking heed to himself and the flock of God committed to him, and by wise observing the ways of divine providence, may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with farther or other materials of prayer and exhortation as shall be needful upon all occasions."

As we understand, this Directory, unaltered, continues to be the law of all the Scotch and Irish (and English?) Presbyterian Churches, and of the United Presbyterian and the Covenanter Churches of this country. It was also substantially adopted by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, in the draft made in 1788, and amended and ratified in 1821. Some important modifications, however, were then made in it.

## THE AMERICAN DIRECTORY.

The portion of the Scriptures to be read is left entirely to the discretion of every minister, with the declaration that in each service he ought to read at least one chapter; but the provisions for the continuous reading from both Testaments and for the frequent readings of the Psalms, are omitted. More singing is recommended than had been usual in most of the churches. The order of service given is a short prayer; a psalm or hymn; a full and comprehensive prayer; hymn; sermon; prayer; psalm; collection; benediction. This is, however, only drawn out as seeming "very proper." Topics for the prayers are summarized, but the use of set or fixed forms of prayer either exclusively or partially, on the one hand, and "mean, irregular, or extravagant effusions," on the other, are guarded against by the declaration that it is the indispensable duty of every minister to make general preparation for this part of his duty before entering his office, and also special preparation before each service, as carefully as he prepares for preaching in general and for each sermon. "Prayer and praise," too, are reclaimed as "the more important duties." But the use of the Lord's Prayer in the public service is not recommended; nor is the recitation of any creed directed or suggested, though it is declared that children should be taught to read and repeat the Catechism, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. A fuller and more formal marriage service is provided. The declaration against festival days is dropped.

This "Directory for Worship" is, in its true scope and meaning, binding on all the ministers and congregations of the Presbyterian Church.\* It is true that it is not specifically received in the ordination vows of ministers and elders, but it is a part of the Constitution of the Church, and as a part of that organic law is, with the "Book of Discipline," which is also unmentioned in the ordination service, as really binding in its true intent as the Confession and the Form of Government. It is important, then, to understand exactly what it requires and what it permits.

It contains no iron-clad order of service. The order which does appear in it is not mandatory, though it is declared to be "very proper," and should, therefore, not lightly be departed from. On this and on the other points to which we shall refer, much may be said in favor of a strict adherence to it, on the ground that there should be a uniformity of worship among the churches of the same denomination, so

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\* Dr. Charles Baird, in his "Eutaxia," p. 259, concedes: "The rigid observance of that order is incumbent upon every minister who officiates in the Presbyterian Church."



that those who remove from one to another, or casual worshippers in one from others, may be enabled, without any jar, to participate in the services. No doubt the Prayer-Book is, in this way, a great comfort to Episcopalians. One hymn book, used in all our congregations, would be a similar comfort to our people. We cannot but feel that the prevalence of so many different books, and the refusal of so many congregations to recognize the authority of the General Assembly in preparing a hymnal, do harm to the devotional services of our denomination. On the same principle, we think one general order of service should prevail in all our congregations. But there is no violation of the Directory by those who open with the Long Metre Doxology, or by those who have four or five exercises of song, or by similar transpositions of the order. A large liberty is allowed, and in fact prevails without any censure being expressed or felt in any quarter.

Our Directory does not, as the Westminster Directory did, specifically recommend the reading from each Testament at every service, in course. The whole matter is left to the discretion of every minister, with the suggestion that "at least one chapter" should be read. No one will say that this shuts out the old plan, which really prevails to a large extent among us. Would that it were the universal custom! We would favor, indeed, the recommendation by the General Assembly of a table which, in all the churches that should follow it, would give the same portions of the inspired Word on the same day, and go consecutively through the two books in due time.\*

In the matter of the prayers as well as the order of them, a very large liberty is also allowed to the minister. In sermonizing he can either write and read, or memorize, or extemporize; so he can in his prayers. Whichever he can do best, and whichever will most decently and acceptably lead the devotions of his particular congregation, is within his liberty. He may write all his prayers; he may weave into them the great prayers of the ages that are so highly extolled; he may even keep them largely the same from Sabbath to Sabbath, leaving room for special additions adapted to the changing circumstances of his people; and if his congregation are satisfied, no one else will interfere with him. It would, indeed, be widely considered against the genius of our system to read the prayers closely from a manuscript; but there is no law against it. There is no law against a pastor preaching occasionally the sermons of some of the

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\* The "Table of Scriptural Readings for Divine Service on every Lord's Day Throughout the Year," which Prof. Hopkins gives from the "Book of Common Order" of the Scotch "Church Service Society," is capital. We wish it could be taken from the rest of his book, published in leaflets, and used in our pulpits.

masters of pulpit eloquence, if his people approve, though there is an unwritten law under which he should make the authorship known. As to the frequent use of the Lord's Prayer, its use at every service indeed, we do not know that in our denomination a peep would be heard against it, nor would any one propose to interfere with the recitation at every service of one of the short Scriptural creeds as a confession of the faith of the worshippers.\*

For special services—baptism, the Lord's Supper, marriage, funerals, ordinations and installations, laying of corner-stones, dedications—every minister can draw up his own formulas, or use those which are published by others, adhering, of course, to the general principles of worship, and to the special directions and suggestions concerning each service in the Form of Government and the Directory. Recognizing this liberty, the General Assembly has repeatedly refused even to *recommend* any formulas. We believe it would be well if a series of such formulas could be prepared, as was the Hymnal, by a prudent committee, and sent out with the Hymnal, and clothed with only the same authority.

The Westminster ostracism of festival days other than the Sabbath, having been expunged from our Directory, it may be claimed with some force, that the recognition of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, is not under ban, especially as the Calvinistic churches of Europe observe them. Certainly the minister who on the Sabbath, which custom has associated with the great facts of the Gospel history, specially adapts his services to them, will not be interfered with.†

But the responsive element in the prayers or in the reading of the Psalter or any other portion of the divine Word, is utterly alien to the genius of the Presbyterian system, as it is exhibited in the history of the different branches of the Church, in the words of our Constitu-

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\* It should be understood, however, that the commonly called "Apostles' Creed" is not one of the standards which Presbyterian ministers accept at their ordination. If it were so, in the form in which it is published in our books, Prof. Hopkins and we should both be dealt with by our Presbyteries for declaring that we do not believe, and for omitting, "he descended into hell." The Professor rejects that clause from the Creed, as he publishes it. And we utter a very loud and hearty *Amen* to him in that. The clause is not true in any Scriptural meaning of *hell* or *hades*, and no Presbyterian congregation should be asked to say, "I believe" it.

† Prayer-meetings and Sabbath-schools have sprung up since the Directory was adopted. The services in them cannot but be of a freer cast than those of the more formal congregation, which the Directory had in view. Especially in the schools the class instruction must be more of the kindergarten. But it seems to us that the services of worship with which a Presbyterian school is opened and closed under the direction of the superintendent, should be as closely as possible like those of the Church. Responsive readings therein are to be regretted. The plea that they must be resorted to in order to hold the attention of the children will not do for a service that need not extend beyond ten minutes. Of course such an exercise as the learning in concert of the Ten Commandments or the Beatitudes, or the reciting of the Catechism is not open to this exception. If it is the intention to make the Church also liturgical, or to train the children up for some liturgical church, the "Order of Sunday-school Service" which is found in Professor Hopkins' Liturgy may profitably be used.

tion, and in the decisions of our General Assembly. Observe the contrast between ch. iii. and ch. iv. of the "Form of Government": "It is the duty of Christians to praise God by singing psalms or hymns publicly in the church as also privately in the family. . . . The whole congregation should be furnished with books, and ought to join in this part of worship." That is *the* part of the service in which it is the prerogative of the people vocally to join. Whether they shall be led by a precentor or a choir of precentors, and, by either, with or without an organ, is immaterial. It may not be a violation of our rules for a choir to introduce the service with voluntaries, or to intersperse them in it, in addition to the regular services;\* but predominantly the congregation should be permitted and encouraged to sing. But "the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the congregation is a part of the public worship of God, and ought to be performed by the ministers and teachers." And while psalm and hymn books have always been provided and circulated, no forms of prayer have been, nor is there any intimation that the people are vocally to join in, or respond to, any part of them; and that form of prayer which all should be taught and know, and could recite, has been carefully excluded from our Directory. Hence the General Assembly of 1869 (O. S.),

"Resolved, That the practice of responsive reading of the Scriptures in the public worship of the sanctuary is unwise in itself, and especially dangerous in this day, when it becomes the Church to withstand the tendency, so strongly manifested in many places, to a liturgical and ritualistic service."

Stronger still the reunited Assembly of 1874 declared:

"That the practice of responsive service in the public worship of the sanctuary is without warrant in the New Testament, and is unwise and impolitic in view of its inevitable tendency to destroy uniformity in our mode of worship." And "the sessions of the churches are urged to preserve, in act and spirit, the simplicity indicated in the 'Directory for Worship.'"

The Assembly of 1882 did not contravene this. In answer to an overture

"To prepare and publish a 'Book of Forms' for social and public worship, and for special occasions which shall be the authorized service book, to be used whenever a prescribed formula may be desired,"

it wisely said:

"In view of the action of previous General Assemblies on this subject, and the liberty which belongs to each minister to avail himself of the Calvinistic or other ancient devotional forms of the Reformed churches, so far as may seem to him for edification, it is inexpedient for this General Assembly to make any special order in the premises."

The responsive feature is not embraced in those ancient devotional forms of the Reformed churches.

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\*It is a mistake to suppose that the grand hymns of the Christian ages are under ban in our denomination. It has been asserted that there are some of our churches where "Hold the Fort" could be sung, but where the *Te Deum* and *Gloria in Excelsis* would not be allowed. Where? has been asked. The only answer has been the echo—Where? The *Te Deum* and the *Gloria in Excelsis* are in the *Hymnal* which has been sanctioned by our General Assembly, and issued by its Board of Publication.



The recognition in any form of the Lenten season, either in its strictest or loosest mode of observance, is also contra-Presbyterian. "To observe days of fasting and thanksgiving, as the extraordinary dispensations of divine providence may direct, we judge both Scriptural and rational," says our "Directory for Worship"; but the annual forty days' Lenten season is not mentioned in it, as it has no authority in the Word of God nor precedent in the books of worship of any of the historical Presbyterian churches, as far as we know them.

#### A PLEA FOR A LITURGY.

Professor S. M. Hopkins has made a plea for a material modification of our law and custom: such a modification "as shall give the people some (!) share in the devotional services of the sanctuary"; and what that "some share" is, appears from constant repetition to be the responsive reading of the Scriptures, the recitation of the prayers and of a creed, to facilitate which the preparation of full forms of prayers is urged for general and uniform use in our churches, the use to be optional, and room also to be allowed for extemporary prayers in connection with the prepared forms.

This plea is a novelty in American Presbyterian Church History. In its full sweep it scarcely antedates the year 1882.

It is claimed, indeed, that when our "Directory for Worship" was formed, there was a party in the Church, of which Dr. Ashbel Green was a pronounced representative, who favored this innovation. But the explanation which Dr. Green left on record sweeps the claim away:

"The draught of 1787, which formed the basis of the discussion that issued in adopting the Constitution, contained in the 'Directory for the Worship of God,' a *number of forms of prayer*. A question was raised whether these forms should stand as they appeared in the draught, or whether the several parts should be stated *in thesi*, or in a doctrinal form. The latter method was carried by a majority; but *I voted for a retention of the forms*, assigning for reason that an *exemplification of any matter of instruction* I considered as *the best method of making it intelligible and plain*."

We think with Dr. Green; and we could have voted with him for such suggestive and guiding *models* of prayer, without prescribing or even recommending them as *formulas* to be read or recited in the public worship. And this meaning of the plan which Dr. Green favored is manifest from the fact, that after the first prayer for the Lord's day morning, it declared:

"This and all other prayers in the Directory, may and ought to be varied, according to the variety of circumstances which may occur, agreeably to the views and judgment of every minister. Thus the spirit of prayer will be encouraged, and the undue restraint of this spirit, which is the too frequent effect of forms of prayer, will be guarded against."

And the prayer before sermon, which is very long, "was evidently designed," says Dr. Baird, "rather to supply matter of selection than

for use as a whole." And surely that does not involve the responsive element which is made the obtrusive one in the novel plea which we are combating.

"Eutaxia," which was published in 1855 by Dr. Charles Baird, is also cited on the side of the plea. But, as we understand Dr. Baird, he opposed the responses and showed conclusively that the Calvinistic Reformers and the Calvinistic Churches rejected them. He says that

"the Scriptural idea of public worship is clearly that of a service *prescribed* in its various parts and features, but *free* in the filling up of those general outlines" (p. 2). "It has been the wisdom of the Presbyterian Church to follow strictly the Scriptural and apostolic method: imposing as duties only such acts and ordinances of worship as are of Divine appointment; and leaving in a great measure to individual choice the selection of words employed in their performance" (pp. 2, 3). "While thus providing for the office of prayer [that is by the Minister] our Reformer (Calvin) introduced also the regular practice of congregational singing. . . . In a survey of the Calvinistic worship, this interesting feature of Psalmody must not be omitted. It belongs peculiarly and characteristically to that worship. The Reformers of Switzerland and Scotland did not, as we often hear, deprive their ritual of a responsive and popular character. They did no more than *separate the functions of minister and people into the distinct duties of reading and singing. The Psalms are the responsive part of Calvin's Liturgy. These choral services* embodied the acts of adoration, praise, and thanksgiving, which are scarcely noticed in the forms of prayer; while in the *latter*, the offices of intercession, supplication, and teaching were *assigned to the minister alone*. The prayers, by constant use made familiar to the people, *were to be followed silently or in subdued tones*; the psalms and hymns constituted their audible utterance in the sacred ministrations" (pp. 26, 27).

And all that Dr. Baird advocated was the resumed use of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed; the regular and continuous reading of the Scriptures at every service; a more strict adherence to the prescribed order of our Directory; an audible *Amen* at the close of each prayer; and the recital of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, after the minister.

The plea has been sheltered, too, under the name of Dr. Charles Hodge. The article which he wrote on the subject of "Presbyterian Liturgies" can be found in the *Princeton Review*, vol. xxvii., pp. 445-467. In it he said: "The Scriptures, which in all things outward conform to what is the inward product of the Spirit, do not prescribe any form of words to be used in the worship of God. There are no indications of the use of liturgies in the New Testament. There is no evidence of the prevalence of written forms during the first three centuries." "The disposition to use written forms, as a general rule, decreases in proportion to the increase of intelligence and spirituality of the Church." But he thought it would be a good thing if "a book were compiled from the liturgies of Calvin, Knox, and of the Reformed churches, containing appropriate prayers, for ordinary public worship, for special occasions, as for times of sickness, declension, or public calamity, with forms for the administration of baptism, of the Lord's Supper, for funerals, and for marriage"; "a collection

of prayers for public worship of established character, sanctioned by long approbation of the people of God and by the authority of the Church; something sanctioned and not prescribed, as in the case of our Book of Psalms and Hymns." But he declared: "We do not desire to see anything introduced which would render our public services *less simple* than they are at present, but merely that means should be taken that *what is done should be done well*." "There is a very great difference between the uniform and universal use of a form of prayer, and the preparation of forms to serve as models, and to be employed when no minister is present." And he has not a word in favor of responsive worship, nor do the works he commends contain that element. We can receive all that Dr. Hodge says in that article; but it is an abuse of his name to quote it in favor of the plea which we are resisting.

In 1864, Dr. Charles W. Shields published a revised "Book of Common Prayer." His contention was that the Anglican book, as amended by the Presbyterian divines in the Savoy Conference of 1681, and conformed to our "Directory for Worship," was the best that could be devised. His Prayer Book, therefore, is the Episcopal book eliminated of its unscriptural errors in doctrine and polity. But he retains the festivals, and in some degree the responsive feature of that book, though in his Supplementary Treatise, with great inconsistency as we think, he says some of the sharpest things that can be said against responses. His position is, "that as combined with a Directory, allowing to the minister his liberty to remedy at discretion the tedious length and multiplicity of its services, and neither requiring nor precluding responses on the part of the congregation, nor indeed demanding *any other behaviour than is already customary in our Assemblies*, it would, we honestly believe, be the best liturgy that could be desired, or now devised. We will even go further, and declare our conviction, that, as it is the only liturgy fit to be used, so it is the only one that can be used with anything like Presbyterian consistency."

President R. D. Hitchcock, in the presence of the Philadelphia Council, declared that "our present Presbyterian baldness of public service is hurting us"; predicted that the coming generation will return to the old prayers and songs "in a form of public service which shall suit the mature and cultured none the less for suiting also the immature and uncultured"; and anticipated a revival of the Old Church year with Passover, Pentecost, Epiphany, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsuntide. "These at least can do us no harm."



Prof. S. M. Hopkins, having prepared the way by his elaborate article in this REVIEW, has issued a "General Liturgy and Book of Common Prayer." It is responsive in the extreme; and it recognizes not only the feasts already referred to, but has a bewildering array of Anniversary Collects in addition. And it is variously æsthetic in its Roman type and *italics*, red letters and black, and in its rubrical directions for ministers and people. From the Professor's standpoint, it shows good and cultured taste. In doctrine it is sound. In governmental principles it is thoroughly Presbyterian.

#### ARGUMENTS FOR A LITURGY.

1. We are gravely warned that because of her liturgy the Episcopal Church in the United States is growing out of all proportion, and especially at the expense of the Presbyterian Church. Professor Hopkins has made such assertions as these:

"A very large number of the children of Presbyterian families, and many of the cultivated and tasteful of our members, have sought a more cheerful, more varied, more sympathetic service in another communion. There is not a Presbyterian pastor in the land but can testify to such losses. The Episcopal Church has been largely recruited from our ranks. There are many thousands in that Church at present who have been drawn away merely by the superior attractions of its cultus. . . . On the other hand, the cases are very few, and owing only to special causes, in which any persons, Episcopally educated, have come over to the communion of the Presbyterian Church. The tracks are all one way. . . . It is very largely due to this fact that of all the sects in the United States, the Episcopal is growing the most rapidly at the present time. It is forming new congregations and organizing new dioceses with extraordinary rapidity. On the other hand, the Presbyterian Church is almost stationary. It requires a close calculation to show that she is even holding her own."

The scholarly and cultured Professor has been too credulous, and has been misled by the unsifted claims of others.\*

The Episcopal Church in the United States, according to the official report immediately preceding the utterance of those assertions, had, all told, 338,333 communicants—not very "many thousands," among the 10,065,963 communicants of the Protestant churches of the land and the 50,000,000 of its inhabitants.

If "many thousands" have gone from the Presbyterian to the

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\* In what follows, we are doing an unpleasant work. We dislike to draw out such comparisons. But the assertions that we meet are perpetually cropping up in Episcopal quarters. When one of our own leaders gives them his endorsement and circulates them in a way that is calculated to dishearten our people and make them dissatisfied with our time-honored worship, we may with all propriety plainly state the real facts of the case, without being open to the charge of attacking a sister Church. We do not, we would not, assail a Church which numbers among its members many of our own beloved friends, nor call in question its piety and activity, nor grieve over the measure of success with which it has been blessed. Nor do we question the adaptability of the Book of Common Prayer to express the most fervent piety of those who have been leavened by it; though as against the laudations of the Book which we occasionally hear in our camp, we could quote from current discussions by Episcopal ministers, on the movement, which is in the hands of a committee to report to the coming General Convention, for the enlargement and enrichment of that Book, sharper adverse criticisms than we would feel at liberty ourselves to originate.

Episcopal Church, how does it happen that the Episcopal Church is so small, and that the Presbyterian Church keeps outstripping it in the progress of the decades? The organ of the Episcopal Church in New York recently had this editorial statement: "In his 'History of the Episcopal Church in America,' Bishop Wilberforce says, that according to the best calculation there were on the Continent of America, in 1761, 1,444,000 white people. Of these, 293,000 were church people, 316,000 Presbyterians and Independents, while 460,000 were made up of Baptists, Quakers, etc." We do not know what proportion of those 361,000 are allotted to the Presbyterians; but 1807 was the first year in which official reports were had of our Presbyterian communicants, and the number then was 17,871, which, at the highest estimate, would not give a population of 100,000 in that year. But in 1761 the Episcopal population had been, according to this Episcopal claim, one-fifth of the whole. Its communicants (338,333) in 1880, however, only numbered one-twenty-ninth of the Protestant communicants (10,065,933) in the land; and on the high estimate of the population, in the families of those communicants and under the influence of the Church, obtained by multiplying the communicants by five, they did not constitute one-thirtieth of the people of the country. Once one-fifth; now less than one-thirtieth. Whereas, the Presbyterian non-liturgical churches, in the North and South, the territory of which is covered by the Episcopal reports, have 927,640 communicants, and almost one-tenth of the population.

The impression has been made that, however it may have been in the earlier decades of the century, "now" at least the Episcopal Church is outstripping all others. To the figures with that. In the decade 1870-1880, the communicants in the Episcopal Church grew from 207,762 to 338,333; the other Protestant denominations from 6,465,634 to 9,727,630.

To compare particularly the Presbyterian and Episcopal figures—the net growth of the Episcopal ministers in that decade was 629 (from 2,803 to 3,432), and of the communicants 130,571 (from 207,762 to 338,333); and of the Presbyterian non-liturgical ministers 1,645 (from 6,893 to 8,538), and communicants 230,183 (from 697,457 to 927,640). Our Presbyterian Church North alone had a larger net growth (132,110) than the Episcopal Church in the whole country.

The Presbyterian Church North from 1870 to 1880 reported 307,040 new members as added to its communion rolls on profession of their faith, and in 1880-'81-'82, there were 81,571 more. This was by no means what should be desired: but in the light of the figures, is it right to say that the "Presbyterian Church is almost stationary,"

and that it "requires a close calculation to show that she is even holding her own"?

It is intimated, though, that during the last decade the proportionate growth of the Episcopal Church was the larger. (The advance in population being 31 per cent., the Presbyterian the same, and the Episcopal 52.) That might be in the smaller body, without signifying a great deal, and for various spiritual reasons which could be assigned might happen during an exceptional decade without indicating a permanent trend. Moreover, if the Episcopal growth was 52 per cent., the very non-liturgical Baptist growth was 63 per cent. Further, the latest figures show not only a greater absolute, but proportionate Presbyterian advance. In 1882 the Episcopal ministers were 3,466, an advance of 34 on the number in 1880, which was 3,432, and communicants 340,841, an advance of 2,508 in 1880, when it was 338,333; in 1882 the Presbyterian ministers were 6,224, an advance of 120 on 1880 (6,104), and communicants 715,934, an advance of 17,235 on 1880 (698,699).

We have no way of ascertaining to what extent communicants come to our churches from other denominations. The statistical column of additions on certificate is largely made up of members moving from one of our congregations to another. But over against the challenge that "there is not a Presbyterian pastor in the land but can testify" to an exodus from his fold to the Episcopalian, we place these plain statements: No Presbyterian pastor has been found willing, over his own signature, to confess that his congregation has suffered in that way. Not a few have, through our newspapers, taken the opportunity positively to declare that such is not their experience. Every pastor that we have asked has said that while, through the social changes that are perpetually going on, a few may have left them for the Episcopal denomination, a larger number have come to them from it. Of course Prof. Hopkins has been in contact with some who gave the ground for his declaration, but his surroundings must be peculiar, and his generalization was as rash and unscientific as are many of the hypotheses of the scientists.\*

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\* As to the "extraordinary" growth of dioceses and congregations: Some of those dioceses are smaller and weaker in the number of communicants and in the work accomplished than are some of our congregations. The Presbyterian bishops, Talmage and Cuyler of Brooklyn, and Hall and Crosby of New York, for instance, have stronger dioceses than some of their prelatial brethren have. The (Episcopal) bishop of Arkansas has under him 13 presbyters, 1,138 communicants, of whom 88 were added last year by confirmation, and who contributed \$7,504, and 649 Sunday-school scholars. The (Presbyterian) bishop (John Hall), of Fifth Avenue, New York, has (in 1882) associated with him 15 presbyters, 4 deacons, 1,807 communicants, of whom 97 were confirmed on profession last year, and who raised, in the year, \$86,917. As to the rapidity with which new congregations are being formed: In 1870 there were 2,752 Episcopal parishes in the United States; in 1880, 3,000, an increase in the decade, of 248; in 1882, 3,035, a further increase in the two years, of 35; in 1870



The argument from the statistics, if it is worth anything, may be extended. Prof. Hopkins (*Liturgy* in Schaff-Herzog) says: "In the United States, except in the Episcopalian, Lutheran, German and Dutch Reformed, and Moravian churches, liturgical prayer has been almost wholly disused." Those liturgical churches, with all the additions that come to some of them, *ex necessitate rei*, by force of foreign nationality and language, have only 8,050 ministers and 1,544,245 communicants, while the non-liturgical Protestant churches have 61,820 ministers and 8,521,718 communicants. Liturgies do not thrive in our American atmosphere.

2. The intimation crops up, however, that it is from "the cultivated and tasteful" that the Episcopal Church is most largely drawing its recruits. How is the truth of that claim to be tested? How is a census of the intelligent in the whole country to be taken? The question is not restricted to some particular localities with which Prof. Hopkins, or this brother or that, may be personally familiar. It must take in the land as a whole. *Has* the Episcopal Church a larger number, absolutely or proportionally, of the cultivated people of the country than the Presbyterian Church has, and is it drawing that class from the other denominations? Does it meet their needs better than the Presbyterian Church does, and this because of its Liturgy? If so, it is a strong argument in favor of the liturgical worship. It will not do, as a rebuttal to such an argument, to plead that "not many wise are called," and that the Gospel is for the illiterate and the uncultured. The Bible and the church are essentially educating, elevating, refining. Any forms of doctrine, government, or worship which do not, in an established Christian land like this, satisfy the yearnings of the classes which are highest in spirituality, in intelligence, in true culture, deserve to be abandoned. As a fact, then, how is it? Has the Episcopal Church in a great and growingly greater degree the culture of America within its fold? Do its ministers stand confessedly above all others in intellectual attainments? Have they the most splendid reputation as preachers? Are they highest up in the field of authorship? Do their churches embrace the larger proportion of our educated judges, lawyers, physicians, business men? Are they doing the most for education? Are there more Episcopalians than Presbyterians engaged as professors and teachers in training the rising generation? How can the figures be obtained where-

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the Presbyterian figures were: (North, 4,526; South, 1,469) 5,995; in 1880 (North, 5,489; South, 1,928) 7,417, an increase in the decade of 1,422; and in 1882 (North, 5,744; South, 2,010) 7,754, a further increase in the two years, of 337. If an increase in twelve years of 283 Episcopal parishes is "extraordinary," that of 1,759 Presbyterian must be *extra—EXTRA—EXTRAORDINARY*.

with to answer these questions? Does the following paragraph from *The Christian at Work* (which strongly advocates the introduction of liturgies into our churches) suggest an answer?

"*The Churchman* holds that 'education at well-equipped church colleges, as Trinity College, is to be placed far above that of other institutions of similar grade in scholarship.' This is very funny. We don't know how 'well equipped' Trinity College is—for somehow only one of the *six Episcopal* out of the 370 colleges in the country send any sufficient returns to Washington, and Trinity is among the other five—but it is pretty evident that for a 'well-equipped' college Trinity's showing is pretty poor. Judging by the last report Trinity has 18,000 volumes in its library, eight professors in its faculty, and no graduating class. It may be that a score or so of the students graduated, but if so they are not reported. Columbia is the only distinctively Protestant Episcopal college in the country that makes a creditable exhibit in educational facilities. But even Columbia is far behind many colleges of lesser endowment. *The scholarship of the country does not, to any great extent, inhere in the Episcopal Church.*"

Some special figures may suggest an additional answer. Philadelphia, we take it, is a fair specimen in education and culture of established and rounded American society. In the beginning of this century the Episcopal Church outnumbered the Presbyterian in it. But the growth of the latter was so much ahead of the former, and kept so much in advance of it, that in 1871 the Presbyterian communicants were 19,365, and the Episcopal 16,396. And the latest reports show no set-back, for last year there were Presbyterian communicants (this is in the one branch of the reunited Northern Assembly alone) 26,953 communicants, and Episcopal 22,679, a Presbyterian net growth of 7,588, and Episcopalian 5,643. But, it may be intimated *sotto voce*, is not the Episcopal growth from the *creme de la creme* of the cultured? "By their fruits"—

Dr. Shields suggestively said, twenty years ago, in his "Liturgia Expurgata": "Our Church, in so carefully furnishing herself with a race of educated preachers and scholars, has acquired a hold upon the *intellectual* classes, as distinguished from the merely *fashionable* or the merely vulgar, which makes her the bulwark of all conservatism throughout the land."

It cannot be denied that the Episcopal Church embraces members of the highest culture and piety, and that through life-long association the liturgy has become their spiritual food; nor is it denied that others of that class are, through society influences which are well understood, drawn into it from the world and even from the families of other sects. But it is denied that such successful proselyting prevails in any extraordinary degree, and that its really efficient cause, where it does prevail, is the liturgy. We are not uttering what will be regarded as a slander when we say that the Episcopal Church has the reputation of requiring less from its membership than the evangelical churches generally, and that its communicants are allowed to be "more conformed to the world" than others are. The mode in which the Lenten season has grown to be observed is a striking proof of this. It is very comfortable from the worldliness

of the week, to float through the Sabbath on a service which is written from beginning to end, which requires no thought, and is therefore very restful, and which soon comes to trip from the tongue without any mental exertion. Of course, fashionable "society" in the cities, and aped in more limited sections in larger towns and even smaller villages, may be drawn by that attraction; and moths from Presbyterian families in "society" may dash in; but the Presbyterian Church would be faithless to its high trust if, for the purpose of holding such classes, it should encourage any of its ministers and congregations to depart from its scriptural and historic mode of worship. David *would* not put on Saul's huge armor. The Presbyterian Church *cannot* get its large life into a liturgy.

3. Prof. Hopkins has recounted some fearfully distressing exhibitions of the performance of our Presbyterian worship. But he concedes, p. 41: "That the service of prayer in Presbyterian pulpits is *often* 'disgraced' by any such [mean, irregular, and extravagant] effusions, *is by no means charged*. The devotional habit, the culture, and the conscientious care of our pastors make their public prayers commonly earnest, tender, and spiritual, often patterns of devotional eloquence." The disgraceful exhibitions are the exceptions; and we should not, on their account, resort to any unscriptural expedient.

4. It is asserted that the preparation and adoption of a liturgy would be but a return to the mode of worship that prevailed in the Presbyterian churches for a century after the Reformation. We have shown that the Calvinistic books of that age were not liturgies of the kind that are now advocated. The appeal to them, therefore, falls to the ground. In addition, it may be remarked that the shot is a boomerang even against the subordinate question of set forms of prayer. The Westminster Assembly had before it all those liturgies and the effects which the use of them had produced. And it determined to abandon them and to prepare the Directory, which has ever since been the guide-book of all English-speaking Presbyterians. Why? It tells us in the Preface:

"Add hereunto (which was not foreseen but since hath come to pass) that the Liturgy hath been a great means, as on the one hand *to make and increase an idle and unedifying ministry*, which contented itself with set forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer, with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all his servants whom he calls to that office. . . . Upon these and many the like weighty considerations, . . . not from any love of novelty, or intention to disparage our first reformers (of whom we are persuaded that *were they now alive, they would join with us in this work*, and whom we acknowledge as excellent instruments, raised by God, to begin the purging and building of his house, and desire they may be had of us and posterity in everlasting remembrance, with thankfulness and honor), but that we may in some measure answer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for *further reformation*, and may satisfy our own consciences, and answer



the expectation of the reformed churches, and the desires of many of the godly among ourselves, and withal give some public testimony for our endeavors for uniformity in divine worship, which we have promised in our Solemn League and Covenant; we have, after earnest and frequent calling upon the name of God, and after much consultation, not with flesh and blood, but with his holy word, resolved to lay aside the former Liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God, and have agreed upon this following Directory for all parts of public worship at ordinary and extraordinary times."

The Scotch Presbyterians, by accepting the new book, admitted that the same evils had attended also the liturgy of Knox, attenuated as that was. We submit that to ask the Presbyterian churches to put on a cast-off garment, which was worn in childish and reforming days and then abandoned because it was demoralizing, is as preposterous as it would have been for the man Paul to return to the mode of speaking of the boy Saul, or for the apostle to return to the ways of the Pharisee.

#### ARGUMENTS AGAINST A LITURGY.

I. The fact that not the slightest Scriptural authority can be pleaded for a liturgy should be conclusive in the mind of every true Presbyterian. Some, indeed, talk about a liturgical germ being found in the Lord's Prayer, and the baptismal form, and the communion ceremonial. But the development idea which will defend any of the historic liturgies on that ground, will justify the greatest Papal abuses in doctrine, government, and worship, as legitimately evolved from New Testament germs.

Dr. Shields admits ("Liturgia Expurgata," p. 27), that "the genius of presbytery the world over, cannot endure anything more stringent than a Directory or system of general rules and suggestions"; and, p. 58: "the wise, generous spirit of our system will not allow the whole Church to be hampered with anything more than a Directory." "It cannot be doubted," declares Dr. Charles Hodge (*Princeton Review*, xxvii. 456), "that the theory of Presbyterianism is opposed to the use of liturgies." Our Church tolerates many things for which no Scriptural authority can be pleaded, and even things which may be against the spirit of the Scriptures; but it should not authorize or encourage them. It should authoritatively recognize and provide in the worship of its congregations nothing for which express Scriptural warrant cannot be produced. Its rule is, not to sanction what cannot positively be disproved from the Bible, but to sanction only what can be proved from it. Not the shred of proof for a liturgy can be found therein.

2. The plea for a liturgy is a confession of apostasy and declension which is humiliating. The old-fashioned position has not been disproved, that

"Liturgies had their origin in an ignorant and degenerate age. . . . Out of this age, when nothing was introduced 'but corruptions, and the issues thereof: no change made in the current usages but for the worse; no motions from its primitive posture, but downwards into degeneracy': out of this age proceeded the first liturgy, the offspring of ignorance and superstition. The clergy had become notoriously ignorant and corrupt, unable suitably to guide the devotions of public worship; and to assist them in their ignorance and incompetence, liturgies were provided for their use."

Said Dr. Charles Hodge:

"In the ideal state of the Church, in that state which our theory contemplates, where every minister is really called of God, and is the organ of the Holy Ghost in the exercise of his functions, liturgies would be fetters, which nothing but compulsion would induce any man to wear. . . . Without questioning or doubting the sincere and eminent piety of hundreds and thousands of the ministers and members of churches which continue in the trammels of prescribed liturgical forms, we still believe that one of the causes why the Church of Scotland never submitted to the authoritative imposition of an unvarying form of public worship, and gradually dispensed with the use of a liturgy altogether, is to be found in its superior intelligence and piety."\*

President Hitchcock, in his Philadelphia Council paper, portrayed three types of the common Christian life: the lowest, the ceremonial; the next, the moral; the highest, the emotional; and he advocated our return to liturgies *as under the lowest type!* Have our ministers and people, then, deteriorated? Are we not to keep striving toward the ideal, but return to the beggarly elements from which we thought we had advanced? There is a significancy in the words uttered by Dr. Archibald Scott (St. Giles Lectures, First Series), in reference to the liturgical movement in the Church of Scotland:

"In prayer and long tribulation it has learned the value of free prayer. The danger of having no liturgy may be to sever it from the wisdom and piety of the past; but the having one may involve the greater peril of severance from that living fount of inspiration which alone can make it the Church of the Present and the Future."

3. We are not prepared to accept unqualifiedly the asserted Reformation divorce of worship and fine art, or to admit that there is any warfare between æsthetics and religion. The beauty of holiness may use the beauty of sense and the beauty of intellect. Christians should make the buildings in which they worship God as beautiful, according to the highest style of art, as their means will enable them to do. The service of song should be cultivated and made as beautiful as the highest musical training of the people can make it. Sermons and prayers cannot be intellectually and spiritually too beautiful. Culture should be laid under tribute for them all. But the objection to this liturgical plea is that it is the prompting of a sentimental culture, and that it subordinates the beauty of holiness to the lower phases of the beautiful. Art should be servant, not master. The common prayers of the congregation should be grammatical, in good taste, expressed with simple rhetoric, comprehensive; but it is better to bear with a few or even many and frequent violations of all the canons of

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\* *Princeton Review*, xxvii. 456-7.

culture, in which, however, the liberty and spontaneity of heart-communion with God express themselves, than to encourage a dependence upon forms which cannot but develop formalism. In revival times prescribed forms of prayer are snapped like the withes of Delilah. What is called a revival is the normal condition of the church ; nothing that would cramp its deep religious feeling should be encouraged at any time.

4. The plea is for what is impossible. All in our Church who make it are careful to say that they favor not an imposed or iron-clad liturgy, but an optional one, by which we understand one that can be used in one church and not in another, at one time and not another, as the minister may or may not feel in the spirit of extemporaneous prayer, and that can be added to or departed from when used in a service. Is not the idea visionary? Are liturgies so used to any extent anywhere? Is not the custom predominantly one way or the other? President Hitchcock said: "In all liturgical churches, or nearly all, the liturgy is no longer servant, but master." Can it be otherwise? The lame man, when cured, will not keep his crutches for use at times; if he should resort to them, he would weaken himself. The legitimate tendency of the use of liturgies by ministers is to intellectual and spiritual laziness—a tendency which, of course, can be, and is, overcome by the strong in exceptional cases. The mass of the ministers in liturgical churches are less powerful and active intellectually and spiritually than the ministers of the non-liturgical churches. Hence, too, the preaching is generally weaker among the former. Exceptions, of course, there are. The authoritative provision of a liturgy, and the permission to use it, leads invariably to the habitual use, and that both proves and increases ministerial weakness.

5. The audible responsive feature is both childish and unphilosophical. Dr. Shields thought, in his "*Liturgia Expurgata*," p. 39, that

"whether audible responses ought also to be added, as a further help to congregational devotion, is a question of usage and taste, rather than of principle." "The responsive reading of the Psalter, though only confusing, and anything but solemn to one not taking part in it, has, however, the recommendation that it engages the attention, and helps the devotion of every worshipper; since all may read, though all cannot sing."

And Prof. Hopkins, referring to young Presbyterians, says:

"Give to multitudes of such persons the choice between a service where they are to sit fixed and mute during the offering by the minister of a prayer of fifteen minutes' duration, and one in which they are to vary their posture by frequent rising from their seats, and are to have their vocal part of the service by responses and antiphonal reading, and they will not hesitate."

Hence responsive reading of the Bible is said to prevail largely in our Sabbath-schools—as a means of holding the attention of the children. And though young people can on week nights sit for an hour



or two listening to a lecture, or a concert, or gazing upon an exhibition, their attention cannot be held for an hour on the Sabbath in divine worship, unless they are allowed to move about and ejaculate ! Therefore make the church a kindergarten ! And yet, too, it is the cultured that our service does not suit !

But responsive reading is worse than childish. Dr. Shields has made some concessions here which, as coming from such a source, are worth quoting. His fine taste rebels against some things that his liturgical proclivities run him into :

"Perhaps this mental accompaniment and silent *Amen* are to be preferred, on the whole, either to the noisy outcries or the confused murmuring of our neighbors." "As to *responses*, except where personal feeling is strong enough to impel them above the low tone of ordinary devotion, we may urge the objection brought against them two hundred years ago, that 'they cause a confused murmur in the congregation, whereby what is read is less intelligible and therefore unedifying'; and the difficulty always encountered of making them general and accordant, renders them on grounds of taste as well as of devotion, unsuitable to a mixed assembly. They belong in fact to the choral or monastic service from which they were borrowed, and in which they were artistically rendered by trained worshippers, and in a Protestant Church must cease to be expressive precisely in proportion as they become impressive" (p. 84). "The responsive reading of the verses [of the Psalms] by Minister and people may have been a rude substitute for the antiphonal chanting of priest and choir ; but it is open to the objection already urged against all unmusical responses ; it is in violation of the sense or rhythm which is often paralletic in the members of each verse, rather than by alternate verses ; and except for habituated nerves is even less solemn than the doggerel of Rouse, or Watts, unequally yoked with worldly airs. The experience of the whole Church would seem to be fast settling toward the conviction that the Psalms cannot with propriety be either versified or read, but should be simply chanted in prose according to their original structure in the temple service, and the usage of Catholic antiquity" (p. 92).

Among the positions taken by the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference of 1661 was this :

"That the repetitions and responsals of the clerk and people, and the alternate reading of the Psalms and Hymns, which cause a confused murmur in the congregation, whereby what is read is less intelligible and therefore unedifying, may be omitted : the Minister being appointed for the people in all public services appertaining unto God and the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, intimating the people's part in public prayer to be only with silence and reverence to attend thereunto, and to declare their assent in the close by saying *Amen*."

(So that those English Presbyterian Divines of the Restoration who, influenced by their political surroundings, were willing to compromise away from the Directory, objected to the very thing which some among us now advocate.)

There is no warrant by direction or even by suggestion in Scripture for the practice of responsive reading. It is of very recent origin and of very partial use. It dates back only to the beginning of the Anglican Church, and is hardly known outside of its communion. In the English Church it took the place of singing the Psalter, because in many of the congregations singers could not be found. It was a simple make-shift for a better way ; and it has in England now largely ceased, and the singing been restored. The reason for retaining in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer the old version of the Psalms,

when the King James' version of the Bible was appointed to be read in the churches, was that "the choirs were accustomed to it, and its language was considered more smooth and fit for song than the new."

The literal fact is, that the practice in all known forms of religious worship in the Church, Jewish and Christian, with the few recent sporadic cases of exception in some local communities, has been against the responses in reading.

They are opposed to all reason. Audible reading is an irrational act, unless it be to communicate thought; but responsive reading as practiced in worship is certainly not for the purpose of communicating thought.

They are equally insignificant and out of place. Response in song has a rational place, as expressive of feeling; in reading, which expresses thought, not emotion, it can have no conceivable significance. It is directly hostile to the only rational design in proper reading.

They are not proper worship. They are not of the nature of communion between God and his people. They are "a strange fire" on the altar.

They are a hindrance to true social worship. By no possibility can one find in them anything that leads to a direct personal communion with God—an act in which he addresses God, and God in turn addresses him.

They are offensive to a true taste. A Babel of discordant sounds, a grating jargon of voices, harmonized in neither time nor tune, is against decorum.\*

No other book than the Bible could stand such murderous treatment, and the divine volume should not be subjected to it.

6. As to the festival days, it has been admitted that the absence from our Directory of the declaration against them, leaves a large liberty to our ministers and congregations. And assuredly those who may on the appropriate Sabbaths adapt their services to what they believe to be the chronological arrangement of the great facts of the Gospel history, do what will meet with censure from no quarter.

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\* Prof. Day, in the *New Englander* article already referred to, enforces these objections in a telling way.

Dr. Richard S. Storrs has published a "Psalter," with selections also from the other poetical Scriptures, for responsive readings. We have been carefully testing it. The more we examine it, the more convinced we are that the responsive reading of many of such selections will cause the generality of people, and especially children, unconsciously to imbibe erroneous meanings from the verses read. But Dr. Storrs' arrangement shows the refined taste for which he is noted; and our ministers could follow it with advantage in their reading of the Psalms from the pulpit. We believe in having such a reading at every service after the Invocation. Better still would it be if the whole congregation could *chant* the Psalms. We have no fear of the too frequent use of any inspired words or forms.

But there are two overmastering reasons why our Church should never, by constitutional action, sanction and recommend any other than the Sabbath festival, and why our ministers and people should not permit themselves to be swept into the current of the festival observances. The first is that they are entirely destitute of New Testament authority—a fact which is the more striking in contrast with the express Old Testament authority for the Jewish festivals. It cannot but have been designed that none of the festivals are recommended either by precept or by apostolic example, and especially that the date and season of the Saviour's birth are not even remotely indicated. And the second fact is, that as the observance of the other festival days goes up, the observance of the Sabbath goes down. That lesson of history cannot be blinked; nor is it safe to set it at naught. We once heard one of the most excellent of senators, who was a member of a liturgical church, move that the Senate adjourn over Good Friday. The motion was resisted on the ground of the pressure of business. He grew very indignant, and declared that if the body should sit he would not be in his place; that he could not be coerced into his official work there on the anniversary of his Saviour's death. But when the Senate sat on a Sabbath he was not absent. He was a typical man. All liturgists do not so despiritualize the Sabbath-day. Gracious souls are found everywhere rising above the level of the errors which mar their belief. But the tendency of the church festival system is to degrade the Sabbath from the peculiar position in which God placed it. It is claimed widely and loudly by liturgists that the recognition of the festival days is extending from year to year among the adherents of all the denominations. Undoubtedly the Sabbath-day is not generally observed as it once was. Is there any connection between the growth of the observance of the other days and the decadence of the spiritual strictness of the Lord's Day?

#### SUGGESTIONS.

No doubt there is room for improvement in the conduct of the worship of our congregations. And whatever touches the weak spots of our practice is to be welcomed. The reformation needed, however, is not in our mode of worship, but in the practice of ministers and congregations under it.

Let more attention be paid in our Theological Seminaries to the preparation of ministerial candidates for this part of their work. Our impression is, that comparatively little attention is given to it. We



would not lower preaching, but elevate the other elements of worship. Train the candidates as carefully for the latter as for the former.

Let our ministers keep up the development of their praying as well as of their preaching gifts. Let them continue to read and study the models of prayers as well as the models of sermons. Let them make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the comprehensive suggestions of our Directory; with the written prayers that have survived the ages, as well as with those that still appear from the pens of godly men; and especially with the prayer language of the inspired volume. Let them breathe in, and saturate their minds with, those devotional utterances. So let them be possessed of, and always have at command as a part of their mental and spiritual being, the choicest devotional expressions of the Church, and of the Church in all its branches.

Let them from week to week make as special preparation for the conduct of the whole service of worship as they do for the sermon. How many of us have been doing this? Is there not a serious fault herein? But for every service let ministers blend, with the grand stock of general preparation, a special preparation by a knowledge of the particular condition of the congregation and by a careful arrangement of the thoughts and language in which the devotions of the people shall be led.

Let them avail themselves of the large liberty which is allowed by our Directory, in the order of exercises. Make more of the service of song. Let choirs, under pastoral supervision, as an addition to the regular service, render the grand Scriptural Hymns of the ages, which may not be in our Hymnal; but make much, too, of singing by the whole congregation of the more familiar hymns of our own book. Have special services of song, in addition to the prayer-meetings which we now have. Keep the young in view at the main service of the Sabbath, either by making all the exercises more to the level of their comprehension, or by interjecting the special little sermon to them.

And let it be remembered that the great need, before and above all, is the grace of the Spirit, to be kept in the heart by daily private communion with God. Without that in a large measure, the public services of the Sabbath, whether with or without prescribed forms of prayer, will indeed be perfunctory and formal. But let minister and people be pervaded by it, and the services, as led by the former, will be in harmony with the desires of the latter. The intellectual and spiritual culture of each will influence the other, and both will affect those that are without.

The strongest argument in favor of liturgies really is the fact of their wide-spread and long-continued use. That seems to imply that they meet a want. And our Church should be comprehensive of all classes of minds. We would yield to that argument if we could close our eyes to the condemnatory evils which history reveals as essentially inhering in the liturgical thralldom, and if we believed ministers could not be otherwise trained to lead devotionally all grades of culture. But cannot our Theological Seminaries, rising and broadening with the times, take the gracious men who are committed to them, and send them out gifted for the wants of the disciples of a true æsthetics, as well as for those of childish and uncultivated minds? We respect greatly the excellent brethren who have a liturgical inclination; but it seems to us that every consideration that can be adduced in favor of a prayer-book will weigh as strongly for a book of homilies. Those who accept the one should advocate the other, and announce it as the highest ambition of ministers to become good lectors. We do not believe our Presbyterian Church will make such a descent from its high intellectual and spiritual position. Forward, not backward; higher, not lower.

R. M. PATTERSON.

## V.

# THE PSALTER OF SOLOMON.

## PREFACE.

NO department of theological science has of late been so much cultivated as that branch for which the Germans have adopted the name *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, and which treats of the contemporaneous history of the New Testament period in its religious, social, and political aspects. Of the greatest importance for the better understanding of that period, are those literary remains which speak of the Messianic expectations and the Messianic kingdom. "No better key to the religious spirit of an age can be had than its religious literature. That of Israel, as the age of Christ drew near, was more and more concentrated on the expected Messiah, and the preparation needed for His coming. The Book of Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon, and the Fourth Book of Esdras successively reveal the white heat of the national hopes of which they were the expression" (C. Geikie, *Life and Words of Christ*, I. 333, New York, 1881). To give the student of sacred history an inside view into one of these literary remains, I have ventured an edition of the Greek with an English translation of the Psalter of Solomon. The translation is entirely new. In my article *Psalter of Solomon*, in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, I mentioned an English translation by Whiston, in *Authentic Records*, London, 1827. The date, however, is a misprint. It ought to read 1727. I have not been able to procure Whiston's translation, and thus I prepared one based upon the texts of Fabricius, Geiger, Hilgenfeld, and Fritzsche. The importance of our Psalms for history may be seen from the fact that so many scholars, whose works are named in the introduction, have paid their attention to them. Should an undertaking like this prove acceptable to the student, I shall feel encouraged to go on in this branch of theological science. As for the present undertaking, I give it to the student with the words of St. Augustine:

"Quibus parum, vel quibus nimium est, mihi ignoscant. Quibus autem satis est, non mihi, sed deo mecum gratias congratulantes agant."—*De Civitate Dei* xxii. 30.

ALLEGHENY, Penn.

BERNHARD PICK.



## INTRODUCTION.

Under the title *The Psalter of Solomon*, or *Ψαλμοὶ Σαλομῶντος*, there is extant in a Greek translation a collection of eighteen psalms or hymns, evidently modelled on the canonical psalms, breathing Messianic hopes, and forming a favorable specimen of the later popular Jewish literature. Although written at a very early time, it was not known during the middle ages, and has but recently been given to the public. The earliest signs of the existence of our book may be traced back to the author of the fourth book of Ezra (about 30 B.C.), who evidently has perused our psalms, as Hilgenfeld<sup>1</sup> has shown (cp. ii. with 4 Ezra iii. 8—viii. 34, xi. 3 sq., with xiii. 39 sq.—ix. 18, with iv. 25, x. 22—xvii. 21, with vi. 24—xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8, with vii. 28; xii. 32; xiii. 25 sq. 52—xvii. 37, with xiii. 9—xviii. 4, with vi. 58). Among patristic writers it seems to have been known very little, at least they do not mention our collection by name. Zonaras and Balsamon<sup>2</sup> think that the 59. canon of the synod of Laodicea (about 363 A.D.): *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ιδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅνδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία κ.τ.λ.*, has reference to our psalms. Perhaps that *Ambrose* knew of the existence of our psalms, because in the preface to the book of Psalms, he remarks: “Solomon ipse David filius licet innumera cantica cecinisse dicatur, unum tamen quod ecclesia receperit canticorum canticum dereliquit.”<sup>3</sup> When Jerome writes against Vigilantius: “In commentariolo tuo quasi pro te faciens de Salomone sumis testimonium, quod Salomon omnino non scripsit, ut qui habes alterum Esdram, habeas et Salomonem alterum,”<sup>4</sup> he evidently refers to the use of our Psalms made by Vigilantius. In the fifth century our Psalms were found among the books contained in the *Codex Alexandrinus*,<sup>5</sup> and were appended to the Clementine Epistles. They are now, however, lost, together with a large portion of the second epistle of Clement. In the *Synopsis S. Scripturarum*, attributed to St. Athanasius, psalms and odes of Solomon are mentioned among the antilegomena.<sup>6</sup> The same books are also enumerated in the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople (+ 828),<sup>7</sup> and in the catalogue appended to the *ἐρωτήσεις*

<sup>1</sup> *Messias Judæorum*, Lipsiæ, 1869, p. xiii., sq.

<sup>2</sup> Beveridge, *Synodicum sive Pandectæ Canonum*. Oxf., 1672. Tom. I., p. 480, sq.

<sup>3</sup> Ambros. *Opp.* ed. Maur. 1751. Tom. I., p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Opp.* ed. Paris, 1706. Tom. IV., p. 284; ii., 394 ed. Vallars.

<sup>5</sup> Woide. *N. T. Græcum, ecod., ms. Alex.* Lond. 1786. p. vii., § 36; xv., § 55; Baber, *V. T. Gr. ecod. ms. Alex.* Ibid., 1816. Proll. p. v., Tom I., P. I., fol. 4, not. g. and tab. iv.

<sup>6</sup> Athanasii. *Opp.* ed. Colon, 1686. T. II., p. 154.

<sup>7</sup> Credner, *Zur Geschichte des Canons*, p. 117 sq.

καὶ ἀποκρίσεις of Anastasius-Sinaita, our psalms are also not wanting.<sup>1</sup> The psalms were also enumerated among the apocrypha in a MS. of the Coislin library, belonging to the tenth century,<sup>2</sup> and in a Vienna manuscript, written between the ninth and tenth centuries, they were found between the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.<sup>3</sup>

*Editions.*—The first who published the eighteen psalms was the Jesuit Lud. de la Cerda.<sup>4</sup> The edition was made from a manuscript which originally was sent from Constantinople to Dr. Hoeschel, and preserved at the Augsburg library; but the MS. is now no more extant. Cerda's edition is entitled: *Ψαλτήριον Σολομῶντος*. The subscription is *Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος ἡ ἔχουσιν ἔπη α. τέλος σὺν θεῷ*. Cerda's text was republished by Fabricius.<sup>5</sup> A new edition was published by Hilgenfeld,<sup>6</sup> who besides the text of Fabricius made use of a manuscript belonging to the Imperial library at Vienna. Hilgenfeld was followed by Geiger<sup>7</sup> and Fitzsche.<sup>8</sup>

*Literature.*—Wittichen, *die Idee des Reiches Gottes*, Göttingen, 1872, pp. 155–160; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iv. 392 sq.; Grimm (*Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*), *das erste Buch der Maccabäer*, p. xxvii.; Oehler, art. *Messias* in Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* ix. 426 sq. (2d ed., p. 656 sq.); Dillman, art. *Pseudepigraphen*, *ibid.* xii. 305 sq.; Weiffenbach, *Quae Jesu in Regno coelesti Dignitas sit Synopticorum Sententia exponitur* (Gissae, 1858), p. 49 sq.; Mover, art. *Apokryphen* in Wetzer u. Welte's *Kirchen-Lexicon*, I. 340 (2d ed. 1880, p. 1060 sq.); Delitzsch, *Commentar über den Psalter* (1st ed.) vol. ii., p. 381 sq.; Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, I. 243 (Eng. transl. [Lond. 1873], p. 313 sq.); Langen, *das Judenthum in Palestina zur Zeit Jesu Christi* (1866), pp. 64–70; Nöldeke, *Alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868), p. 141 sq.; Hausrath, *Zeitgeschichte*, I., 164 sq., 176; Carrière, *De Psalterio Salomonis* (Argentorati 1870), p. 8; Anger, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der messianischen Idee* (1873), p. 81 sq.; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* (2d ed.), iii. 439; Schürer, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (1874), p. 140 sq., 569 sq.; Stanley, *History of the*

<sup>1</sup> Cotelier, *S. Patr. qui temp. apost. flor. ed.* Io. Clericus, Antw., 1700. I., p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coisl. olim Seguer.* P. 194 sq. (cod. cxx. fol. 216).

<sup>3</sup> P. Lambecius, *Comment. de Bibl. Caes. Vind.* III., p. 20; Dan. de Nessel, *Breviar. et Suppl. Comment. Lambec.* I., p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Adversaria Sacra*, Lugd., 1626.

<sup>5</sup> *Codex pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.*, ed. 2, Vol. I. (1722), p. 914, sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie.* 1868. pp. 134–168. *Messias Judæorum libris eorum paulo ante et paulo post Chr. nat. conscriptis illustratus* (Lps., 1869), p. 1–33.

<sup>7</sup> *Der Psalter Salomo's* E. E. Geiger. Augsburg, 1871.

<sup>8</sup> *Libri apocryphi Veteris Testamenti græce*, (Lps., 1871), pp. 569–589.

*Jewish Church* (New York, 1877), iii. 335; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (London, 1877), p. 133 sq.; Bissell, *The Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (New York, 1880), p. 668 sq.; Pick, art. *Psalter of Solomon* in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop.*, viii., p. 757 sq.; Wellhausen, *die Pharisäer und Sadduäer* (Greifswalde 1874), p. 131 sq.

*Linguistic Character.*—The language of our Psalms is, for the most part, dependent upon the Septuagint, a fact which would lead to the supposition that the Greek text was the original. Thus Huetius<sup>1</sup> already remarked: "tutius utique credi potest, Hellenistae alicujus opus esse," and Janenski<sup>2</sup> says: "psalterium nostrum Hellenistae alicujus Judaei hominis in Christi ecclesiam digressi foetum esse." Modern writers agree that the original was written in Hebrew, with the exception of Hilgenfeld, who contends for a Greek original, chiefly on the ground that the "Wisdom of Solomon" seems to have been used by the author, and believes accordingly that the Psalms were composed in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> His references do not appear conclusive, and Hilgenfeld himself does not seem to lay great weight upon them, for he remarks, "quae omnia, quamvis non eadem vi, mihi quidem Salomonis Sapientiam Psalmis antiquiorem probare videntur." The many obscurities with which we meet so often can only be explained on the supposition of a Hebrew original. That the translator seemed to have been well acquainted with the language of the Septuagint, may be seen from the fact that he uses many words, which are found only in the Septuagint, and not in other apocryphal books, viz.:

ἀλάλαγμα, xvii. 8. ἀνδρωπάρεσκος, iv. 8, 10, 21. ἀποικεσία, ix. 1. ἀποσιγηνόω, vii. 1. ἀρνίον, viii. 29. αὐταρκεσία, v. 18. ἄφεδρος, viii. 13. βαρυσυμέω, ii. 10. γρηγόρησις, iii. 2; xvi. 4. διάβημα, xvi. 9. διάψαλμα, xvii. 31; xviii. 10. ἐξέγερσις, iv. 17. ἐξηγορία, ix. 12. ἐπευκτός, viii. 18. καταπάτησις, ii. 10. μηνίσις, ii. 25. παρασιωπάω, v. 3. παροργισμός, viii. 10. πυργόβαρις, viii. 21. σημείωσις, iv. 2. σκορπισμός, xvii. 20. συνταγή, iv. 5. ὑπερπλεονάζω, v. 19. φυρμός, ii. 15.

*Time of composition and author.*—Later transcribers have made Solomon the author of these Psalms; but the Psalms themselves are against this assumption; on the contrary, they are the best proof of their later origin. Some—as Ewald, Grimm, Oehler, Dillmann, Weiffenbach—assign these Psalms to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, about 170 B.C.; others—as Movers, Delitzsch, and Keim—to the time of Herod; but neither of these dates is correct. It is now generally held by critics like Langen, Hilgenfeld, Nöldeke, Hausrath, Fritzsche,

<sup>1</sup> *Demonstr. Evang.*, ed. Venet, 1733. Prop. iv., p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> *Dissertatio de psalterio Salomonis*, praeside J. G. Neumann, Wittenb., 1687.

<sup>3</sup> *Messias Judaeorum*, p. xvii. sq.



Geiger, Wittichen, Schürer, Carrière, and Drummond, that they originated soon after the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, and this opinion is corroborated by the tenor of especially the 2d, 8th, and 17th Psalms. Looking at the circumstances of the time which is presupposed in these Psalms, we find the following: A generation to which the rule over Israel had not been promised took possession of it by force (*οἷς οὐκ ἐπηγγείλω μετὰ βίας ἀφείλοντο*, xvii. 6). They did not give God the honor, but put on the royal crown and took possession of David's throne (xvii. 7, 8). In their time Israel sinned. The king was in transgression of the law (*ἐν παρανομίᾳ*), the judge was not in truth (*οὐκ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ*), and the people were in sin (*καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ*, xvii. 21, 22). But God put these princes down by raising against them a foreign man who did not belong to the tribe of Israel (xvii. 8, 9). From the ends of the world God brought a strong man, who made war with Jerusalem and the country. The princes of the land, in their infatuation, met him with joy, and said: "You are welcome; come hither; enter in peace." The doors were opened to him, and he entered like a father in the house of his sons (viii. 15-20). Once in the city, he also took the castles and broke the walls of Jerusalem with the battering rams (*ἐν κρίῳ κατέβαλε τείχη ὄχυρά*, viii. 21; ii. 1). Jerusalem was trodden down by the heathen (ii. 20); even the altar of God was ascended by foreign people (*ἐθνη ἀλλότρια*, ii. 2). The most prominent men and sages of the council were killed, and the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem was shed like the water of impurity (viii. 23). The inhabitants of the country were carried away as captives into the West, and the princes for a derision (xvii. 13, 14; ii. 6; viii. 24). At last, the dragon who took Jerusalem was killed at the mountain of Egypt on the sea (ii. 29).

It hardly needs any further explanation that all these events fully agree with the history of Pompey. The princes who arrogated to themselves the throne of David are the Asmonæans, who, since the time of Aristobulus I., called themselves kings (B.C. 105-104). The last princes of this house, Alexander Jannæus and Aristobulus II., favored the Sadducees, and in the eyes of the Pharisaic author they are sinners and unlawful. The "foreign and strong man" whom God brings from the ends of the earth is Pompey. The princes who meet him are Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus II.; the adherents of the latter admit Pompey into the city, and he soon takes the other part with force, which was held by Aristobulus' party. All the other circumstances, such as the entrance into the Temple,<sup>1</sup> the carrying away of

<sup>1</sup> Of Pompey's entering the Temple, we read not only in Josephus *Bell. Jud.*, i, 7, 6 and *Antiqu.* xiv. 4, 4, but also in Tacitus, *Historia*, v. 9: "Romanorum primus Cn. Pom-

the princes into the West, fully agree with what we know of Pompey's campaign in Palestine; and the fact that the 2d Psalm speaks of the manner in which Pompey died, in B.C. 48,<sup>1</sup> fully proves the assump-

pejus Judaeos domuit templumque jure belli ingressus est. Inde vulgatum nulla intus deum effigie vacuum sedem et inania arcana." The late Dean Stanley (*Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, iii. p. 450 sq.) speaks thus of this episode in Jewish History: "That which in Nebuchadnezzar's siege had been prevented by the general conflagration—that which Alexander forbore—that from which Ptolemy the Fourth had been, as it was supposed, deterred by a preternatural visitation—that on which even Antiochus Epiphanes had only partially ventured—was now to be accomplished by the gentle and the most virtuous soldier of the Western world. He was irresistibly drawn on by the same grand curiosity which had always mingled with his love of fame and conquest, which inspired him with the passion for seeing with his own eyes the shores of the most distant seas (Plutarch, *Pompey*, c. 38), the Atlantic, the Caspian, and the Indian Ocean, which Lucan has in part placed in the mouth of his rival in ascribing to him for his last great ambition the discovery of the sources of the Nile. He passed into the nave (so to speak) of the temple, where none but priests might enter. There he saw the golden table, the sacred candlestick, which Judas Maccabaeus had restored, the censers, and the piles of incense, the accumulated offerings of gold from all the Jewish settlements, but with a moderation so rare in those times that Cicero (*Pro Flacco*, c. 28) at the time, and Josephus in the next century, alike commended it as an act of almost superhuman virtue, he touched and took nothing. He arrived at the vast curtain which hung across the Holy of Holies, into which none but the High Priest could enter but on one day in the year, that one day, if so be, that very day on which Pompey found himself there. He had, doubtless, often wondered what that dark cavernous recess could contain. Who or what was the God of the Jews was a question commonly discussed at philosophical entertainments both before and afterwards (Plutarch, *Quaest.* v. 6, 1). When the quarrel between the two Jewish rivals came to the ear of the Greeks and Romans, the question immediately arose as to the divinity that these princes both worshipped (*Dio Cass.* xxxvii. 15). Sometimes a rumor reached them that it was an ass's head; sometimes the venerable lawgiver, wrapped in his long beard and wild hair; sometimes, perhaps, the sacred emblems which once were there,—but lost in the Babylonian invasion; sometimes of some god or goddess in human form like those who sat enthroned behind the altars of the Parthenon or the Capitol. He drew the veil aside. Nothing more forcibly shows the immense superiority of the Jewish worship to any which then existed on the earth than the shock of surprise occasioned by this one glimpse of the exterior world into that unknown and mysterious chamber. 'There was nothing.' Instead of all the fabled figures of which he had heard, or read, he found only a shrine, as it seemed to him, without a God, because a sanctuary without an image."

<sup>1</sup> That the whole description must recall the death of Pompey to the mind of every reader of history, is evident. He was really murdered near Mount Cassius in Egypt; and though the fatal blow was not inflicted "on the mountains," his head was cut off and went on shore, and it was there that the proofs of his end were exhibited to the world. His body was left to the buffetings of the waves, or as Lucan, *Pharsalia* viii. 698-9, says:

"Litora Pompeium feriunt, truncusque vadosis  
Huc illuc jactatur aquis."

When the Psalmist states: καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ θάπτων, we must not take it literally. From Plutarch, *Pompey* iv. 50, we know that, after Pompey's head was cut off, and his naked body left unburied on the sand, his freedman, Philip, who remained by it, gathered enough driftwood on the shore to make a funeral pyre and burn it according to Roman custom. But after all, this "stealthy ceremony could hardly be called a burial, espe-

tion that it was written soon after this event, while the 8th and 17th Psalms, as well as the greater part of the others, may have been written between 63 and 48.

If the date thus reached be correct, it disposes of the hypothesis of Graetz (*Gesch. der Juden*. [2d ed.] iii. 439), that these Psalms were written by a Christian author. Nor are we justified in assuming Christian interpretations, for the sinlessness and holiness which the author ascribes to his expected Messiah (xvii. 41, 46), is not the sinlessness in the sense of Christian dogmatics, but merely the strict legality in the sense of Pharisaism.

It hardly needs to be observed that Solomon was not the author of our Psalms, but some Pharisee, who, as may be judged from his many Hebraisms, did not live at Alexandria, as Hilgenfeld thinks, but in Palestine.

*Theological Contents of the Psalms.*—The spirit which runs through these Psalms is that of Pharisaic Judaism. They breathe an earnest, moral tone and true piety; but the righteousness which they preach, and the absence of which they deplore, is the one which can only be attained by keeping the Pharisaic ordinances, the *δικαιοσύνη προσ- ταγμάτων* (xiv. 1). The time which our author depicts shows the oppositions then existing,—on the one hand the Gentiles, and on the other the apostates in Israel. Both are called sinners, lawless and impure (iv. 1; xii. 8; xiv. 4; xvii. 13–20), in opposition to the holy, righteous, and pious (xiii. 9–11; xiv. 1). The latter are the true representatives of Israel, the seed of Abraham, the beloved people chosen of God, that is called after His name (ix. 16–18; xviii. 4), of the servant and sons of God (xii. 7; xvii. 30). They always remember the Lord, and take upon themselves His chastisements. They do away with the unrighteousness by fasting and humiliation (iii. 4–9). The sinners in Israel our author describes as talking lies and as slanderous and fraudulent tongues (xii. 1 sq.), as sinful houses (families, xii. 4), as inexorable in judgment, and yet full of sin and incontinence and hypocrisy. They associate with the Gentiles, without belonging to them; they seek to please man and pervert the law (iv. 1–10); they deny the divine justice (iv. 12–15); in secret they satisfy their sinful lusts, they contaminate and rob the sanctuary, pollute the altar and sacrifices, and in their sins they surpass the Gentiles (ii. 3; viii. 9–14). They are kings of unrighteousness, judges without truth, a people

cially for one who might have hoped to be followed to an honored pyre by his country's most distinguished men :—

“tumulumque e pulvere parvo  
Aspice Pompeii non omnia membra tegentem.”



living in sin (xvii. 22). The corruption is so great that the leaders of the congregations of the saints had to flee and wander in deserts (xvii. 16-19). God, it is true, is king over heaven and earth, His compassion and goodness are over the whole earth, His judgments over nations, kings, and dominions (v. 17; ii. 34; ix. 4; xvii. 4; xviii. 3); but He is in particular the eternal king of Israel (xvii. 1), His goodness and compassion is forever over the house of Israel (v. 21 sq.; ix. 20), but His dominion over the Gentiles He reveals in judgment (xvii. 3 sq.). This divine favor only the saints experience; His compassion and faithfulness is on them who love the truth (x. 4; xiv. 1), gathering up for themselves through righteousness a treasure of (eternal) life (ix. 9), and who by repentance are ashamed of their sins and humble themselves under His chastisement (x. 1 sq.; ix. 13, 15); He chastises them for their sins of ignorance like a beloved son and first-born, and purifies them from their sins, that the lot of the sinners may not become theirs (iii. 10; xiii. 4-9). He is their refuge and hope in distress, and gladdens their souls by His compassion (v. 1; xiii. sq.). He, who feeds the fishes and birds, feeds them also (v. 10 sq.); He saves them, when they call upon Him (vi. 1 sq.), delivers them from sins, and keeps them from every snare of the sinner (iv. 26 sq.); He directs their paths, keeps the works of their hands, and protects them against any dangers (vi. 3-5; x. 3; xiii. 2). They are, therefore, the paradise, the tree of life, an everlasting plant, for they will rise unto eternal life in the light of the Lord (xiv. 2 sq.; iii. 16). The sinners, however, will remain forever in Hades, in darkness and condemnation, and will not be found in the day of compassion (iii. 12 sq.; xiv. 6; xv. 11 sq.). But the righteous judgments of God may also be seen in the history of the Jews and Gentiles (viii. 7; x. 6). This our author shows from the history of his own time, from the imminent fall of the Maccabeans and the beginning of the Roman dominion. God had appointed David king over Israel and had promised that the kingdom shall not be taken away from his seed. But others (the Asmonæans) had arrogated to themselves the throne, and assumed the royal dignity (since Aristobulus), and have laid waste the throne with haughty shout of war (xvii. 5-8). Now war has broken out among themselves (the war between Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II.; i. 2; viii. 1 sq.). To punish their sins, for which the heaven scowled on them and the earth loathed them, God has filled the Israelites with the spirit of infatuation and made them drunk, in order to deliver them to the enemies (referring to the appeal to the Romans to act as arbiters in the quarrel, ii. 7; x. sq.; viii. 15). From the end of the world a man appeared in war against Jerusalem, the princes of the

country went to meet him and opened the gates (Pompey's entrance into Jerusalem 63 B.C., viii. 16-18). He took the holy city (viii. 4, 21), and pulled down the walls; Gentiles entered the sanctuary and contaminated it (ii. 1 sq.), and thus the beauty of Jerusalem was dragged down from the throne of glory, and a rope was put about her head instead of a crown (ii. 20 sq.); he destroyed the princes and every wise man in council, and blood was shed like impure water (viii. 23); he, the lawless, carried away her sons and daughters, born in impurity, into the West, depopulating the country, and made her princes a derision (referring to the sale of Jews as slaves, and to Aristobulus and his children, who had to grace Pompey's triumphal entry into Rome, viii. 24; xvii. 13 sq.); the thus (sold) Jews were scattered over the globe, and thus a draught was caused by God in His anger (xvii. 20 sq.). But the judgment is not yet completed. God will destroy the princes of Israel (the Asmonæans), and their seed will be extinguished from the earth by a foreign generation (Antipater), the beginning of which is already made (by the death of Aristobulus II., and of his son Alexander, B.C. 48; xvii. 8-11). In the meantime, however, God had already commenced to reveal His judgment over the Gentiles. The dragon (Pompey), who thinks himself king over land and sea and will not recognize the king of heaven, the judge of kings and dominions (ii. 29; 37 sq.), is killed in Egypt and remained for some time unburied (ii. 30 sq.). Herein the lords of the earth may see the righteous judgments of God, the revelation of divine justice over the Gentiles (ii. 36; viii. 30 sq.). As God shows hereby His mercy toward Israel (ii. 37), so likewise will He also again have compassion over Israel, and after due punishment (viii. 32, 35) lead them to the promised glory. There will be for Israel, in whose midst God's name dwelleth, a day of mercy and election (vii. 5; xviii. 6), as there will be for the sinners a day of judgment and everlasting retribution (xv. 13 sq.), when they will be consumed by fire (xii. 5; xv. 6 sq.). This hope the author connects with the appearance of the *Messiah*.

*Messianic Hopes.*—The Messiah, whom our author expects, is called according to the present text, "Messiah (Christ) the Lord" *χριστὸς κύριος* (xvii. 36), but this is probably a wrong translation. The same expression occurs in xviii. 8; but as both words are in the genitive, this does not help us to a decision. In xviii. 6, however, we have *χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ*, where *αὐτοῦ* refers to *θεός*, and this may suggest an emendation of *κύριος* into *κυρίου*. Hilgenfeld believes the reading to be genuine.<sup>1</sup> His appeal to Christian writers is of no avail, and

<sup>1</sup> *Messias Jud.*, p. 32.

may be disregarded; but he refers to one instance in the Septuagint where the words מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה are rendered by *χριστὸς ὁ κύριος* (Lament. iv. 20). While it is true that in our present editions of the Septuagint the reading *χριστός κύριος* is found, yet we believe it either to be a wrong translation, due to a misunderstanding of the Hebrew expression, or that the original reading was *χριστὸς κυρίου*, for thus the Syriac seems to have read, and so likewise the author of the *Venetica Version*,<sup>1</sup> who translates *ὁ χριστός τοῦ ὀντατωῦ*. This Messiah is to be a son of David, a righteous king taught by God, the anointed of the Lord. He will not place his trust in horse and bow, or multiply gold and silver for war; but his hope will be in God, and he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth. He will be pure from sin, strong in the Holy Spirit, and wise in counsel, with strength and righteousness. He will be mighty in the fear of God, feed the flock of the Lord in faith and righteousness, and lead them all in holiness. This is the beauty of the king of Israel. His words are as words of saints in the midst of sanctified people (xvii. 23, 35-49). Under him Jerusalem is indeed to be purified from the Gentiles, and sinners to be thrust away from the inheritance;<sup>2</sup> but he will not have recourse to instruments of war, but smite the earth, and destroy lawless nations by the word of his mouth (xvii. 25, 27, 37, 39). He is to rule over Israel (xvii. 23), and to judge the tribes of a people sanctified by the Lord his God (xvii. 28). He is to tend the flock of the Lord in faith and righteousness, and not suffer any to be infirm among them in their pasture (xvii. 45). No stranger and foreigner shall dwell any more among them. He will judge peoples and Gentiles in the wisdom of his righteousness; and he shall have peoples of the Gentiles to serve beneath his yoke (xvii. 31, 32), and Gentiles will come from the extremity of the earth to see his glory (xvii. 34). Thus he will bless the people of the Lord in wisdom with gladness (xvii. 40), and will not suffer unrighteousness to dwell in the midst of them, and there shall not dwell with them any man who knows wickedness (xvii. 29).

<sup>1</sup> Comp. my art. s. v. in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop.*

<sup>2</sup> Israel is not only the *πρωτότοκος* but also the *μονογενής* corresponding to the Hebrew בְּכֹר יְחִיד, "the first born, only son." The addition *μονογενής* is truly Jewish, excluding the Gentiles from the citizenship in the Messianic kingdom, and is another proof that the author was a Pharisee.



## ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΑΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ.

1. Ἐβόησα πρὸς κύριον ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί με  
εἰς τέλος,  
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιθέσθαι ἁμαρτωλοῦς.
2. Ἐξάπινα ἡκίσυθῃ κραυγῇ πολέμου ἐνώπιόν  
μου.  
Ἐπακούσεται μοι, ὅτι ἐπλήσθην δικαιοσύνης.
3. Ἐλογισάμην ἐν καρδίᾳ μου ὅτι ἐπλήσθην  
δικαιοσύνης,  
ἐν τῷ εὐθνηῆσαί με καὶ πολλὴν γενέσθαι ἐν  
τέκνοις.
4. ὁ πλοῦτος αὐτῶν διέλθοι εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν,  
καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.
5. ὑψώθησαν ἕως τῶν ἀστρων,  
εἶπον οὐ μὴ πέσωσιν.
6. καὶ ἐξύβρισαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς αὐτῶν,  
καὶ οὐκ ἤνεγκαν.
7. αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῶν ἐν ἀποκρύφους  
κάλω οὐκ ᾔδειν.
8. αἱ ἀνομίαι αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἔθνη,  
ἔβεβήλωσαν τὰ ἅγια κυρίου ἐν βεβηλώσει.

## THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON.

1. I cried unto the Lord in my great dis-  
tress,  
To God at the oppression of the sinners.
2. Suddenly a clamor of war was heard  
before me.  
He hears me, because I am full of  
righteousness.
3. I thought in my heart, I am full of  
righteousness,  
Because I am happy, and have many  
children.
4. Their riches filled all the world,  
And their glory went to the end of the  
earth.
5. They were exalted to the stars,  
I said : they shall never fall.
6. And they became vain in their glory  
And did not bear it.
7. Their sins were in secret,  
And I did not know it.
8. Their iniquities surpass those of the  
heathen before them,  
They profaned the sanctuary of the  
Lord in profanation.

In cod Aug. this psalm is entitled *Ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομῶν*.—4. *διέλθοι*, Fabricius would read *διήλθε*.—5. *εἶπον*, Hilgenfeld, against the *εἶπαν* of both codices ; Geiger retains the reading of the codices.—8. *ἀνομίαι*, so codex Vindob., but cod. Aug. *ἁμαρτίαι*.

## PSALM II.

1. Ἐν τῷ ὑπερηφανεύεσθαι τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν, ἐν  
κρίῳ κατέβαλε τείχη ὄχυρά,  
  
καὶ οὐκ ἐκώλυσας.
2. ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριόν σου ἔθνη  
ἄλλότρια,  
κατεπάτουν ἐν ὑποδήμασιν αὐτῶν ἐν ὑπερηφ-  
ανίᾳ.
3. ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐμίαναν τὰ ἅγια  
κυρίου,  
ἔβεβήλουν τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀνομίαις.
4. ἐνεκεν τούτων εἶπεν. ἀπορρίψατε αὐτὰ  
μακρὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,  
οὐκ ἐνδοκῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς.

1. In his haughty pride, the sinner has  
broken down the strong walls with  
the ram,  
And Thou hast not hindered.
2. Heathen aliens have gone up into Thy  
holy place,  
They have walked up and down in it,  
with their shoes in contempt.
3. Because the sons of Jerusalem have de-  
filed the holy things of the Lord,  
Profaned the gifts of God by trans-  
gression.
4. Therefore said He : cast forth these  
things from me,  
I have no pleasure in them.

In cod. Aug. this psalm is entitled : *Ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομῶν περὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ β'*.—Fabricius reads *ψαλμὸς τ. Σ. β' περὶ κ. τ. λ.*—4. *οὐκ ἐνδοκῶ*, this is the reading of Fritzsche, who follows Hilgenfeld ; cod. Vind. reads *οὐκ ἐνδῶδω ἢ αὐτοῖς* ; cod. Aug. *οὐκ ἐνδῶδω εὐδῶδω ἢ αὐτοῖς* ; Geiger, *οὐκ ἐνδῶδω αὐτοῖς*.

5. τὸ κάλλος τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν ἐξουθενήθη,  
ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡτιμώθη εἰς τέλος.
6. οἱ υἱοὶ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ  
πονηρᾷ,  
ἐν σφραγίδι ὁ τράχηλος αὐτῶν, ἐν ἐπισήμῳ  
ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.
7. κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς,  
ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖρας κατισχυόν-  
των,
8. ἀπέστρεψε γὰρ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ ἐλέου  
αὐτῶν  
νέον καὶ πρεσβύτερον καὶ τέκνα αὐτῶν εἰς ἀπαξ,
9. ὅτι πονηρὰ ἐποίησαν εἰς ἀπαξ τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν.
10. καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐβαρυνθύμησε  
καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐβδελύξατο αὐτούς·
11. ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὅσα  
ἐποίησαν,
12. καὶ γινώσκειται ἡ γῆ τὰ κρίματα σου πάντα τὰ  
δίκαια,
13. Ὁ θεὸς ἐστησεν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς  
ἐμπαιγμὸν·  
ἀντὶ πορνῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶς ὁ παραπορέν-  
μενος εἰσεπορεύετο  
κατενάντι τοῦ ἡλίου ἐνέπαιζον ταῖς ἀνομίαις  
αὐτῶν,
14. καθὰ ἐποίουν αὐτοὶ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου,  
παρεδευγμάτισαν ἀδικίας αὐτῶν.  
  
καὶ θυγατέρες Ἱερουσαλὴμ βέβηλοι κατὰ  
τὸ κρίμα σου,
15. ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὰι ἐμίαινον ἑαυτὰς ἐν φόρῳ  
ἀναμίξεως  
τὴν κοιλίαν μου καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα μου πονῶ  
ἐπὶ τοῦτοις.
16. Ἐγὼ δικαίωσω σε, ὁ θεός, ἐν εὐθύτῃ  
καρδίᾳ  
ὅτι ἐν τοῖς κρίμασί σου ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου,  
ὁ θεός.
5. The beauty of their glory was made vile,  
Before God it was profaned forever.
6. The sons and daughters are in woeful  
slavery,  
Their neck in the ring, in 'the sight of  
the heathen.
7. According to their sins, He hath dealt  
with them,  
That He left them in the hands of the  
oppressors.
8. Turned away His face from pitying  
them,—  
Youth and old man, and children to-  
gether.
9. Because they all sinned and would not  
hear.
10. And the heaven scowled on them  
And the earth loathed them :
11. For never a man had done on it as  
they.
12. And the earth shall know all Thy  
righteous judgments.
13. God has made the sons of Jerusalem  
a derision :  
Because of the prostitutes therein  
every passer-by enters,  
Before the sun they flaunted their  
wickedness.
14. According as they committed (their  
evil deeds) before the sun, they made  
a show of their guilt.  
And the daughters of Jerusalem are  
profane according to Thy judgment,
15. Because they have defiled themselves  
in shameless mingling.  
For all these things my heart mourns.
16. I will justify Thee, O God, in up-  
rightness of heart,  
For in Thy judgments, O God, is Thy  
righteousness.

5. αὐτῶν, the codd. read αὐτοῦ, and so also Geiger.—ἡτιμώθη as cod. Aug., cod. Vind. ἡτιμώθη, Hilgenfeld and Geiger ἡτιμώθη.—8. ἐλέου, cod. Aug. ἐλέους.\*—12. πάντα τὰ δίκαια, ὁ θεός, so Geiger.—14. καθὰ, Hilgenfeld κακὰ.—15. αὐταί, cod. Vindob., Geiger, Fabricius αὐται; Cerda αὐθαι.

\* In our book this word is used both in the masculine and neuter gender. Thus for the former comp. v. 14; vi. 9; viii. 34; ix. 16; xiv. 6; xvii. 3; xviii. 3, 6, 10; for the latter comp. ii. 37, 40; v. 17; viii. 33; x. 4; xi. 9; xiii. 11; xvi. 3, 6; xvii. 17, 51; xviii. 1.

17. ὅτι ἀπέδωκας τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν,  
κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν τὰς πονηρὰς σφόδρα.
18. ἀνεκάλυψας τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν, ἵνα φανῇ τὸ κρίμα σου,
19. ἐξῆλειψας τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.
- ὁ θεὸς κριτὴς δίκαιος καὶ οὐ θανατῶσει πρόσωπον.
20. κατέσπασε τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἀπὸ θρόνου δόξης,  
ὠνείδισαν γὰρ ἔθνην Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν καταπατήσει.
21. περιέζωσато σάκκον ἀντὶ ἐνδύματος εὐπρεπείας  
σχοινίον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς ἀντὶ στεφάνου.
22. περιέειλετο μίτραν δόξης, ἣν περιέθηκεν αὐτῇ ὁ θεός·
23. ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἀπερρίφη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.
24. καὶ ἐγὼ εἶδον καὶ ἐδεήθην τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου καὶ εἶπον·  
ἰκάνωσον, κύριε, τοῦ βαρύνεσθαι χεῖρά σου ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ ἐθνῶν.
25. ὅτι ἐνέπαιξαν καὶ οὐκ ἐφείσαντο ἐν ὀργῇ καὶ θυμῷ μετὰ μνησίσεως.
26. καὶ συντελεσθήσονται, ἐὰν μὴ σὺ, κύριε, ἐπιτιμῆσης αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀργῇ σου·
27. ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ζήλῳ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ψυχῆς,
28. ἐκχέει τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀρπάγματι.  
μὴ χρονίσῃς, ὁ θεός, τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς εἰς κεφαλάς,
29. τοῦ τρέπειν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν τοῦ δράκοντος ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ.
30. καὶ οὐκ ἐχρόνισεν ἕως ἐδειξέ μοι ὁ θεός τὴν ὕβριν αὐτοῦ ἐκκεκεντημένῃ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων Αἰγύπτου,  
ὑπ' ἐλαχίστου ἐξουθενωμένον ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης,
17. For Thou gavest to the wicked according to their works,  
According to the great evil of their doings.
18. Thou hast revealed their sins, that Thy judgment may be seen.
19. Thou blottest out their memory from the earth.  
God is a righteous judge, and regardeth no man's countenance.
20. He has dragged down her beauty from the throne of glory,  
For the heathen put to shame Jerusalem by trampling it under feet.
21. She put on sackcloth for robes of beauty,  
A rope about the head instead of a crown.
22. She took off the mitre of glory, which God had put on her brow.
23. In dishonor her pride is cast down on the earth.
24. And I saw, and prayed before the face of the Lord and said:  
Let it suffice Thee, O Lord, that Thou hast made heavy Thy hand upon Jerusalem, by bringing the heathen.
25. For they have treated her with scorn, and did not spare in their wrath and fury,
26. And they will bring this to an end, unless Thou, O Lord, reprovest them in Thy wrath:
27. For they have not done it in zeal, but from the desire of their heart,
28. To pour out their rage against us like furies.  
Delay not, O Lord, to smite them on the head,
29. To turn the haughtiness of the dragon into dishonor.
30. And very soon God showed me His haughty pride pierced on the mountains of Egypt,  
Set at naught by the least, alike on land and sea,

24. ἐπαγωγή, codd. ἀπαγωγή. 25. ἐνέπαιξαν cod. Vind.; ἐπαιξαν cod. Aug. 29. τρέπειν, the codd. read εἰπὶν, which is followed by Geiger, who translates the word by "to destroy." Fritzsche and Hilgenfeld read εἰκειν; I prefer the reading τρέπειν; Fabricius prefers ὑεῖν. 30. ἐχρόνισεν, the codd. read ἐχρονισα "I waited."—ἐκκεκεντημένῃν so also Hilgenfeld; Geiger prefers the reading of the codd. ἐκκεκεντημένον.—ὑπ' ἐλαχίστου, the codd. ὑπὲρ.—τῶν ὀρέων so the codd., perhaps that the reading was ὀρίων "shores."



31. τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ διεφθαρμένον ἐπὶ κυμάτων  
ἐν ὕβρει πολλῇ,  
καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ θάπτων.
32. ὅτι ἐξουδένωσεν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ.  
οὐκ ἐλόγισατο ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐστί,  
καὶ τὸ ὕστερον οὐκ ἐλόγισατο.
33. εἶπεν· ἐγὼ κύριος γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐσομαι,  
καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνω ὅτι ὁ θεὸς μέγας,  
κραταὺς ἐν ἰσχυρί αὐτοῦ τῇ μεγάλῃ.
34. αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν  
καὶ κρίνων βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀρχᾶς.
35. ἀνιστῶν ἐμὲ εἰς δόξαν  
καὶ κομίζων ὑπερηφάνους εἰς ἀπώλειαν  
αἰώνιον ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ,  
ὅτι οὐκ ἐγνώσαν αὐτὸν.
36. καὶ νῦν ἴδετε, οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῆς γῆς, τὸ  
κρίμα κυρίου,  
ὅτι μέγας βασιλεὺς καὶ δίκαιος κρίνων τὴν  
ὑπ' οὐρανόν.
37. εὐλογεῖτε τὸν θεόν, οἱ φοβοῦμενοι τὸν  
κύριον ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ,  
ὅτι τὸ ἔλεος κυρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους  
αὐτὸν μετὰ κρίματος.
38. τοῦ διαστῆλαι ἀνὰ μέσον δικαίου καὶ  
ἁμαρτωλοῦ,  
ἀποδοῦναι ἁμαρτωλοῖς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ  
τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.
39. καὶ ἑλεῖν δίκαιον ἀπὸ ταπεινώσεως  
ἁμαρτωλοῦ  
καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἁμαρτωλῷ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐποίησε  
δικαίῳ·
40. ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις  
αὐτὸν ἐν ὑπομονῇ.  
ποιῆσαι κατὰ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ,  
  
παρεστάναι διὰ παντὸς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν  
ἰσχύϊ.
41. εὐλογητὸς κύριος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐνώπιον  
τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ.
31. His body rotting upon the waves with  
much indignity,  
And having no one to bury it.
32. Because he had dishonored Him.  
He forgot that he was only a man,  
And considered not the end.
33. He said: I shall be Lord of land and sea,  
And did not remember that God is great,  
Mighty in His great power.
34. He is king of heaven  
And the judge of kings and rulers.
35. Exalting me to glory  
And stilling the proud in eternal dis-  
honor and ruin,  
Because they did not know Him.
36. And now, see, ye lords of the earth,  
the judgment of the Lord,  
That He is a great king, and right-  
eous, judging the earth.
37. Praise God, ye who fear the Lord in  
wisdom,  
For the Lord's mercy is upon them  
that fear Him in judgment,
38. To distinguish between the righteous  
and the sinner,  
To render to sinners for ever accord-  
ing to their works,
39. And to have mercy on the righteous  
against the oppression of the sinner,  
And to recompense the sinner as He  
has done to the righteous :
40. For the Lord is good toward them  
who call upon Him patiently.  
Let Him do according to His mercy  
to those with Him,  
That they may always stand before  
Him in strength.
41. Blessed be the Lord for ever in the  
presence of His servants.

35. κομίζων, the codd. κοιμίζων. 40. ποιῆσαι, Cerda, Fabricius and Geiger ποιῆσαι. 41. τῶν δούλων, cod. Vind. δούλων.

#### PSALM III.\*

1. Ἵνατί ὑπνοῖς, ψυχῇ, καὶ οὐκ εὐλογεῖς τὸν  
κύριον;
2. ὕμνον καινὸν ψάλατε τῷ θεῷ τῷ αἰνετῷ.  
  
ψάλλε καὶ γρηγόρησον ἐπὶ τὴν γρηγόρησιν  
αὐτοῦ,  
ὅτι ἀγαθὸς ψαλμὸς τῷ θεῷ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας.
1. Why art thou asleep, O soul, and  
praiseth not the Lord?
2. Sing a new song to God, the praise-  
worthy.  
Sing and awake up to His watch,  
  
For good is a psalm to God, with the  
whole heart.

\* The psalm is entitled cod. Aug. Ψαλμὸς τῷ Ζαλομὼν περὶ δικαίων γ'. 2. ψάλατε, so cod. Vind., cod. Aug. and Cerda ψάλλετε; Fabricius ψάλλετε.

3. Δίκαιοι μνημονεύουσι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κυρίου,  
ἐν ἑξομολογήσει καὶ δικαίωσει τὰ κρίματα  
κυρίου
4. οὐκ ὀλιγωρήσει δίκαιος παιδενόμενος ὑπὸ  
κυρίου,  
ἢ ἐνδοκία αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἐναντίον κυρίου.
5. προσέκοψεν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐδικαίωσε τὸν  
κύριον,  
ἔπεσε καὶ ἀποβλέπει τί ποιήσει αὐτῷ ὁ θεός.
6. ἀποσκοπεῖ, ὅθεν ἔξει σωτηρία αὐτοῦ.
7. Ἀλήθεια τῶν δικαίων παρὰ θεοῦ σωτήρος  
αὐτῶν,  
οὐκ ἀλλίσκεται ἐν οἴκῳ τοῦ δικαίου ἁμαρτία ἐφ'  
ἁμαρτίαν.
8. ἐπισκέπτεται διὰ παντὸς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ὁ  
δίκαιος,  
τοῦ ἐξῆραι ἁδικίαν ἐν παραπτώματι αὐτοῦ.
9. ἐξιλάσατο περὶ ἀγνοίας ἐν νηστείᾳ  
καὶ ταπεινώσει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ.
10. καὶ ὁ κύριος καθαρίζει πάντα ἄνδρα δσιον  
καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.
11. Προσέκοψεν ἁμαρτωλὸς, καὶ καταρᾶται ζωὴν  
αὐτοῦ,  
τὴν ἡμέραν γενέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ὥδινας.
12. προσέθηκεν ἁμαρτίας ἐφ' ἁμαρτίας τῇ ζωῇ  
αὐτοῦ.
13. ἔπεσεν, ὅτι πονηρὸν τὸ πτώμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
οὐκ ἀναστήσεται.  
ἢ ἀπώλεια τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
14. καὶ οὐ μνησθήσεται, ὅταν ἐπισκέπηται  
δικαίους.
15. αὐτὴ μερὶς τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
16. οἱ δὲ φοβούμενοι κύριον ἀναστήσονται εἰς  
ζωὴν αἰώνιον,  
καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αὐτῶν ἐν φωτὶ κυρίου καὶ οὐκ  
ἐκλείψει ἔτι.
3. The righteous remember always the  
Lord,  
In giving thanks and justifying the  
judgments of the Lord.
4. The righteous, when chastised of the  
Lord, will not despise,  
His pleasure is always before the Lord.
5. The righteous stumbled and justified  
the Lord,  
He fell and waits what God will do to  
him.
6. He looks out, where will come his  
salvation.
7. The righteous are safe in God, their  
redeemer,  
In the house of the righteous does not  
dwell sin upon sin.
8. The righteous searches always his  
house,  
To do away the sin in his fall.
9. In fasting he repays for ignorance,  
And humbles his soul.
10. And the Lord absolves every pious  
man and his house.
11. The sinner stumbled and curses his  
life,  
The day of his birth and pains.
12. He added sins upon sins to his life.
13. He fell, for heavy is his fall, and shall  
not rise again.  
The destruction of the sinner is forever.
14. And is not remembered, when He  
visits the righteous.
15. Such is the part of the wicked in  
eternity.
16. But those who fear the Lord shall rise  
unto eternal life.  
And their life shall be in the light of  
the Lord and shall fail no more.

## PSALM IV.\*

1. Ἵνατί σὺ κάθησαι, βέβηλε, ἐν συνεδρίῳ,  
καὶ ἡ καρδία σου μακρὰν ἀφέυτηκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
κυρίου,  
ἐν παρανομίαις παροργίζων τὸν θεὸν Ἰσ-  
ραὴλ;
1. Why sittest thou, the profane, in the  
Sanhedrim,  
And thy heart is far from the Lord,  
Stirring up with sins the God of Israel.

\* The psalm is entitled Ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομῶν τοῖς ἀνθρωπαρέσκοις δ'.

2. περισσὸς ἐν λόγοις, περισσὸς ἐν σημειώσει  
ἱπὲρ πάντας,  
ὁ σκληρὸς ἐν λόγοις κατακρίνων ἁμαρτω-  
λοὺς ἐν κρίσει,
3. καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἐν πρώτοις ἐπ' αἰτίων ὡς  
ἐν ζήλῳ,  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνοχὸς ἐν ποικιλίᾳ ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ  
ἐν ἁκρασίαις.
4. οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γυνᾱικὴ ἄνερ  
διαστολῆς,  
ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ ψευδὴς ἐν συναλλάγματι  
μεθ' ὅρκου.
5. ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ἁμαρτάνει ὡς  
οὐχ ὁρώμενος,  
ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ λαλεῖ πάσῃ γυναικὶ ἐν  
συνταγῇ κακίας.
6. ταχὺς εἰσὺδῶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν ἐν ἱλαρότητι  
ὡς ἄκακος.
7. Ἐξάραι, ὁ θεὸς, τοὺς ἐν ὑποκρίσει ζῶντας  
μετὰ ὁσίων,  
ἐν φθόρῳ σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πενίᾳ τὴν ζωὴν  
αὐτοῦ,
8. ἀνακαλύψαι, ὁ θεὸς, τὰ ἔργα ἀνθρώπων  
ἀνθρωπαρέσκων,  
ἐν καταγέλωτι καὶ μυκτηρισμῷ τὰ ἔργα  
αὐτοῦ.
9. καὶ δικαιοῦσαι οἱ ὅσιοι τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ  
αὐτῶν  
ἐν τῷ ἐξαίρεσθαι ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἀπὸ προσώπου  
δικαίου,
10. ἀνθρωπάρεσκον λαλοῦντα νόμον μετὰ δόλου.
11. καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν ἐν οἴκῳ ἀνδρὸς ἐν  
εὐσταθείᾳ ὡς ὄφις,  
διαλύσαι σοφίαν ἀλλήλων ἐν λόγοις παρανό-  
μων.
12. οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ παραλογισμοὶ εἰς πρᾶξιν  
ἐπιθυμίας ἀδίκου.
13. οὐκ ἀπέστη, ἕως ἐνίκησε σκορπίσαι ὡς ἐν  
ὀρφάνιᾳ  
καὶ ἡρήμωσεν ἕνεκεν ἐπιθυμίας παρανόμου.
14. παρελογίσατο ἐν λόγοις, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁρῶν  
καὶ κρίνων.
2. Surpassing with words, surpassing in  
indolence all,  
Judging severely the sinners in judg-  
ment.
3. And his hand is among the first upon  
the culprit, as with zeal,  
And he himself is guilty of all sorts of  
sins and of incontinence.
4. His eyes are on every woman without  
discrimination,  
His tongue is lying in spite of the  
sworn agreement :
5. By night and in secret he sins, as if  
he were not seen,  
With his eyes he speaks to every  
woman for a sinful appointment.
6. Quick in entering every house cheer-  
fully as though he were pure.
7. Remove, O God, those living hypocrit-  
ically with the pious,  
In corruption of his body and in  
poverty his life.
8. Reveal, O God, the works of men-  
pleasing men,  
In derision and mockery his works.
9. And let the pious justify the judgment  
of their God  
When He takes away the sinners from  
before the righteous,
10. The man-pleaser, uttering the law  
deceitfully.
11. And their eyes in the house of a man  
in steadiness, are like a serpent,  
To destroy the wisdom of others in  
words of transgression.
12. His words are fallacies to satisfy sin-  
ful lusts.
13. He did not rest, until he succeeded to  
scatter as in a bereavement,  
And desolated for the sake of sinful  
desire.
14. He deceived in words, that there is  
none seeing and judging.

2. σημειώσει. cod. Aug. σημειῶσαι. 3. ἐπ' αἰτίων so Hilgenfeld, against ἐπ' αὐτὸν of the codd.  
4. οἱ ὀφθαλμοί. cod. Aug. omits οἱ. 13. ἀπέστη so Hilgenfeld, against ἀνέστη of the codd.  
Geiger retains the latter.



15. ἐπλήσθη ἐν παρανομίᾳ ἐν ταῦθα  
καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ οἶκον ἑτερον  
ὀλοθρεῦσαι ἐν λόγοις ἀναπλάσεως.  
οὐκ ἐμπίπλαται ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσι  
τούτοις.
16. Γένοιτο, κύριε, ἡ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ  
ἐνώπιον σου  
ἡ ἐξοδος αὐτοῦ ἐν στεναγμοῖς,  
καὶ ἡ εἰσόδος αὐτοῦ ἐν ἁρᾷ.
17. ἐν ὀδύναις καὶ ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ ἡ ζωὴ  
αὐτοῦ, κύριε.  
ὁ ὕπνος αὐτοῦ ἐν ὀδύναις  
καὶ ἡ ἐξέγερσις αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀπορίαις.
18. ἀφαιρεθεῖη ὕπνος ἀπὸ κροτάφων αὐτοῦ ἐν  
νύκτι,  
ἀσπένδοι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου χειρῶν αὐτοῦ  
ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ.
19. κενὸς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον  
αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ ἑλλειπὴς ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὗ  
ἐμπλήσει ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ.
20. ἐν μονώσει ἀτεκνίας τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ εἰς  
ἀνάληψιν.
21. σκορπισθεῖσαν σάρκες ἀνθρωπαρέσκων ὑπὸ  
θηρίων  
καὶ ὅσα παρανόμων κυτέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου ἐν  
ἀτιμίᾳ.
22. ἐκκόψειαν κόρακες ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνθρώπων  
ὑποκρινομένων,
23. ὅτι ἠρήμωσαν οἴκους πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐν  
ἀτιμίᾳ,  
καὶ ἐσκόρπισαν ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ.
24. καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθησαν θεοῦ  
καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν θεὸν ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις.
25. καὶ παρώργισαν τὸν θεὸν καὶ παρώξυναν  
ἐξάραι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς,  
ὅτι ψυχὰς ἀκάκων παραλογισμῷ ὑπεκρίνοντο
26. Μακάριοι οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον ἐν ἀκακίᾳ  
αὐτῶν.
27. ὁ κύριος ρύσεται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων  
δολίων καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν,  
καὶ ρύσεται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς σκανδάλου  
παρανόμου.
15. He is filled with iniquity besides,  
And his eyes are upon the house of  
the neighbor, to destroy with words  
of fiction.  
In all this his soul is not yet satisfied.
16. Let, O Lord, his portion be in dis-  
honor before Thee,  
His going out in groaning,  
And his going in in execration.
17. In sorrows and poverty and perplexity  
his life, O Lord !  
His sleep in distress,  
And his rising in perplexities.
18. Let sleep flee from his eyes by night ;  
Let every work of his hands be frus-  
trated in dishonor.
19. Let him enter his house with empty  
hands,  
And his house be wanting everything  
which shall satisfy his soul.
20. Solitary and childless let his old age  
be until his death.
21. Let the body of men-pleasers be dis-  
persed by beasts,  
And the bones of sinners remain in  
dishonor before the sun.
22. Let the ravens pick out the eyes of  
hypocrites,
23. Because they have desolated many  
houses of men in dishonor,  
And dispersed in lust.
24. And did not remember God,  
And did not fear God in all this.
25. And provoked God and incited Him,  
May He take them away from the earth,  
Because they deceived innocent souls  
through deception.
26. Blessed are those who fear the Lord  
in their innocence.
27. The Lord will deliver them from de-  
ceitful men and sinners,  
And will deliver us from every snare  
of the sinner.

15. ἐν ταῦθα, so Fritzsche, against ἐν αὐτῇ of Hilgenfeld, and ἐν ταύτῃ of the codd. ἐν λόγοις ἀναπλάσεως is an emendation of Fritzsche ; the codd. and Geiger read ἐν λόγοις ἀναπελώσεως ; Hilgenfeld ἐν λόγοις ἀναπληρώσεως. 19. ἐμπλήσει, cod. Vind. ἐνπλήσει ; cod. Aug. ἐμπλήσαι. 21. σκορπισθεῖσαν, so also Geiger and Hilgenfeld, the codd. σκορπίσθησαν. ὑπὸ, cod. Aug. ἀπὸ.

28. ἐξάραι ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ποιοῦντας ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ  
πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν  
ὅτι κριτὴς μέγας καὶ κραταῖος κύριος ὁ θεὸς  
ἡμῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.
29. γένοιτο, κύριε, τὸ ἐλεός σου ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς  
ἀγαπῶντάς σε.
28. God will destroy those, who do every  
injustice in pride,  
Because a great judge and a mighty  
Lord is our God in righteousness.
29. Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all  
that love Thee.

## PSALM V.\*

1. Κύριε ὁ θεός, ἀνέσω τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐν  
ἀγαλλιάσει,  
ἐν μέσῳ ἐπισταμένων τὰ κρίματά σου τὰ  
δίκαια.
2. ὅτι σὺ χρηστὸς καὶ ἐλεήμων εἶ, καταφυγὴ  
τοῦ πτωχοῦ.
3. ἐν τῷ κεκραγέναι με πρὸς σέ μὴ παρασι-  
ωπήσης ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.
4. οὐ γὰρ λήψεται σκύλα ἄνθρωπος παρὰ  
ἀνδρὸς δυνατοῦ.
5. καὶ τίς λήψεται ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησας,  
ἐὰν μὴ σὺ ὁ θεός;
6. ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ μέρις αὐτοῦ παρὰ σοὶ ἐν  
σταθμῷ,  
οὐ προσθήσει τοῦ πλεονάσαι, παρὰ τὸ κρίμα  
σου, ὁ θεός.
7. Ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐπικαλεσόμεθά σε  
εἰς βοήθειαν,  
καὶ σὺ οὐκ ἀποστρέψεις τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν,  
ὅτι σὺ εἶς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.
8. μὴ βαρύνῃς τὴν χεῖρα σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς,  
ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀνάγκην ἀμάρτωμεν.
9. καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιστρέψῃς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐκ  
ἀφεξόμεθα,  
ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ σέ ἡξομεν.
10. ἐὰν γὰρ πεινάσω, πρὸς σέ κεκράξομαι, ὁ  
θεός,  
καὶ σὺ δώσεις μοι.
11. τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας σὺ τρέφεις  
ἐν τῷ διδόναι σε ὕετον ἐν ἐρήμοις εἰς  
ἀνατολὴν χλόης,  
ἐτοιμάσαι χορτάσματα ἐν ἐρήμῳ παντὶ ζῶντι.
12. καὶ ἐὰν πεινάσωσι, πρὸς σέ ἄροῦσι πρόσωπα  
αὐτῶν.
1. Lord God, I will praise Thy name in  
gladness,  
In the midst of those, who know Thy  
righteous judgments :
2. For Thou art good and gracious, a  
refuge of the poor.
3. After having called to Thee, Thou wilt  
not keep silence.
4. A man will not take spoils from a  
mighty man.
5. And who will take from all that Thou  
hast made, unless thou givest ?
6. For man and his portion is before  
Thee on the scale,  
He will not increase his riches against  
Thy discrimination, O God.
7. In our distress we will cry to Thee  
for help,  
And Thou wilt not deny us our pe-  
tition,  
For Thou art our God.
8. Let Thy hand not be heavy upon us,  
That we may not sin on account of  
distress.
9. And even, if Thou turnest not to us,  
we shall not cease,  
But shall come to Thee.
10. For when I am hungry I shall cry  
unto Thee, O God,  
And Thou wilt give me.
11. Thou feedest the birds and the fishes,  
By giving rain in deserts for the grow-  
ing of grass,  
To prepare food in the desert for  
every creature.
12. And when they are hungry, they lift  
up their countenance to Thee.

\*V. This psalm is entitled: Ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομῶν ε'. 7. εἰς, Hilgenfeld εἰς. 9. πρὸς ἡμᾶς Fritzsche writes, the codd. ἡμᾶς.

13. τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ λαοὺς  
σύ τρέφεις, ὁ θεός,  
καὶ πτωχοῦ καὶ πένητος ἡ ἐλπὶς τίς ἐστιν,  
εἰ μὴ σύ, κύριε;
14. καὶ σύ ἐπακούσῃ, ὅτι τίς χρηστός καὶ  
ἐπιεικής, ἀλλ' ἡ σύ,  
εὐφράναι ψυχὴν ταπεινοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀνῴξαι  
χεῖρά σου ἐν ἐλέει;
15. ἡ χρηστότης ἀνθρώπου ἐν φίλῳ καὶ ἡ  
αὖριον,  
καὶ ἂν καὶ δευτερώσῃ ἄνευ γογγυσμοῦ, καὶ  
τοῦτο θαυμάσεις·
16. τὸ δὲ δῶμα σου πολὺ μετὰ χρηστότητος καὶ  
πλούσιον,  
καὶ οὐ ἐστιν ἐπὶ σέ, κύριε, ἡ ἐλπὶς, οὐ φέει  
ἐν δόματι.
17. ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τὸ ἐλεός σου, κύριε, ἐν  
χρηστότητι.
18. Μακάριος οὗ μνημονεύει ὁ θεός ἐν συμμετρίᾳ  
αὐταρκείας·
19. ἔαν ὑπερπλεονάσῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἔξαμαρτύνει.
20. ἱκανὸν τὸ μέτριον ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ,  
καὶ ἐν τόντῳ ἡ εὐλογία κυρίου εἰς πλησμονὴν  
ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ
21. εὐφρανθεῖσαν οἱ φοβούμενοι κύριον ἐν  
ἀγαθοῖς,  
καὶ ἡ χρηστότης σου ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ  
βασιλείᾳ σου,
22. εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα κυρίου,  
ὅτι αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν.
13. Kings and princes and nations Thou  
feedest, O God,  
And who beside Thee, O Lord, is the  
hope of the poor and destitute?
14. And Thou wilt hear, for who is as  
good and kind as Thyself,  
To cheer the heart of the poor, when  
Thou openest thy hand in mercy?
15. A man is good to his friend, and the  
next day,  
And when he gives again without mur-  
muring, this also is surprising.
16. But thy gift is large with benevolence  
and rich,  
And whoso putteth his trust, O Lord, in  
Thee, shall have no need of anything.
17. Over the whole earth is thy mercy, O  
Lord, in benevolence.
18. Blessed whom God remembers in mea-  
suring the due proportion.
19. When man has too much, he sins.
20. Sufficient is the necessary with right-  
eousness,  
And herein is the blessing of the Lord  
for fulness in righteousness.
21. Those who fear the Lord rejoice in  
happiness,  
And thy mercy is upon Israel in thy  
kingdom.
22. Blessed be the glory of the Lord,  
For He is our King!

16. φέει so Fritzsche; cod. Vind. φέισεται; cod. Aug. φύσται; Cerda and Fabricius φυνάεται. 18. αὐταρκείας, Hilgenfeld αὐταρκείας. 21. εὐφρανθεῖσαν, Fritzsche's emen-  
dation; the codd. read εὐφράνθησαν.

## PSALM VI.\*

1. Μακάριος ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἡ καρδιά αὐτοῦ ἐτόιμη  
ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου·
2. ἐν τῷ μνημονεύειν αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου  
σωθήσεται.
3. αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κατευθύνονται ὑπὸ κυρίου,  
καὶ πεφυλαγμένα ἔργα χειρῶν αὐτοῦ.
4. ἀπὸ ὁράσεων πονηρῶν ἐνυπνίων αὐτοῦ οὐ  
ταραχθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ.
1. Blessed is the man whose heart is  
ready to call upon the name of the  
Lord,
2. In remembering the name of the Lord,  
he shall be saved.
3. His paths are directed by the Lord,  
And the works of his hands are kept.
4. On account of the bad visions of his  
dreams his soul is not frightened.

\* VI. The psalm is entitled : ψαλμὸς ἐν ἐλπίδι τῷ Σαλομὼν ζ'.



5. ἐν διαβάσει ποταμῶν καὶ σάλῳ θαλασσῶν  
οὐ πτοηθήσεται.
6. ἐξανέστη ἐξ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ  
καὶ εὐλόγησε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου.
7. ἐπ' εὐσταθείᾳ καρδίας αὐτοῦ ἐξύμνησε τὸ  
ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ ἐδεήθη τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου περὶ παντὸς  
τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ.
8. καὶ κύριος εἰσήκουσε προσευχὴν παντὸς ἐν  
φύβῳ θεοῦ,  
καὶ πᾶν αἶτημα ψυχῆς ἐλπίζουσης πρὸς  
αὐτὸν ἐπιτελεῖ κύριος.
9. εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ ποιῶν ἔλεον τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν  
αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

5. At the going through waters and in  
the billows of seas he shall not be  
terrified.
6. He rises up from his sleep,  
And praises the name of the Lord.
7. With a faithful heart he praised the  
name of his God,  
And sought the face of the Lord for  
his whole house.
8. And the Lord heard the prayer of  
every God-fearing,  
And the Lord fulfills the petition of  
the soul that hopes in Him.
9. Blessed be the Lord, who does mercy  
to them that love Him in truth.

5. σάλῳ, cod. Vind. σάλων; cod. Aug. σαλῶν.

9. εὐλογητὸς, cod. Aug. εὐλογῆτω.

### PSALM VII.\*

1. Μὴ ἀποσκηνώσης ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ὁ θεός,  
ἵνα μὴ ἐπιθῶνται ἡμῖν οἱ μισήσαντες ἡμᾶς  
ὄρωραν
2. ὅτι ἀπόσω αὐτοὺς, ὁ θεός·  
μὴ πατήσάτω ὁ ποὺς αὐτῶν κληρονομίαν  
ἀγιάσματός σου.
3. σὺ ἐν θελήματί σου παίδενσον ἡμᾶς  
καὶ μὴ ὀφς ἐθνεσιν.
4. ἐὰν γὰρ ἀποστείλῃς θάνατον.  
σὺ ἐντελεῖ αὐτῷ περὶ ἡμῶν,  
ὅτι σὺ ἐλεῆμων,  
καὶ οὐκ ὀργισθήσῃ τοῦ συντελέσαι ἡμᾶς.
5. Ἐν τῷ κατασκηνῶν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν μέσῳ  
ἡμῶν ἐλεηθῇ σόμεθα.
6. καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύσει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐθνός,  
ὅτι σὺ ὑπερασπιστὴς ἡμῶν.
7. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπικαλεσόμεθά σε,  
καὶ σὺ ἐπακούσῃ ἡμῶν.
8. ὅτι σὺ οἰκτειρήσεις τὸ γένος Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸν  
αἰῶνα  
καὶ οὐκ ἀπόσω.  
καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ ζυγόν σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα  
καὶ ὑπὸ μαστίγα παιδείας σου.
9. κατευθυνεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐν καιρῷ ἀντιλήψεώς σου,  
τοῦ ἐλεῆσαι τὸν δίκον Ἰακώβ εἰς ἡμέραν ἐν  
ᾗ ἐπηγγείλω αὐτοῖς.

1. Remove not from us, O God,  
That not come over us, who hated us  
without cause.
2. Thou hast rejected them, O God,  
May their foot not enter Thy holy  
inheritance.
3. Chastise us according to Thy will,  
But give us not to the heathen.
4. Even if Thou wilt send death,  
Thou wilt command it concerning us,  
For Thou art merciful,  
And will not be angry to destroy us.
5. When Thy name dwells in our midst,  
we shall find mercy.
6. And the heathen shall not overpower us,  
Because Thou art our protection.
7. And we will call upon Thee,  
And Thou wilt hear us.
8. For Thou wilt be merciful to the peo-  
ple of Israel for ever,  
And wilt not reject it,  
And we are always under Thy yoke,  
And under the rod of Thy discipline.
9. Thou wilt guide us in the time of Thy  
help,  
To be gracious to the house of Jacob, in  
the day which Thou hast promised  
unto them.

\*VII. This psalm is entitled: ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομὼν ἐπιστροφῆς ζ'. 4. σὺ ἐντελεῖ Fritzsche; Hilgenfeld σὺ ἐντελεῖ; σὺ ἐντολῇ codd. 8. οἰκτειρήσεις Fritzsche and Hilgenfeld; οἰκτηρήσεις the codd. εἰς after σου is added by Fabricius. 8. ὑπὸ μαστίγα, the codd. omit ὑπὸ. 9. κατευθυνεῖς, the codd. κατευθύνεις.

## PSALM VIII.\*

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| <p>1. Θλίψιν καὶ φωνὴν πολέμου ἤκουσε τὸ οὖς μου,<br/>φωνὴν σάλπιγγος ἡχοῦσης σφαγὴν καὶ<br/>δλεθρον·</p> <p>2. φωνὴ λαοῦ πολλοῦ ὡς ἀνέμου πολλοῦ<br/>σφόδρα,<br/>ὡς καταγίγς πυρὸς πολλοῦ φερομένου<br/>δι' ἐρήμου.</p> <p>3. καὶ εἶπον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου· ποῦ ἄρα κρινεῖ<br/>αὐτὸν ὁ θεός·</p> <p>4. φωνὴν ἤκουσα ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ πόλει ἁγι-<br/>άσματος.</p> <p>5. συνετρίβη ἡ ὀσφύς μου ἀπὸ ἀκοῆς<br/>παρελύθη γόνατά μου.</p> <p>6. ἐφοβήθη ἡ καρδία μου,<br/>ἐταράχθη τὰ ὀστέα μου ὡς λίνον.</p> <p>7. εἶπον· κατενθνηοῦσιν ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν δικ-<br/>αιοσύνῃ.<br/>Ἐνελογισάμην τὰ κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ<br/>κτίσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,<br/><br/>ἐδικαίωσα τὸν θεὸν ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν αὐτοῦ<br/>τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος.</p> <p>8. ἀνεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν<br/>ἐνάντιον τοῦ ἡλίου,<br/>ἔγνω πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τὰ κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ<br/>δίκαια.</p> <p>9. ἐν καταγαίοις κρυφίοις αἱ παρανομίαι αὐτῶν,</p> <p>10. ἐν παροργισμῷ υἱὸς μετὰ μητρὸς, καὶ<br/>πατὴρ μετὰ θυρατρὸς συνεφύροντο·</p> <p>11. ἐμοιχῶντο ἕκαστος γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίου<br/>αὐτοῦ,<br/>συνέθεντο αὐτοῖς συνθήκας μετὰ ὄρκου περὶ<br/>τούτων.</p> <p>12. τὰ ἅγια τοῦ θεοῦ διήρπαζον, οὐκ ὄντος<br/>κληρονόμου λυτρουμένου,</p> <p>13. ἐπάτουν τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου ἀπὸ πάσης<br/>ἀκαθαρσίας,<br/>καὶ ἐν ἀφέδρῳ αἵματος ἐμίαινον τὰς θυσίας<br/>ὡς κρέα βέβηλα.</p> | <p>1. Distress and sound of war, my ear<br/>heard<br/>The clang of the trumpet, calling to<br/>murder and ruin.</p> <p>2. The noise of a great army as of a<br/>mighty rushing wind,<br/>Like a great pillar of fire, rolling<br/>hitherward over the plains!</p> <p>3. And I said within myself : Where then<br/>will God judge it ?</p> <p>4. I heard a voice in Jerusalem, the holy<br/>city.</p> <p>5. My loins were broken at the hearing,<br/>My knees were enfeebled.</p> <p>6. My heart was afraid,<br/>My bones trembled like flax.</p> <p>7. I said : they make straight their paths<br/>in righteousness.<br/>I considered the judgments of God<br/>since the creation of heaven and<br/>earth,<br/>I justified God in all His judgments<br/>from everlasting.</p> <p>8. God uncovered their sins before the<br/>sun,<br/>The whole earth knew the righteous<br/>judgments of God.</p> <p>9. In secret hiding-places their sins.</p> <p>10. In provocation sinned the son with the<br/>mother, and the father with the<br/>daughter.</p> <p>11. Every one committed adultery with his<br/>neighbor's wife,<br/>With an oath they covenanted for this<br/>purpose.</p> <p>12. The sanctuary of God they plundered,<br/>there being no heir to redeem it,</p> <p>13. Away from all kinds of impurity they<br/>went up the altar of the Lord,<br/>And in the separation of blood they<br/>polluted the sacrifices like profane<br/>meat.</p> |
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\*VIII. The psalm is entitled : *ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομῶν εἰς νίκας* (cod. Vind., *εἰς νίκας* cod. Aug.) ἢ. 3. ἐν τῇ, the codd. without ἐν ; πόλει, cod. Vind. πόλει. 7. κατενθνηοῦσιν, the codd. κατενθνουνσιν ; Hilgenfeld reads : εἶπον κατενθνουνσιν. 11. πλησίον, cod. Aug. πλησίον ; περὶ τούτων Geiger connects with the following verse.

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| <p>14. οὐ παρέλιπον ἁμαρτίαν, ἣν οὐκ ἐποίησαν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἔθνη.</p> <p>15. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκέρασεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα πλανήσεως, ἐπότισεν αὐτοὺς ποτήριον οἴνου ἀκράτου εἰς μέθην.</p> <p>16. ἤγαγε τὸν ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, τὸν παῖοντα κραταῶς.</p> <p>17. ἔκρινε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς.</p> <p>18. ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς γῆς μετὰ χαρᾶς, εἶπον αὐτῷ· ἐπενκτῇ ἡ ὁδός σου, δεῦτε, εἰσελθετε μετ' εἰρήνης.</p> <p>19. ὠμάλισαν ὁδοὺς τραχείας ἀπὸ εἰσόδου αὐτῶν, ἤνοιξαν πύλας ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἐστεφάνωσαν τείχη αὐτῆς.</p> <p>20. εἰσεῖλθεν ὡς πατὴρ εἰς οἶκον υἱῶν αὐτοῦ μετ' εἰρήνης, ἔστησε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας πολλῆς,</p> <p>21. κατελάβετο τὰς πυργοβάρεις αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ἱερουσαλὴμ</p> <p>22. ὅτι θεὸς ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἐν τῇ πλανήσει αὐτῶν.</p> <p>23. ἀπόλεσεν ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν καὶ πάντα σοφὸν ἐν βουλῇ, ἔξεχεε τὸ αἷμα τῶν οἰκόντων Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὡς ὕδωρ ἀκαθαρσίας,</p> <p>24. ἀπήγαγε τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν, ἃς ἐγέννησαν ἐν βεβηλώσει.</p> <p>25. ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὰς ἀκαθαρσίας αὐτῶν, καθὼς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.</p> <p>26. ἐμίαναν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὰ ἁγιασμένα τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ.</p> <p>27. Ἐδικαιώθη ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τῆς γῆς,</p> <p>28. καὶ οἱ ὅσιοι τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ἄρνία ἐν ἀκακίᾳ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.</p> | <p>14. They have omitted no sin, which they have not perpetrated even more than the gentiles.</p> <p>15. Therefore God sent upon them a spirit of confusion, Gave them to drink a cup of unmixed wine to make them drunk.</p> <p>16. He brought one from the extremity of the earth, the Hardstricker.</p> <p>17. Determined war against Jerusalem and her land.</p> <p>18. The princes of the land met him with joy, Said to him: Blessed be thy way, come on, come in peace.</p> <p>19. They made smooth the rough ways before their entrance, Opened the gates of Jerusalem, Crowned the walls with garlands.</p> <p>20. He entered, as a father enters the house of his sons, in peace, He walked abroad in perfect security,</p> <p>21. He took possession of her towers and the walls of Jerusalem.</p> <p>22. For God had led him in safety, through their folly.</p> <p>23. He destroyed their princes, and every one wise in counsel, Poured out the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem like unclean water,</p> <p>24. He led their sons and daughters away, which they brought forth in profanation.</p> <p>25. They had done according to their impurity, as their fathers,</p> <p>26. Profaned Jerusalem and the things sanctified to the name of God.</p> <p>27. God showed himself just in His judgments among the nations of the earth,</p> <p>28. In whose midst the saints of God are like innocent lambs.</p> |
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15. ἐπότισεν αὐτοὺς, so Fritzsche following Hilgenfeld, against ἐπότισεν αὐτοῖς of the codd.  
 16. κραταῶς, so cod. Vind., but cod. Aug. κρατερῶς. 18. ἐπενκτῇ, Hilgenfeld's emendation, the codd. ἐπανκτῇ. 20. μετ' ἀσφαλείας, cod. Aug.; but cod. Vind. μετὰ ἀσφαλείας, as Fritzsche.



29. αἰνετὸς κύριος ὁ κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐν  
δικαιοσύνῃ αὐτοῦ. 29. Praised be the Lord, who judges the  
whole world in His righteousness.
30. ἰδοὺ δὴ, ὁ θεὸς, ἐδειξας ἡμῖν τὸ κρίμα σου  
ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου. 30. Behold then, O God, Thou hast shown  
to us Thy judgment in Thy right-  
eousness.
31. εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τὰ κρίματά σου,  
ὁ θεός,  
ἐδικαίωσαμεν τὸ δνομά σου τὸ ἐντιμον εἰς  
αἰῶνας· 31. Their eyes saw Thy judgments, O God,  
We justified Thy name, honored for  
ever.
32. ὅτι σὺ θεὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης, κρίνων τὸν  
Ἰσραὴλ ἐν παιδείᾳ. 32. For Thou art a God of righteousness,  
who judges Israel in correction.
33. ἐπίστρεψον, ὁ θεός, τὸ ἐλεός σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς  
καὶ οὐκτείρησον ἡμᾶς, 33. Turn, O God, Thy compassion upon  
us and pity us,
34. συνάγαγε τὴν διασπορὰν Ἰσραὴλ μετ' ἐλέου  
καὶ χρηστότητος. 34. Bring together the dispersion of Israel  
with compassion and kindness ;
35. ὅτι ἡ πίστις σου μεθ' ἡμῶν,  
καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσκληρύνσαμεν τὸν τράχηλον  
ἡμῶν,  
καὶ σὺ παιδευτὴς ἡμῶν εἶ. 35. Because Thy faith is with us,  
And we hardened our neck,  
And Thou art our chastiser.
36. μὴ ὑπερίδῃς ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν,  
ἵνα μὴ καταπίῃ ἡμᾶς ἐθνη, μὴ ὄντος  
λυτρουμένου. 36. Overlook us not, our God,  
That the heathen may not devour us,  
irretrievably.
37. καὶ σὺ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς,  
καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἠλπίσαμεν, κύριε. 37. And Thou art our God from the begin-  
ning,  
And in Thee we hoped, O Lord.
38. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀφεξόμεθα σου,  
ὅτι χρηστὰ τὰ κρίματά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. 38. And we will not leave Thee,  
For Thy decisions are friendly toward  
us.
39. ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν ἡ εὐδοκία εἰς  
τὸν αἰῶνα,  
κύριε σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, οὐ σαλευθῆσόμεθα ἔτι  
τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον. 39. To us and our children be Thy good  
pleasure for ever,  
Lord, our Saviour! we shall not be  
shaken for ever.
40. αἰνετὸς κύριος ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν αὐτοῦ ἐν  
στόματι ὁσίων, 40. Blessed be the Lord in His judgments  
in the mouth of the pious,
41. καὶ σὺ εὐλογημένος, Ἰσραὴλ, ὑπὸ κυρίου εἰς  
τὸν αἰῶνα. 41. And blessed be thou, Israel, by the  
Lord for ever and ever.

38. οὐκ before ἀφεξόμεθα is wanting in cod. Aug. ; Fabricius reads therefore ἀντεξόμεθα.  
39. σαλευθῆσόμεθα, the codd. σαλευθῆσώμεθα.

## PSALM IX.\*

1. Ἐν τῷ ἀπαχθῆναι Ἰσραὴλ ἐν ἀποικεσίᾳ  
εἰς γῆν ἄλλοτριαν,  
ἐν τῇ ἀποστῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ κυρίου τοῦ  
λυτρωσαμένου αὐτούς. 1. When Israel was led away in captivity  
in a strange land,  
When they apostatized from the Lord  
their Redeemer,

\*IX. This psalm is entitled: ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομῶν εἰς ἐλεγχον θ'. 1. ἀποικεσία, the  
codd. ἀποικισιά.

2. ἀπερρίψαν ἀπὸ κληρονομίας ἧς ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς κύριος ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει,  
ἐπὶ διασπορᾷ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ,
3. ἵνα δικαιωθῇς, ὁ θεὸς, ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ἐν ταῖς ἀνομίαις ἡμῶν.
4. ὅτι σὺ κριτὴς δίκαιος ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς λαοὺς τῆς γῆς.
5. οὐ γὰρ κρυβήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς γνώσεώς σου πᾶς ποιῶν κακά,
6. καὶ αἱ δικαιοσύναι τῶν ὁσίων σου ἐνώπιόν σου, κύριε,  
καὶ ποῦ κρυβήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τῆς γνώσεώς σου;
7. Ὁ θεὸς, τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν,  
τοῦ ποιῆσαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐν ἔργοις χειρῶν ἡμῶν.
8. καὶ ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ἐπισκέπτη νιόους ἀνθρώπων,
9. ὁ ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην θησαυρίζει ζωὴν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ κυρίου  
καὶ ὁ ποιῶν ἄδικα αὐτὸς αἰτίος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ.
10. τὰ γὰρ κρίματα κυρίου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ οἶκον.
11. τίμιν χρηστεύσῃ, ὁ θεὸς, εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸν κύριον;
12. καθαρίσει ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ψυχὴν ἐν ἐξομολογήσει, ἐν ἐξηγορίαις.
13. ὅτι αἰσχύνῃ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς προσώποις ἡμῶν περὶ πάντων.
14. καὶ τίμιν ἀφήσει ἁμαρτίας, εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσι;
15. δίκαιους εὐλογήσεις καὶ οὐκ εἰθνηεῖς περὶ ὧν ἡμαρτον,  
καὶ ἡ χρηστότης σου περὶ ἁμαρτάνοντας ἐν μεταμελείᾳ.
2. They were thrown away from the heritage which the Lord had given them in every nation,  
At the dispersion of Israel according to the word of God,
3. That Thou might be justified, O God, in Thy righteousness through our sins.
4. For Thou art a righteous judge over all the peoples of the earth.
5. For from before Thy knowledge no evil-doer shall be hidden,
6. And the virtues of Thy pious are before Thee, O Lord ;  
And where will a man be hid from before Thy knowledge ?
7. O God, our works are in the choice and power of our souls,  
To do justice and injustice in the works of our hands.
8. And in Thy righteousness Thou visitest the sons of men.
9. He who does righteousness treasures up life for himself before the Lord,  
And he who does unrighteous things is himself the cause of his soul's destruction.
10. For the judgments of the Lord are in righteousness in respect to man and house.
11. To whom, O God, wilt Thou be gracious, unless to those who call upon the Lord ?
12. He will cleanse the soul in sins, when there is confessing and acknowledging.
13. For shame covers us and our face on account of all.
14. Whom will He forgive sins, unless sinners ?
15. The just Thou wilt bless and not care for their sins,  
And Thy mercy is with repenting sinners.

2 ἧς in cod. Vind.; ἧ in cod. Aug. 6. καὶ ποῦ, so cod. Vind.; cod. Aug. καὶ οὐ. 7. ἐξουσία so Hilgenfeld; Cerda and Fabricius ἐξουσία. 12. ἐξομολογήσει cod. Vind.; cod. Aug. ὁμολογήσει.

16. Καὶ νῦν σὺ ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἡμεῖς λαὸς ὃν ἠγάπη-  
σας,  
Ἴδε καὶ οἰκτερον, ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι σοὶ  
ἔσμεν,  
καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσης ἐλέον σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν,  
ἵνα μὴ ἐπιθῶνται ἡμῖν.
17. ὅτι σὺ ἠρετίσω τὸ σπέρμα Ἀβραὰμ παρὰ  
πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,
18. καὶ ἔθου τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, κύριε,  
καὶ οὐ καταπαύσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
19. ἐν διαθήκῃ διέθου τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν περὶ  
ἡμῶν,  
καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλπιοῦμεν ἐπὶ σέ ἐν ἐπιστροφῇ  
ψυχῆς ἡμῶν,
20. τοῦ κυρίου ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον  
Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι.
16. And now, Thou art God, and we the  
people, whom Thou hast loved,  
Behold and have mercy, O God, over  
Israel, because we are Thine,  
And take not away Thy compassion  
from us,  
That they may not overcome us.
17. For Thou hast chosen the seed of  
Abraham above all nations.
18. And put Thy name upon us, Lord,  
And wilt not desist for ever.
19. In a covenant Thou hast promised to  
our fathers concerning us,  
And we will hope in Thee in conver-  
sion of our souls.
20. The Lord's is the compassion over the  
house of Israel for ever and ever.

16. καὶ ἡμεῖς λ. ὃν ἡγ. ἴδε κ. οἶκτ. omitted by an oversight in cod. Aug.; σοί, as in cod. Vind.; σοῦ in cod. Aug.; ἀποστήσης, in cod. Aug. ἀποστήσεις. 17. ἠρετίσω, cod. Vind. ἠρετίσω; Cerda ἠρέτισε; Fabricius ἠρέτισας—παρὰ is wanting in the codd., but given already by Fabricius. 20. καὶ ἔτι, cod. Aug. καὶ ἔτι τέλος.

## PSALM X.\*

1. Μακάριος ἀνὴρ, οὗ ὁ κύριος ἐμνήσθη ἐν  
ἐλέγχῳ  
καὶ ἐκνκλώθη ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ πονηρᾶς ἐν μάστιγι,  
καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας τοῦ μὴ  
πλησθῆναι.
2. ὁ ἐτοιμάζων νῶτον εἰς μάστιγας καθαρῖ-  
σθήσεται,  
χρηστὸς γὰρ ὁ κύριος τοῖς ὑπομένουσι  
παιδεῖαν
3. ὁρθώσει γὰρ ὁδοὺς δικαίων,  
καὶ οὐ διαστρέψει ἐν παιδείᾳ.
4. καὶ τὸ ἔλεος κυρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας  
αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ,  
καὶ μνησθήσεται κύριος τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ  
ἐν ἐλέει.
5. Ἡ μαρτυρία ἐν νόμῳ διαθήκης αἰωνίου,  
ἡ μαρτυρία κυρίου ἐπὶ ὁδοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐν  
ἐπισκοπῇ.
6. δίκαιος καὶ ὁσιος κύριος ἡμῶν ἐν κρίμασιν  
αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,  
καὶ Ἰσραὴλ αἰνέσει τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἐν  
εὐφροσύνῃ
1. Blessed the man whom the Lord re-  
membered in reproof,  
And he was turned away from the  
evil way with the rod,  
And was cleansed from sin, before the  
measure was full.
2. He that gives his back to chastisement  
will be cleansed,  
For the Lord is good to them who  
suffer discipline ;
3. For He will make straight the ways of  
the righteous,  
And not turn into discipline.
4. And the Lord's mercy is upon them,  
that love Him in truth,  
And the Lord will remember His serv-  
ants in mercy.
5. The testimony is in the law of the  
everlasting covenant,  
The testimony of the Lord is as the  
ways of men in visitation.
6. Just and holy is our Lord in His judg-  
ments for ever,  
And Israel shall praise the name of  
the Lord in gladness.

\* X. The psalm is entitled : ὕμνος τῷ Σαλομῶνι. 1. καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη, so Hilgenfeld ; the codd. καθαρῖσθῆναι ; πλησθῆναι, so Hilgenfeld ; the codd. πληθῆναι. 6. ἐν κρίμασιν, the codd. omit ἐν.



7. καὶ ὁσioὶ ἐξομολογήσονται ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαοῦ,  
καὶ πτωχοὺς ἐλεήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ  
'Ισραὴλ.
8. ὅτι χρηστὸς καὶ ἐλεήμων ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,  
καὶ συναγαγαὶ 'Ισραὴλ δοξάσουσι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου.
9. τοῦ κυρίου ἡ σωτηρία ἐπ' οἶκον 'Ισραὴλ εἰς εὐφροσύνην αἰώνιον.
7. And the pious shall give thanks in the congregation of the people,  
And God will have mercy on the poor in the gladness of Israel.
8. For God is gracious and merciful for ever,  
And the congregations of Israel will magnify the name of the Lord.
9. From the Lord comes the salvation upon the house of Israel for an everlasting gladness.

## PSALM XI.\*

1. Σαλπίζατε ἐν Σιῶν ἐν σάλπιγγι σημασίας ἁγίων,
2. κηρύξατε ἐν 'Ιερουσαλὴμ φωνὴν εὐαγγελιζομένων,  
ὅτι ἤλεθ' ὁ θεὸς τὸν 'Ισραὴλ ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ αὐτῶν.
3. στῆθι 'Ιερουσαλὴμ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ,  
καὶ ἴδε τὰ τέκνα σου ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν συνηγμένα εἰς ἅπαξ ὑπὸ κυρίου.
4. ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἔρχονται τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν,  
ἐκ νήσων μακρόθεν συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός.
5. ὄρη ὑψηλὰ ἔταπείνωσεν εἰς ὀμαλισμὸν αὐτοῖς,
6. οἱ βουνοὶ ἔφυγον ἀπὸ εἰσόδου αὐτῶν,  
οἱ ὄρυμοι ἔσκιασαν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ αὐτῶν.
7. πᾶν ξύλον εὐωδίας ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός,  
ἵνα παρέλθῃ 'Ισραὴλ ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ δόξης θεοῦ αὐτῶν.
8. ἐνδύσαι, 'Ιερουσαλὴμ, τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς δόξης σου,  
ἐτοίμασον τὴν στολὴν τοῦ ἁγιάσματος σου,  
ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐλάλησεν ἀγαθὸν 'Ισραὴλ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι.
9. ποιῆσαι κύριος ὃ ἐλάλησεν ἐπὶ 'Ισραὴλ καὶ ἐν 'Ιερουσαλὴμ,  
ἀναστήσαι κύριος τὸν 'Ισραὴλ ἐν ὀνόματι δόξης αὐτοῦ.
10. τοῦ κυρίου τὸ ἔλεος ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ισραὴλ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι.
1. Blow ye in Sion the signal-trumpet of the holy ones.
2. Proclaim in Jerusalem the voice of the messenger of glad tidings,  
For God had mercy upon Israel in their visitation.
3. Stand on high Jerusalem,  
And behold thy children gathered from the east and west at once by the Lord.
4. From the north they come to the joy of their God,  
From the distant isles God hath gathered them.
5. High mountains He made low for them to a plain.
6. The hills fled from before their entrance  
The woods gave them shade on their way.
7. Every tree of good smell God made grow for them,  
That Israel may pass by in the visitation of the glory of his God.
8. Put on, Jerusalem, the robes of thy glory,  
Prepare thy holy garment,  
For God has promised salvation unto Israel for ever and ever.
9. May the Lord do as He has spoken concerning Israel and Jerusalem,  
May the Lord uplift Israel in the name of His glory,
10. The Lord's is the compassion over Israel now and for ever.

\*XI. The psalm is entitled : Τῷ Σαλομῶν εἰς προσδοκίαν ιά. 2. τὸν 'Ισραὴλ, so Hilgenfeld, against ἐν 'Ισραὴλ of the codd. 6. ὄρυμοι, cod. Aug. ὄρομοι. 9. ἐν ὀνόματι . . . ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ισραὴλ omitted in cod. Aug.

## PSALM XII.\*

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| <p>1. Κύριε, ῥῦσαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς<br/>παρὰ νόμου καὶ πονηροῦ,<br/>ἀπὸ γλώσσης παρὰ νόμου καὶ ψιθυροῦ<br/><br/>καὶ λαλοῦσης ψευδῆ καὶ δόλια</p> <p>2. ἐν ποιήσει διαστροφῆς οἱ λόγοι τῆς γλώσσης<br/>ἀνδρὸς πονηροῦ,<br/>ὥσπερ ἐν ἄλφ πῦρ ἀνάπτον καλὰ μὴν αὐτοῦ.</p> <p>3. ἡ παροιμία αὐτοῦ ἐμπρῆσαι οἴκου· ἐν<br/>γλώσση ψευδεῖ,<br/>ἐκκόψαι δένδρα εὐφροσύνης φλογὶ ζήλους<br/>παρὰ νόμου.</p> <p>4. συγχέαι παρὰ νόμους οἴκους ἐν πολέμῳ<br/>χείλεσι ψιθυροῖς.<br/>Μακρύναι ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ ἀκάκων χεῖλη παρὰ<br/>νόμων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ,<br/>καὶ σκορπισθεῖν ὅσῃ ψιθυρῶν ἀπὸ φοβου-<br/>μένων κύριον.</p> <p>5. ἐν πυρὶ φλογὸς γλώσσα ψιθυρὸς ἀπόλοιτο<br/>ἀπὸ ὁσίων.</p> <p>6. φυλάξαι κύριος ψυχὴν ἡσυχίον μισοῦσαν<br/>ἀδίκους,<br/>καὶ κατενθῆναι κύριος ἄνδρα ποιῶντα<br/>εἰρήνην ἐν οἴκῳ.</p> <p>7. τοῦ κυρίου ἡ σωτηρία ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ παῖδα<br/>αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.</p> <p>8. καὶ ἀπόλιντο οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου<br/>κυρίου ἁπαξ.<br/>καὶ ὅσοι κυρίου κληρονομήσαιεν ἐπαγγελίας<br/>κυρίου.</p> | <p>1. Lord, deliver my soul from the im-<br/>pious and sinful man,<br/>From a tongue of an impious man<br/>and slanderer,<br/>And one talking lies and frauds.</p> <p>2. In making perversion are the words of<br/>the tongue of a sinful man,<br/>As in a threshing-floor the fire kind-<br/>ling its straw.</p> <p>3. His lust consists in burning houses<br/>with a lying tongue,<br/>To cut down trees of joy by the flame<br/>of a sinful zeal.</p> <p>4. To bring together sinful houses in<br/>war through whispering lips.<br/>Remove, O God, from the innocent<br/>the lips of sinners in perplexity,<br/>And the bones of slanderers may be<br/>dispersed from the God-fearing.</p> <p>5. In a flame of fire may the slandering<br/>tongue be destroyed before the<br/>pious.</p> <p>6. The Lord keep the quiet soul, which<br/>hates the unjust,<br/>And the Lord lift up the man who<br/>makes peace in the house.</p> <p>7. The salvation of the Lord is upon Is-<br/>rael, His servant for ever.</p> <p>8. And let the sinners perish from before<br/>the Lord once for all,<br/>And let the holy ones of the Lord in-<br/>herit the Lord's promises.</p> |
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\* XII. This psalm is entitled: Τῷ Σαλομῶν ἐν γλώσση παρὰ νόμου β'. 3. Here we followed Hilgenfeld's emendation, who corrected ἡ παροιμία of the codd. into παροιμία, which is also adopted by Wellhausen; ἐμπλήσαι (Fritzsche ἐμπλήσαι) into ἐμπρῆσαι; φλογίζούσης into φλογὶ ζήλους. Geiger and Fritzsche (the latter with the exception of ἐμπλήσαι instead of ἐμπλήσαι of the codd.), retain the reading of the MSS. 4. χεῖλη παρὰ νόμων . . . . φοβουμένων omitted in cod. Aug., hence Cerda proposed that instead of κύριον, the reading ought to be πύριον, which Fabricius adopted.

## PSALM XIII.†

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| <p>1. Δεξιὰ κυρίου ἐσκέπασέ με,<br/><br/>δεξιὰ κυρίου ἐφείσατο ἡμῶν</p> | <p>1. The right hand of the Lord has pro-<br/>tected me,<br/>The right hand of the Lord has spared<br/>us.</p> |
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† XIII. This psalm is entitled: ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομῶν, παράκλησις τῶν δικαίων, γ'. 1. ἐσκέπασε so Fritzsche after Hilgenfeld; cod. Aug. ἐσπέσασε; cod. Vind. ἐπήσασε; Fabricius ἐπέσασε; Geiger ἐξέσασε.

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| 2. ὁ βραχίον κυρίου ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ ρομφαίας<br>διαπορευομένης,<br>ἀπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ θανάτου ἁμαρτωλῶν.  | 2. The arm of the Lord saved us from<br>the penetrating sword,<br>From famine, and the death of sinners.  |
| 3. θηρία ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς πονηρὰ,<br>ἐν τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐτίλλον σάρκας<br>αὐτῶν,<br>καὶ ἐν ταῖς μύλαις αὐτῶν ἐθλῶν ὅσῃ αὐτῶν.<br>καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἀπάντων ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς<br>κύριος. | 3. Wild beasts threw themselves upon<br>them,<br>With their teeth they lacerated their<br>flesh,<br>And with their jaws they crushed their<br>bones,<br>And from all this the Lord delivered<br>us. |
| 4. Ἐταράχθη ὁ ἄσεβῆς διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα<br>αὐτοῦ,<br>μήποτε συμπαρληφθῇ μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν.  | 4. The ungodly was terrified on account<br>of his sins,<br>Perhaps he may be destroyed with the<br>sinners.   |
| 5. ὅτι δεινὴ καταστροφή τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ,<br>καὶ οὐχ ἄψεται δίκαιον ἐκ πάντων τούτων<br>οὐδέν.  | 5. For past recovery is the fall of the<br>sinner,<br>And nothing of all this will touch the<br>righteous.  |
| 6. ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοία ἡ παιδεία τῶν δικαίων ἐν<br>ἀγνοίᾳ,<br>καὶ ἡ καταστροφή τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν.  | 6. For the discipline of the righteous is<br>not the same for ignorance,<br>And the fall of the sinners.  |
| 7. ἐν περιστολῇ παιδεύεται δίκαιος,<br>ἵνα μὴ ἐπιχαρῇ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς τῷ δικαίῳ.   | 7. Secretly the righteous is chastised,<br>That the sinner may not rejoice over<br>the righteous.   |
| 8. ὅτι νουθετήσῃ δίκαιον ὡς υἱὸν ἀγαπήσεως<br>καὶ ἡ παιδεία αὐτοῦ ὡς πρωτοτόκου.   | 8. For He will admonish the righteous<br>like a beloved son,<br>And his chastisement is as that of a<br>first-born.   |
| 9. ὅτι φείσεται κύριος τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ,<br>καὶ τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν ἐξαλείψει ἐν<br>παιδείᾳ.<br>ἡ γὰρ ζωὴ τῶν δικαίων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα  | 9. For the Lord will spare His holy ones,<br>And will blot out their transgressions<br>in chastisement,<br>For the life of the righteous is for<br>ever.  |
| 10. ἁμαρτωλοὶ δὲ ἀρθήσονται εἰς ἀπώλειαν,<br>καὶ οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν ἔτι.   | 10. But sinners shall be taken away into<br>destruction,<br>And their memorial shall be found no<br>more.   |
| 11. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ὁσίους τὸ ἔλεος κυρίου,<br>καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτὸν τὸ ἔλεος<br>αὐτοῦ.   | 11. Upon the pious is the grace of the<br>Lord,<br>And upon those that fear Him His<br>mercy.   |

5. ἄψεται, cod. Vind. ἄψεται. 6. καταστροφή, cod. Aug. καταρρόφη.



## PSALM XIV.\*

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| <p>1. Πιστὸς κύριος τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ,<br/>τοῖς ὑπομένουσι παιδεῖαν αὐτοῦ,<br/><br/>τοῖς πορευομένοις ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ προσταγμά-<br/>των αὐτῶν,<br/>ἐν νόμῳ ὡς ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν εἰς ζωὴν ἡμῶν</p> <p>2. ὅσοι κυρίου ζήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα<br/>ὁ παράδεισος κυρίου, τὰ ξύλα τῆς ζωῆς ὅσοι αὐτοῦ</p> <p>3. ἡ φυτεία αὐτῶν ἐρρίζωμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,<br/>οὐκ ἐκτιλήσονται πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας,<br/><br/>ὅτι ἡ μερίς καὶ ἡ κληρονομία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν<br/>ὁ Ἰσραήλ.</p> <p>4. Καὶ οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ παράνομοι<br/>οἱ ἡγάπησαν ἡμέραν ἐν μετοχῇ ἁμαρτίας<br/>αὐτῶν,<br/>ἐν πικρότητι σαπρίας, ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ αὐτῶν,</p> <p>5. καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθησαν τοῦ θεοῦ,<br/>ὅτι ὁδοὶ ἀνθρώπων γνωσταὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ<br/>διὰ παντός,<br/>καὶ ταμεῖα καρδίας ἐπίσταται πρὸ τοῦ<br/>γενέσθαι.</p> <p>6. διὰ τοῦτο ἡ κληρονομία αὐτῶν ᾠδῆς καὶ<br/>σκότος καὶ ἀπώλεια,<br/>καὶ οὐχ εὐρεθήσονται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑλέου<br/>δικαίων.</p> <p>7. οἱ δὲ ὅσοι κυρίου κληρονομήσουσι ζωὴν ἐν<br/>εὐφροσύνῃ.</p> | <p>1. Faithful is the Lord to them that love<br/>Him in truth,<br/>To them that are patient under His<br/>discipline,<br/>To them that walk in righteousness of<br/>His commandments,<br/>In the law, as He commanded us that<br/>we may live.</p> <p>2. The pious of the Lord shall live in<br/>Him for ever,<br/>The paradise of the Lord, the trees of<br/>life are His saints.</p> <p>3. Their plantation is rooted in eternity,<br/>They shall not be plucked out at any<br/>time,<br/>For the portion and heritage of God is<br/>Israel.</p> <p>4. But not so the sinners and ungodly,<br/>Who loved the day in participation of<br/>their sins,<br/>In bitterness of decay, in their lusts.</p> <p>5. And did not remember God,<br/>For the ways of men are known be-<br/>fore Him continually,<br/>And He is aware of what is stored in<br/>the heart before it is done,</p> <p>6. Therefore is Hades their inheritance,<br/>and darkness and destruction,<br/>And they shall not be found in the<br/>day of compassion on the righteous.</p> <p>7. But the holy ones of the Lord shall in-<br/>herit life in gladness.</p> |
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\* XIV. This psalm is entitled : "Ὑμνος τῷ Σαλομών ιδ." 4. πικρότητι, so Fritzsche follow-  
ing Hilgenfeld ; the codd. and Geiger μικρότητι.

## PSALM XV.†

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| <p>1. Ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί με ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸ<br/>ὄνομα κυρίου,<br/>εἰς βοήθειαν ἤλπισα τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ καὶ<br/>ἐσώθην</p> <p>2. ὅτι ἐλπίς καὶ καταφυγὴ τῶν πτωχῶν σύ, ὁ<br/>θεός.</p> <p>3. τί γὰρ ἰσχύει, ὁ Θεός, εἰ μὴ ἐξομολογήσασ-<br/>θαί σοι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ;</p> | <p>1. In my distress I called upon the name<br/>of the Lord,<br/>I hoped for the help of the God of<br/>Jacob and I was delivered.</p> <p>2. For hope and refuge of the poor art<br/>Thou, O God.</p> <p>3. For what availeth, without professing<br/>Thee in truth ?</p> |
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† XV. This psalm is entitled : ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομών μετ' ᾠδῆς ιε. 3. τί γὰρ so Fritzsche  
against τίς γάρ of the codd.

4. καὶ τί δύνατὸς ἄνθρωπος, εἰ μὴ ἐξομολογή-  
σασθαι τῷ ὀνόματί σου;
5. ψαλμὸν καὶ αἶνον μετ' ἑδῆς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ  
καρδίας,  
καρπὸν χειλέων ἐν ὀργάνῳ ἡρμωμένῳ  
γλώσσης,  
ἀπαρχὴν χειλέων ἀπὸ καρδίας ὁσίας καὶ  
δικαίας,
6. ὁ ποίων ταῦτα οὐ σαλευθήσεται εἰς τὸν  
αἰῶνα ἀπὸ κακοῦ  
φλόξ πυρὸς καὶ ὀργῇ ὑδίκων οὐχ ἄψεται  
αὐτοῦ
7. ὅταν ἐξέλθῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἀπὸ προσώπου  
κυρίου  
ὀλοθρεῦσαι πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν ἁμαρτωλῶν.
8. ὅτι τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ δικαίους εἰς  
σωτηρίαν,  
λὶμός καὶ ῥομφαία καὶ θάνατος μακρὰν ἀπὸ  
δικαίων
9. φεύσονται γὰρ ὡς διωκόμενου λημοῦ ἀπὸ  
ὁσίων,  
καταδιώξεται δὲ ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ καταλήψ-  
εται.  
καὶ οὐκ ἐκφεύξονται οἱ ποιῶντες ἀνομίαν τὸ  
κρίμα κυρίου,  
ὡς ὑπὸ πολεμίων ἐμπεύρων καταληφθήσονται,
10. τὸ γὰρ σημεῖον τῆς ἀπωλείας ἐπὶ τοῦ  
μετώπου αὐτῶν,
11. καὶ ἡ κληρονομία τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀπώλεια  
καὶ σκότος.  
καὶ αἱ ἀνομίαι αὐτῶν διώξονται αὐτοὺς ἕως  
ᾗδου κάτω,
12. ἡ κληρονομία αὐτῶν οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται τοῖς  
τέκνοις αὐτῶν.
13. αἱ γὰρ ἀνομίαι ἐξηρμώσουσιν οἴκους ἁμαρ-  
τωλῶν,  
καὶ ἀπολοῦνται οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ  
κρίσεως κυρίου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
14. ὅταν ἐπισκέπῃται ὁ θεὸς τὴν γῆν ἐν  
κρίματι αὐτοῦ,  
ἀποδοῦναι ἁμαρτωλοῖς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον.
15. οἱ δὲ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον ἐλεηθήσονται  
ἐν αὐτῇ,  
καὶ ζήσονται ἐν τῇ ἐλεημοσίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ  
αὐτῶν.
4. And what can a man do, except prais-  
ing Thy name?
5. A psalm and praise with song in joy  
of heart,  
The fruit of lips on the tuned organ of  
the tongue,  
The first-fruits of lips out of a pious  
and righteous heart.
6. Whosoever does this shall never be  
shaken by the evil,  
Flame of fire and wrath of sinners will  
not touch him.
7. When it goes forth upon the sinners  
from before the face of the Lord,  
To destroy every substance of sinners.
8. For the sign of God is upon the right-  
eous for salvation,  
Hunger and sword and death are far  
off from the righteous.
9. For they will flee as a persecuting  
hunger from the holy ones,  
But it will persecute sinners and seize.  
Those who do iniquity shall not es-  
cape the judgment of the Lord,  
They shall be seized as by experi-  
enced foes.
10. For the sign of destruction is on their  
forehead.
11. And the inheritance of sinners is de-  
struction and darkness,  
And their iniquities shall pursue them  
down to Hades.
12. And their portion shall not be found  
for their children.
13. For the iniquities shall lay waste the  
houses of sinners,  
And the sinners shall perish in the  
day of the judgment of the Lord for  
ever.
14. When God shall visit the earth in His  
judgment,  
To render unto sinners for ever.
15. But those who fear the Lord shall be  
pitied in that [day],  
And shall live in the compassion of  
their God.

10. cod. Aug. omits τῆς before ἀπωλείας. 11. cod. Aug. omits αὐτῶν after ἀνομίαι.

## PSALM XVI.\*

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| <p>1. Ἐν τῇ νυστάξει ψυχὴν μου ἀπὸ κυρίου,<br/>παρὰ μικρὸν ὥλισθησα ἐν καταφορᾷ ὕπνου.</p> <p>2. ἐν τῷ μακρῷταί με ἀπὸ θεοῦ<br/>παρ' ὀλίγον ἐξεχύθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου εἰς θάνατον.</p> <p>σύνεγγυς πυλῶν ᾤδον μετὰ ἁμαρτωλοῦ.</p> <p>3. ἐν τῷ διενεχθῆναι ψυχὴν μου ἀπὸ κυρίου<br/>θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ,<br/>εἰ μὴ ὁ κύριος ἀντελάβετό μου τῷ ἑλέει<br/>αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.</p> <p>4. ἐνυξέ με ὡς κέντρον ἵππου ἐπὶ τὴν γρηγόρ-<br/>ησιν αὐτοῦ<br/>ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ μου ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ<br/>ἔσωσέ με.</p> <p>5. ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἀντελάβου<br/>μου εἰς σωτηρίαν,<br/>καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσω με μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν<br/>εἰς ἀπώλειαν.</p> <p>6. μὴ ἀποστήσης τὸ ἐλεός σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὁ θεὸς,<br/>μηδὲ τὴν μνήμην σου ἀπὸ καρδίας μου ἕως<br/>θανάτου.</p> <p>7. ἐπικράτησόν μου, ὁ θεὸς, ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας<br/>πονηρᾶς,<br/>καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης γυναικὸς πονηρᾶς σκανδαλι-<br/>ούσης ἄφρονα.</p> <p>8. καὶ μὴ ἀπατησάτω με κάλλος γυναικὸς<br/>παρανομούσης,<br/>καὶ παντὸς ὑποκειμένου ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας<br/>ἀνωφελοῦς.</p> <p>9. τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν μου κατεύθυνον ἐν<br/>φόβῳ σου,<br/>καὶ τὰ διαβήματά μου ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ σου<br/>διαφύλαξον.</p> <p>10. τὴν γλῶσσάν μου καὶ τὰ χεῖλη μου ἐν λόγοις<br/>ἀληθείας περιστείλουν,<br/>ὄργην καὶ θυμὸν ἄλογον μακρὰν ποιήσουν<br/>ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,</p> | <p>1. When my soul slumbered, away from<br/>the Lord,<br/>I almost fell into a stupefaction.</p> <p>2. In my being away from God<br/>My soul was almost outpoured unto<br/>death<br/>Near the doors of Hades with the sin-<br/>ners,</p> <p>3. Because my soul was far away from<br/>the Lord God of Israel<br/>Were it not that the Lord in His ever-<br/>lasting mercy had compassion with<br/>me.</p> <p>4. He pricked me as a spur of the horse<br/>to his watch,<br/>My Saviour and helper saved me at all<br/>time.</p> <p>5. I thank Thee, O God, that Thou hast<br/>helped me for salvation,<br/>And didst not count me with the sin-<br/>ners for destruction.</p> <p>6. Take not away, O God, Thy mercy<br/>from me,<br/>Nor Thy remembrance from my heart<br/>until death.</p> <p>7. Keep me back, O God, from evil sin<br/><br/>And from every bad woman, which<br/>brings to ruin the unwise.</p> <p>8. Let not the beauty of an unchaste<br/>woman deceive me,<br/>Nor of any, who is controlled by un-<br/>profitable sin.</p> <p>9. The works of my hands direct in Thy<br/>fear,<br/>And my paths keep in Thy remem-<br/>brance.</p> <p>10. My tongue and my lips clothe in<br/>words of truth,<br/>Wrath and irrational passion keep<br/>away from me.</p> |
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\*XVI. The psalm is entitled: *ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομῶν εἰς ἀντίληψιν ις'*. 1. *καταφορᾷ* the codd. *καταθορᾷ*. Cerda already remarked: fortasse erat *καταθορᾷ*, which is now the common reading. 2. *ἐν τῷ μακρῷταί με*, codd. and Geiger *τῷ μακρῶν. ἐξεχύθη*, codd. *ἐξεχώθη*. 5. *ἐλογίσω* so Fritzsche after Hilgenfeld, the codd. *ἐλλογίσω*. 9. *φόβῳ* so Hilgenfeld and Fritzsche, the codd. and Geiger after them *τόπῳ*, Wellhausen *τύπῳ*.



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| <p>11. γογγυσμὸν καὶ ὀλιγοψυχίαν ἐν θλίψει<br/>μάκρυνον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ<br/>ἐὰν ἁμαρτήσω ἐν τῷ σε παιδεύειν εἰς<br/>ἐπιστροφήν.</p> <p>12. ἐν εὐδοκίᾳ δὲ μετὰ ἡλαρότητος στήριζον τὴν<br/>ψυχὴν μου,<br/>ἐν τῷ ἐνισχύσαι σε τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἀρκέσει<br/>μοι τὸ δοθέν.</p> <p>13. ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ σὺ ἐνισχύσῃς, τίς ὑρέζεται<br/>παιδεῖσθαι ἐν πενίᾳ,</p> <p>14. ἐν τῷ ἐλέγχεσθαι ψυχὴν ἐν χειρὶ σαπρίας<br/>αὐτῆς ;<br/>ἡ δοκιμάσια σου ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν<br/>θλίψει πενίας.</p> <p>15. ἐν τῷ ὑπομεῖναι δίκαιον ἐν τούτοις ἐλεη-<br/>θήσεται ὑπὸ κυρίου.</p> | <p>11. Murmuring and faintheartedness in<br/>distress let be far from me,<br/>When I have sinned, and Thou chast-<br/>isest me for repentance.</p> <p>12. In pleasure with cheerfulness strength-<br/>en my soul,<br/>When Thou strengthenst my soul, the<br/>gift will be sufficient for me.</p> <p>13. For when Thou dost not strengthen,<br/>who will endure chastisement in<br/>poverty,</p> <p>14. When the soul is chastised by her cor-<br/>ruption ?<br/>Thy trial is in his flesh and in afflict-<br/>tion of poverty.</p> <p>15. The righteous, in enduring all this, will<br/>obtain mercy of the Lord.</p> |
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## PSALM XVII.\*

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| <p>1. Κύριε, σὺ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν<br/>αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι,<br/>ὅτι ἐν σοὶ, ὁ Θεός, καυχήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ<br/>ἡμῶν.</p> <p>2. καὶ τίς ὁ χρόνος ζωῆς ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ;<br/><br/>κατὰ τὸν χρόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς αὐτοῦ<br/>ἐπ' αὐτόν.</p> <p>3. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐλπιοῦμεν ἐπὶ Θεῷ τὸν σωτήρα<br/>ἡμῶν,<br/>ὅτι τὸ κράτος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα<br/>μετ' ἐλέου,</p> <p>4. καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα<br/>ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐν κρίσει.</p> <p>5. Σὺ, κύριε ἡρετίσω τὸν Δαυὶδ βασιλέα ἐπὶ<br/>'Ισραὴλ,<br/>καὶ σὺ ὤμοσας αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ σπέρματος<br/>αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,<br/>τοῦ μὴ ἐκλείπειν ἀπέναντί σου βασιλείαν<br/>αὐτοῦ.</p> <p>6. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν ἐπανεστήσαν<br/>ἡμῖν ἁμαρτωλοὶ<br/>ἐπέθεντο ἡμῖν καὶ ἐξώσαν ἡμᾶς<br/><br/>οἷς οὐκ ἐπηγγείλω, μετὰ βίας ἀφείλοντο.</p> | <p>1. Lord, Thou alone art our King for<br/>ever and ever,<br/>For in Thee shall our soul make her<br/>boast.</p> <p>2. And what is the span of man's life<br/>upon earth ?<br/>According to his time is also his hope<br/>upon him.</p> <p>3. But we hope in God, our Saviour,<br/><br/>Because the power of our God is with<br/>mercy for ever.</p> <p>4. And the kingdom of our God is over<br/>the heathen in judgment for ever.</p> <p>5. Thou, O Lord, didst choose for Thy-<br/>self David, to be king over Israel,<br/>And didst swear to him respecting his<br/>seed for ever,<br/>That they will never leave his king-<br/>dom before Thee.</p> <p>6. But in our sins the wicked have risen<br/>up against us,<br/>They have done violence against us<br/>and thrust us out,<br/>Whom Thou hast not sent forth, took<br/>with power,</p> |
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\*XVII. This psalm is entitled : ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλμοῦν μετ' ᾧ δὴς τῷ βασιλεῖ ιζ'. 5. βασιλεία  
so cod. Aug., βασιλειον cod. Vind.

7. καὶ οὐκ ἐδόξασαν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἐντιμον  
ἐν δόξῃ ἐθεντο βασιλείων ἀντὶ ὑψους αὐτῶν,  
7. And did not honor Thy ever honored  
name  
They set up a crown in glory because  
of their pride.
8. ἠρήμωσαν τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ ἐν ὑπερῃφανίᾳ  
ἀλαλάγματος.  
καὶ σὺ, ὁ Θεὸς, καταβαλεῖς αὐτοὺς,  
καὶ ἀρεῖς τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.  
8. They have laid waste the throne of  
David with a haughty shout of tri-  
umph,  
But Thou, O God, wilt cast them  
down,  
And Thou wilt take away their seed  
from the earth.
9. ἐν τῷ ἐπαναστῆναι αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀλλό-  
τριον γένους ἡμῶν,  
9. Raising up against them an alien, who  
is not of our race.
10. κατὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῶν ἀποδώσεις  
αὐτοῖς, ὁ Θεὸς  
εὐρέθειᾳ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.  
10. After their sins shalt Thou recom-  
pense them, O God ;  
They will receive according to their  
works.
11. κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐλέησει αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεός,  
ἐξηρένησεν τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν  
αὐτούς.  
11. According to their works will God  
show pity on them,  
He hunted out their seed, and did not  
let them go.
12. πιστὸς ὁ κύριος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κρίμασιν  
αὐτοῦ οἷς ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.  
12. Faithful is the Lord, in all His judg-  
ments which He performs in the  
earth.
13. Ἠρήμωσεν ὁ ἄνομος τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ  
ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν  
ἠφάνισεν νέον καὶ πρεσβύτην καὶ τέκνα  
αὐτῶν ἅμα.  
13. He who has not the law has desolated  
our land of its inhabitants,  
He has made the youth, and the old  
man, and the child disappear to-  
gether.
14. ἐν ὀργῇ κάλλους αὐτοῦ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτὰ  
ἕως ἐπὶ δυσμῶν,  
καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς γῆς εἰς ἐμπαγμόν,  
καὶ οὐκ ἐφείσατο.  
14. In his jealous fury he has sent them  
away to the west  
And the princes of the land he has  
made an open show, and has not  
spared.
15. ἐν ἀλλοτριότητι ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐποίησεν ὑπερ-  
ῃφανίαν,  
καὶ ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ ἀλλοτρία ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
ἡμῶν.  
15. In alien pride the enemy has done  
haughtily,  
And his heart was a stranger to our  
God.
16. καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ,  
καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς  
θεοῖς αὐτῶν.  
16. And he did all things in Jerusalem,  
As the heathen do for their idols, in  
their cities.
17. καὶ ἐπεκράτουν αὐτῶν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς διαθήκης  
ἐν μέσῳ ἐθνῶν συμμίκτων,  
οὐκ ἦν ὁ ποιῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν μέσῳ Ἱερου-  
σαλὴμ ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθειαν.  
17. And the sons of the covenant got the  
mastery over them in the midst of  
the mixed heathen,  
There was not one in the midst of Je-  
rusalem who did mercy and truth.

9. γένους so cod. Aug., Fritzsche, Hilgenfeld, Geiger; cod. Vind. γένος. ἡμῶν, cod. Vind., Fritzsche, Geiger, Hilgenfeld, ἡριτῶν cod. Vind. 13. ἄνομος, so Ewald (Gött. Gel. Aug. 1867, p. 189), followed by Hilgenfeld and Fritzsche; the codd. read ἀνεμος, which Geiger retained. ἠφάνισεν, so Fritzsche after Hilgenfeld; codd. ἠφάνισαν, retained by Geiger.

18. ἐφύγον ἀπ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἀγαπῶντες συναγωγὰς ὁσίων,  
ὡς στρουθία ἐξεπετάσθησαν ἀπὸ κοίτης αὐτῶν.
19. ἐπλανῶντο ἐν ἐρήμοις, σωθῆναι ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ κακοῦ,  
καὶ τίμιον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς παροικίας ψυχὴ σεσωμένη ἐξ αὐτῶν.
20. εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐγενήθη ὁ σκορπισμὸς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ ἀνόμων,  
ὅτι ἀνέσχευεν οὐρανὸς τοῦ στάξαι ὑετὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
21. πηγαὶ συνεσχέθησαν αἰώνιοι ἐξ ἀβύσσων ἀπὸ ὀρέων ὑψηλῶν,  
ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην καὶ κρίμα,
- ἀπὸ ὑρχοντος αὐτῶν καὶ λαοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἐν πάσῃ ἁμαρτίᾳ.
22. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν παρανομίᾳ, καὶ ὁ κριτὴς οὐκ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ,  
καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ.
23. Ἴδε, κύριε, καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοῖς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν  
νῖδὸν Δαυὶδ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὃν οἶδας σὺ, ὁ θεός,  
τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ παῖδά σου,
24. καὶ ὑπόζωσον αὐτὸν ἰσχύϊ τοῦ θραῦσαι ἄρχοντας ἀδίκους.
25. καθάρισον Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν καταπατούντων ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ,  
ἐν σοφίᾳ, ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.
26. ἐξώσαι ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἀπὸ κληρονομίας,  
ἐκτρίψαι ὑπερηφανίαν ἁμαρτωλῶν  
ὡς σκεὺν κεραμέως ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ συντρίψαι πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῶν.
18. Those who loved the synagogues of the saints fled from them,  
They were driven away as sparrows from their nest.
19. They wandered in deserts, that their souls might be saved from defilement,  
And precious was in the sight of the captivity a saved soul of them.
20. They were scattered over the whole earth by those who have not the Law.  
Because heaven refused to give rain upon the earth.
21. Eternal fountains were kept back from the depths of high mountains,  
Because there was none among them, who did righteousness and judgment,  
The highest and the lowest were in every sin.
22. The king in transgression, and the judge not in truth,  
And the people in sin.
23. Behold, O Lord, and raise up to them their king,  
The son of David, at the time Thou, O God, knowest,  
To rule Israel, Thy servant.
24. And gird him with strength, that he may break in pieces the unjust rulers.
25. Cleanse Jerusalem from the heathen, who tread it under foot,  
In wisdom, in righteousness.
26. Thrust out the sinners from the inheritance,  
Grind to dust the haughtiness of the transgressors;  
Shatter in pieces all their strength, as a potter's vessel is shattered by a rod of iron.

22. οὐκ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, this Hilgenfeld's emendation for ἐν ἀληθείᾳ of the codd.; Geiger reads ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ. 23. οἶδας so Hilgenfeld, cod. Vind. οἶδες, cod. Aug. εἶδες. 24. ἰσχύϊ so cod. Aug.; cod. Vind. ἰσχύν. 26. ἁμαρτωλῶν cod. Aug.; ἁμαρτωλοὺς cod. Vind.



27. ὁλοθρεῦσαι ἔθνη παράνομα ἐν λόγῳ στόματος αὐτοῦ,  
ἐν ἀπειλῇ αὐτοῦ φυγεῖν ἔθνη ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ ἐλέγξαι ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐν λόγῳ καρδίας αὐτῶν,
28. καὶ συνάξει λαὸν ἅγιον, οὗ ἀφηγήσεται ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ,  
καὶ κρινεῖ φυλὰς λαοῦ ἡγιασμένου ὑπὸ κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτοῦ.
29. καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσει ἀδικίαν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν αὐλισθῆναι,  
καὶ οὐ κατοικήσαι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος μετ' αὐτῶν εἰδῶς κακίαν.
30. γνώσεται γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὅτι πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ αὐτῶν εἰσι,  
καὶ καταμερίσει αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς φυλαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
31. καὶ πάροικος καὶ ἄλλογενὴς οὐ παροικήσει αὐτοῖς ἔτι  
κρινεῖ λαοὺς καὶ ἔθνη ἐν σοφίᾳ δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ. διάψαλμα.
32. καὶ ἔξει λαοὺς ἐθνῶν δουλεύειν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ  
καὶ τὸν κύριον δοξάσει πάσης τῆς γῆς.
33. καὶ καθαρῶς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν ἁγιασμῷ, ὥς καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς,
34. ἔρχεσθαι ἔθνη ἀπ' ἄκρου τῆς γῆς ἰδεῖν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ,  
φέροντας δῶρα τοὺς ἐξησθενηκότας υἱοὺς αὐτοῦς
35. καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν δόξαν κυρίου, ἣν ἐδόξασεν αὐτὴν ὁ θεὸς  
καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς δίκαιος διδάκτορ ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς.
36. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν,  
ὅτι πάντες ἅγιοι, καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν χριστὸς κύριος.
27. Destroy utterly, lawless gentiles with the word of his mouth,  
At His threatening let the gentiles flee before His face,  
And confound Thou the sinners in the thoughts of their hearts.
28. And He shall bring together the holy race, and shall lead them in righteousness,  
And He shall judge the tribes of a people sanctified by the Lord his God.
29. And He will not suffer unrighteousness to dwell in the midst of them.  
Nor shall any wicked man dwell among them who knows unrighteousness.
30. For He will take knowledge that they are all sons of God,  
And He will portion them out in their tribes over the land.
31. And the stranger and the foreigner will dwell among them no more  
He will judge peoples and gentiles in the wisdom of His righteousness. Selah.
32. And He will bring peoples from the heathen to serve Him under His yoke,  
And he will exalt the Lord exceedingly, in all the earth ;
33. And he will cleanse Jerusalem in holiness, as it was in the beginning,
34. That the heathen will come from the extremity of the earth to see His glory,  
And bring gifts, her weary sons,
35. And to see the glory of the Lord, with which God has dignified her.  
And He shall be a righteous king over them, taught of God.
36. And there shall be no unrighteousness in their midst in His days,  
Because they are all holy, and their king is the anointed, the Lord.

27. ἀπειλῇ so Fritzschē after Hilgenfeld ; the codd. ἀπελλῇ. 30. καταμερίσει so cod. Vind. ; cod. Aug. καταμετρίσει. 31. λαοὺς καὶ ἔθνη cod. Vind. ; cod. Aug. ἔθνη καὶ λαοὺς. 32. τὸν κύριον cod. Vind., omitted in cod. Aug. 34. φέροντας Hilgenfeld's emendation ; the codd. φέροντες ; Geiger φέροντα.

37. οὐ γὰρ ἐλπιεῖ ἐπὶ ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην καὶ τόξον,  
οὐδὲ πληθυνεῖ αὐτῷ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον  
εἰς πόλεμον,  
καὶ ὅπλοις οὐ συνάξει ἐλπίδας εἰς ἡμέραν  
πολέμου.
38. κύριος αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ, ἐλπίς τοῦ δυνατοῦ  
ἐλπίδι θεοῦ,  
καὶ στήσει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν  
φόβῳ.
39. πατάξει γὰρ γῆν τῆς λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ  
εἰς αἰῶνα,
40. εὐλογήσει λαὸν κυρίου ἐν σοφίᾳ μετ' εὐφροσύνης.
41. καὶ αὐτὸς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας τοῦ ἄρχεν  
λαοῦ μεγάλου,  
ἐλθῆξαι ἄρχοντας καὶ ἐξῆραι ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐν  
ἰσχύϊ λόγου.
42. καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενήσει ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ  
θεῷ αὐτοῦ,  
ὅτι ὁ θεὸς κατειργάσατο αὐτὸν δυνατὸν ἐν  
πνεύματι ἁγίῳ,  
καὶ σοφὸν ἐν βουλῇ συνέσεως μετ' ἰσχύος καὶ  
δικαιοσύνης.
43. καὶ εὐλογία κυρίου μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ἰσχύϊ,  
καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενήσει ἡ ἐλπίς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ κύριον.
44. καὶ τίς δύναται πρὸς αὐτόν;  
ἰσχυρὸς ἐν ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ κραταῖος ἐν  
φόβῳ θεοῦ,
45. ποιμαίνων τὸ ποιμνίον κυρίου ἐν πίστει καὶ  
δικαιοσύνῃ,  
καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσει ἀσθενῆσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ  
νομῇ αὐτῶν.
46. ἐν ὁσιότητι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἄξει,  
καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπερηφανία τοῦ κατα-  
δυναστευθῆναι ἐν αὐτοῖς.
47. Αὕτη ἡ εὐπρέπεια τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰσραὴλ,  
ἣν ἐγνώ ὁ θεὸς,  
ἀναστῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐπ' οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ, παι-  
δεῦσαι αὐτόν.
37. For He shall not trust in horse, and  
chariot and bow,  
Neither shall He gather to Himself sil-  
ver and gold for war,  
And He shall not trust in arms in the  
day of battle.
38. The Lord, Himself, is His king, hope  
of the mighty by hoping in God,  
And He shall set all the heathen in  
terror before Him.
39. For He will smite the earth with the  
word of His mouth for ever.
40. He will bless the people of the Lord  
in wisdom with gladness,
41. And He, being pure from sin, for the  
ruling of a great people,  
Will rebuke kings, and will cut off  
transgressors by the might of His  
word.
42. And He shall not want help from  
God, in His days,  
For God has made Him mighty in the  
Holy Spirit,  
And wise in counsel with strength and  
righteousness.
43. And the poor of the Lord are with Him  
in strength,  
And He shall not be weak, His hope  
is in the Lord.
44. And who can do anything against  
Him?  
He will be mighty in His doings, and  
strong in the fear of God,
45. Feeding the flock of the Lord in faith  
and righteousness,  
He will not suffer any infirm to be  
among them in their pasture.
46. He will lead them all in holiness,  
And there will be among them no  
haughty oppressing of them.
47. This is the beauty of the king of Is-  
rael, which is known to God,  
He shall raise Him over the house of  
Israel, to inhabit it.

37. αὐτῷ Hilgenfeld, Cerda and Fabricius αὐτῷ; ὅπλοις so Fitzsche, the codd. πολλοῖς, so also Geiger; Hilgenfeld would read: ἄλλοις, or πάλτοις, or ὑπλοῖς. 38. στήσει this is Hilgenfeld's emendation against ἐλεήσει of the codd.

48. τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένα ὑπὲρ χρυσίου  
τίμιον τὸ πρῶτον,  
ἐν συναγωγαῖς διακρινεῖ λαοὺς, φυλὰς ἡγι-  
ασμένων.
49. οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ὡς λόγοι ἁγίων ἐν μέσῳ  
λαῶν ἡγιασμένων.
50. μακάριοι οἱ γινόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείν-  
αις,  
ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν συναγωγῇ φυλῶν,  
ἃ ποιᾷται ὁ θεός.
51. ταχύνοι ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ,  
ῥύσαιο ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ ἀκαθαρσίας ἐχθρῶν βεβή-  
λων.  
κύριος αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα  
καὶ ἔτι.
48. His words are purer than the most  
pure gold,  
In the synagogues he will judge the  
people, the tribes of the saints.
49. His words are like words of the holy  
ones in the midst of sanctified peo-  
ples.
50. Happy are those who are born in those  
days,  
To see the blessings of Israel, which  
God shall bring to pass in the con-  
gregation of the tribes.
51. May God hasten his mercy toward Is-  
rael,  
Deliver us from the defilement of pro-  
fane foes.  
The Lord Himself is our king for ever  
and ever.

51. ῥύσαιο Fritzsche prefers to ῥύσεται of the codd.

## PSALM XVIII.\*

1. Κύριε, τὸ ἔλεός σου ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν  
σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,
2. ἡ χρηστότης σου μετὰ δόματος πλουσίου ἐπὶ  
Ἰσραὴλ.  
οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ἐπιβλέποντες ἐπ' αὐτὰ, καὶ  
οὐχ ὑστερήσει ἐξ αὐτῶν,
3. τὰ ὦτά σου ἐπακοῦσει εἰς δέησιν πτωχοῦ ἐν  
ἐλπίδι.  
τὰ κρίματά σου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν μετ'  
ἐλέου,
4. καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη σου ἐπὶ σπέρμα Ἀβραᾶμ,  
υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ.  
ἡ παιδεία σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὡς υἱὸν πρωτότοκον  
μονογενῆ,
5. ἀποστρέψαι ψυχὴν ὑπήκοον ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας  
ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ.
6. Καθαρίσαι ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς ἡμέραν ἐλέου  
ἐν εὐλογίᾳ,  
εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκλογῆς ἐν ἀνάξει χριστοῦ αὐ-  
τοῦ.
1. O Lord, Thy mercy is on the works of  
Thy hands for ever !
2. Thy goodness to Israel is a gift be-  
yond price.  
Thine eyes look on, and nothing will  
fail of them,
3. Thine ears will attend to the supplica-  
tion of the needy who trust in Thee.  
Thy judgments are in all the earth in  
mercy,
4. And Thy love is toward the seed of  
Abraham, the sons of Israel.  
Thy chastening be upon us as upon a  
first-born, only-begotten son,
5. To turn an obedient heart away from  
sin in ignorance.
6. May God purify Israel for the day of  
mercy in blessing,  
For the day of election in the kingdom  
of His Anointed.

\*XVIII. The psalm is entitled : ψαλμὸς τῷ Σαλομῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ κυρίου ιη'. 4. υἱοὺς, a correction of Fabricius, against the reading of υἱοῦ by Cerda and codd. 5. ἁμαρτίας the reading of Fabricius; cod. Vind. ἁμαθίας; Cerda ἁμαρθίας.



7. μακάριοι οἱ γινόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις,  
ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ κυρίου, ἃ ποιήσει γενεᾷ τῇ ἐρχομένῃ,
8. ἐπὶ ῥάβδον παιδείας χριστοῦ κυρίου ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ,  
ἐν σοφίᾳ πνεύματος καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἰσχύος.
9. κατενθύνει ἄνδρα ἐν ἔργοις δικαιοσύνης φόβῳ θεοῦ,  
καταστήσαι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐν φόβῳ κυρίου.
10. γενεὰ ἀγαθὴ ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ ἐν ἡμέραις ἐλέου, διὰ ψαλμα.
11. Μέγας ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐνδοξος ἐν ὑψίστοις κατοικῶν,
12. ὁ διατάξας ἐν πορείᾳ φωστῆρας εἰς καιροὺς ὥρων ἀφ' ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας,  
καὶ οὐ παρέβησαν ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ ἣν ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς.
13. ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν,  
ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἔκτισεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς καὶ αἰῶνος,
14. καὶ οὐκ ἐπλανήθησαν ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἔκτισεν αὐτοίς,  
ἀπὸ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ αὐτῶν,  
εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐπιταγῇ δοῦλων αὐτοῦ.
7. Blessed are they who are born in those days,  
To see the good things which the Lord shall do for the generation to come.
8. Beneath the rod of correction of the Anointed of the Lord in the fear of His God  
In wisdom of spirit and of righteousness and of might
9. To lead man in works of righteousness through fear of God  
To fill them all with fear of the Lord.
10. A good generation in the fear of God, in the days of mercy. Selah.
11. Great is our God and glorious, dwelling on high,
12. Who has appointed in a course, lights for seasons of times from day to day.  
And they never depart from the way, which Thou hast commanded them.
13. Their way is in the fear of God every day,  
Since that day when God created them, and from eternity,
14. And they did not go astray from the day He created them,  
From olden times they did not depart from their way,  
Unless God commanded them through the command of his servants.

12. πορεία so cod. Vind.; cod. Aug. κυρεία. The subscription is according to cod. Vind.: αλμοὶ Σαλομώντος τη'. ἔχουσιν ἐπη ,α. In the cod. Aug. is added: τέλος σὺν θεῷ.

## VI.

### NOTES AND NOTICES.

*The Death of Rev. Prof. Samuel Jennings Wilson, D.D., LL.D., of the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny City, Pennsylvania,* is noticed in the editorial pages of the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW because he was from the beginning one of its most honored and influential Associate Editors. The undersigned is entrusted with the preparation of this notice because he was for thirteen years the colleague and intimate friend of its distinguished subject.

The fact that Professor Wilson was by the spontaneous suffrages of his peers made the first Moderator of the great Synod of Pennsylvania, accurately marks his rank in the entire Christian ministry of that immense Commonwealth. In learning, ability, eloquence, and influence he was beyond question the most eminent Christian minister of any denomination in his native State. And it is a coincidence that will not be forgotten that Pennsylvania's greatest minister, Samuel Jennings Wilson, and her greatest lawyer, Jeremiah Black, lay awaiting their burial at the same time.

There are two measures of a man's greatness : the one to be determined in the estimate of his intrinsic qualities, the other by his acquired position and relation to the community of which he is a part. In each of these respects Professor Wilson's claim to be regarded great is valid.

His natural faculties were of a high order, and they were earnestly and wisely exercised in the highest uses from his childhood. He possessed capacity for concentrated and sustained attention, a retentive memory, wide and clear intellectual vision, accurate judgment, vivid and fertile imagination, strong affections, burning enthusiasm, and unparalleled powers of expression by word, look, and gesture. The foundation laid in his school and college days for his future scholarly growth was accurate and broad. Afterward he continued uninterruptedly to the close of his laborious life a constant student in every branch of his profession, and a wide, general reader. He was for twenty-eight years tutor and Professor of Ecclesiastical and Sacred History and of the History of Doctrines, but on different occasions and for protracted periods he also discharged the duties of the professors of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature, of New Testament Greek and Exegesis, and of Systematic Theology, and all with distinguished success. His thought was as clear as light, his judgment sound, and heart pure and brave and as true as steel. He was extraordinarily

grave and silent in his manner : often in the company of his colleagues or in his family, giving for long passages of time no other sign of conscious life than that afforded by the following of his watchful eye. But under that apparently sleeping surface a whole teeming world of life brooded, and sometimes volcanic fires rolled. His preaching, as the many thousand hearers of his oration on John Knox will testify, and as the majority of the churches in Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio will cherish among their proudest sectional traditions, was often characterized by the most moving and over-mastering eloquence. Often in the Seminary prayer-meeting his voice broke upon us like the sound of a trumpet, and he at once lifted up the whole service to a higher level of vision and devotion.

The true greatness of a man rests more in his character, especially its moral elements, than in his intellect or his learning. Professor Wilson in this species also graded among the very highest of his generation. He was unselfish, pure, absolutely consecrated to his chief ends, concentrated in purpose, of strong will, of strong passions held in restraint and always made to serve reason and conscience. Self-respectful but unambitious, sympathetic with all weakness and suffering, tender as a woman, strong as a lion, true and honorable as a Knight of Christ.

As to the second element of greatness found in his position and his relation to his community Professor Wilson must be estimated as occupying an even yet higher rank. He was native to the soil, embodying in finest quality and proportions the characteristic excellences of Scotch-Irish ancestry and of the Western Pennsylvanian population. He was truly representative as a man and as a Presbyterian minister in a sense and to a degree not true of any other man of his generation. His grandfather, Thomas Dill, gave his whole life to prayer, visiting in turn all the sections of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia and Eastern Ohio, seeking the conversion of souls and the revival of the Church. His mother, Jane Dill, was a woman of great force of character and eminently spiritual and devoted. She consecrated her son to the ministry from his birth, and impressed her own character and purpose upon him in his infancy.

Last April, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his entering upon his professorship, he said : " I am glad to have the opportunity of saying that whatever I am is due to my mother. I would rather hear it said that my mother was Jane Dill, and my grandfather praying Thomas Dill, than to hear it said that my mother was Queen and my grandfather Emperor." He struggled to gain his education, but went up through all the stages first in each class from the start. He became teacher in every school in which he learned, retaining to the end a most absolute identification of himself and his interests with his scholars and his schools, and of the section of the nation out of which these grew. His roots ran out into all that land and took deep and wide hold of the ground.

Every student, especially every struggling student, was taken into his heart. The Professor appeared always reticent and undemonstrative, yet no honest student ever misread the man. It was to him before any of his colleagues through all those years of service that the student needing sympathy went,



whether poor, or sick, or bereaved, or in spiritual darkness, or in need of counsel for his future course. Once loving he loved forever, for greater tenacity of fibre God never wrought out of Scotch-Irish or Northman blood. Thus his nearly one thousand graduates remained bound to his heart by hooks of steel. He prayed for them, wept with them, gloried over them, following them along all their ways. And they knew him and gloried in him as their leader, and now they weep over the wide world, for their prince is dead.

He was naturally put forward as the representative of his section, and as such bore all the honors from his immediate constituents and from the Church as a whole, open to the career of a Presbyterian minister. He had been Moderator of the Synod of Pittsburgh, and was Moderator of the great Synod of Pennsylvania at the time of his death. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1874, was actually for a time President of Washington and Jefferson College, and would have been so always if he had not preferred to be the presiding professor of the Western Theological Seminary. He represented his Church in the preparatory meeting in London in 1875, and in the Grand Council in Philadelphia in 1880. He was the orator always spontaneously chosen to represent his denomination as a whole on its grandest occasions as upon the tercentenary anniversary of Presbyterianism, A.D. 1872, in Philadelphia, and his own more immediate circle, as at the funerals of men so pre-eminent in his section as the Rev. Dr. Elisha P. Swift and Rev. Dr. C. C. Beatty. And if he had continued in his place for a century, all the elements of power, and all the tributes of love and honor from a wide constituency would more and more have gathered into his hands.

Western Pennsylvania has generously entertained, while they lived, many an ally enlisted from other fields, and with equal generosity cherished their memory after their death. But there is no risk in anticipating the judgment of history in inscribing in letters of gold the name of their own son, Samuel Jennings Wilson, at the head of the list, first and best beloved, and longest remembered of a noble line. Dear friend, it was a blessing to know thy heart. It will be a living joy to assist in keeping thy memory green.

He was born in Washington County, Pa., July 19, 1828, and had therefore just completed his fifty-fifth year at the time of his death. He was named at his baptism after the Rev. Samuel C. Jennings, D.D., an eminently devoted and successful preacher of the Gospel in that region, who still survives in extreme old age. He united with the Presbyterian Church in Washington, Pa., March, 1849, under the pastoral care of Rev. Dr. J. I. Brownson, who assisted at his burial. He graduated at Washington College in 1852, and at the Western Theological Seminary in 1855. He was immediately made an instructor in that institution, charged from the first with the department of Church History, and for many years vicariously performing the office of teacher of the Hebrew language. He became a full professor in 1858, and colleague of his eminent teachers, Drs. Elliott, Jacobus, and Plummer. He was stated supply or pastor of the church at Sharpsburgh, and then of the Sixth Presbyterian church, Pittsburgh, from his licensure until the death of Dr. Jacobus in the autumn of 1876, and he made his churches pre-eminent centres of ecclesiastical and spiritual life.

In December, 1859, he married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of the late Robert H. Davis, of Sewickley, Pa. Beautiful, intellectual, spiritual, heavenly-minded, full of love and grace, always known as Daisy, she was alike in the family, the congregation, the faculty, and the wider circle of loving friends, always our sweetest flower. She died after much suffering in the early summer of 1880. He has now left their three children, one boy and two girls, orphans, singular in sorrow because bereaved of such parents, but no less singular in their happy fortune as the inheritors of such honors, and of such an inexhaustible wealth of love. God wipe away their tears and comfort them, making them worthy of their noble parents, and then uniting them to them in their joy.

Although delicate in appearance and reality, he finished his last year's work in perfect preservation. At the services extemporized last spring to commemorate the completion of the twenty-fifth year of his professorship, he said: "The Lord has kept me alive these twenty-five years, and I am as strong now as then. With your kind words to cheer me I am ready for twenty-five years more, if God shall spare me." Yet when he presided at the funeral of his friend and colleague, Professor William H. Hornblower, D.D., on the 17th of July, he was unable to follow his body to its eastern grave in Paterson, N. J., because of just noticed indisposition. This proved eventually to be typhoid fever communicated by means of milk from an infected house. When informed of the character of his disease he at once gave up all expectation of recovery, as several members of his family had died in that way. Toward the last when asked "How he felt?" he answered, "In perfect peace"; when asked "What he wanted?" he answered, "Only rest."

And surely all who are represented by this PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW will cordially sympathize with the losses, and pray for the renewed and ever-increasing prosperity of that honored and beloved Theological Seminary so grievously, so singularly bereaved. Dr. Hornblower, the enthusiastic teacher and universally popular preacher and perfect Christian gentleman and loyal friend, died in July, and Dr. Wilson, the Presbyterian prince, died in August. Not a colleague was present at his death or burial. Dr. Jeffers was still in Europe, whence he hastens to take the helm as Senior Professor; Dr. Kellogg in Dakota; Dr. Warfield in Kentucky, detained by the sickness of a near relation.

The very mention of these names proves the present strength and future promise of this grand old Seminary. The most essential chairs, those of the Old and of the New Testament Literature and Exegesis, and of Systematic Theology, are already filled by men who for talents, piety, learning, and skill and enthusiasm and success as teachers, were never surpassed in that or any other Seminary. May God crown them with all the honors of his service, and make their future surpass even the sacred traditions of which they are the heirs.

A. A. HODGE.

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*The General Synod of the Reformed Church in America* met in Albany, N. Y., on the 6th day of June last, and was well attended, 125 members answering to their names at the first roll-call. The Rev. W. R. Duryee, D.D., of

Jersey City, was made President. The statistics of the year show a gain in membership of 2,883, although the purging of the rolls in various cases has made a slight apparent loss in the aggregate of this year as compared with that of 1882. In offerings to the Lord there has been an increase of \$23,398, and the average contribution per member in the whole Church is \$13.69. The gain in churches for the year was seven, and in ministers thirteen. Special outpourings of Divine grace do not seem to have been numerous, but in general there was a steady advance in Christian life and activity. The necrology includes the name of Dr. Staats Van Santvoord, in the ninety-second year of his age, being then the oldest surviving minister in the denomination.

In *Foreign Missions* the statements are favorable. The expenditures were over \$69,000, all of which was met by the receipts, save some \$3,000, a lack due, it is supposed, to adventitious circumstances of a temporary nature. In the three fields, India, China, and Japan, there are seventeen missionaries and twenty-three assistant missionaries. The number of communicants increased, notwithstanding all losses, 218, or more than eight per cent., and one of the missions enjoyed a delightful work of grace. Still, as usual, the work outgrows the means at hand. There is an urgent call for more laborers, not only for new fields, but to hold to advantage the positions already occupied. The Synod urged an advance, and took measures to call forth more abundantly the resources of the churches. The Woman's Board reported an increase of auxiliaries and of funds. An unpleasant feature of the proceedings was a courteous remonstrance to the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel against the action of its Madras Diocesan Committee in re-entering the field at Vellore from which the S. P. G. had formally withdrawn more than twenty-five years ago, when the Arcot Mission purchased that Society's property with the distinct understanding that its work there should be relinquished. Such a breach of faith, as well as of Christian courtesy, is much to be deplored. It is to be hoped that the appeal which utterly failed when made to the Diocesan Committee, will be more successful with the venerable parent Society in England. For *Domestic Missions* over \$39,000 were received, and seventy missionaries have been employed. Eleven churches became self-sustaining, and with the exception of the small gifts to the Church Building Fund, the outlook is encouraging. But the report made to the Synod by its own Committee sounds a vigorous alarm, comparing the Dutch Church's additions of one church in two months, with the Presbyterian and Lutheran addition of one every day, and the Methodist of one every morning and every evening. The relative size of the bodies takes off something from the frightful disparity thus shown, but enough remains to stimulate the most lethargic heart. It is to be hoped that "improved methods and more vigorous efforts" will ensure a gratifying increase of results. In *Education* for the ministry mention is made of three new scholarships (\$2,500 each) founded by bequests. The total income of the Board was \$18,000, of which a little more than a third was contributed during the last year. The report of the Synod's Committee is a vigorous defence of the system of beneficiary education and a sharp exposition of the fallacies by which it is commonly assailed. Attention is justly called by the



Synod to the importance of establishing academies under classical care, and of bringing all Sunday-schools under the control of the consistories. Hope College, in Michigan, reported twenty-four students, of whom eight were graduated. The scholastic year was finished without debt. Measures were taken looking forward to an early resumption of theological instruction in the institution. The *Board of Publication* reported itself out of debt, and with a balance in the treasury. The *Widows' Fund* was able to pay the maximum allowance to all annuitants. The *Disabled Ministers' Fund* had a total income of nearly \$5,000, but was very far from being able to meet all the meritorious claims made upon it, nearly three-fourths of the churches failing to make any contributions to it.

The subject of greatest interest before the Synod was what is called the Poughkeepsie Memorial, proposing certain changes in the questions propounded in the baptismal forms. The proposal was decided adversely in 1881, but came up again last year, when it was referred to a committee, which reported this year. Their report was admirably drawn up, and gave a very clear and full history of the matter, but unfortunately suggested as a solution of the difficulty an additional question to the forms of baptism which was acceptable to neither the friends nor the opponents of the proposed changes. The matter was then referred to the Committee on Overtures, whose report was adopted, and is generally considered a happy settlement of the whole matter. Its features are these: 1. As the Church has a form for the reception of persons into full communion, which has been constitutionally adopted, and concludes with questions which demand assent simply to the statements of the Apostolic Creed, and an avowed purpose to "continue to the end of life in the truth affirmed in these articles of the Christian faith as they are taught here in this church," it is allowed, when circumstances make it desirable, to substitute these for the questions in the baptismal form which set forth specifically the doctrines of divine sovereignty, original sin, guilt and helplessness, and Christ's redemption. The reason is that some of these doctrines are stated in terms that are ambiguous, or at least are certainly at times misunderstood, and that therefore in cases where immature thinking or imperfect instruction may make them a stumbling-block in the way of persons to all appearance truly converted, relief should be given. The cases of this kind would be very few, and it would seem harsh to insist upon a confession which could not be sincerely made, even though its substance were strictly held. The only difficulty in the matter is that the Synod undertakes by a simple resolution to put in one place what the Constitution puts in another. The fundamental law cannot be altered in this way, or in any other save the one prescribed in its own articles. 2. To the word *good* in the confession, that one is "wholly incapable of doing any good," there is appended a foot-note referring to a similar expression in the Dordracene Canons (III. and IV. 3) which runs, "incapable of any saving good," and to the Heidelberg Catechism (Ques. 91), where good works are described as "only those which proceed from a true faith and are performed according to the law of God and to his glory." This is simply explaining one part of the standards by another, and therefore legitimate and

conclusive. 3. To the phrase "Articles of the Christian Religion," to which assent is required, is appended a foot-note stating that these articles are the articles of the Apostles' Creed, as is shown in the Heidelberg Catechism (Question 22), and in the office for the administration of the Lord's Supper. It is not easy to see how any one familiar with the standards can doubt that this note expresses the exact truth. Yet we believe that it would be safer and better if all these changes were regularly submitted to the Classes, so that there might be no question in any mind as to their legality. The entire discussion for three years has revealed in a gratifying way the doctrinal soundness of the Church, for not a single voice has been raised against any of the truths involved, and the only matter discussed has been how to provide a remedy for the confessedly few instances in which language might be misunderstood.

The old trouble of Free Masonry, which for a generation has arisen in some form, and which it was supposed had been effectually settled by the action of the last few years, came up again in two ways. One was a respectful request from a Western Classis for an investigation of oath-bound secret societies. This was at once disowned as being beyond the powers of the Synod, and impracticable in its nature. But the body being kindly disposed, and willing to do anything in reason which might allay hurtful agitation, while they reaffirmed previous deliverances declining to make the denial of Masonry a term of communion, did at the same time suggest to Christians the propriety of refraining from connection with orders of this kind, on the ground that such connection was an offence to many consciences. We do not see what objection even a Mason could make to this, since it imposes no rule, and only proposes action, or rather non-action, "in accordance with the law of Christian love." The other way in which the matter appeared was in a letter from "the Christian Reformed Church of Holland," which in the severity of its denunciations and the bitterness of its tone was unexampled in the history of our Synod. The printed minutes do not state what answer was made to it. It is sad to think that the brethren in the mother country who have separated from the (formerly) established church for the sake of purity of doctrine, should throw their influence in this land in favor of division and secession on a point like Free Masonry, the toleration of which by any church, even if foolish, yet cannot by any possibility undermine Christian character. Yet this is just what the brethren in the Netherlands have done by direct correspondence with the seceding churches here. They do not seem to remember for a moment that the point for which they are contending as a matter of life or death is one upon which nineteen-twentieths of Protestant Christendom lay no stress whatever. If they are right, what becomes of the oft-repeated promise of the Holy Ghost to guide God's people "into all the truth"?

The Synod showed its disposition to recognize and encourage the growth of our Church in the West by appointing its next regular meeting at Grand Rapids, near the shore of Lake Michigan. It passed the resolution laid over from last year, substituting the terms Vice-President and Treasurer for Assessor and Questor—as conspicuous an instance of poverty of taste and judgment as has been seen for a generation, and besides, an absurd usurpa-

tion of power as to the latter term, for the General Synod has no more right to say what a Classis shall call its financial officer than the Legislature of New York has—that is, none at all. Informal information was given of a bequest of \$50,000 by Gardner A. Sage for the purpose of founding a new professorship in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick. Concurrently with this a committee was appointed to confer with the professors, and report a new classification of the curriculum of study in accordance with modern nomenclature, an accurate definition of the duties of each professor according to such classification, and the feasibility of a fourth year of study—an important commission, the due performance of which will doubtless tend much to the growth and enlargement of the institution. As the leading principles of Theological Encyclopedia are now generally admitted, it is strange that its nomenclature has not passed into use in all our Seminaries. The next year being the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of Dr. J. H. Livingston as Professor of Theology in the Reformed Dutch Church, measures were taken for an appropriate observance of the occasion, and provision made for such efforts as may be required in order to place every professorship upon a liberal and solid foundation. It is to be hoped that these efforts will meet with complete success. A learned and well-trained ministry is more and more the want of the times, and to secure this there needs to be a fully endowed Seminary, well furnished in personnel, books, and apparatus. T. W. CHAMBERS,

*The Shapira Manuscript of Deuteronomy.*—About August 1st there was brought to London and offered for sale by M. Shapira, of Jerusalem, a Jewish dealer in antiquities and curiosities, a manuscript which at once attracted the attention of Biblical and Oriental scholars. It appeared to be very ancient, the oldest of Hebrew manuscripts. Hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling were asked for it; and not without reason, if it really contained a portion of the text of Deuteronomy as it stood at the time of the Mesa inscription.

M. Shapira professed to have been informed of its existence in 1878, by an Arab Skeikh, who told him that certain Arabs were using as talismans some strange black writings found a few years earlier in a rocky cavern. On three successive visits Arabs brought to M. Shapira the forty-two sheets now under investigation. First impressions had been unfavorable; but, encouraged by a favorable judgment of the German Consul at Beyrout, M. Shapira brought the sheets to Europe. M. Clermont Ganneau pronounced against their pretensions. Prof. Lepsius, at Berlin, submitted them to Dillmann, Sachau, Schrader, and two other experts, whose judgment was promptly given in condemnation of their claim.

The *Illustrated London News* of August 25th published a fac-simile of one sheet, to exhibit at the same time the general appearance of the manuscript and the style of the text. The *London Times* of August 27th published a letter from Dr. Ginsberg, which is preliminary to a more formal and final report to the Librarian of the British Museum from the scholars who had been summoned to guide its decision.

Dr. Ginsberg rejects the claims of the MSS. for reasons external and inter-



nal. The external evidences of forgery are these: (1) The narrow slips of rough sheep-skin on which the text is written were evidently cut from the margin of synagogue scrolls. (2) The Shapira MSS. exhibit, but not as marginal lines to the columns of text (and sometimes under the text), the guiding lines which are so drawn and used in the synagogue scrolls. (3) The slips under examination have frequently one ragged and one smooth upper and lower edge, while old scrolls generally have naturally become worn and ragged both at top and bottom. (4) Some of the slips have manifestly been laid under a frame and chemically treated.

The internal evidence points, in Dr. Ginsberg's judgment, to the participation of four or five persons in the forgery, and to a Polish, Russian, or German Jew, or one who had learned Hebrew in the North of Europe, as the compiler of the text. (1) The text appears to contain a new and third version of the Decalogue, modelled after and drawing upon the text of Lev. xviii. and xix. (2) The text supplements the received text of Deut. xvii. 11-26, by giving the benedictions for which the passage calls, and makes these harmonize with its new version of the Ten Commandments. (3) The text of the maledictions is changed so as to bring it into harmony with the new Decalogue. (4) Both the archaic writing and characteristic expressions of the Mesa inscription are manifestly imitated here. (5) The text contains errors in spelling which point plainly to the North of Europe, especially by the letters which are compounded. (6) The compiler or transcriber of the text failed, from want of familiarity with the Phœnician characters, to detect these grave errors, the grossest of which, in an attribute of God, instead of saying that he "was angry," declares by a transposition of two letters that he "committed adultery."

Such judgments from French, German, and English scholars will hardly promote M. Shapira's mercantile schemes. Nor will "critical" views be greatly reinforced by the establishment in this case and on this evidence of an ancient text of Deuteronomy differing so widely from that current for more than 2,000 years, that no like claim in behalf of this or any other book could hereafter be pronounced extravagant.

CHARLES A. AIKEN.

*Hebrews iv. 1-11 Explained.*—The author (whom we recognize as Paul) has, in chap. iii. 7-19, warned his readers against an evil heart of perfidy, that must result in apostasy from the living God. He enforces the warning, by an appeal to Ps. xcv. 7-11, and makes the point of the warning, that they take care not to harden their hearts as in the provocation in the wilderness, so that they may not incur a like penalty. Thus the author draws a parallel between that ancient situation and the situation of himself and his readers.

But the full force of this warning depends on the degree of likeness in the two situations. In our chapter iv. 1-10, therefore, the Author continues to press the likeness by showing that he and his readers have a promise of entering God's rest, as those had who saw God's works in the wilderness. Without this likeness, indeed, there would be no parallel, and, consequently, little point in the warning example. What, in Paul's Jewish Christian readers, could be perfidy, hardening of heart, and apostasy like that of the Is-



raelites, unless they were under the same promise of a rest—or, at least a similar promise? And what application could there be in that warning example of the extremity of God's wrath, viz., exclusion from His rest (iii. 11, 18, 19), if in the present situation there is no promise of entering that rest.

The warning example must, however, apply exactly and impressively, if the readers have still the same promise extended to them. Then, beside having the same *living God* (iii. 12) to deal with, they are related to Him by the same conditions, only made plainer by His past judgments, and especially by the fact that they *are become companions of Christ* (iii. 14).

It is, then, as pressing the point of his warning and counsel in iii. 12, seq., that the Apostle proceeds, in our chap. iv. 1-10, to show that he and his readers have still the promise of rest as well as those that were the companions of Moses. He comprehends himself and his readers in the present context under the pronoun "*we*." It is important to notice that, at iii. 6, he has said of the same, "*We are the house of God*," and identifies himself and his readers with the notion, *the people of God* (comp. ver. 9). In other words, here, as in the whole epistle, the author addresses Hebrews as such, and as one people of God, distinguishing only temporally between those of the present ("*us*") and "*the fathers of old*" (i. 1).

Taking the foregoing as representing the progress of thought from chap. iii. to our chap. iv., we see how the Author proceeds by the use of the simple illative particle *οὕτως* as follows :

Ver. 1. *Let us fear, then, lest haply a promise being left of entering into his rest, any one of you should suppose himself to have been too late.*

At iii. 12, 15, the Apostle addresses his readers only in the second person ; and the predicates : *Take (ye) heed lest in any one of you ; exhort (ye) lest any one of you*, express action that must be exclusively their concern. In our verse he combines the first and second persons in a noticeable way. He says : *Let us fear*, because it is his fear, and he would make it the fear of his readers. The thing feared, however, is the danger of his readers and not his danger ; therefore he says : *lest any one of you*. *Let us fear* means, also, *take care* ; and he makes it his care to give the correction of the danger while warning against it. By saying : *a promise being left of entering into his rest*, the Apostle both affirms a fact and presents it as a matter for solicitude in the way expressed by : *let us fear lest any of you, etc.* His readers can only share his fear when they see the fact to be as expressed. That any could suppose they were too late for the promise was owing to their ignorance that such a promise is left. The only way to obviate their supposing this is to show that the promise is left of entering into God's rest. By saying : *let us fear*, the Apostle intimates his purpose of offering such a demonstration. Thus our verse 1 proposes the subject of the following discourse to verse 11. So understood, certain ambiguities of our verse explain themselves.\*

\* Viz. Whether *καταλείπ.*—*αὐτοῖς* depends on *ἵσπερ κέναι*, or whether *καταλείπ.* *ἐπαγγέλ.* is genitive absolute. Whether the latter means *a promise neglected*, or *a promise being left*. These points are not to be settled as in LUENEMANN, ALFORD (comp. RAPHELIUS Annot. Philol. ex POLYB. et ARRIAN), by remarking on the absence of the article (comp. von HOFMAN in loc.)

It is important that Christians nowadays should recognize how unique is the subject that the Apostle here represents to his readers. His exposition of his Psalm-text makes it appear how the truth in question is found in the Old Testament. But in the New Testament this representation of the goal of salvation as being God's rest, into which believers are to enter, stands quite alone. After the Apostles passed away, the Christian form of this Old Testament truth must have been quite unfamiliar in Christian circles, except as this epistle gradually won its way to general canonical recognition. This was long after there had ceased to be churches made up of converted Hebrews, and circumstanced as the original readers of this epistle were. This fact makes it possible that much of our epistle, and especially this its most unique teaching, would be read with Gentile eyes, that is, with habits of thought that would miss the points as they would be apprehended by primitive Jewish converts. It is the Gentile interpretation that has been handed down to us as traditional. The fact now alluded to should remind us also how it is possible that, with our best efforts to put ourselves in the place of the original readers, we still may fail to see and read as intelligently as they. Such considerations have their importance in estimating the merits of conflicting interpretations. One of the most important of these demands attention at the very threshold of our chap. iv.

It has been traditional to render *μήποτε δοκῇ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑστερημέναι* : *lest any one of you should seem to have come short of it*, or similarly, the common notion being, that *ὑστερηκ.* expresses *failure to reach the goal*. The rendering given above, *lest any one of you should suppose himself to have been too late* (for it), is recommended by G. RAPHEL († 1740) in his *Annot. Philol. ex POLYB. et ARRIAN*, 1715. It is that of SCHOETTGEN († 1751), in his *Hor. Heb.*, 1733, and of J. SIEG. BAUMGARTEN († 1757), *Erklärung d. Briefes ad Hebr.*, 1763. It has been adopted later by BRETSCHNEIDER and WAHL in their Lexicons,\* and latest by EBRARD and von HOFMANN in their commentaries on our epistle.

According as the one or the other rendering is adopted, so the view of the whole passage, vers. 1-10, will be affected. According to the traditional rendering, the aim of the Author will appear to be to present considerations fitted to prevent his readers from falling short of the promised rest. According to the rendering now proposed, his aim will appear to be to show his readers that they are not too late to enjoy the benefit of the promised rest ; and, also, not too late to be excluded from that rest in requital of an evil heart of perfidy, as were those of old. We shall confine our notice to the rendering now offered.

As a question of translation there can be no important objection made to it. Such is the use of *ὑστερέω*, and the perfect *ὑστερεκέμαι* here can have no other sense ; and much the most common meaning of *δοκέω* in the New Testament is *to suppose*.† ALFORD shows all this, and has nothing to object to the rendering but logical reasons drawn from the context ; and so also DELITZSCH. But precisely such reasons support it. Every reader sees that, as a matter of fact, the burden of vers. 2-10 is to show that the promise of enter-

\* *Sub voce ὑστερέω.*

† *Comp. x. 29.*

ing God's rest is still in force, and this constitutes the singular importance of this unique passage of Scripture. On the other hand, the notion of falling short of obtaining that rest is not again presented, except in a reference to those who of old entered not in. Moreover, a warning against falling short of that rest through ignorance of there being still a promise of it is, as a warning, much inferior in pungency to that of iii. 12, 13, against perfidy and hardness of heart, and is, in fact, included in the other, as the less is included in the greater.

In the foregoing prefatory remarks on our chapter an adequate and contextually logical motive has been shown for warning the readers not to suppose they are too late to have the benefit of the promised rest. And, finally, the unique and unfamiliar doctrine concerning God's rest is itself evidence enough that the illusion referred to was common. So that it seems incomprehensible how DELITZSCH can say "it could only be entertained by a deranged man." And, seeing the importance and preciousness of the doctrine, the need of setting it forth was very great, as the dangers of ignorance must have been very serious.

The Author says again : \* *lest haply any one of you*, thus implying that the illusion referred to is common, and that it is only a question whether some of his readers should become the victims of it. Those that entertained the illusion that they were too late for the promise of entering into God's rest were, in general, such as did not believe the truth implied in Ps. xc. 11 as the Apostle expounds it. This appears from τῇ πίστει ver. 2, and from what is affirmed of οἱ πιστεύσαντες ver. 3. We mean, of course, belief in the truth involved in this Psalm, that is, the truth of the good tidings mentioned in the following verse ; not belief that the Psalm taught the truth now in question. The latter would not have been believed or conceived to the present day but for the exposition of the chapter before us.

The Apostle begins to confirm the statement, that there is left a promise of entering into God's rest, by affirming,

Ver. 2 a, *For we, too, have had good tidings preached unto us even as those also.*

This statement is not to be taken as the equivalent of, *there is left a promise of entering into his rest*, expressed in other words, with the additional notion that the promise is extended to us. By employing the comprehensive term ἐσμεν εὐαγγελισμένοι, which he uses again, ver. 6, the Author shows that he appeals to the fact of the proclamation of God's grace in all its length and breadth, for which, both in the Old and New Testaments the proper expression is to *preach good tidings*. [Comp. Isa. lii. 7 in the LXX., ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης.] The same thing is referred to in the next clause of our verse by the term ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκουῆς. This proclamation "*we*" have, *as well as those others* (ἐκεῖνοι), by whom are meant the Israelites in the desert. By affirming this at the present point, the Author comprehends all such hearers of all times under one class. This proclamation in Moses' time was a call to enter God's rest. He means to show that it is the same now, as indeed it has always been and will be while good tidings are preached. It was

\* Comp. iii. 12, 13, and καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν, 1 Cor. x. 7, 8, 9.



so in Moses' time, because God's rest remained as something for persons to enter. It is so still, for the same reason. It is this the Author aims to show.

The fact that those of old were not able to enter in might seem to end the proclamation (*ἀκοή*) so far as it was an offer of sharing God's rest. To show that such was not the fact, but only that, for cause, the proclamation was inoperative in their case, the Author adds the explanation of

Ver. 2 b. *But the word of proclamation did not profit those not combined by faith with them that heard.\**

Taking the text of our ver. 2 b, as given in WESTCOTT and HORT, we translate *ἀκοή* proclamation. It means, not *the hearing*, but *the thing heard, announcement*.† *The word of proclamation*, says the Author (by which he means that which was the preaching of good tidings to those of old), *did not profit those not combined with them that heard*. In this representation he designates those that were not profited, and at the same time, by his descriptive designation (*those not combined by faith with them that heard*), he points to the reason why they were not profited. *συγκεράννυμι* means, *to mix, commingle closely* (comp. 1 Cor. xii. 24). So describing those that the word did not profit, the Author ascribes the failure to the lack of faith in them, and intimates, on the other hand, that others heard with profit; that faith, had they had it, would have combined them with the others in this profiting. By this is equally implied that faith was the profitable ingredient of the hearing of *them that heard*. We have thus a very pregnant sentence, after the manner of our Author, who not seldom has recourse to breviloquence.

By this rendering we understand the Author to distinguish two classes among those of old that had good tidings preached to them, viz., those that did not, and those that did hear with profit. And we understand him to designate the latter by the simple expression, *them that heard*. Both of these notions have been deemed inadmissible. The former because, as it is supposed, iii. 16 shows that the Author allows of no such distinction;‡ the second, because in such close conjunction with *ἀκοή*, the following *ἀκούσασιν* cannot mean to *hearken* or *obey*.§ To begin with the second objection, we may remark that the meaning *to hearken* or *to obey* is not necessary here, and is not implied by

\* By the rules of textual criticism, that are regarded as imperative in other cases, it is clear that we must accept as the correct text here, *ἐκείνους μὴ συγκεκρασμένους τῇ πιστεὶ τοῖς ἀκούσασιν*. Only the difficulty of making sense out of it is against it. That very fact, however, in the case of other disputed texts, is, by rule, put in the balance in favor of the reading of which it is true. It ought to be allowed the same influence here. Comp. LUENEMANN on this point, who fairly represents the state of the question, yet decides in favor of the reading of the T. R. (*συγκεκραμένους*), solely on the ground that the other reading "conflicts with the context, and is nonsense." WESTCOTT and HORT adopt the *συγκεκαρισμένους*. But in their *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 129, having represented the state of the text, they say, "After much hesitation we have marked this very difficult passage as probably containing a primitive corruption." ALFORD, adopting the same reading, says, "The passage is almost a *locus desperatus*." It is this reading that has been adopted by the Revision of 1881.

† Comp. LUEN., ALFORD, DEL., von HOFMANN, etc., and 1 Thess. ii. 13.

‡ So de WETTE, LUEN.

§ So LUEN., DEL., von HOF., LINDSAY



the context, but only *hearing with profit*. In support of this meaning for τοῖς ἀκούσασιν let it be noticed that the Author's Psalm-text, which underlies the whole context, and is constantly reiterated (iii. 7, 15; iv. 7), means by, *if ye will hear his voice* (ἀκούσητε), just this genuine, profitable hearing. This, then, ought to prescribe the sense in which we are to accept ἀκούειν in the context; so that where that meaning is not intended some qualifying words must show it. And (to notice the former of the above objections) such is the case at iii. 16. It must be admitted, when attention is called to it, that the question, "*who, having heard, provoked?*" suggests also the contrary question, **who, having heard, did not provoke?** And, (following the Psalm-text, *To-day, if ye will hear his voice*), the latter would be described simply as *them that heard* (τοὺς ἀκούσαντες). And, further, the Author's answer to his own question in iii. 16, given interrogatively, *May, did not all they that came out of Egypt with Moses?* allows us (even if we leave out of view Caleb and Joshua, as the Author does) to think of all the rest of Israel that did not come out of Egypt, viz., the minors and those born in the desert, as excepted. And, in the end, these actually did hear the word of proclamation so as to profit, as the others did not. Moreover, our Author shows that he does not ignore these profitable hearers, for at ver. 8 he expressly refers to them when mentioning Joshua's performance.

This, then, is the purport of our ver. 2: Good tidings from God are preached unto us as well as to them of old. In this respect the people of God of all time are alike. While some of old did not profit by the preaching as others did, it was because they had not faith. Faith would have combined them with those that heard with profit. It is to be noted that, in this representation, the Author expresses the antithesis only as that some heard without profit and some with profit. He does not say that the one sort did not, and the other sort did, enter into the rest. In fact, none of those that were preached to, entered in (ver. 6). And to the present none have entered into that rest (comp. xi. 13, 39, 40). Nevertheless, then and since, those that heard in faith held a very different relation to the promised rest from those that heard without faith. The preaching profits the former; it does not profit the latter. The profit of the former is, that because they hear believingly, they still have left a promise of entering into God's rest. The profit of faith is even more than this, as appears by the statement of

Ver. 3 *a*. *For we enter into the rest, who believed.*

The connection denoted by *For* is with the foregoing verse, especially the latter clause of it. But it attaches to what we have noted is implied as the affirmative contrary of what is there denied. We may paraphrase the connection thus: "The word of proclamation profited them that heard it *believingly*, for we enter into the rest, who believed." Thus our ver. 3 *a* explains what the profiting is, viz., entering the rest.

The Author says, *For we enter; not, For they enter*, which most readers expect to read. But he says "*we*," because in ver. 2 *a* he has just comprehended all hearers of "the voice of God" (iii. 7) in one class without regard to times. His *we* means *the people of God* (ver. 9). *We enter*, ex-

pressed in the present tense, sets forth the truth in the abstract as the consequence of believing, while *believed* (aorist) is said with reference to the preaching which is represented as in the past (ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς). When the announcement was made then it was believed.

The Author's statement, ver. 3 *a*, taken with ver. 2, affirms that they who hear the Gospel believingly enter into the rest. He proceeds, in support of this, to show that the promise of rest is still in force (ver. 3 *b*-10). This is his main proposition of ver. 1: *there is a promise left of entering His rest*. Though the proof of this first begins here, ver. 2, 3 *a* cannot be treated as parenthetical. For the fact that the promise is still in force would be nothing without the fact that good tidings are still proclaimed to us. The Author's whole proposition is: there is left a promise of entering into his rest, and the offer of it is made to us. Continuing then in close connection by using *even as* (καθὼς), he says:

Ver. 3 *b*. *Even as he hath said, As I swore in my wrath, they shall not enter into my rest; although the works were finished from the foundation of the world.* 4. *For he hath said somewhere of the seventh (day) on this wise: And God rested on the seventh day from all his works; 5. And in this place again, They shall not enter into my rest.*

The Apostle's argument in this comparison of Old Testament passages is evident enough. It is intended to show that God's rest is something that continues. *It remains* (ἀπολείπεται) is his own way of stating the conclusion, ver. 6. Quoting again his Psalm-text, he calls attention to how it signifies that in Moses' time an offer was made of entering God's rest. *My rest* is the significant expression, which the Apostle takes in its most literal sense as *that wherein God rests*. And in the entire context, except in ver. 10, he uses *rest*, both as substantive and verb, with this meaning only. In this he reads the Psalm differently from any other reader. The ordinary reader could only understand the possessive *my rest* as meaning that rest which God had to give His people in which they might rest. And by reference to Num. xiv. 23, 30; Deut. i. 35; xii. 9, the ordinary reader (comp. HENGSTENBERG, J. A. ALEXANDER, on Ps. xcvi. 11) infers that *my rest* refers to the promised land. But the Apostle evidently identifies *my rest* with the rest wherein "*God rested the seventh day from all his works*," Gen. ii. 2, and thus assumes this to be the meaning of the Holy Spirit (iii. 7) speaking in his Psalm-text. He calls attention to the fact that God's works were done when He finished the creation, and He rested then. Quoting Gen. ii. 2 he shows that this is God's rest. Comparing with this his Psalm-text, he shows that, according to the Psalm, the promise of rest was offered in Moses' time, and that it was a promise of participation in the rest wherewith God rested. This occurring so long after shows that God's rest is a continuing thing, something that *remains*. The inference presented is not that it did remain till the time of Moses, but that, remaining till the time of Moses, it is something that remains always. Moreover, the language appealed to shows, at the same time, that God's rest, begun on the seventh day, remains as something He offers to share with them that believe.

Instead of formally drawing these evident conclusions from the passages he has collated to that effect, the Author proceeds to present them as premisses for a further inference, viz., his main proposition that there is now a promise of entering "*that rest*" (ver. 11).

Ver. 6 *a*. *Since then it (the rest) remains for persons to enter into it.*

It is thus the Author, by one expression, presents (*a*) the double inference from the foregoing, viz., that the rest remains, and that it is for persons to enter, and (*b*) a premiss (marked by *since*—ἐπεὶ) for further inference. He says *it remains* in the simplest meaning of ἀπολείπεται, *to be left as or where it was*; as Paul says, "*I left (ἀπέλιπον) my cloke at Troas with Carpus*" (2 Tim. iv. 13). He says *it remains* in the same sense that he says, using the same word, that *there remains a keeping of Sabbath* (ver. 9), and that *there remains no more a sacrifice for sins* (x. 26). He says that *it (the rest) remains*. For ἡ κατὰπαυσις is the subject of the verb, not only because it reigns over the whole context as the chief notion discoursed on, but also because it is actually expressed in the foregoing clause of ver. 5. It needs no more to be expressed than the subject of ἀπέλιπον, 2 Tim. iv. 13. He says in a universal way, *for persons to enter in*. For so τινάς is to be taken here as in Rom. iii. 8, and often.\* There is nothing in the context to justify the very common notion, that the Author means to say emphatically, that some must enter in,† or (to express it differently), "The table of the Lord shall not want guests; God will bring men to the rest."‡

To this premiss is joined a second, still connected with the *since* (ἐπεὶ) that introduces the first clause of our ver. 6.

Ver. 6 *b*. *And they to whom good tidings were before preached did not enter in because of disobedience.*

If it were the Apostle's purpose, in mentioning this with the foregoing, to represent that, since some must enter, and these did not, therefore God set another day so as to have some enter, he would not add that *because of disobedience* they entered not (comp. iii. 19). This cause of their not entering is precisely the point of the present mention. It resumes the statement of ver. 2 *b* and pairs it with the other result obtained, viz., that the rest remains for persons to enter. Since disobedience, and not that the rest became non-existent, was the reason of their exclusion who were first preached to, the promise of the rest may be extended to others. And, having stated these premisses, the Author immediately points to the fact that it was so extended and is still, saying,

Ver. 7. *Again he sets a day, To-day, in David, saying after so long a time, as was said above: To-day, if ye will hear his voice harden not your hearts.*

In *he sets a day*,§ neither ὁρίζει nor τινά implies such a notion of special limitation as is expressed by the rendering, "*defineth a certain day.*"|| τινά

\* See GRIMM'S *Lex. sub. voc.*

† So ALFORD.

‡ So LINDSAY; similarly STUART, MCLEAN.

§ So de WETTE, LUEN., *et al.* render. On ὁρίζει comp. Acts vii. 26.

|| Revision of 1881.



*ἡμέραν*, a day, is in apposition with *σήμερον*, *To-day*,\* and *προείρηται* refers to the Author's own mention of it at iii. 7,† and is equivalent to, *as I said before*.

The long interval from the seventh day of creation to the Exodus, and the offer at the latter period of entering God's rest, shows that this rest, as a rest for persons to enter, remains. Now, by appeal again to his Psalm-text, the Apostle shows that *in David* (which means in inspired words [iii. 7] commonly ascribed to David, as by the LXX., but means, in effect, particularly in David's day, as the clause, *after so long a time*, shows), the offer of entering that rest is made again. For such is the point of our ver. 7; not that this long interval shows that the rest remains. This latter has been proved. The *To-day* of the Psalm is the day of grace since it was uttered. And, *To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your heart*, by the Apostle's exposition, sets this day as a time when one may enter the rest; and, as a voice of God calling to us, it is a promise to us of entering His rest. And this proves the proposition announced in ver. 1, *There is a promise*, etc.

Having now followed the Author's reasoning from ver. 1 to this its result, we note that nothing in it bears on the notion of failing to attain that rest; but everything shows that there is left a promise, and how it becomes operative. This, then, bears out the rendering: *lest any one of you should suppose he is too late for it*.

The most remarkable thing in the foregoing exposition of the Apostle (iv. 1-6) is his identifying the rest, called in the Psalm xcv. 11 *my rest*, with God's resting referred to Gen. ii. 2, and that he does so without any notice of the fact that no one else had so read the words. This latter fact, because he seems to read as if he supposed every one must so read, misleads his interpreters, and induces the effort to understand him in some way consistent with the common way of reading Ps. xcv. Yet, penetrating minds easily discover the impossibility of doing so, and resort to other expedients. CALVIN calls the Author's manner in this passage "embellishing" (*exornare inceptit*) in contrast with his manner in iii. 7-19, which he calls treating the Psalm-text literally, *i.e.* "in its general sense." And he compares the present manner of the Author to what he calls Paul's way of working up (*ἐπεξεργασία*) a text. Yet, spite of what he says in justification of the performance he imputes to the Apostle, this view of the passage makes it little better than blowing bubbles with the water of life. Moreover, such a view could only encourage the "torturing" of the passage of which CALVIN complains as so common. For what the Apostle is supposed to allow himself, others will try to imitate.

If the Author's manner of introducing Scripture here were in the free way that we observe in chap. i. 4. seq., ii. 11-13, viz., without formal citation and without exposition, we might admit such a view as CALVIN'S. But it is impossible to suspect him of taking such liberties, as Calvin supposes in the present case, with Scripture that he introduces with the solemn words, *As saith the Holy Spirit* (iii. 7). His concluding words (iv. 7) in taking leave of his Psalm-text, "*As was said above, To-day*," etc., show that from iii. 7-iv. 7 he treats it

\* So CALVIN, de WETTE.



in the same earnest spirit and with the same regard for its genuine sense that CALVIN recognizes in iii. 7-19.

It is better to understand that the Apostle reads the Psalm correctly, and that by the words *my rest* the Holy Spirit meant the rest with or in which God rests, though all other readers had failed to see it. Paul also read the phrases, *my righteousness, thy righteousness*, and the like, in the Old Testament, where the possessive pronoun refers to God, in a way different from all that read before him, of whom we have knowledge. Before his reading, such expressions were as universally supposed to mean a righteousness that was God's exclusively, as in Ps. xcv. ii. *my rest* was supposed to mean a rest that was man's exclusively, so far as the enjoyment of the rest was concerned.

Let us suppose that in Rom. i. 16, seq., Paul had written in this fashion: "Let us fear lest some of you may be ashamed of the Gospel, for it is the power of God unto salvation, to the Jew and also to the Greek. For therein is revealed a righteousness of God, as saith the Holy Spirit: The Lord hath made known his salvation, his righteousness hath he openly showed in the sight of the heathen." Thus he read Ps. xcvi. as no one ever thought of understanding "*his righteousness*." It is as like as not that, when writing Rom. i. 16, 17, Paul had in mind Ps. xcvi. 3, as any other Old Testament scripture.\* Old Testament scripture obviously underlies what he says, and it is such as speaks of God's righteousness. He says the Gospel reveals (*ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται*) that righteousness. As we follow, while he gives the Gospel, we see that such is indeed the fact. It is nothing less than a new revelation of the righteousness of God, when we see that it is something imputed to us, though he shows that its expression was there in the Old Testament. It was there, unrevealed to readers; written, but not read.

In the hands of our inspired Author, *my rest* of Ps. xcv. 11 also unfolds with a glory previously unsuspected. This, too, is a revelation as well as the other, and we have it through the same Gospel. It is another reason for not being ashamed of that Gospel. It is something like being so ashamed when one demurs to the meaning the Apostle attaches to *my rest*, because no one ever before so read. We may expect revelation from him.

Paul secures prevalence for his interpretation of *God's righteousness* by the fulness and point of his discourse about it. Yet we may remember that we owe our understanding of it to one man, on whose authority we accept it as an inspired interpretation of Old Testament truth. We may reflect, too, that it would have been just as true had Paul announced it but once and as briefly as the truth regarding *God's rest* is announced in the passage before us. Let us accord the same authority to the present inspired interpretation. Had the New Testament been as largely written for Christian Jews as for Christian Gentiles, we might have had more about God's promised rest. What we have is, anyway, as clear and unmistakable as any single passage taken by itself that treats of the righteousness of God or of the state of redeemed souls after the present life.

\* See *Analytical Comm. on Rom.*, Rev. JNO. FORBES, LL.D., p. 113.

That the Author does not comment on the false, or rather imperfect, reading of his Psalm-text that was universal, need occasion no surprise. Where, in the many passages wherein he discourses of the righteousness of God, does Paul take such notice of the corresponding ignorance of that? Finally, it ill becomes any one to assume against the Author, that the universal way of reading must be correct, or that it is a very important consideration in such a matter of interpretation, when we see how generations have read texts in a fashion that has only been corrected lately, and is now universally conceded to have been false (comp. *e.g.* ii. 16).

Let us, then, take the Apostle's interpretation of *my rest* as correct, on his authority. Grammatically and logically it has nothing against it. Once the difficulty of adopting it is surmounted, all the rest of his reasoning from it is as plain as any other New Testament comment on Old Testament scripture. He himself shows, by appeal to Gen. ii. 2 (which we know is often referred to in the Scriptures, and notably in the Fourth Commandment), that there is a rest of God's own. Moreover, when attention is called to it, we notice that the Psalmist's phrase, *my rest*, is peculiar, and even unique, as applied to the events in the wilderness. It has no equivalent in the original records, as *e.g.* Num. xiv. 23, 30; Deut. i. 35; xii. 9. As the expression is actually original with the Psalmist, so it might mean to express what was never before expressed, viz., just what the Apostle takes it to mean. And this sense might be adopted in the other instances of using the same form of expression, and be found greatly to enrich the meaning of those passages (comp. Ps. cxxxii. 8, 14; Isa. xi. 10; lxvi. 1).

And what we have as the result is a glorious doctrine. Jewish piety without our passage,\* and Christian piety with the aid of it, have entertained the notion of a heavenly rest after this world, that is to be an eternal Sabbath. But here it is revealed that we are to enter God's own rest wherein He rested when the creation was done. We are to rest with Him, rest as He rests, and with His rest. This is *the heavenly calling* (iii. 1). When God gave the promise to Abraham, and renewed it to those led forth from Egypt, it was to this rest He was calling them. In connection with giving them Canaan He would have realized this promise. This is what is intended when good tidings are preached now unto us (ver. 2). It will continue to be so as long as we have the voice of God saying *To-day*. A most important consideration involved in this doctrine is, that it reveals the unity of *the people of God* (ver. 9) of all ages. They have one *heavenly calling* (ver. 1), and are under the same divine discipline. And—which is the special application of the doctrine in the present context—it shows that unbelief and disobedience will be attended with the same sort of punishment as fell on those *whose carcasses fell in the wilderness*, iii. 17. For, having established the truth that *there is left a promise of entering into His rest*, the Apostle, at ver. 11, exhorts, *Let us give diligence to enter into that rest*, and then adds the warning, *that no one fall in the same example of disobedience*.

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\* See in DEL. and ALFORD the presentation of this.

It is not quite true that the Author takes no notice of the erroneous ways of reading his Psalm-text. He has already reflected one of them in ver. 2 *b*. For, supposing that *my rest* meant more than the land of promise, the inference might be, that *the oath: they shall not enter my rest*, ended that rest by withdrawing the promise of it. This mistaken notion has been corrected. But, on the other hand, supposing *my rest* to mean only the promised land, it would be thought that those whom Joshua led into Canaan did enter the rest. Therefore, as a promise fulfilled, there can now be no promise of entering into that rest. It is to this notion that vers. 8-10 are directed, and they are only supplementary to the previous reasoning. They add nothing to that finished argument, but only fortify it against the misapprehension that *the rest* was wholly a thing of the past.

Ver. 8. *For if Joshua gave them rest, he would not speak after that of another day.*

By this statement the Author represents (hypothetically, εἰ) a situation when it would be too late for a promise of entering the rest.\* But his appeal to his Psalm-text, wherein God (for God is the subject of *would speak*) does speak of another day, carries with it the proof that what Joshua did was no giving rest in the sense of *entering my rest*. The supposed case did not exist. When our ver. 8 says, *if Joshua gave them rest* (κατέπαυσιν), it means by *to give rest* just what the Author understands the Psalm to mean by *my rest*, and that Joshua did not give *that rest* (ver. 11). When it says, *God speaks of another day*, we are not to understand this as if it in any way expressed the notion of speaking of another rest. This impression is a common one. Some† suppose the Author, in vers. 1-10, discourses expressly of three rests, viz., of the seventh day, of Canaan, and of eternal rest; and they treat the *speaking of another day* as expressing the notion of another rest. Thus they interpret, "If Joshua, in giving them rest, had given them all that rest which God intended, God would not," etc. The only meaning of *another day* is another opportunity of embracing the promise (one and the same) of entering the rest (one and the same) offered before.

The statement of ver. 8 involves the denial that what Joshua did was a giving of rest in the sense of *my rest* in the Psalm. There is still another sense in which the *entering my rest* might be supposed to be fulfilled by God, and thus that it would be too late for a promise of entering His rest. God had given the Sabbath day to rest as He rested. This notion, if it existed in his readers,‡ is counteracted by the statement of vers. 9, 10.

Ver. 9. *Then there remains a keeping the Sabbath day to the people of God.*

This statement, introduced by ἄρα, connects as an inference with the foregoing verse, and particularly with the negative notion presented there, viz.,

\* So von Hof.

† e.g., McLEAN, LINDSAY.

‡ Whether this conception may be imputed to the Author's contemporaries, may be doubted. But that it can be entertained by Christian scholars while studying the passage before us, is illustrated by McLEAN, LINDSAY, etc. This fact makes it more than probable that the Author felt called on to deal with it in his readers.



that entering Canaan was not entering *my rest*. It is a sudden and impromptu inference, such as ἄρα is used to introduce,\* that comes up much as a coincidence of notion, though, stated syllogistically. One notion involves the other. The fact that entering Canaan was not entering God's rest explains the continued existence of the institution of the Sabbath day. And the continuance of the Sabbath-keeping is evidence that the true rest has not been attained. σαββατισμός means, *observance of the Sabbath*. The Author says this observance *remains* (ἀπολείπεται) in the same simple sense of the word noted at ver. 6 (comp. x. 26), meaning that it was left and so remained as it was before, an ordinance for *the people of God*. The import of this is, that, had Joshua given them God's rest, observing Sabbath day would have ceased; there would have been no more keeping Sabbath day. The force of this reasoning, and the obviousness of it that justifies the terse way in which it is conveyed by an enthymeme, appears by comparison of x. 26. There the Author, having set forth Christ's offering for sin once for all, says, "*There remains* (ἀπολείπεται) *no more a sacrifice for sin.*" When the reality is come there is no more use for the shadow. Here, on the contrary, he represents that because the real rest has never been attained, the shadow does remain. Thus the Author appeals to the great and significant and still existing institution of the Sabbath day. As a shadow it was evidence that the substance had not yet come. Yet, as a shadow with deep significance, from its connection with God's resting the seventh day, it looks forward to, and is a representation of, the promise of entering God's rest. The Author points to this significance in Ver. 10. *For he that entered its rest, he also rested from his works, as God from his own.*

For connects this statement with the foregoing as its explanation. In τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ, the αὐτοῦ refers to σαββατισμός of ver. 9. The aorists ὁ εἰσελθὼν, κατέπαυσε, *he that entered, rested*, are perfectly natural when speaking of actions relating to an institution of ancient date, though continued in the present. It is said here from the view-point of entering Canaan under Joshua, and still keeping the Sabbath. It is much against the rendering that takes τ. κατάπαυ. αὐτοῦ here to mean God's rest, that it is driven to various desperate shifts to explain these aorists. As rendered above, ver. 10 is a simple statement of the nature and meaning of keeping the Sabbath. The nature of it is rest from our works. The meaning of this is imitation (ᾠσπερ) of God's resting. And in this connection it is appealed to as an institution that remains as long as it is true that the people of God have not entered into His rest.

In vers. 1-8 the Apostle has showed that there is left a promise of entering God's rest, and that while the Gospel is preached no one is too late for it. In vers. 9, 10 he has adverted to two supposed situations wherein it would be too late for such a promise, and showed that they do not exist. He has now prepared the way for an exhortation which follows

Ver. 11 a. *Let us therefore give diligence to enter into that rest.*

\* See note (†) next page.



He says *that rest* (ἐκεῖνην τὴν κατάπαυσιν), and thus by ἐκεῖνην refers back beyond the mention of a rest in the foregoing verse to the more remote mention of *the rest*, vers. 5, 6, that has been the principal subject of discourse. Were the rest mentioned in this verse the same as the rest (τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ) mentioned in the foregoing verse, it would read εἰς ταύτην.\*

*That rest* is only to be secured by *diligence*, viz., diligent heed or hearing of *the word of proclamation* (ver. 2). As an incentive to such diligence, the Apostle adds the warning, *That no one fall in the same example of unbelief*, and follows it up with a description of that word, which, as the Word of God, is living and at work. The description points to a punitive energy resident in that Word, which will deal with disobedience now as it did in the desert. As CHRYSOSTOM says, φοβερὸν τι ἤνιξάτο, he hints at something dreadful.†

SAMUEL T. LOWRIE.

\* Comp. Luke xviii. 14; BUTTMANN'S *Gram.*, p. 104; also BUTTMANN'S *Article on ἐκεῖνος in the Stud. u. Krit.*, 1860, p. 505, seq.

† The rendering of ver. 9, given above, is a departure from what is traditional, and it is proper that, besides letting it speak for itself, we notice the reasons for rejecting the common interpretation.

(1). It seems to have been overlooked that ἀπα is never used to introduce the conclusion of an extended argument. As a conjunction it keeps near its adverbial force, which "expresses the intimate connection and coincidence of two notions," JELF. *Gramm.*, § 787, 1; comp. KUEHNER, § 509, 1. "It expresses an inference made from a foregoing thought as something well established. In itself ἀπα has no syllogistic meaning; this lies rather in the context as a whole," KUEHNER, § 545, 1. Excellent normal examples of its use are Matt. xvii. 26, "*Then are the children free*;" Luke xi. 20, "*Then (version of 1611, No doubt) is the kingdom of God come upon you*." It may most always be best rendered by *then*. It refers in every other instance in the New Testament to something expressed immediately before (comp. Rom. vii. 25; viii. 1). It may be doubted whether in any Greek it can be found introducing the conclusion of an extended argument. Yet the common interpretation of our verse makes it introduce a very triumphant conclusion of reasoning extending through eight verses preceding.

(2). Supposing the common interpretation correct, that makes σαββατ. another expression for God's rest, the conclusion so announced would be rhetorically and logically weak. All through an extended argument the subject has been uniformly referred to by one name κατάπαυσις, and in the conclusion it is referred to by another totally different, and that a word that occurs nowhere else previous to this writing, and only once in contemporary writers, viz., PLUT. *Morals de superstitione*, c. 3, and a word that has a meaning of its own quite different. Who would so announce a grand conclusion? Not the Author of this polished epistle. It may be supposed that the singularity of the word suggests the extraordinary sense. And interpreters render ver. 9, *There remains, therefore, a Sabbatism*, and fancy that it sounds well and suggestive. Yet they overlook the fact that they need to explain this singular English expression. And our Author would need to do the same if his word were as singular. But it is not conclusive that σαββατισμός was an unusual word to his readers because it is not found in LXX., PHILO. or JOSEPHUS. It is as regularly formed as ἑορτασμός, βαπτισμός. Its use by PLUTARCH proves that it was a current word with only an ordinary meaning. In Christian writers it is of common enough occurrence, and used in its simple meaning only, except in comments on our text, and then its supposed extraordinary sense is only made plain by amplifications. JUSTIN uses it interchangeably with σάββατα φυλάσσειν and σαββατίζειν (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, c. 23.)

(3). Were the common interpretation correct it would not announce a proper conclusion to the Author's reasoning. This concludes that there remains a rest. His propo-

*The reading "Ἑλληνας" in Acts xi. 20.*—Westcott and Hort have reversed the judgment of preceding critical editors in regard to this text, and have returned to "*Ἑλληνιστάς*," the reading of the Text. Rec. This return was so unexpected, and at the same time appears to agree so entirely with Westcott and Hort's canons of textual criticism that we are led to ask whether it must indeed be sustained, or whether the very strong considerations which have led most critics to the other reading should still outweigh the opinion of the new editors. The settlement of the text in such a case as this may in turn become a partial test of the principles themselves by which the critics are governed.

sition was (ver. 1) *there is left a promise of entering the rest*. There might be a rest, and yet no promise of it to the people of God now. Accordingly we have seen the Author establish that the rest remains as a premiss to establishing farther that there is a promise of it offered now.

(4). As a conclusion (and even as a reiterated conclusion, which no once supposes it to be) our ver. 9 would be flat, because the conclusion has been presented already at verse 6, "*there remains the rest for persons to enter into it*." Moreover, that conclusion is the glorious one that *God's rest remains*, while this would only be a conclusion that *a rest remains*.

(5). Most decisive of all, *σαββατισμός* means, *to observe the Sabbath*. This, of course, is undisputed. The only question is, Does the Author mean to use it in an exalted sense? There is nothing to intimate that he does. The word must have some history to be able to stand itself for such a meaning. But the fact is, it has no history previous to its present use, being found in antecedent or contemporary Greek literature only in the one other place mentioned above. Or it must have such a meaning lent to it in the context by qualification or previous use. Of this there is nothing. Only the assumption, that in this verse the Author sums up the result of his reasoning, has induced the notion that he means by *σαββατ*, the same as God's rest, and thus that he calls that rest a keeping of Sabbath. It is better to do as we have done—seek a meaning for the context consistent with the primary and common sense of the word.

(6). We may ascribe the traditional interpretation to something more than a mistake. Here may be found one of the most important effects of our owing that traditional view to Gentile interpretation. It is obvious that the rendering we have given ver. 9 involves the most important consequences concerning the observance of the Sabbath. It makes our verse the most pointed New Testament proof-text for the perpetual obligation of the Fourth Commandment. We have only to represent to our minds the apprehension with which these consequences must be regarded by those that now deny that obligation, and we will represent to ourselves the feelings with which Gentile Christians of the second century would approach the statement of ver. 9. As in the modern, so in the ancient mind, the assumption would be that the *prima facie* meaning of the words *could not be that which was intended*. Comp. de PRESSENSE, *Trois Premières Scécle, II., chap. vi., § 1*. The *οὐ σαββαρίζουεν* of JUSTIN (*Dial. com. Tryphone*, c. x.) may be taken as representing the fixed attitude of their mind that determined their interpretation of the Scriptures, as *Hoc est corpus meum*, chalked on the table of the castle of Marburg, determined LUTHER'S. Consequently, they would look for another sense, to which the allegorizing and imaginative exegesis of that period would easily accommodate itself, with a haughty disregard of any correction that might be offered from Jewish Christian quarters. The traditional interpretation, we may suppose, was the consequence. (Comp. TERTUL., *adv. Judeos*, c. 2; EPIPHAN., *adver. haeres. Lib. I., Tom. II., xxx. c. 32*.)

Those that maintain the obligation of the Fourth Commandment according to the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, will observe that the rendering now given of vers. 9, 10, brings into the problem no element that was not there before, except a proof-text that more directly than any other in the New Testament affirms the doctrine there taught.

The MS. authorities stand in this instance as follows: For Ἑλληνιστάς, B D \*\* E<sub>2</sub> H<sub>2</sub> L<sub>2</sub> P<sub>2</sub> 61, all cursives but one, and probably Γ which has εὐαγγελιστάς, a mistake due to εὐαγγελιζόμενοι following, but implying that Ἑλληνιστάς was intended; for Ἑλληνας, A D X<sup>c</sup> 112. In this evidence we note first that the group X B, with some unimportant additions, is strong evidence for Ἑλληνιστάς, so strong as in W. and H.'s judgment to decide the question. Secondly, the testimony of A is peculiar. It deserts the "Syrian" text and its casual companions, the cursives, and hence would seem to give specially strong testimony for Ἑλληνας. Its testimony is, however, somewhat weakened by the fact that in the Acts A seems to betray a tendency to put unduly forward the Gentile work of the Church, for in ix. 29 it alone reads that Paul in Jerusalem "spake and disputed πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας" instead of "Ἑλληνιστάς." It may possibly be a further indication of the same tendency when in xvii. 4, in the sentence "certain of them (the Jews of Thessalonica) believed and consorted with Paul and Silas, and of the devout Greeks (Ἑλλήνων) a great multitude," etc., both A and D insert a καί before Ἑλλήνων, thus making the conversion of pure Gentiles more marked. Nevertheless A is still a strong witness for Ἑλληνας, for which, besides X<sup>c</sup> there remains the older testimony of D. It must be confessed A D are much less powerful friends for a reading to depend on than are X B, and if external authority is to rigidly overrule all other Ἑλληνιστάς must be retained. The versions are unfortunately in this instance ambiguous and afford little aid. But this is a passage where internal considerations are so strongly in favor of Ἑλληνας as to render the other reading very difficult of interpretation. If we are to understand the two words in their common New Testament senses of "Greeks" and "Greek-speaking Jews," the use of the latter in this verse appears scarcely comprehensible. Thus the immediate connection seems to require Ἑλληνας. "They that were scattered abroad upon the tribulation that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phœnicia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking the word to none *save only to Jews* (Ἰουδαίοις). But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the *Grecian Jews* also." Is not that obviously a strange sentence? Were not Hellenists Jews? Evidently the antithesis requires a word denoting Gentiles. Moreover, the Gospel had been preached to Hellenists from the beginning; see vi. 1; v. 9. Why then should their conversion in Antioch have led the mother church to send Barnabas to inquire into the matter, and why should he at once have brought Paul on the scene, whose mission, as he knew well, was to the Gentiles (cf. Acts xxii. 21)? Furthermore, vi. 1 shows that the natural antithesis of Ἑλληνιστῆς is with Ἑβραῖος; whereas Ἰουδαῖος and Ἕλλην are regularly antithetical to each other (cf. Acts xiv. 1; xvi. 1; xviii. 4; xix. 10; Rom. i. 16, etc.). When, therefore, the internal evidence is considered, it seems overpoweringly in favor of the idea that this preaching was to Gentiles, for which Ἑλληνας would be the natural word to use; so that absolutely decisive evidence would be required to cause another reading to be accepted.

But, say Westcott and Hort, while "Ἑλληνας has *prima facie* intrinsic evi-



dence in its favour, as being alone in apparent harmony with the context," "this is true only if it be assumed that *Ἰουδαῖοι* is used in a uniformly exclusive sense throughout the book; whereas it excludes proselytes in ii. 10, and (τ. *σεβομένοις*) xvii. 17 (compare xiii. 43; xvii. 4 [taken with 1]; and the double use of *Ἰουδαιῶν* in xiv. 1), and may therefore exclude 'Hellenists' here." But, even supposing these "*σεβομένοις*" to have been always proselytes, the latter were Gentile-born. In xvii. 4 *Ἑλλήνων* is explicitly added to *τῶν σεβομένων*. In the face of the expressed antitheses already mentioned (*Ἐβραῖος-Ἑλληνιστῆς* and *Ἰουδαῖος-Ἕλλην*), as well as in view of the inferior position of proselytes in the Jewish system to that which the Hellenists occupied, it is quite too much to say that because *Ἰουδαῖος* excludes proselytes it may also exclude Hellenists. Nor can we admit that "the language of vv. 19, 20 would be appropriate if the 'Hellenists' at Antioch, not being merged in the general body of resident Jews, were specially singled out and addressed (*ἐλάλουν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑ.*, not as in verse 19, *λαλοῦντες . . . Ἰουδαίους*) by the men of Cyprus and Cyrene." The imperfect indicative *ἐλάλουν* only the more points to these unusual acts, and surely preaching in a synagogue of Hellenistic Jews, or even specially directing efforts toward them was not unusual, as we have noted above. Moreover, the antithesis of *Ἰουδαίους* would still weigh against this explanation.

The question therefore remains, can these internal considerations outweigh the heavy authorities of X B and their less important companions? Westcott and Hort say that "a familiar word [viz. : *Ἑλληνας*] standing in an obvious antithesis was not likely to be exchanged for a word so rare that it is no longer extant, except in a totally different sense, anywhere but in the Acts and two or three late Greek interpretations of the Acts; more especially when the change introduced an apparent difficulty." But, while the principle of this remark is certainly true, a valid reason may in this case be assigned for such a change; for, since this preaching beyond the bounds of the chosen race was not authorized by an apostle, it might easily seem in the view of a later age too presumptuous to have been possible. It is evident that the Church at large had not yet heard of the baptism of Cornelius; probably, indeed, that event had not occurred when these missionaries reached Antioch. Our MSS. were written when ecclesiastical authority was rising high, and a wish to guard the supremacy of the apostles may quite as possibly have led to a change from *Ἑλληνας* to *Ἑλληνιστάς* as a wish to rightly balance the sentence, or a finer perception of the real progress of primitive church history may have led to the change of *Ἑλληνιστάς* to *Ἑλληνας*.

It should also be observed that according to Westcott and Hort's own notes on "Select Readings in the Acts," even a group containing X B may give erroneous texts. Thus in vii. 46 they read "*τῷ θεῷ Ἰακώβ*" with X<sup>a</sup> A C E<sub>2</sub> P<sub>2</sub>, all cursives and versions, instead of "*τῷ οἰκῷ Ἰ.*" with X B D H<sub>2</sub>. They consider; however, *οἰκῷ* the older reading, but nevertheless a primitive error. Dr. Hort thinks the original may have been *κυριῷ*. Again, in xiii. 32 they read "*τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν*" with X A B C D, but add that it "gives only an improbable sense," and that *ἡμῶν* is probably a primitive corruption



of ἡμῶν. See also Hort's notes on xx. 28 and xxvi. 28. Instances like these, although not precisely similar to our passage, certainly diminish the weight of the evidence for Ἑλληνιστάς, forbidding us to trust too implicitly in even the best MSS. While not presuming to speak positively, we cannot but think the force of the internal evidence in this passage will continue to induce critics to retain Ἑλληνας, unless still stronger evidence to the contrary appears, or unless Ἑλληνιστάς be made to have practically the same meaning as the other word. It is possible also that in this passage a warning is given against over-confidence in even the most careful examination of groups of MSS.; for, after the best classifying and estimating of them, the possibility of error in detail still remains. If Ἑλληνας be retained, its most faithful witness D has done at least something toward redeeming its character, which just now is seriously threatened. It is doubtless far safer to be governed in determining a text by external evidence than by the supposed demands of exegesis, but as Dr. Hort has well taught us, there are limits upon every side to every rule. It should be noted in conclusion that the Revised version, which is supposed to have been much influenced by Westcott and Hort's principles of criticism, has nevertheless accepted Ἑλληνας, reading "Greeks" in the text, and merely adding in the margin, "many ancient authorities read *Grecian Jews*."

GEORGE T. PURVES.

*The Discovery of Pithom-Succoth and the Exodus Route.*—For Bible students, especially those engaged in Oriental researches in their relation to the Scripture evidences, the discovery just made in Egypt under the auspices of the "Egypt Exploration Fund Committee,"\* has a special value. We refer to its

\* The "Committee" was formed "to conduct excavations in Egypt, especially on sites of Biblical and classical interest." Work has to be done according to the Egyptian law, which strictly forbids any further exportation of "finds." All objects found in such researches are claimed for the museum at Boolak. It was stated at the recent meeting of the Society held in July that the Egyptian Government had presented to the Society two of the monuments recovered. It was decided to present them to the British Museum. However, M. Maspero, the director-general of the Egyptian museums, has consented that any "publication of results of the Society's work, within reasonable limit of time, shall belong exclusively to the Society." The superintendence of the excavations is confided to M. Naville, a Swiss Egyptologist. The discovery just made is the result of the first campaign under his direction. With an experienced engineer and some eighty laborers, M. Naville selected the Wadi Tumilat as the locality for investigation, and chose as the special spot to begin with, the celebrated mounds of Tell-el-Maskhutah, long supposed to be the site of the town "Rameses"—one of the two "treasure cities" referred to in the first chapter of Exodus as built by the Hebrews. It is interesting also to know that the Wadi was the scene of the late war. The work was begun on the 19th of January last, and continued for near seven weeks. By the end of the first week M. Naville had discovered that the site was not "Rameses," but Pithom—the other store-city of the Bible narrative. Also that Pithom was simply the sacred name of the town (as Pa-Tum, *i. e.*, the dwelling-place of the god Tum). Its ordinary name was Thukut, the Hebrew Succoth. Subsequent labors brought to light further interesting facts. (1) That Rameses II. was the founder of the town, thus identifying Rameses II. as the Pharaoh who compelled the Hebrews to build it. (2) That it was a "store-city"—the store-chambers being discovered. (3) A tablet of the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus was discovered (to be called "the stèle of Pithom"), similar in style to the Rosetta stone, except that the inscription is in hieroglyphics only, giving an account of the founding of the city of Arsinoë, at the head of the gulf, and details of work on the canal leading from the Nile to the Red Sea, on which Pithom-Succoth was a station.

A full account is reserved for the present. The committee proposes to undertake as its next work

bearing on future attempts that may be made at solving the many remaining problems connected with the subject of Egypt and the Bible. The simple history of Egyptology should make investigators very cautious in stating what are often at best but plausible inferences. And yet even now, in a case where some bottom facts have certainly been reached, heads ordinarily cool enough have allowed fancy to lead, and conclusions have been too hastily drawn, and with considerable of a flourish, which the facts discovered, at any rate as far as published, cannot be said to justify. We all know how many scholars have occupied themselves in investigating problems connected with the Exodus—such as its date, its Pharaoh, the route taken from Egypt to Canaan, the locale of Sinai and the like, and yet what a variety do we still find in the conclusions reached. Take, *e. g.*, the Pharaoh of the Exodus. He has been identified with one of the Usartesens (as far back as the Twelfth Dynasty), with Aahmes, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, with Thothmes III., of the same Dynasty. Latterly the common view identifies him with Mineptah, the son of Rameses II.,\* though there are some who stoutly oppose this view.†

Then in what a muddle do we find ourselves as to chronology. Rawlinson opens his story of the chronology of Egypt by saying,‡ “It is a patent fact . . . that the chronological element in the early Egyptian history is in a state of almost hopeless obscurity.” And in the chapter he gives a synopsis of the variety of views held by men who have made the subject a special study, from Böckh, who asks for the longest time for Menes’ first year (B.C. 5702) to Wilkinson, who asks for the shortest (B.C. 2691), and including the estimates of Mariette, Brugsch, Lepsius, Bunsen, and Poole, who vary from B.C. 5004

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the excavation of the vast mounds of San, the Zoan of the Bible, the Tanis of the Greeks. These promise a rich harvest. But funds are needed before the work can be begun. The expenditure in the excavations of Pithom-Succoth was £658. The subscriptions received left a balance in hand for further work of £1,640, of which £1,000 had been received from Sir Erasmus Wilson, the president of the committee.

\* We add here “the son of Rameses II.” because while this son of the great Rameses was a Mineptah, he was not the only one of that name, nor was it really his distinctive name whereby he is distinguished on the monuments. Just as there were a number of Thothmes and many Rameses, so there were at least four Mineptahs closely associated in the same Dynasty. Every Pharaoh (at least from the Twelfth Dynasty) had two names, each in a separate cartouche—the one was his family, the other his throne name. Now, in the case of the four Pharaohs referred to, the cartouche enclosing the family name of each has “Mineptah” as part of it, the fact amounting to at least a claim of family relationship. The first is the father of Rameses II., commonly known as Seti I., whose full family name was “Mineptah Seti.” The second is the son of Rameses II., whose full family name was “Mineptah Hotephimat.” The third is his son, commonly known as Seti II., whose full family name was that of another “Mineptah Seti.” The fourth is the Pharaoh with whom the Dynasty closed in disaster, and whose full family name was “Mineptah Siptah.” Each of these Mineptahs is, however, distinguished on the monuments just as in the case of the four Thothmes and the thirteen Rameses, by his throne name. But tradition made the Pharaoh of the Exodus a Mineptah, and thus, as the son of Rameses II., has come to be generally looked on as that Pharaoh, and was a Mineptah, he has come to monopolize the name, albeit he is but the second of the name. We therefore add, “the son of Rameses II.” We go into these details because there are some of us who are glad to find, in view of difficulties attending the hypothesis that the son of Rameses II. was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, that another Pharaoh who may have been the man was also a Mineptah.

† See Chabas’ “Recherches pour servir à l’histoire de la XIX<sup>e</sup> Dynastie,” sects. 2 and 3.

‡ Rawlinson’s “History of Ancient Egypt,” Vol. II., p. 1.

to B.C. 2717. The chronological schemes of even reasonably well-assured eras are as various as their authors, while the era of the Exodus more especially is in almost inextricable confusion. Still there is this to be said by way of compensation to any who may be disturbed by such statements, that the monumental periods as they are being more fully deciphered are regularly shortening, and dates are consequently shrinking to more reasonable figures.

In like manner, if we consider the route of the Exodus, scarcely an item can be said to be definitely fixed, or at least generally accepted, except that the part of Egypt concerned in the Hebrew history is its north-eastern delta. As to the position of the "treasure cities" built by the Hebrews, or of Succoth or Etham, or Migdol, or Pi-hahiroth, or Baal-Zephon, or Marah, or the wildernesses referred to as Shur and Sin, it can be said that until this last discovery fixed the site of one of the "treasure-cities," not a single point had been identified beyond dispute. Many theories have been put forth for each and with arguments that secured adherents for each theory, but that is the utmost that can be said. We have still to ask, where was even the starting-point which the Bible asserts was the town "Rameses"? Brugsch in his famous lecture\* makes it Tanis, the ruins of which form such conspicuous mounds. And starting from Tanis and explaining Succoth in a general way, he finds an Etham† in the eastern part of his Succoth plain, which at any rate formed a station on the ordinary route from Tanis to Pelusium. There is a drawing extant at Karnak of the time of Seti I., showing its position. It was on both banks of the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, and the two opposite parts were joined by a bridge. Behind the fortresses is represented the town called in Egyptian Tabenet, which is the Daphne of Herodotus. The ruins still exist called Tell Defenneh. It was the only route, according to Brugsch, whereby a traveller coming from Palestine could enter Egypt dry-shod. He cites from a papyrus now in the British Museum a parallel account of a scribe's pursuit of two servants of the royal palace of Rameses, how, starting on the 9th day of the 11th month, the next day the scribe entered Succoth, the next day arrived at Khetam, where the desert begins, then turned northwards toward Migdol and the Mediterranean as far as the wall of Gerrhon,‡ which was situated at the western extremity of Lake Sirbonis. Migdol is Semitic, meaning a tower. In Egyptian it is "Samout," and accordingly Brugsch identifies this Migdol of the Hebrews' route with a site that has the modern name of "Tell-es-Semout." He also finds with great ingenuity in the neighborhood of the old bog an explanation for the other terms of the Bible story, and certainly with great plausibility explains the command (Ex. xiv. 2) "to encamp before Pi-hahiroth between Migdol and the sea, opposite to Baal-Zephon. Ye shall encamp opposite to it by the sea."

The subsequent "turn" (Ex. xv. 12) he makes in a southerly direction through the desert, which is his "wilderness of Shur," to Marah.

\* Lecture on the Exodus, appended to Brugsch's "History of Egypt," Vol. II.

† In Egyptian "Khetam," meaning a fortress.

‡ The word means "wall," or barrier, and so Dr. B. regards it as a translation of the Hebrew "Shur," which means the same thing, and which gave its name to the "wilderness of Shur."



But interesting and ingenious though this explanation is admitted to be, it has received few, if any, adherents. At the same time it must be admitted that the route as ordinarily accepted is also a very uncertain one, except in its general direction. The stations of the route from beginning to end have been mere guesses, more or less plausible. Until this late find of Pithom-Succoth, if it be the Succoth of the journey, it can be said that there ~~was~~ really less argument for the old route than for that of Brugsch, except that the old one is made to cross the generally accepted arm of the Red Sea.

It may be added that another view held by an anonymous author,\* and elaborated with scarcely less ingenuity than that with which Dr. Brugsch supports his theory, makes the starting point at On (Heliopolis), and carries the line eastwardly on almost a parallel to the head of the Gulf of Akaba, another arm of the Red Sea, and to Elath, or Ezion-Geber, and makes the crossing (if there was one) in that region. And curiously enough he finds names sufficient in the region thereabouts to suggest reminiscences of the old Bible names. But we are not aware that the author has had any following.

In like manner, as to the locale of Sinai, and of the giving of the law, and of the years of wandering, it is needless for us to do more than refer to the subject. Most writers of course deal with the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula in this inquiry, but he would be a fortunate man indeed who could to-day affirm without contradiction that the "Mount of God" has been identified even there. We may only add that the anonymous writer above referred to, who makes the crossing at the Gulf of Akaba, also locates Sinai in the region of Petra and Mount Hor. Many of his arguments are very ingenious and plausible, but he is a thorough-going rationalist, and often treats the details of the Bible story as accounts that are scarcely more than fictions of a later age. It is vitiating to any theory to relegate difficulties in a Scripture narrative to interpolations of succeeding scribes.

In view, therefore, of the fact that the history of these investigations has really been from the beginning a story of hypotheses, most certainly students in this department should be led with great caution to state results of their researches. We are led to say this in view of movements already set on foot in the way of excavations, and to thus early enter a caveat against discoverers being led away by the excitement attending their discoveries to conclusions that the facts will not justify.

It is interesting to know that a party is to start from Marseilles who propose to drag the Red Sea and the Bitter Lakes in hope of finding some remains of Pharaoh's army, particularly jewels and gems that are supposed to be imperishable, and which may tell the final tale. So nothing can quicker excite the interest of all who are studying Ancient Egypt than the excavations of this "Egypt Exploration Fund Committee," but it will be necessary to remember just what each "find" amounts to, and call into most abundant exercise the judicial faculty when inferences are drawn.

Our object in this article is not to state the results of the discovery just made (for the committee are alone authorized to do that), but to protest

\* "The Hebrew Migration from Egypt," London: Trübner & Co., 1873, pp. 436.

against the too sweeping conclusions already set forth in its first official statement. Thus we read in the circular of the committee: "Among other geographical indications, this tablet gives us for the first time the original Egyptian name of a locality called Pi-Keheret, identified with Pihahiroth, near which the Israelites crossed the Red Sea. Hence the site of this place is to be looked for eastward or south-eastward of Pithom, and Dr. Brugsch's theory of the route of the Exodus must now be finally abandoned."

This seems to ourselves to be arguing too soon and too strongly.

It is to be remembered that the discoveries of M. Naville taken at their utmost value simply fix the site of the "store-city," Pithom-Succoth. It is well enough to say that it was in all likelihood the first halting-point of the Hebrews after leaving "Rameses" (wherever that was) from which they set out. But it is to be noted that this is but an inference, not a fact proven. There are indeed many difficulties that will at once suggest themselves to any one who has studied the locality, when the attempt is made, on the supposition that this store-city, Pithom-Succoth, was the Succoth where the first halt was made, to bring the site into relations either with the starting-point "Rameses," or with the subsequent stations of the journey. But this apart, the circular states that the "tablet of Pithom" "gives us for the first time the original Egyptian name of a locality called Pi-Keheret," which is at once identified with the "Pihahiroth" of Exodus xiv. 2, near which the sea was crossed. The "Pihahiroth" of our English text should rather be written "Pi-hakhiroth," more closely to correspond with the Hebrew form of the word. If the circular gives us the correct consonantal spelling of the tablet, it can scarcely be said to be the same word. At any rate, the circular states it as the name of a "locality"—it does not say a "town." Now, according to Dr. Brugsch, the word as given in the Hebrew form means "entrance to the Khiroth," and he finds Khivot as an Egyptian form meaning "gulfs," so that the whole word really designates a locality, not a town, and means "entrance to the gulfs," or fens, and could refer to the marshy, treacherous bogs either at the western end of the Sirbonian Lake (according to Brugsch's theory), or at the head of the Gulf of Suez, according to the ordinary theory.

At any rate, the mere mention of the name on the tablet, though it be conceded to be identical with the Hebrew word, without any further indication of its locality, does not fix its site even relatively, for the head of the Gulf of Suez was as far from Pithom-Succoth as was the entrance of the Sirbonian fens.

It is therefore gratuitous to add, "hence the site of this place is to be looked for eastward or south-easterly of Pithom," and that "Dr. Brugsch's theory of the route must now be finally abandoned." This is a non-sequitur, and deserves to be noted, for it is in just such a way that pet theories are often developed.

If it be conceded that Pithom-Succoth is really the Succoth of the Hebrews' route, it really tells us nothing more whatever about the rest of the route. It indeed only makes more uncertain still where the starting-point was. But it cannot be said to have demolished Dr. B.'s hypothesis, the distinctive feature of which is not so much the earlier stages of the journey (unless it be his identification of "Rameses" with Tanis), as whether the sea crossed was an arm of the

Red Sea, as we know it, or another sea, the old Sirbonian bog. That hypothesis is not at all affected by the present discovery. There are serious objections to Dr. Brugsch's view, which have been pointed out long ago on other grounds,\* notably by Poole, but there are also very serious objections to the route as ordinarily mapped down. We will have to wait longer, until some of the really strategic points are discovered, before we can discard either, and say it is to be "finally abandoned." From this point of view the promise that the mounds of San are next to receive attention will be hailed with delight by every student who is hankering after facts.

The better to appreciate the point we are making—that this happy discovery of the position of Pithom-Succoth does not necessarily give the "coup de grace" to Dr. Brugsch's theory—we would draw attention to the Bible requirements as to the problem. The Scripture story certainly notes three stages in the Hebrews' journey from "Rameses" to Sinai.

(1) The stage from Rameses to Etham. (2) That from Etham to Baal-Zephon. (3) That from Baal-Zephon to Sinai. It is to the first of these that we would particularly call attention. With regard to it the Bible tells us (1) that the journey was undertaken not by the direct road from "Rameses" (wherever it was) to Palestine, but by a roundabout way;† (2) that it was not until they reached Etham, "which is in the edge of the wilderness," that any intimation was given how they were to cross the desert.

We are told, *e. g.*, in Ex. xii. 37, "And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth," and then in Ex. xiii. 17 we are particularly informed that "when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near," but (ver. 18) "God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea." Also (ver. 20), "And they took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham." Now for the moment let us suppose Brugsch's Tanis to have been the "Rameses" from which they set out, and the discovered Pithom-Succoth to have been the Succoth of the journey, and Etham to have been where Brugsch locates it, and the whole story for this stage can be thus paraphrased: They started from Rameses (Tanis) to go the promised land, but instead of starting on the special road that led to it most directly, they journeyed first to Pithom-Succoth, and only by this roundabout way reached Etham on the edge of the wilderness. Then, having reached Etham, two courses would be possible,‡ viz., to turn northward or to turn southward—in both cases marching through a desert. The Bible (Ex. xiv. 2) emphasizes the "turn" with which the second stage began as of Divine direction. According to Brugsch they "turned" and marched to the north-east, where they would be sure to find a

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\* See Poole's "Lectures on Ancient Egypt," in *Contemp. Rev.*, May, 1879, p. 755; also p. 760. Birch's "Ancient History from the Monuments," p. 134. Rawlinson's "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II., p. 334.

† This would seem to have been characteristic, not only of the forty years' journey as a whole, but of each stage of the journey. In Israel's history it was the unexpected that happened.

‡ The same would have been possible, if Etham is located on a lower parallel more to the east of Pithom-Succoth.



"Migdol,"\* a "sea," and "gulfs" or fens, and a sanctuary called in Egyptian "Baali-Zapouna." According to the ordinary view they "turned," and marched in a southerly direction toward the head of the Gulf of Suez, where they would in all likelihood also find another "Migdol" (or tower), though it has not been identified with any known spot, and a "sea" and "gulfs" enough, though no identification of any of the Scripture names in that direction has been generally accepted.

The point we are making is, that even if Pithom-Succoth be the Succoth of the Hebrews' journey, it does not indicate anything decisive as to the remainder of the route any more than it does as to its direction and distance from the town whence the Hebrews set out. Neither does the mention on the tablet of a "locality" called "Pi-Keheret." Even if it be identical with the name given in Ex. xiv. 2 (unless something more explicit is given by the tablet than the mere name), its locality remains an unknown quantity.

As a "store-city" built by the compulsory labor of the Hebrews on the canal that Rameses II. was opening up from the Nile to the Bitter Lakes, and thence to the Red Sea, the discovery is a most welcome corroboration of the Bible story.

We shall await with impatience a full account of the spoils that have been gathered, and with only greater impatience the commencement of the promised excavations at San.

Since this article was written there has appeared in the *Illustrated London News* of Aug. 4, 1883, an illustrated notice of Pithom-Succoth by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, wherein the sweeping inferences against which we have been animadverting are repeated. It is said, "The identification of Pithom with Succoth gives us the first absolutely certain point as yet established in the route of the Exodus, and completely overthrows Dr. Brugsch's theory. It is now certain that the Israelites passed along the valley of the Freshwater canal, and not near the Mediterranean and Lake Sirbonis." And yet, as we have above stated, the only "absolutely certain point" established by the happy discovery is that the site of Pithom-Succoth, one of the "store-cities" built by the Hebrews, has been settled. It does not settle the point whether it be the first halting-spot of the Exodus, which in the Bible is called Succoth, and not Pithom, as one would naturally expect, were it identical, inasmuch as Pithom was already mentioned.

This is a point, therefore, not definitely settled by the discovery.

We emphasize this, for Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole himself, in a note to the *London Academy*, dated Feb. 21, 1883, seems to have felt the difficulty attending the identification of this Pithom-Succoth with the Succoth of the Exodus alluded to above. He says, "And, though *the rest of the journey to and from Succoth be still obscure*, we have at last a fixed point, limiting this obscurity and suggesting . . . more exploration." Mr. S. L. Poole, too, admits in his notice that "any identification of the sites of the Biblical cities in

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\* One way of describing Egypt was to say, "from Migdol to Elephantine or Syene," just as Canaan was described as "from Dan to Beersheba."

Egypt was so far merely speculative. Pithom, Succoth . . . Pihahiroth . . . had all been hypothetically placed in totally different positions."

We repeat that we cannot be too grateful for the identification of the site of one of the "store-cities" built by the Hebrews, and for the identification of Rameses II. as the oppressor under whom it was built, but it does not settle beyond dispute the identity of this site with the Bible "Succoth." If it be the same, students will find still greater difficulties than before in bringing the first stop of the Exodus into relations both with the starting-point and with the rest of the journey. We can only with patience await further facts.

ALFRED H. KELLOGG.

VII.

REVIEWS OF

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

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I.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT Herausgegeben. Von B. PUENJER. Zweiter Band. Die Literatur des Jahres. 1882.

The time was when English scholars instructed the Germans, and that time may come again. The dictionaries of Smith and his collaborators in the fields of Christian archæology and biography are superior to anything of the kind in German. But just at present the learned world waits for the verdict of Germany. Our books and articles of a scholarly character bristle with reference to German work. The man who does not read German is like him who could not read Latin one hundred years ago—shut out from the avenues of learning. All honor to the Germans. They are the pioneers in scholarship. They have industry, patience, and perseverance, and in the course of years have accumulated rich stores. Their books are commonly well done. Each writer is desirous to show an absolute mastery of the literature of the subject. And the comprehensive study of the literature has the good effect of informing the author respecting the ideas he adopts. He knows their age and probable value. He does not claim originality, only to make the humiliating discovery that he had been long ago anticipated.

These remarks are illustrated in the volume now under consideration. It is an orderly record of the theological literature of 1882. It aims at completeness, and takes account of books and articles outside of Germany. Some 1,200 authors are named, and their contributions very briefly characterized. Space did not allow much mention in any case, but so thorough is the acquaintance of the reviewers with their respective subjects, that they are often able by a word to give the gist of a volume. Of the 1,200 mentioned only 124 are English-speaking, many of whom again are Americans.

The plan of the *Jahresbericht* is to divide the literature into 12 parts, thus: O. T. and N. T. literature (2 parts); Church history to Nicæa, to the Reformation, from 1517 to 1700, since 1700 (4 parts); history and philosophy of religion, apologetics, etc.; dogmatics; ethics; practical theology, except ecclesiastical law and polity; ecclesiastical law and polity; homiletics. The general editor furnishes a necrology as the closing part, and then follows the index. Each department is given to a scholar particularly interested in it. Thus Gass has "ethics," Lipsius "dogmatics," Holtzmann the "N. T. literature." The result is satisfactory. Indeed, the *Jahresbericht* renders the theological scholar an inestimable service. The books mentioned in it have each some value, for worthless books are quietly ignored.



But in trying to be omniscient these German scholars occasionally betray ignorance. Thus it is rather startling to find E. Zittel, *Die Entstehung der Bibel* (pp. 180), and J. McClintock and J. Strong, *A Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, 16 vols. (*sic*), spoken of on p. 23 in this fashion: "Die Schriften von Zittel, Clintock, und Strong dienen praktischen Interessen, wenn auch von sehr verschiedenen Ausgangspunkten." It is novel, to say the least, to class a book on the genesis of the Bible along with an Encyclopædia in 16 (should be 10) vols. J. F. McCurdy is curtly called Curdy (p. 2). All the articles of 1882 in the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW upon the Pentateuchal question come in for respectful mention. Quite characteristically, Lipsius gives a brief list of Roman Catholic theological publications, and without a word of criticism closes his section with the remark, "No one cares about completeness in this department."

The necrology is a painful though valuable feature. The book, as a whole, is to be warmly commended.

SAMUEL M. JACKSON.

BIBLISCH-THEOLOGISCHES WOERTERBUCH DER N. TESTAMENTLICHEN GRAECITÆT. Von HERMAN CREMER. Dritte sehr vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Dritte—Siebente Lieferungen [completing the work]. 8vo, pp. 257–834, and xiii. Gotha: Perthes. 1882 and 1883. [New York: B. Westermann & Co.].

These five parts complete the third edition of Cremer's "Lexicon"—the first and second parts of which were noticed in the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, iii., 413, and iv., 172. The work, as a whole, fully justifies the expectation of "a much enlarged and improved" edition which the title-page raises and the promise that was given by the first and second parts. Over three hundred new words have been treated; and quite as many old articles (and these, naturally, among the most important) have been rewritten. The incitement given by Baudissin to their investigation of *ἀγιος* and its derivatives, for instance, as well as that given by Diestel and Ritschl to the investigation of *δικαιος* and its derivatives have borne fruit. Such terms as *βασιλεία, τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐκλέγσθαι, πίστις, σάρξ*, have felt the revising hand very deeply.

With all its enlargement and improvement, however, the work has not lost its original character. It is still a lexicon. The author is, indeed, anxious that it should be remembered that its purpose is to deal with the history of speech and concept, and that it is, therefore, a true lexicon, and not "a biblical theology in lexical, that is, in unscientific form." And it is as far as ever from being a hand-lexicon, and almost as far from being a complete lexicon to the New Testament. In general, only those words which have been affected by "the language-moulding power of Christianity" are discussed, and the three hundred additional articles of this edition probably raise the list of words treated to only about one-third of the whole number of New Testament words. This was, at all events, the result reached by a (no doubt very insufficient) sampling of the matter: the first page of the alphabetical index contains eighty-eight words against sixty-one in the corresponding section of edition 2, and some two hundred and thirty-five (of which only twenty-nine are proper names) in Grimm's *Clavis*. There remains room, therefore, for a fourth and fifth edition in the future; and the more so, that quite a number of terms remain thus far untreated, the meaning of which was affected by their application to Christian notions, and which thus, in the strictest sense, fall within the domain of the book. We need instance only the group *μακάριος, μακαρίζω, μακαρισμός*, and *μεριμνῶ* and its synonyms. Doubtless a very few years will give us another "greatly enlarged and improved" edition, and we promise to give it a glad welcome when it comes. Meanwhile, we will profit by the third, and thank the author

that he was willing to let us have use of a part before he could give us the whole.

Some minor items of improvement were spoken of in the previous notices. It is worth mentioning that a new index—to the Hebrew words discussed—has been added, and a greatly enlarged list of books consulted, prefixed. The strange assertion that Tholuck almost alone among commentators had paid much attention to or attained much success in biblico-theological word-study, has been happily dropped out of this edition.

It is unnecessary to speak of the general worth or use of this Lexicon further than, on the one hand, to reiterate our belief that it is indispensable to the careful student of the New Testament; and, on the other, to warn beginners that, like all lexicons and, by the very character of the task it undertakes, above other lexicons, it is of the nature of a commentary and has an unavoidable personal element, and, hence, must be used with independent judgment as a serving aid, not with slavish acceptance as an infallible master.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

THE PULPIT COMMENTARY. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., Vicar and Rural Dean of St. Pancras and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol; and by the Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL, Editor of the *Homiletic Quarterly*.

ST. MARK. Exposition by Very Rev. E. BICKERSTETH, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. Homiletics by Rev. Prof. J. R. THOMSON, M.A. 2 vols. pp. xii, vi, 371. About 96 pages of Expository matter, and 646 of Homiletical.

JEREMIAH. Exposition by Rev. T. R. CHEYNE, M.A., Rector of Tendring, and late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Homiletics by Rev. W. F. ADENEY, M.A. Vol. I., pp. xix, viii, 598. About 80 pages of Exposition, and 518 of Homiletics.

JOSHUA. Introduction to the Historical Books: Joshua to Nehemiah, by the Rev. A. PLUMMER, M.A., Master of University College, Durham. Introduction to Joshua and Exposition and Homiletics, by Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A., Vicar of St. Edward's, Cambridge, and late Lecturer in Hebrew at Lampeter College. pp. lviii, xxxviii, 384. About 126 pages of Exposition, 252 of Homiletics, and 6 of indexes.

JUDGES. Exposition and Homiletics: Right Rev. Lord A. C. HERVEY, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells. pp. viii, iv, 214. About 56 pages of Exposition, and 158 of Homiletics.

RUTH. Exposition and Homiletics: By Rev. JAMES MORISON, D.D., author of "Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew," etc. pp. xviii, i, 72. About 25 pages of Exposition, and 47 of homiletical matter. Judges and Ruth form one volume.

New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

Under an arrangement with the English publishers, A. D. F. Randolph & Co. are issuing the successive volumes of this work in New York from duplicate plates, and at about one-half the price of the English edition.

Dr. Bickersteth regards the Gospel by Mark as giving the Petrine tradition of the life of Jesus. Its sources he holds to have been the previously existing Gospel by Matthew, certain memoranda by Peter, and the author's own gifts, natural and inspired, the author being the John Mark of the New Testament. He devotes two pages to the dispute concerning the last twelve verses, concluding, that "On the whole, the evidence as to the genuineness and authenticity of this passage seems irresistible."

Whether Dr. Bickersteth's exposition is good depends upon the question what one seeks in exposition. One will find it very empty if one comes to it for information as to matters of difficulty, or for evidence to help him settle for himself the living issues of the day. Our author quietly gives the conclusions he himself has reached, without discussion, without going back to primary facts, without taking much pains to present the evidence. Apparently he prefers to ignore difficulties,

rather than settle them, and to avoid the raising of doubts, rather than attempt to dispel doubts by throwing the light upon them. He displays no strong, overmastering grasp, either of his whole subject or of any part of it. But while these characteristics diminish the value of his work for many, they doubtless enhance it for others. As a book of reflections upon Scripture texts, it is of an especially high order of merit, both for thought and sentiment, and for skill in the expression of them.

Mr. Cheyne holds that the Book of Jeremiah was probably edited and brought into its present form after the time of the prophet himself (p. xvi). The editor introduced passages which were not by Jeremiah (pp. xvi, 267). The Septuagint text is untrustworthy (p. xvii), but is sufficiently trustworthy to be good evidence of the untrustworthiness of the Hebrew text also (pp. xvi-xviii). Some of Jeremiah's earlier prophecies may have referred to a Scythian invasion, and afterward "have been intermixed with later prophecies respecting the Chaldeans . . . by an unconscious anachronism" (pp. iv, v). He reconciles these and similar statements with the doctrine of inspiration, by saying: "The editors of the Scripture were inspired; there is no maintaining the authority of the Bible without this postulate. True, we must allow a distinction in degrees of inspiration" (pp. xvi, 267).

The eighty pages of exposition on the first twenty-nine chapters of Jeremiah do not constitute a very full comment, but the work seems to be carefully done, from the point of view laid down in the introduction.

Mr. Plummer is no more characterized than several of his colleagues in this work by a somewhat evident attention to the matter of fine writing, coupled with inattention to certain conventionalities in the use of English. The following specimen, however, is more than usually tempting: "There is a wild freshness about the Book of Judges which tells of youth and independence, and freedom from restraint and care: the freshness of nature and the freshness of human life. It is mountain and woodland scenery filled with the thrilling incidents of the romances of chivalry. It is a tale of ancient times, and therefore it has all the interest of *what lays outside* our own every-day experience. It is a tale of men and women like ourselves, and therefore we can realize it all," etc.

During the past twenty-five years there has been a considerable amount of discussion over the historical books of the Bible. During the same time, explorations have been going on in Palestine, Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, the ancient land of the Hittites, etc., from which an immense store of rich materials has accumulated for studies connected with these same historical books. The writer of this introduction might have looked up these matters, digested them, given his readers some account of them. He might have packed his pages full of the most valuable materials, which all the other great commentaries were too early to use. Instead of this, Mr. Plummer has written a delightful essay on the old familiar facts and conjectures respecting the Biblical history. If this is a satisfactory thing to do, he has done it well.

Mr. Lias, in his introduction to Joshua, fairly meets the existing issues. He holds that the book was written about a generation after Joshua's death, by Phinehas or some like person (p. xi). He meets somewhat fully the objections based on the command to exterminate the Canaanites. He defends the doctrine of miracles, as connected with this book, sharply discriminating between all other alleged miracles and the miracles of the Old and New Testaments. In the matter of the sun and moon standing still, he holds that the stupendous character of the miracle is no reason whatever for regarding it as incredible; but also holds that it is doubtful whether the narrative asserts that there was any miraculous interference with the length of the day.

The ethnographical views advanced by Mr. Lias are at least interesting. On the basis of discoveries made at Carchemish since 1874, he identifies the Rutenun and the Khita of the Egyptian monuments, and apparently the Kharu also, as one



people, making them to be identical with the Phœnicians, with the Hittites of the Bible, and with the Canaanites, when this latter term is used in its wider sense (pp. xxiv, 4). This people were originally Turanian, but had adopted a Semitic language. Before the time of Joshua they had constituted a great empire, with its capital at Carchemish, including Palestine in its south-west corner, while it extended indefinitely to the north, and perhaps into Asia Minor, to the north-west. Just at this time the empire had become somewhat disintegrated, so that it was the less able to protect those of its dependencies which he invaded.

The expository work of Mr. Lias is, on the whole, notably valuable. The man has industriously sought information, and has used it for elucidating Scripture. An especial excellence is that each geographical proper name is treated in full, an index of such names being appended, "so that if a preacher finds a name mentioned elsewhere, he may turn to the Book of Joshua for additional information."

Mr. Plummer (p. xvi) dates portions of the Book of Judges "after B.C. 721, and probably a still later date must be taken for the final redaction in its existing form." Lord Hervey, however, assigns "the compilation to the reign of Saul, the separate contents of the book being known even earlier"; but is not very decided as between this and a later date. Lord Hervey's introduction to the Book of Judges is brief, but pointed and comprehensive. This is particularly true of his disposal of the critical controversy. He cites a list of passages as "among the many proofs that the Law of Moses was known to the writer or compiler of the Book of Judges," and infers that the silences or the statements of the book which seem to ignore the Law must therefore be explained in some other way. As hints at such explanation, he mentions the decentralization of Israel, and the consequent loss of influence of the central worship at Shiloh, together with various peculiarities in the make-up of the book itself. The exposition of Lord Hervey, though meagre and confining itself mostly to details, is cautious and scholarly.

Mr. Morison thinks that the Book of Ruth was written in the time of King David, though, in such a book, the date when it was written is not of great importance. He regards it as neither history nor biography, but simply a story—though a true story. His work is throughout spirited, sustained, and appreciative. Owing to Mr. Morison's simple Saxon way of saying just what he means, his pages of exposition are, in contrast with the pages of homiletical matter, like a fresh young girl in a company of overdressed women. It is a pity that preachers are so apt to try to spread themselves and use exclamation points, when they take up themes like those in the Book of Ruth.

The different authors of the series all occupy the stand-point of the Church of England. Few works recently issued have met with so decided and warm a welcome from the religious press of the several denominations; and the welcome is deserved, and will be continued. Yet the position of "The Pulpit Commentary" in regard to monarchy, aristocracy, and hierarchy is different from that of the great body of those who will buy and use it in America. The advocates of monarchy find their chosen field in the Book of Judges, in connection with the bad times "when there was no king in Israel." Mr. Plummer is quite emphatic here; Lord Hervey is less so. Both of them are mild by the side of Dr. Cassell, of Lange's Commentary. In the commentary on Mark, and in the various introductions and many of the homilies, churchmen,—that is to say, Episcopalian churchmen,—have one portion above their brethren. There is no objection to this, of course, but the recognition of the bias is essential to the fair use of the commentary.

With some notable exceptions, the writers of this series sacrifice critical excellence to their homiletical aim. Generally, they are diffuse. The introduction to Mark, for example, is perhaps three times as long as the article on Mark in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, and contains less matter. The lists of the literature connected with each book are apt to be general rather than specific. Contrast, for example,

the list for Mark with that of the article just mentioned. Again, what is said, early in this notice, of the exposition of Mark, might be truthfully repeated, not of every piece of work in the series, but of the work in general. To a characteristic extent these authors avoid discussion, each simply presenting the opinions he himself has formed, as if they were the only ones which he cared to have his readers notice. When the conclusions of the different authors are contradictory (as, for instance, when Mr. Lias makes Rameses II. to be the contemporary of Deborah and Barak, while the others place him before the Exodus), the case becomes peculiarly perplexing to unskilled readers. (See Notes on Joshua i. 4. and *Introd.*, pp. xxiv, xxv.) For the purposes of a large class of readers these are grave defects; but they may be positive excellences for another still larger class, who desire to read, not to study; to gain general information rather than exact knowledge; to know what is held to be true rather than why it is so held; to apprehend the moral and religious instructions based upon a passage rather than their basis in the passage.

It is to the credit of this commentary, as contrasted with many other recent works, that it follows the line of tradition which magnifies Christianity by tracing its main elements back through the Old Testament, rather than that which magnifies the New Testament by minifying the Old. Mr. Plummer insists upon it that the Biblical history is the history of a religion and not of a people merely, or of individuals. Dr. Bickersteth and some of his homilists find that Jesus held to the perpetual obligation of the Sabbath, and interpreted the books of Moses as teaching the doctrine of immortality, etc. These instances are characteristic. A curious exception is the treatment of Mark xi. 17, where Jesus cites from Isa. lvi. 7, Jehovah's declaration concerning foreigners who become his adherents and are faithful, to the effect that he will bring them into his sanctuary and accept their sacrifices upon his altar, "For my house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations." At the head of his paragraph on this sentence, our author gives a correct translation of it. In his introduction, page ii, he speaks of the last clause as quoted. But in his exposition he seems to attribute the clause to Mark himself, and certainly follows the traditional mistranslation of the passage. Our Saviour appealed, in behalf of the sanctity of the temple, to the magnificent idea, familiar for centuries to every Scripture-reading Israelite, that in being Israel's house of prayer, it was a house of prayer for all the nations. In order to belittle this into an explanation by Mark to Gentile readers, that the outer court of the temple was partly as holy as the holier parts, one must be pretty deeply under the shadow of that line of tradition which distorts the exclusiveness of the Old Testament for the sake of glorifying the universality of the New.

More in general, these volumes are marked by the type of orthodoxy which is common to the Puritanical churches and the evangelical wing of the Church of England. The Calvinism of some parts of them is quite pronounced. They have been widely accepted by the religious press as representative of a very conservative form of current orthodoxy. This circumstance gives an especial interest to the attitude taken by the "Pulpit Commentary" on many questions. Prominent among these are questions of Old Testament criticism. Most of these men make a special point of holding to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. They insist that Moses wrote the Law in five books, and not merely that he wrote the Law. Mr. Cheyne is an exception; he avoids committing himself by saying that the question of the date of Deuteronomy is discussed elsewhere (p. ii, note). Mr. Plummer believes himself to have disproved the notion "that the Book of Joshua is a mere appendix to the Pentateuch, possibly by the same hand" (p. viii). Mr. Lias (p. x) finds a difference of date between Deuteronomy and Joshua long enough for the development of certain very interesting flexional changes in the Hebrew language. Lord Hervey finds the Pentateuch constantly referred to in the Book of Judges. And so with the rest. There is a conscious security in the orthodoxy of their posi-

tion, which is very comfortable to contemplate, and which renders us quite free to ask questions concerning the other parts of the Old Testament.

We have seen how Mr. Plummer and Mr. Cheyne answer our inquiries concerning the Books of Judges and Jeremiah. Mr. Cheyne also lets us know what he thinks of several of the other books. He says that Deuteronomy, whether Mosaic or post-Mosaic, was "a favorite reading book of religious people" in Jeremiah's time (p. ii). This came to be a misfortune, for the book misled people into laying too much stress upon outward prosperity or adversity as indicative of Jehovah's disposition toward them (pp. iii, x). The Books of Kings, the second part of Isaiah, and Psalms xxii., xxxi., xl., lv., lxix., lxxi., and others, he holds to have been written after Jeremiah's time, and more or less directly under his influence (pp. iv, v). As to historical credibility, Mr. Lias says, page xxii: "The writer will have satisfied all the conditions of authentic history if he tells us what was the current belief in his own day. The successes of the Israelites was so far beyond their expectations . . . that it may have been their firm belief that the day was miraculously lengthened on their behalf." According to Mr. Lias, this is one of the laws which limit the historical credibility of the Scriptures, though he regards it as only supposably (not actually) applicable to the instance cited. Mr. Cheyne holds that in Jeremiah and the other Old Testament books, the chronology and other historical data are often contradictory, and therefore false (p. xviii). In particular, Jer. xxv. 1, and xxxii. 1, with II. Kings xxiii. 36, contradict Jer. xlvi. 2, according to which "The battle of Carchemish took place in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which was the last year of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar." So accurate a chronologist, by the way, should not have dated the death of Josiah 609 B.C., on page iv, but 611 B.C., on page xix. Mr. Plummer says that the whole period of the Judges was about a century and a half. He holds, therefore, that the 480 years, 1 Kings vi. 1, the 300 years, Judges xi. 36, and, in the meaning commonly received, the 450 years in Acts xiii. 20, are all untruthful. Bishop Hervey and most of the others take the same view. Mr. Lias, as we have seen, dates the Exodus further back, and perhaps credits these particular numbers; but he holds that the numeral 30,000, Joshua viii. 3, is a mistake, and adds: "The confused condition of the numbers in the present text of the Old Testament is a well-known fact, and it is proved by the great discrepancies in this respect between the Books of Chronicles and those of Samuel and Kings."

If assertions like these are mistaken, the mistakes are serious. That nearly all of them are mistaken is the opinion of the writer of this notice, and of most of the readers of the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW. They are not mentioned here for the purpose of refuting them, however, but for that of pointing out the significance of the fact that they are present in so conservative a work as the one under consideration.

After all, the most valuable as well as the most prominent part of this work is its homiletical matter. The homilies range from a mere outline to a sermon printed in full. They constitute a peculiarly rich collection of what wise and devout men have been accustomed to regard as the doctrinal, moral, and spiritual teachings of the Scriptures. They illustrate, among other points, the smallness of the extent to which these teachings depend on the questions on which the critics differ. It may be doubted whether, as a cyclopedia of sermons, the "Pulpit Commentary" has an equal in the English language.

W. J. BEECHER.

DIE BIBLISCHEN GESCHICHTEN A. UND N. TESTAMENTS, mit Bibelwort und freier Zwischenrede anschaulich dargestellt. 2te Auflage. I. Band. Gütersloh, 1883, C. Bertelsman. N. Y.: B. Westermann & Co.

This is the first volume of a new edition of a work which seems to have been very favorably received in Germany. It is not a continuous exposition nor a



series of homilies, but a lively representation of the historical portions of the Scripture in the form best adapted to interest and impress. The selections are made with judgment, and the treatment answers to the purpose. The tone throughout is evangelical, reverent, and devout. We are not surprised to learn from a preface to this edition that a Christian mother sent to the author a very strong testimonial to the value of the work, as one that enabled her to entertain her children in a most satisfactory way, by reciting to them the holy histories instead of the stories and fables commonly employed for this end.

T. W. CHAMBERS.

THE KINGDOM OF ALL-ISRAEL: its History, Literature, and Worship. By JAMES SIME, M.A., F.R.S.E. London. 1883. 8vo, pp. 621.

The author has been fortunate in the selection of his theme, and deserves high praise for his admirable treatment of it. The kingdom of All-Israel is a convenient and apt designation of the undivided monarchy from Saul to Solomon, in its contrast with the so-called kingdom of Israel after the schism, which was limited to the ten tribes. It embraces a well-defined and important portion of the sacred history, with peculiar features of its own, and which stands in a very influential relation both to the estimate to be put on antecedent periods and to the entire subsequent course of events. Succeeding the protracted term of weakness, dissension, and degeneracy under the judges, it brought back the strength due to union and vigorous administration and a return to the worship of their fathers, so that Israel could now at length enter upon a true development of its national theocratic life, which preceding disturbances had checked and well-nigh stifled.

This period has the special charm of a history cast in a biographical mould. The events are grouped successively about the lives of Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon, who shape the course of public affairs, and whose deeds and fortunes often impart to it the highest romantic or dramatic interest. It has also, in contrast with the fragmentary accounts preserved of the times immediately preceding, the advantage of a fuller and more continuous record, and for two of the reigns a double record—one in Samuel and Kings, dwelling chiefly upon events in their civil and personal aspects; and the other in Chronicles, which lays the principal stress upon ecclesiastical matters.

The author, whose trenchant pen is already known from his "Deuteronomy the People's Book," has portrayed this period in its general outlines and in its minute details with great vividness and force. The character and motives of the actors are strongly delineated; events are graphically described in their circumstances and their localities, as well as in their general bearings on the course of the history; and much ingenuity is shown in the combination of widely scattered statements, and a genuine enthusiasm in entering into the spirit of that with which he deals. His imagination is sometimes quite freely exercised, as when the three years' famine of 2 Sam. xxi. 1 is inserted among the causes of discontent before Absalom's revolt (p. 328); or in the battle in which this usurper lost his life, "the scared prince" is described as turning his mule's head and hurrying to the rear (p. 350); or the woman in Bahurim (2 Sam. xvii. 18, 19) is identified with the wife of Azmaveth (xxiii. 31); or the angel with a drawn sword seen by David (2 Sam. xxiv. 17; 1 Chron. xxi. 16) is converted into a haze topping the hills and betokening the oncoming of a pestilence; and the fire by which God answered David upon the altar of burnt-offering is ascribed to a storm of thunder and lightning brought on by the wind which swept the plague away (p. 380 f.)

But the most valuable and significant service rendered by this volume is its

contribution to the department of Biblical Criticism, and particularly its defence of the antiquity and genuineness of the Pentateuch and its legislation against the objections which have been drawn from the anomalous condition of affairs during the greater portion of this period. It is clearly and abundantly shown that the startling and incredible conclusions of the most recent school of critics are based on trivial grounds; and that sacred criticism in their hands has departed widely from the sober caution and wise judgment which is demanded of classical critics and historians, and has adopted methods and results which would be scouted as ridiculous and absurd in any other department of literature.

The parallel suggested between certain prominent passages of Hebrew history and the Greek tragedy (pp. 1, 2) is ingenious and striking, while at the same time the author urges that the supreme regard paid to moral sequences in the former is an evidence of truth rather than of fiction. It is convincingly argued that the narrative of Saul's election, so far from conflicting with the existence of Deuteronomy and the law of Deut. xvii. 14 ff., actually presupposes them. But we cannot see that "national unity under one visible head" was "the oldest political Constitution of the Hebrews" (p. 14), if by this is meant the Constitution ordained by Moses, and which it was his aim to perpetuate. Nor was it a departure from the Mosaic ideal that no successor was appointed to Joshua, and that no one was subsequently invested with supreme authority except in extraordinary emergencies. This was no "secondary growth" which "men of the highest ability like Samuel" confounded with their original divine Constitution. The law of the king was only permissive, not mandatory. It prescribed what should be done if the people ever desired a king, but gave no positive direction that one should be appointed. Moses had a more exalted idea for Israel than a hereditary monarchy—one far freer, nobler, purer, better, if they were but capable of putting it into successful operation. It was that of a people who, when settled in their own land, should be submissive to the law of Jehovah and have Jehovah alone as their invisible sovereign, whose power should be ever manifested to bless and to guard them. If the people could thus be a law unto themselves with God's law written on their hearts, his sanctuary would be their capital, the high-priest his earthly representative, the annual feasts their periodic assemblies, and no government would be needed beyond that of local tribunals and magistrates but that of God himself. Moses foresaw that the people would be incapable of realizing this magnificent ideal, for they would depart from God and fail to keep his law (Deut. xxxi. 16 ff.). The next alternative was a king to rule them in a true theocratic spirit. Accordingly provision was made for this at the proper time, but it was not to be introduced till the necessity had first arisen.

It could not be otherwise, therefore, than that Samuel should be grieved and the Lord should be displeased with the people's request for a king. The whole occasion for such a request sprang from the sinful failure of Israel to realize their true ideal as the people of Jehovah. It was, besides, most inopportune, for the Lord had just signally broken the power of the Philistines, and thus given them fresh proof of his readiness to save a repentant people. It was the manifestation of an inward distrust in Jehovah himself; they desired a king upon whom they might lean rather than upon God. This state of facts, which rendered the kingdom necessary, was recognized, however, and acted upon. The kingdom was established, but in such a way as to teach them that if it was to prove a real blessing they must not have a king without God like Saul, but one like David, to whom God was supreme, and who ruled only in his name.

The author seems to us to be at needless pains to minimize the deviations from the ritual during the anomalous interval between the departure of the ark

from Shiloh and its being set up on Zion. Thus he repeatedly distinguishes between what he calls popular and priestly sacrifices, meaning by the former animals slain for food, and by the latter those which were offered upon the altar. The word admits of this distinction no doubt, and probably Adonijah's sacrifice (1 Kings i. 9) was merely slaying sheep for a feast; possibly, also, that of Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 12, p. 264). But Samuel's sacrifice at Ramah (1 Sam. ix. 12, p. 24) and at Bethlehem (xvi. 2, p. 129) are with much less likelihood referred to the same class. It is suggested that "cook" (ix. 23) "may refer to an officiating priest or Levite." The sacrifices of peace-offerings "before the Lord" in Gilgal are assumed to be offered "before the ark of God; with the ark went the priests, by whom according to the law the sacrifices would be offered" (p. 50). Samuel on two occasions delayed seven days before going down to meet Saul at Gilgal. This is explained by assuming that the people, having no longer a divinely-sanctioned sanctuary, were observing the Passover at Gilgal; but Samuel waited until the feast was over, so as not to sanction it by his presence (p. 58). The men whom Saul met going up to God (1 Sam. x. 3), it is affirmed (p. 27), were not on their way to "Bethel" (though invariable usage makes this a proper name), but to "the house of God" at Nob. Such unproved or improbable assertions weaken the cause which they are adduced to support. Other irregularities confessedly remain, which cannot thus be explained away. And these are made to seem the more formidable by the straining and forcing which has been resorted to, to reduce their number. A principle that will satisfactorily solve this residue, would with equal ease solve the whole.

The true significance of Samuel's life and work cannot be apprehended without a recognition of the total breach between him and the priesthood and sanctuary which God had cast off. From the time that the ark deserted Shiloh and God's word against Eli's priestly line entered upon its fulfilment, Samuel ignored both the tabernacle and its ministers. God's sanctuary in Israel was for the time abolished, and the law requiring sacrificial worship there necessarily lapsed. The ark was in existence, but was too terrible to be approached; it was merely kept in reserve until God should return to his people and once more establish his gracious habitation in the midst of them. Meanwhile Samuel, as God's immediate representative, assumed the functions of the discarded priesthood, and offered sacrifices freely wherever offerings were demanded. And the people, deprived of the Mosaic sanctuary, resorted to the sacred spots, where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had built their altars and worshipped God.

It is difficult to accept a reconciliation of Ex. xxii. 31 with Deut. xiv. 21, which assumes that "dog" in the former passage means alien (p. 107). Why not admit a modification or fresh provision in the law when repeated at the close of the forty years' wandering? It is hardly possible that the enumeration of Levites from a month old and upward can have been based upon "the presentation of boys at the altar" (p. 126), which was not "three and thirty," but forty days after birth (33+7) (Lev. xii. 2, 4). The significations attributed to Ishbaal, "lordly man," and Ishbosheth, "bashful man" (p. 266), have at any rate the merit of freshness. Is it not by an inadvertence that (p. 310, *note*) the book of Kings is spoken of as having been disparaged because of its omission of the story of Uriah? Was not Chronicles meant? Though even in this case the omission need imply no sinister design. It did not fall within the writer's plan to detail matters of domestic life, but only public official acts. The former are regularly excluded.

While we have thus freely expressed dissent in a few minor particulars, we wish once more to utter our sense of the great excellence and ability which



characterize this volume throughout. We note also with pleasure the conservative position taken with regard to the titles of the Psalms (p. 241), which it is now so much the fashion to discredit entirely. In respect to the authorship of Ecclesiastes we agree with him that it is "a puzzle" (p. 558); while the historical objections to its composition by Solomon seem to us to be trivial in the extreme, we confess that we do not know how to reconcile the language of the book with the age of Solomon, and we do not see that our author has thrown much light upon this, which is the real difficulty in the case.

W. H. GREEN.

DIE VORSCHRIFTEN DER THORA welche Israel in der Zerstreuung zu beobachten hat.\* Ein Lehrbuch der Religion für Schule und Familie. Von LUDWIG STERN, Frankfurt am Main. Kauffmann, 1882. pp. xviii. and 288, 8vo.

An Israelite school-book would demand no notice from us, except as it might make us better acquainted with Jewish thought. This, it is not too much to say, the book before us does. It is written in an excellent spirit from the stand-point of a tolerably strict orthodoxy. The style is clear and the arrangement good. The author shows religious earnestness, and, in general, a sound moral sense. It would be interesting to know how large a number of Jewish children receive such instruction as he gives.

Of course, we discover at once that we are not listening to one of our own number. The very first page gives us a view of the sources of moral instruction: "The only infallible and sufficient source of what is ordinarily called Judaism, or Jewish religion, is the Revelation of God; *i. e.*, the whole of the communications which God himself has made us after a supernatural and, to us, incomprehensible manner. . . . We call the books containing this revelation *Thora*. . . . The principal books of the Thora are: I. the Scriptures; II. the Talmud; III. the Decisions."

The Pentateuch is emphasized with its 613 precepts, of which 369 are obligatory on the Jews in exile. The remainder cannot be carried out so long as they are deprived of their land and temple. These precepts are given in their order in a table at the end of the book. In the body of the work they are grouped in natural connection under the heads: "On the Recognition of God and his Law"; "On Honoring God"; "On Walking in the Ways of God"; "On Consecration in the Service of God." All duties are in this way brought into relation to God. Duties to men come under the head of walking in the ways of God. "As God reveals himself to us as kind, merciful, righteous—as he shows his creatures good only, clothes the naked, feeds the hungry—so should we also show as much good as possible to our fellow-creatures." Under our fellow-creature or our neighbor the author then includes all men without exception.

The following particulars may be noticed:

The author expects a personal Messiah. He will rebuild the Temple in unprecedented magnificence. By the spirit of divine wisdom he will clear up all the obscurities of the Law, and bring it into complete observance. He will bring all men to the recognition of the one God. The time of his coming is not revealed. Therefore the Rabbinical authorities condemn those who try to ascertain the date by computations based on the prophecies.

The thirteen articles of the Jewish faith are: God is the Creator; he is one; he is a spirit; he is the first and the last; he alone is to be worshipped; all the words of the prophets are true; the Revelation by Moses is true, and he is the most excellent of all the prophets; the whole Law as it is now in our hands is the same that was given to our teacher Moses; the Law will never be changed, and no other will ever be given; God knows all the deeds of men; God rewards the good and punishes the disobedient; the Messiah is to come; there is to be a resurrection of the dead.

Traditional information is sometimes relied upon. We are told that the prayers

now in the Jewish ritual were composed by the men of the Great Synagogue, "of which the latest prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, as well as Ezra and Nehemiah, were members." Also, that Moses himself appointed the reading of the Law on Sabbath forenoon, etc.

The Rabbinical casuistry occasionally crops out. On the Sabbath one must not shake a fruit-tree or even lean against it, if it be small; and it is also forbidden to pick up fruit lying on the ground. Food must not be cooked or put by an Israelite in the stove to warm if it has got cold—if it be still warm it may be put back, however. Wool must not be shorn or hair pulled—hence as combing the hair usually pulls some out, this is forbidden. The prohibition does not extend to the brush. Honoring God's Law involves honoring the written copy—one must stand when such a copy is brought into his presence, and must not touch it with unwashed hands. Even printed copies must never lie under other books, always above them. The exactly prescribed mourning for friends must be observed.

Notwithstanding these (and some other) examples of formalism or undue scrupulosity, the book displays a sound moral sense, as we have already said, and its perusal makes a favorable impression regarding Jewish ethics as now taught. Can Reform Judaism show as good fruits?

H. P. SMITH.

THE following works in the department of Exegetical Theology deserve notice:

*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* von J. Wellhausen. 2te Ausg. der Geschichte Israels. Band I. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1883. This book of Wellhausen has assumed a more modest and appropriate title in its second edition. There has been no essential change; but there are many corrections and improvements, especially in Chapter VIII.—*Essai sur les Origines des partis Saducéen et Pharisien et leur histoire jusqu'à la naissance de Jesus Christ*. Par Edouard Montet. Paris: Lib. Fischbacher. 1883. We have no hesitation in pronouncing this book to be the best treatise among many excellent ones upon the Pharisees and Sadducees. The author has mastered all accessible materials, and has used them to the best advantage. He incidentally expresses his accord with Reuss and Kuenen as to the composition of the Hexateuch. He calls attention to the conflict between the New Testament and the Rabbinical views of the relation of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and the influence of the Scribes upon the nation, and does not hesitate to give the preference to the New Testament; and to regard the Rabbinical views as colored by partisanship, and the disposition to represent earlier times as the Rabbinical writers imagined them, rather than to investigate what they were in fact. Josephus also must be used with caution. The Pharisees were not the patriots of the Maccabean wars, but, on the contrary, they set themselves in opposition to the Maccabean heroes, and were essentially separatists. The Essenes were the left wing of the party. The Sadducees were the national party, in entire accord with the Asmoneans, holding the priesthood, and the chief official positions, and generally maintained the control of the Sanhedrim, as we see from the New Testament. The Sadducees were the orthodox official party, to which the priesthood, aristocracy, and the higher classes generally were attached, and so long as the temple stood and the national life continued, remained in power. The Pharisees were the strict, separating, reforming party, who attained the control only after the nation was overthrown and the temple worship destroyed. They cultivated the law rather than the ritual of worship; they made the synagogue and the school their places of operation rather than the temple and its courts. They rose upon the ruins of the nation as the masters of the situation, and gave their own interpretation to the previous history and literature.—*Suggested Modifications of the Revised Version of the New Testament*. By Elias Riggs. Andover: W.

F. Draper. 1883. This is a stimulating and valuable little book. It is modest and unpretentious, and yet contains a number of suggestions that ought to be carefully considered by the Revisers after the revised Old Testament has appeared, and when the final work of adjustment is undertaken. We think the recommendation of a final sub-committee of three men, who shall devote their whole time to it until the final revision is completed, an excellent one. We would suggest, further, that one of these should be chosen from the Old Testament Company and one from the New, and that Dr. Riggs himself be the third. One should be from Great Britain, one from America, and it would be appropriate that one who has spent a life in the translation of the Scriptures into Oriental languages should be the third.

C. A. BRIGGS.

## II.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

DIE APOCRYPHEN APOSTELGESCHICHTEN UND APOSTELLEGENDEN. Ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Literaturgeschichte, von RICHARD ADELBERT LIPSIUS. Erster Band. Braunschweig. 1883. 8vo, pp. 622. [N. Y.: B. Westermann & Co.]

No branch of early Christian literature has been so neglected as the Apocrypha; and nothing could be more needed in that field of study than a thoroughgoing examination of any one division of it from the hands of Lipsius. His labors among the Apocrypha have long since borne rich fruit, as his numerous short papers in the periodical press, his articles on "Apocryphal Acts," "Abdias," etc., in Smith & Wace's Dictionary of Christian Biography—his extended works on the "Acts of Pilate," the "Sources of the Roman Peter-legend," and the "Edessene Abgar-legend" abundantly prove. And although he modestly tells us that a final investigation into the Apocryphal Acts is as yet impossible, and that, owing to the mass of material still buried in unpublished documents, the results now attainable, if not altogether doubtful, will eventually need much modification; it is no less true that it is to Lipsius with one or two others that the Christian world must look for what knowledge is attainable on the subject, and that it is time that what is known should be made public. It is pleasant to learn also that much MS. material has been placed by Bonnet and others at the disposal of the author in the preparation of this volume, so that it has been prepared, not only by an exceptionally competent scholar, but also under exceptionally favorable circumstances. For some years, at least, it must rank as the standard work on the Apocryphal Acts, and though scholars will not find themselves in studying it reduced to simply saying "Ditto to Mr. Burke," they will not fail to find it, on the whole, an eminently satisfactory treatise.

The work opens with a short introduction (which is largely a German version of the article "Apocryphal Acts" in the Dictionary of Christian Biography), followed by a thorough discussion of the legend of the Separation of the Apostles to preach the Gospel through the world (pp. 11-34), and a Sketch of the Literature of the subject (pp. 35-43). Then the basis of the work is firmly laid in an investigation of the Extant Sources of the Apocryphal Apostle-legends (pp. 44-224), including discussions (1) of Leucius Charinus and the Gnostic Acts of the Apostles, (2) of the Latin Collection of *Passiones* which has come down to us under the name of Abdias, and (3) of the remaining Greek, Latin, and Oriental sources. On the ground of this investigation follows the main portion of the work: Special discussions of the Acts and Legends of the Separate Apostles. This volume contains those on the Acts of Thomas (pp. 225-349), John (pp. 348-542), and Andrew (pp. 543-622). The next will contain those on Peter, Paul (with an Appendix on the Acts of Paul and



Thekla), Philip, Matthew, Bartholomew, Simon, Judas, and the two Jameses, followed by an Appendix on those of Barnabas, Mark, Luke, Timothy, and Titus.

The second century already teemed with legends of the Apostles. Some of them were called out by the curiosity and thirst for wonders of the people; others met local desires to find an apostolic origin for a church or line of Bishops; others were meant to give apostolic authority to a special teaching, and thus were pure tendency-writings. Once in existence, they were reworked by every mouth they passed through until, although most of them sprang from heretical circles, they were gradually shaped to tolerable orthodoxy and retained little of their original contents except the miracles. Even *written* legends of the Apostles were current as early as the second century, which, in a more or less altered form, we still possess. There are three classes of these: 1. Ebionite *κηρίγματα* and *περίοδοι*, such as we find, for instance, in the Clementina; 2. Gnostic Acts of the Apostles, of which those of Peter and Paul certainly, and that of John probably, are as old as the second century; and 3. Orthodox Acts which sprang, for the most part, out of local traditions—such as the Syrian Acts of Addæus, the Armenian and Coptic Acts of Bartholomew, etc. Recent study has not led to the ascription of any great historical value to these works; they do contain real reminiscences, but these largely belong to the background of the stories rather than to the stories themselves; Lipsius thinks they preserve almost no facts concerning the Apostles. The important legend of the separation of the Apostles and the distribution of the world among them, Lipsius thinks sprang from Matt. xxviii. 19, and both originated and developed in Jewish-Christian circles.

The discussion of Leucius Charinus and the Gnostic Acts takes largely the form of a polemic against Zahn's *Acta Johannis*! Certainly Zahn goes much beyond the evidence when he contends that the Leucianic writings were held authoritative in the Christian Church, and hence must have arisen before their heresy was accounted heresy. But Lipsius no less is overanxious to prove that they were little used in Orthodox circles, and even tampers with the evidence in the effort to demonstrate the early existence of Catholic recensions of them. It is only, for instance, by a very unjustified reconstruction of the text of Philaster of Brescia (p. 52) that he can make him a witness for their existence in A.D. 330; they appear to be first mentioned, rather, by John of Thessalonica in the seventh century (p. 57), who, moreover, declares that they were made very near his own time (*τοὺς ἐναγχοῦς ἡμῶς προηγησάμενους*)—a statement which Lipsius sets aside very arbitrarily. If the Syrian MSS. containing them (p. 61) are correctly assigned to the sixth century, they probably set the beginning of the sixth century as the earliest date to which we can assign the origin of Catholic recensions in the face of John's words and the failure of all earlier mention of them in the East and West. The Leucianic collection itself, Lipsius holds, passed through two stages. Photius in one passage speaks of it as if containing acts of all twelve apostles, and in such a way as to leave the impression that it existed in this form as early as the middle of the fourth century. Elsewhere he enumerates only five parts for it; and this seems to have been at once its earliest (against Zahn) and most widely circulated form. The existence of the Acts of Peter, John, and Andrew in the first quarter, and of Paul and Thomas in the last quarter, of the fourth century can be proved; all of these seem older than Eusebius, and probably none of them are younger than the middle of the third century. Traces of the Acts of Peter, John, and Paul reach back to the second century; the Acts of Thomas belongs probably to the beginning of the third, and the Acts of Andrew scarcely later. It seems to be probable that they were collected some time before the middle of the third century into a collection of five, to which the other seven were added about a half century later (p. 83). The polemic against Zahn is continued warmly into the discussion of who "Leucius" was, and what is his relation to these writings. The conclusion is stated in the form of a dilemma (p. 116): he was *either* the author of

the first collecton, or the "I" of the "Wanderings of John"—he cannot be *both*. In the former case we must be content to say that he was an unknown Gnostic who wrote these books, and must refuse credit to Epiphanius' statement that he was John's companion (τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἁμῶν αὐτῶν Λευκίου καὶ ἀλλήσας πολλῶν). In the latter, we must still ask whether he was a pure myth, or whether the author of this Gnostic life of John hid himself behind the name of a really historic personage, "a younger friend of John's in Ephesus" (Zahn). This cannot be decided by simply saying that the latter is the only natural supposition; one is *per se* about as possible as the other, and most of the persons in these Acts are purely fictitious. The date of "Leucius" is also somewhat, but in a less degree, dependent on the solution of the dilemma: if the latter horn of the dilemma be true, the date of the second century "Wanderings of John" settles it—if the former, his life must continue to the first half of the third century. It is, however, not probable that the Wanderings of Thomas and of John came from the same hand (although on internal grounds those of John and Peter seem to have the same author). It is certainly not to be supposed that the name is a pure invention; and the supposition has much in its favor that behind this name we are to seek a real or putative author of the *πράξεις Ἰωάννου*, to whom the whole collection was afterward attributed—certainly by the fourth century, perhaps immediately on its collection.

The origin of the Abdias collection is investigated with equal care, although its later date detracts from its interest. It is pointed out truly enough that it has been ascribed to an Abdias only through a misunderstanding, although we can hardly accept the confident account of the rise of the misunderstanding (pp. 118-120). It is also shown that the collection of the *virtutes* is later than that of the *passiones*, was mechanically made, and dates from a time subsequent to the sixth century. The *passiones* themselves cannot be older than the second half of the sixth century, although earlier than Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus († 609). Their home was France; they are an original Latin work, although they use Greek material; and their value is small beyond their preservation of some earlier matter.

We reach the heart of the work, however, only when we turn to the discussion of the Acts of the separate Apostles. We cannot pretend to give an abstract of these closely-packed pages; let us indicate the method of the discussion in one instance only, as a sample. Take the Acts of John (pp. 348-542). The Church traditions concerning the Apostle are first collected and the question started how far they belong to the Apostle and how far to the Presbyter John—for Lipsius still believes in the exploded myth of a Presbyter John. The answer is returned that this question cannot now be decided; enough, it is said, that it was universally believed in the last quarter of the second century that John was the Apostle of Asia. At all events, the banishment of the Apocalypticist to Patmos and the long abode of John, the disciple of Christ, at Ephesus, are the two firmly-established data which lie at the base of all later legends in all their modifications. There follows an account of the Patristic notices of the Gnostic "Wanderings of John," and of the attempts which have been made to collect its fragments. The question is then broached as to the light which may be thrown on its original form by its later use, and this opens the way to a full discussion of Prochorus, Abdias, Pseudo-Melito, Pseudo-Isidore, etc., etc., with especial reference to their notices concerning John and their relation to the Gnostic *πράξεις*. The fragments contained in the original are next discussed in full, and an attempt is made to restore the original form. Other fragments are pointed out beyond those which Zahn has printed. The date of the work is assigned to the second half of the second century (which is, perhaps, a little too late). Finally, its historical value is investigated with the result of reducing it to nothing in regard to the life of John (still against Zahn), but of pointing out its high value in the history of Gnosticism.

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.

CORRESPONDANCE DES RÉFORMATEURS DANS LES PAYS DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE, recueillie et publiée, avec d'autres Lettres relatives à la Réforme et des Notes historiques et biographiques, par A. L. HERMINJARD. Tome VI.ème (1539 à 1540), avec un Index alphabétique des noms. 8vo, pp. 501. Genève: Bale. Lyon: H. Georg. Paris: G. Fischbacher. 1883.

Nineteen years ago M. Herminjard put forth the prospectus of a work that was "to bring together the letters emanating from the pen of all those who, in lands where the French tongue is spoken, labored, from near or from far, for the establishment of the Reformation." The idea of such a publication had occurred to him in connection with his studies on the life of the reformer Pierre Viret. He had detected gross discrepancies between the fanciful and picturesque narratives of certain popular historical writers and the original authorities upon which those narratives were ostensibly based; and it had seemed to him that in no way could he better subserve the true interests of religion, and of history as well, than by affording to intelligent readers an opportunity of familiarizing themselves with documents hitherto hidden away on the shelves of remote libraries, inaccessible save to a favored few even among scholars. The first volume of the series thus announced appeared in 1866, a second in 1868, a third in 1870, and the fourth and fifth respectively in 1872 and 1878. After the lapse of five years we have the volume now before us. How many more volumes will be needed to complete the work we are not informed; but we fear that the indefatigable editor will be compelled, under any circumstances, to stop very far short of the proper term of his undertaking, whether that be the death of Beza in 1605, or even the death of Calvin in 1564.

M. Herminjard's plan differs very essentially from that of any other extant collection. Dr. Jules Bonnet has collected and given to the world the French Letters of Calvin, as well as an English translation of this reformer's entire correspondence, both French and Latin. The grand work of Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss also contains that correspondence in the original form. Professor Baum, in connection with his magnificent "Life of Beza" (unfortunately never completed), has printed many of Beza's letters down to the year 1563, together with a number of letters of other workers for the reformation of France. But there are no collections of the letters of Viret, Froment, Farel, and a host of other scarcely less important men. This lack M. Herminjard has attempted to make good. It was an undertaking of herculean magnitude, quite beyond the ability of one worker to accomplish within the brief limits of a single life. It is, however, greatly to the credit of M. Herminjard's conscientious scholarship that he has not, in his haste to get over the ground, been tempted to slight any portion of it. We do not find in the last volumes any falling off in the painstaking accuracy with which the documents, often well-nigh indecipherable, have been transcribed, or in the fulness and wide range of the very copious notes by which they are accompanied and illustrated.

The volume before us contains one hundred and thirty letters, written by forty-nine different persons. Between one-third and one-fourth of these documents were previously unedited, while many of those which had been printed were to be found only in books difficult to be obtained.

M. Herminjard's collection has long enjoyed an established reputation in Europe for its learning, accuracy, and great utility. Unfortunately its composition has been altogether a labor of love, entailing an amount of hard work which those alone can appreciate who have engaged in similar researches. We judge that the remuneration, in money, has been very small, if, indeed, the book has not involved the author in actual loss. So small is the Protestant reading public of France and French Switzerland likely to be interested in such an enterprise as this, that all encouragement ought to be afforded to it from abroad.

HENRY M. BAIRD.



THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY: its History and Standards, being the Baird Lecture for 1882. By ALEXANDER F. MITCHELL, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1883.

No one living is more competent to give a history of the Westminster Assembly than the author of this book. Although the material is pressed into the form of lectures, it is in decided advance beyond anything that has thus far appeared on this neglected subject. The history of Hetherington, in view of the material now accessible to scholars, is untrustworthy and worthless. Dr. Mitchell has used the minutes of the Westminster Assembly, in the Williams Library, London, which, owing to a strange lack of interest in our Presbyterian churches, still remain unpublished. Indeed, a large and rich collection of material for the illustration and historical exposition of our standards is scattered in MSS. and pamphlets and books in a number of libraries, but no one has yet appeared who has been found willing to undertake the expense and risk of their publication. We would suggest whether it does not fall within the province of the Presbyterian Board of Publication to look to the publication of these sources of Presbyterian history and doctrine.

Prof. Mitchell rightly discerns that the Westminster Assembly can only be understood by beginning at the headwaters of the Reformation, and tracing that particular stream which had such a grand development in British Puritanism. In the first lecture he starts with Wm. Tyndale, the chief reformer of England. His Bible was the chief instrument used by God for the accomplishment of the Reformation in England, giving it its Biblical characteristics. This Biblical element entered at once into conflict with the ecclesiastical forms imposed by royal authority, and continued the warfare through Hooper, Cartwright, Bradshaw, Reynolds, and the Westminster divines until they were thrown aside by the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly, and the Scriptures were raised to the supreme power in Great Britain.

"Tyndale maintained the sufficiency and authority of Holy Scripture in thorough Protestant and Puritan style, and defended the doctrines of grace against the semi-pelagianism of Erasmus and Sir Thos. Moore ere Calvin had yet entered the lists as the champion of Old Augustinianism" (p. 11). "Hooper asserted the principle: Men may have the gift of God to interpret the Scripture unto other, but never *authority* to interpret otherwise than it interpreteth itself" (p. 17).

The second Lecture, on the Puritans under Queen Elizabeth, is less satisfactory. Our author overestimates the influence of Knox in English Puritanism, and fails to appreciate the important Presbyterian movement under Cartwright and the doctrinal significance of his "Treatise of the Christian Religion." Both of these were the foundation upon which the Westminster divines chiefly built. Cartwright is the real father of Presbyterian Puritanism, and should be placed alongside of Knox, the father of Scotch Presbyterianism.

The third Lecture gives an excellent discussion of the Hampton Court Conference and the Irish articles, and shows that both the Prelatical and Presbyterian parties were forced by the circumstances of the debate to seek a *ius divinum* in Scripture.

Lecture IV. treats of the preparation for and summoning of the Westminster Assembly. It calls attention to the broad views of many of the chief divines of the time; to the petition of Castell, signed by seventy English divines, for the propagation of the Gospel in America and the West Indies; to the aims of Henderson for a closer union of churches of Britain in order to the closer union of all the Reformed churches; and to the design to make the Westminster Assembly truly representative of the British nation. If the original plan could have been carried out, it seems as if the British Church might have been reformed so as to retain the great mass of the nation in its bosom, and

satisfy the aspirations of the British people. The obstinacy of the king and the prelates, and the fears of innovation on the part of the conservatives, really played into the hands of the radicals. It was force of circumstances that made the Westminster Assembly an essentially Presbyterian body. Prof. Mitchell calls attention to the fact that the various types of Calvinism were fairly represented in its chief divines. Indeed, he might have gone further, and have said that the prevailing type among the English divines was a broad, moderate, generous Calvinism. Prof. Mitchell well says:

"If its members had one idea more dominant than another, it was not, as they are sometimes still caricatured, that of setting forth with greater one-sidedness and exaggeration the doctrine of election and preterition (for they did little more as to these mysterious topics than repeat what Ussher had already formulated), but that of setting forth the whole scheme of Reformed doctrine in harmonious development in a form of which their country should have no cause to be ashamed in presence of any of the sister churches of the continent, and, above all, in a form which would conduce greatly to the fostering of Christian knowledge and Christian life" (p. 127).

Lecture V., on the Proceedings and Debates of the Westminster Assembly, is an excellent presentation of the subject. Among other things, it is shown that the lengthy debates on the revision of the XXXIX. Articles prepared the way for the construction of the doctrinal symbols; that many of the chief English divines subscribed to the solemn league and covenant, with the modification of the clause as to "the extirpation of prelacy," by attaching to it an explanatory clause, taken from the ordinance calling the Westminster Assembly. In other words, the English and the Scotch Presbyterians differed with reference to episcopal government. The English Presbyterians were generally in favor of Ussher's model, and were only opposed to the usurpation of the entire government of the Church by the prelates and their creatures. This difference between English and Scotch Presbyterians needs to be traced to its roots and fully developed. It will explain a great many interesting features of English Presbyterianism which have been misunderstood by interpreting them from the Scotch point of view. Indeed, our early American Presbyterianism was sustained from London rather than Edinburgh; and the English breadth had a greater influence in laying the foundations of the American Church than the descendants of the Scotch-Irish have been willing to admit.

In Lecture VI. Prof. Mitchell discusses the debates on Church Government, and discloses the difference of opinion as to the nature and divine right of the ruling elder, and shows that many of the chief English Presbyterians differed from the Scotch on the theory of the eldership. The American Church is more in accord with these English divines, notwithstanding the official documents.

The author rightly defends the Westminster divines against the charge of intolerance, and shows that they were not a whit behind the Independents and Baptists in forbearance and charity. He makes an apt citation from the "Vindication of the Presbyterian Government and Ministry" of the Provincial Assembly of London, in 1649:

"For our parts, we do here manifest our willingness (as we have already said) to accommodate with you, according to the word, in a way of union, and (such of us as are ministers) to *preach up and practice a mutual forbearance and toleration in all things that may consist with the fundamentals of religion, with the power of godliness, and with that peace which Christ hath established in his church.* But to make ruptures in the body of Christ and to divide church from church, and to set up church against church, and to gather churches out of true churches, and because we differ in some things to hold church communion in nothing, this, we think, hath no warrant out of the word of God, and will introduce all manner of confusion in churches and families, and not only disturb, but in a little time destroy the power of godliness, purity of religion, and peace of Christians, and set open a wide gap to bring in atheism, popery, heresy, and all manner of wickedness."

Here is the question of toleration between the sixteenth century Presbyterians and Baptists in a nutshell. The one sought peace, charity, and the unity of Christ's church. The other sought sectarian strife, division of churches and families, and toleration in the exercise of all kinds of intolerance.

Lecture VII. treats of the Directory for Public Worship. This was, in some respects, the most important matter before the Assembly. The chief English divines were on the sub-committee. Marshall, the chief preacher of the time, had charge of the preaching of the Word; Palmer, of catechizing; Herle, of prayer and the sacraments; Young, of the reading of the Scriptures. But the Scotch and the Independents were both hard to please. The Scotch wished to force their ideas on the English brethren, but could not succeed. After a long debate in the committee, the report was agreed upon. But it was then discussed in upwards of seventy sessions of the Assembly before it was adjusted to the general satisfaction and adopted. It was substituted for the Book of Common Prayer, by the authority of Parliament. It is exceedingly unfortunate that these debates of the Assembly should remain unpublished. They are greatly needed to resolve the questions that are now pressing for answer in many parts of our church. The English divines, who framed the Directory, should be heard as well as the uncompromising Calderwood and the sects who took narrow ground.

In Lecture VIII., on Church Government, it is shown that the Assembly adopted the *jure divino* Presbyterianism, but that the Parliament was unwilling to commit itself thus far. It was this dispute that delayed the establishment of Presbyterianism in England until it became too late. The views of the Parliament are more generally held in our churches to-day than those of the Assembly.

In Lecture IX. the debates on the Autonomy of the Church are considered. In this connection, Prof. Mitchell overthrows the tradition of the single combat between the youthful Gillespie and the giant Selden. It turns out that *Herle* is the real hero of the combat, who, in an extempore speech, replied effectively to Selden on the spot, and that Gillespie and Young followed up his advantage by carefully prepared speeches on the next day.

In Lectures X. and XI. the Confession of Faith is considered. In this connection, Prof. Mitchell makes the correct statement :

"The doctrine of the Covenants was developed in this country (Great Britain) quite as much as in Holland, particularly in its historical aspect, as bearing on the progress of God's revelation to mankind, and it was generally combined with the more liberal Augustinian views of Davenant" (p. 344).

He shows the influence of the milder Calvinism of Cameron and Primrose, Davenant and Ussher upon the chief divines of the Assembly. He makes it clear that the Westminster Confession depended chiefly on the Irish articles, and that Continental systems had little influence. He calls attention to the doctrine of the Covenants, as it appears in Rollock, Cartwright, Preston, Perkins, Ames, and Ball. We are able to reinforce Prof. Mitchell's statements by an extract from Thomas Blake ("Treatise of the Covenant of God entered with Mankind: in the several Kindes and Degrees of it." Preface. London, 1653), who says that the purpose of John Ball "was to speak on this subject of the covenant, all that he had to say in all the whole body of divinity. That which he hath left behind gives us a taste of it." Ball's "Covenant of Grace" was published in 1645, after his death. We have also from Francis Roberts, a London Presbyterian minister, "The Myserie and Marrow of the Bible, viz., God's Covenants with Man, in the first Adam, before the Fall; and in the last Adam, Jesus Christ after the Fall, etc." 2 vols., folio, London, 1657. He began this work as a series of lectures on Sept. 2, 1651. Compared with this immense work on the Theology of the Covenants, the little treatise of Cocceius, published in 1648, is a baby. Ball was certainly prior, and Roberts is entirely independent of him. It seems that the Federal theology passed over from Great Britain into Holland, and that the traditional view is without justification. In this



same chapter Prof. Mitchell makes a remark which deserves very careful consideration :

"We have several excellent commentaries on it (Westminster Confession), but they are mostly expository or dogmatic, and have made comparatively little use of the vast mass of materials we possess in the writings of those who framed it, to illustrate its spirit and expound the more delicate shades of its teaching. Quotations from Owen and later men are not without their use, nor those from Hooker and Pearson ; but more use must be made of the writings of the members of the Assembly, and of the writings of the great divine from whose articles and catechisms they drew so largely."

We would add to this, that Cartwright is even of more importance than Ussher; for Ussher himself drew from Cartwright. A great deal that seems to those who are not familiar with Cartwright's works to come from Ussher, was really derived by Ussher and the Westminster divines alike from the primary source.

Dr. Mitchell defends the Westminster doctrines from some of the objections that have been unfairly made against them. In general, we are in entire accord with Prof. Mitchell, but we are constrained to enter our protest against his explaining away the meaning of "elect infants." It is noteworthy that in all the earnestness of his efforts to show that the standards do not necessarily teach the damnation of non-elect infants, he can find no other evidence than the probable one that some of the Westminster divines were in accord with Bishop Davenant. Dr. Mitchell is too familiar with the writings of the Westminster men not to have quoted them if he knew of any direct evidence in support of his theory. That among the hundreds of volumes and thousands of pamphlets written by the Westminster divines he has been unable to find a single passage that favors the universal salvation of infants, is most damaging to his theory. We shall add our own testimony, that we have hunted through the most of these writings for evidence on this subject. We have found abundant positive evidence that Marshall and Burgess and Tuckney and other chief divines did believe in the damnation of non-elect infants, and we have not found a scrap of evidence that any one of the divines held any other view. Indeed, the two classes, "elect infants" and "all other elect persons, who are incapable of being outwardly cailed by the ministry of the word," must be interpreted in the same way. Dr. Mitchell builds an argument upon the change from the original draught, "elect of infants" to "elect infants," that there was a softening down of the expression. But the "elect of infants" shows clearly what was in the mind of the Assembly. The softening down was in order to avoid inelegance of expression, and not to change the meaning. The wording of the Confession was, as Dr. Mitchell elsewhere states, in the hands of Dr. Burgess. Now Dr. Burgess, when he wrote "elect infants" for "elect of infants" in the Confession, meant exactly the same as when he used the same expression in his book, "Baptismal regeneration of elect infants." There can be no shadow of a doubt that the Presbyterian churches have come to hold a different view from the Westminster Standards on this subject, and we ought to confess it and not try to interpret the standards to accord with the changed views of the modern divines.

Lecture XII. is an interesting discussion of the Assembly's Catechism. We are pleased to find that Prof. Mitchell has come over to our view to so great an extent with reference to the catechism of Herbert Palmer. We only regret that he is not in entire agreement with us. We are ready to admit that the catechisms of Byfield, Ussher, Ball, Rogers, Gouge, Newcommen, and, we may add, Cartwright's and Lyford's, were used by the authors of the standards, as well as Palmer's. Yet the discussions in the minutes show that, from beginning to end, the catechism of Palmer's was the basis (see PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, Jan.,

1880). We shall now present some additional evidence. Samuel Clark, in his life of Herbert Palmer in "Lives of 32 English Divines," London, 1677, says:

"And in the same method (*e.g.*, Answer by Yea or No) he intended to digest the lesser catechism composed by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster (and authorized for publique use) if God had afforded him life to have seen that catechism perfected, to the compiling whereof he had contributed no small assistance, which therefore since his death hath been performed by one that was intimate with him, and fully acquainted with his resolution in this particular."

The reference is to John Wallis, who says, in his preface to his arrangement of the Westminster Shorter Catechism after Palmer's method:

"It was his earnest desire (as is well known) that the Assembly's Catechism (intended for public use) should be published in a like form, either by themselves, or at least by some private hand, and was fully resolved to have done it himself had God afforded him to see that catechism fully finished. For which cause, together with that intimate acquaintance which I had with him, I was the rather permitted to undertake, that, wherein he was by death prevented, as well to accomplish his desires, as to gratifie those, who from the use of it may receive benefit."

Prof. Mitchell strongly urges that Wallis had a great deal to do with the construction of our Shorter Catechism as it is. His opinion is fortified by the fact that the intimacy of Wallis with Palmer would lead the committee, of which Anthony Tuckney became the head, to commit Palmer's papers to the hands of Wallis. The Assembly used throughout Palmer's Catechism as the basis, but rejected his method of intermediate answers by yea and no. But Wallis subsequently published the catechism with Palmer's method, probably based on the papers of Palmer himself. In our judgment, Palmer's method, as given by Wallis, is much better suited for use in Sabbath-schools than the catechism in its present form.

In this connection, Dr. Mitchell explodes the tradition that Gillespie was the author of the definition, *What is God?* in the Shorter Catechism (as if it had come from him in prayer). The facts are, that Gillespie returned home in May, 1647, "while the debate on the Larger Catechism was still going on, and the answer to the question, *What is God?* with which his name has been traditionally associated, had not as yet been adjusted—for that catechism, much less for the shorter one." We ask if it is not time that these baseless traditions about the Westminster Assembly should disappear from our encyclopedias, and other books that are presumed to have given some attention to the facts of history.

Lecture XIII. presents the *results* of the Assembly. Here Prof. Mitchell is extremely happy. He rightly discerns what is the greatest feature of our Confession and its most distinctive principle, namely:

"God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to His word, or besides it in matters of faith or worship. So that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commands out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience, and the requiring of an implicit faith, and an absolute blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also."

To this he remarks:

"If in the day of their prosperity they had affirmed this principle, a large number of them had failed consistently and lovingly to carry it out in practice. God suffered them to be cast into a furnace seven times heated, that they might learn in adversity the lesson they had not thoroughly mastered in prosperity, and from bitter experience be led to realize the full value and extent of the principle enshrined in their own Confession."

We may even go further than this, and say that the Presbyterian churches have erred from this doctrine, this essential principle of their Confession, more than from any other. The strict terms of subscription, which were not imposed in Scotland till the close of the seventeenth century, were never thought of by the Westminster divines, and would have been repudiated by them as contrary

to this essential principle. The English Presbyterians never designed that their standards should be anything more than a general public standard that should not be preached against. They never designed to impose them as a yoke upon the conscience of men. They had been burnt in this way before, as Tuckney says. The English Presbyterians were opposed throughout to such subscription. The American terms of subscription are more in accordance with the ideas of the London Presbyterians than with the methods that prevailed in Scotland. The Scotch-Irish in this country have not neglected to urge strict subscription upon the American Presbyterian churches, but they have not succeeded in reducing the original and historic breadth of our Church.

This volume of Prof. Mitchell is a noble one, and it ought to be republished in this country. We take this opportunity to announce that Prof. Mitchell is ready to go on with the publication of the minutes of the Westminster Assembly, provided two hundred subscribers can be secured in this country. We do not know the exact cost; but it would probably be for the three volumes somewhere about \$6 a volume. We would suggest that those who desire to secure these volumes should subscribe for them through the Presbyterian Board of Publication, so that Prof. Mitchell may be encouraged to proceed in his work.

C. A. BRIGGS.

LIFE OF THE RT. REV. SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford, and afterwards of Winchester. With selections from his diaries and correspondence. By A. R. ASHWELL, D.D., late Canon of the Cathedral, etc., and REGINALD G. WILBERFORCE. Abridged from the English edition, with portraits and illustrations. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 39 West 23d Street. 1883.

To clear the way for some critical remarks on the life and character of Bishop Wilberforce, we observe that this work gives, in a plain, unambitious manner, and chiefly by means of his own letters, the biography of an interesting man acting at a highly interesting period in the history of the Church of England. It was the time of the Oxford tractarianism, of the Gorham controversy, of the struggle around the person of Dr. Hampden, of the ecclesiastical titles bill, of the essays and reviews, etc.; in all of which the subject of this memoir took an active, in some of them a leading, part. The first half of the biography was edited by Canon Ashley; after his death it was completed by the Bishop's son, Reginald. Neither of the writers is distinguished by any merits as a biographer. A little annotation here and there, and the filling of blanks with names, for the help of American readers at least, would have made the work more satisfactory. Such as it is, it supplies an important chapter in the history of the scheme for "unprotestantising" the Church of England. The names of Newman, Pusey, Keble, of Hampden, of Mr. Gladstone (with whom the Bishop was on terms of confidential friendship), and many other persons of distinction figure continually in these pages.

The most memorable thing about Bishop Wilberforce is that he was the son of his father. The name of William Wilberforce will be remembered with honor, wherever evangelical religion and heroic philanthropy are spoken of, when the exploits of his son are forgotten.

Samuel Wilberforce was the third son of the great emancipator, and was born at Clapham Common September 7, 1805. The family can be traced back to the reign of Henry II.; but had never before contributed a member to the "priesthood." With all the exacting claims made upon his attention by public affairs, William Wilberforce was a most watchful guardian over the religious education of his children. More than six hundred letters remain addressed to Samuel alone, filled with tender and earnest spiritual instruction. This parental fidelity was not without its reward. Of his four sons all were religious, and three entered holy orders. Of his two daugh-



ters, one also married into the Church. After completing his studies at Oxford Samuel became rector of the small country parish of Checkenham, near Henley-on-Thames. From that time he was in a continual state, or rather progress, of ecclesiastical perfection; rector of several churches in succession, each better than the last; archdeacon of Surrey; chaplain to Prince Albert; Dean of Westminster; Bishop of Oxford; Bishop of Winchester; with a fair show, if he had lived long enough, for becoming Archbishop of Canterbury;—a career which, from the point of view of an English churchman, must be regarded as highly successful.

This rapid and steady advancement in the Church is accounted for by the possession of several characteristic qualities. He was an exemplary moral and religious minister of the Gospel. The savor of his Clapham education never departed from him. He had the religious earnestness, and habitually employed the evangelical phrase, of Hannah More, Zachary Macaulay, and his own devout father. His private journals and letters, as well as his theological examinations, charges, and sermons, all showed him a profoundly religious man. If it stood as a bar to the promotion of any parish priest that he was worldly-minded and might bring scandal on the Church by his levity, it was not he. Sir Robert Peel, or Lord Aberdeen, or Mr. Gladstone could lift him a peg higher in the Church, with the happy conviction that it would gratify all serious and "sound" churchmen, and add a degree of strength to their administration. His indefatigable activity of mind and body helped his advancement. His constitutional tendencies as well as his convictions of duty made him a man of extraordinary industry. He was forever travelling, catechizing, confirming, preaching, examining candidates, or (after he became a spiritual peer) debating in the House of Lords. Such sleepless activity commended him as a watchful guardian of the Church's interests.

Bishop Wilberforce's fine personal qualities and accomplishments stood him in good stead. He was a ready and fluent speaker, a good debater, a warm, sympathetic friend, a man of pleasing and graceful address. His youthful likeness as Dean of Westminster has much of the soft and poetical style of Major Theodore Winthrop. His later portrait as Bishop of Winchester exhibits a noble face, not unlike but improved upon the broad forehead and sensitive mouth of his father. Though not without decided opinions on ecclesiastical and political questions, and sometimes maintaining them in Parliament with a degree of heat that led him into undignified collision with lay peers, he was smooth, adroit, and plausible. His enemies charged him with lubricity of conscience. His popular sobriquet of "Soapy Sam" indicates the sentiment with which he was commonly regarded.

As an English churchman, Bishop Wilberforce belonged to the strictest sect. He acted generally with the notorious Bishop of Exeter in the Gorham controversy; and held rigidly to baptismal regeneration. He was a profound believer in the exclusive divine right of episcopacy. When in Scotland he recognized no other worship than that of the Episcopal dissenters. He accepted the use of one of the churches of the Scottish Establishment to preach in; but was careful "*not to give any sanction to the Presbyterian asserted ministerial commission.*" Indeed, he "*could not help thinking of himself as in heathendom when inside a kirk.*" His views of the sacraments and of the authority of the Church were such as to alarm his friends in his early life, with the apprehension of his lapsing into the Romish Church. The same principles actually carried into that "ultimate fact" not only his dear friends Newman, Ward, and many others, but his three brothers, his two brothers-in-law, and his only daughter. He had extreme difficulty in keeping his son Reginald, the author, in part, of this biography, from following the other members of the family into the "Romish schism." Bishop Wilberforce did not abandon his principles. He simply refused to follow where they actually led less timid and politic men.

Bishop Wilberforce was very active in his opposition to the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the See of Hereford, on the ground of alleged heresy; and took an

active part in the measures for bringing him to trial; all this without having ever read Hampden's Bampton lectures, which were said to contain the *corpus delicti*. He trusted entirely to extracts made from them by Dr. Manning. On at length reading the book for himself, he was quite unable to discover the supposed heresies, and drew out of the prosecution; a warning against joining in a *ketzergeschrei* simply from hearing others howl. Very ready to censure his brethren for interpreting the baptismal and communion services in a "non-natural sense," he himself subscribed the XVIIth Article with a non-Calvinistic interpretation.

Bishop Wilberforce was the author of several publications, and, in particular, as most interesting to ourselves, a "History of the American Episcopal Church." The present writer has in his possession a copy of this work, formerly owned by the late Dr. Cox, written all over the margins and blank half pages with the most caustic comments on the errors of fact and reasoning it is filled with. A more tempting occasion for Dr. Cox's large power of sarcastic and witty remark it would not be easy to find.

Bishop Wilberforce was not destined to climb higher than the See of Winchester. On the 19th of July, 1873, he was galloping over some open fields, when his horse stumbled and threw the rider over his head. Lord Granville, who was riding a little in advance, "hearing a thud on the ground," turned, and saw that the Bishop had broken his neck and was dead; a good, hard-working, ambitious churchman.

S. M. HOPKINS.

THE following works in Historical Theology deserve mention:

*Church History* as a science, as a theological discipline, and as a mode of the Gospel. An inaugural discourse delivered by John De Witt on the occasion of his induction into the chair of History in Lane Theo. Sem., Cin. 1883. This is a fresh and vigorous production. It ought to have a wide circulation and a careful reading. The author shows throughout the influence of Henry B. Smith and R. D. Hitchcock, and makes it evident that he is to teach in their spirit and methods. We would especially emphasize his point that Church History should be introduced into the pulpit, and that it will freshen and enlarge the preacher's powers. There is no sufficient reason in history or in theory why the preacher should be confined to the use of texts. Athanasius, Augustine, and Luther will often furnish better themes for pulpit discourse than even Abraham, David, or Daniel, and it is no more difficult to group Scripture about the former than it is the latter. Let our ministers study Church History by all means, and let them train their people in the history and life of the Church.—*Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*. By Gerhard Uhlhorn. Translated from the German with the author's sanction. N. Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883. This work has been fully noticed in the original (PRESB. REV., vol. iii., 778). It is sufficient to remark, that it is indispensable for all who wish to study the subject indicated in the title.—*The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its relation to modern thought and knowledge*. Hibbert Lectures, 1883. London: Williams & Norgate. 1883. This is a work of grasp and power. It brings into prominence several features of the Reformation that are of especial importance in relation to modern thought which are ordinarily neglected by historians. The author is evidently more in sympathy with the Humanists than the Reformers, and proclaims the need of a new reformation: "The Reformation that has been is Luther's monument; perhaps the Reformation that is to be will trace itself back to Erasmus" (p. 73). In the discussion of the principles of the Reformation, our author makes some trenchant remarks: "It is logically involved in the substitution of the authority of the Bible for the authority of the Church, that every believer has the right of interpreting Scripture for himself" (p. 124). "Whatever church says and means 'priest' is

on the Catholic side of the great controversy of Christianity; whatever church says and means 'minister,' in that act proclaims itself Protestant" (p. 136). "When Luther was gone, his followers wandered away into the deserts of Protestant scholasticism in search of a definition of the essentially undefinable, and spent their strength in sectarian hatreds and internecine wars" (p. 135). The book is a model of clear, bright, forcible, and beautiful style. It is full of gems of thought and powerful sentences. No man can write without an animus. The animus of our author is in favor of Erasmus and Zwingli and against Calvin. He cannot refrain from expressing his regret that Zwingli and Oecolampadius died so early ere they were able to systematize their thought, and that the mastery of affairs passed into the hands of Calvin. "But it is at least an allowable speculation that the milder, more rational, humaner spirit of the great Reformer of Zurich reappeared in the Arminian theology which in the 17th century was so powerful a factor in European thought" (p. 228). Our author is also appreciative in his treatment of the sects of the Reformation. These give him the opportunity of keen criticism: "It is the experience of all Christian centuries that men only need to bring to the Bible sufficiently strong prepossessions, sufficiently fixed opinions, to have them reflected back in all the glamour of infallible authority. So there is, if I may use the expression, a flavor of Scripture in all Anabaptist extravagances." "Anabaptism ranged over the whole gamut of human passions and possibilities, from the pure and pious enthusiasm of a Balthasar Hubmaier, to the licentious and cruel fanaticism of a John of Leiden." "A few days after, Melancthon dispatched to the Elector John Frederick a quite conclusive refutation, from his own point of view, of these crude and ignorant heresies, which, nevertheless, he was able to silence only by the same rough logic of axe and faggot as the Catholic Church was at any moment ready to apply to himself. Since that time the world has threshed out many of the questions which were in dispute between Jobst Moller, who could neither read nor write, and the first Christian scholar of Germany; and the result is not in all respects what the theologians of Wittenberg would have expected" (p. 198). In his treatment of the Reformation in England he makes two very just remarks: "From the first, two distinct elements have been present in the English church, sometimes struggling for the mastery, sometimes living peacefully side by side, and it is contrary to historical fact for either to assert itself in such a way as to exclude the other" (p. 324). "Had a policy of comprehension been frankly adopted in 1662, or when the opportunity came again in 1689, I am convinced that the tone of English theology to-day would have been far more accordant than it is with the best knowledge and characteristic spirit of the age. *Sed Dis aliter visum*; and we can only look for the new Reformation to restore the unity which was shattered by the old" (p. 335). The lectures on the Growth of the Critical Spirit and Development of Philosophical Method and Scientific Investigation are exceedingly valuable. All the more do we regret that the author goes out of his way to attack the evangelical doctrine of the Atonement. It is mere assertion without proof that "the whole system of atonement of which Anselm is the author, shrivels into inanity amid the light of the space, the silence of the stellar worlds" (p. 389). Perhaps the chief significance of the book is found in the conclusion from this study of the Reformation in the light of modern thought. It is a strong plea for a new reformation: "And so I venture to think that to restore Christianity to the place which it has lost and is more and more losing in the hearts of thoughtful and educated men, still more to give back to it its old victorious energy in dealing with the sinful and the wretched, what is chiefly needed is a prophet of this latter day who, in the keenness and directness of his religious insight, will speak at once a piercing and a reconciling word. Such an one will be deeply



penetrated with the scientific spirit, but he will be too full of the awe of direct vision to lose himself in the arid wastes of criticism, or to be led astray by the pedantries of scientific investigation. . . . I have no fear lest he should fall out of the ranks of Christ's soldiers ; for I do not believe that religion has anything to offer to men that the Gospel does not hold, and I notice that what is strong and inspiring in newer systems is Christian in essence, if not always in name. I know that when he speaks men will crowd to hear him, and lay their hearts and lives in his hands ; for the religious instincts of humanity are ineradicable, and even if they sometimes sleep, wake always to life and energy again." However much we may differ from the author in theological position and interpretation of historical and theological facts, to this closing sentiment of the book we give our full adherence.—*The Reformation in Sweden*. By C. M. Butler. N. Y. : A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1883. This is an interesting sketch of the rise, progress, crisis, and triumph of the Reformation in Sweden. Gustavus Vasa is appreciatively and yet critically considered. He is one of the most charming characters of the 16th century. If Europe had been blessed with many such monarchs, modern history would have been much more fruitful in religious and intellectual progress.—*Martin Luther*. Ein Lebensbild von F. Schmidt. Leipzig: J. Lehmann. *Martin Luther der deutsche Reformator*. Von Julius Köstlin. Halle: O. Hendel. 1883. Biographies of Luther are pouring from the press in this 400th anniversary of his birth. Among them the two given above are worthy of special attention. The first is plain, homely, and interesting, designed for the people ; the last is scholarly, compact, and indeed a splendid piece of literary work for the more learned.

C. A. BRIGGS.

### III.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

FINAL CAUSES. By PAUL JANET, member of the Institute, Professor at the Faculté des Lettres of Paris. Translated from the Second Edition of the French by WILLIAM AFFLECK, D.D. : with a Preface by ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883. pp. xxii., 520.

The same. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1883.

The theistic problem is one of absorbing interest at the present day, and this volume is one of the most important contributions to its discussion. We welcome an American edition which in appearance is little, if at all, inferior to the English, and which is offered at a price which brings it within the reach of all. It has been the fashion to speak slightly of the argument from design ; and even Christian thinkers are sometimes found depreciating it. It would be well for men of this class to remember the high estimate which John Stuart Mill put upon this argument, and it would be particularly advantageous for them to read this ably-reasoned work by M. Janet. It is absurdly elementary to say, but the mistakes upon this subject are so common that it is necessary to say that a final cause is not a first cause ; in fact, is not a cause at all. It never means the agent, but the agent's motive. It is an argument from analogy. It is an inference based upon an immense aggregate of *as ifs*. The question is not whether means and ends existing, intelligence was the cause of them ; but whether these collocations in nature are respectively means and ends.

The eye looks as if it were made to see with. It looks as if its future use determined its structure. Are we right in supposing this to be the case ? The most formidable objection to this view comes from those who say that the eye

was wholly determined by its antecedents; that being wholly conditioned by its past, there is no need of supposing it to have been conditioned by its future. Can the adaptations of nature be accounted for by evolution? or if they can, does the doctrine of evolution supersede the argument from design?

M. Janet in the first part of his book makes a most valuable defence of teleology against the conclusions of those who use the doctrine of evolution as an argument against final causes. The next form of anti-teleological argument comes from the region of speculative philosophy. It may be said that though we are under the necessity of seeing adaptation of means and ends in nature, there is no proof that the objective world corresponds to our subjective impressions of it; or it may be said that though this finality in nature exists, it may be an immanent finality, and not a finality due to a directing intelligence; or that if due to intelligence, it may be an unconscious intelligence like that of the ant or bee. The first theory—that of subjective finality—involves the discussion of the whole subject of knowledge; the second and third are concessions to the common doctrine so far as the fact of finality is concerned; and the last opposes theism by denying the doctrine of the personality of God. It rejects anthropomorphism, as Janet says, only to accept zoömorphisms. It is evident that the objections to final causes, which are urged now are very different from those offered by Bacon, Des Cartes, and Spinoza; and that, though the argument from design is as old as Socrates, it needs fresh treatment. The man who supposes that he is doing justice to the subject by repeating Paley's argument and adducing a few new illustrations, does not understand the conditions of the problem with which he has to deal. It is safe to say that there is little to be learned from new illustrations of design. The questions, as Janet well says, are first, whether there is finality in nature: this question must be answered affirmatively in opposition to the anti-teleological evolutionist; and secondly, what is the first cause of the Finality? In answering this question, the personality of God and his separate existence, must be defended in opposition to the speculations of Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Hartmann. The ability with which M. Janet has dealt with these questions entitles his book to the rank which has been accorded to it, of being the very best discussion of Final Causes.

Changes have been introduced into the second edition, some of which are valuable, while some are not improvements. The section on Herbert Spencer is an important addition to the matter contained in the first edition. On the other hand, we regret that the chapter on Objections has been transferred to the Appendix. It is too valuable to be relegated to a subordinate place. The last chapter, on the "Supreme End in Nature," does not add to the value of the work. It is one thing to assume the existence of God and seek for the end of creation; it is quite a different thing to see manifest exhibitions of finality and infer the existence of a divine intelligence. The chapter referred to belongs to the first of these two kinds of teleological discussions, and though it raises a perfectly legitimate question in teleology, it is of no special advantage to the theistic discussion.

F. L. PATTON.

NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD. By HENRY DRUMMOND, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. 1883. 12mo, pp. 414.

The author of this interesting and original work is Henry Drummond, Professor of Natural Science in Glasgow Free Church College. He is a member of the family of Drummonds of Stirling, distinguished for evangelistic zeal, and was himself one of the chief coadjutors of Moody on the occasion of his first visit to Scotland. At the same time he is a distinguished student and professor of science; at once intimately informed and thoroughly in sympathy with the

most genuine evangelical theology and practical religion, and learned and in perfect sympathy with the most advanced progress of genuine physical science, and its most prominent interpreters. He informs us in his preface, that for years he has been in the habit of lecturing on science during the week, and of conducting Bible-classes among the plainer citizens each Sabbath day. For a long time he was conscious that these two spheres of knowledge and of mental activity were entirely separate and independent. Gradually, however, he found the middle wall of division yielding, and at last he came to realize that his science and his religious knowledge formed one consistent and coherent body. "The great change was in the compartment which held the religion. The actual contents remained the same. But the crystals of former doctrine were dissolved; and as they precipitated themselves once more in definite forms, I observed that the Crystalline System was changed. New channels, also, for outward expression opened, and some of the old closed up; and I found the truth running out to my audience on Sundays by the week-day outlets. In other words, the subject-matter Religion had taken on the method of expression of Science, and I discovered myself enunciating Spiritual Law in the exact terms of Biology and Physics."

Professor Drummond's theological views remain, however, thoroughly spiritual, and, as far as he discovers them in this book, essentially, sometimes profoundly, orthodox. He maintains that the great scientific principle of Continuity requires that the laws governing every lower province of the universe must hold good through every higher province, even the highest. These laws, characteristic of the lower province, need not be the only laws, nor the prominent and characteristic laws of the higher province. Other laws may come in and become the most significant, but the laws regulating forces in the lower province can never cease to be active in their proper sphere in the higher. Thus gravity is the great law which is characteristic of the inorganic material world, and it prevails none the less surely, though far less prominently and characteristically, in the world of organized matter. So the author argues that the great laws—of Biogenesis, Degeneration, Growth, Death, Mortification, Environment, Conformity to Type, of Parasitism, and of Classification, which hold reign in the natural world of Biology, must be traceable throughout the great spiritual world, although here it is to be anticipated that they will be brought under the regimen of higher laws characteristic of the higher province.

The book is unquestionably written in the interest of orthodox and spiritual Christianity. It is original, suggestive, and must prove instructive. The author has undoubtedly assisted in opening a vein of important truth, although he naturally magnifies the extent of the changes which the wise application of his method will effect either in the substance, the form, or even in the relations of Christian Theology.

Δ. A. HODGE.

CHRISTIANITY A FACT. Three questions: How, now, about your God, your Hereafter, and your Bible? Mr. Orthodox versus Professor Evolutionist. Christian evidence—much in little. Needed in every house. By Rev. WM. G. THOMAS, A.M., Kansas City, Mo. Publishing house of Ramsey, Millett & Hudson. 1882.

This is a duodecimo of 208 pages, in which the ultimate tests of truth and the evidences of the Being of God, of the immortality of the human soul, and of evangelical Christianity are discussed in a popular manner, and with sufficient fulness. It is a good book, and its extensive circulation among the classes of people who need it ought to be encouraged. It is not of course intended for scholars. And in the discussion of so great a variety of subjects there is room for difference of opinion. Nevertheless in spite of the awkwardness and occa-



sional obscurity of the style, the work is well done, the argument upon the whole worthy of confidence, and the book adapted to accomplish the very excellent purpose the author had in view.

A. A. HODGE.

THE FREEDOM OF FAITH. By THEODORE T. MUNGER, author of "On the Threshold."

"Peace settles where the intellect is weak ;  
The faith heaven strengthens where He moulds the creed."

—WORDSWORTH.

Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1883.

This is a volume of sermons from a Congregational minister settled in Western Massachusetts, of a well-deserved high reputation for intellect, scholarship, and literary skill. These sermons are well worthy of the very considerable attention they have received as specimens of the new kind of sermonizing in which is followed the theory of John Richard Green, preacher before he was historian, "that high thinking put into plain English is more likely to tell upon men than all the 'simple Gospel sermons' in the world." But the chief interest of the volume to us lies in its "Prefatory Essay" on the "New Theology." The author declares the purpose of this essay to be "to state, so far as is now possible, some of the main features of that phase of present thought, popularly known as the 'New Theology': to indicate the lines on which it is moving, to express something of its spirit, and to give it so much of definite form that it shall no longer suffer from the charge of vagueness." This is a task of the greatest importance at the present time. And the author of these sermons, although he emphatically disclaims speaking for any one but himself alone, is eminently qualified for the work by his own position in the movement, and by his knowledge of and sympathy with its leading representatives. As to its ultimate form in the conception and statement of the great central doctrines of Christianity, the "New Theology" remains after the light thrown upon it by this essay as vague as it ever was before. This was inevitable because hitherto it exists even in the apprehension of its most illuminated prophets, not as a body of truth, but only as a spirit, a method, and a stream of tendency, the general drift of which they are only beginning to calculate. Nevertheless, the author has made a contribution to our knowledge in this direction of real value. Taken in connection with the, at least, equally able sermon on the same subject delivered by the Rev. Philip S. Moxom, pastor of the First Baptist church, Cleveland, Ohio, at Point Chautauqua this summer, and printed in full in the *Standard* of Chicago, August 23d, this essay affords us sufficient grounds for a deliberate if not final estimate at least of the spirit and method if not of the dogmas of the "New Theology."

*In the first place*, although the usefulness of the "Old Theology," "in its time and place," is admitted, its entire spirit and method is declared to be false. By the "Old Theology" is meant primarily New England Theology, since Edwards, but none the less inclusively, Calvinistic, Lutheran, Arminian, Anglican, and Roman Catholic Theology; in short, the entire method of comprehending the great central truths of Christianity which has prevailed with various modifications in the historic churches since the time of St. Augustine. The "Old Theology" failed in that it took too despairing a view of human nature, as utterly impotent and blind with regard to things of the Spirit of God; because it regarded the Bible as too exclusively divine and as rendered by a plenary and even verbal inspiration the absolutely authoritative and sole source of information in matters of religion, and the sole and sufficient rule of faith; because it consequently built upon a false exegesis, taking texts according to their sound out of their connections; because it has been crystallized into fixed mechanical

forms and correlations by an undue use of human logic—logic unscrupulously applied to deficient premises, and under imperfectly discerned relations.

There is, of course, a great deal of truth in what is said in criticism of the Old Theology as to the faults of many of its most eminent representatives in the matter of the abuse of textual citation, and of logical inference, and of speculative presumption. But in fact these criticisms are wholesale, indiscriminate, and utterly uncandid, since these interpreters of the "New Theology" incontinently proceed from the criticism of the faults of the Old Theology to the more than equal illustration of the same in their own work.

*In the second place*, the "New Theology" is positively marked by the following attributes. The work of the destructive critics, as Colenso, Kuenen, Wellhausen, etc., is recognized with qualified approbation, while their destructive results are not admitted. The Scriptures are admitted to be rather a revelation of God than a peremptory revelation from God of what he requires man to believe and to do—the various books of Scripture are to be interpreted therefore more as separate human compositions, peculiarly illuminated with divine light, in view of their historical genesis and surroundings, than, as by the old theologians, as one homogeneous work, the expression of one mind; so the New Theology relies far more than the Old upon the guidance of man's natural, moral and religious intuitions, limiting and guiding the exegesis of Scripture and the theological applications of logic by ethical tastes and judgments. Hence it bases its judgments far more upon the current experience of men of all classes and conditions in actual life, following rather than resisting the great cosmical drifts of tendency in thought and feeling, and "it claims for itself a larger, broader use of reason than has been accorded to theology" in the past. It is a renaissance rather than a new creation. The new movement allies itself with early Greek theology, as it existed before the dominating influence of Augustine; "the modern authors whom it most consults were Erskine, Campbell, McLeod, Maurice, Stanley, Robertson, the Hare brothers, Bushnell"; it denies the current definitions of all the old doctrines, and the essence of some of them. Yet it uses the old characteristic terms and phrases by which they have been immemorially expressed, thus conciliating prejudice and confusing distinctions; "if its essays, though largely negative and tentative, are met by contradiction and ecclesiastical censure, it does not stay its hand nor heed the clamor."

These brethren of the "New Theology" have two characteristics which must never be forgotten in our most earnest hostile criticism, and which ally them to us as most important confederates in the greater war which in these days should unite all "who call themselves Christians" against the enemies of all religion. They are genuine and earnest opponents of materialism in all its forms; they maintain and emphasize the freedom and responsibility of the human soul in willing; they emphasize the reality of the Incarnation, and worship and love the divine human Person of our Lord. God bless them for all this, and keep us from ever ceasing to love them.

Nevertheless their criticism of the "Old Theology" is pettish and absurdly crude and exaggerated. Calvinism is said to be mechanically constructed of *five points*, which involves an historical as well as critical blunder. The old theologians are said to have neglected scientific exegesis. Who among the new theologians has shown any skill in scientific exegesis? Did not Calvin devote himself to the interpretation of Scripture on the widest scale? And is it not true that his commentaries are recognized as masterpieces of successful interpretation by the most scientific exegetes of to-day? Is not the leading exegesis of to-day in the main consentaneous with the Old Theology? (See Delitzsch, Meyer and Weiss.) Does Mr. Munger himself discover any particular exegetical skill or even interest in these representative sermons? He denies the *possibility*

of the future resurrection of our bodies on *scientific* grounds. He assumes that "science" makes this faith impossible, which is contrary to fact and absurd. He makes his points throughout these sermons by appeals to reason and experience. They are characteristically but slightly tinged with any Biblical quality. Where the Bible is referred to as authority it is cited in purely isolated texts in the very worst manner of the "Old Theology."

These brethren profess to believe in the scientific law of development, yet they reject the whole world-wide historic development of Christian thought since Augustine and go back to the theology of the early Greek fathers. The element of early Greek theology which was clearly wrought out, that, namely, of the Trinity and the Person of Christ, they refuse to accept. The elements of Greek theology of which the New is a renaissance are only the fanciful exegesis, the Neo-Platonic speculation, the confused, logically chaotic, statements of various vague segments of Christian truths by individual writers. We regard their continued use of the old familiar religious language of the church, while the sense in which it is to be understood is changed constantly and indefinitely, as fitted if not designed to mislead, and as therefore immoral. The resurrection of the body from the grave is denied, and yet the phrase "resurrection of the body" retained. The reformation doctrine of forensic justification through the instrumentality of faith is denied, while the phrase "justification by faith" is retained. The objective reference of the atonement is denied or obscured, while the phrases, "vicarious sacrifice," "propitiation," etc., are retained. The doctrines of election, regeneration, conversion, sanctification, etc., are modified, and yet the old language is used unchanged. Against this we protest in the name of truth and honesty.

They charge the "Old Theology" with want of humanity and of missionary spirit. Surely this is ludicrous. It is notorious that it is precisely the "Old Theology" which from the time of Calvin till to-day has inspired all missions, all healthy and successful moral regenerations of individuals or communities, and all successful revivals. Who are the missionaries, who the revivalists of the "New Theology"?

In conclusion, however much these brethren may personally differ in their spirit or desires from the old Socinians, or the modern Rationalists and Unitarians, their working principle is precisely the same with theirs. The mediæval church built upon the doctrine of the infallible Church. The reformation built upon the doctrine of the infallible Word of God written. These other parties one and all build upon history—the Bible—the modern lights of science, etc., as all these are limited and interpreted by the INTUITIONS. These are the judges of the court of last appeal. The following questions represent our judgment and our fears. On what principle of their working philosophy (that philosophy by which these new theologians are being so widely separated from the old) can they limit their progress short of the position of Channing? On what principle could Channing limit his progress short of the position of Theodore Parker? On what principle could Theodore Parker limit his progress short of the position of the blankest Agnostic?

Dr. Ellis, of Boston, said to the writer this summer on the piazza of the Grand Union Hotel, Saratoga: "Sir, I tell you that it is precisely the repetition of the movement transacted in Harvard in the early years of this century." In this judgment enlightened liberalism and conservative orthodoxy see eye to eye.

A. A. HODGE.

HANDBUCH DER THEOLOGISCHEN WISSENSCHAFTEN IN ENCYCLOPADISCHER DARSTELLUNG, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Entwicklungsgeschichte der einzelnen Disciplinen; in Verbindung mit Dr. CHR. ERNST LUTHARDT,



ZEZSCHWITZ, PLATH, a. u. herausgegeben von Dr. OTTO ZOECKLER, ord. Prof. d. Theologie in Greiswald. Dritter Halbband. pp. 240. Nördlingen, 1883.

This Handbook of Theological Science as it has appeared in successive volumes thus far, has received due notice in the PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW (see Oct., 1882, and July, 1883). The work promises to be unusually full and comprehensive. It has evidently grown upon the author since the undertaking, for it has already reached "The Third Half Volume," although but fairly begun. It may become too voluminous for an easy handbook, but it cannot fail to be of great service to those who have time to consult its ample references. This "Dritter Halbband," which treats of Christian Ethics, properly begins with,—The Idea of Christian Ethics and its Encyclopedic position.

According to Dr. Luthardt, Ethics in its general definition is, The Science of Morals. To present the definition as more exact and clear, Luthardt promptly distinguishes between *ἦθος* and *ἦθος*,—the latter having a more subjective significance, the former more objective; the latter referring to custom as the *expression of personality* (in disposition or character), 1 Cor. xv. 33, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," or morals, or character (quoted from Menander), the former referring to custom as a fixed *national* form (Acts xvi. 21, "customs which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans"); or, *ecclesiastical*, Acts vi. 14; or, *individual*, Luke xxii. 39, "went, as his custom was," etc. (It ought to be said, at the outset, that there are grievous errors in the type of this book which embarrass a reviewer; e. g., as already encountered in the first Scripture reference, 1 Cor. xv. 23 instead of 1 Cor. xv. 33, as it should be, and in the Greek quotation, which is at once jumbled and misprinted.)

It is, probably, not too much to say that, *ἠθικά* (Ethics), with deeper significance, referred at first to *ἦθος* as character or disposition, and so as expressive of personality. But by philosophical handling among the Greeks and Romans, it became gradually modified. At length, as Luthardt mentions, the Latin *mos* passes from the idea of willing to the habit or custom; hence, Cicero in his philosophy has introduced the adjective *moralis*.

Since it is so difficult precisely to define the subject, it is no marvel that the science should have received a variety of names; e. g., (as our author notes) Sittenlehre by Mosheim, De Wette, Oettingen, Schmidt, Schleiermacher; Moral by Kant and his school, together with the Romish theologians generally; Ethik by Hegel, Rothe, Harless, Martensen, etc.

Dr. Luthardt proceeds to say, in determining the range of this subject, that the Moral is that which is required of man through the immanent possession and determination of a purpose and the corresponding free personal being and conduct. Thus the moral belongs to the realm of the personal in distinction from that of the natural. He would, accordingly, mark an essential difference between natural law and moral law. Morality cannot be predicated of the material unless in some secondary sense, as related to the will of the personal creator or the personal creature in constituting or in employing the material. For the rational creature in what he is, and in what he employs, the supreme (ultimate) relation of his purpose should centre in God and in the realization of his will in the earthly life. Thus the moral, in the ultimate and proper sense, is religious. Man, the rational creature, is related not merely to the material, or to the material and the human, but, also, and supremely to the Divine. Thus, again, the moral in the ultimate and proper sense (and constant sense, may we say?) is religious. Rothe distinguishes (according to the direction taken) between the ethical and the religious. But the distinction is regarded here as arbitrary, for the relation to God pervades the moral realm. Hence, Dr. L. would say that the free personal conduct of man is truly moral only when it has its root in the relation to God, and corresponds, to this relation as it is determined *first*, through Creation; and *secondly*, through Redemption, and therein finds

its verity. As Luthardt has elsewhere said, "The union between religion and morality is an indissoluble one."

Ancient moral philosophers (although perhaps not the most ancient) separated morals from religion, particularly Aristotle and the peripatetic school of "The Gymnasium"; while the later school of "The Portico" sought to reunite them, but without success, for they had only a false naturalistic or pantheistic-naturalistic religion, and therefore no true basis on which to build. "The organ for the facts and truths of the moral world is conscience" (Luthardt's "Apologetic Lectures"). But conscience, that is, the moral consciousness, is inseparable from a consciousness of God. Thus man was created. And, still, although man is fallen, morality in the proper sense demands religion, and religion demands morality.

Now, the relation of man to God as it was determined in creation finds its verity or fulfilment only in the relation of man to God in Christ. To this corresponds the relation between philosophical and theological ethics. Dr. L. then proceeds to describe or define the two. Philosophical ethics is the science of the moral life of man as it is conditioned by the relation to God in creation. Christian or theological ethics is the science of the moral life of the Christian as it is conditioned by the new relation of redemption in Christ Jesus. The difference is not *quantitative*, as whether Christian morality adds to the natural, new and hard laws, virtues, and duties (Romanism and Rationalism); nor *formal*, as whether Reason is the source of the natural and Scripture of the Christian (Supernaturalism), or the Church (Romanism); nor whether the difference is only in the mode of treatment, here systematic; there, empirical, or the like; but it is primarily and specially as between man and Christ. Just here lies its mutual reciprocal relation.

Theological ethics is dogmatically conditioned, so that dogmatics represents the realization of communion with God for time and eternity, on the side of God; on the same basis ethics represents the realization of communion with God in the earthly life of the Christian, on the side of man. Hence there is a two-fold view of theological ethics, the Divine and the human. Thus, dogmatics and ethics are not two parallel sciences, as is generally considered, no more than the love of God and the love of man are parallel; but the latter is conditioned, supported, and embraced by the former. The relation is expressed by the apostle (1 John iv. 19, "We love [him], because he first loved us.") This connection with dogmatics fixes the ecclesiastical character of ethics. That the Romish and the Evangelical morals differ, is evident. Less apparent is the difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed views; but the difference exists here. Dr. L. would characterize as legal both the Romish and the Reformed ethics (although in a different way), while he would characterize the Lutheran ethics, not as legal, but rather as religious. He has elsewhere defined religion as "The expression of consciousness of God"; morality as "The *expression* of conscience"; while "dogma treats of communion with God, and ethics treats of likeness to God." Hence, "Morality is based upon religion, and ethics upon dogma. God, who is the object of religious faith, is also the source of moral practice. Communion with God is the prerequisite of likeness to him."

Such Dr. L. declares is the moral stand-point of Christianity. We find it, he says, in all parts of Holy Scripture, but especially in the First Epistle of John. Here and elsewhere, particularly in his "Apologetic Lectures," he argues this at great length and with great earnestness. He never wearies of repeating and maintaining "the connection of religion and morality." This, he asserts, is a fundamental thought of Christianity. To sever religion and morality, he affirms, is to destroy the unity of human nature. To intensify his affirmation he defiantly asks, "What kind of religion would that be which was of no moral importance? And how should morality be permanent unless its source is in God?" This vital connection between religion and morality he illustrates and vindicates by the Decalogue, where morality, he says, is reduced to love to God and love to man. These the Saviour designates as the two

great commandments. "We accordingly divide the law into two tables. In so doing we express the connection of religion and morality." This teaching thus appears in the Old Testament and the New, and culminates in Christ, "who in his own person exhibited the union of religion and morality."

But if Ethics is thus intimately related to Theology, it is, also, closely connected with Psychology—a point which our author does not fail to note. As an expression of personality, Ethics implies a theory of the will which is a central element of personality. Dr. L. couples responsibility and freedom; and as if to guard against every possible objection, asserts that, "however bound we may be to our nature, *we are yet free* in our bonds." While the faculty of willing is primary, yet there is a distinction between formal and real freedom. Self-control does not conquer the opposition between lust and inclination—does not regenerate. "He that committeth sin is the servant of sin." From the stand-point of Psychology and that of Scripture, Luthardt maintains that "true freedom of the will is conformity with the will of God." Are we in bondage, natural or spiritual? Ethics, Psychology, and Theology are interested in the practical and momentous question—How shall we become truly free? The Scriptures reply, "If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." Thus, again, by the converging lines of Psychology, Ethics, and Theology would Luthardt reach the central characteristic of his system, the indissoluble union of morality and religion. And with threefold reference he asserts, "There is true *morality* only where there is *freedom*, and true freedom is *love to God*."

Ancient philosophers distinguished four cardinal virtues as comprising all morality—wisdom, justice, fortitude, prudence. But Dr. L. would, with St. Paul, record above these, three Christian virtues or graces,—faith, hope, charity; and of these three, charity, or love, as the greatest.

Thus, already, we have found not only the key to the ethical system of Dr. Luthardt, but access, also, to some of its more important departments. The limits of a review notice forbid us to linger here, however we might feel inclined; and leave us space only for a brief mention of what remains in this "Dritter Halbband" of Zöckler's.

The History of Ethics is largely treated by Luthardt. In tracing this history in the early Church, he carefully distinguishes between Christian morality and that of antiquity. Historically, the difference is not merely gradual, but is specific. Christianity entering the world as a new fact of life which renewed the relation of God and man in its inmost reality, also renewed from its foundation the moral consciousness of the being and destiny of human personality in its relation to God and the world.

Ancient philosophers placed the origin and end of morality in man himself and his world. If there was a mythology, even a polytheistic mythology, it was not the source of morality or ethics. If there should be piety it was not vitally connected with morality or ethics. The cardinal virtues, justice, wisdom, fortitude, prudence, distinguished by the philosophers as comprising all morality, had supreme relation to society, or to the State, and were only social or civil virtues, differing essentially from the cardinal Christian virtues, faith, hope, love, which have supreme relation to God in their origin and end. Socrates and Plato in the earlier Grecian philosophy represented wrong action as the result of ignorance, right action as the result of knowledge. Aristotle taught that morality was regulated by social and civil rule; that virtue was moderation of indulgence and desire; and that the proper ethical aim was personal happiness.

The Stoics inculcated obedience to nature and reason, with indifference toward pleasure and pain; and taught that rightness instead of happiness should be the ethical end or aim, and that the virtuous man is self-sufficient; while Epicurus encouraged the pursuit of enjoyment as the supreme good and aim. The transition to Christian Ethics marks a difference in origin and end—a radical difference.



Luthardt proceeds to trace the moral life of the early Christians; the ethics of the Church before Constantine (Writings of the Apostolic Fathers); of the Church after Constantine in the East and the West; of Church discipline (synods, canons, constitutions, books of penance, etc.); ethics of the scholastic period; Antinomian ethics; mystical; Waldensian; distinguishing John Wessel as the most evangelical of all the forerunners of Luther.

Ethics shared with theology the transforming influence of the Reformation. The Pauline doctrine of Justification by Faith was restored to its place in theology; and Christian morality was re-centered in love toward God in Christ instead of slavish submission to Papal authority. Luther (in the estimation of Luthardt) opened the way of return to a true system of Christian ethics.

The interest deepens with every step of advance in the history of ethics since the time of the Reformation. From what we have already noted in this too rapid review, can be readily forecast what Dr. Luthardt would regard as the direct line of advance and what the divergences.

As our notice of Luthardt's ethical treatise could only be general and brief, our criticism must, especially, be brief and general. His fundamental position seems to us to be wanting in breadth and, so far forth, in strength. The range of the system is accordingly too confined. Some of the definitions are indefinite, and the distinctions are not always clear. Though difficult to attain, a work on ethics demands the utmost precision in thought and expression, together with a fulness of detail. In each of these directions this treatise seems to us defective, although it is highly interesting, and in a "Handbook" may fulfil its purpose.

In addition to Dr. Luthardt's contribution, "Die Christliche Ethik" in "Systematic Theology," this "Third Half Volume" of Zöckler's "Handbuch" contains three brief treatises in "Practical Theology." The *first* of these, by Prof. Zetzschwitz, is styled "Einleitung in die praktische Theologie." This introduction treats of:

1. Position and Province of Practical Theology in relation to the other departments of Theology.

2. History of Practical Theology (*a*) to the Reformation; (*b*) onward to the close of the eighteenth century; (*c*) thence to the present time.

3. Introduction to the system of Practical Theology: (*a*) Nature and subject of practical church activity; (*b*) natural functions of, etc.; (*c*) the order of, etc.; (*d*) practical theological technics in relation to the system.

The *second* of these, by Instructor Plath, is styled "Die einzelnen Fächer der Praktischen Theologie." Of these individual branches or departments, Instructor Plath discusses "Evangelistik," especially the theory and history of missions, in eleven different directions.

The *third* of these treatises, under the same style as the *second*, is by Prof. Zetzschwitz. Prof. Z. discusses "Katechetik und Homiletik"; Catechetics in six subdivisions; Homiletics in seven subdivisions.

These three treatises are at once vigorous and comprehensive, and although not especially novel to American students, they offer and urge many valuable suggestions. While we question some of the positions assumed in this Dritter Halbband, especially in "Die Christliche Ethik," we regard the whole as interesting and valuable. We admire the courage of Dr. Zöckler in undertaking a work so comprehensive, and, at the same time, so important and timely. We recognize his careful selection of helpers, and his faithful superintendence of the work. We congratulate him upon the success already achieved, while with deepening interest we await the forthcoming volumes. We are gratified to learn that Messrs. T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh, have in press the first volume of a translation of the entire work. R. B. WELCH.

THE SCRIPTURAL IDEA OF MAN. Six Lectures given before the Theological Students at Princeton on the L. P. Stone foundation. By MARK HOPKINS, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883. pp. 148.

The title of this work may awaken the expectation that it is a treatise on

Biblical psychology, a field in which, notwithstanding the labors of Delitzsch, Beck, Heard, Laidlaw and others, there is still room for some one to do good work. Dr. Hopkins, however, does not treat his subject exegetically. He considers man as created; and as in the image of God in knowledge, in feeling, in moral nature, and in dominion. We are glad that Dr. Hopkins approached his subject from the philosophical point of view here indicated, for besides giving scope for the discussion of some very important topics in the sphere of ethical and social science, it has enabled him to give us the results of his own independent thinking in the departments which are peculiarly his own, and in which he has been for many years one of the foremost men of our time.

The first lecture deals with the creation of man, the author taking strong ground against evolution. He finds the same inconsistency which others have found between Mr. Spencer's evolution formula and his doctrine of the Unknowable, and evidently feels, as others have felt, that Mr. Fiske's kind offices as interpreter at the New York banquet have not helped matters. Mr. Fiske might say, however, that his scheme of reconciliation contemplated science and religion, and not science and Christianity, and that Dr. Hopkins ought not to assume that evolution is incompatible with religion because it is incompatible with Christianity, or to waive discussion by remarking that "no system that denies a personal God can have an object of worship or be rationally made the basis of religion." It is of great moment in the present state of things that this position be maintained, and for this reason we wish that it had been dwelt upon at greater length.

In the next lecture the writer deals with knowledge, belief, faith, and consciousness. He distinguishes between intuitive truths and truths of the reason. Faith he distinguishes from belief, as J. J. Murphy and others have done. Belief, in his judgment, expresses a lower degree of assurance than knowledge. In this he agrees with Locke. And he antagonizes with force, and, we think, successfully, the position of Calderwood and Hamilton respecting the priority of faith to knowledge. But when he remarks: "Faith—belief of any kind regarded as mere belief, except as based on evidence—what is it but weakness and folly?" the question arises, What evidence is there to support self-evident truths? Is belief in them also "weakness and folly"?

The third lecture, on Feeling and Causation, is admirable. Dr. Hopkins argues very forcibly that in the agency of which we are ourselves conscious we have the true type of causation. Here he agrees with Bowne, Bowen, Diman, Flint, Jackson, Kirkman, Mozley, Martineau, and, as Prof. Adamson says, with the theistic writers generally.

The fourth lecture deals with man's moral nature; the fifth is a well-considered and timely presentation of the scriptural idea of man, so far as his social relations are concerned. Here the author takes the good old conservative ground that the family is the unit of the social organism, and that the race began its housekeeping history under ideal conditions.

"This was Adam's idea, and it has not been improved upon since. Here was the most delicate and complex relation of all time, one involving all human interests, and yet no statesman or philosopher has been able to improve upon the ideal of it that Adam had and expressed when God brought his wife to him. Men have invented spinning-jennies and telegraphs, and have made progress in many things, but in a right apprehension of the underlying relation of society they have not gone beyond Adam. He struck the keynote of social harmony for all time."

The lecture on "The Man Christ Jesus" was the fitting close of a series of discourses which were listened to with profound interest by large audiences. Terse as Tacitus, lucid as a sunbeam, gleaming with humor and wedded to an elocution that seemed to be expressly made to match the style, these lectures have revealed to us a single point in which we differ seriously with their venerable author,



for in words which do not appear in print he cautiously introduced his course by telling his audience that they were prepared with the wants of a class-room in view, and were not, and were not meant to be, popular at all.

F. L. PATTON.

THE ASSOCIATE CREED OF ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. By EDWARDS A. PARK. Boston: Franklin Press; Rand, Avery & Co. 1883. Published at the request of Drs. R. S. Storrs, Mark Hopkins, William M. Taylor, A. C. Thompson, and many other Congregational Ministers.

The recent controversy between the different parties existing among the friends of Andover Seminary, as far as it involves personal relations, or any criticism whatever as to theological belief or official integrity of any individual or of any party, lies beyond the province of this REVIEW. On the other hand, it is evident that the points so prominently raised in that controversy relating to the ethics of creed subscription in general, and to the special elements involved in the terms and the history of the Associate Creed of Andover Theological Seminary, are questions in which all men of our profession have a vital interest, and which we are all presumably competent to discuss.

This paper of the veteran professor, Edwards A. Park, is in the highest degree of public interest and value, and should have a wide circulation and intelligent study. Its interest is, in the *first place*, historical. His discussion necessarily involves a resumé of the remarkable history of the genesis of Andover Seminary and its Creed. Professor Park relates that the great motive which led to the foundation of this first of the permanent American Theological Seminaries, was the general alarm occasioned by the inroads of Unitarianism when, on May 14, 1805, Rev. Henry Ware, D.D., was inaugurated Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College. The new Seminary was grafted upon Phillips Academy, in the town of Andover, and intrusted to the government of the already existing Board of Trustees of that Academy. Of these Trustees a majority were, by their constitution, required to be laymen, while only one was required to be an educated man, or an orthodox believer, or even a professing Christian, or either a Congregationalist or Presbyterian in ecclesiastical connection. More than one of these Trustees had been an avowed Unitarian, and one continued to be so, long after this Board had accepted the trust of the Theological Seminary.

Eliphalet Pearson, LL.D., with the aid of Dr. Jedidiah Morse, draughted the Constitution and Statutes of the new Seminary. These men and their coadjutors were old Calvinists, and were severally followers of Watts, Doddridge, or of President Dwight. The Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism is especially made the standard of their doctrinal covenant in their original Statutes and Declaration of faith, and the Constitution of the Seminary states that the funds of the original Founders were given "*on the following express condition,*" that the "institution be *forever* conducted and governed by them (the trustees and their successors) in conformity to the following general principles and regulations."

In the meantime a circle of Hopkinsian Calvinists, Drs. Samuel Spring, Nathaniel Emmons, Leonard Woods, etc., had accumulated funds in 1806 to establish a Seminary at Franklin, or afterward at Newbury, Mass., to be consecrated to the war against Unitarianism, and specifically to the defence of what they called "*Consistent Calvinism.*" After a lengthened period of consultation and much concession on both sides, these two parties co-operated in the establishment of the historical Seminary at Andover. The original Calvinists of Andover desired to found their Seminary on a Theological basis equivalent to that assumed as the condition of ministerial communion in the Presbyterian Church, viz., the Westminster Confession and Catechism as containing *the system of*



*doctrine* taught in the Sacred Scriptures, or, as they phrased it, "for substance of doctrine." Under the circumstances of the case, their new Hopkinsian Associate Founders were unwilling to accept this basis. They were unwilling to subscribe the Westminster Standards as expressing their belief, both for substance and form, because that was not in truth the fact. They were also unwilling to leave the matter open by binding the Trustees and the Professors of their Seminary to the acceptance of their standards only for substance of doctrine; leaving that "substance" undefined. They therefore insisted upon the preparation of a definite Creed in which the "substance" of the Catechism, as *understood and admitted by them*, is explicitly stated and forever bound upon the officers of the Seminary. This is the ASSOCIATE CREED of Andover Theological Seminary which every Professor is required to read and subscribe before the Board of Trustees as the condition of his installation, and once every five years thereafter as long as he holds the office. This Creed does not contain all that the Hopkinsians believed, nor does it contain anything which they did not believe, and it expresses, on both sides, the very utmost that either party of the founders of the Seminary were willing to concede, and what they united in determining to demand as a condition forever of office-bearing in their institution. The Original Constitution of the Andover Calvinists, written by Dr. Pearson, with the aid of Dr. Morse, also remains in perpetual force, except in those instances in which the Additional or Associate Statutes have modified it.

Also because of the above-stated extraordinary Constitution of the Board of Trustees of Phillips Academy, who had now become the Trustees of the Theological Seminary, the Associate brethren in 1808 insisted that a Board of Visitors should be created, to preside over, and to a degree control, the actions of the Board of Trustees. This Board consists of three persons, two of whom must be Congregational ministers. They, like the Professors, must, upon induction and every five years thereafter, subscribe the Associate Creed, and declare it to express their own personal belief. "They are in our (original founders) place and stead, the *guardians, overseers, and protectors* of this our foundation in the manner as is expressed in the following provisions," in order "that the trust aforesaid may be always executed agreeably to the true intent of this our foundation; and that we may effectually guard the same in all future time against all perversion, or the smallest avoidance of our true design as herein expressed."

This Board of Visitors is held responsible for "determining, interpreting, and explaining the Statutes (including the Creed) of this foundation with respect both of professors and students, and in general to see that our true intentions, as expressed in these Statutes, be faithfully executed." They have also the power of vetoing the act of the Trustees appointing a professor, and of removing any professor for heterodoxy. "The Board of Visitors, in all their proceedings, are to be subject to our Statutes herein expressed, and to conform their measures thereto; and if they shall at any time act contrary to these, or exceed the limits of their jurisdiction and constitutional power, the party aggrieved may have recourse, by appeal, to the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of this Commonwealth for the time being for remedy, who are hereby appointed and authorized to judge in such case, and, agreeably to the determination of a major part of them, to declare null and void any decree or sentence of the said Visitors, which, upon mature consideration, they may deem contrary to said Statutes, or beyond the just limit of their power, herein prescribed; and by the said Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court for the time being, shall the said Board of Visitors at all times be subject to be restrained and corrected in the undue exercise of their office."

In the *second place*, this paper of the great Andover dialectician is a specimen

of thorough, masterly, and triumphant argument. Dr. Park's assertion is, that with respect to four great doctrines emphatically affirmed in the Andover Creed, viz., the entire trustworthiness of the religious and moral teachings of the Bible; that all the moral actions of men previous to conversion are sinful; the objective reference of the atonement, or its effect upon God as a pre-condition of pardon; that probation is confined to the present life; that these, one or all, are perverted or denied by certain parties who, as Trustees or Professors, are now administering the Andover trust. Of this assertion he offers no direct proof in this paper, and of course we have no adequate information, and therefore no definite opinion, and no proper occasion to proclaim it, even if we entertained it. But the real motive of this able paper, and its great contention, which we believe the author establishes with absolutely unanswerable conclusiveness, is (1) that the intention of the founders of Andover Seminary was to bind its Trustees and Visitors forever to the selection of such professors as would believe and teach, and to bind the professors so selected to believe and teach, the very doctrines in substance and form as they (the founders) believed them, and intended to express them in their Creed; and further, that these Founders made this conformity in doctrinal faith and teaching the condition of the gift and of the continued enjoyment of their money. And (2) Dr. Park's contention is that this certain intention of the original Founders of Andover Seminary morally and legally binds the Visitors and Professors in succession through all time.

The first of these propositions Professor Park proves in every possible way from the known opinions and intentions of these Founders; from the history of their consultations and compromises; from the design and constitution of Phillips Academy, and the known opinions of its Founder; from the occasion, genesis, substance, and form of the Associate Creed itself. He shows that the very structure of the Creed requires each professor to declare its several propositions in succession as each a part of his personal faith—the phrase “I believe” being necessarily grammatically understood before each of the successive propositions. It is by them styled a “common and permanent Creed.” They say, “it is strictly and solemnly enjoined, and left in sacred charge, that every article of the above said Creed shall forever remain entirely and identically the same, without the least alteration, or any addition or diminution.” The Trustees did “cheerfully accept the same” (the endowment funds) “for the purposes and upon the terms and conditions expressed in the said instrument; and that we covenant and engage faithfully to execute the sacred trust reposed, agreeably to said Statutes” (which include the Creed, etc.) Besides saying, “I believe,” with reference to every proposition of the Creed in succession, every professor must promise to hold and teach the Christian faith “as expressed in the Creed by me now repeated.” The Statutes require that “every professor shall be a Congregational or Presbyterian minister; an orthodox and consistent Calvinist,” and that he shall “publicly make and subscribe a solemn declaration of his faith in Divine Revelation, and in the fundamental distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel *as expressed in the following Creed.*” The Visitors and the Professors are required to repeat their personal declaration of faith and subscription to the Creed every five years, with the same solemnity that is required at their installation. The Visitors, in their successions, to act “in the place and stead of” the original founders, thus perpetuating the personal providence of those founders over their institution, not with discretion, but specifically to “guard the same in all future time against all perversion, or *the smallest avoidance of our true design as herein expressed.*”

Professor Park argues the same from the early history of the Seminary, from the opinions of the first Professors, and from the discussions attending their



installations. He also states, discusses, and answers all the objections made to the fact or to the reasonableness of the proposition he has undertaken to prove. Upon the whole, he has made it as certain as possible that if any men in founding an institution, and in conditioning the enjoyment of their benefactions, are capable of expressing definite and immutable intention, then the Founders of Andover Seminary did intend, and did in clear language give force to their intention, that in all the matters covered by the propositions of the Associate Creed, all the Visitors, and all the Professors of their Seminary, fiduciaries and beneficiaries of their gifts, should believe and teach, and required the others to believe and teach in their successions, as the Founders in their day believed and defined in the words of their Creed. If this be not true, language is incompetent to express thought, and human covenants are impracticable.

The *second* point included in the Professor's contention is, that the certainly ascertained intention of the Founders morally and legally binds the Trustees, Visitors, and Professors forever. It is not a question of reasonableness, or desirableness, but simply of contract, the sacredness of which the Constitution of the United States recognizes as fundamental and essential to the welfare of human society. The Founders gave their money on the express condition that the Creed in their sense of it should be maintained without any change forever.

The Fiduciaries and the Beneficiaries must accept the trust on the same conditions. Justice William Strong, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in his Lectures before Union Theological Seminary, New York City, on "The Relations of the Civil Law to Church Polity, Discipline and Property," says that when the Will, or Deed of Gift, or Terms of Subscription of the original donors of the property, define and prescribe a specific doctrine, or particular ecclesiastical connection, the civil courts will protect and enforce the trust.

It is credibly reported that one of the most honored of the Professors now in the Andover Faculty said, at the meetings associated with the last Seminary anniversary, "that he had that day, as he had on a number of previous occasions, subscribed the Associate Creed deliberately and prayerfully as a religious act. But that he would allow no man to dictate to him his interpretation of that Creed." Literally this last sentence is a matter of course. No *man* should *dictate* to another in such a case. But if the implication is that the interpretation which a Professor or Visitor signing puts upon the Creed is the private business of the signer alone, it is a radical error. To every contract there must be two parties. The moral and legal principle upon which all test oaths or pledges is interpreted, is that of the *animus imponentis*. In the case of the subscription to the Westminster formularies of a candidate for the Presbyterian ministry as the condition of his ordination, the *animus imponentis* is the general mind of the Presbyterian Church expressed in its history, and in its contemporaneous higher courts. In the case of the Andover Professors, that *animus* is the intention of the Founders, expressed in their Statutes interpreted, as they have provided, first by the Visitors, and ultimately by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

As to the question of law, that Court will undoubtedly enforce the intention of the Founders in their own sense of their words. But as to the matter of fact, unless a Professor either refuses to sign, or point blank in words denies the propositions of the Creed, it is not probable that the Court will pretend to decide. No civil court, much less the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, will undertake the interpretation of the propositions of that Creed severally, nor the decision of metaphysical or of theological consistencies or diversities.

The part of Professor Park's paper in which he appears to us unsuccessful, is that in which he undertakes to prove unfounded the charge that he has himself ever fallen below the strict and literal measure of fidelity to the Creed which he



now requires of others. He does very successfully show that the Andover Creed is Hopkinsian to a degree, and that it so far departs from Old Calvinism and the Westminster Catechism. He successfully shows that in respect to several of the peculiar and controverted points of his theological teaching he was clearly within the limits of the Creed. But at times his keenness is put to a severe test. The Professor has taught that God did not covenant with Adam as the representative of his descendants, and that consequently Adam's sin is not imputed to his descendants; and yet the Professor has every five years of his official life declared "I believe—that Adam, the federal head and representative of the human race, was placed in a state of probation." Thus it appears that God did not enter into a covenant of works with Adam in English, but he did in Latin, and that although Adam represented us, we were not represented in him. It is to be feared that this want of entire clearness in the explanation of a part of the history of the Seminary, will prevent this righteous and powerful argument from having all the influence otherwise due to it over its present and its future.

Nevertheless, the paper is a grand one. The reading of it is an education. It ought to be universally circulated and read. A. A. HODGE.

THE following deserve brief notice:

*Present Day Tracts, on Subjects of Christian Evidence, Doctrine and Morals.* By various writers. Vol. I., containing first six numbers, which may also be had separately. (The Religious Tract Society, London.) These tracts are for popular use rather than for scholars, nevertheless they are strictly scholarly and able, and upon subjects of the highest and freshest interest. The Tracts have all been published in the first instance separately. In that form they number at present 15. Six of these are collected in the present neat volume. They are on the following subjects: "Christianity and Miracles at the Present Day," "Christ the Central Evidence of Christianity," and "The Success of Christianity and Modern Explanations of it," by the Rev. Principal Cairns, D.D.; "The Historical Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead," and "The Existence and Character of God," by the Rev. Prebendary Row, M.A.; and "Christianity and the Life that Now Is," by the Rev. W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D.—*Studies of Creation and Life.* By Rev. F. Godet, D.D., Professor in the College, Neuchâtel, Switzerland. American edition. (Boston: Congregational Society. 1882.) Professor Godet's "Lectures in Defence of the Christian Faith" have already been noticed in this REVIEW, vol. iii., p. 427. The present selection from his Essays is the first that has been published in America, and is presented as an experiment. If well received by the public, the rest are promised by the same publishing society. The subjects are of the highest importance and their treatment learned, original, and essentially evangelical and spiritual. We trust the public will demand the entire series.—*Antithesis: Remarks on its Modern Spirit.* By Richard Hill Sandys, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-law, author of "In the Beginning," etc., "They wist not what it was." Exodus xvi. 15. 12mo, pp. 224. (London: Pickering & Co. 1883.) This book is from an able and truly Christian layman, and is full of valuable thoughts. But the order is obscure, since there are no divisions indicative of the progress of thought, or of the transitions from one topic to another, in the entire book.—*Does Science Aid Faith in regard to Creation?* By Rt. Rev. Henry Cotterill, D.D., F.R.S.E.; *Are Miracles Credible?* By Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A.; *Life: Is It Worth Living?* By J. Marshall Lang, D.D. These are all treatises on the most important subjects of present interest, and in defence of the truth, by able and well-known writers. They are published by Hodder &

Stoughton, Paternoster Row, London, 1883. They form the initial volumes of The Theological Library. A Series of Volumes dealing with current Religious Questions in a Catholic Spirit and in a style suitable for general readers."

A. A. HODGE.

#### IV.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

ENGLISH STYLE IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE, with special reference to the Usages of the Pulpit. By AUSTIN PHELPS, D.D., late Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Most books of rhetoric are only repetitions. From Aristotle down to the latest text-book, they repeat the same principles and almost the same illustrations. Professor Phelps, of course, does not claim to have written a strictly original treatise, and yet certainly he has given us many "variations upon that which has been said." Like all the books which he has recently published upon this general theme, these lectures are remarkable for their freshness and interest and practicality. They indicate wide reading and observation, acute discrimination, and careful and just thought. As in his other books, so in this, the author's illustrations are remarkably novel and interesting and pertinent. And they are all the better because so many of them are humorous, for these not only are enjoyed the more, but remembered the longer. Perhaps it is too much to expect, yet how little humor one can find in Quintillian, or Blair, or Campbell!

These lectures are systematic, and this is not a matter of course, for as the author truly remarks in his preface, "Criticism must consist of a vast amount of miscellaneous suggestion. Yet the teaching of an art creates a corresponding science. This is susceptible of systematic treatment," and such treatment is here given. The fundamental qualities of style are analyzed, and under each of these are arranged the practical suggestions relevant to it, and valuable to the literary or professional reader. In the first lecture, the definition of style is discussed, and in successive lectures: purity of style, precision, perspicuity, energy, elegance, variety, and naturalness are considered. Now and then, related topics are discussed by means of *excursus*. The whole is followed by an appendix containing a catalogue of words and phrases which are chiefly violations, either of English purity or of precision, or are of doubtful authority in the usage of good writers.

The method of the whole book is clear and natural, yet now and then the subordinate principles and rules are not stated as perspicuously as we could desire, certainly not as clearly as would be desirable in a text-book. Perhaps, however, this apparent obscurity arises, in this case, from the critic's dulness.

In the first lecture several pages are devoted to the definition of style. Five or six definitions of other critics are given, followed by his own conclusion, that "style is thought." There is much acuteness and ingenuity and vigor in our author's discussion, but his definition is certainly unsatisfactory. We cannot here discuss the subject fully, and yet in our judgment, no better definition can, after all, be given than that "style is the manner of expressing thought in language, whether oral or written."

Style is not the thought itself, nor is it the language, but it is the way in which the language is used to express the thought. Of course, we admit that thought is given by the speaker or the writer to the manner of expression as well as to the original subject of thought itself; but to say this is a mere truism: it does not define the *result* of such thought which is *style*.

These lectures claim to have "special reference to the usages of the pulpit." As we read the earlier pages we wished that those "references" had been more fre-

quent, but they increase as the lectures proceed, greatly to the profit of the professional reader.

There is no doubt as to what school in theology the writer belongs. It is to be hoped that his discussions of the examples that he gives of impropriety in the coinage of words such as "guilt" and "punishment" and "original sin," will not prejudice any clerical readers against his excellent homiletical precepts.

Professor Phelps has no patience with those preachers who make clear thinking obscure, by clothing it in philosophical forms, or else try to give dignity to puerile thought by an artificial style, or who make their sermons obscure by the desire to avoid commonplace. He wisely warns our preachers to be on their guard against those affectations of style, which he well names "the disease of artificial depth," and for which they can find no excuse on the ground of its necessity to what they call "the higher thinking." There can be no doubt that Coleridge "advanced a perilous principle," when he maintained that clearness of style is evidence of superficialness. It is perilous, for it has tempted more than one author into the grossest affectations of style. Even that brilliant writer, Horace Bushnell, could say in his "Dissertation on Language," "Shall I say that of all the 'clear' writers I have met with—those, I mean, who are praised for their transparency—I have never yet found one, who was able to send me forward an inch, or one that was really true, save in a superficial or pedagogical sense, as being an accurate distribution of that which is known." Who that is familiar with Dr. Bushnell's later books, cannot recognize the evil effect of this idea upon his style? What a contrast, in this direction, do we find in the style of the lectures of Dr. Charles Hodge! So careful was he to be perspicuous, that every sentence in his lectures not intelligible to his wife, was rewritten, until to her it was made perfectly clear. In his writing, surely, there is "higher thinking" enough without any symptom of the "disease of artificial depth."

There is much in this latest of the books of Professor Phelps that should receive the heartiest endorsement. We believe, with him, that it is the duty of the Christian preacher to guard our language from degeneracy, to handle it as a sacred trust. We believe, with him, that all our preachers should assist the tendency of popular thought to systematize Christian truth. We believe, with him, that it is an invaluable mental habit for the preacher to picture an audience in the solitude of the study. This will give reality to the sermon as nothing else can. This will turn soliloquy into discourse. And yet one of the strongest and clearest writers in this country to-day can say that, in writing a sermon, he never thinks of his audience; his only object is the complete development of his theme. No wonder that in the pulpit he is a comparative failure!

The *excursus*, which answers the question, "Ought the biblical emblems of eternal punishment to be employed by the modern pulpit?" is an earnest and faithful, and, in the main, truthful discussion of a most serious as well as very timely topic. And yet we have thought that if modern symbols of retribution could be used in preaching, which would produce the same effect upon modern audiences which those symbols used by our Lord produced upon those who heard him, the same purpose would be effected, with less prejudice perhaps.

Nothing can be more true than what our author says about "intemperate expression," "vituperation," "frenzied discussion," "malign denunciation" in the pulpit. And yet there are preachers to-day who are evidently intensely anxious to attain distinction, and wonder why they do not achieve permanent influence, when the reason is they have not yet found out that "unmitigated reproof is never powerful, because it is never true. The power of reproof is augmented by kindly expression."

"Feebly must they have felt  
Who in old times attired with snakes and whips  
The vengeful Furies, Beautiful regards  
Were turned on me, the wife and mother,  
Pitifully fixing tender reproaches."



We wish we had the space to call attention to many more excellent suggestions which our author has given us in this excellent and useful book. Among many other things we could mention, we thank him for calling attention so often, by quotation and otherwise, to De Quincey—a writer who, though profuse and discursive, had a most delicate and subtle critical faculty, with a style remarkable for a felicitous selection of words. We wish somebody would publish a judicious selection of his master-pieces from the twenty-one volumes courageously published in Boston. And we thank Professor Phelps for the sanction he gives to the word “climactic.” It ought to be established by usage, beyond dispute. ANSON J. UPSON.

ABIDE IN CHRIST: Thoughts on the Blessed Life of Fellowship with the Son of God. By A. M. “Abide in me, and I in you.” New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

The title of this little book suggests clearly its design. It discusses, in a very practical way, the meaning of these words of our Lord, the possibility of abiding in him, the advantages of such union, and the means of attaining it.

It is not a book to be read rapidly. It is intended rather as a little manual for frequent use. It is divided into thirty-one chapters, which the author calls “days,” and read thus, day by day, thoughtfully and prayerfully, it could not fail to be useful.

It opens with the parable of “The Vine and the Branches,” and its value consists in the author’s study of this parable, and the explanations and suggestions he has found there. But while this parable furnishes the main topic of the book, each chapter has its own text, and is a meditation on that text. Each one sets forth, with simplicity and directness, some definite thought; and there is an agreeable absence of the exclamation points and ejaculations, which seem, too often, to make a large part of books of this class. An interesting chapter is on Christ’s condescending love in appointing his disciples to reveal him to the world, by their rich fruitage of Christian virtues and graces. Another is on Christ as our wisdom. It treats of that combined mental and moral culture which we call wisdom, by which men see justly and judge wisely in both temporal and spiritual affairs; and which comes to the believer as he *abides* in Christ. The twenty-first “day” discusses prayer. It is, says the author, by abiding in Christ that we learn to know and love his will. The earnest wishes of a soul thus in harmony with Christ, will seldom be such as he must deny. When one is taught of the Spirit what to pray for, he may ask whatsoever he will and it shall be given to him.

In the treatment of such a topic as this, there is certainly danger of becoming mystical, or of forcing from an illustration meanings it was never intended to convey.

There are, in certain chapters of this book, indications of both of these faults, and yet, it seems to us, that on the whole the author gives us the simple meaning of our Lord’s words and such lessons as they plainly teach; and the result has been a manual well worth reading. A. J. UPSON.

THE LAMB IN THE MIDST OF THE THRONE; or, The History of the Cross. By JAMES M. SHERWOOD. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

This large and handsome volume testifies to the diligence and zeal of the author. Its more than five hundred pages are filled with Scripture truth set forth with power and unction, although without the *lucidus ordo* which enables one to state, in few words, its precise design or the exact scope of the discussion. To do this it would be necessary to transcribe the table of contents. The chief incitement of the author to produce the work was the state of the times, which, to him, is so discouraging that, being cut off by years and physical infirmity from the oral proclamation of the truth, he avails himself of the press to exercise the critic’s function, and hold up the principles which require to be set forth anew and enforced in every pulpit.

Mr. Sherwood draws in the opening chapters what he confesses to be a sombre picture of the present condition of things. Materialism prevails everywhere—in science, in art, in literature, in music, in the drama, even in the hymnody of the Sunday-schools, and in the popular conceptions of the future life. So, too, the pulpit is debased by the spirit of the age, by neglect of the written Word, by timidity; defects which, it is held, are due to the deficient teaching of the theological seminaries, which lacks elasticity, overlooks the Word, is given to theorizing, cultivates the critical spirit, and fails to produce men fitted for the needs of the times, as may be seen by comparing the present average pulpit with the apostle Paul or with the early triumphs of Christianity. This is, in our view, much the best part of the book. It is always good to have a trenchant criticism honestly performed. Many of Mr. Sherwood's points are well taken. Others are utterly groundless (as, *e. g.*, beneficiary education, and the cost of seminaries); but it will do no harm to subject all these matters to a thorough scrutiny. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend." The office of a reprover is so distasteful that few are willing to undertake it, and when any one does unburden his mind in a kindly way, the part of wisdom is to welcome the service and turn it to the best possible use.

But when we consider the positive presentation of Mr. Sherwood's views, it does not appear that he who points out a fault is the precise person to remove it. Nothing in the choice of topics or the treatment of them meets the exigency of the case. What is said is true and scriptural and fervent, but it has all been said before just as well. And, besides, the respected author seems to write from the point of view a generation and a half ago. He quotes Jenkyn on the Atonement, and refutes Dick's "Philosophy of a Future State," as if these were live books and not long since put by Time in his wallet as alms for oblivion. He has hardly kept up with the progress of theology, which, though in its essence absolute and unchangeable, yet from age to age incessantly changes front and presents a new side to meet emergent errors. And while Mr. Sherwood is valiant for doctrinal truth in general, he yet asserts one of the wildest of delusions: *viz.*, the pre-existence of our Lord's humanity. The only authority all the past yields for this is Dr. Watts, who, although the most amiable of men and the sweetest of Israel's modern singers, is by no means a great name in theology. It is Dr. Watts and Mr. Sherwood *contra mundum*. The first appendix to the volume contains a notice of the late Prof. Henry B. Smith, with whom the author was for many years closely connected in editorial work. In this are mentioned some interesting statements which escaped the notice of all previous writers.

T. W. CHAMBERS.

STUDIES OF NEGLECTED TEXTS. By CHAS. S. ROBINSON, D.D., Pastor of the Memorial Church, New York City. New York: American Tract Society.

In a "Prefatory Note" the author thus explains the title and contents of his book: "This volume of sermons, selected from those delivered in the course of ordinary pastoral work, is peculiar in that the discourses are founded upon passages of Scripture seldom chosen for the pulpit." Beyond question the Bible abounds in passages which lie comparatively unnoticed in their surroundings, which are yet weighty with Divine thought of precious and profound significance. The homiletical advantage flowing from the use of such texts, the gain in suggestiveness, freshness, and fertility, is well illustrated in several of these discourses. In some the choice of text and theme is peculiarly happy, as when the words of Rev. xii. 16, "And the earth helped the woman," are used to suggest the helpfulness of science to the Church. In some instances we note a felicitous harmony between the choice of texts and the statement of the theme, as when "Two Pulpits" (the sick-bed, and the restored health) is given as the theme of the text, "And immediately she was made straight, and

glorified God" (Luke xiii. 13). In other instances the statement is somewhat more fanciful, verging on the sensational, as when "Drawing Lightning" is announced as the theme of the text, "And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children" (Luke i. 17), the subject of the sermon being the work of the Sunday-school organization, as "discharging harmlessly the Old Testament malediction, and becoming the instrument of fulfilling the benedictions of the New." In the sermon on Ps. cxix. 99, we fail to appreciate the perfect appositeness of the theme, "Wiser than My Teachers," to the chief topic discussed, the successful use of Bible texts in public address. There are, moreover, a number of texts used, which, so far as our observation goes, can scarcely be called "neglected"; such as Ps. lxxxiv. 5, 6; John xviii. 40; Rom. i. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 27; Ps. cxlvi. 4; Col. iii. 15; Matt. xxii. 42; Rev. iv. 3.

As a whole the volume will be found to contain striking and suggestive views of Scripture passages, such as, it may be hoped, will interest the mind, fix themselves in the memory, and serve for spiritual edification.

LL. J. EVANS.

POEMS. By JONES VERY. With an Introductory Memoir by WILLIAM P. ANDREWS.

"And all their motions upward be,  
And ever as they mount, like larks they sing.  
The note is sad, yet music for a king!" — GEORGE HERBERT.

Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo, pp. 155. 1883.

This book is in many ways unique. It is intrinsically interesting, but its great attraction is found in the very unusual and noble personality of the author, as disclosed alike by the Memoir and by his poems. He was that strange phenomenon—a Unitarian Mystic, a disciple of Channing, and an intimate friend of Emerson, and an enthusiast for holiness, and intimate personal communion with God. He regarded himself as inspired. He uttered his poetry as it was given him. Dr. Clarke said of him that "he believed that one whose object is not to do his own will in anything, but constantly to obey God, is led by Him, and taught in all things. He is a son of God, as Christ was THE SON, because He always did the things which pleased the Father." Mr. Very said every man would attain to this when he made the final sacrifice in filial obedience, and he believed himself to have done so.

He was a regular Unitarian clergyman, born in 1813, and died in 1880, and spent nearly all his life in Salem, Mass. Those who best knew him said that Isaak Walton's description of the saintly George Herbert most exactly pictures Mr. Very as he appeared in later life. His poetry is not remarkable for its perfection of form, but chiefly for its expression of profound spiritual life and insight. He held that having made a complete sacrifice of himself, and being consequently hidden in Christ, he had become the voice of the Holy Ghost, who spake through him. Emerson urged him to speak whenever he was moved, and not to neglect his gift. Yet he never attempted to proselyte. He held that his whole duty was to utter the words "given" to him. He was not responsible for their effect or non-effect on others.

A. A. HODGE.

#### BOOKS FOR PRACTICAL EDIFICATION:

*Love for Souls.* By the Rev. Wm. Scribner. (American Tract Society.) This is a reissue, as No. 5, of a series of Tracts for the Times, of a volume first published a year or two since. It is eminently worthy of a wide circulation. The subject is of great practical importance and needs to be pressed upon the attention of the church. Mr. Scribner has a happy faculty of seizing the salient points of the matter and presenting them with simplicity and earnestness. Not a tinge of extravagance is found in his counsels, for zeal never runs away with



judgment. The author is serious and incisive, but takes the reader with him by the profound reasonableness of his suggestions. The book may be warmly recommended. Even experienced and active Christians could read it with profit, much more all beginners in the religious life. Certain it is that the rank and file of the sacramental host must be much more thoroughly engaged than they now are, before the day of victory arrives.—*Our Eastern Sisters*. By H. W. Ellis. (London Tract Society and A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) This volume gives an account of what has been done by women among the women of the East. Successive chapters treat of the work carried on in the various provinces of India, in Batavia and Borneo, in Persia, in Egypt, China, Burmah, Syria, concluding with a record of some female medical missions. It is very gratifying to see that in so many fields this indispensable part of the method of spreading the Gospel is carefully attended to. The book is filled with incidents showing the need of just such an agency, and the success which has so far been gained. It has the true missionary ring in that the work of all denominations is treated with equal regard, and nothing indicates to which fold of the Church Catholic the authoress belongs.—*Among the Mongols*. By Rev. Jas. Gilmour. (Same publishers.) This very handsome volume eschews history and statistics, and aims simply to note the manners and customs and beliefs and practices of the tribes living in Mongolia. The author by itinerating in the region for missionary purposes for a series of years attained very full and accurate knowledge of these people, and his record seems to be every way trustworthy. The book is illustrated by native sketches, which without being prodigies of art, yet help the reader to understand the letterpress. The author writes in a direct, simple, and manly style, and his pages are both interesting and instructive. His account of Buddhism as a working force, its idolatry, superstition, and emptiness, the ignorance and immorality of the *lamas* or priests, and the degradation of the people, furnishes a very vivid contrast to the rose-colored pictures we often see of *Sakya Mouni's* religion. Mr. Gilmour also shows the difficulty of bringing the Mongols to a better faith, and acknowledges the small success of his mission thus far.

T. W. CHAMBERS.

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## V.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR. By JOHN BACH MCMASTER. In five volumes. Vol. I., 8vo, pp. xv. and 622. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1883.

Mr. McMaster has conceived the plan of an extensive work, the execution of which will require many years spent in the accumulation of material and in laborious comparison and sifting of authorities. The task he has undertaken might well discourage a student less persevering and enthusiastic, or a writer less facile with the pen. The period which he intends to cover is, indeed, not a very long one as reckoned by the number of years—only one or two years beyond three-quarters of a century—but it is a period of surpassing importance, not so much in itself, as in its bearing upon the succeeding period of unexampled national growth and material development upon which the United States have entered. Should Mr. McMaster be permitted to complete his design, and give us in four more volumes (will four prove sufficient for the purpose?) the chronicle of the process that gradually transmuted, before the eyes of mankind, thirteen feeble and loosely-confederated States, without manufactures and almost without commerce, into one of the leading powers of the civilized world, he will have rendered a service entitling him to the grateful

recognition of thoughtful men in both hemispheres. Such a history, the result of conscientious and thorough study, composed with impartiality and inspired throughout by singleness of purpose to be truthful in the highest sense, will prove an indispensable guide to the correct understanding of the causes of the war between the States, of which the memory is yet fresh in the minds of the older part of the present generation. As the first volume of a treatise of this character the book before us will serve a very useful end—among other things, in dispelling many inveterate prepossessions. The reader will not advance many pages in the fascinating narrative before finding fresh corroboration of the folly of the inquiry, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? For he will come to the conclusion that, not only in those matters of personal convenience and every-day life that contribute so much to the comfort of each individual, but also in many things in which we are wont to deem the times of our forefathers to have been superior to our own, the pleasant places have in reality been reserved for us. It is a graceful and not unfilial habit of ours to make of the men that fought for liberty in the war of the Revolution heroes of a somewhat Homeric type. We endow these creations of our imagination with every conceivable human or superhuman perfection, and deplore the impossibility of finding their counterparts in our own times. But an attentive reading of Mr. McMaster's pages will dispel much of this illusion. In the virulence of party spirit to which we shall be made witnesses as prevailing in the years immediately following the close of the peace with England, we may find proof that the world in general, and our own country in particular, had reached a much lower plane of civilization than that now attained. We shall be led to doubt whether, after all, that was the age of gold, as compared with which we are at present living in an age of iron or brass. Possibly we may arrive at an estimate not unlike that which Socrates formed respecting the responsibility attaching to Miltiades, Themistocles, and Pericles and other statesmen of the same exalted type, for the evils that came to a head a score or two of years later, in what was reputed a degenerate age. We may come to believe it probable that the moral and economic errors that brought on, and seemed to render almost unavoidable, the most bloody conflict our country has ever beheld, were directly traceable to the earlier transgression of laws, divinely instituted, which can never be violated with impunity. The age of Jefferson and Madison must, then, be held to account for evils that culminated in the age of Buchanan and Douglas.

The theme which Mr. McMaster has chosen is, therefore, a worthy one, and one that calls for the greatest skill on the part of him who would do it justice. And our historian has, in the treatment of it, spared no time or trouble. He has prepared himself by a wide study of the best authorities, including the lives and the correspondence of the principal actors in the scenes described. He has made himself very familiar with a source of which few before him have availed themselves so much; we mean the contemporary newspapers and other periodicals, the political pamphlets, handbills, and broadsides. In fact, there is no bit of printed matter so insignificant or ephemeral from which he has not been anxious to extract whatever fact it might afford him bearing upon the social or intellectual condition of the people. And all this information, gathered from so many quarters, has been carefully co-ordinated and arranged, and has been set forth in language singularly readable and attractive. In the formation of this style the influence of a familiarity with the essays and historical writings of Macaulay is undoubtedly traceable, and instances of unconscious imitation can certainly be pointed out. But the blemishes, if blemishes they are, are insignificant in number, and might easily be removed; and the fact remains that our author's natural style is brilliant, never falling to the level of commonplace, and always enlivened by apposite illustrations and comparisons.

The only serious objection which we find to Mr. McMaster's volume is the almost total absence of the religious element. If the Church is ever mentioned, it is but incidentally. The New England minister is, indeed, referred to in the introductory

chapter, devoted to a highly entertaining and instructive view of the manners and customs of our fathers at the close of the Revolution ; but that personage, though too essential a factor of society to be altogether ignored, is evidently a distasteful subject of discussion, and is gladly dropped after two or three pages, in which his "sectarianism," his "narrow-mindedness," and his "absurd pedantry" play the most prominent part. Apart from these unsympathetic allusions, we look in vain for any adequate view of the religious tenets and institutions of our country at the critical juncture with which the book is concerned. The omission is a grave one ; we wish that we might hope that it would be filled in a future edition of a work destined, we confidently believe, to occupy a permanent and an honored place in American historical literature.

HENRY M. BAIRD.

IN THE SHADOW OF THE PYRENEES. From Basque-Land to Carcassonne. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. With etchings and maps. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This volume introduces Americans in a very attractive way to a region of great natural beauty and historic interest, and as yet comparatively little visited by us. To write a good book of travels demands various and high qualities of mind and heart. Most such books are sufficiently dry to repel readers from going to see the lands and people they describe. There are, however, good books of travel, which give us almost the delight of journeying, without its weariness or expense. Theophile Gautier in his charming volumes on St. Petersburg and Spain ; H. A. Taine's Tour through the Pyrenees, are specimens of the better class.

With these Dr. Vincent's may be ranked. Like them, it has the charm of literary excellence. Like them too, it has the art of description which paints scenes or scenery vividly and accurately. It resembles them, once more, in weaving into the narrative, many characteristic points of ancient or modern history, and in giving a critical insight into the inner life and habits of the communities visited. The author, as the reader will find, has read what others have had to say on the region and has thus given us his views compared with and tested by those of other travellers.

Dr. Vincent's aim seems to have been to give, by a principle of selection, an account of towns and places which may be regarded as fairly representative of the country and the life of the people he visited. This he describes for us in his chapters Bayonne, Biarritz, Euscaldanac, San Sebastian, Lourdes, Toulouse, Carcassonne. In the seventeen chapters which make up the book, the reader will find that something distinctively peculiar to the region is brought out in every one. It may be scenery or institutions, or mode of travel, or a peculiar people, but it is a salient feature of his journey. The result is that by his method of selection, Dr. Vincent has given us modestly but effectively a true and lifelike picture.

If we were called upon to name the most striking chapters in the volume, the account of Anglet (ch. 2) would be first mentioned. The author's description of one of the noblest fruits of Christian charity, and one of the oddest developments of Romish superstition, is in his best vein. His chapter (ch. 7) on the Basques, with that following on Euscaldanac, brings to notice a most interesting people, around whose descent hangs so much mystery, and whose language has provoked from philologists so much discussion. Readers who are interested in modern Romish miracles would do well to examine the calm and thorough account of Lourdes (ch. 15). In historical interest, however, no chapter is richer than that on Toulouse (ch. 16). That city has so bad an eminence in the story of religious persecutions as fully to justify the author in his careful digest of its history. If any one desires to complete and verify Dr. Vincent's studies let



him read chapter iv. in Christie's *Life of Etienne Dolet*, the martyr of the Renaissance.

The descriptive power evinced by the author is a noticeable feature throughout. Dr. Vincent has the gift of seeing the best points in everything he undertakes to depict. Some of his descriptions of the scenery are of very great beauty. In fact, the only criticism we should venture to make would be that his rare facility may have tempted him to excess; yet this must be the basis in every good book of travels. Excellent maps and handsome etchings accompany the volume and enrich it. We commend the book heartily to readers, especially to such as may be thinking of a trip to this fascinating region.

J. O. MURRAY.

THE LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF EDWARD HENRY PALMER, late Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and Fellow of St. John's College. By WALTER BESANT, M.A. London, 1883.

Opposite to the title-page of this volume is the wood-cut portrait of a man dressed in Oriental costume, fez and all. The features are Oriental. The full eyes are those of a linguist; the long, tapering fingers seem fitted for deft, skilful work. The picture is itself a biography, an epitome of the book. For Palmer was exactly what we should expect from his likeness—a man saturated with Oriental life and thought, an eloquent talker, full of resources, eager to see new things, and able to extricate himself from the most desperate straits. The life here told is a romance, and its close has the appropriateness of clever fiction. We turn page after page, to find new incidents of an extraordinary character. This statement is made in all seriousness. Here we are told how a boy, destined to be a great scholar, born in Cambridge, the site of the great English university, grew up without scholarly tastes; how by dint of perseverance and ingenious devices he acquired a knowledge of Romany, the Gipsy language; how he was dock clerk in a London importing house, and used his position to learn Italian of all kinds, from the pure Tuscan to the sailor lingo; how he learned French in similar fashion and variety. This was cut short after three years by a pulmonary trouble, and in 1859 he went home to die. But he did not die. His restless nature would not allow him to be idle during his convalescence, so he tried writing poetry, acting with an amateur corps, wood-engraving, modeling, drawing, and painting. He resumed his classical reading; produced two plays, which were acted in Cambridge in 1860, and, finally, began the study of Arabic under an accomplished Indian Mohammedan. It was then he first found his life-work. In an incredibly short time he spoke and wrote Persian, Hindustani, and Arabic with ease and correctness. In 1862 he attracted marked attention, and the next year he matriculated at Cambridge, and in 1867 was elected to a fellowship at St. John's. The election was quite irregular, and due entirely to his marvellous attainments in Oriental languages and literature.

Shortly afterward he went in the capacity of interpreter and linguist to Arabia, with the Sinai Ordnance Survey party (1867-69). It was a great chance for him. He applied himself assiduously to the Bedawin dialect and mastered it. He studied Bedawin character and fathomed it. His special work was to ascertain from the Bedawin the correct nomenclature of the Peninsula, a task extremely delicate and difficult. In 1869 he was sent out with Tyrwhitt Drake by the Palestine Exploration Fund Committee to explore the Tih country. It was on this expedition, at Nukl, that Palmer received the *sobriquet* of "Sheikh Abdullah," which he afterward adopted. The results of these two journeys he embodied in his *Desert of the Exodus* (Lond., 1871, 2 vols.). In 1871 he became Lord Almoner's professor of Arabic at Cambridge, with a stipend of £40, but his fellowship brought his income up to £350. He was married Nov. 11, 1871,

the day after his appointment. His wife died in 1878, and in 1879 he married again. In 1874 he published his complete Arabic grammar, his *Outlines of Scripture Geography* and his *History of the Jewish Nation*. In 1874 he began a Persian dictionary. The first part (Persian-English) was published in 1876; the second (English-Persian), found nearly completed at his death, has just been issued under competent editorship. In 1880 he published his *Life of the Caliph Haroun Alraschid*, a striking contrast to the preceding *History*, fresh, lively, intelligent, and instructive; the hero of the "Arabian Nights" lives once more; and his translation of the Koran, in 2 vols., for Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East." By this last work he greatly increased his reputation. In 1881 he published the Arabic and English name-lists of the Palestinian Surveyors, with explanations, a valuable but tedious labor. In the next year appeared his *Simplified Grammar of Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic*, a very small book, which awakens expectations that the by-path to the royal road to learning has been discovered at last, for if three such difficult languages can be presented in so small a compass, not much study is requisite to acquire any tongue. In that year he revised for the British and Foreign Bible Society, in connection with Dr. Bruce, Henry Martyn's Persian New Testament.

In 1881 Palmer gave up his connection with the University and became a writer for the London *Standard* daily newspaper. He thoroughly enjoyed his work; its constant change was very congenial. In June, 1882, he volunteered to go among the Bedawin of the Arabian desert and dissuade them from making common cause with Arabi Pasha, and also to arrange for a sufficient guard for the Canal. He was formally commissioned to do this, and also to buy camels. He sailed from Brindisi July 3d, went to Jaffa, then to Gaza and into the desert. There he met various sheikhs, and succeeded admirably in his commission. On August 1st he arrived in Suez and made his report. It was nothing short of marvellous, for "alone, and single-handed, he [had] induced the tribes to trust his promises; to rise at his bidding; to guard the Canal; to line it with guards, if necessary; and, if called upon, to fight Arabi's Nile Bedawin with fifty thousand men" (p. 285). On August 6th, Palmer, Captain Gill, and Flag-Lieutenant Charrington started to meet sheikhs upon the Sinai desert to buy 750 camels. On the 10th, Thursday, they were taken prisoners in the Wady Sudr. The next evening they were driven toward the edge of the gully to be shot. But before the signal was given one of the Bedawin fired upon Palmer and killed him. The others endeavored to get down the cliff, but all the party were finally killed. Thus died a man to whom England is greatly indebted. Among her heroes he will forever be reckoned. It is fitting that his dust lies in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral.

This meagre sketch fails to do justice to its subject. But we trust that enough has been said to call attention to the book. The story of such a life is the best of reading. We are glad to notice that the book is now in its second edition, and that an American reprint is announced. In these prosaic days, to find a man who was scholar, poet, orator, linguist, translator, painter, actor, magician, mesmerist, and good-fellow, all combined, is a great discovery. And when it is added that Palmer had the power to work hard and to do deeds of daring and courage, it is seen that his acquaintance is very desirable.

SAMUEL M. JACKSON.

THE ALPHABET: An Account of the Origin and Development of Letters. By ISAAC TAYLOR, M.A., LL.D. In two volumes. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1883. 8vo.

The author has given us two large volumes on a large and extensive subject. Tables, cuts, illustrations, and the study evinced on each page, go to prove the state-

ment that "This book represents the labor of many years." Few authorities are quoted in the notes on the plea that, to specialists, they are needless, and to the ordinary reader useless, while making the book cumbrous and ugly. To this plan we take exception. The volumes have a beautiful appearance, with superb typography. An occasional mistake in the printing of an Egyptian sign, and in the only name which we have seen in the book, that of Sent (I., p. 61), which as it now stands read *us*, indicate a lack of familiarity with the hieroglyphic writing. This portion of the work is based on De Rougé, so that he is to be held partially responsible for any errors.

Briefly stated, the author's theory of alphabetic signs is, that they are the result of development. Pictorial writing is the original so far as we are able to find, and only at the end of centuries gives place to a syllabic form, derived, as a rule, on the "acrologic" principle. Thus the Chinese picture-writing was taken to Japan, and selected forms were applied to the writing of a polysyllabic language. From a syllabic writing a true alphabetic system is developed, through adoption and adaptation by nations having a language of a different type. Thus the Persian and Medic alphabet was developed out of the cuneiform syllabaries.

Theoretically, this is the course of development. To the English alphabet it can be applied only in a limited degree. The forms which we use are traced back through the Latin to a local form of Bœotia and thence to the Phœnician, the oldest monuments of which are the Siloam Inscription and the Moabite Stone. Thus far the development has been only internal. A gap in the pedigree is here found, and to bridge it our author calls in the theory of De Rougé. It assumes Egypt as the ultimate source, and the Hieratic of the tenth or eleventh dynasty as the particular model. The later Hieratic (*z. z.*, that used after the expulsion of the Hyksos) does not answer the requirements of the problem as to either form or date, according to the assumption of De Rougé, though the statement that there is such a marked difference must be taken with caution. The work of Sim. Levi ("Segni Ieratici Egizi." Turin, 1880), the most complete of the sort, giving all of the Hieratic forms known to us, does not support it nor show the divergence claimed. As to date he is probably right. The time between the tenth or eleventh dynasty and the date of the Moabite Stone (beginning of the 9th century B.C.), would be required for the explanation of certain variations of form, for, as the author says (I., p. 86), "The two alphabets agree neither as to the number, the order, the names, or the forms of the respective letters." And when we come to examine the details of the theory and its proof, we find some points which are questionable, to say the least. It has been usually supposed that there is no connection between the Egyptian writing and the Hebrew alphabet, except in the case of **ו**, whereas, according to the statement of Mr. Taylor, "It will probably be admitted that with respect to sixteen of the Semitic letters his (De Rougé's) identifications with the suggested Hieratic prototypes are reasonably satisfactory. In the remaining cases his conclusions may be deemed open to correction on the discovery of additional epigraphic materials" (I., p. 116). These prototypes are taken from the "Papyrus Prisse" written in the fourth dynasty, and preserved in a copy from the tenth or eleventh dynasty. The papyrus is said to be a most beautiful specimen and clearly written. One of the points upon which the identifications rest is the "tail," which appears in the case of several letters, but as this is an accidental and not an essential feature, the theory may lose a part of its worth. This is notably the case with **ב**, where essential features are ignored in favor of the accidental "tail." The identification of our letter M with the Egyptian symbol, the "owl," may be regarded as conclusive, though to find an owl in our letter, and to point out beak and ears, besides breast, in the modern form is very fanciful (I., p. 10). In regard to **ל**, the whole discussion amounts only to conjecture. To find a letter where none existed must prove difficult, for, according to the best authorities, Egyptian had no "L."



The form given as the prototype of the letter ʾ, the "mouth," cannot be regarded as the normal form of the Hieratic sign, though in its present shape it lends itself easily to the theory. It may be remarked in general, that specimen letters from an Egyptian papyrus or text must be selected with great caution, in order to be absolutely correct and to avoid giving a false impression. The forms are not uniform in size, but are liable to far more variation than in our script. According to position, the same letter may vary as much as one hundred per cent., so that the selection of a small form of a letter which should properly be large, may give a false probability to the argument. This seems to be the case in the identification of the letter ʾ with the "water line," in which length, its distinguishing feature, has been sacrificed to an accidental "tail."

An objection to the theory not sufficiently met by the author, is that it is based on insufficient data. The forms of letters in different papyri, and often in the same one, vary so much that it would not require a very long search to find forms which approximate to the Phœnician letters. We do not say that this has been done, but without the presentation of all the varying forms or an exceedingly judicious selection, the theory rests on somewhat doubtful ground. Of course the paucity of material (only three papyri exist) will condition the problem, but for this reason all the helps available should be used. It is also necessary that the greatest care be exercised in building up a theory of this sort. There is a rival in the field trying to derive the Semitic alphabets from the Cuneiform. In the present work we find a lack; to wit, a failure to distinguish sharply between the forms originally used and what the author calls "variants"; for instance (I., p. 66) for ʾ, represented by the "shutter," he gives the "flying bird" as the variant. For the most part this is incorrect, and his statement that its use is "rare, especially in the earlier monuments," is inadequate. It is *never* so used in the earlier monuments, but *only* as the *demonstrative pronoun*, and only as a syllabic sign in the later epochs after the pronominal force had been entirely lost.

As a theory this one is more probable than the one which derives the Semitic letters from the Cuneiform, but it has not yet come to the position of being a demonstration. The objections of Profs. Lagarde, Robertson Smith, and R. S. Poole have not been fully met.

In the Egyptian writing the author finds a "latent syllabism" underlying the alphabet, and applying the theory of development, he arrives at some conclusions as to its beginning, and, consequently, that of the Egyptian civilization. In his own words, "The alphabetic characters must have grown out of syllabic signs, and these in turn must have been developed out of verbal phonograms" (I., p. 63). The lowest estimate which he makes of the time so required is a thousand years, and as the writing had reached the alphabetic stage in the time of King Sent (4000-4700 B.C.), some startling results are reached. He adds, "It must be affirmed as probable that the beginnings of the graphic art in the valley of the Nile must be relegated to a date of seven or eight thousand years from the present time." The lack of records prevents our seeing the course of this growth and the stages through which the postulated development passed.

The first volume is taken up, as we have indicated, by a discussion of the probable origin of the English writing in the Egyptian Hieratic. The various Semitic systems are then taken up and discussed, including the Phœnician, the Aramean, and the South Semitic alphabets. The theory is that the original form was brought from Egypt by the Hyksos at the time of their expulsion. Out of this the later forms were differentiated and developed. The second volume discusses the Greek alphabet and those of Hellenic origin, passing on to the Iranian (Persian) and Indian. The legend of Cadmus and its origin in historic fact is adopted. The island of Thera is indicated as the place where the first writing was done in Europe, in a form similar to the Phœnician, but of a type older than that of the Moabite

Stone. The possibility of a second, an Aramean, source is mentioned, and the conjecture made that such an origin would account for the final vowel of the Greek *alpha*, as the emphatic "aleph" of that idiom. As an illustration of this the author speaks of the double origin of the Greek metric system. The development of the various forms derived from Hellenic sources is discussed and note taken of the following: Italic, Latin, Greek and Latin uncials, Coptic, the Slavonic and Albanian alphabets, the Runes, and the Oghams.

The Iranian group covers the Indo-Bactrian, the Pehlevi, the Armenian, and the Georgian. The Indian alphabets, whose name is legion, are to be traced back to a single form, the Asoka, to which various origins have been assigned, but of which the Semitic seems to be the most probable. A short account of the vernacular alphabets follows, and the last chapter of the book contains contributions toward a sort of philosophy of the science of such investigations. There are two indices, one of alphabets containing 247 entries, and a general index occupying 22 pages.

C. R. GILLET.

THESAURUS INSCRIPTIONUM AEGYTIACARUM. Altaegyptische Inschriften, gesammelt, verglichen, übertragen, erklärt und autographiert, von HEINRICH BRUGSCH. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung. 4to. 1883.

The first *Abtheilung* of the above work, entitled "Astronomische und astrologische Inschriften altaegyptischer Denkmäler," has appeared. The work is lithographed, and presented to the public in the handwriting of Dr. Brugsch, so familiar to students of Egyptology. The qualifications of the author for his work are based upon forty years of special study, and a twenty years' residence in Egypt, besides extensive travels through Europe and America. During all of these years he has been busy in gathering these materials, which are now to be placed before the world in beautiful shape, and a knowledge of monuments and museums said to be utterly unrivalled. It has been complainingly said that these inscriptions and records have been accessible only to him, and their publication is designed to meet this statement. The attempt has been made to make this large amount of material accessible to all, both specialists and others, and to give it in a corrected, complete, and perfect form. The translations which accompany the texts have been made in accordance with the latest results of the study of the Egyptian monuments and language, and the author has aimed to distinguish sharply between the certain and the uncertain. The plan of the work is as follows, each part containing from 150 to 180 pages, large quarto size: I., as above; II., Kalendarische Inschriften; III., Geographische Inschriften; IV., Mythologische Inschriften; V., Historische, Biographische, Genealogische Inschriften; VI., Bau-Inschriften; VII., Inschriften verschiedenen Inhalts.

Of this *Lieferung*, it may be said that it contains copies of astronomical inscriptions from the earlier and later epochs, so far as they are visible and accessible. All of them have been copied and carefully compared with the originals. The editor lays claim to correctness as well as to completeness. Of the contents of the book the following may be cited: The astronomical inscriptions on the ceiling of the portico of the temple of Dendera, from the time of the Emperor Tiberius; the zodiac of Dendera: table of planets, from the XVIII. and XIX. dynasties, and from the Græco-Roman period; the constellations of the heavens; the table of the hours in the tombs of the kings Ramses VI. and Ramses IX. at Thebes.

Of the usefulness and importance of the results to be derived from this work there can be no doubt, for in such records are to be found the points in the chronology which can be astronomically fixed. This fact was pointed out by Lepsius as early as 1849, in his work on Egyptian chronology, and an outline indicated. Later discovery has not seriously modified his plan, but only altered some of the details. Brugsch does not pretend to be an astronomer, and, consequently, refrains from entering into calculations which call for the knowledge and skill of a specialist. Having

placed the facts as presented by the monuments before the public, he leaves the determination of specific results to others. He has, also, been at no pains to mention or refute erroneous theories propounded by persons of one-sided information, but has passed them by in silence.

When complete the work will be very extensive, and being on a different plan from the volumes edited by Lepsius, will be of service to those to whom that work was a sealed book, and, being lithographed, may be procured by those whose means forbade the purchase of the "Denkmäler."

C. R. GILLETT.

HEBRAEISCHE GRAMMATIK, mit Uebungsstücken, Litteratur und Vokabular zum Selbststudium und für den Unterricht, von Lic. Dr. HERM. L. STRACK, a. o. Prof. d. Theol. New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1883. 16mo, pp. 163.

The material facts of Hebrew Grammar are here condensed into the briefest possible compass, and at the same time clearly stated and lucidly arranged. The exercises are not sentences for translation, but words for practice in reading the text, and in the various forms of verbs and nouns. It will be a very valuable aid in the elementary study of Hebrew for those who are acquainted with the German language. It is numbered as the first volume of the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, or Petermann's series of brief Grammatical Manuals.

W. H. GREEN.

THE LIFE OF IMMANUEL KANT. By W. W. STUCKENBERG, D.D., Special Professor in Wittenberg College, Ohio. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882. pp. 474.

This volume is uniform with the handsome Centenary Edition of the "Critique of the Pure Reason" (Max Müller's translation), published by the Messrs. Macmillan in 1881. It is a biography in the truest sense of the word, being more than a recital of threadbare facts, and not pretending to be a discussion and criticism of the critical philosophy. Kant's life was uneventful, and the student of philosophy must expect to find in this work a great deal that was already familiar to him. Of Kant's Scottish ancestry; of his disappointing early expectations, as Lessing and Winklemann also did, by refusing to enter the ministry; of his fifteen years of poverty while acting as *privat-docent* and lecturing on mathematics and physics, as well as on fortifications and fireworks; of his appointment at the age of forty-six to a professorship in his native city at a salary which never exceeded five hundred dollars per annum; of the appearance of the "Critique" in 1781, the fruit of twelve years' thought, though written out in the short space of four months; of his bachelor home and his curious attachment for his old servant Lampe—of all this, every one who knows anything of recent Kantian literature must already be pretty thoroughly informed. The present biographer goes over these facts again, enters into more minute detail respecting the every-day life of the philosopher, supports his statements with abundant citation of authorities, and, in fact, performs his work with the thoroughness of one who evidently intends to write the standard life of Kant for English readers. Dr. Stuckenberg tells us, of course, for the thousandth time, that it was Hume who first woke Kant from his dogmatic slumbers; but besides tracing his philosophical pedigree in this way back to Scotland, he also shows the influence of early religious impressions upon his subsequent life. Spencer's Pietistic movement was at its height when Kant was born, and though there may seem to be no sympathy between this emotional type of religion and the cold intellectualism of Kant's ethical system, his biographer is, nevertheless, of the opinion that the high place which the conscience had in his philosophy, was due to the



religious training that he received from his mother, and that, adopting the words of another writer, "Pietism forged that brass logical chain whose last link was the categorical imperative."

Kant was about to enter the university when Frederick the Great ascended the throne. The Pietistic influences of his childhood were thenceforth exchanged for the free-thinking influences that were then setting in. The biographer devotes a few pages to the consideration of these, and to the literary revival that was imminent, and proceeds uninterruptedly with the narrative of Kant's life—telling us of his struggles with poverty, of his habits of study, what books he loved; that he was not a specialist but a polymathist; that he disliked music, and had a poor opinion of oratory; his appointment as professor; his marvellous memory; his fund of humor and his fine powers as a conversationalist; his punctilious attention to dress; his unflattering estimate of woman; and, finally, of "Kant's authorship." Chapter VIII. is specially interesting, inasmuch as it gives us the genesis of the "Critique of the Pure Reason," and shows us how prevalent dissatisfaction with the Wolfian philosophy paved the way for its reception; and hence, however, Kant himself was gradually led up to it by his earlier works. Following this, comes the account of the rapid popularity which Kant gained, and the wonderful influence that he exerted—an influence so great, that "Professor Reuss of Wurzburg felt it incumbent on him, in 1792, to prove that the French Revolution did not spring from the Kantian criticism." Kant had his trials, however, even when his popularity was at its height. Some of his intimate friends did not accept his philosophy, and among them Kraus lost no opportunity of ridiculing it. His favorite pupil, Herder, was too independent to be a Kantian; and Fichte, who began his acquaintance with professions of affection, had taken Kant's advice to "stand upon his own feet," in a way which led to a bitter alienation. The subsidence of enthusiasm in regard to Kant's philosophy went on *pari passu* with the decay of Kant's powers, so that long before he died he was unable to read other men's systems or to defend his own. Of the decline of Kantianism, of course it was not necessary for Dr. Stuckenberg to speak, but in view of the cry of "back to Kant," which is now heard on every hand, and which indeed has created the demand which the present volume is intended to supply, he would have been justified in attempting to account for the present Kantian revival. Instead of doing this, however, he has been true to the single purpose of giving us a picture of the man and that immediate environment in which he lived and moved and had his being. Dr. Stuckenberg does well to disavow sympathy with much that is written about Kant that "is not biography, but hero-worship." For Kant's character, in spite of its many virtues, had great imperfections. His neglect of his relations cannot be explained in any way that is creditable to him. His explanation of a certain broken promise, is in strong contrast to his severe ethical theory. He ridiculed prayer, had a low opinion of the Bible, eliminated the supernatural from the Person of Christ, and resolved religion into morality.

F. L. PATTON.

A STUDY OF SPINOZA. By JAMES MARTINEAU, LL.D., D.D., Principal of Manchester New College, London, with a Portrait. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882. pp. 371.

Spinoza, says Auerbach, has fed the thoughts of two centuries. But it is only within a recent period that general attention has been favorably turned toward him. That period began with a certain conversation between Lessing and Jacobi. Up to that time there had been little or no abatement of the *odium theologicum* which led to his excommunication from the synagogue, which inspired the book where some account of him as well as of Hobbes and Lord

Herbert of Cherbury is given under the title *De tribus impostoribus*, and which prompted one Karel Tuinman, a century and a half ago, to say: "Spit on that grave—there lies Spinoza." It is the fashion now to go to the other extreme. Ignorant praise is quite as common to-day as bigoted spite was in former years. Coleridge was certainly saying a great deal when he affirmed that Bacon's "Novum Organum," Spinoza's "Ethic," and Kant's "Critique of the Pure Reason," were the three great books since the introduction of Christianity. Coleridge would find many to-day who would sympathize with his admiration of Spinoza, even if they could not assent to this strong dogmatic statement. Mr. Arnold and Mr. Froude have both given us their estimate of the great philosopher of Amsterdam, and the former has assured us that Spinoza is coming to the front. The celebration of the bicentenary of Spinoza's death, on the 21st of February, 1877—itself a part of the movement of which Mr. Arnold speaks—has also tended perhaps to hasten that movement on. At all events, there have resulted from it the erection of a statue to Spinoza at the Hague, the formation of a Spinoza society, the publication of a new edition of Spinoza's works, and of innumerable contributions to Spinozistic literature. The addresses delivered on the occasion just referred to have been published under the editorship of Professor Knight during the current year. Mr. Pollock's masterly volume appeared two or three years ago. Principal Caird has in hand a monograph on Spinoza, for Blackwood's series of "Philosophical Classics." And now the present volume, intended at first for the same series, but outgrowing the limits assigned to the volumes belonging to it, appears as an independent study of what must be conceded to be a very interesting theme. Dr. Martineau has prepared himself most thoroughly for the execution of his task. He is familiar with the entire range of Spinozistic literature, whether it pertain to questions of biography or of exposition, and his volume, it scarcely need be said, gives evidence on every page of that literary care, and that genius for philosophical expression which invest all his writings with such peculiar charm.

Dr. Martineau deals first with Spinoza's life, and then with his philosophy. Of the sources of his philosophy and his indebtedness to Des Cartes he has little to say, and in regard to these points the pages of Mr. Pollock are more satisfactory. It is easy to understand how the *res cogitans* and the *res extensa* of Des Cartes should, by means of a generalization that blotted out the dualism, be succeeded by the Pantheism of Spinoza. But, in spite of Saisset's attempt to make it clear to us, we do not see why this should make Des Cartes a pantheist. But opinions vary, as is well known, even in regard to Spinoza himself. Some say with Jacobi, that he was an atheist; some, with Hegel, call him an acosmist; some have tried hard to make him out a theist, while the vast majority continue to call him a pantheist. Martineau sides with Jacobi, and if any definite meaning is to be attached to the word *theism* either in its simple or its compound form, Martineau is right. What he says here is worthy of notice:

"The duty of not applying to one a term which he disowns is conditioned on his not altering its meaning in order to disown it: the obligation is reciprocal, resting on a common understanding, and violated by tricks of perversion on either side. The Romans had no right to charge atheism on the early Christians for not believing in Jupiter Capitolinus. On the other hand, it is no valid disclaimer to say, 'I am not an atheist, for I believe in a First Cause,' if that first cause should happen to be hydrogen or other blind element of things. It cannot be desirable that the word 'God' should be thrown into the crucible of metaphysics, and reserved for any caput mortuum that may be left when the essential constituents of its meaning have been dissipated."

Yet Dr. Martineau shows that in the antitheism which resulted from Spinoza's extreme aversion to anthropomorphism, Spinoza was inconsistent with himself. What he says upon this point is so clear and so illustrative of the author's style that we quote it:

"The objection to predicate of 'God' anything that is found in man, comes the less appropriately from Spinoza because his own conception embodied in that word is wholly made up of human predicates; and in no system more than in his do the two natures stand in relation of microcosm and macrocosm. The two known attributes of Extension and Thought are simply the two factors of our own life thrown into universal form. Further, in order to learn the first, we go to school to our own body, and thence, as a base, plant out other bodies in space, and affirm as common to all what is familiar to us at home. Similarly we become acquainted with what Thinking means by the sample of it in ourselves; and though we follow out the *res cogitans* to infinitude, we do but look in our own glass."

Upon another point, the most difficult of all, in the interpretation of Spinoza—the eternity of mind—Dr. Martineau expresses himself with decision, agreeing here with Mr. Pollock, and opposing some modern German critics, who try to show that Spinoza held the doctrine of personal immortality. Here, as in regard to Spinoza's theism, the author of the present volume seems to differ from Mr. William Hale White, who has studied Spinoza enough to give us a very luminous translation of the *Ethic*—a translation, we may add, which has more than satisfied the Horatian canon of *nonumque prematur in annum*, since it has been waiting for the last twenty years for an opportunity to see the light, and the publication of which within the past few months may itself be taken as an indication of renewed interest in Spinoza. We are not sure that we understand Mr. White's exposition of Spinoza's position, but we take his strong recommendation of Schwegler as throwing some light upon it. Schwegler says that Spinoza's doctrine is that of the most abstract theism that can possibly be conceived. He thinks it stands closely related to his Jewish education, and is "an echo of the morning-land."

Dr. Martineau devotes the last chapter of his book to an account of Spinoza's relations to Biblical criticism, revealing here his sympathy with Rationalism, and awakening regret that one who has done such good work as a great religious thinker in his opposition to Materialism and his defence of a *a priori* knowledge, should in his declining days be departing more and more from the supernaturalism of historic Christianity.

His criticism of the *Ethic*, as Mr. Pollock said, who reviewed it in *Mind* (Jan., 1883), "will not be easy reading . . . to a student who has not the text of the 'Ethic' before him." This could not well be otherwise. It is nevertheless a model piece of expository writing.

F. L. PATTON.

WE make brief mention of the following works :

*Ethic* demonstrated in geometrical order and divided into five parts, etc. By Benedict de Spinoza. Translated from the Latin by William Hale Smith. London: Trubner & Co. 1883. pp. 297. This work (referred to above, see notice of Martineau's "Spinoza") is the twenty-first volume of the English and Foreign Philosophical Library. It is handsomely printed, and will doubtless be the standard translation of the *Ethic*.—*Political Economy*. By Arthur Latham Perry, LL.D., Orrin Sage Professor of History and Political Economy in Williams College. Eighteenth edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. pp. 600. A book that has reached its eighteenth edition needs no further recommendation to the public. This is particularly true of this well-known text-book in Political Economy. It should be said, however, that the present edition has been printed from new plates; that the work has been rewritten; that it has been greatly improved since the appearance of the first edition in 1865. In its present form it ought to attract fresh attention, and deserves an extended notice by one who has a right to an opinion in regard to the subjects of which it treats.—*Kant's Prolegomena and Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science*. Translated from the original, with a biography and introduction. By Ernest Belfort Box. With a portrait of Kant. London: George Bell & Sons. 1883. pp. 254. A readable biography



of Kant, and an appreciative essay on Kant's position in philosophy occupy one hundred and nine pages of this volume. Following this is a translation of the "Prolegomena," a work written after the "Critique," and designed by Kant to be an abstract of it; and the "Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science," which is here presented in an English dress for the first time. The volume belongs to the Bohn Series, and is a very fitting companion to Meiklejohn's translation of the "Critique of the Pure Reason."—*Topics of the Time*. Studies in Literature. Edited by Titus Munson Coan. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1883. Paper, pp. 267. This is the third volume in the series just named; previous volumes being devoted respectively to Social Problems and Biographical Studies. Well-printed, well-edited, and cheap. Price, 25 cents.

F. L. PATTON.

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