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ART. I.—CHRISTMAS.

WHEN the full sound of immemorial song  
From voice and rolling organ swells once more  
The holly-wreathèd nave and aisle along,  
And wakes an echo of that minstrel-throng  
So sudden over Ephrath seen of yore—  
The marshalled sons of morn, immortal quires,  
Come from eternity on lightning wing  
To touch in earthly air their solemn lyres  
Of deep celestial tone and mystic string,  
Lyres which thro' circles of eternal time  
Had sounded heaven's pure joys and acts sublime;—  
When we consider how such harpings blent  
In such divine concert  
To chant in mortal ears an Infant's birth;  
Say—what is Man, that he can thus from high  
Draw whole cherubic squadrons down to earth?  
Say, what is Man, frail pilgrim o'er the dust,  
In dust to vanish? Rather now by far  
What is he *not*, we ask, what shall not be  
His honour, power, and immortality,  
Redeemed, renewed, and like a morning star  
Waked in the resurrection of the just!

H. DUNELM.

ART. II.—NOTES ON THE SIXTH CHAPTER OF  
ST. JOHN.

II.

THE relation between the teaching in the synagogue at Capernaum and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ is both obvious and intimate. Is it a primary or a secondary relation? In other words, are we to read the discourse as a direct revelation on the Sacrament as its proper subject, or as the revelation of a transcendental truth, in itself independent of the Sacrament, but of which the Sacrament, when instituted, is the expression and application?

We have now read the discourse in the latter sense, being led to do so by the following reasons:

1. To this effect is the guidance of Scripture, which dissociates the discourse from the institution. St. John, who gives the discourse, does not mention the institution, though giving an ample report of other incidents on the evening on which it took place; and in his narrative the discourse occurs a year before the institution. The separation is distinct.

2. A discourse on the Sacrament (not then existing) would have been entirely irrelevant to the audience addressed—even the best part of them—and would have been quite out of place in that stage of our Lord's teaching, in which foundations and outlines of essential truth are being laid down.

3. The discourse is, on the face of it, the declaration of a great spiritual truth concerning the communication and sustenance of eternal life, as mediated by the Speaker in His own person, and as received on the part of man by responsive spiritual acts—coming and believing—without any suggestion of external ordinance or visible sign.

4. It is evident that the universal denial, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves," and the universal assertion, "He that eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day," if limited to the sacramental act, would not be true without great reservations and exceptions imported into them.

5. Finally, such a limitation to an ordinance and an act seems precluded by the canon of interpretation given at the end, which declares that "it is the Spirit which quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing," and that all "the words which have been spoken are spirit and are life."

These considerations forbid us to interpret the discourse by the Sacrament, but they teach us to interpret the Sacrament by the discourse, since the one is the promulgation of a

general principle of spiritual life, and the other is the creation of a particular instance under it. The relation between the two is fundamental, consisting in the same mystery delivered by the same authority. The authority is the same—that of Jesus Christ in person. His own lips spake the word in the synagogue at Capernaum, and that in the upper chamber at Jerusalem. In both cases there is one voice and one mind. The mystery is the same; taking that word in its Scriptural sense of a hidden truth revealed, a fact in the purpose and government of God, not discovered or discoverable, but disclosed by His Word. Here it is that of the incarnate Son, as the bread of life for man; in His human nature, through the medium of His flesh and blood, made the source and sustenance of life in the Spirit. This mystery, set forth in the discourse, is *assumed* in the words which institute the Sacrament. Yet, further, the participation by man in this bread of life is declared, in the discourse, to be personal, individual, voluntary, by an action of faith which takes, receives, and appropriates the virtue of the flesh and blood of Christ, as the act of eating and drinking appropriates the nourishment that is in food. In the Sacrament, this similitude is no longer a parable, the bodily act giving effect to the spiritual intention; so that there is simultaneous reception of the sign and participation in the thing signified.

We have thus recognised the close relation between the discourse and the institution as being (1) by the same authority—that of the Lord Himself; (2) on the same subject—the participation of Christ's flesh and blood; and (3) with the same demand for personal appropriation of the benefit. It remains to note the differences by which the relation is modified. These are noticeable in three respects:

1. There is the difference between a truth revealed and a means ordained. In the discourse the truth is set forth in the abstract, without complication with methods, persons, or circumstances, and there the affirmations or denials of eternal life are unreserved and absolute. It is otherwise with the ordinance, which is in the region of the concrete and the actual, where human variations and uncertainties come in, and the universal assertions of the discourse do not unreservedly apply. On the other hand, the ordinance has its proper office, not explicitly mentioned in the discourse, being instituted, not primarily for exhibition of truth which it records, but for the conveyance of grace which it imparts—viz., the truth and the grace of Christ incarnate, the food of the soul. It is instrumental, as well as symbolic, and that in virtue, not of the faith of the recipient, but of the institution of Christ. Faith takes and receives; but it can only take and receive

what is given; and the grace of participation is given for all time, and also given on each occasion by the instituting words: "Take, eat; this is My body. Drink ye all of it; this is My blood of the Covenant." The recitation of the institution is therefore the canon of consecration, and every communion is an association with the original act and moment, as is expressed in the name, now too seldom used, "the Supper of the Lord."

2. There is a difference of idea, one that is predominant in the institution being scarcely traceable in the discourse—the idea, that is, of death and sacrifice. The institution of the Sacrament takes place between the Passover, with its historic and prophetic meanings, and the death in which they are fulfilled. That which is eaten is the "body (given or broken) for you," that which is drunk is the "blood shed for you (for many) unto remission of sins"; and the ordinance remains for ever a commemoration of *the sacrifice of the death of Christ*, and a participation in the same. The discourse has no word on death or sacrifice. Only it is said, "Yea, and the bread which I will give is My flesh, for the life of the world." And there follow words which declare this flesh to be meat indeed and this blood to be drink indeed for life eternal, and then open into loftier regions of thought on the life which is in the living Father, which is derived to the Son, and imparted to those who feed on His flesh and blood by the action of that faith which the discourse throughout demands.

3. We have further to note a difference of language in the general revelation of the mystery in the discourse, and the particular application of it in the institution of the Sacrament. The *τρογγεῖν τὴν σάρκα* in the former is changed in the latter to *φαγεῖν τὸ σῶμα*, the feeding on the flesh into the eating the body. On such a subject, difference of wording is difference of intention. When it is said, *λάβετε φάγετε* ("Take, eat"), a definite act is enjoined; and it might have seemed natural to use the former language of eating the flesh. But this is avoided. Another word is used: "This is My body." So St. Paul says, "The bread which we break is it not a communion of the body of Christ?" and dwells afterward on the significance of the word. Now, whereas in daily life the eating of flesh is a common act and an accustomed expression, while the eating of a body is neither one nor the other, it follows that the avoidance of the one word and the employment of the other, in the case of the Holy Sacrament, must have intentional significance. We observe that in the human constitution flesh is the material substance, and body the entire organism; and therefore we have the right to say first that the one expression presents to the mind a more entire Christ than the other does, a Christ complete in the

frame and constitution which He took for our sake, in which His personality was expressed and His work on earth was done. Secondly, we may say that the word used in the institution applies to the death of sacrifice more fitly than that used in the discourse. The bodies of beasts were offered in sacrifice, not their flesh, and the blood which was shed in the act was that which vitalized the body, and was regarded as "the life thereof." So the truth of sacrifice is affirmed in "My body, which is given for you," and "My blood, which is shed for you for remission of sins." And in like manner it is said, "He reconciled us in the body of His flesh through death" (Col. i. 22), and "Who His own self bare our sins in His body upon the tree" (1 Pet. ii. 24). Marvellous words! which in their conciseness recall the lifting-up and exposure of the sacred form by the manner of death inflicted, and at the same time affirm the voluntary sacrifice for us and for our sins. Yet, further, we observe that "communion of the body" has a more figurative character than would belong to "communion of the flesh," and gives less occasion for materialistic conceptions, such especially as transubstantiation. A change of the substance of bread into that of flesh is more possible to the imagination than its change into a body. Hence there is in some quarters a disposition to use the one expression as simply an equivalent for the other; and preachers will sometimes insist on the words of John vi. 23, 24, not as having application to the Sacrament, but as definitely spoken concerning it.

There is a passage in our Communion Office which is an interesting illustration of the difference. In the Prayer of Humble Access we say: "Grant us, gracious Lord, so to eat the FLESH of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His *body*, and our souls washed through His most precious blood." This is not a mere variation of wording, but a helpful distinction of thought. There is a departure from the language of the institution and of the whole service, and an adoption of the language of the discourse, in order to fix the mind on the spiritual act which is there impressed. The prayer is not that we may so receive the consecrated elements, but that, in so doing, we may so perform the inward and spiritual act of feeding by faith on the flesh and blood of the Son of God, that the sanctifying consequences of the reception may follow, as in that case they surely will. Indeed, it may be said that this prayer is an implicit commentary on the words of the discourse, and on their relation to the Holy Communion in the sense in which the subject has been treated here.

We have, then, in the Lord's words on the first occasion, a

disclosure of the mystery of His manifestation in the flesh while it is yet in progress ; in His words on the second occasion a completion of the same when it reaches its close.

When that manifestation was passing before the eyes of men, they saw only the appearance, but knew not what it meant. When the third year came, it was time to lift the veil a little, though the light must fall on minds offended or perplexed. Yet there must be the witness that the flesh and blood are intermediary for communication of life to the world, because the human is the incarnation of the Divine. Through the same medium by which the life is given must it also be sought and received ; and the believer eats the flesh of Christ and drinks His blood, while he derives from his Saviour, as thus manifested, food and nourishment for his soul and supplies of a life which, without it, he has not in himself.

A year later the brief history reaches its close in the cross and passion, the predestined goal and consummation of the manifestation in the flesh, achieving, in the mystery of the will and love of God, the redemption of man and the reconciliation of the world. This, which could not be prematurely told in the discourse, but which may be read (as we say) between the lines as present to the consciousness of the speaker, is in the words of the institution revealed, and at the same time expressed in a commemorative act for ever. The commemoration is made a participation. The spiritual eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood enjoined in the discourse is to be realized in a sacramental eating of the body as given for us, and drinking of the blood as shed for remission of sins. Thus partaking in what He wrought for us in the flesh, we are made sharers in His present life in glory : " We dwell in Christ, and Christ in us ; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us."

To this review certain reflections may be added :

1. The action of the faith which spiritually feeds on Christ, as taught in the discourse, is in the institution for ever linked with the sacramental reception, yet not necessarily restricted to it. We can say the grace of participation is here, but we cannot say it is nowhere else. There is danger, we know, in a universal negative, and such propositions as " *Nulla salus extra ecclesiam*," and " *No grace without the Sacraments*," incur that danger. We hold with perfect confidence, we teach with unhesitating authority, the efficacy of the means ordained by Christ our Lord in the Gospel ; but we know not in what other ways His grace may act in making men participants in Himself. In the one case we can affirm positively ; in the other we cannot affirm at all, but neither can we deny.

2. Another thought follows on the study of these profound and pregnant sayings. We reflect on the obligation of a

dutiful adherence to the lines which have been drawn by Jesus Himself, and how dangerous it must be to pass their limits by inferences of our own. The Twenty-eighth Article quietly observes, "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, lifted up, carried about or worshipped." The statement could not be disputed; but it has been said that though these things are not by Christ's ordinance, they are to be done as practical inferences from His words, which make the bread and wine His body and blood. If the elements are thus transmuted, they are to be offered, and they ought to be worshipped. Hence the Sacrifice of the Mass and the Adoration of the Host. These, as we have them before us in Roman Christianity, are not incidental observances. They constitute a great scheme of worship and a conspicuous character of religion, one confessedly not given by the Lord's words, but derived from a materialistic interpretation of them, and then, by inference from that interpretation. Warrant or suggestion from His own lips they have none. In the discourse the flesh and blood of the incarnate Word are presented as the living bread, food which the believing soul appropriates. In the institution the relation of the elements to the sacred body and blood is to be realized in the acts: "Take, eat; this is My body. Drink ye all of it; this is My blood: do this for My memorial." The relation is given for the purpose of the rite, and the purpose of the rite, as defined by the Lord, is communion and commemoration. These are also eucharistic in the very highest sense, both in respect of the fact commemorated and of the grace communicated, demanding and inspiring thanksgiving and praise. So it is of the entire act of faith and worship, of remembrance and reception, that we say at the close, "O Lord our heavenly Father, we Thy humble servants entirely desire Thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving."

NOTE.—With reference to the sentence in the Prayer of Humble Access, it may be allowable to record a personal recollection connected with the comment given above. Forty years ago I was conversing on these topics with a friend, a distinguished scholar, devout thinker, and much-loved man, too soon removed into the world where such questions are no more. The subject at the time was the relation of the Body and Blood of Christ to the sacramental signs after consecration; and the question arose whether the union between the two was such that the Body and Blood would be received by one who should communicate without the spiritual qualifications, and consequently without the sanctifying effects. My friend said that his mind had been then determined in the affirmative by what appeared to him to be the teaching of the Church, as implied in the final prayer before consecration. The petition is, he said, that "we may so eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood that our sinful bodies

may be made clean by His body, and our souls washed through His most precious blood," and that implies that a communicant does eat the flesh and drink the blood; even if he does not *so* do it (in such a manner and spirit) as would be followed by the sanctifying effects. I do not remember my answer, but the observation remained on my mind for after-consideration, with the result that the expression was seen to lead to a conclusion contrary to that which had been suggested; the change of language in this single instance being an adoption of the Lord's word at Capernaum, with the implication that the spiritual act then required is necessary to make the sacramental act a reception of the sacred Body and Blood.

T. D. BERNARD.



### ART. III.—CHALDEAN PRINCES ON THE THRONE OF BABYLON.

#### III.

THE origin and rise of Nabopolassar are subjects that have been much discussed. According to Abydenus, as quoted by Eusebius, he was the Assyrian General sent to Babylon by Sarakos—*i.e.*, Sin-shar-ishkun, the last King of Assyria—to stem the invasion of a host numerous as the locusts that came up from the sea, who on his arrival at that place immediately revolted and turned his arms against his master. This account, as Tiele observes, is by no means a mere fabrication.<sup>1</sup> The locust army coming up from the sea is the rising of the Chaldean tribes, eager to shake off the yoke of Assyria. But that Nabopolassar was an Assyrian General, or an Assyrian by race, seems very improbable. He must rather be looked upon as a Chaldean, appointed by Assurbanipal to the governorship of Babylon. That the Assyrian King should make such an appointment is not so strange as it might appear at first sight. Assurbanipal was doubtless enraged beyond measure with the Babylonians for siding with his rebellious brother, Shamash-shum-ukin. In that rebellion, as we have seen, the Chaldeans were largely mixed up, and amongst them Nabû-bel-zikri, the grandson of Merodach-baladan. Nevertheless, there is evidence that after the death of Nabû-bel-zikri the Assyrian King made overtures to the men of the "Country of the Sea," the leading Chaldean tribe, as though by their means he would hold down the Babylonians. Such, at least, appears to be the intention of the following curiously-worded proclamation:

"The will of the King to the men of the Country of the

<sup>1</sup> See "Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte," Teil II., S. 421.

Sea, the men of the sea, even the sons of my servant — Peace be to your hearts, may you be well! I am watching sharply over you from out my eyes, and from the face of the sin of Nabû-bel-zikri I have entirely separated you. Now Bel-ibni, my servant, my deputy, to go before, I send to be over you. . . . I have joined with you, keeping your good and your benefit in my sight.”<sup>1</sup>

It is, then, not so much to be wondered at that the Governor of Babylon, at the close of the reign of Assurbanipal, should prove to be a Chaldean. It was a stroke of policy, not more risky than that of Esarhaddon, when he appointed Nahid-Marduk, the son of Merodach-baladan, to be vassal-lord of the Kaldi.<sup>2</sup>

The assumption by Nabopolassar of the crown of Babylon follows close on the death of Assurbanipal. The Canon of Ptolemy makes him the successor of *Κινηλαδανος*, the Kandalana of Mr. Pinches' tablet. Further, the Contract Tablets, the History of Berossus, and the Canon of Ptolemy, all agree in assigning twenty-one years as the length of his reign. As, then, his son Nebuchadnezzar succeeded to the crown in 705 B.C., it is clear that the accession of Nabopolassar must be placed in 726 B.C., the death-year of Assurbanipal. The sovereignty of Nabopolassar was confined probably in the first instance to the country in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon, the rest of the Babylonian towns remaining loyal to Assyria. In a Contract Tablet from Erech, dated the seventh year of Sin-shar-ishkun, that Prince is still recognised as King.<sup>3</sup> Presently the Assyrian King endeavoured to put down the newly risen Babylonian monarchy, but a fortunate alliance of Nabopolassar with the King of the Umman-Manda, the Medes of classical story, led to the overthrow of Assyria by that people and the consequent partition of her empire between them and their Babylonian allies.<sup>4</sup> This sudden and utter collapse of Assyria, along with the immense accession of power resulting from it, must have suggested to Nabopolassar to seek after an empire such as no former King of Kaldu had ever conceived of. The earlier Chaldean Kings of Babylon had been content with dominion over Babylonia and the overlordship of the Kaldi; the new monarch sought for a world empire, and if he could not meddle with the North,

<sup>1</sup> See "History of Assurbanipal," by George Smith, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> See Cylinder A of Esarhaddon, Col. II. 32-41.

<sup>3</sup> See "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," Band iv., S. 177.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for September, 1896, Col. II. of the important inscription of Nabonidus found at Mujelibeh. This is the only cuneiform inscription which sheds any light on the fall of Assyria.

determined to extend his dominions to the limits of the West.

I have so far assumed Nabopolassar to be a Chaldean, but it may be asked, Where are the proofs? There are several proofs; but before they can be properly weighed we must divest ourselves of an error, for which there is no longer any excuse—the error of looking upon the terms “Babylonian” and “Chaldean” as synonymous. In this matter, as pointed out above, the records of Assyria have shown us our mistake, and in so doing have shed additional light on the language of Scripture. Owing to the close connection between the Chaldeans and the throne of Babylon, “Babylon” is found in the Book of Isaiah as a parallel to “the Chaldeans,” and “the virgin daughter of Babylon” answers to “the daughter of the Chaldeans.”<sup>1</sup> The same parallel is of frequent occurrence in the Book of Jeremiah (see especially chaps. l. and li.), and occurs also in Ezek. xii. 13. Nevertheless, it is probable that the sacred writers were quite as well acquainted with the difference between the Chaldeans and the native Babylonians as Sennacherib was, when he distinguishes between “Shuzub the Chaldean” and “Shuzub of Babylon.” Thus, when Habakkuk foretold how the Lord would “raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation,”<sup>2</sup> he could not have been thinking of the peaceable, ease-loving Babylonians. Again, when Ezekiel speaks of the figures of the Chaldeans portrayed on the walls of the palaces of Babylon, though he terms them “Babylonians,” seeing that they are the ruling race, and have made Babylon the seat of their power, yet he is at no loss as to their ethnic origin, for he adds immediately after “*the land of whose nativity is Chaldea.*”<sup>3</sup> Lastly, in the Book of Jeremiah, whilst Nebuchadnezzar is frequently styled “the King of Babylon”—his proudest title—yet his army is “the army of the *Chaldees*,” and *not* of the Babylonians, seeing that the Chaldeans are the dominant military power. As, then, Scripture uses the term Chaldeans in its proper sense, to Scripture we make our first appeal in proof of the Chaldean origin of Nebuchadnezzar, and therefore of Nabopolassar. Thus, in the Book of Jeremiah Nebuchadnezzar appears at the head of a Chaldean army, and is, therefore, presumably a Chaldean himself. Further, when we turn to the Book of Ezra, this presumption appears as a fact. In the letter of Tattenai to Darius he is expressly called “Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, *the Chaldean.*”<sup>4</sup> Next to Holy

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xlvi. 1, 5; and xlvi. 14, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Hab. i. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxiii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ezra v. 12. Compare Tiele's words with respect to Nabopolassar: “Dass er ein Chaldäer war, steht bei mir ausser Zweifel. Ist es doch

Writ we point to the extracts from Berosus, preserved in the pages of Josephus. Berosus was a learned Chaldean priest, who wrote a history of Babylon early in the third century B.C. Quoting from this history, Josephus informs us that on the death of Nabopolassar his son, Nebuchadnezzar, "went in haste, having but a few with him, over the desert to Babylon; whither, when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal persons among them had preserved the kingdom for him."<sup>1</sup> It is clear from this extract from Berosus that Nebuchadnezzar must have been a Chaldean, since it is most unlikely that this warlike race would reserve the kingdom for one who was of a different nationality from themselves. Other proofs may be obtained from ancient writers. Thus Alexander Polyhistor speaks of "Sardanapallus (:) the *Chaldean*," who reigned twenty-one years, as being the father of Nabucodrossor (Nebuchadnezzar).<sup>2</sup> Here, though the name is at fault, yet it is quite clear who is the person meant, viz., Nabopolassar. Again, we read in the pages of Diodorus Siculus that Belesys was the founder of the New Babylonian Empire.<sup>3</sup> But this name Belesys, or *Balasu*, was a Chaldean name, and belonged to the royal house of Bit-Dakuri.<sup>4</sup> It is, therefore, possible that Nabopolassar was one of the Princes of Bit-Dakuri, that his original name was *Balasu*, and that he assumed the name of Nabopolassar when he mounted the throne of Babylon.

There is, however, a yet further indication of the Chaldean origin of the Kings of the New Babylonian Empire—to wit, the character of their names. It has been pointed out above that the names of the gods Merodach and Nebo invariably form an element in the names of the Chaldean Kings of Babylon. Thus, in Dynasty VIIIA., we have :

Nabû-kin-aplu,  
 Erba-Marduk,  
 Nabû-shum-yukin I.,  
 Nabû-apal-iddina,  
 Marduk-nadin-shumu,  
 Marduk-balatsu-iqbi ;

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bedeuts amer, als gewöhnlich angenommen wird, dass die Juden diese Monarchie so bestimmt eine Chaldaische nennen. Sie kannten die ethnische Bedeutung dieses Namens noch sehr gut" ("Bablonisch-Assyrische Geschichte," Teil II., SS. 421, 422).

<sup>1</sup> See Josephus c. Apion, i. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See Cory's "Ancient Fragments," p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75 ; and see Diod. Siculus, ii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See the Nimrud Inscription of Tiglathpileser, line 26, quoted above ; also Esarhaddon, Cylinder A, Col. II. 52.

and in Dynasty VIII.B:

Nabû-shum-yukin II.,  
Nabû-natsir,  
Nabû-nadin-zeri,  
Nabû-shum-yukin III.

The same feature may be traced in the royal names of the family of Merodach-baladan, who claimed descent from Erba-Marduk, King of Babylon. Merodach-baladan had five sons, called respectively:

Nabû-zer-napishti-lishir } (Esarhaddon, Cylinder A,  
Nahid-Marduk } Col. II. 32, 35),  
Nabû-shum-ishkun (Sennacherib, Taylor Cylinder,  
Col. VI. 6),  
Nabû-salim (Assurbanipal, Cylinder B, Col. VI. 61);  
Ikisha-Marduk (Inscription of Merodach-baladan,  
Col. IV. 57).

Mention is also made of a grandson:

Nabû-bel-zikri (Assurbanipal, Cylinder B, Col. VII.,  
16);

and of another grandson:

Shuma-ai (Assurbanipal, Cylinder B, Col. VI. 61),  
whose name is evidently an abbreviation.

Let us apply this test, then, to the royal line of Nabopolassar by writing down in order the Kings and Princes of the New Empire as follows:

Nabû-pal-utsur (Nabopolassar, founder of the New  
Empire).

Nabû-kudurri-utsur (Nebuchadnezzar II., the son  
and successor of Nabopolassar).

Nabû-shu-lishir (a younger son of Nabopolassar).<sup>1</sup>

Amel-Marduk (Evil-Merodoch, the eldest son and  
successor of Nebuchadnezzar).

Marduk-shum-utsur } (younger sons of Nebu-  
Marduk-nadin-akhi } chadnezzar).<sup>2</sup>

Nergal-shar-utsur (Nergalsharezer, a usurper. Accord-  
ing to Berosus, a son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the inscription from the temple of Merodach, Col. III. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See R.P., N.S., vol. v., p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> He is probably the Nergalsharezer of Jer. xxxix. 3; there called "Rab-mag"—i.e., *rubû ingu* ("the wise Prince")—an office or title which, he tells us, was held by his father, Bel-shum-ishkun, to whom he also gives the title "King of Babylon," but on what ground is not known.

Labashi-Marduk (son of Nergalsharezer, and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar).

Nabû-nahid (Nabonidus, a usurper. According to Berosus, a Babylonian).<sup>1</sup>

Bil-shar-utsur (Belshazzar.<sup>2</sup> According to the inscriptions, the oldest son of Nabonidus; probably a grandson of Nebuchadnezzar. See Dan. v. 11).

Nabu-kudurri-utsur (a younger son of Nabonidus, and probably a grandson of Nebuchadnezzar).<sup>3</sup>

The above list shows us at a glance that the same rule holds here. The name of one of the gods Nebo and Merodach is found to form an element in the name of every Prince of the family of Nabopolassar, and we have thus a further proof of the Chaldean origin of that family.

With regard to the above striking feature of Chaldean royal names, if it be asked in what light we are to regard it, the answer must be that Merodach and Nebo were the patron gods respectively of Babylon and its suburb Borsippa. Accordingly, when Babylon first comes into the light of history in the time of Khammurabi, then appears the god Merodach also. In the words of Professor Jastrow, "The first mention of this god occurs in the inscriptions of Khammurabi, where he appears distinctly as the god of the city of Babylon."<sup>4</sup> Jastrow also points out the remarkable prominence assigned to this god by Khammurabi, so that when the King is addressing Marduk, he does not find it necessary to make mention at the same time of an entire pantheon, and appears for the moment to lose sight of the existence of the other gods. On the other hand, the name of the god Nebo seems to be intentionally omitted by Khammurabi, the King even going so far as to transfer the name of Nebo's famous temple at Borsippa to the temple erected by him at that place in honour of Merodach.

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<sup>1</sup> According to the inscriptions, he was the son of Nabû-balatsu-iqbi, to whom he gives the title *rubû imgu*. See previous note.

<sup>2</sup> Bel=Merodach. See "Assyria: its Princes, Priests, and People," p. 58; and compare Jer. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> During the reign of Darius Hystaspes, an impostor who styled himself "Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus" reigned at Babylon for a short time (see the inscription of Behistun). This may be taken as a proof that Nabonidus had a son called Nebuchadnezzar, and is also an indication that he married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar II.

<sup>4</sup> See "The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," by Professor Jastrow. Pinches, with a strong degree of probability, has identified Merodach with the Biblical Nimrod. He points out that, according to the inscriptions, Merodach built Babylon, Erech, and Nippur. Compare the statement of Gen. x. 10, and see Pinches' "Old Testament," pp. 126-130.

Apparently there was a fear lest Borsippa should take the place of Babylon. In later days, when Babylon and Borsippa became united as one city, this jealousy entirely died away, so that at the New-Year festival equal honours were paid to the two deities.<sup>1</sup> As an element in the names of the Kings of Babylon, Merodach makes his appearance toward the close of the Kassite dynasty, and Nebo, just forty years later, in the following dynasty. As the gods of the united towns of Babylon and Borsippa, Merodach and Nebo were looked upon by the Babylonians as the bestowers of sovereignty.<sup>2</sup> This sentiment was evidently respected by the Chaldeans, who looked upon Babylon as the chief city in the world, and regarded its crown as the highest prize. In their eyes it was emphatically

"The glory of kingdoms,  
The beauty of the Chaldeans' pride."

With the Assyrians the case was different. They did indeed respect Babylon and the ancient Babylonian cities as being the cradle of their race, and were seldom behindhand in sacrificing at the sanctuaries of Merodach and Nebo whenever occasion offered; but their minds were fully made up that the glory of Assur must never be eclipsed by that of the great gods of Babylon and Borsippa. Consequently, "Marduk" never appears as an element in the names of the Assyrian Kings, and "Nabû" only twice, whilst "Assur" occurs no less than twenty times.<sup>3</sup>

In conclusion, we may note that the worship of Merodach and Nebo appears to have attained its greatest height under Nebuchadnezzar. In the India House inscription of that monarch these divinities are adored almost to the exclusion of the other gods. The preference, however, is given to Merodach, to whom a prayer is addressed not unworthy of a monotheist.<sup>4</sup> Merodach, then, must be the god alluded to in Dan. i. 2, whilst the name Belteshazzar, given by Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel, and which in its present form is an abbreviation, stands in all probability for *Bel-balatsu-utsur* ("Bel protect his life!"), since the King speaks of it as "according to the name of my god."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Isa. xlvi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See the India House Inscription, Col. I. 40-46.

<sup>3</sup> The god Bel, whose name forms an element in the names of four of the earlier Assyrian Kings, is not Bel-Merodach, but the older Bel, the second god of the triad Anu, Bel, Ea. See "Assyria: its Princes, Priests, and People," pp. 57, 58.

<sup>4</sup> See the India House Inscription, Col. I. 51; II. 1.

<sup>5</sup> So Pinches in his "Old Testament," p. 402.

## ART. IV.—CRITICAL METHODS.

IN dealing with the criticism of the Old Testament, to which my remarks to-day will be confined, there are two ways in which the problem may be approached.<sup>1</sup> We may approach it from the standpoint of the convinced Christian, and show how, from its narrow and one-sided view of the subject, it entirely overthrows the conceptions of Scripture which in the mind of the believer are based on a variety of cumulative considerations. Or we may approach it from the standpoint of the scientific inquirer, investigate its methods, and estimate the force of the arguments it brings forward. I have, as a rule, preferred to take the latter course. For the Biblical critic of the day is in the habit of discounting beforehand any considerations the convinced Christian may adduce by saying: "You are not an unbiassed seeker after truth. You approach the matter with your mind made up. It matters not how strong my position may be; my arguments have no weight with you because of the foregone conclusions which you have adopted." And this line of argument has often immense force with the young and unwary, and involves those who are influenced by it in a maze of difficulties from which there is no easy way of escape. And so I have usually preferred to take nothing whatever for granted, to deal with the arguments of modern critics on their own merits, and to inquire, without making any assumptions beforehand, how much weight deserves to be attached to them. I therefore propose on this occasion to discuss the methods of the school of Old Testament Biblical criticism, which is just at present in fashion, and to ask how far they may be expected to lead us to the truth.

I will not enlarge on an argument which is of considerable importance—namely, that the so-called critical methods are altogether too contracted in their scope. As I have already said, the arguments for the inspiration and authority of Holy Scripture are *cumulative* arguments. They are drawn from all sides; they connect themselves with all the characteristics of our complex organization. The Biblical critics of the day, on the contrary, have but three lines of investigation. They approach the subject, not from its moral, psychological, intellectual, or religious side, but they confine themselves to its linguistic, literary, and historical aspect. This argument might well occupy our whole time. I cannot do more at present than point it out.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read before a meeting of the Bible League at Southport, October 29, 1903.

Of the linguistic problem we need not say much. Wellhausen himself, the modern Biblical critic *par excellence*, has confessed that not much ground exists for a satisfactory linguistic criticism. Once more, I cannot stop to show that he has excellent reasons for steering clear of such criticism, to which it would be extremely inconvenient for him to allude. But it must be obvious that as all the Hebrew writings, of every kind, can be included in one not very large volume, the amount of matter is hardly sufficient to give us much scope for comparative linguistic analysis.

But to make up for the deficiency of linguistic arguments—the only ones, by the way, with which Wellhausen and his followers are really specially qualified to deal—we are informed that the literary and historical criticism with which they favour us is “scientific” in its character. Well, if it is not it ought to be. No criticism which is not scientific deserves to be listened to for a moment. But perhaps before we concede this claim, it may be well to ask what scientific research really is. First of all, it may be necessary to point out that “science” means “knowing,” and “scientific methods,” therefore, are methods of acquiring knowledge. But in these days so-called “scientific methods,” not only in Biblical criticism, but in many other fields of research, unsettle everything, call everything in question, and therefore, so far from increasing our knowledge, they are far more likely to lead to universal ignorance. A “science” which disputes everything is mere nescience. This is the case with recent Old Testament researches. Whether they be scientific or whether they be not, they leave us absolutely uninformed about the steps of the “evolution” from fetichism and animalism through polytheism to an “ethic monotheism,” the fact of which evolution they claim to have established. In general, no doubt, our knowledge is increasing. And if it be increased, it can only have been by employing “scientific methods.” It may be well, then, to ask in what departments of research our knowledge is increasing most rapidly. There can only be one answer to this question—in the field of physical investigation. What methods of research, then, do we employ in physical inquiry, and what methods of research in that department of knowledge have been found unsuccessful? I will answer. Physical science stood absolutely still for centuries, because men persisted in making inquiry rest on *deduction* rather than on *induction*. That is to say, they laid down certain *a priori* principles, on which all reasoning on facts must necessarily depend, instead of endeavouring to gather from the facts themselves the system of laws which governed those facts. But it is obvious that such laws must in the first place be

reached by mere *guesses* or *inferences*. How did such guesses or inferences become established as scientific laws? The way in which they were ultimately established was this: their correctness was assumed, and they were then applied deductively, or, in other words, they were taken as a basis for argument and calculation. If the results they gave corresponded on a large scale with observed facts, they were considered to have been proved; if not, they were set aside and others substituted in their place, or, more often by far, they were modified and corrected to the extent that circumstances required.

That is true scientific research. It takes nothing whatever for granted but the most elementary principles of all reasoning, and it is constantly engaged in testing and correcting the conclusions to which it comes by comparing them with, and applying them to, the facts with which they deal. Now, my complaint of modern Biblical criticism is that its method is precisely the opposite of this, and that therefore it is not only not scientific, it is eminently unscientific. For, in the first place, it proceeds altogether on hypothesis; that is to say, it lays down *a priori* principles instead of arriving at its principles from the observation of facts. This is the reverse of the true scientific method. And next, instead of testing its methods, as physical investigators do—testing them frequently and continually, in every minute detail—by applying them to given cases and known facts, and ascertaining whether they produce correct results, it altogether refuses to take this necessary course. On the contrary, it overwhelms with sarcasm and indignation the inquirer who knows that this is the only satisfactory way of arriving at scientific certainty. Thus it is of the essence of scientific inquiry that its results should be verified and verifiable. The methods of the modern Biblical critic remain to this day unverified. And by the clamour he raises against those who demand that the truth of his methods should be demonstrated by applying them to some given case, he himself makes it clear that they are unverifiable. Therefore they may be very ingenious—they unquestionably are; they may be the result of infinite labour—no one disputes it; they may display a very minute acquaintance with the phenomena—let that be cheerfully conceded; but scientific they are not, in the proper sense of the word. Were the results of physical science conducted on such principles, were they not a good deal more carefully tested, a man who set out for Australia might find himself in California; a man who wished to compound a healing remedy might manufacture instead a deadly poison.

Unfortunately, time will not permit me to enter into a full

demonstration of what I have asserted. Some day, perhaps, I may be permitted to make it more complete, for it is by no means my wish to break off in the middle. But I will give as many instances of my assertion, that the Biblical critic proceeds on assumption, not on scientific methods, as I at present can, asking you to bear in mind that, did time permit, I could furnish you with many more.

First and foremost, then, the modern Biblical critic starts with the assumption that there can be no Divine interference with the ordinary course of human thought, which, it contends, must proceed on the principle of evolution, and this is described as "a slow and *gradual* process," proceeding by "natural laws." Thus, if there be any passage of Scripture claiming to be a prophecy, any account of a miracle, the German critic challenges it at once. If it seem to be a prophecy, it must have been written after the event; if a miracle is described, the passage containing it is of later date. And his English follower, at least, regards it as suspicious, and does his best to explain it away. I may give as one instance out of a thousand Ewald's so-called "proof" that Deut. xxviii. 68 was written after the capture of Jerusalem, because it mentions the return of Israel to Egypt. It is obvious that such an assumption involves the whole question of the possibility of prophecy. Similar assumptions are applied to narratives in which miracles are stated to have occurred, a course which involves the whole question whether the Divine Will can do what you and I can do ourselves—namely, counteract, on due occasion, the action of ordinary natural law. I will give one instance of these assumptions. The German Emperor (with whom, I am afraid, I do not often agree) has done good service to our cause by complaining lately that Professor Delitzsch, in his archæological researches, has gone out of his way to lay down certain philosophical axioms, which first of all are outside the limits of this inquiry, and next, are at least possibly untrue. He was asked, says the Kaiser, to illustrate Israelite history by recent archæological discovery. "This, unfortunately, he has not done." Instead of this he has laid down pretended philosophical canons concerning the impossibility of a supernatural revelation. "That," says the Emperor, "was a grave mistake." His Majesty is quite right. But it is a mistake into which most German critics, whether of the Old or New Testament, have fallen. Instead of confining themselves to an investigation of the facts, they have laid down scientific or *unscientific* canons concerning the impossibility of supernatural interference with natural law—canons which even Huxley has repudiated. This is not science, it is the road to the blindest ignorance. And all this talk about "natural

law"—what does it mean? You must, first of all, define nature. And when you get your so-called "scientific investigator" in the land of definitions—and accurate definition is the first requisite for scientific investigation—he tries to escape from the corner into which you have driven him. Sometimes "nature" with him means what is purely material, sometimes it means, as Spinoza has defined it, "an infinity of other things," if that can be called a definition. But before his demonstration is complete the scientific investigator must explain whether that mighty and incalculable force called Will, which is exerted every moment by every living being, is in action in nature or not, and if so, on what ground he denies the existence of a Supreme Will and the exercise of that Will by Him who possesses it. Nor is this all. He asserts that all progress must be "gradual," and therefore he disputes the possibility of revelations of the Divine Will. But are there no breaks, no cataclysms in the history of the visible universe? Are there no evidences of Divine interferences in the development of species? And are there no sudden impulses in the history of human thought, no unexpected developments in the sphere of human action, no rapid growths even in the history of religion, setting revelation aside for the moment—times, I mean, when great minds have arisen, and changed the whole aspect of things in a few short years? We have only to mention Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Plato, Aristotle, Bacon, Newton, Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, Confucius, Buddha, Mohammed in order to dispose of the theory of "slow and gradual" evolution of opinion or historic fact. Thus, not only are these hypotheses, on which much modern Biblical criticism is based, mere assumptions, but when they are applied they break down in a moment in their collision with plain and palpable fact.

Then, again, Biblical critics pretend to have some infallible specific for disintegrating a coherent narrative into its component parts, an unerring instinct which enables them, without risk of failure, to detect the various contributors to it by their diversities of style. In vain we ask them to distinguish infallibly on what they call—the word is not mine—"stylistic" indications between the work of Dickens and the work of Wilkie Collins, between the work of Besant and the work of Rice, between the work of Erckmann and the work of Chatrion—all men of their own epoch, and nearly all of their own race and language. In vain do we ask them to discriminate between the various authors—all well known to them—of the King's speech, and to assign to the redactor his part in bringing the whole of it into shape. I saw, since these words were written, an attempt at an answer to this argument in

the *Westminster Gazette*. The writer said that in order to establish it the assumption is made that the writers in the Pentateuch were contemporary, whereas they differed as widely in date as do Chaucer, Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, and Tennyson. No one, it is added, could doubt about a narrative constructed out of materials so widely different in style and spelling as these. Unfortunately, this argument is absurdly contrary to fact. There is no such wide difference of style as is here supposed. Certain words and phrases are picked out, it is true, and assigned to certain authors. But what difficulties this course leads us into I can personally testify. No Hebrew scholar, I venture to say, would dare to say that the various portions of the Pentateuch display signs of such wide differences as are alleged in the *Westminster Gazette*. If it be asserted that they do, how, I would ask, is it that it has taken us nineteen centuries to find them out? How is it that some critics of repute put the Priestly Code *before* the Elohist and Jehovist, and some several centuries after? How is it that since Astruc, two centuries ago, suggested the use of Jehovah and Elohim as enabling us to discriminate between the writers, it has taken two centuries of hard work to discover these "obvious" distinctions of date, and that even now the various authors have not been fully and finally discriminated? Let us try the scientific test. Set down a number of competent Hebrew scholars who are in ignorance of the results as arrived at by Wellhausen and his disciples, and ask them to note down the various writers by their obvious discrepancies of style and language. I will guarantee you the result. No two of them will discriminate alike. But the challenge, our adversaries go on to say, is altogether unfair, irrelevant, and not *in pari materia*, and a good many people who are rather more anxious to find a flaw in an argument than to seek for truth are in the habit of encouraging them in this answer. Of course, such persons *may* be right. But I repeat, that real scientific progress has never been made except by methods which are capable of being tested by being applied to a given case, and that few important scientific discoveries—in the realm of *physical* science, at least—have been made except by methods which *have* been thus tested, nor would any man of science think of representing results which have not been thus tested as established scientific discoveries. The results obtained, then, *may* be infallible, incontrovertible, incontestable. But the methods by which they have been obtained have no claim whatever to be represented as "scientific." Before they can deserve that title, they must be applied to known facts, and must be shown beyond doubt to bring out the right results. Unless they can be sub-

mitted to such a test they must be set down as guesses, and no more. In other words, the Jehovists and Elohistes and Deuteronomists, the Priestly Codists, the staff of post-exilic redactors of whom we have heard so much of late, are simply "such stuff as dreams are made of." They *may* have existed, it is true. If people choose to believe that they existed, we cannot gainsay them. But beyond that we cannot go. I venture to predict that before long that will all disappear, and, "like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a wrack behind."

Next, I would remark that to support the conclusions drawn from what I have just shown to be, on scientific principles, mere guesses and no more, recent Biblical criticism conceives itself entitled to remove from the work of nearly every one of the large number of authors by whom the Scriptures were written every single statement—and there are a great number of such statements—which conflicts with the mere guesses to which, as I have proved, they have resorted. It is true that this naked statement of their mode of procedure is usually disguised under ambiguous phrases. The histories as they stand are declared to have been "worked over," or "expanded," or "set in a new framework" by someone devoted to the views of the Deuteronomist or the author or authors of the Priestly Code. But all this, if we insist on its being expressed in plain English, means that these editors boldly interpolated into the histories which they handed down statements contrary to fact, in order to secure the triumph of their opinions. Into the morality of such conduct I will not enter. That is a question, not of science, but of morals. I am quite content to leave it to the judgment of the English people. I am simply examining into the scientific value of the methods I have described. And I insist that if such methods are to be accepted as scientific, they must rest on defined and detailed proof. As no such proof has been given—if it has, let it be brought into court and fully weighed—we are entitled to declare that, in the case we are now considering, instead of rigid logical proof, one assumption has been invented to support another, and that no scientific demonstration whatever of these hypotheses is in existence. I urge, in support of this declaration, a fact which cannot be questioned. The critics have repeatedly been challenged to name the history of any people beside the Jews whose history has been so treated, or to give any single instance where, if such a treatment of historical material has been attempted, it has not ultimately been rejected with contempt by historical investigators. Such methods may be very ingenious conjecture—they may sometimes have a show of plausibility—but scientific historical criticism, in the way

in which it has been understood by competent historians, they certainly are not, as more than one historian of repute has told us. The sole reply to such objections to modern critical methods, made over and over again by men capable of judging, has been the repetition, with lofty infallibility, not unmingled, sometimes, I am sorry to say, with scorn, of the statements which have been called in question. Surely, when Holy Scripture is being discussed, a little more modesty, a little more regard for fairness and consideration for other men's opinion, might not unreasonably have been expected.

The last method of the modern critic to which I have time to refer has been already indicated—I mean his disdain of opponents and his confidence in himself. Let us appraise its scientific value. In other branches of science a modest tone is adopted, and certainly, save on points which have been thoroughly examined and tested, is disclaimed. "Physiology," we have been frankly told in a recent review in the *Times*, "is still in its infancy." And again: "A secret of the history of the solar system is undoubtedly involved in the planetoids which some Newton of the coming centuries may unravel." This is the invariable tone of true scientific research. It submits to every single student every single step of the demonstrations by which it has arrived at its conclusions. It *invites* criticism, and is ready—nay, anxious—to receive corrections and to modify statements which are inaccurate. And it frankly confesses that there are problems it cannot solve whenever there is not sufficient evidence at hand to solve them. Not so is it with the so-called "scientific" Biblical criticism. Its attitude is the reverse of that of the real scientific inquirer. Not only, as I have shown, does it rest on assertion, but it resents criticism; it refuses to modify, to test, to correct its conclusions, as scientific investigators never fail to do. It announces results before they have been established. It embodies those results in *Introductions*, which are little more than a bare statement of the conclusions at which modern criticism has, rightly or wrongly, arrived. If the student desires scientific *proofs*, he may find them, if he can, scattered over two or three dozen volumes difficult to obtain, and by no means easy to read. Is that the way we teach mathematics, chemistry, electricity? Once more, if the results are challenged, the challenger is not regarded as a brother student—one as anxious as the challenged to ascertain the truth. He is waved aside as a bigoted traditionalist; he is refused admission into the charmed circle of the initiated. "Scholars are agreed," so boys at school and young men at college are informed. If any venture to question their decision they are not "scholars" however much erudition, ability, reasoning power, or common-

sense they may have. I have myself studied very carefully, in years long past, the methods of real scientific research—the works of Sir Isaac Newton and his distinguished followers—and I have no hesitation whatever in saying that their methods, and those of the modern Biblical critic, are as far as the Poles asunder.

Here I must come to a conclusion. I do not love controversy for its own sake. I should not think of entering into it save in defence of what I believe to be fundamental truth. I have been ever anxious to allow the utmost latitude to those who undertake so difficult and important a task as the literary and historical investigation of the Bible history. Like others who have stood on Bible League platforms, I may even have been accused of having made dangerous admissions in their favour. I have ever been opposed to the undue narrowing of the limits of Christian freedom of speech. But there is one first principle which the Christian cannot give up. If he give it up, he ceases, *ipso facto*, to be a Christian in the ordinary sense of the word. It is this: that God has spoken to His people, not merely in the working of their own hearts, not merely in the working of ordinary natural laws—whatever that much-abused word “natural” may be held to mean—among them, but openly, undisguisedly, and by means outside the operation of ordinary natural laws. For that principle I must contend as long as God gives me life. And I repeat that if modern Biblical criticism is to induce us to surrender that truth, it must be conducted by very different methods, and depend upon very different arguments, than those which I have ventured to characterize. To sound criticism, carried out with true scientific humility, rigid logic, and earnest desire for truth, there can be no objection. Such criticism, I am well assured, instead of undermining and overthrowing the Revelation of God given to us in the Old Testament, will eventually dissipate all objections to the fact of an external and authoritative Divine Revelation.

J. J. LIAS.

P.S.—Since this paper was written, the Bishop of Winchester has addressed the Church Congress on the “assured results” of modern criticism. Without expressing an opinion on the details of his paper, I may be allowed to say how glad I am that he has not included among those “assured results” the utterly unproved assertions that Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code are forgeries of the seventh and fifth centuries B.C.

## ART. V.—THE BATTLE OF GIBEON—II.

## ASTRONOMICAL.

TO question the possibility of a miracle like what is generally supposed to be here recorded is not our object, nor is there the slightest intention on our part to minimize the extent to which the Lord, by hearkening to the voice of a man, fought for Israel on that incomparable day, the whole of which was one grand instance of Divine interposition. But our entire argument will be found to be based on the text itself, from which it appears to us that the means may not have been so transcendently miraculous as the common acceptation would lead us to believe. May we ask, with all sincerity, at the outset of this inquiry, if it is absolutely certain that the day was lengthened in answer to Joshua's desire, or, in other words, is that absolutely the meaning that we must gather from the text? If there is the slightest hesitation in the answer, we feel we are not doing wrong in venturing to discover what really could have happened, though we admit to having never doubted the general acceptation till closer inquiry revealed to us that a totally different occurrence may have taken place. To understand this, let us see if we can find out the spot, and at what time of day it could have been that Joshua apostrophized the two luminaries. The difficulty of regarding the moon as a light-giving power in broad daylight, and the fact of its being *in* the Valley of Aijalon so far west, or at its setting, leads us to conjecture that it must have been either morning or evening, as it would be only at the beginning or end of the day that the lesser luminary would be in evidence when the light of the sun is beginning to wax or wane. And when we consider that when the sun is high, from about an hour or two before to an hour or two after noon, it cannot be said to be over any place in particular; and that the nearer it is to the horizon, the better can it be described in terms of any terrestrial place, we are strengthened in our conjecture. Then, again, the word *upon* is rendered in the Septuagint as *contra*, which shows the meaning to have been, perhaps, *over against* rather than *over*. Following this line of reasoning, we can easily see that, if the time were morning, each luminary must have been on opposite sides of the compass—*i.e.*, the sun in the east rising and the moon setting in the west—because we are told that the moon was "*in* the Valley of Aijalon," to the west, and therefore setting, and because the sun always rises in the east. But

this may not be so readily admitted, and the question may be asked how we know that the Valley of Aijalon was on Joshua's west when he spoke. Well, it was not to his south, for the moon does not set in the south, nor was it to his north for a similar reason, nor was it to his east. But why not to his east? Because, if it were to his east, *both* sun and moon would have been over it, and therefore he could not have apostrophized the sun in terms of Gibeon, which was miles still farther east, and quite out of sight; whereas he saw the sun *upon* or *over against* Gibeon, and the moon only in the Valley of Aijalon. But, perhaps someone may say, it was quite possible to see both sun and moon to the east, the one *over against* Gibeon, and the other in the Valley of Aijalon, in the morning. If so, both would have been close together, and therefore the phase of the moon would have been new, or *quasi-new*, in which case it would have been invisible, especially as we must infer it was lower down than the sun. So therefore the Valley of Aijalon was not on the east of Joshua if he spoke those words in the morning. Nor was it possible it could be to his east in the evening, as the sun cannot be in the east in the evening. Therefore at neither morning nor evening was the Valley of Aijalon on Joshua's east—*i.e.*, he was not to the west of it when he spoke; nor was it to his south, nor to his north, but to his west. Well, if to his west, was it morning or evening? Some think he must have spoken in the evening, as it is so natural to infer that was the time the prolongation of light must have been desired, when it was about to be withdrawn. A little thought will show us that this theory is untenable, because *both* sun and moon would in that case be over the Valley of Aijalon to the west, and both setting, and if they were near each other, the moon would still be invisible, because it would be new, and the sun would not be upon Gibeon. But could Joshua not have been to the east of Gibeon, and in that case seen both luminaries to his west in the evening? Yes, if he could have seen the moon at all nine miles at least further west in the Valley of Aijalon, in which case he would have to overlook the hill of Gibeon, which he could not have done. The only conclusion, therefore, is that he apostrophized the luminaries in the morning on the west of Gibeon, when the sun was on his east, and when the moon was in the Valley of Aijalon on his west—*i.e.*, he was between both places at that time, and that he spoke at that time. Does the narrative bear out this view? It does, fully (ver. 9): "Joshua therefore came upon them suddenly; (for) he went up from Gilgal all the night." From these words it would seem clear that the attack began in the small hours of the morning. Just think over it. In no other part

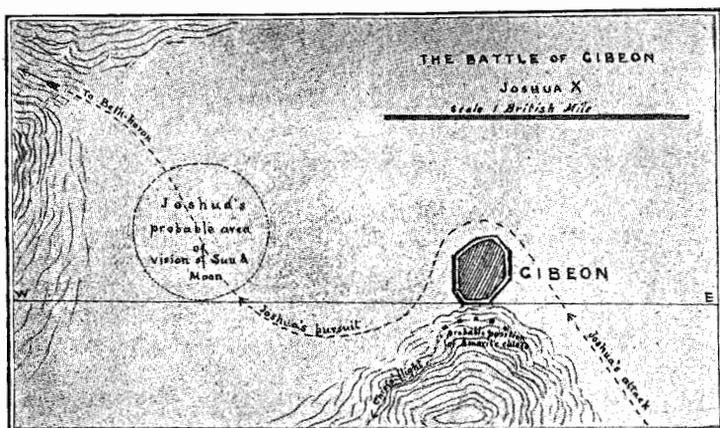
of the twenty-four hours are human beings, and no less armies of human beings, more unprepared for danger, or so oblivious of it, as the hour or two before dawn. And he evidently found the enemy unprepared and took them by surprise. This shows us they could not have been long there, or their dispositions against attack from the east, which they must have expected to come sooner or later, would have been made. The fact, indeed, appears to have been that their *coup* had been so quickly carried out that they did not expect him so soon, certainly not before noon, when, if he could have managed the march under the forenoon sun, his troops would not have been in any fighting condition, and his approach would have been noticed a long way off from the heights of Gibeon; so there was really nothing to fear before then. Had it been after dawn that he arrived, we have good reason to think his advent must have been noticed for adverse reception, and, as the light increased, his chances of complete success would have been greatly hindered. For, though assured of success, that assurance of the Divine assistance was only given to the active energy of faith, and not to mere passive conduct. Directly Joshua received the assurance, all his strategic faculties appear to have been aroused. He saw that if the paralyzing blow was to be struck, now was the time, for the assurance had been given to inspire the natural means of compassing that end to its fullest extent, and—mark the force of the word—“*therefore* (he) came upon them suddenly; (for) he went up from Gilgal all the night.” He realized that victory was in his grasp if he could reach and fall upon his enemies at the unprepared hour in the early morning. Surely we may say, in all reverence, the issue would have been by no means the same if he had not been prompt to seize the opportunity. When the Lord gave him the assurance of success, He anticipated the natural falterings of the human heart, even in His faithful servant, and under no other auspices could Joshua have been inspired to exercise his skill to meet the crisis. He had learned that the whole force of those very enemies with whom he had been preparing to measure his strength were there before Gibeon, and now they were to be given into his hand in a way he had not looked for. *Their* best and most approved course of action was to be *his* opportunity for their destruction; but he recognised that the opportunity, to be entirely successful, must be seized with promptitude. *Therefore* he marched all night and took them by surprise.

This ninth verse in a few graphic words is the description of a decisive action which was practically won before dawn. Now, can we say, when we study this verse, that he could

have apostrophized the sun and moon when he was still east of Gibeon? Decidedly not; for we are constrained to think he must still have been on his night march, or that he reached it before sunrise, or perhaps even at sunrise, in which cases the sun would have been behind him in the east, and not before him *upon* or *over against* Gibeon. And the nearer he approached it the more remote would be his chances of seeing the moon in the Valley of Aijalon, owing to the hill of Gibeon coming between; and that he must have been at Gibeon before he spoke will not be disputed. Is this argument and its conclusion clear? We submit that it is. Then, could he have seen the sun over Gibeon from the north-east? Certainly; at about four p.m. at that season he could have done so. But did he take all that time to get such a short distance in the limited space about Gibeon during that decisive action? That is improbable; but even if it were probable, it would be quite impossible for him to distinguish the moon's orb at that season and at that hour, between three and four days before becoming new. In the same manner is any aspect from due north quite improbable, as not only would it be mid-day in the hot season, with the sun almost overhead, and no index of any place in particular, but the orb of the moon would be quite indistinguishable in that light, though at its last quarter. We must remember that the actual chase had not begun, for all the enemy round Gibeon would not have been touched before the west was reached; and surely, from the decisive nature of the action, we are justified in concluding that it could not have taken him long to sweep round the town to the west, so as to circumvent the enemy from breaking south down the Valley of Gibeon, and drive them north-west. For the "great slaughter" was "at Gibeon," presumably wherever the cordon was, before the chase had commenced at all. Therefore, *unless he was quite close to the town*, he could not see the moon in the Valley of Aijalon at the same time that he could have seen the sun over Gibeon from a north-west aspect. We may dismiss at once any aspect from the south—*i.e.*, anywhere south of the latitude of Gibeon—because neither sun nor moon could ever be north of anyone's latitudinal position in Palestine, and, therefore, could be neither over Gibeon nor in the Valley of Aijalon at any time of the day at any season of the year. The actual location of Joshua's position, therefore, is focussed down to the west of Gibeon, or slightly north of its latitude to the west—*i.e.*, between the town and the Valley of Aijalon, but quite close to the former. Indeed, if asked to define more distinctly what we should determine as Joshua's probable area of vision, we should say it would be as near as possible to that shown

in the accompanying diagram, the arrow indicating the direction of pursuit towards Beth-horon. For no other point of view outside this area will locate both luminaries at the same time in terms of the two places, if their orbs or their light were to be visible.

We have hinted that this must have taken place in the hot weather. We have no actual date given us, but we can form a tolerable estimate of the time it must have taken to complete all the successive events recorded since the passage of Jordan and the celebration of the Passover. The passage of Jordan was effected on the tenth day of the first month (iv. 19), and the first Passover in the Promised Land was kept on the fourteenth until the twenty-first of the same. The general



circumcision of the Israelites then took place (v. 1-10), and though this is mentioned before the Passover, it is obvious that it took place after it, as we should certainly allow three weeks to a month to elapse after the operation before convalescence and purification could be complete. Then followed the investment of Jericho for a week, and its capture, after which was the reconnaissance of Ai, the first disastrous attempt on it, the short time of humiliation ending with the execution of Achan, and the capture of Ai. Then came the deputation from Gibeon, the formal taking over of its State, and, lastly, the battle of Gibeon. At the lowest estimate we should reckon that three months had elapsed since the Passover up to this battle. In the present year of grace, 1903, the Passover was on April 11, so that about the same date in July the battle of Gibeon may have taken place. At any rate, it must have been in the summer, if not in the sultry season.

Now, if Joshua saw the sun *upon* or *over against* Gibeon when he saw the moon *in* the Valley of Aijalon, his position being between the two, it must have been morning. This suggests the natural inquiry what he wanted light for, when he knew the whole day was before him. It is quite clear that the moon was setting in the Valley of Aijalon, and Joshua was probably apostrophizing its waning light. Knowing that the day was before him, he could not have desired the *light* of the moon as the sun was rising, and yet he desired the sun to stand still. What could have been his motive? Clearly not more light. But if the sun were rising while the moon was setting, what can have been the phase of the latter? It was full, or *quasi* full, moon. Therefore, as it was full moon, it must have given Joshua the full benefit of its light on his night march from Gilgal, and assisted him considerably in locating the enemy before dawn, and winning his victory. But that victory began to be decided on the east of Gibeon, probably, before he had come round to the west side from which he saw the moon set and the sun rise. This shows us how early he must have arrived, and how short a time it must have taken him to reach the west side in touch with the surrounding besiegers, and confirms our belief in the decisiveness of that victory at an early hour. But having succeeded in turning the enemy's flank, as it were, he changes the nature of the battle, which forthwith becomes a headlong flight. The fugitives have no chance of doubling round Gibeon, whence they have been driven, so the only opening is towards the north-west over the broken ground to Beth-horon. The actual chase has now commenced, and the sun rising *upon* or *over against* Gibeon is desired to stand still; while the moon's light is just visible as that orb has sunk over the ridges on the west into the Valley of Aijalon, and is desired to stay there—in the Valley of Aijalon. What, then, can have been the motive of Joshua's words? His troops had made, not a hard march if done at the usual pace, but a fatiguing one if done at a quick pace; they had also fought hard for a couple of hours, perhaps more—not our kind of fighting, at a distance and taking cover, but a hand-to-hand fight; and, now that they had practically won, and pursuit had commenced, day broke! Can we imagine that this was a welcome sight to the General, when a running chase, at that season of the year, had begun, which he had no desire to relinquish? But we can imagine—nay, realize—his lifting his eyes to heaven, and, stretching his right hand towards Gibeon and the sunrise, giving expression to a feeling of dissatisfaction; while towards the west he stretched his left in parting acknowledgment of the moon's failing light, now no

longer necessary—the quotation from the Book of Jasher putting the expression into suitable words! Joshua's motive, we think, must have been in deprecation of the coming sun's heat, as the whole scene is so suggestive of it at that season and at that hour. Yet, at what have we, after all, arrived? That Joshua's desire was fulfilled, and that the sun was—must we say stopped?—seems clear. What, therefore, have we tried to suggest that changes the miracle from its transcendent nature to an intelligible phenomenon brought about by the Almighty, in deference to the desire of his servant? For, granted that Joshua's wish was not for light, but for the withdrawal of heat, still, for that purpose the sun was stopped. And yet the words "stand still" are rendered in the margin as "be silent" in the quotation from the Book of Jasher, though the comment upon it, both by the poet as well as by the writer of the Book of Joshua, does not make use of the same verb to express the term. This is, indeed, significant, and the fact has, no doubt, occupied the grave attention of translators and commentators, though we would suggest that the words "stood still," "stayed," or *stopped*, in many other languages, when applied to *sunshine*, which is often used as a synonym of the sun itself, is quite predicative of withdrawal. But if "be silent" or *cease* (Young's "Analytical Dictionary") is what Joshua said, we think there is more reason to infer that withdrawal of light—and therefore heat—was intended, rather than intensity or continuance of light. But was, then, the sun obscured and heat withdrawn, and how? Are we to lose sight of what state the heavens were in, that culminated in the dreadful storm on the other side of the heights of Beth-horon? We have ourselves seen two or three hailstorms of tremendous violence in the East, and do not remember that brightness was a characteristic of any of the days on which they occurred. On the other hand, we recall them as gloomy and awful, though conveying a sense of comparative coolness, and surely the storm which burst at the "going down of Beth-horon" must have been like one of these. It seems incredible to us that the visibility of the sun's orb during their continuance could be entertained. But this is all very well and plausible. What shall we say about the expression, "hasted not to go down for about a whole day"? That would, indeed, seem to show that the sun's course was actually arrested, though there is something peculiarly enigmatical in the language. May we ask if by it is meant it *did not go down for an additional day of twenty-four hours*? We rather see in it an indication of the fact that, if Joshua's words were spoken at sunrise, whatever happened continued almost the whole day till sunset. For if we understand that the sun

did not set for another twenty-four hours, we are bound to keep Joshua to the east of Gibeon all day, so that he should apostrophize the luminary *upon* or *over against* the town at its setting, or in the west, in which case the moon would be invisible in the same direction. But there is something very significant about the word "hasted," the use of which would seem to be superfluous in describing a daily unvarying phenomenon. We find that the word (Young's "Analytical Dictionary") as here used is found but three times in the Scriptures in the sense of *pressed* (may we suggest *intensity of action*?), viz.: (1) Exod. v. 13, where "the taskmasters were urgent"; (2) in the passage under consideration; (3) Prov. xix. 2: "he that hasteneth with his feet sinneth (stumbleth)," where the idea of impatience is clearly conveyed. May we not, therefore, think that, in fulfilment of Joshua's "be silent," or *cease*, where withdrawal of light rather than its continuance is suggested, "hasted not," or *pressed not*, may be suggestive of a modification of intensity of action, not in velocity, but in heat? We commend the consideration of these words in all humility to the further earnest study of Hebraists.

But we cannot leave the subject yet without turning to the "Concise Dictionary of the Bible" edited by Dr. Smith, and reading what the author of the article on Makkedah says about it, an allusion to which we have not been able to discover elsewhere in its pages: "A place memorable in the annals of the conquest of Canaan as the scene of the execution of the five confederate kings (Josh. x. 10-30). It unquestionably occurred in the afternoon of that tremendous day, which 'was like no day before or after it.' After the execution of the chiefs, Joshua turns to the town itself. To force the walls, to put the king and all the inhabitants to the sword (ver. 28), is to that indomitable energy, still fresh after the gigantic labours and excitements of the last twenty-four hours, the work of an hour or two. And now the evening has arrived, the sun is at last sinking—the first sun that has set since the departure from Gilgal—and the tragedy is terminated by cutting down the five bodies from the trees and restoring them to the cave, which is then so blocked up with stones as henceforth never again to become refuge for friend or foe of Israel."

There appears to us to be a perplexing paradox in the above statement prefaced by the emphatic word "unquestionably." Twenty-four hours of "gigantic labours," etc., plus two hours for the sack of Makkedah, gives us twenty-six hours of Joshua's exertions till the first sunset after his departure from Gilgal. Is that what we must understand? That is to

say, that Joshua's continuous exertions did not extend over more than twenty-six hours before this last sunset! But surely Joshua's continuous exertions began from the time he left Gilgal? If so, twenty-six hours before the sunset at Makkedah would bring us back to two hours *before* sunset at Gilgal, which phenomenon could not have taken place, according to the writer. But as the narrative tells us that Joshua marched all the night, it must have taken place. Perhaps he means that Joshua's march began just after sunset from Gilgal. If so, his exertions of twenty-four hours would have brought him to Makkedah just after sunset, and not two hours before, on the afternoon of "that tremendous day." But we may have quite misunderstood his meaning so far. Is it that, because of the lengthening of the day in deference to Joshua's desire, that "tremendous day" was one of twenty-six hours of continuous exertions since his apostrophe? If so, the apostrophe must have taken place at Gibeon, or thereabouts, twenty-six hours before sunset at Makkedah. And if this is his meaning, surely he will allow us to enhance Joshua's exertions by a period of twenty-two more from the time he left Gilgal, which he has forgotten, as well as the battle of Gibeon, to include in his "gigantic labours." For, by the writer making use of the term "twenty-four hours," we surmise he means that the course of the sun was arrested for a whole day of that period. So, to recapitulate, if we are to understand that Joshua's arrival at Makkedah was in the afternoon, twenty-four hours after leaving Gilgal, the sun *did set once*, for, as he marched all night, it must have done so. But if by "that tremendous day" we are to understand the period of twenty-four hours before the afternoon that he reached Makkedah, and not the period up to that time from the hour it rose—say, twelve hours in the hot season, plus the hours spent on the night march after the last sunset at Gilgal—he has certainly omitted the battle of Gibeon, which must have raged during the day, as well as that night march, from the total number of hours of Joshua's continuous exertions. And what adjective can we find adequate enough to express these exertions after his use of "gigantic" for those of only twenty-four? For we are constrained to judge, if Joshua went on to Makkedah via Beth-horon, that his continuous exertions must have lasted at least about forty-eight hours. But, indeed, the writer may not have included the battle of Gibeon and the night march in Joshua's exertions, his subsequent labours being sufficiently astonishing to warrant the expression "gigantic"; and certainly they would be so if the chase and its attendant details extended to Azekah and Makkedah via Beth-horon under his personal guidance. For

of what must those labours have consisted? Are we asked to believe that Joshua and all Israel with him (for they do not appear to have been separated throughout) chased the Amorite enemy over the Beth-horon, round or through the Valley of Aijalon, over hill and dale and stream (just glance at the map), to Azekah and Makkedah, wherever these places were (no wonder the above writer deems Eusebius' authority for the site of Makkedah to be "irreconcilable" with every detail of the narrative), after a whole hot day's fighting at Gibeon, preceded by a quick night march of twenty miles or so from Gilgal, begun the evening before; that he was on his way, or somewhere in that chase, met by other pursuers, who had gone on so far in front of him as to have tracked the five kings, who had gone on before them, to their hiding-place, and had returned with the news to him; that he did not even accompany or go back with them to Makkedah, but sent them either on or back, with orders to roll stones—great stones—unto the mouth of the cave, and not relax their pursuit, but leave a guard on the cave, as their enemies were given into their hands; that they did not relax their pursuit, but followed their enemies unremittingly, till there were none left to pursue who had not entered into their fenced cities; that they, after all this necessarily scattered pursuit, returned in peace to Joshua to the camp at Makkedah, where he himself finally arrived; that then the great stones were rolled away from the mouth of the cave, the hidden Kings taken out, humiliatingly used, and hanged; that after this the town of Makkedah took an hour or two to capture and sack—are we asked to believe that all these details took place in the space of twenty-six hours, when we realize that the previous twenty-two hours, at least, must have been spent in incessant action, either of march or fighting? The exercise of faith, we submit, is the same, whether we believe all this to have taken place in forty-eight hours or in twenty-six, if the actual narrative warranted it. But does it? This is what it says, and if we are wrong in reading between the lines here and there, we are open to correction.

Let us begin again from the ninth verse, for there is nothing perplexing up to it. Ver. 9: "Joshua therefore came upon them suddenly; (for) he went up from Gilgal all the night." Ver. 10: "And the Lord discomfited them before Israel,"—that tells us in a few words the nature of the action, decisive, the result of a determined march, and which was practically won before or by dawn—"and He (the Lord) slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and (He, the Lord) chased them by the way of Beth-horon, and (He, the Lord) smote them to Azekah and Makkedah." Joshua is not mentioned as having

done all this himself, though no doubt he controlled the action under the Lord's hand as far as Beth-horon. Ver. 11: "And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, while they were in the going down of Beth-horon, that the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died:"—the hailstorm from north to south caught the fugitives before Israel at Beth-horon, and, sweeping down as far as Azekah, caught the southern fugitives, inflicting further damage upon them—"they were more which died with the hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword." The Lord did all this after Joshua had proved his faith by resolutely attacking his enemies in the morning at Gibeon. The whole of Joshua's gigantic labours is, in fact, summed up by the narrative so far in his night march and attack, the rest of the action being explicitly the Lord's up to the, may we say, extermination of the fugitives before Israel in the going down of Beth-horon. For we think the extermination is significantly expressed by the greater number of those who were killed by hailstones than of those whom the children of Israel, under the Lord's hand, had slain in the "great slaughter at Gibeon" and during the pursuit, literally fulfilling the assurance that had been given him of not a man being able to stand before him. Once before, as far as we know, had Joshua seen such a hailstorm, which might be compared to this one, in Egypt, when the plague of hail and lightning was destructive to vegetation and whatever animal life remained abroad without shelter. He had also experienced what the Lord's hand did at the Red Sea when the Egyptian host was overwhelmed within a short distance of him. And now at Beth-horon he saw his enemies involved in a destructive storm which left him and his host untouched, though his Israelites must have been pressing those enemies close all the way from Gibeon. He must have fully recognised the extent to which the Lord's hand had helped him, and seeing that no more remained to be done, he led back his tired veterans in thankfulness to Gilgal, as he could not overtake the southern pursuit, and did not know it was not successful. We may even infer that he had no idea of the escape of the chiefs themselves southward. It was, however, only in this southern pursuit that the destruction was far from complete, which seems to show us that the pursuers, though "*among* Israel" (ver. 1), were not *of* them, and would give us a clue to the reason why these pursuers should in no way disparage any Israelite's prowess in comparison with their own, when they returned to the camp at Makkedah in peace to Joshua on his arrival there, after he had been to Gilgal. From the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth verse

is the account of the episode of the sun and moon, which we have endeavoured to clear as far as we could. We might, however, say here appropriately that the prophet Habakkuk in his reference to this event appears clearly to attribute whatever phenomenon occurred to the means of a storm wielded by the Almighty's hand; and also that neither the reference in the Psalms nor that by the prophet Isaiah in any way militates against the theory that our suggestions advance, and we may proceed with the narrative. Ver. 15: "And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to the camp at Gilgal." The narrative does not appear to be broken by this verse, which is not out of place, to our thinking. With what a different step can we imagine that march to have been made in comparison with the elastic swing of the previous night! And yet how profoundly impressed must every man have been with the sense of his own feeble efforts when he thought over how victory had been given. This verse surely cannot be said to be out of place, when we remember what the coming campaign meant to Joshua in reinforcements of men and material.

Ver. 16: "And these five kings fled, and hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah." If we have already pictured to ourselves the position of these leading chiefs on the commanding heights of Gibeon to the south of the town, whence the operations of their several hosts upon it could be directed, we can easily see how they escaped among the first fugitives to the south, eluding the Israelite pursuit altogether. Ver. 17: "And it was told Joshua, saying, The five kings are found hidden in the cave at Makkedah." Cannot we now understand how this news might have been brought to him either on his leisurely march back to Gilgal or to that camp itself? And cannot we thoroughly grasp that he should have no idea of going back with those who brought him the news, but should give them the directions he did. Ver. 18: "And Joshua said, Roll great stones unto the mouth of the cave, and set men by it for to keep them." When we consider these words seriously, do they seem like the directions given by a man who was to be at that very place Makkedah on that same day? Very unlike, we should say. Would not, also, just a guard have been sufficient for that presumably short time, which we are forced to think would have been more than taken up by the laborious process of rolling *great* stones on the mouth of the cave? But do not these directions rather show that, not intending to be at Makkedah for a day or two, a small guard night and day was not enough to insure the safe custody of his most valued prisoners in the hands of such allies as the Hivites. Ver. 19:

“But stay ye not, pursue after your enemies and smite the hindmost of them; suffer them not to enter into their cities: for the Lord your God hath delivered them into your hand.” It was so natural for Joshua to address these words to those who had lately been received “among Israel,” and to have repeated to them the assurance that had been given to himself, though not so definitely, in order to rouse their apparently flagging energies into action. Now, if Joshua had been anywhere near Makkedah when he gave all these orders, is it not to be wondered at that he should not have gone back with the messengers and himself seen to the disposal of the prisoners, about whose safe custody he was evidently anxious? And if he were at a distance from it, are we not allowed to take into reasonable consideration the time that must have elapsed to carry out all these directions fully, and for everyone to have returned to him to that very place on the same afternoon of the day on which he had given the directions? But we must confess that we should never have questioned the possibility of all this, or, indeed, considered it so seriously, had not an alternative, and to our minds a perfectly reasonable, reading suggested the impossibility of reconciling it to our faculties of comparison. Ver. 20: “And it came to pass, when Joshua and the children of Israel had made an end of slaying them with a great slaughter, till they were consumed”—that is to say, when Joshua and the children of Israel had done all their share of the slaughter of the Amorites up to exterminating all that they had encountered (under the Lord’s hand)—“and (when) the remnant which remained of them”—surely referring to those with whom they had had absolutely nothing to do so far, but who must have been pursued by other people—“had entered into their fenced cities (ver. 21), that all the people”—obviously those other people who had not engaged in the great slaughter, but had been engaged in an unsuccessful and scattered pursuit—“returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace.” Now, who of all the people of the land could have returned *in peace* to Joshua but his allies the Gibeonites? For none of them were Israelites, because “none moved his tongue against any of the children of Israel.” Indeed, we can well understand now how they could not have done so, after their futile efforts compared with those of the Israelites, whom they must rather have regarded with feelings of awe, as it justified in their own experience what they had heard and admitted to having dreaded, the Lord’s hand with His chosen people; and how they must have realized that, although allies, that hand was not over them in the same relation. It is unnecessary to quote further from the sacred narrative, as we have found no more perplexities to study, but

will only add that it is satisfactory to note that if the position of Makkedah be where Eusebius and Jerome place it, there appears no reason why that site should be irreconcilable with any of the details given us, but, on the other hand, rather well situated as a centre where every information about the surrounding fortresses could be obtained, against which Joshua's subsequent campaign was directed. Also, before concluding, let us glance at the thirty-eighth verse: "And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to Debir." Why returned? May it not be expressive of Joshua's direction of march from Hebron back to Gilgal by the same way he had last come straight to Makkedah? If so, it would appear that the Debir not far to the south of Jericho is here meant, the last of the cities destroyed by Joshua before his final return to headquarters after having subdued the whole of the southern kingdoms.

Such is this tenth chapter of Joshua, with all its apparently perplexing details, the solution of none of which, in our endeavour to facilitate inquiry, have we attempted to force upon our readers. But we can truly say that in no part of Scripture, as far as our judgment goes, has such a sequence of undesigned coincidences been recorded as in this one marvellous chapter; and as we are not conscious of having in any way wrested the text or its meaning, we feel that we can leave the sober perusal of these suggestions to our readers, under God's blessing.

#### APPENDIX.

Q. What time of day should we judge that the battle of Gibeon took place?

A. It apparently began early in the morning, and as it was decisive, it was practically won by dawn or sunrise (verses 9 and 10).

Q. Have we any reason to think that Joshua did not pursue the enemy to Makkedah?

A. Yes, because we are not told so. We are told that Israel pursued to Beth-horon, where the hailstorm destroyed their enemies, after which they returned to Gilgal (verses 11 and 15).

Q. Was there, then, no pursuit to Azekah and Makkedah?

A. Yes, direct from Gibeon southward; but this was by a "people" who were not so successful, except in tracking the five kings to the cave. Israel, under the Lord's hand, had made "an end of slaughter" of their enemies "till they were consumed." "The remnant that escaped" were those that were pursued of these "people," who allowed them to enter into their fenced cities (verse 20).

Q. Who were these "people," then?

A. They could have been no other than the Gibeonites, for no others could have returned to Joshua in peace to the camp at Makkedah (verse 21).

Q. Can we give any reason why none of these people should have moved their tongues?

A. Yes, for the text appears to show us that, as their pursuit was not

so successful, they must have realized that the Lord's hand was not with them as with Israel.

Q. Should we not, then, think that the day was lengthened in answer to Joshua's apostrophe?

A. The text does not say so absolutely, and if the battle took place in the morning, the need does not appear.

Q. How, then, should we explain the fourteenth verse?

A. When we realize from Joshua's position that the sun must have been obscured by the storm, and read how the Lord fought (verses 10 and 11), there is no difficulty.



#### ART. VI.—WHY WAS THE HARE CONSIDERED “UNCLEAN” AMONG THE ISRAELITES?

VARIOUS reasons have been put forward to account for the fact that the hare is classed among the “unclean” animals in the lists in Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv.—*e.g.*, in the Old Testament itself the reason given is that it chews the cud (Lev. xi. 6; Deut. xiv. 7). Its habit of rubbing the teeth together when eating causes its cheeks to move in such a way as to make a superficial observer conclude that this is the case. Another reason suggested is its proneness to disease. The supposed thickness of its blood, resulting in sleepiness and melancholia to the eater, has also been assigned as the cause of its “uncleanness.” Or, once more, it has been said that to the general unhealthiness of its flesh was due the command to abstain from eating it; and, lastly, it has been maintained that the prohibition originated in the desire to differentiate the Israelites from the surrounding nations. But strong objections, which it is not necessary to enlarge upon here, can be urged against all these contentions; the real, the original reason, must be sought elsewhere.

##### I.

It may be well to observe first the place which the hare occupied in the religions and in the “Volks-Ideen” of some widely separated peoples.<sup>1</sup>

Among the ancient Egyptians, the hare was holy to Neptra,<sup>2</sup> the god of grain; it appears in the “Book of the Dead,” where it is represented in a sitting posture with a wisp of corn before

<sup>1</sup> The data here given are not exhaustive, but seem to contain the salient points.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Osiris, as the giver of grain. Egyptologists are not at one as to the hare being holy to a god. *Cf.* also Renouf, “The Myth of Osiris Unnefer,” who regards the hare from an entirely different point of view.

it, facing the god.<sup>1</sup> The Hittites, on the other hand, did not regard it as holy, which is interesting from another point of view; in the words of Messerschmidt: "Among animals of the chase lions and hares are represented. . . . A representation of the god of the chase is found on one of the gate-panels of Sendschirli; he has a human body, but the head of a lion. In one hand he is holding a hare, in the other a spear, which was therefore used in hunting."<sup>2</sup>

Among the Arabs the women used to wear hares' heads as amulets,<sup>3</sup> for what reason will be seen below; the bones of hares were also worn on the wrist and round the neck as charms against the jinn, who were believed to be afraid of the hare.<sup>4</sup> The bones of a hare were also worn by the Arabs as a preservative against death.<sup>5</sup>

"Many separate races," writes Andrew Lang, "seem to recognise the figure of a hare where we see the 'Man in the Moon.' In a Buddhist legend, an exemplary and altruistic hare was translated to the moon. To the common people in India the spots on the moon look like a hare, and Chandras, the god of the moon, carries a hare; hence the moon is called *sasin* or *sasanka*, 'hare-mark.' The Mongolians also see in these shadows the figure of a hare (Grimm)."<sup>6</sup> Again, the Mexicans imagined that the spots in the moon resembled a hare, and accounted for the phenomenon by saying that once "a god smote the moon in the face with a rabbit"; in Zululand they believe that a hare was translated to the moon.<sup>7</sup> The origin of this connection of a hare with the moon is difficult to trace; it is perhaps a somewhat hazardous conjecture, but the writer is inclined to see the reason of it in the great fertility of the hare (concerning which see more below). Primitive man desired to account for the numerous offspring of the sun and the moon—*i.e.*, the stars—and in accordance with that illogical theory of cause and effect, so incomprehensible to us, but so natural to him, he believed that the most prolific animal on earth, the hare, must have had a hand in the supposed fertility of the great persons in the sky. If

<sup>1</sup> See "P.S.B.A.," xxiv. 270. In vol. xxi. (the plate facing p. 239) there are two representations of the goddess Anupt; that on the left, in the second row, appears to have a head more like that of a hare than like that of a jackal. Is it possible to see any connection between the name of this goddess and the word אַרְיָנָה?

<sup>2</sup> "Die Hettiter" in *Der alte Orient*, 4 Jahrg. i. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Rob. Smith, "Rel. Sem.," p. 382.

<sup>4</sup> Rob. Smith in "Z.D.M.G.," xxxix. 329.

<sup>5</sup> Hommel, "Die Namen der Säugethiere," p. 321.

<sup>6</sup> "Custom and Myth," p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Andrew Lang's "Myth, Ritual, and Religion" (new impression, 1901), i. 129.

this is so, one can understand why the hare should also have been connected with the sun, for, according to an Algonkin myth, "the godly hare's house is at the place of the sun-rising,"<sup>1</sup> though, as Andrew Lang points out, "it does not follow from this that the hare had any original connection with the dawn"; it is with the sun itself that the connection would be. It may be added that there appears to have been a hare constellation, Lagos (Λαγώς). Then, further, among the Indians of North America the hare was regarded with great veneration. "The Moquis say that long ago the Great Mother brought from the West nine clans in the form of deer, sand, water, bears, hares, tobacco-plants and reed-grass. She planted them on the spots where villages now stand, and transformed them into men, who built the present pueblos, and from whom the present clans are descended."<sup>2</sup>

In many Indian tribes of North America the Great Hare is regarded as the originator of man and as the inventor of the arts of life. Père Allouez, a seventeenth-century missionary to the North Americans, says: "The Great Hare is the master of life, and can leap eight leagues at one bound, and is beheld by his servants in dreams."<sup>3</sup> The Great Hare in these North American legends appears thus as the creator of man, so that here again one may see his characteristic power of productivity coming into play in the savage mind. The legend of the Great Hare is "the kind of legend," to quote Andrew Lang again, "whose origin we ascribe to the credulous fancy of early peoples making no distinction between themselves and the beasts."<sup>4</sup>

To come now to a very different type of man, we have the following interesting quotation from Dr. Frazer's "Pausanias": "So when the people of these three towns—viz., Etis, Aphrodisias, and Side—went forth into the world, they sought to know where it was the will of heaven that they should dwell. And it was foretold them that Artemis would show them where they should abide. So, when they were gone ashore, and a hare appeared to them, they took the hare as their guide. And when it dived into a myrtle-tree, they built a city where the myrtle stood. And they worship that very myrtle-tree till this day, and they call Artemis by the name of Saviour."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strachey's "History of Travaile," pp. 98 f.; cf. Lang, "Myth, Rit., and Rel.," i. 184; ii. 82 f.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer's "Totemism," p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lang, *op. cit.* ii. 80.

<sup>4</sup> For the North American legends about the Great Hare see Strachey's "Travaile into Virginia," issued by the Hakluyt Society, and "History of Travaile."

<sup>5</sup> "Pausanias," i. 171.

In another work by the same author numerous instances are cited to show that all over Europe customs are still kept up indicative of a belief in the hare as a corn-spirit; for the evidence in detail see the "Golden Bough," ii. 269 *sqq.* Attention is also drawn to the fact that there was a belief in a close relationship between hares and witches (*op. cit.*, iii. 408);<sup>1</sup> the latter were always believed to have dealings with supernatural beings.

In Teutonic myth the hare is holy to the spring goddess Ostara (Eostre):<sup>2</sup> she it is who brings new life to the earth; as her name implies, she was believed to bring the spring, and with it light, from the East.

## II.

Even from these few data it will be seen that the hare must have played a not unimportant part in heathen mythology. To what was this due? Was it because the hare was a totem-animal? Or must we seek for the reason in some other direction? We are concerned here more especially with Israelite belief, but seeing that the hare was "holy" among so many and such various races, it is assuredly justifiable to take into consideration extra-Israelite conceptions for the purpose of throwing light upon the reason of this animal being reckoned among the unclean ones in the Pentateuch. As far as one can see, there appears to have been almost universally (among those who venerated the hare) one special conception held with regard to this animal which, one ventures to think, is sufficient to account for its place in mythology, and therefore also for its "uncleanness" among the Israelites; nevertheless, to deny that the hare was a totem-animal among the Israelites, or rather, among their ancestors, would be unreasonable, because the *possibility* that this was the case exists; indeed, we have direct evidence that among some peoples in a savage state the hare was a totem-animal. We have already seen that this was the case among the Moquis; other North American tribes may be instanced. "The martyred Père Rasles, writing in 1723, says that one of the stocks of Outaonaks claims descent from a hare, 'the Great Hare was a man of prodigious size,'"<sup>3</sup> the totem-kindred which bore his name was looked up to with especial respect. Andrew Lang says: "It is probable that the Great Hare of the Algonkins is only a successful apotheosized totem; his legend and his dominion are very widely spread."<sup>4</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> In some parts of Scotland there is a tale of a witch being shot at while in the shape of a hare.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dahn's "Walhall," pp. 192 f.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lang, *op. cit.* i. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 79, 80.

the other hand, to affirm that the hare was a totem-animal would be unsafe, for it cannot be said that there is any direct evidence for this as far as the Israelites are concerned.<sup>1</sup> It will be better to consider what deductions may be drawn from the available evidence.

### III.

Very little is known of the Egyptian god Nepra,<sup>2</sup> but considering that he was the god of grain, his cult cannot have been unimportant in a land like Egypt. To the simple mind of early man the striking thing about corn must have been the wonderful way in which it reproduced itself. Now the hare is the most productive among mammals: it usually breeds four times a year; one can, therefore, understand that to the primitive mind there must have appeared some occult connection between these two prolific representatives of the vegetable and animal kingdoms. Another fact, and a very simple one, must have been regarded as significant—namely, that the hare was not infrequently seen in the cornfields.

It seems, therefore, not unnatural that the hare was holy to Nepra. How, in later times, the corn-spirit was believed to manifest itself in the shape of a hare is amply shown by Mannhardt in his "Korndämonen" (*cf.* also Frazer, "Golden Bough"). When, in the "Book of the Dead," the hare is represented with a wisp of corn<sup>3</sup> before him, we may see, as it were, a double symbol of productivity. It is well known that among the Arabs, as among the Israelites, barrenness was a terrible reproach;<sup>4</sup> when we learn, therefore, that Arab women wore the bones of hares as amulets, it seems fairly certain that the object was to acquire fruitfulness. And even in the case of these being worn, as we are told, as charms against the jinn, who were believed to be afraid of the hare, one may reasonably surmise that the object was to avert an evil influence which was supposed to entail barrenness. Moreover, as we have seen, the bones or the head of a hare were also worn as a preservative against death; here too, probably, some similar conception must have been present, as death would naturally be regarded as the direct antithesis of fruitfulness—the production of life.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* S. A. Cook in "J.Q.R.," xiv. 55, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Lanzone, "Diz. di mitologia egizia"; Brugsch, "Hieroglyph-Demot Wörterbuch"; "Book of the Dead," chap. lxxvii., line 9. These were pointed out to the writer by Dr. Budge, of the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Many Egyptologists question whether this represents a wisp of corn.

<sup>4</sup> For various expedients resorted to by Arab women, even at the present day, to remove the reproach of childlessness, see Curtiss, "Primitive Sem. Rel. To-day," pp. 115-119.

The evidence thus far would go to show that the hare was regarded as a symbol of fertility, and as such would be holy to a divinity in whom was supposed to reside the power to make fruitful. Further light is, however, shed on the subject by considering the quotation given above from "Pausanias." Dr. Frazer makes the following comment upon it: "Professor Wide ('Lakonische Kulte,' pp. 121 *sqq.*) points out that the myrtle and the hare are attributes of Aphrodite rather than Artemis";<sup>1</sup> and he also draws attention to the name of one of the towns in question, Aphrodisias. The hare was, of course, holy to Aphrodite, and the reason is obvious enough. But the worship of Aphrodite was of Eastern origin, being brought by the Phœnicians to Cyprus, from whence it spread all over Greece; under the names Ishtar, Astarte, or Ashtoreth (among the Arabs Al Lat or Al 'Uzza ?),<sup>2</sup> this goddess was worshipped by all the nations of Western Asia. Now, seeing that the Greeks received the worship of Aphrodite from the Semites, may one not reasonably suppose that her holy animal, the hare, came likewise from the Semites? Among these latter, this goddess was also, as is well known, the goddess of fertility and reproduction, so that the hare would be just as appropriate as her attribute among the Semites as among the Greeks. If this is so, then the reason of the hare's uncleanness among the Israelites becomes plain—it was holy to Ashtoreth.

It is interesting to note that in much later times, among an entirely different people, a goddess of fertility has the hare as her holy animal. In Teutonic myth the equivalent of Venus, namely Ostara (Eostre), is the goddess of love and fruitfulness, and the hare is sacred to her. When she comes in the spring-time, bringing new life to the earth, she is accompanied by the hare. According to early popular belief, the sun itself gives three leaps of joy at the appearance of Ostara.<sup>3</sup> The egg which was supposed to be laid by the (female) hare was the emblem of abundance (in Christian times changed into a symbol of the resurrection of the body); and here one may observe, incidentally, that the tortoise was holy to Aphrodite. Dr. Frazer, in referring to a statue which represents this goddess standing with one foot on a tortoise, says: "This statue of Aphrodite by Phidias is mentioned by Plutarch, who interprets the tortoise as a symbol that women should

<sup>1</sup> "Pausanias," iii. 385.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wellhausen, "Reste Arab. Heidenth.," pp. 39-42.

<sup>3</sup> Dahn, "Walhall," pp. 192 f. On the other hand, Grimm ("Teutonic Mythology," i. 291) says: "According to popular belief of long standing, the moment the sun rises on Easter Sunday morning the hare gives three joyful leaps, he dances for joy." Is this the origin of the expression, "As mad as a March hare"?

stay at home and keep silence."<sup>1</sup> Tortoises were also sacred to the sensual god Pan.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the mention of the hare and the tortoise together in the fable may originally have had a more interesting significance than is generally supposed.

#### IV.

We have seen that, as Andrew Lang has pointed out, many races recognise a hare where we see the "Man in the Moon." And here one cannot help recalling the fact that Ishtar (Ashtoreth) was a moon-goddess.<sup>3</sup> There was also a hare constellation. The transference of the hare to the sky marks another stage in the history of the sacred animal; it also proves that there must have been a hare cult.

It is therefore possible that three stages are to be traced in the mythological history of the hare:

1. The hare as a totem-animal.
2. The hare as holy to a divinity.
3. The hare as a god.

<sup>1</sup> "Pausanias," iv. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 447.

<sup>3</sup> In spite of "Encycl. Bibl.," 338; cf. Ball, "Light from the East," p. 153: "In her celestial character the goddess represents, first, the crescent moon, and is called the 'Daughter of the Moon-god.'" At the same time, it is realized that among the Israelites this is only a secondary character. Unexpected light has very recently been thrown upon the subject. During the excavations on the site of ancient Gezer, carried on by the Palestine Exploration Fund, a small bronze figure (4 inches high) of Ashtoreth-Karnaim was found in the temple area ("P.E.F.Q.S.," 1903, pp. 225 f.); the horns on this figure are clearly those of a ram. This "find" goes a long way to establish Rob. Smith's belief that among the nomadic Semites Astarte was a sheep-goddess; this belief is also justified by the interesting passage Deut. vii. 13: "He will bless the increase of thy kine, and the young of thy flock." "The young of thy flock" is literally "the *ashteroth* of thy flock." During the excavations referred to, the remains of cow statuettes were frequently found; cf. the words of Philo Byblus quoted in G. A. Cooke's "North Semitic Inscr.," p. 21: ἡ δὲ Ἀστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν ταύρων.

It should, however, also be pointed out that a somewhat different figure of Astarte was discovered by the Palestine Exploration Fund a few years ago at Tell Sandahannah (close to Beit Jibrin); in a kind of halo on this figure the seven planets are represented (cf. Jer. xlv. 17, where Astarte is called the "Queen of Heaven"), and the action of the right hand in clasping the breast is paralleled by Babylonian representations of the goddess, and is symbolic of giving nourishment to new-born babes (cf. Riehm, "Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alterthums," Art. "Astarte"; Delitzsch, "Babel und Bibel," second lecture, p. 33). There would seem, then, to be good reason for believing that among the Babylonians Astarte was primarily a moon-goddess, and that her "horns" were those of the crescent moon, while among the Israelites she was primarily (after the Exile this was apparently modified) a cow-goddess, and her "horns" here were those of a cow. As the goddess of fertility the appropriateness of this is obvious.

It is not, of course, implied that these stages were definitely marked—the evidence proves the contrary; but at one time or another it seems that the hare did assume these different characters.

Thus, the material at present available for the purpose of answering the question, "Why was the hare considered unclean among the Israelites?" seems to demand the answer: *Because it was sacred to Ashtoreth.*

At the same time, it is realized that this may have only been a contributing cause, and that further evidence may show that there were additional reasons.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.



#### ART. VII.—THE INTERMEDIATE STATE.

THROUGH the kindness of the editor I am permitted to reply to the remarks of the Rev. C. Greene upon my article on the "Intermediate State," published in the September number of this magazine, and reprinted for discussion in the Worcester Clerical Society, as well as for others who were desirous of examining my conclusions more closely. I cannot complain of my kind and courteous critics, least of all of Mr. Greene, who has frankly conceded the most important part of what I contend for when he allows that my "reasoning is fatal to the Romish doctrine of purgatory, and to the possibility of repentance and conversion in the Intermediate State." It may probably have occurred to him that if it is fatal to these errors, it is fatal to much more—the invocation of saints, prayers for the dead and to the dead, and all that mass of hazy sentiment which is grounded on the doctrine of intermediate consciousness, including the various forms of "spiritism," necrology, demonology, soothsaying, and divination by the aid—real or pretended—of the spirits of the dead. All this latter-day rubbish goes by the board when once it is clearly seen that there is no ground in Scripture for believing that the spirits of good men, while separated from their bodies, have any such capacities as is implied in these dangerous intrusions into the unseen world. For let it be once granted that instead of Scriptural "sleep" there is to be a "Hades life" of conscious activity, and it becomes difficult, or perhaps impossible, to refuse to believe in moral and spiritual progress during that life; and when that is granted we must go on to agree to all the discipline, however painful, which is necessary to progress, in the case of those who leave this world in that state of imperfection which is supposed to

require it. And what is this but purgatory, needing only a few touches of medievalism to bring it into line with all the repudiated horrors of the days of Dante and Aquinas, with all the scandals resulting from its pecuniary profit? How soon the modest and tentative suggestions of Augustine deepened into the dogma formulated by the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent we all know; and how utterly unavailing are the disclaimers of purgatory on the part of modern advocates of intermediate improvement needs little proof. The ineffectual protest made the other day against the introduction into our own cathedral of the purgatorial poem of Gerontius by Cardinal Newman would afford an illustration, if one were wanting, of where we are drifting.

I observe that Mr. Greene suggests a doubt as to whether or not the Transfiguration was a "real appearance" or a "mere vision," and on the assumption that it was a "real appearance" he proceeds to say it "surely teaches an intermediate state of conscious activity." But can there be any doubt that it was a vision? Has he forgotten our Lord's words, "Tell the vision to no one," etc.? And so what the vision surely teaches is what those two men, and all those whom they represented, will be "in glory"; and to be "in glory," as they were represented in the vision, is to be past resurrection. So here, again, as everywhere else, the intermediate state is ignored.

Then, Mr. Greene objects to the use of the Old Testament, quotations from which he thinks "beside the mark," adding that "many consider that few, if any, Old Testament saints had a sure hope of eternal life." This opens up a large question, to which it would be impossible to do justice here. Warburton's hypothesis is probably well known to most of your readers; but, not to go further into it, I may remind Mr. Greene that at least David seemed to enjoy a fair prospect of eternal life when he said: "In Thy presence is fulness of joy; at Thy right hand there are pleasures for ever more." There is at least this modicum of truth in this rather sweeping denial of the value of Old Testament indications as to the future life: that the teaching of the Old Testament is germinal and rudimentary, given as men were able to receive it; for, as Mr. Greene is kind enough to remind us, a progressive revelation is implied in Heb. i. 1. Without the light cast back upon it from the clearer revelation of the New Testament, we could not gather from the Old Testament much definite information. But I humbly submit that, used as I have used it, it has its value by showing clearly enough that the inspired writers give no countenance to the notion of consciousness of the intermediate state.

In commenting on my notice of the words of our Lord to the penitent malefactor, my critic asks if I mean that "to-day" the Lord would be in glory; and then, after assuming that such is my opinion, he kindly tells me that "the Apostles' Creed implies He was in Hades," and assures us that he adheres to that view—as if I denied it! Probably he did not observe that I have carefully explained the sense in which that word "to-day" must be understood. Our Lord spoke in accordance with the poor man's consciousness; and to his consciousness there would be no interval between his death and "the kingdom" in which he prayed to be remembered. It is as if the Lord had said: "You pray to be remembered in My coming kingdom. Yes, you shall be, and to your consciousness you shall be there with Me this very day." As always, so here, our Lord ignores the Hades interval; and, looking on to the day of the kingdom, He promises the sufferer all, and more than all, he had prayed for.

As to the invariable use of the figure of "sleep" to represent death in Scripture, my critic tells me that "sleep is not the same thing as unconsciousness," reminding me that it has its dreams. He quotes the somewhat hackneyed words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Hamlet about the disturbed sleep of one whose conscience is ill at ease, as if that was the sort of sleep we are to understand by the Scriptural expression. But when we Christians accommodate to our use the consoling words of the Psalmist (Ps. cxxvii. 2), "So He giveth His beloved sleep" (or "in sleep"), we do not think of the troubled sleep of the murderer, but of the calm, restful sleep—"balmy sleep, kind Nature's sweet restorer"—of the man who is at peace with God and man. Such sleep is "the same thing as unconsciousness," so far as the lapse of time is concerned. Dreams are said to be merely the partial action of sections of the brain immediately before awaking; but this is surely not the sleep into which the Bible tells us we shall fall when we die. Some "light sleepers" can awake at will at a given time; but such sleep is not restful or usual. For most of us the lapse of time is absolutely unnoticed; and if in health, from the moment we fall asleep we are quite unconscious of it; and surely, when our Lord uses sleep as the emblem of death ("our friend Lazarus sleepeth," etc.), He implies not only that the sleeper will awake, but that, though alive, he is temporarily unconscious—a sweet thought, and full of tranquil happiness. For what sort of happiness would it be if those we have lost could see and take an interest in all we have done and said since their departure? What of all the horrid blunders, failures, and sins, which the best of us must feel conscious of if we look fairly and closely at our

lives? How thankful must we be to remember that "sleep" is the divinely-selected word to describe their state, and that there is only One, our great High Priest in heaven, who knows all, and yet loves us and bears with us to the end.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Greene thinks I "evade" the parable of Dives and Lazarus. This is strange, when I have devoted no less than fifteen lines to its exposition. But I may add to what I said in my article that I do not see how it can be used with convincing effect on either side of this controversy, though the main purpose and teaching of the parable, to which I previously referred, is plain enough. But why my worthy critic should suppose I think "Paradise" is synonymous with "Sheol" is not obvious, as I have taken all the care I could to show that I think the exact opposite. "Paradise" is only met with in the New Testament three times, and though early Christian writers have by a misconception of this parable inferred that it was equivalent to Hades, and divided it into two compartments (making one of them into a painful purgatory), they have done so without a shred of authority from Scripture. The Jews, with equal lack of inspired authority, divided it into seven, as Dr. Wright tells us. Later Christians, following the lead of Milton, have gone further, and indulged in poetical fancies, which are perilously near incurring the penalties denounced in Rev. xxi. 19 against those who shall presume to add to the words of God. In the passages of the New Testament where alone the word "Paradise" is mentioned it is equivalent to the abode of the blessed. St. Paul uses it as synonymous with the Third Heaven (2 Cor. xii. 4), which surely cannot mean Purgatory. And in Rev. ii. 7, the only other place, it is said, "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God." But the tight corner in which the commentators, ancient and modern, found themselves, the difficulty—in fact, impossibility—which they had in

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<sup>1</sup> If believers are to be made happy in the intermediate state, and unbelievers miserable, and each apportioned their respective places in that condition, a preliminary judgment is implied before the general judgment; but this idea has no warrant in Holy Scripture, and must be rejected by all who do really abide by its revelations.

One of my most valued correspondents has taken exception to my statement that Heb. xii. 22, 24 is all future. But, after most careful reconsideration, all I can say is that the passage has no note of time, and though some of the items are matters of present experience, others are future. "The firstborn enrolled in heaven," for instance, are not yet all born, others not yet born again; nor is the heavenly Jerusalem manifested; nor is God yet revealed as the Judge of all, though the spirits of justified men are complete in Christ (Col. ii. 10, iv. 12) even now, and in that sense "made perfect."

reconciling this with the ordinary view of the parable, obliged them to give the word in our Lord's mouth a new and quite original meaning. Unable to grasp the thought that our Lord ignored the intermediate state, and taught His new disciple to look on beyond it to the true kingdom, they have been obliged to suppose that Paradise is only another word for Hades. Having reached that point, they were confronted with another difficulty. Dives was in torment, Lazarus in bliss; a great gulf divided them for ever! The inference was inevitable. Two compartments must be supposed for the two classes represented by these two characters. It was a mere detail that there is not a particle of Scriptural evidence for it. There was no other way of reconciling the parable as they understood it with prevailing opinion. So all the way down from Tertullian to Dr. Littledale a stream of erroneous comment has misled the Church, and Mr. Greene tells us once more of the "portion of Hades enjoyed by the blessed," and refers to Smith's Dictionary and the Rabbinic School as his authority! The Rabbinic School, it appears, regarded Hades as "a region of rest in the heart of the earth—the intermediate home of the blessed." With due respect to the Dictionary of the Bible, but none whatever for the Rabbinic School, I venture once more to remind Mr. Greene that the sole and only authority on the future life is the Holy Scripture fairly interpreted. Come what may, let us stick to that. There we are safe.

It is far easier to tie a knot in a tangle than to pick it out. And it is easier "to darken counsel by words without knowledge" than to make clear to reluctant minds a difficult subject. But if I may be permitted to refer for a moment to other and more acute critics (to several of whom I desire to render my grateful thanks), I would observe that the chief stumbling-block would seem to be the difficulty of getting rid of the idea of time in the intermediate state. But this was probably the reason why sleep was used as the proper emblem of it. Time, which Hooker defines as "the measure of the motion of the heavens," is essentially a condition of this life, and cannot be predicated of the next without involving insuperable difficulties. What, *e.g.*, can we think of those who for thousands of years have been in the unseen world, if they have all through these centuries been conscious, and marking with longing expectation the lapse of ages? The Bible speaks of them as asleep. "No, we say they have been wide awake all the time." But, on the other hand, if we regard sleep as unconscious, then all together they will rise at "our gathering together" unto Him. If it were merely an intellectual knot, I should not care to spend time at the fag-end

of my life to untie it. But it is a practical question intimately mixed up with our hopes and expectations. Terrible evils are impending over the Church. I have referred to some of them. Others cannot be laid open here. A flood of error is sweeping over us. Surely the time has come when all that can be said to arrest it should be said now. Feebly, but not, I hope, falsely, I have said my say. Soon, very soon for one like me, nearing fourscore, we must enter on that future life of which I have long been thinking. Then I know what it will be. At rest from this body of infirmity and sin. At home with the Lord in a new body of glorified humanity which He shall give, for He giveth us a body as it pleases Him (1 Cor. xv. 38).

FRANCIS GELL.

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#### ART. VIII.—THE MONTH.

THE most interesting occurrence in the month, from a Churchman's point of view, has been a correspondence between the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Horton, the eminent Nonconformist, respecting the possibility of a compromise on the question of religious education in elementary schools. The Archbishop invited a conference, subject to the acceptance of certain "large and leading principles." These principles were, in short, first, "that the elements of the Christian faith, as taught in Holy Scripture, should form part of the regular instruction given in elementary schools," subject, of course, to a conscience clause; secondly, that the persons to give this teaching "should be qualified to give it genuinely as well as efficiently"; and, thirdly, that "it would not be right to banish wholly from our elementary school system the giving of denominational instruction within school hours." A more moderate statement of the principles to which Churchmen must adhere could not well be made. It seems to amount to a readiness to forego some distinctive features of Church teaching, provided it were possible to secure, by common consent, the maintenance of some definite religious teaching on which Churchmen and Nonconformists might agree; and in some quarters it has been thought that the Archbishop was going too far in the direction of compromise. But the result has been to show decisively the uselessness, at the present time, of attempting to make any compromise at all. Dr. Horton consulted his Nonconformist friends, and replied—with some reserve, as it would seem, of his personal opinion—that the proposed conference is only possible subject to the acceptance of two

“fundamental positions”: (1) “That all schools maintained by public money must be absolutely under public control.” (2) “That in all schools maintained by public money all teachers must be appointed by public authority, without reference to denominational distinction.” At the same time Dr. Clifford writes to the *Times* to say that the system of religious instruction he desires to see everywhere established is that of the late London School Board; and, in effect, his demand is that the Non-provided Schools, which have hitherto been Church Schools, or schools of specific denominations, should be placed absolutely under “popular control,” without any guarantees for denominational education being maintained.

Dr. Clifford is right in saying that this correspondence “clears the air.” It puts on record the fact that the militant Nonconformists will be satisfied with nothing but the absolute surrender to “popular control” of the schools of the Church and of denominations like the Roman Catholics; and that the moderate Nonconformists, like Dr. Horton and Mr. Campbell, are unable to moderate this demand. In fact, the Archbishop’s almost too generous offer of compromise has been met by a more positive and aggressive demand than ever. It may be well, though it may be useless, to remark in passing that the Church Schools are not, as Dr. Horton’s conditions imply, “maintained by public money.” Their current expenses are maintained by public money; but the schools themselves were provided, and the buildings will always be maintained, by the voluntary subscriptions of Churchmen. It would be possible, therefore, to accept Dr. Horton’s principle, and to deny its applicability to the old Church Schools and all the Non-provided Schools. But apart from such points of accuracy, and even truthfulness, of statement, it is now positively avowed by the Nonconformist leaders that nothing will satisfy them but the abolition of definite Church teaching in all the former Church Schools, and the substitution of the “undenominational” scheme of the late London School Board. It is, indeed, by no means certain, as the Archbishop has previously suggested, that the “popular control” which Dr. Clifford desires would in all cases abolish Church teaching and substitute undenominationalism. “Popular” feeling is not everywhere so alienated from the Church as Dr. Clifford and his friends seem to suppose. But, at any rate, his demand is that Churchmen are to surrender every legal guarantee for the maintenance in the schools they built of the religious teaching for the sake of which they so built them. To that demand it is impossible for Churchmen to offer anything else than an unqualified

opposition. It is nothing less than a claim for confiscation. All the sacrifices of Churchmen in the past, all that they have done for generations in order to secure the education of the people at large in the principles of the Church, all that they are contributing now, is to go for nothing, and its material results, in the existing schools, are to be confiscated in the interests of the undenominational, or, it might be, secular, education which is preferred by Nonconformists. We venture to say that a more inequitable—if we thought it becoming to use Dr. Clifford's vocabulary, we might say a more iniquitous—demand could not well be put forward. But it cannot be too clearly realized that it has been put forward, and it renders plain the position which should be henceforth adopted by Churchmen. It is vain to expect that any concessions will be made by Nonconformists which can settle this controversy. They demand from Churchmen the sacrifice of everything they care for in the religious side of elementary education, and they will be satisfied with nothing less. That being the case, Churchmen can have nothing further to say in this matter. We believe that the Education Acts have done us no more than bare justice, and nothing remains for us but to stand by them.

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### Notices of Books.

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*The Amen of the Unlearned. A Lay Commentary.* By M. C. E. London: Elliot Stock. Pp. x+227. 5s.

The anonymous papers collected here appeared originally in the *Spectator*. Mr. St. Loe Strachey, the editor of that journal, has written a brief introduction, in which he observes that the author makes a free but reverent attempt to draw forth the inner meanings of the Bible, and to awaken feeling in regard to the essentials of the religion of Christ. To a certain extent the book deserves the praise it has received from admiring critics. It is gracefully written, reflects exactly a particular phase of cultured thought, and a few of the essays are extremely suggestive, such as those entitled "St. Luke as Artist," and "Friendship in the Bible." That on "Byways of the Bible" brings to light the beauty of some of the less familiar incidents of Holy Scripture, and "Good Breeding in the New Testament" is a pleasant discourse on manners. The writer is most at home in dealing with subjects like these, being better fitted to discuss æstheticism and the amenities of social life than to expound theology. When we find an important passage in Romans quoted as from the Epistle to the Hebrews, without any reference to its connection, and evidently misunderstood, we naturally feel suspicious. St. Paul's

preaching before Felix happens to be the topic of another of the essays, where an allusion to "the judgment seat of Christ" leads to the remark that in St. Paul's mouth this may have implied a speedy second coming, "but to Felix it must have meant, as it means to us in the present day, a judgment by the standard of Christ's teaching. Possibly even the Apostle himself meant his words to be taken metaphorically." We need not dwell upon the futility of trying to explain away the truth of a future judgment, but would merely point out that Felix knew nothing about Christ's teaching, and would not have trembled at metaphors. It is, indeed, a glaring anachronism to attribute to this ignorant heathen the ideas of a twentieth-century latitudinarian.

Elsewhere the writer says that our Lord's authority was never so widely accepted as in these doubt-racked days. Immediately afterwards it is added that belief in a future life is far less widespread than it was, and "almost all the faithful cry out at times, openly or secretly, 'How long dost Thou make us to doubt?'" We do not think that this is the language of "almost all the faithful" in regard to the revelation of a future life. The author proceeds to argue that eschatology is not the whole of Christ's teaching, nor even a large part of it, and that when men believed implicitly in heaven and hell, they did not, as men do now, accept the authority of our Lord in other matters. There never was a time, we are told, when questions of right and wrong entered so largely into the discussion of affairs of State. Cruelties and persecutions, the sight of which was "almost enjoyed during the so-called ages of faith," would now revolt the roughest crowd in London. The consciences, if not the speculations, of men are being rapidly Christianized, and Christendom is entering on a more excellent way than "dull acquiescence in an unchallenged probability." Plausible reasoning like this admits of more than one answer. It may be replied that the consideration of right and wrong in affairs of State is no new thing. Charlemagne and Alfred are standing examples of just rulers, and the general policy of the reign of Elizabeth will bear comparison with that of the reign of Victoria. What a London mob might do under given circumstances would be difficult to say. It has little opportunity, as things are, of giving free vent to its passions, being kept under by the forces of law and order. But the chief defect in the writer's argument is the insular and narrow view taken of "Christendom," which means here English society, more especially that section of it which consists of contributors and subscribers to the *Spectator*. We venture to suggest that Christendom includes the whole of the professing Christian world. Is a scrupulous regard for right and wrong the predominant characteristic of continental statesmanship, or are the nations of the Continent remarkable for their love of righteousness and justice? The howling mobs of Kischineff and other places which lately revelled in cruelties equal to those of the Middle Ages are as much a part of Christendom as a London crowd. The Roman Church has not renounced the duty of persecuting heretics. In France the spirit that manifested itself in the Revolution of the eighteenth century and the

Commune of thirty years ago is by no means extinct, but has infected the populations of other countries as well. The history of the past may easily be repeated, and there is no security that it will not be. It cannot be said, taking Christendom as a whole, that intolerance is on the decline, though in some cases its action may be restrained by laws and Governments. Also it may be noted that there is a steady growth of distinct hostility to Christianity itself, which is largely due to the breaking down of old beliefs. The destruction of faith in a future life may be a pretty occupation for the study, but it becomes a serious thing when carried into practice in the street by a mob that has cast away all thought of a hereafter, and is determined to have what it can get now. It means anarchy in the State as well as anarchy in religion. Christianity, of which belief in a future life and a judgment to come forms an essential part, cannot be overthrown without overthrowing the social order built upon it, and everything that tends to undermine the former contributes to the ruin of the latter. That the negation of a hereafter does not concern the well-being of a Christian State is an assumption refuted by the history of Europe.

*Encyclopædia Biblica.* Vol. IV. : Q—Z. Edited by T. K. CHEYNE, D.D., and J. S. BLACK, LL.D. London : A. and C. Black, 1903. Price 20s. net.

With the issue of the present volume the "Encyclopædia Biblica" is at length completed. It is in every way a remarkable work, and few publications of a theological character have in recent years compelled more attention. The "Publishers' Note" issued with the completed work contains so many interesting details that we may be forgiven if we pause a brief while to consider its contents. Thus, we are told that the work, though containing 5,444 columns of print—equivalent to between sixty and seventy volumes like those of Freeman's "Lectures on History"—may now be purchased, not only in four-volume form, but in a single volume, scarcely more than three inches thick, thanks to the thin Bible paper on which it is printed. No less than ninety-six specialists have been at work upon the book. Of these, exactly a third wrote in a foreign language (German, French, or Dutch), a fact which entailed a great amount of translation work ; and, finally, every article was revised by a staff of specialist editors to insure scrupulous accuracy generally, and to maintain a perfect correspondence between the parts. The result is that, as a *work of reference*, the book is strikingly successful. The system of abbreviations and of cross-references is admirably conceived and executed, and the typographical character of the work such as to place it in the very front rank of dictionaries. In fact, no book can in these particulars compete with it.

The publishers point with pride to the "unsectarian character" of the book. If, indeed, to be able to count among its contributors Christians, Jews, Unitarians, Agnostics, be a matter for congratulation, no doubt their satisfaction is amply justified.

"The 'Encyclopædia' is not a dogmatic text-book for children." It assuredly is not. In one aspect we may safely affirm that it is not a

dictionary of the Bible at all, but rather a congeries of articles, some long, some short, some illuminating, some the reverse, but all more or less coloured by the various speculative theories that do duty for solid fact in certain theological high places. "Encyclopædia Biblica" is more justly to be termed a dictionary of speculative criticism on the Bible than a Bible dictionary.

The amount of guess-work with which many of its articles are charged can hardly be estimated, unless a reader takes the trouble to study with "critical" exactness such performances as Schmiedel's "Gospels," Van Manen's "Romans," or Cheyne's "Saul." Such dazzling speculations may perhaps be justified by the analogy of a work like Dr. Frazer's "The Golden Bough"; but there is this marked difference between the two works when contrasted and compared: Dr. Frazer admits that he is offering to us a series of hypotheses to serve as light bridges connecting—if only for a time—certain scientific data; nor does he claim for these hypotheses anything more than that, as connecting links, they may serve to give to the facts put forward a significance which, without some such interpretative help, they would else lack. But the writers of many—all too many—of the articles in "Encyclopædia Biblica" practise no such critical self-restraint. Half the theories indulged in are set forth as the latest "results" of a critical process; in brief—and this is particularly noticeable in Professor Cheyne's own contributions—the facts are utilized to lend a "local colour" to the theories, rather than as the criterion whereby those theories may be rigorously tested. Readers may urge with justice that the object of an "Encyclopædia" is to supply them with ascertained and ascertainable evidence, not to produce doubtful (and often conflicting) hypotheses, in defiance, it would sometimes seem, not of tradition only, but of the very evidence in question.

It would not be possible to discuss this matter fully in the space at our disposal; but we should like to call attention to Professor Cheyne's latest novelty in the shape of criticism. It is this: Casting about, at an evil moment, for something "fresh" in the "critical" line, he lighted on the word "Jerahmeel." The word, harmless enough in itself, seems to have exercised a malign fascination upon him. He can no more get rid of it than poor Mr. Dick could rid his manuscripts of allusions to King Charles's head. Jerahmeel (mentioned in the Old Testament as (1) a great-grandson of Judah, (2) a Levite in David's time, (3) a son of Hammelech; while the Jerahmeelites are mentioned twice, both times in 1 Samuel) becomes in the Professor's hands the key to unlocking pretty nearly every problem in Old Testament history (many of the problems and difficulties being purely the result of his own inventiveness). The Proteus-like character of the name Jerahmeel is revealed, according to the critic, not once nor twice, but in hundreds of places. Thus, Jericho, Bathsheba, Uriah the Hittite (=Jerahmeel the Rehobothite), all conceal the mystic name. The Book of the Wars of Jehovah becomes in his hands the list of Jerahmeel; Bethlehem=Beth-Jerahmeel; the Valley of Rephaim=the Valley of Jerahmeel; and even Asshur is a synonym for the word. This is a mere random gathering from the Professor's basket of novelties; but readers will readily find hundreds of other choice specimens—they may be

had everywhere, and for the asking. We might instance, as examples of perverse exegesis, Cheyne's view of Gen. iii. (col. 4397), of the Sodom and Gomorrah incident (col. 4668, § 3), the temptation of Jesus (col. 4962, §§ 7, 14), Ur of the Chaldees (col. 5233, § 5). But we forbear. Enough has been said already to show that, to say the least, much of the "Encyclopædia" must be used with extreme caution, despite its international character and its vaunted unsectarian bias.

In order, however, that readers may not suppose that the entire work is built up on such purely fanciful or idle material as the above would seem to indicate, let us instance such admirable articles as "Weights and Measures," by Mr. G. F. Hill; "Tiglath Pileser," by Mr. Pinches; the various Egyptological and Assyriological papers; and the thorough and exhaustive treatise on "Wisdom Literature," by Professor Toy. We do not think it unfair to say generally that articles involving no doctrinal significance are good and trustworthy; but that wherever some point of Christian doctrine or tradition is affected by the critical position adopted, there the article is almost certain to be biassed, and therefore untrustworthy. It is not, we think, good criticism or a sign of enlightenment to dispute every belief, doctrinal or historical, simply because it is old or has been accepted. Even the old is sometimes true. There is much that is new in the "Encyclopædia"—of that there is no doubt; we could wish that there were less of what is new, and more of what is true.

Let us conclude, however, with a word of unstinted praise: The maps and the illustrations in this book are everything that the most exacting could desire.

*"Christian Science" contrasted with Christian Faith and with Itself. Sermons preached in the Nave of Norwich Cathedral.* By WILLIAM LEFROY, D.D., Dean of Norwich. London: S.P.C.K. Pp. xxvi, 169.

Dr. Lefroy's searching examination of the pretensions of the Christian Scientists ought to be widely circulated. His book contains six sermons on the subject, prefaced by a long and valuable introduction. An account of the origin of the system, given in the words of its foundress, is followed by copious extracts from Mrs. Baker Eddy's writings, so that the reader is enabled to gain an exact notion of the principles on which "Christian Science" professes to be based. As the Dean of Norwich points out, it purports to be a new system of religion no less than a new system of healing. The denial of the existence of matter lies at the root of the theory, and the consequences of this denial as regards the nature of man and the person and work of Christ are forcibly demonstrated. Various other questions arising out of Mrs. Eddy's teaching are considered in detail, amongst which may be mentioned the perversions of Scripture common in the circle of her followers, and the true character and purpose of our Lord's miracles. Dr. Lefroy has performed a public service by exposing a widespread delusion, in addition to providing his readers with an armoury of effective answers to the arguments of its votaries.