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THE BIBLE AND EGYPTOLOGY.

By EDWARD NAVILLE, of Geneva.

THE excavations which have been made within the last twenty years by Mariette and his successor, Professor Maspero, and quite recently by the Anglo-American Society, and the Egypt Exploration Fund, have contributed to throw a great deal of light on the points of contact between Scripture and Egyptology. Those points are chiefly: the arrival of Abraham in Egypt, the rise of Joseph, the stay of the Israelites in the country, and lastly the Exodus.

I. The opinion generally admitted now by most of the living Egyptologists is that the arrival of Abraham and the settlement of the children of Israel took place at a time when Egypt was governed not by native pharaohs, but by those who are well known in history under the name of HYKSOS.<sup>1</sup> About 2300 to 2500 B.C., when the kingdom of Egypt had already lasted about 2,000 years, the country was invaded by foreign nomads whom the Greek writers have called either Barbarians or Shepherds. Their name, the HYKSOS, consists, as they say, of two Egyptian words which mean *princes of shepherds* or *nomads*. They took possession of the country by violent means, and the tradition of the depredations which they committed lasted up to a late epoch; but in the end they fell subject to the influence of the more civilised nations

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<sup>1</sup> It is not the place to state here why I cannot agree with the view advocated by Dr. A. Kellogg in his learned book, *Abraham, Joseph, and Moses in Egypt*.

over which they ruled, and the last Hyksos dynasty adopted the language, the architecture, and most of the customs of the Egyptians. Their God was *Set*, or *Sutekh*, an Asiatic divinity, the worship of which was preserved in the Delta even by the native kings of the XIXth dynasty long after the Hyksos had been driven out.

It is not possible to give a definite answer to the question where the Hyksos came from ; they have been called Phœnicians or Arabs. It is certain that they came from the east, but that they were not Semites, or at least their kings were not. The monuments which they have left, and which have been discovered at Tanis first, and quite recently at Bubastis, have a type of face which is certainly not Egyptian, but which is not Semitical, and which must be considered as belonging to Asia with a certain likeness to the Mongoloid type. It is highly probable that the invasion of the Hyksos in Egypt must be connected with the conquest of Lower Mesopotamia by the Elamites. Either the Elamites went as far as the valley of the Nile, or they drove before them a mixed crowd consisting of Turanian and Semitical elements which made the conquest of Egypt ; for it is evident that if the Hyksos princes were not Semites themselves, they were accompanied in Egypt by nations of that race which already under the preceding pharaonic dynasties came in great numbers to settle in the country. The fact that the Hyksos came from Mesopotamia may have contributed to dispose their kings favourably towards Hebrews like Abraham or Jacob, also Mesopotamians, who came to take shelter in their kingdom.

The Christian chronographer, Syncellus, says that all historians unanimously agree in stating that it was under King Apophis that Joseph reached the high dignity which is described in Genesis. We know two Hyksos kings of that name ; the most famous is the second, very likely the last, or one of the last, foreign rulers. He began against the Theban princes a war, the result of which was to deliver Egypt from the foreign yoke. At the time of Apophis, the Hyksos were no more the barbarians who had waged destruction over the

country with fire and sword. They were civilised kings governing a state the appearance of which must have been very similar to that of the native Egyptians. Their dominion did not extend over all Egypt; they occupied the Delta, very likely also the Fayoom, but they did not go beyond. Upper Egypt was under the sway of native princes who were the stock of the XVIIth dynasty.

With the language and the writing of the old Egyptians the last Hyksos kings adopted also the custom of enclosing their name in a line of oval form, called a *cartouche*, and which with the old Egyptians is the certain sign of a royal name. We have found repeatedly the name of Apophis, or, as it written in Egyptian, Apepi, the king of Joseph. It is first on statues and sphinxes discovered by Mariette at Tanis. The statues are evidently older than Apepi, and have been usurped by him; as for the sphinxes, they bear the character of what has been called Hyksos art. The working itself is absolutely Egyptian, but the type of physiognomy is quite different from the Egyptian. The face is wide, with very high cheek-bones, the nose is broad and curved, the mouth with stout lips strongly projecting. It might have been asked whether this was not a local art special to Tanis, and whether the sphinxes themselves were not also usurped monuments, which must be referred to an older epoch. All doubt is now removed by the discoveries which have been made lately at Bubastis.

The numerous travellers journeying from Cairo towards the Suez Canal, skirt close to the station of Zagazig, extensive mounds covered with walls built with crude bricks. Long trains of camels and donkeys go to and fro, carrying what the fellaheen call *sebakh*, the soil formed by decayed bricks, which constitutes a very good manure. The mounds, as they are dug up every day by thousands of Arabs, go on constantly diminishing. However, they still cover an area of several hundred acres; it is all that remains of the city of Bubastis, the abode of the lion-headed goddess Bast, the city which is mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel under the name of Pi-beseth.

Near the centre stood a temple which Herodotus had seen, and which he describes fully, praising its remarkable elegance. The ruins have quite lately been uncovered. The excavations which have been made there during the winter 1888 have shown that Bubastis was an important settlement of the Hyksos, and that their kings had raised there very large constructions. The cartouche of king Apepi has been found on a door-post, and it is to him undoubtedly that must be attributed two colossal statues, now broken to pieces, but which formerly adorned the entrance of the temple on the east side. The original cartouches no more exist; they have been erased first by Rameses II., who substituted his own name; but who had to undergo the same treatment from one of his successors, Osorkon II. However, the Hyksos type of the sphinxes of Tanis is so well marked on both statues that it is impossible not to recognise the same art and the same race as at Tanis. Those statues represent kings seated; they are made of black granite, and must have had a height of from 12 to 15 feet. It is only a powerful king who may have erected monuments of such large dimension; therefore it is natural to attribute them to Apepi, the king of Joseph. Close to the place where stood the cartouche of Apepi, the king whom the Christian tradition considers as having been the king of Joseph, has been discovered the lower part of a statue of a king absolutely unknown till now, king *Raian*. It is doubtful whether he was a Hyksos king, but it is very curious that the Arab tradition relates that the king under whom Joseph rose to his high dignity was called *Raian ibn waleed*; there is thus identity of names.

The king whose minister Joseph was did not reign over all Egypt; his power did not extend very far south of Memphis; and when it is spoken in the sacred text of the whole land, it must be understood as meaning only the Delta and part of the neighbouring territory. Formulas of that kind are often employed in speaking of Oriental sovereigns, even of Apepi himself, of whom a papyrus says that the whole earth paid him tribute.

Joseph, it must be remarked, was a purely civil dignitary;

he does not seem to have had anything to do with the military caste. Such high officials are sometimes met with in paintings or sculptures; they were the controllers of the income and of the produce of the soil, and they wore the curious title of "the eyes and the ears of the king."

The geographical researches made in the Delta have led us to recognise the original site of the land of Goshen, which was given to the Israelites as their abode. The traveller who leaves the station of Zagazig and journeys towards Tel-el-Kebir crosses, in all its width, what was the old land of Goshen. This part of the country is still now particularly fruitful; it abounds in fine villages, the sheiks, and even the common inhabitants of which are generally very well off. The railway skirts a canal which opens near Aboo Hamad into the large fresh-water canal, the Ismaïlieh. At a distance of six miles from Zagazig the traveller, if it is Wednesday, will see on the right side of the canal a mound of crude bricks covered by a motley crowd; it is the market of Saft-el-Henneh, which takes place on the ruin of an ancient city, Phacusa, the capital of the Arabian nome, the central spot of the land of Goshen.

The exact site of Goshen has been the object of many discussions. Most authors have located it in the eastern part of the Delta, on the road to the Red Sea, and also on the way which the family of Jacob is supposed to have followed in going from Palestine to Egypt. Generally speaking, too large an extent has been attributed to that region. The name of Goshen exists in Egyptian. In the list of nomes or provinces which are preserved on the walls of the temples, and which generally belong to the Ptolemaic or Roman epoch, we find in the XXth nome of Lower Egypt a nome bearing the name of a divinity, the god Sopt; there is also a district called *Kesem*, a name which corresponds to the Γέσση by which the Septuagint have transcribed the Hebrew Goshen. The district of Kesem, at the time when the lists have been written, was part of the administrative division of the XXth nome. But if we refer to older documents, to the rare lists which have come down to us from the time of the

XIXth dynasty, we see that the administrative organization of the land was far from being completed as it was later. The number of nomes or provinces of the Delta was smaller, and especially the nome of Sopt did not exist. Thus it was not yet a distinct province, having its capital and its government ; it was a region depending from the nome of Heliopolis, irrigated by the water which came from that nome, and very likely not very densely peopled. The irrigation not being as well regulated as in the well-cultivated parts of the land, Goshen must have consisted of marshes and pasture land particularly well adapted to the flocks which the Israelites brought with them, even more than those parts of the country where agriculture was better managed. Besides, that land must have been more or less vague, without any definite owner, as it is the case at the present day in the eastern part of the Delta, where the Bedouins drive their cattle ; and it could be given to the Israelites without spoiling settled inhabitants and regular possessors of the soil.

The area which I have indicated for the land of Goshen, viz., the region extending between Zagazig, Belbeis, and Tel-el-Kebir, corresponds exactly to the data furnished by two ancient translators of Genesis, Saadiah and Aboo Said. It is Goshen, properly speaking, the land which was first attributed to the Israelites for themselves and for the flocks of the king. If, as the last excavations have proved, Bubastis (Zagazig) was an important Hyksos settlement where the king undoubtedly often took his residence, it was in the immediate vicinity of the court, and a natural spot to be selected by Joseph for his father and his brethren to dwell in. Later on, the name of Goshen extended further ; the Israelites, increasing in number, were compelled to cross the borders of the limited district, where they first had been settled, and to spread towards the east along the canal to the Red Sea, near which, as we know from the papyri, there was good pasture land very useful to the nomads of the Sinaitic peninsula, and also towards the south along the canal, which, leaving Heliopolis, watered the land of Goshen. The name of Goshen has wandered with them, and it has been applied to all the region inhabited by

the Israelites, which extended on the south as far as Heliopolis, on the east to the Red Sea, and on the north perhaps as far as Tanis, the capital of the Hyksos. It was very near the province *Sharkieh* of the present day. Later again, we do not know exactly when, the administrative organization was completed, and nomes were formed with what had been before a space without fixed limits; then Goshen, instead of referring to a region more or less vague, became a district of the nome of Arabia, the nome of Phacusa. Such was the meaning of this name at the time when the Septuagint made their translation.

From the Septuagint also we can fix the place where Jacob and Joseph met together after their long separation. While the Hebrew text says simply,<sup>1</sup> "Jacob sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to shew the way before him unto Goshen," the Septuagint evidently desire to record the ancient tradition of their time, and they mention that the place where father and son saw each other was Heroopolis in the land of Raamses. We know now exactly from the excavations made in 1883 that Heroopolis was on the site of the present Tel-el-Maskhutah, about twelve miles east of Ismaïlieh, near the canal.

II. The Scripture is absolutely silent on the events which took place shortly after Joseph's death, and which resulted in a total change in the state of the Israelites and the disposition of the Egyptians towards them. "Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph." These are the only words alluding to the great revolution, after which the royal power passed into other hands. Apepi, as we know from a papyrus, quarrelled with the native prince who reigned at Thebes. A war broke out, and lasted probably for years; but it ended in the defeat of the Hyksos, although the Egyptian king Raskenen was killed in battle. His mummy was found a few years ago with a great many other royal mummies in the hiding-place of Deir-el-Bahari. It is now deposited at the Boolak Museum, where it has been unrolled. It is easy to see that the king

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvi. 28.

was struck while fighting ; the blow of an axe has smashed his cheekbone, and a spear penetrating through his forehead has been the cause of his death. It was necessary to embalm hastily his body, which had perhaps been wrested from the enemy ; and his face still bears an expression of ferocity which he must have had when he fell.

The expulsion of the Hyksos was not accomplished in one single war nor by one king. It was Thothmes III., the great king of the XVIIIth dynasty, who finally delivered the country, and who subdued the Asiatics who remained in the country. Thus the royal power was in the hands of native sovereigns, who had no reason to feel any sympathy for the Hebrews ; for the Israelites were of the same race as many of the detested strangers, and of the Asiatic nomads, against whom the kings had continually to fight. The pharaohs might fear that some day the Hebrews would make common cause with them, and "join unto their enemies," to use the language of Scripture. Besides, the pharaohs must have been tempted to employ them, as they did all their prisoners. On a famous picture in a tomb of the time of Thothmes III. are seen strangers of a well-marked Semitical type, who are occupied in making bricks under the supervision of Egyptian overseers. It is not said that they are Hebrews, and the fact of their being called prisoners would rather lead us to think that they belonged to another nation ; but what is there represented is only what happened to them under subsequent reigns. The persecutor applied to them the rule which had long been in force with beaten enemies : he treated them like slaves, and, what must have been specially painful to them, he changed their manner of life and their occupations. They had always been shepherds, their life was to drive flocks and to breed cattle ; he compelled them to be masons, which was contrary to all their traditions.

The king who, above others, was the persecutor of the Israelites must have been the king Rameses II., he whose high deeds are celebrated in the legends of the Greeks under the name of Sesostris. He is the second king of the XIXth



dynasty ; he reigned very long (sixty-seven years), and he left many more monumental traces in the country than any other king. Not because he was the greatest or the most powerful, or because his reign was marked by very glorious achievements ; from all we know of his character he was vain and boastful, desirous to dazzle his contemporaries and future generations ; his chief ambition seems to have been to inscribe his name everywhere, on the monuments he raised himself as well as on those of his predecessors, whose works he liked to usurp, setting thus an example which afterwards proved sometimes detrimental to his own monuments.

The history of his reign is among the best known to us. When he was still a child his father Seti I. granted him exceptional honours, and gave him titles which might induce us to think that he was associated to the throne ; however, it was not the case. Quite young he took part in the wars which his father made during the last years of his reign against the Arabs and against the western enemies of the kingdom, the Libyans. Rameses must have been more than thirty years old when he succeeded to his father, and he very soon turned his weapons against the eastern nations, the *Khetas*, or *Hittites* of Scripture. Seti I. had already fought those formidable adversaries, the history of whom begins to be better known, and who, in those remote epochs, had an importance which until lately we did not even suspect. They originated from the Amanus, the range of mountains which separates Syria from Asia Minor. They had a well-marked Caucasian type, a fair complexion, with black hair. Their first expeditions seem to have been directed towards Asia Minor, where they extended very far north and west. Afterwards, when the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty were already reigning in Egypt, they marched south of the Amanus, and began their conquests in the north of Syria, and in Mesopotamia, where they subdued the populations whose land they had invaded.

Lately a great number of Hittite monuments have been discovered either in Syria or in Asia Minor. They consist of sculptures and inscriptions written in hieroglyphs which have

some likeness to the Egyptian. Several scholars are now engaged in attempting to decipher those inscriptions, but at present no absolutely certain result has as yet been attained. The god of the Khetas was Sutekh, who had sanctuaries in all the most important cities. Sutekh is a Semitic divinity which had been the god of the Hyksos.

In the fifth year of his reign Rameses II. started from Egypt, marched through Palestine, which seems to have been under his rule, and reached the valley of the Orontes, where stood the city of Kadesh. There the king of the Khetas had collected a considerable number of troops; his army was composed of populations which were subjected to him, and also of allies who made common cause with him against the foreign invader. The war against the Khetas is described in one of the chief monuments of Egyptian literature, called the poem of Pentaur. It is a composition in poetical style, relating an act of valour of the king himself. Whether the king valued very much this composition, or whether, what is more likely, he was very proud of his great feat of arms, he caused the poem of Pentaur to be engraved on several of the temples of Upper Egypt, and, as it has come down to us also on a papyrus, we have several copies of this document.

Pentaur relates that the king, led astray by the false reports of two Shasu (Bedouins), took the start of the rest of his army, and alone in his chariot with his driver found himself suddenly surrounded by a multitude of enemies. Then he called on the god of Thebes, Amon, who gave him a supernatural gallantry, and enabled him to cut his way among his foes, who, amazed at such bravery, thought him to be a god. The next day the Egyptian army desirous to wipe away the disgrace of having abandoned the king, gained a great victory before Kadesh, and the prince of Kheta was compelled to ask for peace. The complete submission and the humiliating peace which is described by Pentaur does not agree with the historical data which we gather from other monuments. It is certain that very far from having subdued the Khetas, and having reduced them to the state of subjects or vassals, Rameses II., a few years afterwards, concluded

with them an honourable peace, in which the king of Kheta treated with him on equal terms. The war had lasted fourteen years; Rameses was in the twenty-first year of his reign when the two rivals thought fit to put an end to their undecided and ruinous struggle. The original draft of the treaty was written in the language of the Khetas on a silver tablet; the Egyptian translation has been preserved on two walls of the temple of Karnak. From the Egyptian document we see that it was brought to Rameses by Hittite messengers; it recalls the peace which had been made before between the fathers of the two contracting parties, and renews it for ever; the conditions of alliance, as well as the clause of extradition, are very minute and circumstantial. As is often the case in eastern countries, the peace was sealed by a marriage; the daughter of the king of the Khetas, the beautiful *Matneferura*, entered the harem of Rameses.

It does not appear that the last forty years of the reign of Rameses were very much agitated. It is likely that they were passed in peace, and devoted by him to the innumerable constructions which bear his name, and which are seen all along the valley of the Nile from Abu Simbel to the Mediterranean. I should like to mention only two of the largest cities of the Delta, Tanis and Bubastis; and also the cities which Scripture especially attributes to the Hebrews, Raamses and Pithom.

The mounds of Sân (Tanis) are situate near the spot where the canal Muizz reaches Lake Menzaleh; all around extends a vast plain of marshland, which is all that remains of what Scripture calls the garden of Egypt. When, after a long and monotonous ride, the traveller reaches the miserable village of fishermen which is built at the foot of the mounds, and when he has ascended to the top of the first slope formed by the old enclosure wall, he has before his eyes one of the most striking sight of ruins which is to be found in Egypt. Everything is ruined and destroyed; there are hardly two stones one over the other; but the immense space covered with gigantic blocks of red granite, the numerous overthrown obelisks, the broken columns and statues, of which a great

number are to be seen—all that shattered magnificence makes a powerful impression on the beholder. It is evident that Tanis, which Scripture says was founded seven years after Hebron,<sup>1</sup> was one of the favourite residences of Rameses II., who took pleasure in adorning it with costly buildings. Several Egyptologists even thought that Tanis was the city which a papyrus calls the city of Rameses, and of which it celebrates the remarkable beauty. Rameses has not been its actual founder; it goes up to the VIth dynasty, and we have seen that it was the capital of the Hyksos. Nevertheless, Rameses granted to Tanis special favours, and maintained there the worship of Set, the Hyksos god, as he did in other places of the Delta. He even raised there a monument, quite unique, which never had its like, and which gives a good idea of what was the character of Rameses II. A few years ago Mr. Flinders Petrie, making excavations at Tanis, found there a few fragments of a monolithic colossus, representing the king standing, which must have measured more than 90 feet in height and weighed about 900 tons. The statue has been overthrown and cut to pieces by following dynasties, but at the time when it was standing it “must have been the glory of the capital of the Delta, towering above all the surrounding buildings, a figure seen for miles across the plain as the sign of power and magnificence of the great Rameses; a colossus unsurpassed by any monolith of previous or later times.”<sup>2</sup> Before this colossus also took place what the 78th Psalm calls ‘the marvellous things He did in the sight of their fathers in the land of Egypt in the fields of Zoan.’”

More to the south stood a city which had a great likeness with Tanis, although its temple was on smaller proportions, Bubastis. It existed already under the IVth dynasty, and, later, was inhabited by the Hyksos. It has certainly been also one of the chief residences of Rameses; and if we think of the beauty of its temple and the number of its inhabitants, it may be considered as a rival of Tanis, and we might also

<sup>1</sup> Num. xiii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Flinders Petrie, *Tanis I.*, p. 24.

apply to Bubastis the eulogy made to the Egyptian scribe of the city of Rameses. Few towns have, I believe, contained in their temple as many statues of this king. It is likely that a good number of those which have been discovered are only usurpations, but others belonged undoubtedly to him; and if we reckon all that has been destroyed during centuries, one cannot help being surprised at the great number of his images which he took pleasure in raising. Evidently Rameses II. must have taken his abode there repeatedly, as well as his son Menepthah, the king of the exodus. There also the worship of Set was in great honour.

At a short distance from his favourite residences, especially the last, Rameses could see a strange nation, the Hebrews, who had peopled the land of Goshen, and as they increased greatly in number had extended much beyond in the Wadi Tumilat and towards the south. This foreign race had not amalgamated with the natives, and one may well understand that its rapid increase would inspire some apprehension to the pharaoh who during a long time had struggled against the Eastern Asiatics. Therefore, he attempted to employ them in the numerous works with which he covered the country. The Bible describes in the following words the fear which overtook the pharaoh:<sup>1</sup> "And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we: come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and so fight against us, and, get them up out of the land. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses."

Of these two cities there is one, Raamses, of which we do not know yet the exact site. Pithom has been discovered, and we know the description of the city in the construction of which the Hebrews were employed.

On the south side of the fresh-water canal, which runs

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<sup>1</sup> Exod. i. 9.

from Cairo to Suez, about twelve miles from Ismailieh, are the ruins of abandoned houses, which were one of the chief settlements of the engineers who dug the canal. The place is called Tel-el-Maskhutah, the mound of the statue, from a monolithic group in red granite representing the king seated between two gods. While the place was inhabited it had a railway station, and was called Ramsès. This name had been attributed to it by Lepsius, who, from the fact that Rameses was seen sitting between two gods, thought it to be one of the places where he was worshipped, and that it must have been named after him. The excavations which have been made there in 1883 have brought to light a considerable number of inscriptions, which show that Tel-el-Maskhutah was not Raameses, but Pithom, *i.e.*, the temple or the abode of Tum; that its civil name, and that of the district around, was Thuku, or Thukut, which the Hebrews have changed into Succoth, and that under the Ptolemies and the Romans it was called Heroopolis and Ero Castra.

The most interesting remains at Pithom exist in a square area of about 55,000 square yards, enclosed by enormous brick walls. It might have been thought at first that it was the temenos, or sacred ground of the temple; but the temple itself covered only a small part of the area, and all the rest was occupied by buildings, no indications of which appeared above the sand before I began to excavate. They consist of thick walls built of crude bricks, joined by a thin layer of mortar, which form a great number of rectangular chambers of various sizes, none of which had any communication with each other, and the access to which was only from the top. Those chambers seem to have been built for no other purpose than that of storehouses or granaries, where the pharaohs gathered the provisions necessary for armies about to cross the desert, or even for caravans and travellers on the road to Syria. The fact of their being granaries has been confirmed by the discovery made by Mr. Flinders Petrie, at Naucratis, of storehouses exactly on the same plan. Pithom was, therefore, a store city, and as, owing to its very strong enclosure and its heavy walls, it could easily be defended as a fortress, or even turned

into a camp, the name of fortified city, which is applied by the Septuagint to Raamses and Pithom, is also justified. Another point which was established by the discovery of Pithom is that it was Rameses II. who was the builder of the city, at least in the sense in which the Egyptian kings called themselves founders. Pithom possibly existed long before him, but he enlarged it considerably and built the storehouses. I have mentioned that the civil name of Pithom and of the neighbouring district was *Thuku*, or *Thukut*. The eminent German Egyptologist, Brugsch, first suggested that this word might be the Egyptian equivalent of Succoth. Names of that kind passing from one language to another are generally not translated even if they have a sense. They keep very much the same form ; the people to whose language it does not belong are guided only by the likeness of the sound, and give to the name a form which has in their own language a meaning possibly quite different from its original sense. Thus we must not wonder if the Egyptian Thukut has nothing to do with the meaning of tents of the Hebrew Succoth. We know now the first station of the Israelites, a station which is very appropriately given as a district and not as a city.

Pithom, in later times, became Heroopolis, or *Ero Castra*. This is a very important fact in reference to the geography of the Isthmus of Suez. All ancient authors agree that Heroopolis was situate at the head of the Arabian Gulf, called also Heroopolitan. We are thus compelled to conclude that the Red Sea extended a great deal more north than it does at present. This seems to be a generally admitted point among scholars, and especially among travellers who have been on the spot. The opinions differ as to the limits of the extent ; some think that it ended at the northern end of the present Bitter Lakes, at least in historical times, while others, what seems to be more probable, admit that it comprised also Lake Timsah. Whatever opinion is adopted, it changes considerably the views which have been prevailing for a long time as to the crossing of the Red Sea. Whether it took place north or south of the Bitter Lakes, it was through shallow water, which would be now dry land, except for the Suez Canal, and

not through a deep sea, like the present gulf south of Suez.

III. Let us now consider the great event of the exodus and the passage of the Red Sea in the light of the late discoveries. Rameses II. was dead; the old warrior whose face may now be contemplated in the Boolak museum had been buried in his tomb in the Theban mountains; his throne was occupied by his thirteenth son, Menepthah, a general who, as we know from the inscriptions, dwelt much in the Delta, especially at Tanis and Bubastis. But the kingdom was much weakened by the long wars which Rameses II. had waged without much result against his Asiatic neighbours, and also by his tyrannical and wasteful rule; so much so, that in the fifth year of Menepthah a coalition of nations of the Mediterranean invaded Egypt, and very nearly reached Memphis. It is during the troubles and the difficulties which beset Menepthah in the beginning of his reign that the exodus must have taken place.

It is said that the Israelites started from Raamses and marched to Succoth. The name of Raamses must not be taken here as that of a city. It must be considered as a district, and in this case is synonymous with Goshen. The first station is Succoth, the neighbourhood of Tel-el-Mashkutah, a few miles from the present station of Nefisheh. They have evidently followed the fresh-water canal which at that time watered the city of Pithom. If they push straight on, they have no sea in front of them, they are on the road followed by Jacob and his children. But they receive the command to change their course so as to have the sea between themselves and the desert. One thing is remarkable in the order given to the Israelites, the minuteness with which the locality is described in which they are to place their camp: <sup>1</sup> "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn and encamp before Pi-ha-hiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea."



The geographical data are not vague as elsewhere ; one certain place is indicated, very likely because it was known before that the phenomenon which allowed the Israelites to go through the sea took place at that spot. It has often been observed by travellers in Egypt, especially near Lake Bourlos and Lake Menzaleh, that under the influence of a strong wind the sea goes back and leaves a dry space, which is covered up again when the wind changes its direction. Like the plagues of Egypt, which are nearly all to be seen, more or less, at the present time, it is natural to suppose that the dividing of the sea was something which was not unexampled ; the miraculous element consisting here, as in many other cases, in the fact that the phenomenon took place at the right moment, ended when it was necessary, and attained proportions that were not usual. Thus we may imagine that in the shallow water, which was north or south of the Bitter Lakes, something of the same kind occurred as is now seen in several parts of Lower Egypt.

As for the spot where the passage took place, there are at present two different ideas. One, advocated by Ebers, Professor Godet, Sir W. Dawson, and others, makes them pass south of the Bitter Lakes, in the neighbourhood of Shaloo. The chief objection to this theory seems to be that the Israelites would have had to pass a ridge of mountains of not inconsiderable height, the Ghebel Gheneffe, with the peak Shebrewet, which would have been a serious obstacle for a large multitude. It is more natural to admit, with Lieblein, Linant, and the man who knows best the Isthmus, Lesseps, that the passage took place north of the Bitter Lakes, near the present Serapeum. I believe that the slightly undulating desert around it, which has all the appearance of an ancient sea, witnessed that great deliverance, and the hills on the side of Asia which are now called Ghebel Miriam may have seen the women going out with timbrels and with dances, while Moses' sister answered : " Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously ; the horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea."

EDWARD NAVILLE.

## JEWISH PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC WRITINGS.

IN the times immediately preceding and succeeding the commencement of the Christian era there arose among the Jews a style of writing to which the name Pseudepigraphic has been given, because most of the works so composed appeared under the assumed name of some famous person. They must not be considered in the light of literary forgeries ; they are not like Macpherson with his Ossian, or Chatterton with his Rowley, fraudulent attempts at imposture ; but the authors, having something to say which they deemed worthy of the attention of contemporaries, put it forth under the ægis of a great name, not to deceive, but to conciliate favour. A writer who ventured to appropriate a celebrated title would take care to satisfy the expectation raised by his pseudonym, and readers would believe that no one would dare to challenge comparison with a great original who was not qualified to enact the character assumed. The most familiar instance is, perhaps, the book known as the Wisdom of Solomon, wherein the writer assumes the person of the great Israelite King, certainly with no idea of deceiving his readers (for the language of the treatise, the date and place of its composition, alike forbid any notion of fraud), but with the view of supporting his opinions by the highest authority, and as embodying sentiments which are such as the son of David might have enunciated. Such a use of fiction has been common in all ages ; it is found in classical authors. Plato and Cicero introduced real characters as vehicles for supporting or opposing their views. The Old Testament authors do not prefix their names to their works, as they write not for self-glorification, but to serve far higher purposes. The only exception to this rule is found in the case of the prophets, whose names and credentials were necessarily required, in order to give weight and credibility to their announcements. In accordance with

this practice the uninspired Apocalyptic writers publish their visions and lucubrations under the appellation of some earlier worthy, whom with transparent impersonation they introduce into their compositions. They might also claim the authority of the titles of many books in the Old Testament which are presented under the names of authors who certainly did not write them. No one supposes that Ruth or Esther composed the books which bear their names, and very little of the two books of Samuel are the work of that prophet. The Psalmists adopted the designations of David, or Asaph, or the sons of Korah, because they echoed the spirit or employed the forms found in their prototypes. Those who followed the footsteps of such, without their claim to inspiration, thought themselves justified in winning attention to their utterances by adventitious means, and boldly personated the eminent characters in whose spirit they wrote.

At the cessation of prophecy among the Jews, when no longer the utterances of inspired seers denounced abuses, pointed the right way, or proclaimed the will of God, great attention was paid by devout men to the study and interpretation of Canonical Scripture. In contrast with the heathenism of surrounding nations, the Hebrew pored over his Heaven-sent law, and, by attention thereto, confirmed his abhorrence of idolatry and his adherence to his monotheistic faith. The degradation of Israel under its pagan oppressors, and the temporary triumph of the chosen people in the Maccabean period, gave rise to the Apocalyptic literature of which we are speaking. From the storm and tumult and confusion of their own times good men looked forward to a reign of peace and happiness, and strove to impart their own hopes to their desponding countrymen. Taking their tone from, and founding their views upon, the ancient prophets, and more especially employing the imagery and developing the annunciations of Daniel, these writers, under various forms, and with very different success, gradually put forth their notions of the future, and anticipate the kingdom of Messiah. Often in their treatises they enter on the history of the past, putting their words into the mouth of an ancient prophet; but all such

details are preparatory to the predictive portion, and lead up to this important element. The grand destiny which awaits Israel fills their minds ; they dream of an universal judgment, followed by the supremacy of the chosen people ; they are fired with an enthusiasm which is not fettered by probabilities, and they boldly announce events as certain which they have no real claim to foretell, and which nothing but an imaginative and ardent zeal could have induced them to publish.

The value of these writings is considerable, and this, for many reasons ; but that which chiefly concerns us is the light which they throw upon Jewish belief at the most important era. Those which are plainly antecedent to Christian times have their own special utility ; while the later productions, which belong to the first Christian centuries, show the influence of new ideas even on those who retained their affection for the old religion. And both series are necessary for every study of the religious history of the Jews. It is perhaps true that this Apocalyptic literature was regarded with little favour by the Rabbinic schools, and no dogmatic authority was attributed to it ; but it can be used as indicating current thought, just as we refer to any contemporary document to denote popular opinion, though it be not stamped with the authority of a teaching body. The number of these writings which are still extant, and the many more of which the titles only have remained to our times, prove the wide prevalence of the feelings which are embodied in them, and the profound impression which such thoughts had made on the hearts of the people. Omitting the works which either in whole or in part have been submitted to modern criticism, we have notices of the existence of many other Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic compositions, whose titles pretty fairly explain their contents. Of course, very many of the works enumerated in the catalogues of extra-canonical writings are of Christian origin ; but even these are framed on the same lines as the earlier, and very often repeat the ideas and give expression to the hopes found in the others. In the Fourth Book of Esdras, which is called the Second in our English Bibles, the sacred books are counted as ninety-four, twenty

two of which would be the received items of the Jewish Canon, and seventy-two Apocryphal. These last, which in round numbers are called seventy, were directed to be reserved for the wise among the people; "for in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge."<sup>1</sup> Hilgenfeld<sup>2</sup> reckons the number of those whose titles have survived at thirty-six. Many of these however would scarcely come under our view as Jewish productions, being of gnostic or heretical origin, and are rather to be reckoned among New Testament Pseudepigrapha. The term applied to the books with which we are concerned is used by Jerome in allusion to the Wisdom of Solomon, and has thence come to be employed for the whole class, though not strictly true of them all. In his preface to the Books of Solomon, Jerome says, "Fertur et Panæretos Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius pseudepigraphus, qui Sapiencia Salomonis inscribitur." Not that Jerome invented the word which so happily describes such productions. It is found in Greek authors long before his time. Thus Polybius (*Hist.*, xxiv. 5, 5) calls the tricky and unreliable Messenian, Deinocrates, ψευδεπίγραφος καὶ ῥωπικός. Spuriousness of authorship belongs to most of the series, and is a mark of the writings which were produced in such luxuriance towards the time of the commencement of the Christian era; and a term denoting this peculiarity may well be adopted as their designation.

The documents fall naturally into three classes. The first, of which few representatives have reached us, may be called Lyrical. There is a spurious production of this nature assigned to David in the Apostolical Constitutions (vi. 16), but it is no longer extant. The only important contribution to this class is the Psalter of Solomon, a collection of eighteen Psalms, written originally in Hebrew, about half a century before the Christian era, but known to us only in a Greek version. They are conceived in the spirit of Old Testament prophecy, and are designed to console the Jews under national calamity by confirming their faith in future retribution and Messianic hopes.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Esdr. xiv. 44-47.

<sup>2</sup> In Herzog's *Encyklop.*, xii. 341 ff. (ed. 1883).

The second class may be called prophetic, and may be divided into two sections composed respectively of Apocalypses and Testaments. Apocalyptic writings are very numerous, the most celebrated being the Fourth Book of Esdras and the Book of Enoch. There are many others which are most interesting, and claim notice at our hands. The Assumption of Moses is the document from which, according to Origen, St. Jude borrowed his allusion to Michael's dispute with Satan about the body of Moses. It consists of an address of the great lawgiver to his successor Joshua, enunciating the future fate of Israel, partly historical down to the author's time, and partly predictive. The Apocalypse of Baruch is a different work from the Book of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy in our English Apocrypha. Written originally in Greek, it has been preserved only in Syriac and Latin versions. It contains a series of *post facto* predictions supposed to be uttered by Baruch about the time of the first destruction of Jerusalem, and a revelation of the reign and judgment of Messiah. The Ascension and Vision of Isaiah describe the martyrdom of the prophet by his being sawn asunder, an allusion to which is supposed to be made in Heb. xi. 37, and contain an account of what he saw when rapt to heaven. The above are the works which have come to us in a more or less perfect shape. There are many others of which we know little more than the titles, which indeed are often very similar to those of extant productions, but appertain to distinct works. There is a Prophecy and Revelation of the holy and beloved prophet Esdras, another of Baruch; then Elijah, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Habakkuk, Zechariah, have each their special Apocalypses; a spurious Daniel also is mentioned; and Adam, Lamech, Moses, and Abraham are not unrepresented, but contribute their revelations. Hermas Pastor<sup>1</sup> refers to a prophecy of Eldad and Modat which was well known in the early Church; but this with many others has perished long ago; and the vague allusions to such works in the pages of the Fathers and in some ancient catalogues of Scripture do not allow us

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<sup>1</sup> *Vis.*, ii. 3, 4.

to judge of their contents and character. Among the productions which assume the Testamentary form we have the titles only of some, *e.g.*, the Diathekè of the Protoplast, of Jacob, Moses, Hezekiah, Adam, Noah, Solomon, Abraham; the last prayer and blessing of Joseph; but the work of this nature that is still extant is called the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. This is an account of the lives of the sons of Jacob, containing many legendary particulars not found in Scripture, revelations of the future, and Messianic predictions.

The third class takes a historical or Haggadistic character. Its chief representative is the Book of Jubilees, or Micro-Genesis, an enlarged account of Biblical History down to the institution of the Passover, with the chronology reduced to Jubilee periods. Other works of which little is known are these: the History of Jannes and Jambres, the magicians who opposed Moses at the Court of Pharaoh; the Conversion of Manasses, a different work from the Prayer of Manasses in our Apocrypha; the Life of Adam; the Revelation of Adam; the Repentance of Adam; the Daughters of Adam; the Gospel of Eve; the Story of Asenath, Joseph's wife, and that of Noria, the wife of Noah.

We have omitted mention of the Sibylline oracles, not because they are of less importance than other works, but because they partake of the nature of all three classes, and cannot be assigned specially to any one of them. They are lyrical, being written in measured verse, and very often in a highly poetical strain; they are historical, detailing the events in the history of various peoples down to Christian times, with an admixture of truth and fiction which is hard to unravel; and they are Apocalyptic, in that they foreshadow the future of Messiah's kingdom and the destiny of the elect. While a proportion of these poems are of post-Christian origin, there are large fragments of earlier date which are of important utility in determining early Jewish views.

Without anticipating details which belong to the special account of each of these works, we may here gather up some general results of the doctrine enunciated in them.

First, as to the divisions of time, we find throughout the books that two great periods are specified—the present, and the future or coming age. This is in conformity with the view taken in the Book of Daniel. The former period is one of depression and misery, when Israel is for a time prostrate under the heel of Gentile enemies ; the latter is an eternity of victory and bliss, when “the saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.”<sup>1</sup> The temporary and the eternal periods are strongly contrasted, though there is no general consent as to the moment when the happy age shall dawn. But it shall be preceded by a judgment which is to take place in the last days, the end of the transition state, wherein the heathen shall receive their doom. This great day is known only to God ; but it shall be revealed in due time, and meanwhile men need not disquiet themselves concerning its advent ; as it is said in the Book of Enoch, “Let not your spirit be grieved on account of the times, for the Holy One hath prescribed days to all. And the righteous shall arise from sleep, and walk in the way of righteousness, and God will be gracious unto them and give them everlasting dominion.”<sup>2</sup> In the Psalms of Solomon we read,<sup>3</sup> “Behold, O Lord, and raise up for them their king, the son of David, at the time which Thou, O God, knowest.” In the Fourth Book of Esdras it is said, “The Most High hath made not one age, but two ;” and again, “He hath made this age for the sake of many, but the future for the sake of few.”<sup>4</sup> And, “This present age is not the end . . . but the day of judgment will be the end of this time, and the beginning of the immortal age that is to come, wherein corruption hath passed away.”<sup>5</sup> Attempts are made to define the length of the first period more accurately, but the proposed solutions do not help much to satisfy inquiry.

<sup>1</sup> Dan. vii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Enoch xcii. 2 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xvii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> The former passage occurs in the Fragment omitted in the old Latin editions and versions founded thereon, and will be found in Fritzsche's book as vi. 25, and in Churton's as vii. 50. In both passages the word rendered “age” is “*sæculum*,” which some, however, translate “world.”

<sup>5</sup> vii. 42 f.



The Book of Enoch in one place allots seventy generations to the world's history, in another divides it into ten weeks; in the Assumption of Moses the beginning of the second age is placed "two hundred and fifty times," *i.e.*, probably 250 weeks of years (= 4250), after the death of Moses, A.M. 2500. This is almost the same result as is obtained in the Book of Jubilees. In the Fourth Book of the Sibylline Oracles the time is divided into eleven generations, in the last of which the judgment shall take place. In the Fourth Book of Esdras and in the Apocalypse of Baruch the age consists of twelve parts, at the end of which the new era shall commence.

Failing to define accurately the duration of the first age of the world, speculation concerned itself with the signs which should herald the approach of the last times. Theorists endeavoured to answer that question which, quite in accordance with Jewish opinion, the Apostles put to Christ, "Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the consummation of the age?"<sup>1</sup> Thus the Sibyl affirms that there shall be seen swords in the heaven, and storms of dust, and an eclipse of the sun, and armed warriors contending in the sky.<sup>2</sup> The Book of Enoch foretells great changes in the course of nature—the alteration of seasons, the shortening of men's lives, irregularity in the course of moon and stars, and a repetition of the wicked practices which occasioned the Flood of old.<sup>3</sup> To the same effect the Book of Jubilees looks forward to a season of abnormal iniquity as the precursor of the Judgment Day; there shall be unnatural crimes among men, and strange aberrations in the order of nature, children rising up against parents, general barrenness in earth, great destruction of the lower creatures in land and sea, perversion of all right, and universal strife.<sup>4</sup> The Fourth of Esdras takes up the same strain. As the world grows older it becomes weaker and more evil, truth flies away, leasing is hard at hand. Then shall

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii. 795 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Chaps. xci., xcix.

<sup>4</sup> *Book of Jubilees*, chap. xxiii.

occur earthquakes, unrest and uproar among nations, and various prodigies in heaven and earth; the sun shall shine at night, the moon in day; blood shall ooze from wood; sweet water shall be changed to salt; women shall bring forth monsters; infants of tender age shall speak.<sup>1</sup> Many of these portents are such as one reads of in classical authors; some recall our Lord's predictions, or St. Paul's warning, that "in the last days perilous times shall come" (2 Tim. iii. 1). In the Apocalypse of Baruch the details of the wickedness and calamities that shall intervene are more distinctly specified, being divided into twelve parts, increasing to a climax of horror; and despair and destruction shall overtake all the world with the exception of the inhabitants of the holy land.<sup>2</sup> But throughout these books the advent of the second age is to be ushered in by extraordinary calamities consequent on excessive moral evil, and characterised by an universal degeneracy alike in animal and vegetable life.

We have now to see what our books say about the Messiah. Many of them, indeed, seem to have no reference whatever to Him. Ecclesiasticus (which, indeed, is outside our investigation) has no trace of the great hope; Wisdom is equally barren; the famous passage in ii. 10-20, about the treatment of the righteous man by the wicked, having regard to a class, and certainly not alluding to any particular individual. The Assumption of Moses expects the appearance of some great Saviour to prepare the way for the visible reign of Jehovah; but this Deliverer is not the Messiah, and is, in fact, not regarded as superior to Moses in action or person. In the Book of Jubilees the idea of a personal Messiah is pointedly excluded; God, says the writer, has appointed no one to reign over Israel, being Himself their only Lord and Ruler, and purposing in due time to descend from heaven and dwell with His people. The writer seems purposely to have omitted the blessings which Jacob pro-

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Drummond refers to 2 Esdr. v. 1-13, 54 f.; vi. 7-28; viii. 63-ix. 6; xiv. 15-17.

<sup>2</sup> *Apoc. Bar.*, chaps. xxv.-xxvii., xlvi., lxx., lxxi.

nounced upon his sons, and especially all mention of the house of David, which would naturally have found place in the benediction on Judah. The Fourth Book of the Sibylline oracles, which is marked by some eschatological passages, omits all reference to Messiah, while announcing the Resurrection and the Judgment. And we may remark in passing that the Apocryphal works in our English Bible are singularly devoid of all Messianic references. The Books of Maccabees look forward to the re-gathering of Israel and the appearance of a true prophet, but nothing more. In Tobit we find only hope of the conversion of the Gentiles and the restoration of Jerusalem; in Baruch and Judith, though the future judgment is intimated, absolute silence is maintained concerning the Messiah's part in that transaction. It is plain that the later conception of the Messiah, with all the hopes that gathered round His person and achievements, was not generally admitted when our books were composed, and it was only very gradually that the ideas obtained which we have been accustomed to associate therewith. Though it is difficult to fix the date of most of these works, probably the earliest which contain definite Messianic statements is a section of the Third Book of the Sibylline Verses, written about a century and a half before the Christian era. The passage which is, probably correctly, assumed to bear this interpretation is the following:<sup>1</sup> "Then from the sun God shall send a King, who shall cause all the earth to cease from wicked war, killing indeed some, and making faithful treaties with others. Not by His own counsels shall He do all these things, but in obedience to the good decrees of the great God." Then follows a description of the happy condition that is to ensue; but there is no further mention of this King, and the governing authority of the new kingdom established by God is not one great personage, but Prophets, who are "judges of mortals and righteous kings." The subordinate position assigned to Messiah is very remarkable; He, indeed, prepares the way for the great consummation, but He is not said to

<sup>1</sup> *Orac. Sibyll.*, iii. 652 ff.

bear any part in the administration of the future age. In another passage,<sup>1</sup> which critics generally assign to some half century B.C., the advent of the Messiah is immediately expected. Thus the Sibyl writes: "But when Rome shall rule over Egypt also, uniting it into one, then indeed the mighty kingdom of the immortal King shall appear among men; and there shall come a pure King to hold the sceptres of all the earth for all ages as time hastens onward." Evidently, it is an earthly kingdom which this Monarch establishes, and this, it is further intimated, is to come to an end when the new era dawns.

The Book of Enoch adumbrates the Messiah in symbolical language. In the vision of the seventy shepherds, and the sheep and wild animals, the Messiah appears under the figure of a white Bull. The wording of the passage is ambiguous, and the correct reading is disputed; hence it remains doubtful to which age the Messiah belongs; though the analogy of other passages would place Him at the entrance of the new era. Enoch says,<sup>2</sup> "Then those three who were clothed in white raised me up and placed me in the midst of the sheep, before the judgment took place<sup>3</sup> . . . and I saw that a white Bullock was born, having great horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of heaven feared him, and besought him continually. And I watched till all their tribes were changed and became white bullocks; and the first among them [was the Word, and the same Word]<sup>4</sup> was a great beast, and had great black horns upon his head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over them and over all the bullocks." The personality of this "Bullock" is not very definite, and there is no illusion to descent from the house of David; but the representation evidently embraces hopes of Messiah, and looks forward, though vaguely, to the time of His appearing. This time is fixed more accurately

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 36-92.

<sup>2</sup> *Enoch*, xc. 31 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Drummond doubts the genuineness of this clause, and Dillmann does not hold it as indisputable. It is certainly inconsistent with other statements in the same passage.

<sup>4</sup> The words in brackets are regarded as spurious.

in the Fourth of Esdras (vii. 28 ff.), where it is announced that Messiah and the saints with Him shall rejoice four hundred<sup>1</sup> years, and that then He and all men are to die, and silence reign for seven days, at the end of which time "the earth that yet awaketh not shall be raised up, and that which is corrupt shall die." So in other passages, both in Esdras and Baruch, the dominion of Messiah is announced as lasting till the final judgment, confined, as it would seem, to the first, the present age. The Messiah, according to Enoch,<sup>2</sup> is to be born at Jerusalem; meantime He is hidden till the hour of His revelation arrives. In the Ascension of Isaiah He passes through the seven heavens unrecognised, until He executes vengeance on the evil principalities and powers, and returns in glory to the throne of God. Esdras sees Him coming up from the midst of the sea, which denotes the mysterious and secret character of the unknown region wherein He sojourned, and in due time taking His stand upon Mount Sion.<sup>3</sup> "Here," says Baruch,<sup>4</sup> "He shall judge the last leader of His enemies, and put him to death, and shall protect God's people who are found in the place which He has chosen. And His dominion shall continue until the world of corruption is brought to an end, and the predicted times are fulfilled." Of the Messiah's descent from David and His high title, the Psalter of Solomon gives the clearest indications. "Behold, O Lord," says the Psalmist, "and raise up for them their King, the Son of David, at the time which Thou knowest. . . . He is the righteous King over them, taught of God. There shall be no injustice in His days among them, for they all shall be holy, and their King shall be Christ the Lord."<sup>5</sup> This last expression seems certainly to have been well known before Christian times. In Esdras<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Syriac reads "thirty." Churton *in loc.*

<sup>2</sup> *Enoch*, xc. 36 f.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Esdr. xiii. 26, 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Apoc. Bar.*, xl.

<sup>5</sup> *Psalm. Solom.*, xvii. 23, 35, 36. The title is given in the MSS. without variation Χριστὸς Κύριος. Prof. Drummond would read Κυριου. But see xviii. 6, 8, and Lam. iv. 20. At the same time, as Ewald points out, the expression in the text may possibly be a mistranslation for "the Lord's Christ," as Luke ii. 26, and must not be taken as proving the seer's belief in the Divinity of Messiah.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Esdr. vii. 28, 29; xii. 32.

the name Christ is found twice at least, though in one place it has been changed by some Christian hand into "Jesus;" and "unctus," the Anointed, also occurs, corrupted in the Latin into "ventus," the "wind;" but in the other versions appearing with an addition, "the Anointed whom the Highest hath reserved to the end of the days, who shall arise out of the seed of David." The title Messiah is constantly used in Baruch; thus we read, "It shall come to pass, when that which is to be shall have been accomplished there, that Messiah shall begin to be revealed."<sup>1</sup> The Book of Enoch has suffered so much from glosses and interpolations that we cannot build much upon isolated expressions; but, as the text stands, the expression "Son of God," or its equivalent, is met with in the most ancient section once. The Lord is represented as saying (cv. 2), "I and My Son will unite ourselves with them [the sons of earth] for ever and ever." Nor can much reliance be placed upon the present text of the Second of Esdras; otherwise the terms Messiah and Son of God may be observed in a few passages.<sup>2</sup> But although we grant that the name and designation of the Messiah are found in these books, there is very far from being any general consent as to His nature and attributes. The Catholic doctrine concerning the Christ was as yet not received, as the speculations which were rife fell far short of the great truth. Whether many of these writers believed in the pre-existence of the Messiah before His appearance on earth is doubtful. The author of the Ascension of Isaiah certainly did; but as the portion of the work containing the assertion is probably the composition of a Christian Jew, it cannot be quoted as affording an instance of purely Jewish opinion. The expression in the Third Book of the Sibyllines already cited, which represents the future King as proceeding "from the sun," might seem to imply at least a supernatural origin, denoting that, as the Creed says, "He came down from heaven;" but the words (*ἀπ' ἡελίου*) may mean merely "from

<sup>1</sup> *Apoc. Bar.*, xxix. See also xxx., xxxix., xl., lxx., lxxii.

<sup>2</sup> See Drummond, 285 ff.

the rising sun," *i.e.*, from the East, which to a dweller in Egypt would be the land of mystery and of God's revelations. In that part of the Book of Enoch which is called the Similitudes or Parables, He who is here called "Son of Man" is seen by the seer in company with the "Ancient of Days," and is expressly stated to have existed before all worlds, and to live before God for ever; in Him all wisdom and righteousness dwell; but He is not God, though of godlike character. In another and more ancient division of the work, as we have seen above, He is figured under the representation of "a white Bull," born in due time, and in no way supernaturally distinguished from the other animals who assume the same appearance, though His supremacy is recognised by them in that they fear and pray to Him. In the Psalter of Solomon the Messiah is lauded in the highest terms, as mighty in word and deed, a just and powerful Ruler, who, living in the fear of God, shall feed the Lord's people in faith and righteousness; but He is not superhuman, He is only the ideal earthly king of David's line. The Apocalypse of Baruch speaks of the "revelation of Messiah and of His kingdom,"<sup>1</sup> which seems to imply pre-existence, but, as Professor Drummond points out, this expression, and the analogous one "reserved" in Second Esdras (xii. 32; xiii. 36), may merely imply the belief that Messiah after His birth should be withdrawn into concealment, from whence He should emerge in due time; or such terms may be used to denote God's predestination, and the mystery which attached to this messenger. In fact, none of these writings contain any clear assertion of the Divinity of the Messiah; and the writers, while they look upon Him as abnormal and supreme, do not attribute to Him a nature different from that of man in its highest ideal character.

Our cursory view of the Pseudepigraphical Books would not be complete without a brief notice of their angelology and eschatology. The existence of good and evil angels is fully recognised. The former are divided into various orders and degrees; in Enoch the names of the archangels are given as

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<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxix. 3; xxxix. 7. Drummond, p. 293.

Michael, Gabriel, Suriel, and Uriel ; Suriel elsewhere appears as Raphael. These four have their special spheres and provinces, and beside them there are myriads of inferior angels who stand before the Lord of Spirits, ready to do His will. They are archangels who reveal God's will to Enoch, and conduct him on his various journeys. It is the Angel of the Presence who is charged to transcribe the revelation in the Book of Jubilees. Angels, according to Baruch, execute God's wrath in the destruction of Jerusalem, having first committed to the earth the veil, the mercy-seat, and other sacred things appertaining to the temple. It is, as we have seen, from the Assumption of Moses that the story of the dispute between Michael and Satan over the body of Moses is derived. Esdras receives his seven visions by the intervention of Uriel. The Book of Jubilees states that on the first day of creation God made the ministering spirits, the Angel of the Presence, the Angel of Praise, and the angels that preside over the elements, as we find in the Revelation mention made of angels which have power over fire and water.<sup>1</sup> The angels bring men's sins before God, execute His vengeance on sinners, teach mortals useful arts and acceptable worship, and communicate God's will by dreams or visions or open manifestations. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs the heavenly hierarchy is still more systematically arranged, and the duties and offices of its various members are distinguished.

The evil angels have their ranks and orders ; they are a disciplined army under chieftains. At their head appears one who is named Satan, Sammael, Mastema, Azazel. Their fall, according to Enoch, was brought about by their connexion with the daughters of men, from whence sprang a race of giants whose iniquity, fostered by their superhuman fathers, caused the flood. These angels taught men war and bloodshed and every wicked work, and were punished by being confined in the depth of the earth till the great day of judgment, a certain portion of them only being allowed a limited liberty.

Turning to the eschatological teaching of these books, we

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. xiv. 18 ; xvi. 5.



find that in the last days, on the appearance of Messiah, there will be a great mustering of enemies to oppose the establishment of the new kingdom. Here we have the curious myth of the return to life of Nero, who, under the name of Beliar, is to lead the armies of Antichrist.<sup>1</sup> At other times this leader is not definitely named. In Baruch (chap. xl.) he is called merely "dux ultimus," who, as we have seen above, is to be brought to Mount Zion and there put to death by the victorious Messiah. But it is not always the Messiah who conducts the war; God Himself interposes in the Sibyl's account,<sup>2</sup> and Enoch predicts the great destruction of Israel's enemies before the advent of Messiah, and exults in their cruel annihilation.<sup>3</sup> Whether by the action of Messiah, or by the immediate intervention of the Lord, it is universally agreed that the assembled foes of Israel shall meet with signal overthrow, and that, at this consummation, the kingdom of Messiah shall be established. This kingdom is to have its centre at Jerusalem, under the personal rule of Messiah, who is the vicegerent of God,<sup>4</sup> and is to extend over all nations, and to be characterised by righteousness, peace, and plenty. The material blessings of this reign are picturesquely delineated in the Sibylline Verses, and elsewhere;<sup>5</sup> the earth shall be marvellously productive, men's lives shall be prolonged to a thousand years without disease or infirmity. The duration of this kingdom is considered in most of our books to be unlimited; Esdras alone confines its length to four hundred years, and Baruch says vaguely that it shall be continued until the world of corruption be ended. Whether the Gentiles should be converted was a question not answered in a uniform manner; while the writers with Hellenistic leanings took a merciful view, the exaggerated prejudices of others led them to anticipate with satisfaction the total annihilation of the

<sup>1</sup> *Orac. Sibyll.*, iii. 63 ff.; iv. 137 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iii. 669 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Enoch*, xc., xcvi., xcix.

<sup>4</sup> *Orac. Sibyll.*, iii. 652 ff. *Psalms Sol.*, xvii. Drummond, pp. 309 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Orac. Sibyll.*, iii. 743 ff., 776 ff. *Enoch*, x. 17 ff.; xi. 1. *Apoc. Bar.*, xxix. *Jubil.*, xxiii.

heathen. The Sibyl looks forward to a time when the sight of the happiness and prosperity of the God-fearing Israelites will move alien nations to repentance;<sup>1</sup> while the Psalmist brings the heathen under the yoke of the chosen race, and holds out to them no hope of salvation.<sup>2</sup> Of the resurrection and the final judgment we having varying accounts, there being also a dissidence in the opinion as to the epochs in which these events should take place; some allotting the judgment to the time of Messiah's appearing, others looking for it at the close of that period, and as ushering into eternity. The latter view is that which most generally prevailed. The Book of Enoch gives copious details concerning the future life and the judgment. The Lord sits on a throne erected in the midst of Palestine, and passes judgment respectively on the fallen angels, the apostate Israelites, and the heathen powers. The souls of the dead have a place where they wait for their sentence, and are here divided into classes according to their earthly actions, accounts of which have been daily written down in the heavenly books; and now they shall receive their reward—unalterable punishment in the case of obstinate sinners, and eternal felicity in the case of the righteous. The resurrection of the body is nowhere expressly affirmed, though it is implied by the material nature of the penalties and the bliss accorded to the raised persons. Blind gropings after the great Christian doctrine are occasionally found; but the general impression conveyed by these Apocryphal books is that the immortality enunciated therein is incorporeal; and, as regards the righteous, the idea is that they shall be changed into angelic beings with the power of assuming any form they please.<sup>3</sup>

The above are the chief points of interest in the Jewish Pseudepigraphic writings; more definite details appertain more properly to the separate accounts of the various works which are classed under this designation.

WILLIAM J. DEANE.

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<sup>1</sup> *Orac. Sibyll.*, iii. 702 ff. Comp. *Enoch*, x. 21; xc. 30 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Psalm. Sol.*, xvii. 25 ff. Comp. *Apoc. Bar.*, lxxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Apoc. Bar.*, li.

## CHRISTIAN SECULARISM.

IT is an old charge against Christianity that it engenders a spirit of indifference and unconcern about the welfare of mankind in the present world. In our own days this charge has been revived, and is urged all around us with an earnestness, a plausibility, and a persistence unknown before. Any one who is at all familiar with the present phases of unbelief will be disposed to consider this as one of the most formidable and popular objections now taken against the faith. To apprehend the force of scientific or critical reasons for unbelief requires some education above the masses. The working classes must feel, and will generally acknowledge, that such questions as the authorship and veracity of Scripture, the possibility or the impossibility of reconciling science with religion, are not within their province; they have not the materials for a judgment. But of this—of the practical effect which Christianity exerts on men's feelings with regard to their worldly welfare, their material civilisation, their social and political progress, of this they can know and think and judge. They can appreciate and take in the whole case which with real or seeming justice can be made out against religion as indifferent to man's earthly welfare. The progress of the world has made men's minds sensitive in an ever-increasing degree on this point. The conditions of human life here (to God be the praise) have so wonderfully improved; material comforts, intellectual pleasures, social progress, all that constitutes that sweetness and light which is so desirable for the life of man, have in these latter days become so widely spread and generally accessible that an intense longing for a higher level of human happiness and progress here below has seized the masses; the vision of an almost infinite human perfectibility and well-being upon earth has dawned upon them, and any religion that in their

judgment opposes or retards the onward movement is self-condemned, unworthy of our acceptance.

I. How is this charge against Christianity supported? on what grounds is it so confidently asserted and so widely believed to exercise an influence hostile to the amelioration of man's life and condition here?

1. The direct precepts and statements of the Bible are appealed to. That whole class of passages in which the love of the world and all that is therein is forbidden or discouraged (whether for their inherent insignificance and worthlessness or their prejudicial effect on man's spiritual and eternal interests) are brought forward in support of the indictment, and arranged so as to present to a superficial or prejudiced observer a very formidable array of evidence on the secularist side. Such sayings as our Blessed Lord's about "not laying up our treasure upon earth," and the implied reason, "where rust and moth doth corrupt," or "if any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his Cross daily," or St. John's "love not the world, neither the things that are therein," or St. Paul's "set your affections on things above, not on things on the earth," or "having food and raiment let us be therewith content," &c.—all sound, it is said, the same note with unmistakable clearness, that man must not care much what his state in this world or that of his fellow-man may be, that he must be content with the barest necessities of life, that the amelioration of the world, the advance of civilisation, the lessening of life's evils and troubles, the increase of its pleasures and enjoyments, are not objects worthy of the Christian's serious concern or earnest endeavours, but partly dreams impossible of attainment, partly possibilities too insignificant for our care.

2. But, apart from specific precepts, it is boldly contended that a healthy interest in the improvement of man's condition here is *incompatible* with the overwhelming importance which the future life must assume in the hearts of all who believe in it. To live here as is best for *that* world, not for *this*, must be the aim of every sincere believer therein, for himself and for his fellow-men. "That saying of the Christians," says the

secularist, "at all events is true—'No man can serve two masters.' Your heart can't be in this world as well as in the next. You can't throw yourself into the affairs and interests of human life and society as ardently and earnestly as those who believe it is, or may be, their all. You can't have the same passionate longing, the same steadfast purpose to work and labour for an ideal state of humanity in this world, as those who look for no other. You can't care for *that* immortality, which is all *we* know of, in the memory of the race, in the beneficent results of your labours, because you look for another of a wholly different nature in another world." These statements as to the present phases of unbelieving thought might be supported, did space permit, by quotations from many eminent thinkers and writers of the sceptical school.

3. It is, however, as might be anticipated, in the character and conduct and teaching of Christians that the maintainer of these views finds his strongest arguments, his most convincing evidence. The *Secularist Almanack* calls Christianity "the historic enemy of progress;" as if, whatever might be *the theory*, the practical influence of Christianity was against progress. "Look at Christianity," they say, "all along the ages, in the lives of its most eminent professors, its most distinguished saints. Is not deadness to the world, to the ordinary cares and joys, the interests and pursuits of their fellow-men, the one great feature that marks them all? Asceticism in various degrees and of various types has always entered largely into the Christian life and character. The anchorite of the Egyptian desert, the mediæval saint with his self-scourgings and austerities, the Puritan with his sour ways and rigid restrictions, the modern pietist who turns (a true story) from the moss-rose bud with the remark, 'I have learned to call nothing on earth lovely,' are all examples, in various ways and times, of one and the same spirit of asceticism, whose motto about the world and all that therein is, is 'Touch not, taste not, handle not,' further than duty or necessity oblige you. Can it be denied that the Church has shown but scant sympathy with, if it has not positively discouraged, the desires and efforts of the masses to raise themselves to a higher level

of civilisation, of social and material progress? More knowledge, higher education, more cultivation of men's elevating tastes, more opportunities for rational enjoyment, more leisure for such pursuits, more social and political equality, less of class distinctions and disabilities, improved dwellings, free fields and open spaces, people's parks, national galleries, concerts and bands, and so forth ;—has not the Church lagged behind, rather than led the way, in promoting these and such like natural and reasonable demands for improvement in the circumstances and conditions of the present life? With actual want and suffering we admit the sympathy of Christians ; they have, on the whole, been good to the poor in all ages and in all denominations ; though even here it might be said that a large part of Christian charity is due to spiritual selfishness rather than to a genuine human care and fellow-feeling for the poor. Might not what Macaulay said of the Puritans be said of the charitable deeds of some Christians? The Puritan objected to bull-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bull, but because it gave pleasure to the man ; so some Christians do charitable acts, not from feeling for the man, but for the benefit to themselves. Letting this pass, however, our complaint is not that Christians are wanting in charity, but that their charity stops short where it does, concerning itself mainly with the lower earthly wants of man, food, clothing, relief from pain, sickness, and so forth, and repressing his higher but equally legitimate desires after a state of existence here on earth where the general standard of comfort and enjoyment should be greatly raised, where the many sources of innocent and rational pleasure should be more generally diffused. You should remember your saying, ' Man does not live by *bread alone*,' is as true of this life on earth as of any other : his heart has wants, his intellect has wants, his faculties have wants, yes, present wants, wants here on earth—wants that need earthly objects, and which earthly objects can really, though imperfectly, satisfy ; your philanthropy is sadly defective, if you limit it to the bare necessities of life and refer him for all else to another sphere of being."

II. How can we best deal with these charges for the satis-

faction of those who honestly, though mistakenly, believe in them? We begin by admitting that there are doctrines and forces in the Christian creed, and habits of thought and feeling, which tend to a contempt of this world and all that therein is. We grant, also, that in various ways a one-sided regard to these principles and influences of Christian belief has been very general. But as in nature there are opposite forces, as the centripetal and centrifugal, by which an equilibrium is preserved, so in religion. There are certain fundamental principles of Christianity which correct and qualify that "other worldliness" of which it is accused. (1) There is the *singular dignity of human nature*. This is a cardinal doctrine of the Christian faith. This dignity is of human nature as a whole, of all its elements and parts and powers. The body with its natural wants, appetites, desires, is sacred, as well as the psychical and spiritual nature. This fact is indisputable; no candid opponent would deny it. It underlies the whole doctrinal and ethical system of the faith. To recognise *something* noble in human nature, the "*divinæ particula auræ*," was not unknown to some other philosophies and religions; to regard it sacred as a whole was reserved for that faith whose Author and Finisher is Incarnate Deity. Human nature, though fallen in Adam, is redeemed in Christ. In the light of the Incarnation it is altogether, and in all, a holy, honourable thing. To work out all the consequences, social, political, and personal, of this stupendous fact has been a gradual, and, as yet, an unending process. But from the first it has been like a leaven indoctrinating humanity with new views of duty to ourselves and our fellow-men. It has worked onwards and upwards for the better care and higher reverence of the body; its health, cleanliness, comfort in life; its decent and honourable disposal after death. If the body and all that belongs to it is thus honourable to Christian faith, how much more the mind, the affections, the spiritual and intellectual faculties of man's nature? All that furnishes any of these faculties with their proper objects, all that calls them into and keeps them in healthy play and action, must be well worthy the interest, the sympathy, the care of the

Christian philanthropist. "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely" . . . . Man's common toil, the work by which he gets his daily bread, his pleasures, occupations, amusements, exercises of mind or body, every domestic, social, or civil duty and relationship, share in this dignity which belongs essentially to human nature and human life—nothing is common or unclean in the whole round of natural employments, pursuits, and interests. (2) There is *the Christian view of the world* we live in. This world, the whole sphere of visible and material things which surround us, is not only the handiwork, but the revelation of God. "The invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made." The world is no dark dungeon or gloomy prison-house in which man is the only thing of honour and account, but made itself, like the tabernacle, for a copy and shadow of heavenly things—a book in which man may read of God, and of the heaven which God has told of. "There is a book, who runs, may read, which heavenly truth imparts." He who loves and understands nature best and most, from this point of view, will best and most understand and love God. St. John's words contain a principle that may be extended to all creation, "If a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" If a man love not this world which he hath seen, how can he love heaven which he hath not seen? The beauty, the law, the order, the harmony, the majesty, the tenderness, the awfulness, the sweetness, the sublimity we see here in the universe around us are among the chief sources and component elements, the natural food and nutriment of our thoughts of God and our eternal home. The more we can educate men above the mere care for their lower wants as animals to higher tastes, perceptions, interests, in regard of this present world and the things that are therein, we are educating and preparing them for heaven; we are leading them through nature up to nature's God. We are awakening feelings, desires, emotions, that cannot rest until they have found out God.



These two principles we have now considered: the dignity of man, the heavenliness of the world (if I may use the phrase) seem to lead us to a full, hearty, thorough secularism as the true spirit and teaching of our religion. "All things are lawful for me"—there is a lawful use of everything that is in man and in the world, and in that lawful use true religion is best nurtured and increased. What that lawful use is, is not so much a matter of *degree*, "so far and no further," or of *distinction*, "you may love and use *such* things, but not *others*;" but of the kind of love, if I may so say, with which they all should be loved, the spirit in which they should all be used. All must be loved and used *in God, i.e.*, there must be the sanctifying thought that all the things of sense and time have eternal and spiritual relations; a meaning and a purpose transcending the limits of this life and the present world. The sense of duty towards God, and of our own relationship towards the unseen world, must be ever with us in this world's work and using. Does not this follow from the Christian view of human nature, and of the world of which we have been speaking? Is not this the meaning of those profound precepts that meet us in Holy Scripture, that all we do here is to be done in the Lord, "whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, do all to the glory of God"? How striking is that saying of St. Paul's, "Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be rejected, if it be received with thanksgiving, for it is sanctified through the Word of God and prayer." The right love and use of the world lies therefore, as I said, not in less or more use or love, not in distinguishing (a vain attempt) between what may be used and loved, and what not, but in the presence of a certain spirit of faith and prayer in the heart, which transforms and sanctifies all things, which makes all our relations to the present world sacramental—revealing, not obscuring, the unseen; fitting, not unfitting, us for heaven.

Here, then, is the first part of my answer to the secularists' charge that indifference to the world and to our state here is the spirit and teaching of our religion. "You do err," I should say, "not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God." You overlook the great broad facts, which you can

hardly deny, that Christianity has taught, in a way all its own, the dignity of human nature and of the world, in their relation to God and to the unseen, and cannot therefore mean us to be indifferent to either. That love and use of the world which we are forbidden is a godless use and love only—*with God and in God*, as in Eden, “of every tree in the garden may man eat freely.” Between the lines of all those texts which you adduce to prove the anti-secular spirit and tendency of the Christian’s faith, we read, “This is of that particular object or affection *without God*.” There are, indeed, we must freely admit and constantly remember two great *regulative principles* by which that love and use of earthly things, which Christianity produces and allows, is directed and controlled. They both arise out of, or are materially affected by, the mystery of the fall in human nature and in the world. That use and love of earthly things, which is the true ideal, cannot be perfectly attained because of the fall. *Self-denial for our own sakes* becomes necessary in forms and degrees that but for sin and its consequences would have been unnecessary. But that self-denial must be carefully restrained within lawful limits and based on true principles, or we fall back into the austerities, the mutilations, the world-hatred and despising of one-sided religionists. *To use*, without either abusing or disusing (two opposite evils) all God’s creatures, and all parts of our own natures, must ever be the true Christian aim and object, though in special spiritual necessity “the hand or foot may be cut off,” “the right eye plucked out and cast away.” Then there is *self-denial for the sake of others*. The needs of fallen humanity are great and manifold, and to give up ourselves for Christ’s sake and the Gospel’s, for the real service and benefit of others, must always be a true following of Christ, a true expression of the Christ-like spirit. But self-denial, world-renunciation, under either of these principles, is a very different thing from that dislike and neglect of earthly cares, duties, joys, and happiness with which religion is charged, and which we, if we are wise, will be careful to repudiate.

Our answer to the historical charge of anti-secular influence must be reserved for another article.

H. W. CROFTON.

## MAN—WHENCE CAME HE ?

RECORDS of the past possess not merely a high value, but often an intense fascination. The scene of action; so different from the present. The surroundings; so striking and peculiar. The circumstances within which the actors were placed; so strange and unique—all combine with the obscurity which antiquity gives to bygone days, to render the study of ancient life and manners entrancing in the highest degree.

The advance of knowledge rather increases than diminishes the interest possessed by stories of early times, for if it demonstrates that some of our old notions are false, it opens up to our view new pictures of ancient customs and habits, in lands and times which had hitherto been unknown. Not a few of the charming stories of Herodotus and Xenophon must now be discarded. Many of the classic tales of early Grecian and Roman history are mere myths. Semiramis and Ninus are consigned to the region of romance, and even the siege of Troy is looked upon with suspicion. But we gain vastly more than we lose. Ancient Egypt yields up its papyri from the mummy pits of its dead. Babylon has a new history constructed from its disinterred tablets, marked with cuneiform inscriptions. Assyrian sculptured slabs tell of the campaigns of kings, of whose achievements there had before been no knowledge. The victories of Cyrus and Darius are related on Persian cylinders, and the records of a great empire of the Hittites—of which the learned world was formerly ignorant—are revealed to the light of day, by the inscriptions disinterred from the mounds on the banks of the Euphrates and the Orontes. But long before these days come the dim and shadowy periods of ages antecedent to the birth of history.

Times of the first wanderers, the first hunters, the first shepherds, and the first builders. No written history records their movements, manners, and customs, and for them in truth—

“ Antiquity appears to have begun  
Long after their primeval race was run.”

The time in which they lived with its details and characteristics is so far distant that it might well be thought no light could illumine its obscurity. To rescue its records from oblivion ; to fill up the gaps in ancient tradition ; to construct a vivid picture of the life of man, portraying his nature, habits, occupations and surroundings, is the task allotted to, and performed by, the youthful science of Pre-historic Archæology.

The great winter of the Glacial period was passing away. Northern Europe slowly rose out of the icy waters of the wintry sea, which for long had been traversed by fleets of icebergs whose fantastic forms had gleamed white in sunshine, or grown grey in shadow. Ice and snow cover the higher ranges, and glaciers plough their way through the valleys, smoothing the rocks over which they pass, or marking them in long furrows by their embedded stones. Sombre forests of pine clothe the uplands, while the lower hillsides show the softer green of lowland vegetation. Along the meadows rise the birch and stunted willow, struggling hard for existence beneath the chill and wintry sky. The rivers, swollen to a vast size by the melting of the snows, roll in turbid torrents through the valleys, filling them from bank to bank ; while ever and anon the bursting of a glacier dam emptying some mountain lake, causes a furious flood to rush down on the valleys below. Still, the scene is full of animal life, strange, varied, and vigorous. The beaver builds his dam on the banks of the mountain stream. The gigantic mammoth ranges the meadows where the rhinoceros and wild bull feed without fear of an enemy. The sabre-toothed tiger crouches amidst the thicket, watching for prey, or glaring fiercely at the lion with whom he is ever ready to dispute the mastery of the forest.

In the shadows of the evening the timid elk and reindeer come in herds to drink at the woodland stream, and then hie themselves away to some safe retreat where they may find shelter from the bear and the hyena ; while troops of wolves sweeping through the forests after nightfall, make the woods resound with their dismal howlings. And now in the midst of these ferocious beasts—at once their enemy and their master—appears man. As a half-naked hunter clad in skins and armed with a rude stone axe, or bearing a bow with a flint-headed arrow, he ranges the woods by day and carries on a ceaseless warfare with the savage animals of the forest, ensnaring some in pitfalls, transfixing others with his arrows, and defending himself against the more formidable by means of his hatchet. A cavern is his home. Thither he repairs at dusk of day, cooks his food, mends his weapons, and weaves his clothes by the flickering light of his fire, listening through the darkness to the roaring of the storm, or the howling of the beasts of prey, against whom he is constantly compelled to be on the watch and to defend his habitation.

Such, we are assured, is the picture of primeval man in Britain in what is known to geologists as the Pleistocene period. With reference to his weapons it is called the Palæolithic—or Old-Stone—age, for he was then ignorant of metals, and only in the succeeding Neolithic age did he practise the art of grinding and polishing his stone hatchets and arrows. Truly it is most interesting to find traces of men who lived with animals, some of which are extinct, while others have retired to northern lands or to the warmer regions of the south. That long before the rude stone dolmens and menhirs were raised on our moors, or Stonehenge looked over Salisbury Plain, man should have traversed the woods and scaled the mountains of our island is indeed a fact of intense interest.

But as we look at the picture we are bidden to observe that man in those times was far more degraded and brutal than the lowest savages of the present day. His ignorance of the very rudiments of the mechanical arts was so complete, his barbarism so utter, and his degradation so profound, that

he scarcely merited the name of man. He was more debased than the lowest Fuegian or Australian, and in his works and characteristics gave evidence that if he were not a link between man proper and the brutes,—he had so very recently been evolved from them, that he had not yet developed his true human propensities. Ignorant of agriculture, without domestic animals, and possessing no knowledge of the potter's art, man scarcely merited his name or his position as the lord of creation.

Surely, however, the facts do not warrant such a conclusion, and while we may admit many of the details, we may maintain that the colouring of the picture is of a too sombre character.

The simple fact that man was able to maintain his position within these fearfully difficult circumstances, and with so few advantages and such feeble weapons, so far to triumph over the terrific beasts which surrounded him, as to increase and spread over the land, proves at once that he was in full possession of that special intelligence which creates such a chasm between himself and the brutes. Unless that intelligence had been *fully* developed, he must have sunk under the combination of disadvantages and sufferings. His *body* was far weaker than those of the monstrous beasts by which he was surrounded, but his truly human *mind*—in full possession of its special powers—enabled him by means of design and contrivance to maintain himself and even to flourish, whilst many of them ultimately perished. The negro indeed holds his ground against the swarming and savage animals of South Africa, but then he is an agriculturist and possesses *iron* weapons, whereas those of primitive man were of *stone*, and he knew nothing of the cultivation of cereals. Moreover the carnivorous animals of South Africa are neither so numerous nor so ferocious as those against which primeval man had to contend. Primitive man was a hunter, but that pursuit calls for particular skill and knowledge. He was probably ignorant of metals, but was well provided with stone weapons; and from the fact that he held his ground, and did not succumb, we may safely con-

clude that though rude they were efficient. Now the framing of a weapon is an act specially limited to the intelligence of man. The ape may throw a stone in self-defence, but never chips or grinds that stone into an implement. It requires human intelligence to select the proper stone, to frame its size, fashion its edge, and to fit it in such a handle that it shall be useful and powerful. Again, to observe all the signs of the woods, to know the tracks of the different animals, to ensnare the larger and to surprise the smaller, is possible only to a creature possessing human intelligence. So it was with primitive man. The elk, reindeer, and musk sheep might have been slain by his arrows, but the urus, the bear, and the rhinoceros could only have been taken in pitfalls, and these could be designed and constructed by human intelligence alone. The exhibition of this skill in the lowest of savages is admirably portrayed by Mr. Tylor in these words:—

“The natives of the Brazilian forests, to whom tracking game is the chief business of life, do it with a skill which fills with wonder the white men who have watched them. The Botocudo hunter gliding stealthily through the underwood knows every habit and sign of bird and beast; the remains of berries and pods show him what creature has fed there; he knows how high up an armadillo displaces the leaves in passing, and so can distinguish its track from the snake’s or tortoise’s, and follow it to its burrow by the scratches of its scaly armour on the mud. Even the sense of smell of this savage hunter is keen enough to help him in tracking. Hidden behind the trunk of a tree, he can imitate the cries of birds and beasts to bring them within range of his deadly poisoned arrow, and he will even entice the alligator by making her rough eggs grate together where they lie on leaves on the river-bank. If an ape he has shot high in the boughs of some immense tree remains hanging by his tail, he will go up after it by a hanging creeper where no white man would climb. At last, laden with game and useful forest things, such as palm-fibre to make hammocks, or fruit to brew liquor, he finds his way back to his hut by the sun and the lie of the ground, and

the twigs that he bent back for way-marks as he crept through the thicket."<sup>1</sup>

Nothing could be clearer than this, or could more powerfully show the mental development of the lowest savage, which constitutes an impassable chasm between him and the brutes. Again, primitive man in post-Glacial times was acquainted with the use of fire, and the discovery of this indispensable servant must have been one of vast importance. It is easy to say it might have been the result of accident, and that a flash of lightning setting fire to a tree or leafy shelter might have produced the flame which first taught man the existence of this marvellous agent. But only human intelligence could have instantly improved the accident. Only the reasoning mind could have perceived the use of fire, could have invented means of kindling it, and could have preserved it when once it was lighted. The ape has often witnessed fires caused by lightning in tropical forests, but, though it may warm itself by the flame, has never been able to use fire for itself, simply because it does not possess the mental power either to know the value of fire, or to create it when needed. This alone belongs to the reasoning mind of man, even in the form of the lowest savage. The discovery of fire leads man to cook his food, harden his arrows, and prepare his skin-clothing, and all these things can only be performed by the contriving mind. If primitive man were ignorant of pottery, this is no evidence of degradation, since many savages who know nothing of the potter's art construct admirable wooden baskets and boxes,<sup>2</sup> or boil water like the Siberians by throwing hot stones into vessels of wood or leather.<sup>3</sup>

May we not also ask how man in the Pleistocene (post-Glacial) age entered Britain and crossed the Channel? Had he canoes, and did he possess a knowledge of navigation? If so he must indeed have been an inventor, and may have

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<sup>1</sup> *Anthropology*, pp. 207, 208.

<sup>2</sup> Dawson, *Fossil Man*, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 319.



been the distant ancestor of those Veneti whose home was in ancient Brittany, and whose monstrous vessels made such an impression on the mind of Julius Cæsar.<sup>1</sup> Of course it will be replied that in these remote times Britain was joined to the Continent, so that the bed of the English Channel was dry land through which a great river flowed westward to the Atlantic, the Straits of Dover being on the watershed between the German and Atlantic Oceans. The great mammalia migrated over this land from the Continent into Britain, and man entered our country in the same manner. This may be granted. Doubtless the land was higher then than now, a series of grassy plains, and rolling uplands extended from Eastern Britain to Scandinavia, and through these lost lands long buried beneath the waves of the North Sea, the Rhine flowed northwards (receiving the rivers of Eastern Britain as tributaries) until it fell into the ocean north of Scotland. Vast herds of mammoths ranged over these hills, rhinoceroses browsed by the river banks, and wild oxen, elks, and reindeer struggled for existence against the wolf and the lion. The remains of this old land may be accurately ascertained by soundings, and a most interesting map of it is given by Professor Boyd Dawkins.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless it may be asked—what induced man at this time to enter Britain? If our island were connected with the Continent its climate must have been much colder than now, glaciers must have existed on the higher hills, and the lowlands must have been covered with dense forest, beneath the giant trees of which grew an impenetrable jungle of shrubs and bushes, filled with ferocious animals. Men do not readily enter such savage regions. Even to-day there are parts of Siberia which are clothed with such dense forests that the natives turn aside from them. Why then did primitive man enter Britain when its aspect was so forbidding, and its climate so severe? There is but one reply—he was compelled to do so by being driven to seek shelter here from stronger *human* enemies. The Bushman of

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<sup>1</sup> *Cæsar De Bell. Gall.*, iii. 9, 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Early Man in Britain*, p. 150.

South Africa has been driven to the mountains, and the Eskimo has been compelled to take refuge in the Arctic regions by the implacable hatred and violent attacks of his stronger neighbours. So it was in olden times. Stronger and more civilised tribes drove the weaker to seek shelter—probably against their will—in Britain, and to find an asylum in its dark forests and beneath its wintry sky. If this be so, then we must not seek for the primitive condition of man in Western Europe in the wild hunters, whose relics are said to lie buried in the valley gravels, but amongst those more powerful races who must have driven them into these regions, and compelled them to shelter themselves in lonely caverns and rugged fastnesses. Can any traces of such higher tribes living at the same time be discovered? We are enabled to answer in the affirmative. The bone-caves of the Lesse, so ably explored by Dupont; the rock shelters of the Vezère in the Dordogne, so graphically described by Christy and Lartet; the burial places of Solutré and Aurignac, so often referred to by English and foreign writers; the grottoes of Bruniquel, Duruthy, and Engis, in the last of which Schmerling discovered human remains in 1833;<sup>1</sup> and, lastly, the English caverns of Kent's hole, Paviland, and Cresswell crags—all these, and many others, furnish traces of man in such numbers that we are able to construct a striking picture of man who lived in Western Europe in post-Glacial days, along with the mammoth and rhinoceros. The Engis skull (the oldest in Europe)<sup>2</sup> tells us that its owner had a fine mental capacity, and a similar story is told by the skulls from Cro-Magnon so ably described by Pruner-Bey, which relics from the Dordogne show that the old savage was tall robust and powerful.<sup>3</sup> He had domesticated the horse, as its bones are found at Solutré in vast quantities, and drawings exist done by the ancient men, in which the animal is portrayed as hog-maned. Man even in those times was a trader, as

<sup>1</sup> Lyell, *Elements of Geology*, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Student*, vol. iv. pp. 250-260.

<sup>3</sup> *Reliquiæ Aquitaniæ*, pp. 86, 87.

shells from far-distant regions are found among his relics in central France, and it is even suggested that some used by him in Aquitaine came from the Isle of Wight.<sup>1</sup> If this be so, then he was a navigator in the earliest times. He was also an artist of great ability, carving representations of the urus, reindeer, and mammoth on bone or horn, and surpassing in this art Neolithic man, his successor. If he were ignorant of the metals, he could nevertheless cut dagger-handles and statuettes from reindeer horn. He was also a potter, for the relics of his pottery have been found in so many caves that we are at last compelled to admit that he was acquainted with this art also.<sup>2</sup> He was a tailor too of great skill, for bone needles have been found beautifully polished, and it is even asserted that the discoveries in the Duruthy cave lead us to conclude that he wore gloves!<sup>3</sup> This last idea is by no means improbable, since from a figure cut on a bone discovered at Laugerie Basse (Dordogne) it appears that the women in those days adorned themselves with bracelets and wore necklaces of large beads.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, man in those days held the ennobling belief of the immortality of the soul. In the cave of Aurignac, in the graves of Solutré, and in other burial caverns, the weapons of the deceased are buried with him, in the belief that their owner would use them in the happy hunting-grounds of the future world.

Now does this picture bring primitive man before us as a being degraded lower than the lowest savages now living, and but little raised above an anthropoid ape? Certainly not, for it shows us that the earliest man of whom science gives us sufficient information from which to judge his nature, was as truly man as any human being existing at the present day. He was indeed a wild hunter, but possessed real human characteristics as truly as the Red Indian of the prairies, or

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<sup>1</sup> Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Southall, *Age of the Mammoth*, pp. 72, 77.

<sup>3</sup> Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> Joly, *Man before Metals*, p. 298.

the Zulu of South Africa. This conclusion is so obvious that it is admitted by most of our best authorities on anthropology. Professor Boyd Dawkins declares—"The few fragments which remain to us prove, that at this remote period (the Pleistocene River-drift period) man was present as man and not as an intermediate form connecting the human race with the lower animals."<sup>1</sup> If this be true of the River-drift man, still more true is it of the cave-dweller. Quatrefages is equally explicit, declaring, "Quaternary (Pleistocene) man is always man in the full acceptance of the word."<sup>2</sup>

It may be replied that we must seek for primeval man in still earlier days, and must search for his relics and remains, in other strata and in different geological eras. Let us then do so—but before beginning this new investigation let us ask, *where* are we to find relics of the earliest men if not in the Pleistocene formations we have just considered? There can be but one reply, namely, that we must go back into the dim, far-distant Tertiary ages, and explore Pliocene and Miocene formations for our evidence. We will therefore examine these more ancient deposits, but before doing so we must say, that many of our leading geologists declare that there is no evidence whatever to show that man existed in these times, and they state emphatically that not the slightest traces of man can be found previous to the days of the Pleistocene hunter and cave-dweller, whose characteristics we have just considered!<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless let us continue the search. Immediately before the Pleistocene era, came the Pliocene age, a warm genial time in North-western Europe and America, and here we are informed are discovered cut bones, skulls, and mining implements showing the presence of man. Every one of these discoveries is doubtful, being disputed by the highest authorities. But if they are genuine, what then? The Olmo skull from Tuscany, and the Calaveras skull from the gravels

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<sup>1</sup> *Early Man in Britain*, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> *The Human Species*, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Geikie, however, seems to maintain the opposite opinion. See *Prehistoric Europe*, p. 546.

of California, if they be of Pliocene age, are as truly human as any belonging to man in the present day, while if the stone mortars and mining tools from the Pliocene deposits of North America be genuine, they show that the earliest men were miners, and workers in stone of wonderful skill! If we go one step further back into the Miocene age, when Western Europe had a climate so warm as to be almost tropical, man's only relics are said to be some shattered flints found at Thenay, which are so rude that many leading anthropologists refuse to consider them as man's workmanship. But even if we admit them to be so, then they simply prove that man even in those days was a tool-making creature, acquainted with the use of fire, and subsisting by hunting—precisely as the hunter in the Pleistocene forests—and no more resembling an ape than does the reasoning contriving savage of to-day. May we not ask also, if man inhabited Northern Europe in Miocene and Pliocene times, what became of him in the fearful Ice-age of the Glacial period which followed the Pliocene era? Did he continue to live amidst the terrors of the great winter, or did he migrate to southern and warmer regions? If he maintained his ground amidst the vast ice-sheets, and on the shores of the iceberg-laden seas, then it must have been a splendid triumph of human intelligence over the forces of nature, compared with which the existence of the skilful Eskimo is mere child's play! Perhaps however he migrated to the south, sheltering himself there while Northern Europe was wrapped in a vast ice-sheet. Be it so. Then, as after the Glacial period he was again in Britain and Northern France, what induced him to leave his southern asylums and again to enter the inhospitable regions of the north? The age of ice was indeed all but gone, but some faint tradition of its terrors must have been retained. Why then did man again come north? Why scale the Alps, which even in those days sent down vast glaciers to the Po and the Jura? Or why cross the Pyrenees, then more deeply covered with snow and ice than now? The answer is as before that he must have been driven on by more powerful neighbours, and it is among these formidable southern races, that we must seek for the highest

types of early man, and not among the weaker tribes who were compelled by them to migrate into the savage regions of the north. Thus we once more reach the same conclusion, and turn where we will, we see that primeval man is always truly human in every characteristic.

We are told that the Neolithic herdsmen who used weapons of polished stone, cultivated the cereals, and domesticated the sheep, horse, and ox, entered Europe from Central Asia at the close of the Palæolithic (or Rude-stone) period, bringing with them their knowledge of agriculture, their superior weapons, and their domestic animals. Whilst then in Europe man was a savage hunter of the woods, in Central Asia *at the same time* he was in a far more civilised condition, and further advanced in culture than his weaker brethren who had wandered far away from the primitive home of the human family.

We need pursue the subject no further. Man, wherever we find him, shows always the same characteristics. The savage of the woods to-day, debased and degraded though he be, bears the marks of that special character which raises him infinitely above the brutes, and speaks with no uncertain voice of his special origin, and of his special position. As in the present so in the past, man is ever the same. Whether we see him in the days of old in the woods as a hunter, in the caves as an artist, on the hills as a herdsman, or in the fields as an agriculturist, the mark of a unique intelligence is upon him, and the witness of a special destiny is within him. His sense of duty—strangely distorted too often—bears testimony to his high and noble nature. His religious emotions—sadly perverted at times—manifest the cravings of a supernatural disposition. While his all-embracing reason, sweeping the very heavens in its flight and penetrating to distant worlds, proclaims in tones that can never be misinterpreted or misunderstood, that he was originally formed in the image of God, is capable now of being a worker with God, and is destined in the future to enjoy the fulness of God, in an eternity of glory.

D. GATH WHITLEY.

## LUTHER AND THE MUSIC OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH.

MUCH as has been written about Luther and his great work in connection with the Reformation, the influences which he exercised over the music, the hymns, and the services of the Church, have never been rightly estimated. The Protestantism of the sixteenth century has been so generally regarded as a revolt against form and an attempt to get outside of art of all kinds, that very few think of identifying the founder of Lutheranism with those musical reforms which led to that noble heritage of Church song which we, in common with every other Christian country, now possess. Yet Luther was something more than a reformer of religious doctrines : he was also a musician and a poet. The voice which made Rome tremble could take an artistic part in the rendering of the sweetest compositions. The hand that flung the inkstand against the wall in a fit of temper could draw sounds from more than one musical instrument. The brain that conceived commentaries and ecclesiastical treatises could conceive also those grand hymns, with their accompanying chorales, which stirred Germany to its very soul, and did almost as much for the Reformation as the writings and speeches of their author. These musical and poetic capabilities of the great Reformer were undoubtedly a subordinate feature of his energetic life. Yet it is not right that they should be entirely lost sight of in contemplation of the larger work which called forth their exercise. Music and poetry have ever been prime factors in influencing the popular mind, and although it might be too much to say that Luther would never have accomplished the great work he did if he had not been a musician and poet as well as an ecclesiastic, yet he was unquestionably aided to a very great extent by the possession of those musical and poetic qualities which distinguished him. In the present paper it is our intention to dwell solely on this side of the Reformer's career, his work in other directions being already familiar to every one.

Before entering on an examination of the reforms accomplished by Luther in connection with the Church song of his time, it may be well to note the exact musical capabilities of the Reformer, as far as these are known to us. As a boy he showed undoubted musical talent ; and having a good soprano voice he was readily admitted to the school choir, as a member of which he would be taught at least the elementary principles of music. "School choirs, known as *Currende*, were instituted some years prior to the Reformation, and were attached to most churches in Germany. The *Currende* consisted of a number of boys who, led by a cantor or precentor, joined in the congregational hymn, and oftentimes assisted the regular choir at certain Church services, morning and evening prayer, baptisms, marriages, and interments. As a general rule the *Currende* boys were of the poorest class, and gained a scanty pittance by street singing in all weathers." According to Luther himself, the boys of the choir, at the time that the festival of Christ's birth was celebrated, went from house to house, and village to village, singing popular Christmas carols in four-part harmony. From this it may be inferred that the education in the school was not altogether of a superficial character.

The musical studies of the great Reformer would, however, appear to have been followed out to most advantage during the years which he spent in the cloister. In the monastic institutions of that time the most intricate branches of musical theory were studied as a daily exercise ; and there is every reason to believe that it was at Erfurt that Luther gained that knowledge of music which in after years, in the reforming of the Church service, proved of such value to him. In the monastery it was customary for him to while away some of the weary hours by playing on the lute ; and it is related that he handled this instrument so well as to attract the attention of passers-by as he journeyed to Worms. The flute also he played with no little skill, and the instrument was his companion on not a few occasions of sore trouble and anxiety. As a singer he was gifted with a clear, deep, and powerful voice, which he retained till nearly the close of



his life. We are told that after supper he used to sing motets and hymns with his children and friends. In a work bearing the curious title, *The Prostration and Restoration of Dr. Luther by Music*, we read, "It was the custom of Luther, when the evening meal was done, to bring from his study his 'Partes,' and, with those who were inclined, to hold a *Musicam*. He especially delighted in compositions of the old masters with responses. A Gregorian melody or a chorale was also greatly appreciated by him. If he found an inaccurate or faulty part he corrected it on the spot." This power of detecting and correcting errors in part-writing appears to have been one of Luther's strongest musical accomplishments. It is authentically stated by the author from whom we have just quoted that not only was he able to point out faulty passages, but that "where it seemed impossible to rectify mistakes owing to complications, through incorrect copying, he re-wrote the particular bar, according to his own intelligence." As a composer we shall have to speak of Luther when we come to deal with his hymns; in the meantime it need only be said that in the inventing and setting of musical phrases to words he showed unquestionably high attainments.

To his theoretical knowledge of music, and his skill in the handling of his favourite musical instruments, Luther added an intense and passionate love of the art itself. What were his opinions on this head we know tolerably well from his celebrated Table-talk. Except theology, there is no art which can be placed in comparison with music, he says on one occasion; on another, "As for them who despise music, the dreamers and mystics, I despise them." Again, "Singing is the best exercise there is; we have nothing else at all comparable with it. I am glad that God has denied to those obstinate rebels of peasants a gift so valuable, so full of consolation; they do not care for music, and they reject the Word of God." Music he considered an absolutely indispensable branch of education. In a treatise dedicated to "all lovers of the art," he says, "I have loved music at all times. Whoever has mastered this art will be capable of anything else. Music is

a necessity in schools." It was part of Luther's faith that there were devils about continually besetting men ; and it is interesting to note that music is nearly always given as the prescription for getting rid of these evil spirits. "The devil," says our Reformer, "is a saturnine spirit, and music is hateful to him, and drives him far away from it." Quotations of this nature could be multiplied to almost any extent, but enough has already been said to prove that Luther was endowed with musical gifts of a very high order—such gifts, indeed, as almost entitle him to be classed among the professed musicians of his time. He was certainly something more than a mere *dilettante*, and if he had not been an ecclesiastic it is probable that he might have accomplished such work as would have fully justified his claim to a place among the acknowledged masters of musical art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As a musical, as well as a religious, reformer, Luther may with truth be said to have come "in the fulness of time." Never was the music of the Church more in need of reform than in the early years of the sixteenth century. As far back as the year 363 the Council of Laodicea had ordained that the laity should not sing in church at all, except in certain simple chants. This rule had continued to be rigidly observed, but the prohibition had long since become unnecessary, as the Latin language in which the ritual of the Church was conducted was now unknown to the great body of the common people. Even if it had been otherwise—if the words of the service had been in the native tongue, and if the congregations had been allowed to take an active part in the music worship—the result would have been practically the same. The music which was at this time employed in the services was of so difficult and intricate a nature that only trained singers could possibly join in it. The majority of the Church composers of the period left altogether out of account the harmonious expression and the poetical meaning of their vocal music, and, instead, indulged in every sort of device which was calculated to show their learning and ingenuity. Even as late as 1549 an Italian author wrote as follows regarding the singing of

the Papal choristers:—"Their sole happiness and merit consist in that, at the same moment of time, when one is saying 'sanctus,' another is singing 'sabbaoth,' and the third, 'gloria tua;' and this confusion of words is accompanied by some screaming, roaring, and growling, which is more like the caterwauling of cats in January than the sweet-scented flowers of the month of May." The fact that the Council of Trent found it necessary to attempt restraining the abuses of the period renders further evidence on this point unnecessary. It may only be added, as showing how slight was the consideration shown for the people, that the whole of the liturgy of the Church was set to music, even the common prayers being delivered in a kind of musical recitative, which was as unnatural as it was devoid of spiritual edification. Thus we see that the congregations, instead of being participators in the services, were little more than mere auditors—auditors, too, of that which they could not understand, and by which, therefore, they could hardly be expected to profit.

To draw the Church music away from this one-sided tendency, to simplify the medium of praise so as to bring it within the reach of the meanest capacity, to substitute for the singing of priests and choristers a united burst of song from the voice of the people, this was one of the aims which Luther had in view when he began to think out those projects for the reformation of the Church, which led in the end to such great and lasting results. He had come to see that before the spiritual independence of the individual worshipper could be secured, the ban which the Council of Laodicea had placed upon Church music must be removed. The old Latin liturgy must give way to something which the people could understand, something in which they would be allowed to join, and which would form a medium for bringing them more into communion with the spirit of the service than the musical parts of the Mass had ever done. This something was at once found in the German congregational hymn.

There is not wanting evidence to show that hymns in the mother tongue were sung during the service before Luther's time; but it would appear that these hymns were considered

*ex liturgica*, and were used only at processions and on high festivals. The desire of the Reformer was, however, that the congregational song, instead of being almost entirely subordinate, should form the chief element of the musical part of the service. "I wish," says he, "after the example of the prophets and ancient fathers of the Church, to make German psalms for the people, that is to say, sacred hymns, so that the Word of God may dwell among the people by means of song also." And here we may note the difference of opinion which existed between Luther and Calvin as to what should form the leading ingredient of congregational praise. The former placed the psalms in a subordinate position, giving the chief place in the service of praise to hymns; the latter reversed this order of precedence, assigning to the psalms the first place, and supplementing them only by a very limited hymnology.

It was in 1524 that the first Protestant hymn-book appeared. To what extent Luther himself had co-operated in compiling the collection is not certain, but at any rate, in both this and subsequent editions (of which there were several), there are undoubtedly many hymns from his pen, some being original, others mere adaptations or translations of old Latin hymns, which the Reformer counted as among the good things kept alive by the power of God. According to the latest German authorities, the apportionment of Luther's work as a hymn-writer should be as follows:—

Original hymns	...	...	...	...	...	5
Hymns based upon passages of the Bible	...	...	...	...	...	8
Hymns based upon Latin psalms	...	...	...	...	...	7
Corrections or arrangements of early German hymns	...	...	...	...	...	4
Amplifications of early German translations of Latin hymns	...	...	...	...	...	2
Translations and arrangements of Latin hymns	...	...	...	...	...	10

The immediate popularity which these first Protestant hymns secured was immense. "They were taught in the schools and carried through the country by wandering scholars until his enemies declared that Luther had destroyed more souls by his hymns than by his writings and speeches."

It hardly falls within the scope of our article to deal with Luther as a hymn-writer ; yet one cannot help remarking how truly his hymns re-echo the Reformer's own great spirit. As Dr. Bayne, his latest biographer, has said, "No heart of modern man has rung so true to that grand note of Hebrew song, the faith of Israel in his God, as Luther's. . . . It may be said of Luther's hymns generally that they are characterised by a rugged but fundamentally melodious rhythm, a piercing intensity and expressiveness, with tender, lovely, picturesque touches here and there. Above all, they are sincere. They seem to thrill with an intensity of feeling beyond their power of expression, like the glistening of stars whose silence speaks of God." As Spangenberg, in his Preface to the *Cithara Lutheri*, 1545, remarks, there is nothing forced, nothing foisted in or patched up, nothing fragmentary in Luther's hymns. "The rhymes are easy and good, the words choice and proper, the meaning clear and intelligible, the melodies lovely and hearty, and *in summa* all is so rare and majestic, so full of pith and power, so cheering and comforting, that, in sooth, you will not find his equal, much less his master." Every warmth of expression, every kind of imagery, every variety of metre was employed by this bold and fervent man to arouse the attention and kindle the affection of his people. Incomparably the finest, as it is the most celebrated, of all his hymns is the noble "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," founded on the forty-sixth Psalm. This was the true war-song of the Reformation in Germany. It breathes the force of battles, and thrills in every line with unconquerable faith and Christian heroism. As Carlyle has said, "There is something in it like the sound of Alpine avalanches, or the first murmur of earthquakes, in the very vastness of which dissonance a higher unison is revealed to us. Luther wrote this song in times of blackest threatenings, which, however, could in no sense become a time of despair." . . . It is evident enough that to the author "all popes, cardinals, emperors, devils, all hosts and nations were weak as the forest with all its strong trees might be to the smallest spark of electric fire." "Ein feste Burg"

has lived in the hearts of the German nation through three centuries, and is still a song of trust and consolation in hours of trial and anxiety. Another famous hymn is the "Aus tiefer Noth," based on the hundred-and-thirtieth Psalm. It has always been one of the funeral hymns of Germany, and was sung at Luther's own funeral by the thousands of men and women who attended the body to the grave. The best of the strictly original Lutheran hymns is perhaps that very fine song of thanksgiving, "Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gemein," "Dear Christian people, now rejoice." The didactic character of this hymn has no doubt prevented its general introduction into public worship; but we have it on the authority of a writer of the time that through means of it alone many hundred Christians were brought to the true faith in the early days of the Reformation. The hymn which is known specifically as "Luther's Hymn" ("Great God, what do I see and hear?") cannot with certainty be ascribed to the Reformer, although, as tradition has connected his name with it, he was more than likely the author.

But we must pass now from the hymns themselves to speak of the tunes with which they were first associated. Although, as we have seen, Luther was himself a thoroughly expert musician, he did not hesitate to avail himself of the assistance of strictly professional men in selecting and arranging the melodies for the Protestant hymn-book. To John Walther, the bandmaster of Freiderich the Wise, the Reformer says he was in particular indebted for help in this work of selection, but there were no doubt others who rendered him valuable aid. It was now that the chorale, from which our modern hymn-tune is derived, was introduced into the worship of the Churches. There already existed many fine Latin and Greek tunes from the earliest days, but these had in process of time been invested with such intricate harmonies as rendered them unfit for use by the great body of the people. What was required was something which would embody the elements of regularity, energy, dignity, beauty, and aptitude for popular performance: in the chorale these elements were now for the first time united.

The sources from whence Luther and his coadjutors drew the melodies for the new hymns were various : many of them were adapted from the ancient music of the Roman Church, many were specially composed, and some were taken from altogether secular sources. In regard to the latter point, Luther was supposed by the more strict theologians to have erred grievously. It was insisted that "whatever had been devoted to the use of Satan and the world should be banished from the Church, for it giveth offence." But Luther was wiser than his critics. He saw that one of the best ways of appealing to the people would be through their own popular melodies ; and if he granted that these melodies had ever been devoted to Satan he probably thought that Satan, being no friend of music, would not object to the Protestants robbing him of this portion of his property. Besides, it had been quite customary since the time of the Netherland counterpointists to take secular compositions and convert them to the use of the Church ; and it would, therefore, have seemed doubly convenient to get over the lack of Protestant melodies in this manner.

A very large proportion of the melodies in the Protestant hymn-book were at first supposed to be the original composition of Luther himself. As time wore on, however, the number ascribed to him became gradually less, until now not more than twelve tunes are associated with his name. Two of these can with certainty be ascribed to him, six are only probably his, and the remaining four are very doubtfully of his composition. The splendid chorale set to "Ein feste Burg" is the first of the two melodies which were certainly composed by the Reformer. Of this noble tune it might not inaptly be said that the very spirit of the Reformation has been quasi-musically crystallised in its strains. It has long been known in our country, having been, indeed, the first chorale printed in England. The second melody ascribed without doubt to Luther is that of "Isaiah the Prophet," which appeared in the place of the Sanctus in the Reformer's "Eine weiss, Christlich mess zu halten," 1526. We strongly incline to the opinion that many more of the

first Protestant tunes might with confidence be put down as the composition of Luther, but in the absence of incontestable evidence it is perhaps best to leave the matter where it is. One thing is at least certain: the man who could write such a melody as that of "Ein feste Burg" was capable of composing, had he been so inclined, any number of tunes such as we find associated with the early Protestant hymns. Many of them are in every way inferior to this magnificent chorale; but most of them are sufficiently meritorious to make it worth while claiming them for Luther, if only we had evidence to support the claim. At any rate, let us not forget that to Luther, whether as composer, editor, or arranger, we owe all that is grand and solemn and dignified in our present style of Church music. The modern hymn-tune is fast becoming a light, pretty, sentimental thing, more fitted for the concert-room than for the Church; but we have still a rich heritage of the classics of sacred song, and this heritage we owe entirely to the genius of Martin Luther in his capacities of musician and poet.

We must not, however, leave our readers with the idea that the Reformer sought for his Church services nothing more from the musical art than the chorale or hymn-tune. We know that one of his earliest efforts was to replace the Latin Mass by one sung in the German tongue, and to music of a popular character. "I should to-day rejoice if we had a German Mass," he says, in his essay entitled *The Heavenly Prophets*. "I live with that hope constantly before me, and should much like that our Mass had a true German style and manner. The one we have now, with its Latin tone . . . is neither an agreeable nor honest mixture." During the year 1524 he spent a considerable portion of his time devising, arranging, and consulting as to the shape this German Mass should take, and the music to be set to it. Here again he had the assistance of Walther, who tells us that Luther kept him "three long weeks at Wittenberg to write choral notes to Gospels and Epistles, until the first German Mass should be sung in the parish church."

The date of this first performance was Christmas Day,



1524, but the service itself was not published until the following year. The work bore the title of the "Order of the German Mass," and contained the following alterations: For the Introit there was substituted a German psalm or hymn; then followed the Kyrie Eleison, sung three times instead of nine as formerly; after the Collect and Epistle a German hymn was sung, and after the Gospel, instead of the Latin "Patrem," the Creed in German. After this came the sermon which was followed by a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and the Exhortation to Communicants, and the whole closed with the singing of either "Isaiah the Prophet," Huss's hymn, "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland," or "Christe, du Lamm Gottes." It is evident, as a recent writer has pointed out, that while thus introducing a more popular element into the music of the Mass, Luther did not despise the singing of a trained choir. In one of his works he says, "I rejoice to let the seventy-ninth Psalm, 'O God, the heathen are come,' be sung as usual, one choir after another. Accordingly, let one sweet-voiced boy step before the desk in his choir and sing alone the antiphon or sentence, 'Domine, ne secundum,' and after him let another boy sing the other sentence, 'Domine, ne memineris'; and then let the whole choir sing on their knees, 'Adjuva nos, Deus,' just as it was in the Popish Fasts for it sounds and looks very devotional."

In all this we have evidence of how zealously the Reformer strove after the ever-increasing beauty of music in the service of the sanctuary, and how little his desire was to give the death-blow to the arts, as some of his fanatical followers have done. The later Protestant Church has but too frequently run counter to art of every kind, and has failed to press into its service much of what was best in the musical products of the time. But just so far as this has been the case, so far has the Church departed from the principles of its greatest champion, for he who exalted theology and placed it in a new light, exalted also the Divine art of music, and converted it from a mere ecclesiastical machine into one of the most joyous forms of Christian worship.

J. CUTHBERT HADDEN.

## CURRENT LITERATURE.

**Apologetics.** In the *Mystery of the Universe* (1) Mr Reynolds pursues his well-intentioned task of defending "Our Common Faith" from the attacks of scientific and other assailants. He does this by first proposing a series of what he calls "Puzzles for Sceptics," and then in ten "themes" restating the old truths with whatever he has been able to collect of new helps and assistance towards their support. He also at times carries the war over into the field of his opponents, and gives them many a vigorous thrust. Mr. Reynolds calls to his aid a most extensive research, and applies the resources of poetry and prose to the work he has undertaken. His book is a large and very interesting one. It will probably be more useful in the way of supporting belief in those who already possess it, than in confuting those who disbelieve, or in dispelling the doubts which afflict a good many. Mr. Reynolds is as enthusiastic as he is learned, he is also very eager; and his style shows that his learning sometimes prevents him from stating his conclusions in such a manner as the ordinary reader can readily grasp. We heartily wish Mr. Reynolds every success in his praiseworthy endeavours; and can recommend this, as well as his other works, to the careful attention of all who take an interest in the grave questions under debate—and these must be numerous indeed.

In *The World to Come* (2) Mr. Reynolds sets out, in his usual manner, the theories upon the subject of Immortality and the Life to Come in thirty chapters, which he calls "researches." Most people will agree with him that "it is a grand thing to know that we shall not die, but live. It is good to be able to accept immortality as the great fact made clear by Christ to those who accepted His Divine authority; to show all other men that it was a truth seen of old, though dimly, and now is exhibited in the light of modern science as a truth not less wonderful than that of the conservation of energy. If," says Mr. Reynolds, "I am able to comfort any who are of doubtful mind, to give more evident purpose to life, and to show death as a blissful rather than a dreaded change, great will be my gladness." Such is the aim and purpose of the work, and we may say that it very well carries out its intention. We can cordially recommend it.

We gladly welcome Dr. W. Morison's work, *The Footprints of the Revealer* (3), as being a valuable addition to the array of Christian Apologetics. The work is conceived in a moderate and

reverent spirit, and the devoutness of the author is as apparent as his acumen. His aim is to show that Christianity is a manifestation of God, and carries the evidence of Divine origin along with it. The more immediate purpose of the book is to give to thoughtful young men who are inquirers a "statement sympathetic in spirit, adequate in argument, popular in style, and convenient in form, of the grounds for belief in Christianity as a revelation." Dr. Morison holds that "the miraculous is not some ornament *laid on* the building of Christianity which could be stripped away, leaving the building still complete and habitable. It is a *part* of the edifice; tear it out, the structure sinks in dust and rubbish to the ground." He examines the objections to miracles raised by Hume, Mill, Arnold, and others, and gives a good and sufficient reply. Archbishop Trench speaks of miracles as being the seal of a doctrine which must first commend itself to the conscience as being good; but, says Dr. Morison, what is the use of a miracle if our moral nature gives a better proof of the truth of a doctrine? And what is the use of the sealing of the doctrine by the miracle afterwards, when we are so sure of the doctrine that we have been able to "seal" the miracle by it? The chapter on the effects of the Gospel is particularly good. The whole book is strengthening to the faith and refreshing to the intellect.

*Our Celestial Home* (4) is an interesting little work by J. G. Porter, the Director of the Cincinnati Observatory. Mr. Porter is of undoubted authority as an astronomer, and here he gives us the result of some of his observations and considerations with regard to what we may call the theological part of his science, the use of the worlds which lie outside our own, and the regeneration of the globe on which we live. "Were we left," he says, "entirely to the light of reason, we should be justified in asserting that the weight of probability lies in favour of heaven constituting part of the material universe. The law of continuity forbids the supposition that we are to be transferred at death to a sphere of existence so utterly disconnected with the present as the popular ideas make heaven to be. Except for the eradication of sin, our natures are not to be changed; and why, then, should our surroundings be so totally altered? It is only sin and the consequent curse that make this globe other than paradise. Before evil entered, it was a portion of heaven; and when it shall have been purified by fire, Revelation tells us that it shall again take its place as the abode of righteousness, and become one of the many mansions which Christ is preparing for His people. The other mansions of the Father's house lie all about us." We may not entirely agree with Mr. Porter's conclusions, but his ideas are such as many people will like to know; and, at any rate, it is satisfactory to be able to claim Mr. Porter as a "scientific" supporter of the truths of Holy Writ.

It is difficult to say why a book like *Verities in Verses* (5) should be written, and still more wonderful to think anybody should profitably read it. The verities are well known, but the verses are anything but well done. The intention of the writer is no doubt a good one, but we cannot help thinking that his energies are somewhat misdirected. Yet some people praise this sacred poet, and tell him that they are delighted with the sweetness, wisdom, and point of the verses; but one venerable M.P. says that, though he admires the Scotch pieces, there were some words he could only make out by the aid of a glossary, and not always then.

The Theological Educator is "a series of manuals giving a solid and trustworthy grounding in all branches of theological study." Such is the claim made by them, and judging by the *Outlines of Christian Doctrine* (6) which Mr. Moule has furnished for that series, the claim is well founded. Mr. Moule's is a book of outlines, and is better calculated to help the teacher than to enable a learner to do without help; but if a student has studied the subjects in larger works he will here find a ready reminder. It is really a book of notes, full enough to show that Mr. Moule is very competent to compile such notes, but yet so meagre in some ways that one could much desire to see it enlarged. Each chapter of notes is followed by an historical *résumé* of the doctrines; and the various views are fairly stated, though, of course, Mr. Moule's own leaning is visible everywhere. The work is a marvel of cheapness.

The present seems an age of "Series of Books." The Religious Tract Society have sent us No. 6 of the Christian Classic Series, containing the *Writings of Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland* (7). These consist of the great Irish Saint's Confession, the hymn called the Breastplate, the Epistle to Coroticus, and some doubtful remains. An Appendix contains a version of Patrick's Hymn by Mr. Alexander. The book is carefully edited by Rev. C. H. H. Wright, and is well worth reading, for it is curious, and, in parts, beautiful.

(1) *The Mystery of the Universe*, Our Common Faith. J. W. Reynolds, Rector of St. Anne and St. Agnes, with St. John Zachary, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1884. Price 14s.

(2) *The World to Come*. By J. W. Reynolds, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1888. Price 5s.

(3) *Footprints of the Revealer*. By the Rev. Walter Morison, B.A., D.D. London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1889. Price 5s.

(4) *Our Celestial Home*. By Jerman G. Porter, A.M. London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1888. Price 2s. 6d.

(5) *Verities in Verses*. London: Elliot Stock, 1885. Price 1s.

(6) *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*. By the Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1889. Price 2s. 6d.

(7) *The Writings of Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland*. Edited by the Rev. C. H. H. Wright. Religious Tract Society.

The Rev. H. Heber Evans. *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel* (1) is a little volume in which Mr. Evans gives many extracts from a variety of divines and other writers, and many excellent reasons of his own for believing that St. John is the author of the Gospel which has come down to us under his name. This Gospel has been called the battle ground of the New Testament, and there is no doubt that if its authenticity could be denied and its genuineness disproved, Christianity would receive a very rude shock. We are therefore thankful to find so excellent a defender as Mr. Evans, whose work ought to convince any one that is not wholly given over to doubt or disbelief; and it certainly will strengthen the faith of those who carefully peruse it. It is a scholarly and notable piece of controversial writing.

Mr. Evans has also written a work (2) in which he desires to prove that St. Paul was the author of the Third Gospel and of the Acts; and besides this, another (3) to show that the last twelve verses of the Second Gospel may probably be attributed to him. In these matters Mr. Evans is somewhat in advance of his contemporaries; but he supports his position with abundance of learning and skill. The method he pursues would probably enable him to prove a great deal more if he wished to do so; but Mr. Evans will have done a good work by directing his efforts towards "strengthening the position of these parts of the New Testament against rationalistic attacks." The parallelism between the Gospel according to St. Luke and the Acts is well brought out, and the table of reference for the phrases common to St. Luke's Gospel or the Acts, and to St. Paul's writings, is very striking. The difficulty which there is in the alleged discrepancy between the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians, Mr. Evans says he must leave abler scholars and better divines to deal with; and he does not attach a very great measure of importance to Dr. Hobart's work on the medical language of St. Luke. There is in Note D of the second part a curious analogy drawn between Ezra and St. Paul.

(1) *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*. By the Rev. H. Heber Evans, B.A. London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1888.

(2) *St. Paul the Author of the Acts*. By the same. London: Wyman & Sons 1884. Two Parts.

(3) *St. Paul the Author of the Last Twelve Verses of the Second Gospel*. By the same. J. Nisbet & Co., 1886.

**Commentaries.** *Exodus* (1) forms two volumes of the handbooks for Bible-classes and Private students edited by Dr. M. Dods and Dr. A. White. The author is Dr. Macgregor, of Oamaru; who has brought to his task a great amount of learning and discrimination. The information contained in the volumes is quite up to date, and the author fairly grapples with the questions of authorship and the miraculous and other matters which are now in dispute. The introduction is valuable; but the Commentary proper is rather involved. There is the text, then notes upon the text, then reflections, and lastly exercises, which are all more or less mixed together. We confidently recommend this work, and any one who diligently reads the Book of Exodus by the aid Dr. Macgregor gives cannot fail to be greatly benefited.

The tenth volume of *The People's Bible* (2) is before us, in which Dr. Parker discourses upon 2 Chronicles xxi.—end, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. Each discourse is prefaced by a prayer, and forms a homiletic commentary on the various chapters as they come; and then there is a more detailed sermon on some particular passage. The character sketches connected with the Chronicles are interesting and oftentimes suggestive. Ezra commences with a biography, and the personal history of Nehemiah is put at the end of his book, after certain short sermon sketches called "Handfuls of Purpose." The Commentary on "Esther" is somewhat different from that on the other books; the 6th chapter has observations after separate verses or paragraphs. The whole work is suitable for private or family reading.

The two Volumes of the *Sermon Bible* (3) now before us contain sermon sketches on almost every verse of the Old Testament from 1 Kings to the end of the Song of Solomon. They are taken from all sorts of sources, and are supplemented in most cases with references to other sermons on the same text or subject. Ecclesiastes has an introduction taken from Dr. Momerie, who is of opinion that Solomon is not its author, but that it was written not earlier than 250 B.C. by a wealthy Jew who spent his childhood in Palestine and his manhood in Alexandria. The introduction to the Song of Solomon is taken from E. Monro's *Practical Sermons*, wherein he states that it was written by that monarch with reference to Pharaoh's daughters, and "has evidently a deep symbolical meaning. . . . The Church has ever in her days of earnestness and special devotion used the Song of Solomon." "The Song is typical of the acts of our

Lord's life. His passion and resurrection are unmistakably shadowed forth in it." So it will be seen that the compiler of this work has no special prejudices. The sermon notes are often extremely well done, and there is much in the volume to help a preacher.

We have received a little work, entitled *A Translation in English daily used of the Peshito-Syriac Text, and of the Received Greek Text of Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John* (4). This consists of forty-eight pages of small type unnumbered, and has some notes at the foot. The major portion of the work consists of an introduction of 132 pages, in which the author sets forth a good deal of information on the question of the Syriac or Aramaic language, and the value of the Peshito version of the Scriptures. He claims for it a very great antiquity and importance, and in the course of the discussion he condemns in many points the Revised Version and the conclusions of Drs. Westcott and Hort. Mr. Norton has evidently gone into the matter with a great deal of care, and his little book is worth studying.

The Vicar of St. Benet's, Mile End Road, has just issued the fourth volume of the *Monthly Notes for the Bible and Prayer Union* (5), which has members in all parts of the world, who bind themselves to read one and the same chapter daily, asking God's blessing on the Word read, and to pray for all the members every Sunday. The several days of the month have their chapter assigned, and there are short notes to help the understanding of the Scriptures. The whole Bible seems to take nearly four years to read through. There can be little doubt that this Union is doing a good work, for what is as much required as anything nowadays is a knowledge of what is really in the Bible itself; and this can only be got by an orderly reading from end to end.

(1) *Handbooks for Bible-classes. Exodus.* Two Vols. By Professor Macgregor, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

(2) *The People's Bible.* By J. Parker, D.D. Vol. x. London: Hazell, Watson & Viney, Limited, 1889. Price 8s.

(3). *Sermon Bible.* Vols. ii. and iii. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1889. Price 7s. 6d. each.

(4) *A Translation in English daily used of the Peshito-Syriac Text, and of the Received Greek Text of Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John.* By William Norton, of North Devon. London: W. K. Bloom, Furnival Street, Holborn, 1889.

(5) *Monthly Notes Bible and Prayer Union.* Vol. iv. London: Bagster & Sons.

*The Pulpit Commentary* (1) on St. Luke's Gospel is fully up to the high level of its predecessors. It has a scholarly introduction, in which the authenticity and genuineness of the work are fully considered and clearly established. Its history is traced up to the latter part of the first century, and a catena of proof is furnished which ought to satisfy even the most exigent. Mr. Heber Evans has written a work to prove that St. Paul was the author of St. Luke as well as the Acts of the Apostles; the writer of the introduction to the Commentary under consideration does not go so far as that, but he allows that the Gospel (and by inference the Acts too) was written under the guidance of St. Paul. The especial features and the particular teaching of the Gospel of St. Luke are well stated. We are told that it is especially the Gospel of Hope, and that there is no real difference between the fundamental doctrines taught in this Gospel and those laid down in the first, second, and fourth. St. Luke's characteristics as a physician are considered, and the introduction concludes with a short account of St. Luke's life gathered from other sources than the New Testament. The critical part of the Commentary is plain, good, and sufficient; such difficulties as the Gospel contains are fairly grappled with. The genealogy in the third chapter is accounted for as being that of Mary, while that in St. Matthew's Gospel is the genealogy of Joseph; the temptation is shown to be a spiritual onslaught of the adversary, which may be as real as a bodily one; and the great characteristic feature in St. Luke's Gospel, distinguishing it especially from the other two synoptical Gospels—the events in the public ministry of Jesus dwelt on in chaps. x.-xx.—is carefully gone into. The author inclines to the belief that this section, oftentimes spoken of as the journeyings towards Jerusalem, records events which happened shortly before the close of our Lord's public life; filling up, roughly speaking, the last six or seven months of His earthly career; and he thinks that as in the earlier chapters there is high probability that the Virgin Mother furnished the specific information which St. Luke gives, so here there is little doubt that St. Paul and Luke in their researches during the composition of the third Gospel met with men and women who had been with Jesus in that last journey, and were eye-witnesses of what is recorded. The Homiletic portion of the Commentary is very suggestive, and many a good sermon may be constructed from the heads and hints here given. Altogether the Commentary is worthy of high praise, and any preacher or teacher of the Gospel, or indeed any one who desires to read the Scriptures with understanding, will be greatly assisted by studying this well-arranged and valuable work.

(1) *The Pulpit Commentary*, on the Gospel according to St. Luke. Edited by Very Rev. H. D. M. Spence, D.D., and the Rev. Joseph Exell, M.A. Two vols. Price 10s 6d. each. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.