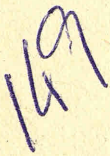
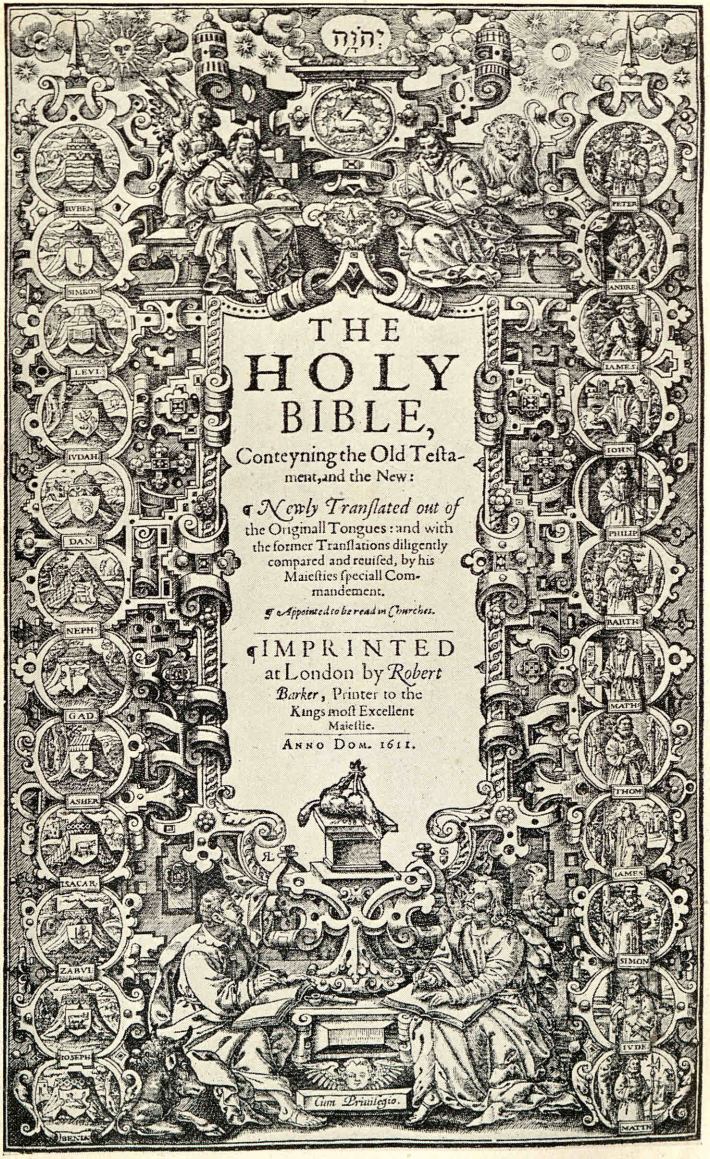
THE BIBLE TODAY







1. The King James Bible, 1611, the title page

THE BIBLE TODAY

HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, AND LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

DESCRIBED
BY CHRISTIAN SCHOLARS

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Introduction

"THE Bible is like an old Cremona," wrote Emerson, "it has been played upon by the devotion of thousands of years until every word and particle is public and tunable." Carlyle made the same point, writing "in the poorest cottage is a book wherein for several thousands of years the spirit of man has found light and nourishment and an interpreting response to whatever is deepest in him". Those nineteenth-century testimonies can, alas, no longer be said to be true. Every word of the Bible is no longer public and tunable. The poorest cottage – like the most luxurious flat – does not always contain a copy. And even where there is one, it does not follow that it can be produced at short notice bearing the marks of regular use. It may well be in mint condition, apart from a tell-tale coating of dust.

Christians of all denominations and men of goodwill who do not accept the Christian faith are agreed that waning familiarity with the Bible spells the loss of precious values. It is the wish alike of churchmen and of humanists outside the churches to see knowledge of the Bible spread again in all lands. For the humanist knows well that it is impossible to understand the history of the last three thousand years and more, or to appreciate the cultural heritage into which we have entered, without a sound knowledge of the Bible; and the churchman is convinced that the preservation of what is best worth preserving in that heritage depends on whole-hearted acceptance of the religious faith and the ethical standards presented in the scriptures. A more widespread and a deeper knowledge of the Bible will be all to the good.

It was with such considerations as these in mind that *The Times* undertook the publication of a Bible Supplement and invited a number of scholars to put their learning, in necessarily brief space, at the disposal of general readers. Their task was to show how the Bible was shaped, what it has meant to past generations, and what it might and should mean to the present

and future. The keen demand for the Supplement showed that it met a real need; and, as there is reason to think that the need still exists, it has now been decided to produce a new edition in book form. This allows the publication in full of articles which had to be curtailed in the original issue through lack of space, and it also makes it possible to add some new material.

It is hoped that the book may be interesting and useful not only to keen Church members, and to scholarly and cultivated humanists, but also to a great many others who would not call themselves either churchmen or humanists: the puzzled and frustrated men and women of this modern age, to whom the Bible speaks in language no longer intelligible about things no longer credible. They cannot quote authorities for their views; but they have an idea that "science" and "higher criticism" have knocked the bottom out of the Bible, and that there is little profit, therefore, in spending time and effort on mastering its obsolete idiom.

A good deal might be said about the charge of unintelligibility levelled at the Bible. It is true that the Authorized Version stands alone in unexcelled glory as a literary monument. But it must also be admitted that the three and a half centuries since it was published have seen many changes in grammatical usage, in literary style, and even in the meanings of words. In many respects the English of the Authorized Version, and of the Revised Version too, is archaic and therefore difficult to the ordinary reader. More than that, it must be allowed that the translation offered by the Authorized Version is at times inaccurate and misleading. Three hundred and fifty years of study and research have given us a much better text of the Bible to translate, a far more adequate knowledge of the biblical languages, and a much deeper understanding of the life and thought of Israel and the Early Church. All these resources are being put at the disposal of the ordinary man who finds the older versions unintelligible. There are new versions in abundance. Biblical scholars turn them out in every modern language; and the English reader, who wants to be told what the Bible has to say in language that he can understand, can enlist the aid of

Moffatt or Goodspeed, Knox or Phillips, to name only a few of the modern translators.

Besides these individual enterprises there are the corporate undertakings sponsored by ecclesiastical bodies. Of these we may mention first the American Revised Standard Version of the Bible. This is, as its title page tells us, "the Version set forth A.D. 1611, revised A.D. 1881–1885 and A.D. 1901, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A.D. 1952". It represents the devoted labour over many years of some of the finest scholars in America. As it is discussed at length later in this volume we need here say only that it gives us a rendering that removes many obscurities and errors of the Authorized Version, while preserving much of its beauty.

Another corporate enterprise, which is still in progress, is the new translation of the Bible into modern English. This is not a revision of any existing version but a new rendering made directly from the original languages. It is hoped that the New Testament may be ready for the printer early in 1958. If that hope is realized the labours of nine years will have borne fruit. The Old Testament will take some years more. This translation is being done by panels of scholars; and on the joint committee responsible are represented the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the major English Free Churches, the Society of Friends, the Churches in Wales and Ireland, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the National Bible Society of Scotland. What is aimed at is an authoritative translation suitable for private reading and study and for use in public worship. A statement by the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses has said of this enterprise that "it is not expected to displace the Authorized Version", but "to produce a version fit to stand beside the great translations of the past".

There is no longer any reason why the man in the street should complain that the Bible is obscure. He can easily find versions in clear and comprehensible twentieth-century English. What then of the other suspicion that the "critics" have shown the Bible to be unreliable as history and that "science" has invalidated its picture of God, man and the universe.

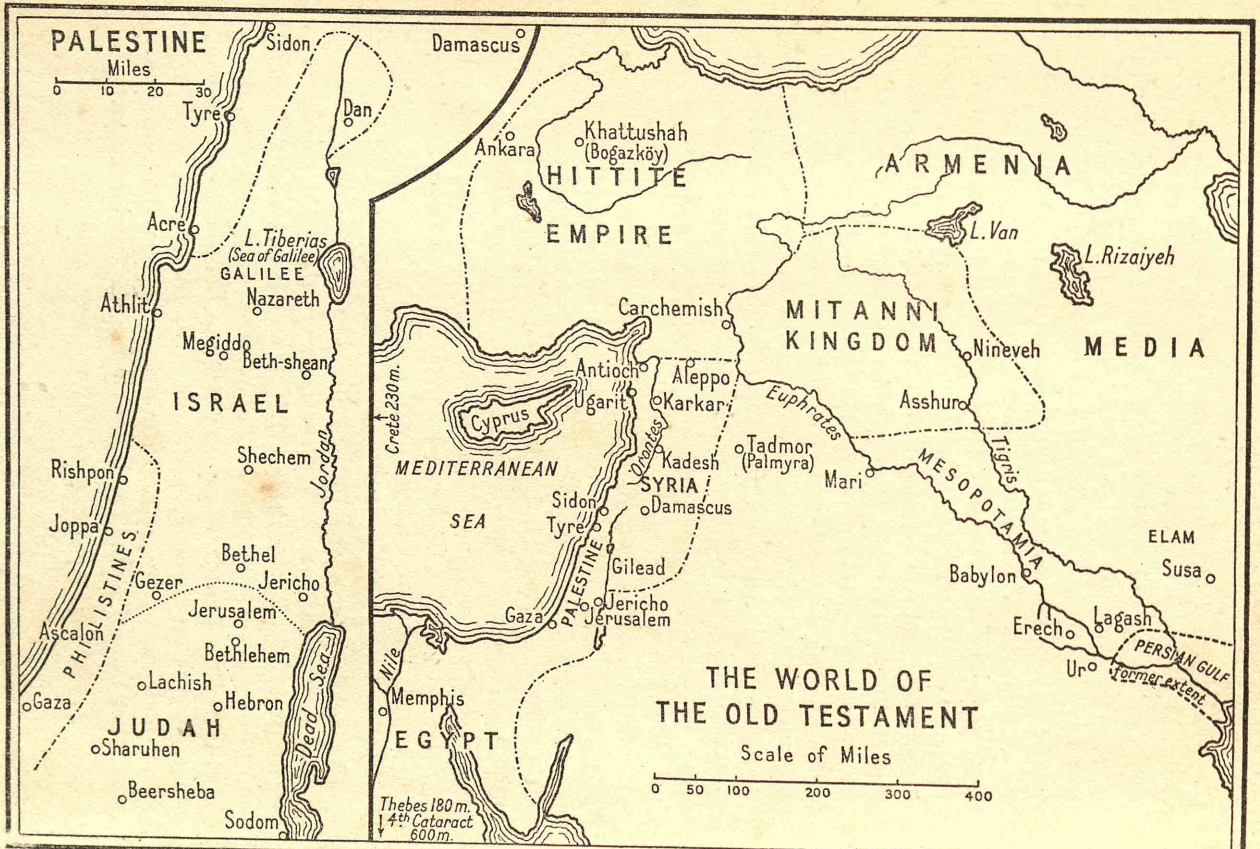
It is obviously impossible in a short article to give anything like a complete discussion of this question. What can be said is this. The Bible professes to give true knowledge of a real God, who has made himself known to men in various ways, but particularly in the history of the Hebrew people, in the character, life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and in the life of the Church. Since the revelation is given in terms of history and life, the record of it must be studied in the same way and with the same methods as are used in the study of other departments of history. The documents must be carefully examined, their true text and correct interpretation established. Statements of fact must be checked against other evidence, where other evidence is available. This process of sifting and interpretation has been going on for a very long time; and it must continue. Like all human activities it has its ups and downs; but as one looks back on what has been done, it is clear that on the whole there has been genuine progress. Revolutionaries have tried to force the pace and obscurantists to stop it altogether; but it goes on and the result of honest criticism by critics, who know their business, is an increasingly clear picture of the biblical history and a truer appreciation of its deepest meaning. It is not too much to say that the critics, who are popularly supposed to have destroyed the authority of the Bible, are among those who value it most highly. A very large part of this volume is the work of biblical critics, whose critical studies have made them the more eager to commend the message of the Bible to the serious consideration of their fellows. They report what they have learned from their own studies and from the studies of those who have gone before. Their successors will carry on the task and make their report to a new generation. For the Good Book belongs to the future no less than it does to today and to the Christian and pre-Christian past.

The Good Book belongs to today. What it has to offer is offered to this generation: what it demands is demanded of this generation. It is a generation that has suffered much; but it can hardly be claimed that it has learned obedience through the things which it has suffered. It has achieved much; and it is in

no small danger of perishing by its achievements, turning its inventive genius and technological mastery to its own destruction. Whether or not science has invalidated the Bible, there can be little question that its swift and spectacular achievements have diverted the attention of vast numbers from the Good Book to other sources of instruction and inspiration, and that the majority of our contemporaries are prepared to trust the deliverances of almost any -ology except theology. The historians of tomorrow, or the day after, may be left to assess the full significance of this change of attitude. In the meantime one observation may be made from within the process. Whatever else the higher critics may have questioned, they were always able to present, as one of the key teachings of the Bible, its constant and emphatic assertion of the sacredness of human life and personality. Is it only a coincidence that in this age, when emancipation from the Bible and its message has gone so far and so fast, human life is so cheap and the sacredness of personality so little regarded?

There is, however, another side to the picture. Those who are in touch with the wider intellectual life of our day are aware that there are scientists, and those not the least able and distinguished of their kind, who see that the Bible has something to offer which is needed more than their own discoveries, and needed more urgently just because of them. It may not in fact be going too far to say that the farther and faster science goes ahead the more clearly it will point the way back to the Bible.

But it will not be "back to the Bible" in a spirit of narrow and reactionary obscurantism. On the contrary the Bible to which we must return is the Bible clarified and illuminated by the best efforts of generations of scholars. That Bible put into the language of the twentieth century will not fail to show its relevance to twentieth-century life. It is to that Bible, with its living message for today and tomorrow no less than for the past, that the following pages offer a modest introduction.


PALESTINE
Miles
0 10 20 30
Sidon
Tyre
Dan
Damascus
Ankara
Khattushah
(Boğazköy)
HITTITE
EMPIRE
ARMENIA
L. Van
L. Rizaiyeh
Acre
L. Tiberias
(Sea of Galilee)
GALILEE
Nazareth
Athlit
Megiddo
Beth-shean
Carchemish
MITANNI
KINGDOM
Nineveh
MEDIA
Antioch
Aleppo
Karkar
Ugarit
Cyprus
Crete 230 m.
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
ISRAEL
Shechem
Jordan
Euphrates
Asshur
Tadmor
(Palmyra)
Kadesh
SYRIA
Mari
Tigris
MESOPOTAMIA
Rishpon
Joppa
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Bethel
Gezer
Jericho
Jerusalem
PHILISTINES
Gilead
PALESTINE
Gaza
Jericho
Jerusalem
ELAM
Susa
Babylon
Erech
Lagash
Ur
PERSIAN GULF
former extent
Ascalon
Bethlehem
Lachish
Hebron
Gaza
JUDAH
Sharuhen
Dead Sea
Nile
Memphis
EGYPT
Beersheba
Sodom
Thebes 180 m.
4th Cataract
600 m.
THE WORLD OF
THE OLD TESTAMENT
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400

The language of the Old Testament

By D. WINTON THOMAS

Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge University

THE language in which the Old Testament was for the most part originally written is Hebrew. The language of a small part of it is, however, Aramaic, namely, Jer. x. 11, Ezra iv. 8–vi. 18, vii. 12–26, and Dan. ii. 4–vii. 28. In addition, two Aramaic words, put into the mouth of Laban, an Aramaean, are preserved in Gen. xxxi. 47. Hebrew and Aramaic are both members of that family of languages which, since the end of the eighteenth century, has been known, conveniently if not entirely accurately, as Semitic, a name which derives from Gen. x. 22, where a list of the sons of Shem is given. These two languages form, together with Moabite and Phoenician, a north-western group of this family; Akkadian (Assyrian and Babylonian) forms an eastern group; and Arabic and Ethiopic form a southern group. All these languages are descended from a common parent language which the Semites spoke when they lived together in their original home, Arabia, before they poured out thence in successive waves and peopled the countries where later they are found. This "proto-Semitic" can only be hypothetically reconstructed.

The Hebrew language, as it is known from the Old Testament, reflects the highly mixed ancestry of the Hebrews, and the diverse elements of which it is composed can be traced to the different Semitic languages from which they were drawn. In the Old Testament, Hebrew is never called "the Hebrew language", nor "the language of the Hebrews". It is, for Isaiah (xix. 18) "the lip (tongue) of Canaan"; and in 2 Kings xviii. 26, 28, and Neh. xiii. 24 it is called "Jewish". Isaiah's description of it is very near the mark, for Hebrew arose from a fusion of the Aramaeo-Arabic dialect spoken by the Hebrews who invaded Canaan in the fifteenth century B.C., or later, with the native language of Canaan. This native Canaanite was very

similar to Hebrew, as is shown by the glosses in Canaanite which occur on the cuneiform tablets (*c.* 1400 B.C.) discovered at Tell el-Amarna. The language of the glosses may be properly described as "proto-Hebrew".

The Aramaeans were a leading branch of the Semitic family inhabiting Mesopotamia and northern Syria, in many tribes and settlements. Their language was widespread at an early date. Aramaean states, such as Damascus, Beth-Rehob, and Zobah—all known to the Old Testament—flourished as early as 1000 B.C. Endorsements in Aramaic are found on cuneiform tablets dating from the eighth to the fifth century B.C., while the inscriptions cover a period from the eighth century B.C. to the third century A.D. By the eighth century B.C. Aramaic had become the *lingua franca* of diplomacy and commerce in the Near East. The political leaders in Jerusalem understood it at this time (2 Kings xviii. 26). When the northern kingdom fell in 721 B.C., Aramaic-speaking settlers were introduced into Samaria (2 Kings xvii. 24), and from this time onwards bilingualism in the north was probably common. In the south, bilingualism may have made some headway before the Exile (586 B.C.). Aramaic attained the rank of an official language throughout the western half of the Persian empire, public documents, such as those found in Ezra, as well as literary works, being written in it. While Hebrew absorbed Aramaic elements at an early stage, it was during the Persian period of Palestine's history (539–332 B.C.) that Aramaic exerted a particularly powerful influence. In these post-exilic days Hebrew continued to be used as the normal vehicle of expression, but as time went on both Hebrew and Aramaic were probably equally well known and were used indiscriminately. Later books like Esther, Ecclesiastes, and some psalms (*e.g.*, ciii, cxxii, cxxxix, cxliv) betray strong Aramaic influence. By the second century B.C., Hebrew as a spoken language was all but dead, and Aramaic was fast becoming the vernacular of Palestine. The book of Daniel (*c.* 165 B.C.), which was intended for popular reading, shows the real extent of Aramaic influence at this time. By the time of Jesus, Aramaic had become the common speech of the country (it is called "Hebrew" in John v. 2, xix. 13, 17), though

Hebrew continued to live on as the language of religion and learning. Dialects of Aramaic are still spoken in some villages near Damascus and elsewhere.

Hebrew and Aramaic, like most other Semitic languages, are written from right to left. All Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament – until the recent discovery of Hebrew manuscripts at the Dead Sea no such manuscript could be certainly dated earlier than the tenth century A.D. – are written in the so-called "square script". All printed editions of the Hebrew Bible likewise employ this script. The script came into use in the post-exilic period under the influence of Aramaic. The script used before the exile was quite different. It is known to us from early Hebrew inscriptions, such as the Siloam inscription (*c.* 700 B.C.) and the Lachish letters (*c.* 590 B.C.), and from some fragments of Biblical manuscripts found in the Dead Sea caves. Much of the Old Testament must have been written originally in this older script. The change from this script to the "square script" was gradually achieved, and was completed by *c.* 400 B.C.

All the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet are consonants. Six of them (*bgdkpt*) had, however, both a hard and a soft pronunciation, and two of the four guttural letters each represented two distinct sounds. There were therefore more than twenty-two sounds. Sometimes the consonantal spelling of two quite different Hebrew words is identical. No difficulty in pronunciation will have arisen so long as Hebrew was a living language. Difficulty was bound to arise, however, when it ceased to be commonly spoken, as happened about 150 B.C. In an attempt to preserve the traditional pronunciation, a system of vocalization, consisting of dots and dashes, was introduced by the Massoretes, the successors of the Scribes, and it gradually developed until its completion in the course of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Though the system merits respect in that it preserves some things which are genuinely old, it gives little idea of the pronunciation of Hebrew when the Old Testament texts were written, since the pronunciation which the Massoretes preserved was that which was in vogue many centuries later in the synagogues and schools, and by that

time much of the ancient pronunciation was forgotten. One effect of the use of this uniform system of vocalization was to efface almost all traces of dialectical variation. Hebrew certainly had dialects. Another was to obscure the fact that Hebrew pronunciation must have changed in the course of the thousand years or so that it was spoken and written in Palestine. Yet the Massoretes would have us believe that Deborah (Jud. v, *c.* 1100 B.C.) pronounced Hebrew precisely as did the author of Ecclesiastes (*c.* 200 B.C.). To the system of vocalization was added not very much later a system of accentuation. The system employed in the three poetical books—Psalms, Proverbs and Job—is different from that used in the other books of the Old Testament.

Many, if not most, Hebrew roots consisted at one time of two letters, but in the Hebrew language as known from the Old Testament the three letter verb is the rule. The triliteral verb is in fact the essential characteristic which distinguishes Hebrew and the Semitic languages generally from the Indo-European family of languages. The triliteral verb carries the basic meaning which it is desired to express, and from it derivatives of all kinds are formed. Thus from the root *RKB* "ride" are formed *RiKBāh* "riding", and several words meaning "chariot", namely, *ReKeB*, *ReKūB*, *meRKāB*, and *meRKāBāh*. In addition to the imperative, participles, and infinitives, Hebrew had four main tenses—a perfect, a universal tense, a preterite and an imperfect. Hebrew words are mostly verbs or nouns. The noun has two genders, masculine and feminine, the latter doing duty also for the neuter. Nouns often take the place of adjectives, with which Hebrew is poorly supplied (*e.g.*, in Ex. xxxviii. 30 "the brasen altar" is literally "the altar of bronze"). There is a scarcity too of adverbs, and compound words are almost completely lacking. Emotional states are frequently expressed in physical terms. For example, the basic meaning of the commonest Hebrew word for "to love" is "to breathe". No distinction is made between cause and effect; for example, the word for "work" (Ps. xvii. 4) means also "reward" (Is. xlix. 4). The Hebrew habit of thinking in "wholes" or "totalities" results in a richness of collective nouns, and in a ready tendency to

personification. From this habit of thought springs too the characteristic Hebrew treatment of a phrase like "the king's house". To the Hebrew mind such a phrase is not made up of two separate component parts, but forms a single entity, "the-house-of-the-king". Sentence construction in Hebrew is relatively simple, clauses being normally strung together by "and". Hebrew is poorly adapted for the expression of abstract thought. It is, however, especially well suited for vivid story telling, and for the portrayal of graphic and picturesque detail.

Compared with the classical languages, the Hebrew vocabulary is small. But the vocabulary in daily use must have been much larger than that which is preserved in the Old Testament, which is only a selection from a much more extensive literature. By means of the study of available inscriptional material, of comparative Semitic philology, and of the ancient versions, more especially of the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Old Testament), much of the lost vocabulary of Hebrew is today being gradually recovered. This vocabulary includes many words which are not of Semitic origin. Sumerian, Egyptian, and Persian words are all to be met with. The greater knowledge that is now available of the vocabulary, and of other phenomena, of ancient Hebrew, has brought about a welcome revolt against the excessive emendation of the traditional Hebrew text, known as the Massoretic Text, which has been so noticeable a characteristic of Hebrew scholarship in the past. The reputation of the Massoretic Text today stands deservedly high.

The Old Testament world

By the REV. DR. N. H. SNAITH

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IT was the end of the Early Bronze Age. Rapid changes were about to take place everywhere in the Near East in the year 2000 B.C., one of those surges of human activity which from time to time take place over wide areas without any obvious discernible affinity: as though the old gods die and new gods spring to birth. Most of Mesopotamia was under the rule of the kings of Ur, traditionally the home of Abraham's earliest days. Egypt was for a while under the Theban kings of the XIth dynasty. Palestine was in general decay with a rapidly decreasing population, whilst east of Jordan the land was becoming almost wholly depopulated.

In those days the coastline of the Persian Gulf ran close to the city of Ur, the ruins of which are now more than a hundred miles from the sea. The third dynasty of Ur had extended the power of that city over most of the plain of the two rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, north-east to the threshold of Media and north-west through Mari into Syria. But in 1992 B.C. Ur fell to an attack of the Elamites, hillmen from south-west Persia, and the former subject city-states set about restoring their former fortunes in independence. The chief of these cities was Asshur, 400 miles up the Tigris to the north, and Mari, 400 miles up the Euphrates to the north-west, where the caravan route strikes west across the desert, first to Palmyra and Tadmor, and thence either south-west to Damascus and through Palestine to Egypt, or straight on to the Orontes and thence north to Aleppo or north-east to Ugarit.

But these city-dwellers, Akkadians who 400 years earlier had overwhelmed the non-Semitic Sumerians, were soon in their turn to be overrun by the Amorites, Semitics like themselves and nomads who for some considerable time had sustained themselves on the edges of the Fertile Crescent, that half-circle of land en-

circling the eastern desert, its horns the fertile river basins of Mesopotamia and the Nile. These Westerners, apart from occasional raids in force, had been infiltrating the country for some considerable time, but with the release of the strong hands of the kings of Ur, the door was wide open. City after city fell before them, Mari as early as *c.* 1950 B.C., Babylon a few years later, and Asshur one of the last, until by *c.* 1750 B.C. Amorite kings were installed everywhere from Syria through to Babylon.

The most famous of these Amorite kings was Hammurabi, the greatest of the early kings of Babylon. He reigned for forty-two years and died *c.* 1686 B.C. He is said to have been a contemporary of Abraham, and the new and much later dating (due chiefly to the new discoveries at Mari) has made this much more likely than heretofore. He is famous chiefly for his Code, discovered at Susa, the capital of Elam, some fifty years ago. The Code is engraved on a round-topped stele of black diorite, and is now in the Louvre. This was the first ancient code of laws to be found in that area, and its affinities with the Code of the Covenant (Exod. xxi.–xxv.) are most marked.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Mari was the greatest city of the plain. The 20,000 tablets found there in recent years have given us a new and full picture of the period: a king's palace occupying fifteen acres and containing 300 rooms, business records, political papers, all the relics of a thriving city which continued to prosper until Hammurabi captured it *c.* 1700 B.C., and then transferred its greatness to Babylon. This was a time of great literary and scientific activity. The old legends were retold; the mathematicians learned to solve square roots, cube roots, and complex quadratic equations. They even invented a type of logarithms.

Meanwhile great changes had taken place in Egypt. The XIth (Theban) dynasty came to an end in 1992 B.C., when Amenemhet I, previously chief minister, made himself king and established the famous XIIth dynasty. This lasted for 200 years and was a period of intense literary activity. In mathematics Egypt lagged behind Babylon, but they excelled in geometry and medicine.

The Pharaohs of this dynasty extended their authority over

Crete, Cyprus, Syria and far up the Nile. But in 1720 B.C., after forty years of confusion in Egypt, the Hyksos kings invaded Lower Egypt. Forty years later another wave of these Asiatics entered the country and set up the XVth dynasty, the kings of which ruled from Syria through to Nubia and set up monuments in Crete and even in Babylonia. During this period, which lasted for 170 years, Palestine entered upon a new period of prosperity, partly because of a new infusion of Amorite blood and partly because of the excellent Hyksos administration. It was probably towards the end of the Hyksos period that Joseph attained power in Egypt and some, at least, of the Hebrews settled on the north-eastern borders of Egypt.

More changes came again with the beginning of the Late Bronze Age in the middle of the sixteenth century. Two dynasties of Theban kings had maintained themselves in Egypt under the overlordship of the Hyksos kings, but in 1550 B.C., not long before he died, Ahmose I managed at last to drive them out and found the XVIIIth dynasty. His son, Amenhotep I, extended the authority of these native Egyptian pharaohs as far south as the Fourth Cataract, and his successor, Thutmose I, conquered Syria and reached the Euphrates. After a temporary setback, Thutmose III (1490–1436 B.C.) re-established the Egyptian power in Syria, though with difficulty because of the rising power of the Mitanni. The Mitanni were a mixed race from the highlands which contain the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and their territory extended from the northern Euphrates, as far east as to embrace what later was Assyria, and as far north as Lake Van.

At the death of Thutmose III, the Egyptian authority extended as far north as the Orontes, and his northern boundary ran due east through Aleppo as far as the bend in the Euphrates. East of the Euphrates was the Mitanni empire, and north of the Antioch-Aleppo line was the reviving empire of the Hittites. This people had their capital at Khattushah, ninety miles east of the modern Ankara. They had invaded Syria *c.* 1600 B.C., but instead of marching south into Egyptian territory they had turned east and in *c.* 1550 B.C. they raided and destroyed

Babylon. Then they suddenly collapsed because of internal dissension and we hear nothing more of them till they conquered the Mitanni empire *c.* 1370 B.C. and followed that by conquering northern Syria.

These were the days of Amenhotep III (1413–1377 B.C.) and the time of the highest development of Egyptian art. He was followed by Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton, 1377–1360 B.C.), the husband of the beautiful Nefertete, and the religious reformer who sought to establish a monotheistic religion in Egypt. Whilst the Pharaoh was thus busy and incidentally seeking to break the power of the priests of Amen, Palestine was being invaded by the Habiru, nomads pressing in from the desert into the settled lands. Nearly seventy years ago the Tell el-Amarna letters were discovered on the site of Ikhnaton's new capital. These letters from Palestine tell a strange story of intrigue, and provide a picture of grave maladministration and weak government. Whatever the reason, Ikhnaton was not as active in protecting his Palestinian possessions as he was concerning his religious reforms at home.

During the fifteenth century the Minoan civilization of Crete reached its zenith and this was followed in the next century by the Mycenaean civilization, the background of Homer and the siege of Troy. This fourteenth century is notable also for the revival of the Hittites of Asia Minor. They conquered north Syria, but with the advent of the XIXth dynasty in Egypt, Rameses I and his famous son, Seti I (1319–1301 B.C.), sought to restore the Egyptian power in Syria. There were continual wars with the Hittites until *c.* 1270 B.C. when a treaty was made establishing the border. This is the treaty of which an Egyptian translation has been found at Thebes, and an Akkadian translation at Bogaskoy in Hittite Asia Minor. The immediate reason for the treaty was probably that the Hittites, having overrun the Mitanni empire to the east, had come into contact with the new Assyrian power under Adadnirari I and his son Shalmaneser I. These Assyrian kings conquered all the Mitanni territory east of the Euphrates. Their power soon waned, but there was a revival under Tiglath-pileser I who held north Syria for a while *c.* 1000 B.C. Apart from this, Assyria did not enter

the Syrian world till the ninth century, the time of Ahab of Israel.

The early fourteenth century was the time of the greatness of Ugarit, the ruins of which were found twenty-five years ago near the sea-coast in the same latitude as the north-eastern tip of Cyprus. According to the Tell el-Amarna letters this city was very wealthy indeed. It was the gateway for trade between the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia. Its prosperity declined with the passing of the Bronze Age, and it was finally destroyed by the Sea Peoples during the twelfth century. Many tablets have been found, both business and official documents and religious texts. The latter are of the utmost importance for the understanding of Canaanite religion, and give us a new picture of the country which the Hebrews invaded under Joshua.

With the beginning of the Iron Age, the Peoples of the Sea invaded Egypt, North Africa generally and the whole of the Syrian coast. They came from across the Mediterranean, partly from Thrace and partly from the Greek islands. Rameses III drove them out of Egypt *c.* 1190 B.C., but they destroyed the Hittite empire, wiped out Ugarit, and some of them, known as the Philistines, settled in Syria in the coastal plain and gave their name to the country, Palestine. Egypt fell into chaos during the next century, and Syria was free from all foreign interference.

During this period the Philistines defeated the Israelites under Saul, and overran most of the south till they were defeated by David. In the absence of any great intruding power, David was able to extend the Judaean kingdom from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and from the borders of Egypt to the pass between the Lebanons in the north. The Early Iron Age was thus the first summer of Israel's greatness. The Hebrews had escaped from Egypt, where they had been enslaved since the expulsion of the Hyksos, and had settled in southern Syria by *c.* 1230 B.C. Some scholars have maintained that the Hebrews invaded Palestine during the time of Pharaoh Ikhnaton and that they were actually the Habiru of the Tell el-Amarna letters, but there is a growing tendency to revert once

more to the "late" date (thirteenth century) for the invasion under Joshua.

With the Middle Iron Age (900–600 B.C.) the clouds began to gather so far as Palestine was concerned. The south (Judah) was not able to continue its domination of the north (Israel) after the death of Solomon, and for most of the next 200 years Israel was the stronger kingdom, often dominating the southern kingdom. The Pharaohs of the XXIInd (Bubastite) dynasty, founded by Shishak (935 B.C.), were for a while able to interfere in Palestine, and Shishak penetrated as far as Megiddo, but after the ninth century their power was at an end. From 900 B.C. onwards the chief power in the Near East was Assyria.

For 300 years, the story of the Near East is composed of a series of thrusts through to the Mediterranean, and finally down into Egypt, on the part of the Assyrian kings. The first thrust was by Shalmaneser III who was checked in a drawn battle at Karkar, away to the north, by the Syrian league, of which Benhadad of Damascus and Ahab of Israel were the leaders. The second thrust was by Adadnirari III who destroyed Damascus in 804 B.C., but he apparently advanced no farther.

This period of activity was followed by a time of Assyrian weakness and Armenian strength in the east, with the result that for sixty years the two Hebrew kingdoms prospered during the long reigns of Jeroboam II in the north and Uzziah (Azariah) in the south. Between them the Hebrew power was extended almost to the ideal confines of the Davidic kingdom. But in 733 B.C. Tiglath-pileser III marched west. He met with no opposition till he came to Israel, so that Israel had to meet the full vigour of his assault. The Assyrian captured most of the territory of Israel, all Galilee, Gilead and the coastal plain. He left only a small kingdom. Ten years later Shalmaneser III and Sargon put down a rebellion and made the little kingdom also into an Assyrian province. Sennacherib put down a rebellion in the south in 701 B.C. and reduced Judah to subjection. His successor, Esar-haddon (681–669 B.C.) conquered Egypt, but by this time new nations were gathering strength on all sides, and

he and Asshur-bani-pal (669–626 B.C.) were engaged in continual warfare to keep what they had.

Asshur-bani-pal lost Egypt in 652 B.C. At his death the Assyrian empire broke up. All the subject states set about restoring their national institutions, Josiah in Judah, Nabopolassar in Babylon, and Kyaxares in Media. Asshur fell to the Medes in 614 B.C. and Nineveh, the capital of the later Assyrian kings, in 612 B.C. Josiah was steadily widening his territory till he met his death at Megiddo in 608 B.C. at the hands of Pharaoh Necho of the XXVIth (Saite) dynasty. But this Pharaoh was utterly defeated together with the remnants of the Assyrians across at Carchemish in 605 B.C. by the Babylonians under Nebuchadrezzar, who became king instead of his father in the next year. Egypt ceased to play any major part in the Near East for centuries, not till after the death of Alexander. Judah came under Babylonian control, and abortive revolts ended in two major deportations, one in 597 B.C. and the other in 586 B.C.

For a short while there was a powerful Babylonian Empire in the south and west, reaching out through Palestine into Egypt, and an equally powerful Median empire in the north and east. But suddenly a new conqueror arose, Cyrus, ruler of the small hill country of Anshan. He rapidly gained control of Persia and Media (549 B.C.), conquered Croesus of Lydia (546 B.C.), and Babylon in 538 B.C. His son, Cambyses, conquered Egypt in 527 B.C. Darius I (522–486 B.C.) reorganized the Empire. He invaded Europe only to be driven back at Marathon in 490 B.C.

A second attempt to conquer Greece, this time by Xerxes I (485–465 B.C.), ended in the disaster of Salamis in 480 B.C. This is the golden age of Greece, the Greece of Pericles, Herodotus, Socrates, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Plato and Aristotle. It was to a pupil of Aristotle that the Persian Empire fell, for Aristotle had gone to the court of Philip of Macedon as tutor to the young Alexander. The victory of Philip at Chaeronea (338 B.C.) ended the independence of the small Greek city-states. When Philip was murdered in 336 B.C., Alexander restored the Macedonian power over Greece and marched east to overthrow the now effete Persian power. In a series of decisive battles he conquered first one territory and then another, and

in nine years was master of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Persia and had reached the Indus. He died in 323 B.C. and left Perdiccas as regent of his sprawling Asiatic territories with his generals as satraps of the provinces. The generals fought for their own independence, and when the dust of the conflicts had died down in 277 B.C., the son of Ptolemy was in control in Egypt, the son of Seleucus in Syria, Asia Minor and the East, and Antigonus in Macedonia.

There were two smaller kingdoms, Bithynia and Pergamum, which maintained their independence until they with all the rest were engulfed by Rome. Palestine was under the control of the Ptolemys till 198 B.C. Some exiled Jews had returned from Babylonia when Cyrus the Persian captured Babylon in 538 B.C., and there had been other migrations. They had continued a precarious and none too prosperous existence during the intervening years, but apart from an abortive revolt in the time of Artaxerxes III (Ochus, 358–337 B.C.) they had submitted to whatever ruling power was in control. But in 198 B.C. the Seleucid king, Antiochus III (the Great, 223–187 B.C.), had conquered the territory.

At the first all was well. Antiochus was involved from 201 B.C. onwards with the Roman expansion into Asia. After Rome had finally disposed of Carthage at the battle of Zama in that year, Hannibal fled to the court of Antiochus, who, at Hannibal's instigation, interfered with Rome in Greece. The second time he did this, Rome followed him into Asia and Antiochus lost the western part of his empire. His son, Antiochus IV (Epiphanes, 175–163 B.C.), sought compensation in Egypt, was warned off by the Romans, and, stung by what he interpreted as Jewish intransigence, attempted to destroy the Jewish religion. This led to the Maccabaean revolt. The year was 168 B.C. In three years, aided by Seleucid troubles elsewhere, Judas Maccabaeus had achieved religious independence, but he fought on to win political independence also. This ended in disaster, but under the Hasmonaeans, the descendants of Simon the last survivor of the five Maccabaean brothers, the Jews came to control territory as large in extent as at any time in Israelite history.

Judas had sought for help from Rome, but it was not until 63 B.C. that the Romans deliberately interfered in Palestine with their customary effectiveness. In that year Pompey took advantage of a dispute as to the rulership, entered the Temple, and established Hyrcanus as king with Antipater, father of Herod the Great, as virtual ruler. The Hellenistic period was over, and the rule of Rome had begun.

Archaeology and the Bible

By S. H. HOOKE

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FEW departments of human studies have shown more remarkable advances in scientific technique, or yielded more brilliant results, than archaeology during the last half century, and not the least of these results have been concerned with the Bible. In the nineteenth century archaeology was largely the hobby of rich amateurs who brought home the spoils of the ancient East to glorify themselves and adorn their private collections. But the pioneer work of such men as Sir Flinders Petrie taught archaeologists that the accurate observation, comparison, and recording of such apparently insignificant finds as broken pottery, were far more important than spectacular discoveries. Archaeology became a science, and, in the words of an eminent American archaeologist, "the unprecedented expansion of oriental studies during the past half century" has made possible the reconstruction of the life of the ancient Near East, and of the material and spiritual background of the literature to which the Christian Church has given the name of *the* book, the Bible.

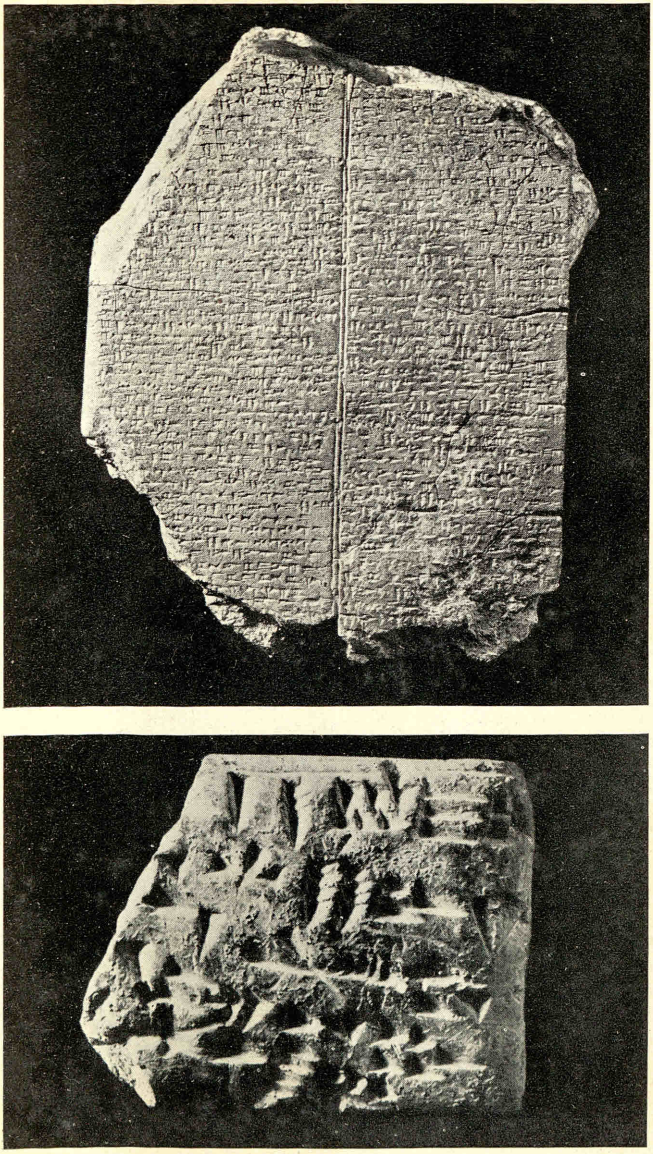
The discoveries of Miss Garrod and Mr. Petre have shown the existence of early cave-dwellers in Canaan to whom the beginnings of agriculture may be attributed. The finding of flint sickles with bone hafts among the remains of these primitive settlers suggests that the agriculturist had established himself in Palestine before the nomad, a view which is supported by the additional fact that wheat is known to have grown in a wild state in Syria.

The discovery of agriculture and the domestication of animals led to a sudden rise in population. Lands were reclaimed from desert and marsh, a process which was to these ancient agriculturists the creation of order out of chaos, and the

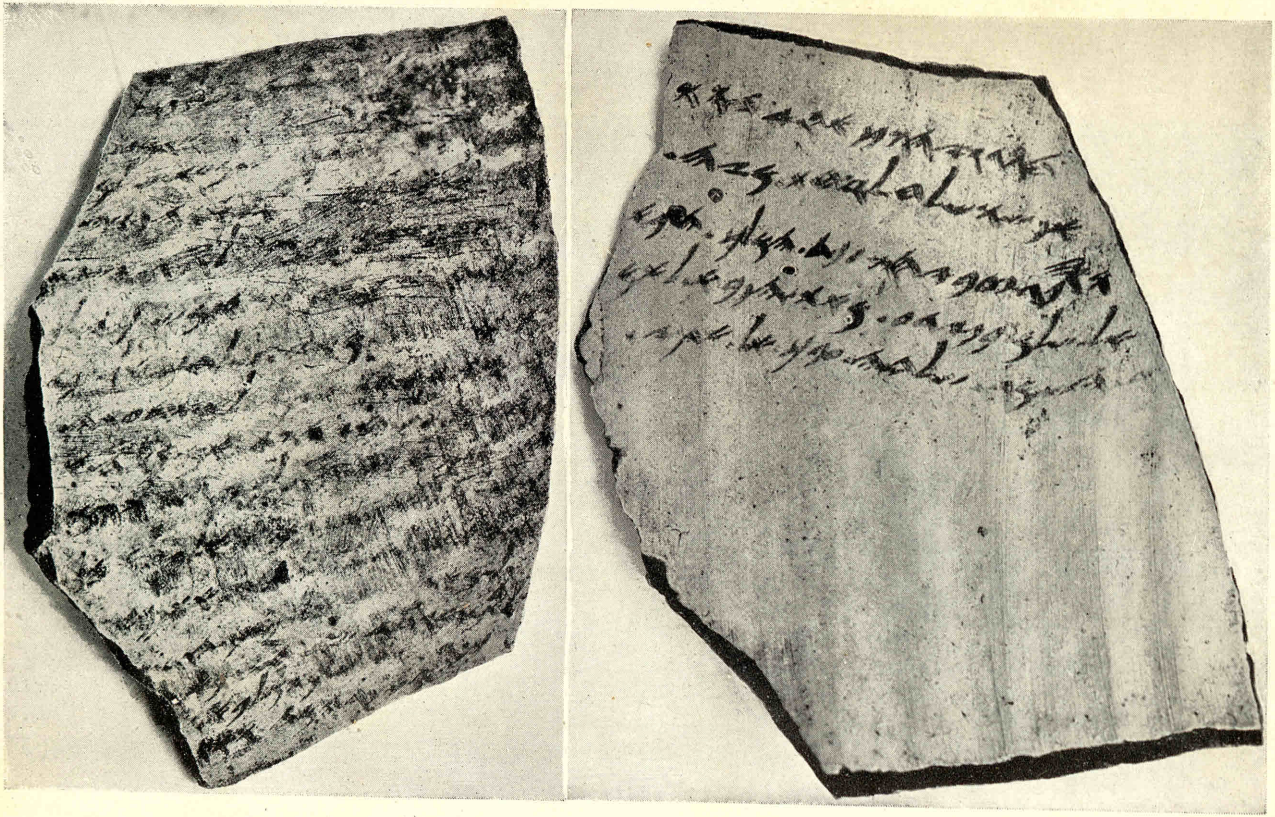
memory of these beginnings has survived in their traditions in the form of the various stories of creation.

Then came what Professor Gordon Childe has called the Urban Revolution. The excavation of the very ancient city of Erech, coupled with Babel in Gen. x. 10, shows in a vivid way the change from the simple life of the early farming communities to the complex life of a great Mesopotamian city. The first 50 feet of the mound are composed of the debris of reed huts and mud-brick houses. Then suddenly appear the foundations of great temple buildings enclosing the vast artificial mountain, so characteristic of the Sumerian ritual system, known as the *ziqqurat*. Such imposing buildings pre-suppose an organized community, an educated priesthood, a knowledge of many arts and crafts, a system of trade exchange, and a fully developed religion. Similar results have been obtained by Sir Leonard Woolley at Ur, the city from which, according to Hebrew tradition, the ancestor of the Hebrews set out to seek a new country and to found a nation.

In the now uncovered streets of Ur we can see what sort of houses men lived in, what household utensils they used, what gods they worshipped, how they conducted their business correspondence; in short, all the details of daily life in the age of Abraham. Similarly, on the walls of Egyptian tombs we may see the kind of life in the midst of which Moses grew up. Still more recently, the early civilization of the hinterland of Asia Minor has been disclosed by archaeology, and we now begin to understand the importance of the people known as the Hittites, and how deeply they influenced the history of Palestine and Syria from the middle of the second millennium B.C. until they were absorbed by the Assyrian Empire in the eighth century. The chance discovery in the Fayum of a box of cuneiform tablets proved to be the most important find of the nineteenth century. The tablets were nothing less than a part of the royal archives of Akhenaton's capital. They consist of the correspondence between the Egyptian court and the petty princes of Canaan at the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. Published under the name of the Tell el-Amarna Letters, they throw a flood of light on the internal politics of Canaan and her



2. The Ras Shamra tablet and detail showing cuneiform script



3. The Lashish letters, obverse and reverse of No. 3

relations with Egypt at that period, and many scholars have thought that they contain a reference to the first stages of the Hebrew invasion of Canaan.

Even more important from the biblical point of view are the Ras Shamra tablets. In 1928 a French expedition under the leadership of Professor Claude Schaeffer began the excavation of the mound of Ras Shamra, which proved to be the site of the ancient city of Ugarit on the north Syrian coast. The tablets in question were found in one of the temples; they were apparently written in cuneiform, but it was soon discovered that the cuneiform signs were an alphabetic script, an early rival of the Phoenician alphabet which is the parent of all our Western alphabets. The texts, in poetic form, embodying various myths, rituals, and saga material, gave us the first contemporary evidence of the nature of Canaanite religious beliefs and practices in the middle of the second millennium B.C. From them we can obtain a clear idea of what the religion of Canaan was like at the time when the Hebrews were entering the land, and what the religious influences were to which they were exposed at the formative period of their history. One important fact is that a number of the technical terms for various types of sacrifice which occur in the Levitical regulations have also been found in the Ras Shamra texts, showing that the sacrificial ritual of the Hebrews was not the invention of the post-exilic priests, but has its roots in early Canaanite ritual.

While the French were excavating Ras Shamra, an English expedition under the leadership of the late Mr. J. L. Starkey was excavating Tell ed-Duweir, now generally accepted as the site of the biblical Lachish. In the guard-room of the city gate were discovered a number of inscribed potsherds, now known as the Lachish Ostraca. These proved to be the remains of a correspondence between the military governor of Lachish and the officer commanding a neighbouring stronghold. The period was the closing days of the Judaean kingdom, during Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judah. The ostraca were not only important as being the first inscriptional material in Hebrew of any considerable length found in Palestine, but also contribute valuable information concerning Hebrew script, grammar, and

vocabulary in the time of Jeremiah, and give us a glimpse into the troubled state of Judah in that dark time.

A little earlier Mr. Crowfoot's masterly excavation of Samaria had illuminated the history of the northern capital under the Omri dynasty. In 1952, Dr. Kathleen M. Kenyon, who had worked with Mr. Crowfoot in his various Samaria expeditions, undertook to continue the great work which Professor Garstang had begun at Jericho, the most important biblical city next to Jerusalem itself. Her first two campaigns have yielded results of the utmost importance, and the campaign now in progress promises even more surprising results. Much other work has been going on in Palestine during the past half-century, upon which we have not space to dwell. The American excavation of Megiddo and the discovery of Solomon's stables, and carved ivories rivalling those discovered by Mr. Crowfoot in Samaria; Professor Nelson Glueck's valuable work in Transjordan; the work of the Dominican School in Jerusalem, regularly and admirably recorded in their *Revue Biblique*. All these and many more have played their part in advancing our knowledge of the background of the Bible.

One important contribution which archaeology has made to our understanding of the conditions under which the transmission of the biblical records took place has been the light which it has thrown on the history and development of writing in the ancient Near East. We now know that the knowledge of writing was more general at a much earlier date than was supposed by scholars in the nineteenth century. The well-known Gezer tablet, sometimes called a farmer's calendar, dated by archaeologists to the time of David, contains a list of the farming operations appropriate to each month of the year, and carries the implication that an ordinary peasant could read and write as early as the tenth century B.C. The Ras Shamra texts with their extensive collection of myths and sagas, probably dating back to the fifteenth century B.C., make it possible to suppose that early Hebrew records may have been committed to writing far earlier than scholars were wont to assume. This relieves us of the necessity of positing a very long period of oral

transmission of Hebrew traditions before the beginning of written records.

While the illumination of archaeological research has been shed upon many points of the biblical records, there are two focal points upon which the attention of archaeologists has been recently centred. These are the Patriarchal period, and the period of the Exodus and the invasion of Canaan by the Hebrews. Of these two the former used to be regarded as almost unknown territory, peopled by myths and legends or the tendentious inventions of post-exilic editors. The one glimpse into contemporary history, in Gen. xiv, was dismissed as a late midrash. Now all that is changed. In the first place, the long gap in time between the entry of Abraham into Canaan and the descent of Jacob and his family into Egypt, a gap which raised many difficult problems, has been reduced by about two and a half centuries. Professor Sidney Smith's monograph *Alalakh and Chronology*, based on Sir Leonard Woolley's excavation of Tell el-Atchana, has reduced the dates of the first Amorite dynasty of Babylon so far as to bring the date of Hammurabi down to 1792–1750 B.C., and if the synchronism of Abraham with Hammurabi be still accepted, that gives us the approximate date of Abraham's entry into Canaan. But more important than this is the way in which recent archaeological research has thrown light on ethnic movements at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., illuminating the background against which the movements of Abraham and Jacob in Canaan must be seen. The mysterious Horites of the Old Testament, supposed by early commentators to be pre-historic troglodyte inhabitants of Canaan, are now seen to be an important ethnic group, the Hurrians, who ruled the kingdom known as Mitanni, and contended with the Hittites during several centuries for the mastery of the region lying to the east of the Taurus, between the Zagros mountains and the Euphrates. Harran, linked by early tradition with the wanderings of Abraham, lay in the heart of the Mitanni empire, and various incidents in the stories of the patriarchs have been illuminated by the discovery of the Hurrian laws. Another closely related problem, that of the Habiru, has received a

greatly enlarged significance from recent archaeological discoveries. The first result of the discovery of the Tell el-Amarna Letters was the rather too confident identification of the Habiru with the invading Hebrews. But subsequent discoveries revealed the presence of the mysterious Habiru in widely separated regions of the Near East, making the earlier identification difficult if not impossible. We find the Habiru in Babylonian documents of the pre-Hammurabi period, and the new texts from Mari mention their activities during the reign of Zimri-Lim, the last king of Mari, and a contemporary of Hammurabi. In the Hittite records from Boghazköi they are found in the service of the Hittites; the tablets from Arrapkha, in the Hurrian district, east of the Tigris, speak of people, described as Habiru, having sold themselves into slavery there; and if we accept the identification of the *'apiru* of Egyptian sources with the Habiru, they are found in Egypt as late as the time of Rameses IV in the twelfth century B.C. The bearing of the appellation Habiru on the position of Abraham the Hebrew in the history of the ancient Near East is well summed up by Professor Sidney Smith: "It is no longer easy to doubt that the story of Abraham the Hebrew sums up the tribal history of a part of the Habiru if the circumstances of his life are considered broadly. A typical nomad, he is able to wander from one place to another; possessed of great flocks, he avoids the crowded industrial areas whose religion and civilization he regards with horror, though he thereby loses the adherence of an important section of his family, headed by Lot; a leader of men, capable of effective military action, he intervenes in great wars and is able to force his presence upon the local princes of Palestine, who dare not resist his demands." Much more might be said about the fresh light thrown by archaeology upon the patriarchal period, but, to sum up briefly, it may be said that Genesis has been shown to reflect faithfully the life and customs of Canaan and the movements of peoples in the first half of the second millennium B.C.

Thus this first focal point shows to what extent archaeology is able to confirm the biblical narrative. With the second focal point the case is different. The findings of archaeology have

shown that the descent into Egypt, the Exodus, and the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrew people, are a far more complicated piece of history than Hebrew tradition in its present form would suggest. It is well established that a large part of the tribes remained in Canaan and never experienced the Egyptian bondage and the deliverance under Moses. Professor Albright and other archaeologists hold that there was more than one Exodus, and it seems extremely probable that Canaan was invaded by the Hebrews not only from the east, but also from the south. Professor Garstang's excavation of Jericho seemed to offer evidence that Jericho fell to the Hebrews about, or shortly after, 1400 B.C., a date which raised many new problems for the historians of Israel; but some archaeologists of repute, such as Father Vincent, never accepted this date, and adhered to the old thirteenth century date. Now, however, it seems possible that the new excavation of Jericho may lead to a re-interpretation of the earlier findings.

This brings us finally to the recognition of two important points which have to be taken into account in considering the relation of archaeological research to the Bible. First, we have to distinguish between the facts brought to light by the excavation of biblical sites, and the interpretation of those facts. In view of the scientific methods of modern archaeology the material results are hardly ever in doubt, but fresh material may at any time lead to a re-interpretation of previous findings. Secondly, archaeology can neither affirm nor disprove the "truth" of the Bible. Its ultimate truth is spiritual and lies beyond the region with which archaeology is concerned.

The Old Testament Hebrew text

By the REV. B. J. ROBERTS

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At the end of the nineteenth century the revisers of the English Bible stated that the "Accepted Text" of the Hebrew Old Testament had been transmitted in manuscripts "which are of no very great antiquity and which belong to the same family or recension". Subsequent examination and discoveries show that the revisers were only partially correct, and it is now demonstrable that the manuscripts and edited texts available to them were hybrid productions, and "belong to the same family" only in a loose sense. The position was to some degree rectified in the 1930's, when the third edition of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* appeared, representing a text-form with a different ancestry from that of the previous editions and of all other current editions, including that prepared for the centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society by C. D. Ginsburg. Such editions, even when they were scholarly productions, were based on the text of Jacob ben Chayim, prepared for the Bomberg Press in 1524–5, and this text confessedly rested on manuscripts which were recent and not always authentic reproductions of an accepted text-form. The same is true of other early editions, such as the text in the Complutensian Polyglot of 1514–17, the Brescia Bible, 1494, which Luther used, and certainly true of the parent text of Tyndale's English translations and, ultimately, of the Authorized Version. The advantage of the latest editions of *Biblia Hebraica* is that they can be claimed to represent the text-form as established by about the tenth century A.D. by a Massoretic family in the strict sense, the ben Asher family of Tiberian Massoretes. The manuscript used is in Leningrad, and is dated A.D. 1008; but the text is also partly represented in other manuscripts including one in the British Museum, the well-known Oriental 4445, from the ninth century. Another Massoretic family, ben

Naphtali, which also flourished about the same period, transmitted a slightly divergent tradition, but the ben Asher text retained its authority, and ben Naphtali readings survived mainly in those manuscripts which later were to cause confusion in what I have already referred to as hybrids.

Superficially, these divergences appear to be relevant only for the technical study of the Hebrew text. It is very seldom indeed that they offer different readings, because they are almost solely concerned with details of vocalization and accent, and reflect, therefore, the essentially Rabbinic concern for intoning and public recitation. But at the same time they demonstrate why it has become impossible to adhere to one very well-established Jewish and Christian theory that from about the end of the first century A.D. the Hebrew text, authorized at that time by Rabbi Aqiba, was scrupulously copied from one manuscript to another, thus preserving the absolute correctness of the Massoretic text throughout the centuries. It is now obvious that the history of the Massoretic text shows divergent transmissions, and points to an emergence of the final text-form.

An essential part of this proof lies in the discovery in 1896–97, and the subsequent interpretation, of the Genizah fragments of biblical manuscripts from a synagogue in Old Cairo. A *genizah* is the store-room attached to a synagogue, used for depositing copies of manuscripts and books which had become too dilapidated for reading in the synagogues and schools; and the one in Cairo contained material from the sixth or seventh century A.D. and later. A considerable number of these found their way to Russia, but the great libraries of this country contain some thousands of biblical manuscripts from this store, and since the period to which they belong is especially significant, their importance cannot be exaggerated. The manuscripts show how attempts were made at the two major centres of Rabbinic teaching in Babylon and Palestine to introduce vocalization into the consonantal text. Both centres worked independently, and each produced its own individual scheme, with gradual modifications. It is at the other end of this development that we find the emergence of the ben Asher

Tiberian Massoretic text already referred to, due to the supremacy of the Palestinian over the Babylonian, and that of the ben Asher family of Tiberius over all other Palestinian families.

The consonantal text, however, even in the sixth century, shows very little difference from the present form. There are some interesting exceptions: for instance, one fragment I saw recently has the Tetragrammaton consistently replaced by the generic name for God. But it is just such divergences that indicate the existence of a standard text-form.

What happened before the sixth century we can only conjecture, for there are no actual Massoretic manuscripts available. But the assumption is reasonably well founded that they all again point to the existence of a standardized text-form. St. Jerome, in the fourth century, used a Hebrew text for his Vulgate translation, and it can be deduced from the translation that the parent text agreed very largely with the present Massoretic text. Origen, in the third century used a Hebrew text for his reconstruction of the Septuagint, and again the same conclusion is indicated. From the second century comes the Greek translation of Aquila and this, too, postulates a text approximating to the Massoretic. Thus the evidence points to the essential truth of the statement that in Aqiba's time, A.D. 55–137, there was a standard Hebrew text-form: what has been disproved is that the subsequent transmission was strictly unchanged.

It is against this background that the recently discovered (1947–53) biblical texts of the Qumrân (Dead Sea) scrolls should be evaluated. The best-known, of course, are the two Isaiah manuscripts, one complete, which has been published in facsimile, in the U.S.A., and the other, incomplete, which has recently been published in Jerusalem. The text of Habakkuk, with a commentary, has also been published. Great importance, however, attaches to more recent acquisitions, which have recently received some publicity in this country. There are now available fragments in great number, representing practically every book of the Old Testament, and the verdict is that generally they support the Massoretic text, apart from variants of orthography.



4. The Ziggurat or Temple Mound at Ur in process of excavation

linked with a tradition which for centuries had been alien and often inimical to it. Rabbi Aqiba was a violent anti-Christian, there had frequently been Jewish persecution by Christians, and for long centuries many Church authorities were suspicious of the liaison between Jew and Christian in matters of biblical text. But as in the time of Origen and of St. Jerome, the Renaissance and Reformation forced at least the Protestant Church to adopt for its versions of the Old Testament the standard Hebrew text.

One reason for this becomes evident in the history of the transmission of the oldest versions of the Old Testament used by the Church, namely the Greek Septuagint, its daughter versions, and the Roman Vulgate. All these are at present in process of textual manipulation. The Benedictine Order are issuing an extremely important critical edition of the Vulgate, but the complexity of the critical apparatus and the known history of the Version show how impossible it is to regard even this new text as definitive–a fact readily admitted by many of the foremost scholars of the Roman Church itself. Extant remains of the early Latin renderings again indicate that there never was an established Old Latin text. The history of the Septuagint, which to some extent is also the history of the New Testament text, likewise demonstrates the absence of any authoritative text-form, despite sporadic efforts down to the present day to produce one.

Recent additions to specimen texts from very early periods confirm this conclusion. Thus, among the Chester Beatty and related Greek papyri from the third century A.D. and subsequently, Old Testament texts show a clear diversity; and two small fragments from second century B.C. collections, of which one is in the John Rylands Library in Manchester and the other in Cairo, again point to Septuagintal textual divergences in the pre-Christian era. The last mentioned has the Tetragrammaton in Aramaic script and is probably the oldest biblical text extant, though some scholars argue for the Qumran scrolls which are in the archaic Hebrew script.

What emerges from the general story of the Old Testament text is that the further back it is traced the more likely it is

that the Greek (and consequently Latin) text-form had always been loosely transmitted. It was fluid and alive, able to accommodate diversity of creed, dogma and comment. Such a transmission, of course, is a most interesting textual phenomenon but a precarious one for the present day student. The Hebrew transmission, on the other hand, though modified from time to time for liturgical purposes, was more fixed and authoritative, and closely bound up with ritual. It is impossible to say which of the two types of text-form is the more inspiring—both have their virtues. But for purposes of translation, and for normal usage today, the appeal must obviously be to the Hebrew text and the Hebraic tradition. It is the safe text-form—an advantage which is at least as important as is the fact that it is also in the original language of the Old Testament Scriptures.

The literary growth of the Old Testament

By the REV. H. H. ROWLEY

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THE Old Testament is puzzling to the reader in part because materials of various ages often lie side by side in the same book, and because there is no chronological order of the books as a whole. In the first part of the Bible there is a broadly chronological arrangement down to the book of Esther, though there are some differences of arrangement in the Hebrew Bible. But this chronological arrangement belongs to the times surveyed and not to the dates of composition of the books. To determine the age of each book is often very difficult, and agreement amongst scholars is far from complete. All that can be attempted here is to offer a summary of the most widely accepted views.

The first five books are known as the Pentateuch, and these comprise the first division of the Hebrew Bible. Behind their present form lies a complicated history. They contain stories of pre-historic times from the Creation to the age of Abraham, stories of the patriarchs, of Moses and the Exodus, together with sections on law and ritual. They are not works of history in the modern sense, though they contain much reliable historical tradition. Our recent growth in knowledge has led to the recognition that the stories of the patriarchal age faithfully represent the culture and custom of the period in which they are set. If these stories are treated with greater respect, the accounts of the age of Moses may be expected to contain even more reliable traditions. Yet the whole is primarily the story of God's relations with the people of Israel.

It has long been recognized that the Pentateuch rests on four main sources, on which the compiler has drawn freely. The extracts have been woven together to read continuously,

though they often bear the marks of the diversity of their origin. The four main sources are usually dated *c.* 850 B.C., *c.* 750 B.C., *c.* 680 B.C., and some time in the fifth century B.C. They reveal differences of outlook and idea, as is most natural. The earliest of these sources is believed to have been compiled in Judah, and the second in northern Israel. The third source consists of the major part of Deuteronomy and has many links with northern Israel, but is believed to have been the lawbook found in the Temple in the time of Josiah. The fourth is believed to have been compiled in Babylonia, and to have formed the lawbook of Ezra. None of these sources was the free composition of its author, but all were based on older traditions and records. Even the latest of them contains much very old material. Moreover, we cannot suppose that there was a complete gap from the time of Moses to the date of the first main source. Moses is probably to be dated in the thirteenth century B.C.–400 years before the first of these sources. Oral traditions and probably written collections of traditions coming from this period were drawn on. In addition a number of poetical passages, of varying length and date, were incorporated, and some of these appear to have been collected in written form.

So far as the sections of law and ritual are concerned, there are again four main collections. The earliest is the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx.–xxiii.), which contains very ancient laws. The second consists of the core of Deuteronomy. The third is known as the Holiness Code, and stands in Lev. xvii–xxvi. The fourth is scattered in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, and this belonged to Ezra's lawbook, but contains much that is old.

The second division of the Hebrew Bible consists of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings. All of these books are dominated in their editing by the ideas and outlook of Deuteronomy, which first came to light in 621 B.C., in the time of Josiah, but which may have been composed about half a century earlier. The editing of these four books is therefore placed between 621 B.C. and 561 B.C., when the latest event they record took place. Some later passages have been added, especially in the book of Joshua, but substantially we have a continuous account, though

not necessarily the work of a single hand. Once more, however, much older collections of material have been used. There were cycles of stories, collections of poetry, and written sources of various kinds. The snatch of poetry found in Josh. x. 12 f. is from the same collection as David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19–26). The Song of Deborah (Judges v.) is probably contemporary with the events it describes.

For the stories in Judges and the account of the founding of the monarchy two main cycles were used, but a lost History of the Ark seems also to have been drawn on. The long section which stands in 2 Sam. ix.–xx. and the first two chapters of 1 Kings is taken from a single source, sometimes called the Court History of David, dating probably from the time of Solomon. This is a historical source of the first importance. In the books of Kings several sources used by the compiler are specified, including annals of the two Israelite kingdoms. Once more, therefore, we must distinguish between the age of our present books and the age of the sources on which they rest, some of which were either contemporary with the events they describe, or very nearly so.

The next division of the Hebrew Bible consists of the prophetic books. These were originally four: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Book of the Twelve—*i.e.*, the Minor Prophets. In these books we find three chief types of material. Sometimes there are isolated oracles, without any indication of the occasion on which they were uttered. Sometimes we have oracles embedded in a narrative written in the third person, telling how the oracle came to be uttered. Sometimes we have oracles in a similar setting, but related in the first person. Various sources seem therefore to have been used by the compilers again, and the editing of the books is to be placed later than the time of the prophets themselves. It is probable that all these four collections were made at about the same time. Since the collection of the minor prophets includes the oracles of Malachi, who lived about 450 B.C., and perhaps of one or two later prophets, we should assign the gathering together of these prophetic collections to a date not earlier than the end of the

fifth century B.C., and more probably to the fourth century. The materials collected would all be older, and some much older. Both Isaiah and Jeremiah contain historical extracts from the second book of Kings.

A familiar oracle assigned to Isaiah in Isa. ii. is assigned to Micah in Mic. iv., while about one-third of the little book of Obadiah is also assigned to Jeremiah. Clearly the tradition of authorship was not always sure. It need occasion no surprise, therefore, that other sections of these books must also on internal grounds be believed to be from other authors than the prophets in whose collections they stand. Several of the oracles on foreign nations in the book of Isaiah are so ascribed, while Isa. xxiv.–xxvii. is believed to be the latest part of the whole book, and to come from a post-exilic date. Similarly the magnificent section contained in Isa. xl.–lv. is believed to come from an unknown prophet of the exilic period, usually called for convenience Deutero-Isaiah, while the concluding chapters of the book, Isa. lvi.–lxvi., probably contain the work of some disciples of this unknown prophet, composed during the half century after the return of exiles in the reign of Cyrus. Similarly the second part of the book of Zechariah, Zech. ix.–xiv., is dated much later than the age of Zechariah, and attributed to an unknown author or authors.

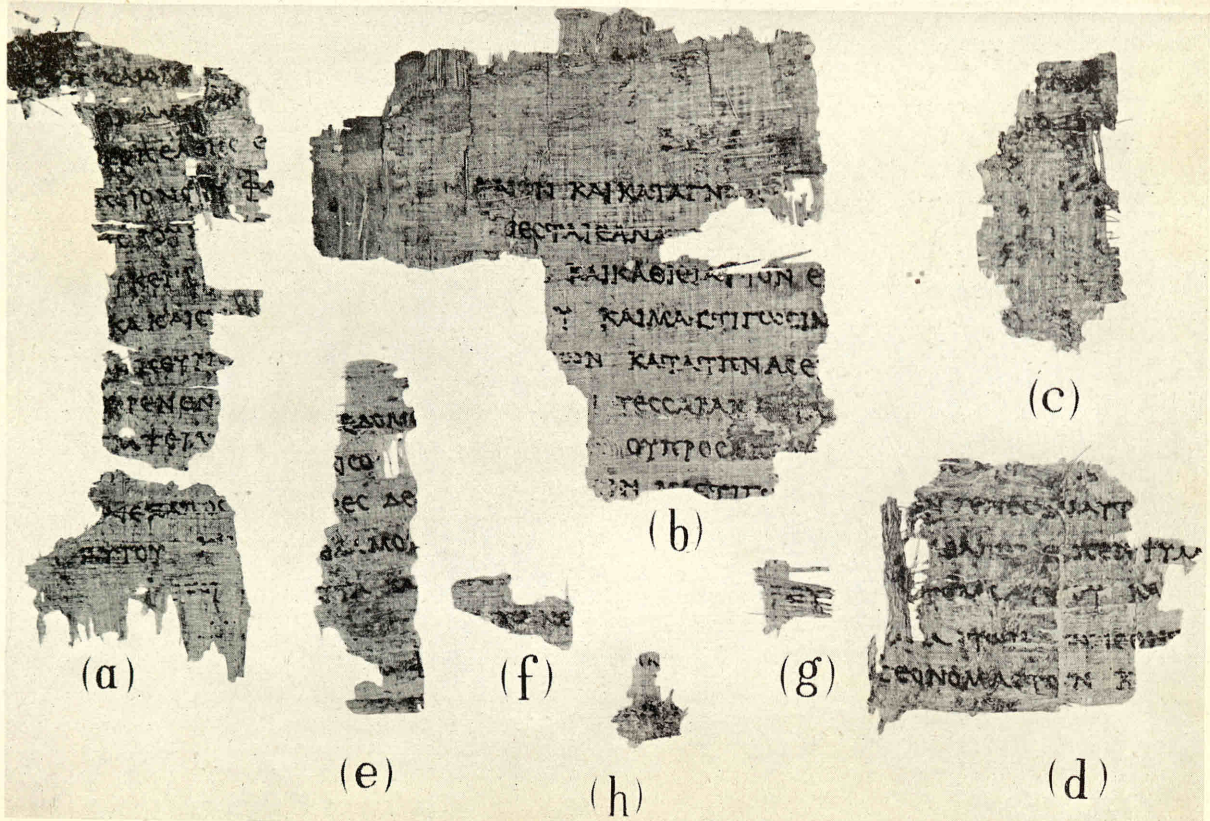
The prophets themselves may be put in the following order: Amos *c.* 760 B.C.; Hosea *c.* 740 B.C.; Isaiah 740–700 B.C.; Micah roughly contemporary with Isaiah, but perhaps continuing into the early part of the following century; Zephaniah *c.* 626 B.C.; Jeremiah 626–586 B.C.; Nahum *c.* 612 B.C.; Habakkuk at the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries; Ezekiel in the first half of the sixth century B.C.; Obadiah after 586 B.C.; Deutero-Isaiah soon after the middle of the sixth century; Haggai and Zechariah 520–516 B.C.; Malachi *c.* 450 B.C.; Joel perhaps the second half of the fifth century; Jonah probably fourth century. It will be seen that the order of the Minor Prophets in the Bible is far from chronological.

Some of the historical books remain to be mentioned, together with various others which stand with them in the final

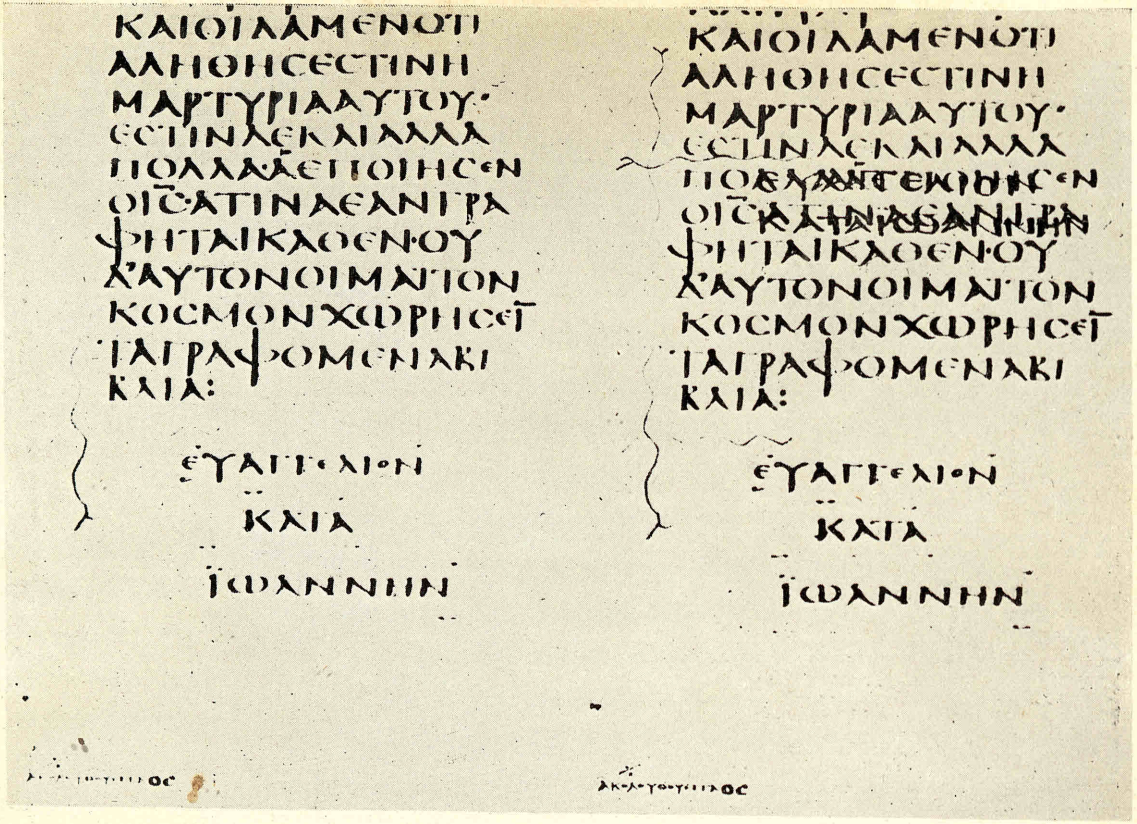
division of the Hebrew Bible. The historical books include the story of Ruth, which was probably written in the fifth century B.C., though it deals with events of the period of the Judges and so stands after Judges in our Bibles. The books of Chronicles cover the same ground as the books of Samuel and Kings, but come from a much later time, probably about 300 B.C. The earlier biblical books formed one of the sources used in this compilation, but others are also mentioned. Often the sources are quoted verbatim, but many changes are made to conform to the compiler's ideas of what was edifying. This work was continued in Ezra and Nehemiah, which were originally a single book. Nehemiah lived in the middle of the fifth century and Ezra perhaps slightly later, or even at the beginning of the fourth century. The editor of these books drew on the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah, and also on an Aramaic source which contained some ancient documents. These documents are treated with more respect today than they had from some earlier scholars. The book of Esther cannot be regarded as a historical work, but is a story laid in the age of Xerxes I, but itself most probably to be ascribed to the middle of the second century B.C.

Slightly earlier than Esther is the book of Daniel. This consists of stories about Daniel, whose life is placed in the sixth century B.C., together with visions seen by Daniel, all culminating in the events of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes in the second century B.C. This book is unlike the prophetic books in its literary genre, and is classed as apocalyptic. Within the prophetic books there are some apocalyptic sections, but the transition from prophecy to apocalypse is here carried much farther. There can be no doubt that in its present form this book dates from the second century B.C., though the author used older stories and traditions.

The poetic books all belong to this section of the Hebrew Bible. Of these the Psalter is the best known. This is a collection of sacred poetry, now divided into five books, but once into three. The individual psalms probably come from a wide range of dates, but there is a greater readiness today to admit a considerable pre-exilic element than there used to be. Atten-



6. Fragment of the oldest known MS. of the Septuagint showing part of the Book of Deuteronomy



7. Fragment of the Codex Sinaiticus showing correction

tion today is concentrated on the types of the psalms and on their probable use in the cultus to accompany ritual acts. The collection of the psalms into the present Psalter was post-exilic, and there are evidences that the collection was the work of two different schools. The headings of the psalms have been much discussed, but no convincing explanation of their meaning has been suggested.

The book of Job rests on an ancient story of a good man who suffered notably; but the story is merely the basis for a discussion on innocent suffering in the dialogue, which lies between the prologue and the epilogue. The prologue offers the setting for the dialogue, while the epilogue is demanded by the prologue to indicate that the test staged in the prologue is ended. It is probable that originally there were three cycles of speeches by Job's three friends with Job's reply to each, preceded by Job's opening soliloquy and followed by his closing soliloquy, with a single divine speech followed by Job's submission. The third cycle of speeches is in some disorder now, however, and is incomplete. The speeches of Elihu in chapters xxxii–xxxvii interrupt the arrangement of the book and are probably a later addition, as also are the second divine speech and the poem on wisdom in chapter xxviii. The original book of Job without these additions is probably to be dated in the fifth century B.C.

The book of Proverbs consists of at least seven sections, of which the earliest is generally agreed to be pre-exilic and the latest–now found in the first nine chapters of the book–is perhaps as late as the third century B.C.

Of the remaining books only a word can be said. Lamentations consists of five poems, none of which may be credited to Jeremiah, but all of which came from a variety of writers during the period of the exile. Chapters ii. and iv. show the greatest poetic gifts and may come from a single writer who was an eye-witness of the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The Song of Songs is a collection of love poems of great beauty, most probably dating in its present form from about 400 B.C. Ecclesiastes is dated by most in the Greek period following Alexander the Great. Its general scepticism is interspersed by

orthodox observations, which some ascribe to the hand of an interpolator, but which others ascribe to the same writer in a different mood.

Individual scholars could be found to disagree with many of these views. Space alone forbids the attempt to survey all the varying views, and this could only bewilder all but the specialist. What has been set forth here is rather the representative view of present-day scholarship. The frequent use of "perhaps" and "probably" is intended to reflect the writer's reserve, in view of the impossibility of attaining certainty on many points, and also to recognize that there are divergent views.

It will be seen that though few of the books in their present form can be dated earlier than the period of the exile, we have preserved in the Old Testament literary materials which cover a period of about a thousand years. It is always necessary to distinguish between the age of a book and the age of the materials it contains. In recent years greater stress is laid on the antiquity and value of some of these materials, and on the recognition that the analysis of books must be balanced by the study of the purpose which the compiler had in mind and the use he desired to make of the varied materials on which he drew. All of these books are religious books, designed to convey a religious message. It is for that religious message, rather than for history, that they have been preserved, and for this that they are to be read—though this is not to depreciate the genuine historical traditions and records which they contain.

The Pentateuch

By the REV. DR. C. R. NORTH

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THE name Pentateuch, literally "composed of five books", has been in use since the second century A.D. to denote the first five books of the Bible. Another name for it is the Five Books of Moses, and the tradition that Moses wrote it is earlier than the Christian era. By the Jews it is called "The Law", since it contains, in Exodus to Deuteronomy, the great corpora of laws which still regulate the life of Judaism. In the Hebrew Bible, which has the title "The Law, the Prophets, and the Writings", it is the first main division, and by Jews it has always been accorded greater authority than the other two.

The names of the several books in the English Bible, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, are of mixed Greek and Latin derivation. In the Hebrew Bible they are called either by the first word in the book, as *Bereshith*, "In the beginning" (Genesis), or by some significant word in the first verse, as *Bemidbar*, "In the wilderness" (Numbers). Genesis tells the story of creation and the beginnings of history, and the lives of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and his sons, down to the descent of the Israelites into Egypt. Exodus tells of the deliverance from Egypt and the immediately subsequent journeyings. Leviticus, "pertaining to the Levites", contains sacrificial and miscellaneous ritual laws. Numbers begins with a kind of census of the Israelite tribes and continues with an account of the forty years of wanderings as far as the border of Canaan. Deuteronomy, "the second law", is in the form of an address by Moses which recapitulates, with some modifications and additions, laws already given at Sinai, and closes with the story of the death of the great leader. There is little doubt that the Pentateuch was originally one book, a unity which was

later divided into what the Jews came to call "The five-fifths of the Law". The whole tells how God created the world, and then, with the purpose that "all the families of the earth should be blessed" in Abraham and his seed, gradually narrowed down his choice to the descendants of Jacob, Abraham's grandson, entered into covenant with them, gave them his laws, and guided them to the promised land.

Notwithstanding its fundamental unity, which bears the stamp of one consistent interpretation of history, the Pentateuch contains within itself differences of style and representation which point to its being largely a compilation from varied sources. This, of course, is not inconsistent with the view that Moses made use of earlier materials. Such statements as "the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen. xii. 6), and "these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen. xxxvi. 31), presuppose the conquest of Canaan and the institution of the Israelite monarchy. They could of course be later insertions in a work of Moses. But the problem is not so simple. Since Elijah lamented that his people had thrown down the altars of the LORD (1 Kings xix. 10), and himself repaired the dilapidated altar on Mount Carmel (1 Kings xviii. 30), it is difficult to believe that he was acquainted with the emphatic law in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, that sacrifice must only be offered on one single altar. Nor can Jeremiah, who asserted that God gave no commandments about sacrifices (Jer. vii. 22), have known Leviticus. This means that large sections of the Pentateuch must be dated not earlier than the seventh century B.C.

No one who reads the Pentateuch, even in its English translation, can fail to observe differences of style as between one part and another. The style of Deuteronomy is so distinctive that some think it was never part of a "Pentateuch". Nor are these differences of style fully accounted for by supposing that they are due entirely to differences of subject matter. We should expect the stories of the patriarchs to differ from sacrificial rubrics. What we actually find is different accounts of the same incidents, in different styles. The most conspicuous

example is the two accounts of creation in Gen. i. and ii. In the first, the Divine Being is called God (*Elohim*) and the creation reaches its climax in the human race, men and women together. In the second, the Divine Being is called the LORD God (*Yahweh Elohim*), a single man is "formed" before the animals, and a woman last of all, from one of the man's ribs. In the first, *Elohim* is a transcendent Being, who creates by fiat and without any physical contact with the world; in the second, *Yahweh* is portrayed anthropomorphically and proceeds almost as if he were experimenting. Sometimes, as in the story of the Flood, it looks as if two stories, again characterized by the transcendent *Elohim* and the anthropomorphic *Yahweh*, have been dovetailed into one another.

Roughly speaking, the stories which are the most readable and with which we have been familiar from childhood, are *Jahweh* stories. They are generally thought to have been committed to writing about the ninth century B.C., and are designated by the siglum J (*Yahwistic*, the Hebrew J being pronounced as our Y). The *Elohim* materials in Genesis which are formal, "catalogical", and genealogical in style, together with, among other things, the descriptions of the tabernacle in Exodus and the ritual laws in Leviticus and Numbers, are generally assigned to a "Priestly" source (P), so called because of its interest in the priesthood and matters ceremonial. In its present form this dates from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. though it contains much that is very ancient. It should be said that after Exod. vi. 2 f. the P source frequently calls God *Yahweh*, but it can usually be recognized by its dominant interest in ritual. Most scholars also recognize in Genesis and the subsequent books stories in which God is called *Elohim*, such as that of Abraham's offering of Isaac (Gen. xxii), but which are more akin in style and spirit to J than to P. This is the *Elohim* (E) source, from approximately the eighth century B.C. For the rest, Deuteronomy (D) is *sui generis* and for the most part homogeneous, dating from the seventh century. Recent research has laid considerable stress on the long oral tradition that lies behind the earliest sources, J and E especially. The Pentateuch reached its present form by the fourth century B.C.,

since when its text has been transmitted with remarkably little error.

Although the Pentateuch is not exactly history, it contains materials which, when supplemented by archaeology, afford a reliable general picture of early civilization. In the light of the subsequent Christian revelation its interpretation of history will bear examination. The "sagas" of Genesis are unexcelled, even unique, and their psychological verisimilitude is unerring. The stories of the wilderness wanderings, of the newly emancipated slaves who would gladly have returned to the "fleshpots" of Egypt rather than endure the rigours of the desert, and who so vexed the righteous soul of Moses that he lost his temper with them and forfeited his right to enter the promised land, have always suggested an allegory of the pilgrimage of the soul through "the wilderness of this world". The Ten Commandments and related moral laws are the foundation of Christian morality and have been wrought into the fabric of western jurisprudence. Deuteronomy's passionate appeal for love toward God as the motive of all true religion and virtue, this because God in his love and compassion delivered his people from dire bondage and therefore looks to them to deal kindly with one another and with the animals that share their toils, is as compelling as ever it was. The New Testament affords abundant evidence that Deuteronomy was a favourite book with Christ himself.

The foundations of the theistic interpretation of the universe and of man's place in it are laid down once and for all in the first chapter of Genesis. The world is a product of the creative will, not an emergence from a toho-bohu which has somehow evolved into man as the highest intelligence in the universe so far. Man's place in it is that of a creature indeed, but a creature made "in the image and likeness of God". Man therefore stands in a unique relation both to God and to the world in which he finds himself. He can only fulfil his true destiny as he is content to submit himself to the holy and beneficent will of God who created him. As soon as he attempts to become self-sufficient, to be "as God" (Gen. iii. 5, Revised Version), instead of rising he falls. The root of "sin" is *hubris*, the ambition to usurp the

place which in the nature of things belongs only to the Creator. In the whole range of the world's literature nothing is more relevant to the perilous situation in which man finds himself today than the apparently naive, but in fact inexhaustibly profound, stories of the tree of knowledge (Gen. iii) and the Tower of Babel (Gen. xi).

The Hebrew prophets

By the REV. N. W. PORTEOUS

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THERE is nothing more remarkable in the long history of Israel's religion than the successive appearance of those whom we call the prophets. "Prophet" is a Greek word used to translate the Hebrew word "nabi". The etymology of the latter is in dispute but most probably it means something like "spokesman", the spokesman of God to his people. That there were prophets in Israel was held to be one of her privileges which distinguished her from other peoples. In that ancient world the pseudo-science of divination was developed to an extraordinary degree and magic was a controlling factor in life. In Israel, however, the practice of divination came to be regarded as illicit, though there were sad lapses from the view that the institution of prophecy made all forms of divination unnecessary and the story of the witch of Endor shows how the primitive jungle of superstition was always there waiting for vigilance to be relaxed.

Hebrew prophecy had its lower and its higher manifestations, which, however, do not admit of an absolutely clear distinction. At the lower end of the scale were the professional prophets, living sometimes in organized communities or guilds, sometimes as solitary individuals. There were those who lived and worked among the common people and may have formed part of the personnel of the local sanctuaries. We hear of prophets in large numbers at the court of the northern Hebrew kingdom, venal creatures for the most part who lived by the royal favour. There seem also to have been prophets attached to the Temple in Jerusalem and it is possible that to individuals among them are due certain prophetic elements in the Psalter. At the court in Jerusalem there were sometimes outstanding prophetic personalities who played a decisive part in great affairs, men like Nathan in King David's time who had the

courage on one occasion to bring a crime home to his royal master and may well have been the one who first planted in men's minds the strange hopes which were for centuries associated with the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem.

When we speak of the Hebrew prophets, however, we generally mean those commanding figures who emerged successively on the stage of Israel's history from the ninth century B.C. onwards. Of the first of these, Elijah, a number of striking incidents are related which show that he nobly opposed the encroachments of debasing nature worship backed by royal authority and fearlessly condemned the social injustice which went with it. But it was not till about the middle of the eighth century that prophets appeared whose words made such an impression on some of their contemporaries that a record of things which they said has been preserved in written form. These writings are found in the Old Testament in four great collections which pass traditionally under the names of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and those who have come to be known as the Twelve Minor Prophets, though some of the greatest of the prophets, such as Amos and Hosea, were of their number. The traditional attribution of authorship has only in part proved to be tenable but that is too long a story to be even summarized here.

Right up to comparatively modern times the main interest of these Hebrew prophetical writings for Christians lay in the fact that they were believed to contain sundry direct and even detailed predictions of Christ, of his person and attributes, of his birth, life, death and resurrection. There was New Testament precedent for this view. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, for example, makes much of the fulfilment of prophecy and the Church had Christ's own authority for believing that the Old Testament had found its fulfilment in him. It is one of the most valuable results of the historical study of the Bible, however, that the prophets are now seen as men who addressed themselves in the first instance to their contemporaries as spokesmen of a God who was dealing with his people in the tragic crises of its history. The prophets have therefore, as we shall see, acquired a new kind of relevance to ourselves and

are seen to be precursors of Christ in ways not previously realized.

On the walls of the Sistine chapel Michelangelo has associated the Hebrew prophets with the pagan Sibyls who were supposed to share with them the mysterious divine gift of prediction. As a son of the Renaissance he also saw in them tremendous personalities, anticipating the emphasis to be found in many modern books in which the prophets are depicted as statesmen or as social reformers or as religious geniuses. These familiar human types lay to hand, but it may be questioned whether any or all of them do justice to what is a unique phenomenon and a very disturbing one at that.

It was inevitable that much attention should be devoted to the problem of the prophetic psychology. Was a man encouraged to believe himself a prophet, and was he accepted by others as such, because he was subject to ecstatic fits and trance experiences? We do not know for certain, but perhaps the truth lies between the extremes of holding that all prophecy was ecstatic in character and of denying to the great classical prophets like Isaiah and Jeremiah all psychical abnormality. What matters is that the content of Hebrew prophecy has a far greater claim today on our attention than its mechanism. What concerns us is the searing truth of what the prophets said. The psychological question is interesting but secondary and is in any case not capable of a conclusive solution.

So long as the prophet was valued as a man of unusual religious experience, his real significance was apt to be overlooked. He could be compared to the mystic and thought of as a kind of religious specialist. It would be truer to regard him as one who aimed at the abolition of religion as it was commonly understood, the system, that is to say, by which man thought to win the favour of the deity. "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream." "What does the Lord require of you but to do justice and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God." That was the kind of thing the prophets used to say.

Now, it is important to realize that, when the prophets spoke

like that, they were not introducing something entirely new. They came to a people with a national and religious history running right back to the great and surprising event of their deliverance under the leadership of Moses and, as they believed, by the intervention of God from a condition of slavery in Egypt. But Moses also believed—and this was not forgotten—that Israel was not delivered for licence, to do exactly as she pleased with her freedom, but to exhibit a distinctive manner of life. It is one of the miracles of history that in the midst of a world where all the dead-weight of the ages was against it, something new in the way of human relationships did emerge and, in spite of much subsequent corruption, was never allowed to die. That there were those who made it their business to ensure that Israel should not sink back again into the undifferentiated mass of heathenism is one of the presuppositions of there being prophets at all. The prophets were not isolated individuals. They inherited a tradition which reached right back to Moses and even beyond him. And they themselves must have come from pious homes or must at least have known, and been influenced by, men who cherished what was best in Israel's past. Moreover, the prophets seem to have had their disciples who treasured their words and handed them down either orally or in writing. Isaiah speaks of his disciples. Someone must have seen to it that the young Jeremiah was made aware of what Hosea had said a century earlier and we know that Jeremiah himself had a faithful secretary who wrote to his dictation and recorded incidents in his life. It is probable that the book which goes under the name of Isaiah is in reality the product of an Isaianic school of prophecy which originated in the circle round the great eighth-century prophet and lasted for centuries, threw up a second great prophet during the exile and continued to maintain and develop its tradition for long after that.

Besides being the bearer of tradition the prophet was conscious of being himself in direct contact with God and called into his service or even destined to it. That is clear from what Isaiah and Jeremiah both tell us. To be a prophet was very different from being a philosopher with a stock-in-trade of

ideas about God and his relation to the world. The prophet claimed knowledge of God, but it was knowledge that could not be gained and retained apart from active obedience to God's will. This knowledge, moreover, was not given for his own special benefit but for the sake of the community he represented and he summoned the members of that community to appropriate it by a like obedience. Otherwise God's judgment would inevitably overtake them. He recalled them to the old paths insofar as he saw them to be the ways of God, but he did not hesitate to correct the tradition when it had resulted in stagnation and complaisant acceptance of what no longer befitted a new day.

The prophets from Amos onwards restated and reinforced the Hebrew conviction that Israel's God was of unique character. His love for his people, they taught, was not indulgence, since it was ethically holy and would brook no rivals, yet, as the prophet Hosea learned through his own private tragedy, could not be quenched by ingratitude and yearned to restore and redeem. All this was not a matter of mere theory. It was something which had to be lived through acceptance and repentance and obedience. Obedience moreover had to be worked out in the ordinary human relationships. The words of the Hebrew prophets are significant for us today just because they are not vague generalisations but were primarily relevant to the actual life of their contemporaries. Their witness confronts us with the living God who is concerned that we should do his will in the concrete relationships of our own day. We are not given a ready-made answer but we are brought where we may get an answer. What is the bond of our society? Is it the love and loyalty which reflect God's grace to us? All the apparatus of religion is of no account at all if we make it a substitute for common honesty and if neighbourly kindness is lacking. Jeremiah reminded a Jewish king that the glittering façade of his pomp did not hide the lack of that righteousness which is the only true knowledge of God. And another saying of his is recorded: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, let not the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches, but let him who glories glory in this, that

he understands and knows me, that I am the Lord who practise kindness, justice and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, says the Lord." These words expose the weaknesses of our society as well as those of Judah of old.

It has been well said that, when you believe in a God who is not capricious but is inflexibly righteous, "life is unified and steeled." Actual belief like that is reached, perhaps, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel suggest, when God changes the human heart, perhaps, to indicate something which we can do without delay, when quite simply and humbly we take the first faltering steps to try out an ethic which the world counts as foolish and so break the spell which may be restraining the flow of God's transforming power into our lives.

The prophets believed that this God of unique character overruled the events of history. This was not a philosophy of history: it was a faith which enabled them to stand firm in the day when the heavens were falling. Amos believed that all nations were guided by God and Isaiah declared that God could use them as his instruments, yet would never let them get out of hand. Through all the cataclysmic events which make that ancient world so strangely like our own the prophets saw God at work creating and moulding a new community of faith and obedience and some of them even saw that it would become world-wide. Mercy and judgment alike were characteristic of his working and it was hard then, as it is still, to reconcile these two. But one prophet did reach the daring thought that the suffering which God's judgment brings, might be accepted and borne by the innocent on behalf of the guilty. He may not have realized that he was foreshadowing a new understanding of God's attitude to men. God had to act in decisive fashion right down in human history before men could be quite sure that the suffering of the Servant of the Lord, who figures as the subject of the exilic prophet's dream, had been the symbol of something in the very heart of God himself.

What Christ was and did set the seal on what the great prophets of Israel had believed and hoped for and done. He was Israel's anointed King and how much more! In the light of what it all came to we can go back and sit at the feet of Israel's

mentors and by their witness be helped to a truer understanding than even they reached of what it means to know God. They may not be easy men to live with and they have no small talk, but they can make us aware of the great heights and the great depths and in their company life might recover some of the dignity which befits these decisive times but is exchanged by so many for a frivolity which blinds to all finer issues.

The Writings

By the REV. AUBREY JOHNSON

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THE third division of the Hebrew canon, which is known as the "Writings", was completed so much later than the "Law" and the "Prophets", and it differs so markedly from these in the variety of its content, that it is reminiscent of stragglers in some marching column. It is just here, however, that its value lies; for without it we should have a very imperfect and even a distorted picture of Israel's religious pilgrimage.

Its variety of content may be seen at once in the Psalter; for this is a collection of religious lyrics which probably range in date from as early as the tenth century to as late as the fourth century B.C. This wide range in date is matched by the widely different literary forms and the striking diversity of mood which these psalms reveal. Many were evidently composed as an aid to public worship, either in a spirit of praise or with deep searching of heart, and as such they repeatedly acknowledge the kingship of God in both the physical and the moral realms, in the work of creation and on the plane of history. Others reflect an individual's quiet confidence in God, or, it may be, a personal bewilderment with life and a struggle for faith which remain timeless in their appeal; and now and then there come to the surface a bitterness and hatred that can only harbour thoughts of revenge. In fact we have in the Psalter a rich treasury of religious verse which not only enables the reader to follow the twists and turns of Israel's long pilgrimage but, if used with discretion, may still serve the spiritual aspirations of mankind.

The books of Proverbs and Job are examples of what is known as the Wisdom literature of the ancient Near East, and each serves in its own way to illustrate the fact that Israel's religious thinkers were not given to abstract speculation, their interest lying primarily in the more practical questions of

human life and conduct. The book of Proverbs is a post-exilic compilation, embodying in rhythmical form the traditional teaching of the professional sages of Israel. In general it may be said to offer a series of discourses on the nature of Wisdom as a guide to the right conduct of the individual, followed by several collections of maxims and other short sayings which offer more detailed instruction along the same line. The basic argument throughout is that right conduct of this kind is the only way to assured happiness and prosperity; and the work as a whole not only yields an interesting picture of the social conditions of the time, but also preserves some simple but wholesome moral judgements which are not without value today.

While the book of Proverbs tends to follow traditional lines in its teaching, the book of Job is the work of a man who was prepared to challenge the generally accepted view that a righteous or blameless life always leads to prosperity, and that adversity must be due to some defect of character in the sufferer. For him the issues of life were not so clear-cut as this; and, what is more, the basic problem to which they gave rise, namely that of innocent suffering, could not be answered in his case by reference to any established doctrine of a future life. The body of the book is taken up with a number of speeches in verse, in which the question at issue is debated by Job and several friends or acquaintances who have come to visit him as a result of the series of disasters by which he has been overtaken. Apart from airing the problem, the debate proves comparatively fruitless, and God himself is finally introduced to remind Job that, just as the wonders of the physical world leave man with much that he cannot understand, so he must not expect to find a complete answer even to so urgent and personal a problem as that of unmerited suffering. Nevertheless by giving the debate a prose setting, in which the reader is taken behind the scenes and shown how in this case the suffering was permitted by God as a test of Job's faith, the author seeks to persuade the reader that such suffering may have its place in God's purposes, and that a reverent recognition of one's possible co-operation with him in this way may ease the burden by at least setting one's rebellious thoughts at rest.

8. The Samaritan Pentateuch, A.D. 1211, page 500



9. The Prophet Isaiah, from Michelangelo's Fresco in the Sistine Chapel

The Song of Songs, which is so-called because it was attributed to Solomon as the finest of his many songs, is really a post-exilic collection of erotic lyrics. They possess a dramatic quality which suggests the possibility that they reflect local marriage customs of a type still observable in modern times in the village life of Syria, the lovers being given a royal time comparable with that of Solomon in what may be regarded as an idyllic example of his many amours. Whether this be so or not, the inclusion of these charming but obviously sensuous lyrics in the sacred literature of Judaism must be explained by the fact that they came to be used in certain pious circles as an allegory of the love which the heavenly King bore towards his chosen people.

In its present form the book of Ruth tells afresh for readers of the post-exilic period the moving story of a girl of foreign birth who was destined to become the great-grandmother of David and so make possible the high hopes which came to be associated with Jerusalem's royal line. The story is told with great delicacy and charm, and the repeated emphasis upon "Ruth the Moabitess" suggests that the author was seeking to remind his contemporaries that a Gentile believer, quite as much as any true-born Jew, might have his or her part to play in the carrying out of God's purposes.

The picturesque lyrics of the Song of Songs and the colourful narrative style of the book of Ruth offer a distinct contrast to the book of Ecclesiastes, which takes its place along with the books of Proverbs and Job as a remarkable example of Israel's Wisdom literature. It is presented as if it were the work of a successor of David on the throne of Jerusalem, who, with all the wealth of opportunity at his disposal, had asked of life what evidence of purpose it could offer. The contradictions of thought within the book reveal in haunting, rhythmical prose a struggle between the will to believe and a fear that, despite the demand which God makes upon mankind in terms of a moral order, there is nothing to support the view that the righteous will fare any better than the unrighteous; in short, that life, as man knows it, affords no real assurance of lasting happiness, and indeed offers mankind no obvious goal for all its striving.

The five poems which form the book of Lamentations, traditionally ascribed to the prophet Jeremiah, are all descriptive of the situation in Jerusalem at the time of its siege by the Babylonians or in the desolate years which succeeded its fall in 586 B.C. While they vary considerably in quality, each is sufficiently near to the events recorded and so movingly written that it requires little effort of imagination on the part of the reader to live with the author amid these scenes of physical suffering and mourn with him the high hopes which had themselves been shattered with the destruction of the holy city.

With the book of Esther, on the other hand, the reader is transported from a record of grim but actual fact to one of wholly improbable fiction. The setting of the plot is the Persian empire of Xerxes (485–465 B.C.), and it tells the story of a projected massacre of the Jews throughout his realm which, through the skilful contrivance of a Jewish heroine at the Persian court, was converted into a fearful slaughter of more than seventy-five thousand of their enemies. It is intensely nationalistic in tone, and may well reflect the atmosphere of excitement and elation which followed the victorious resistance of those Jews who, in the Maccabaean revolt of the second century B.C., withstood the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to stamp out their religious faith. Its admission into the Hebrew scriptures appears to be due to the fact that it purports to explain the origin of the Jewish feast of Purim.

The book of Daniel, which belongs to the class of literature known as apocalyptic, is a collection of tracts which were evidently composed at the time of the Maccabaean revolt as a means of encouraging the Jews in their struggle for religious freedom. They tell of the example afforded by a similar hero of the faith some four centuries earlier, and they describe a number of dreams and visions in which he was involved, full of bizarre imagery and all designed to show that the age of world empires was fast coming to an end, and that God himself was about to intervene directly on the plane of human history and prove the reality of his kingship over the peoples of the earth.

The joint work known under the combined names of Ezra and Nehemiah enjoys common authorship with the books of

Chronicles, and indeed forms the sequel to the latter. It is based on the memoirs of the two men who did more than anyone else to shape post-exilic Judaism; and it forms one of the most valuable means of tracing the steps in the gradual return of the Jews from Babylon. As for the books of Chronicles, they represent an attempt to instruct the Jews of the fourth century B.C. in the significance of their long and chequered history prior to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah; and the aim throughout is to show that the Jerusalem Temple and its established forms of worship provide the proper means of keeping in touch with the overruling providence of God. Comparison with the earlier historical books makes it clear, however, that the value of this work lies less in the light which its author seeks to throw on the long story of the nation's past than in the way in which it reflects the religious ideals associated with the Temple and its services in the post-exilic period.

Thus, varied and even disorderly as they may appear, the "Writings" are invaluable as a guide to that ferment of thought in post-exilic Judaism out of which there sprang a fresh outburst of faith, when Jesus appeared on the scene in Galilee "preaching the gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand."

The Apocrypha:

Its value and historical importance

By the REV. DR. H. G. MEECHAM

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THE term Apocrypha[1] (more precisely the Apocrypha of the Old Testament) denotes a body of additional writings that are found (except *4 Ezra*) in the Septuagint or Greek version of the Old Testament[2] but have no place in the canonical Hebrew scriptures. We cannot here enter into the questions how these extra books came to be written, or why, whilst the Roman Catholic Church accords them (with three exceptions) equal authority with the books of the Bible, Protestant Christendom rejects them as inspired scripture, though "useful and good to read" as Luther says. Apart, however, from the value of these writings "for example of life and instruction of manners" their historical importance is widely recognized in Protestant circles. These "outside" books light up a crucial period of Jewish and Christian history (about 200 B.C. to A.D. 100).

The fact that there is much diversity of scholarly opinion on the original language, date, and origin of some of the Apocrypha makes classification difficult. We arrange the books here under the various literary types to which they appear to belong. The matter of dates is complicated not least by the fact that some of the documents are made up of component parts which derive from different periods. The dates suggested here are mainly tentative.

The *historical* books are *1* and *2 Maccabees* and *1 Esdras*. The author of *1 Maccabees* was an unknown Palestinian Jew writing

[1] The English Revised Version of the Apocrypha was published in 1895.

[2] They are found also in the Latin Bible or the Vulgate, having been incorporated from older Latin translations.

about 90 B.C. or possibly earlier, 130 B.C. The contents of the book (originally written in Hebrew and later translated into Greek) cover forty years of fateful Jewish history (175–135 B.C.). Here we have an objective and sober account of the struggle, led by the family of the Maccabees, for religious and civil freedom. The military triumphs of Judas and his brothers are graphically described and evoke the author's fervent admiration. It was by their hand that "deliverance was given unto Israel". Religiously the dominant feature is passionate zeal for the Law, the Scriptures, and the Temple.

2 Maccabees shows a marked contrast. Historically it is inferior; the tendency to romance is conspicuous and the style is often ornate. The book is in part an epitome of a history of the Maccabees written by Jason of Cyrene and covers only a brief period of fifteen years (176–161 B.C.). It seeks to exalt the Jewish people and cement their unity in face of the danger of division between the Egyptian Jews (the Dispersion) and their Palestinian brethren. The religious tone of the book is marked. We note the place it gives to divine miraculous interventions and its insistence on retribution for sin and on the resurrection of the body. Of unknown authorship it derives from the period 125–75 B.C. or 60 B.C.–A.D. 1.

1 Esdras (sometimes referred to as *3 Esdras* following the Latin tradition) is largely a compilation in Greek of *2 Chronicles*, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, and deals with the rebuilding of the Temple and the restoration and centrality of its worship. Its historical value is difficult to assess owing to the chronological disarrangement of its contents. Josephus, however, used it (though with certain amendments and omissions) as authoritative for the history of its period. Its probable date lies between 160 and 1 B.C. An interesting insertion in the book (iii. 1–v, 6) narrates a competition of wits in which three young men of Darius' court take part. Here (iv. 41) we find the famous aphorism: "great is truth, and strong above all things".

We pass now to two valuable books of the Apocrypha which may be classed as *didactic*. The *Book of Wisdom* is unquestionably the most appealing in the collection. The unknown Alexandrian Jew who was its author (or possibly authors, since the

book seems to fall into two distinct parts) wrote in Greek probably about the beginning of the Christian era, though some scholars date it before 50 B.C. Its central theme is the praise of wisdom, which is set forth in eloquent vein as the source of moral and intellectual power and the ground of immortality. This is illustrated from the early history of the Jews. A distinctive feature is the quasi-personification of Wisdom: she is "a breath of the power of God" . . . "and an image of his goodness". In its religious teaching the central tenet is the reality of the future life. Man is a pre-existent soul and was created for immortality: "the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God". On the other side death follows in the train of sin and enters the world "by envy of the devil". Idolatry is scathingly condemned. This book is notable as an early example of the liberalizing attitude which seeks to harmonize the best elements of pagan philosophy with the truths of revealed religion. Its teaching has left clear traces in the letters of St. Paul and has deeply influenced Christian theology.

The *Book of Sirach* (or *Ecclesiasticus*) was originally written in Hebrew (many fragments of a Hebrew text have been discovered since 1896) by Jesus, the son of Sirach, and translated into Greek by his grandson, the approximate dates being 180 B.C. for the original work and 132 B.C. for the Greek version. The book is of great service in enabling us to picture the religious and moral ideas of the second century B.C. The author is deeply interested in social life in all its varied aspects (relationships in the family, of doctor and patient, of debtor and creditor, etc.) and strings together many shrewd comments and counsels which afford not a little entertaining reading. The book shows close kinship with our canonical *Proverbs*. Perhaps we may say that we have here worldly wisdom at its best, ranging over a wide field of human interests. The ethical teaching is largely prudential. The aim of morality is a man's well-being, and that only on earth, since the author professes no sure belief in a future life. At the same time his religious convictions are real if of a somewhat conventional type. It may be that the book rests on its author's oral teaching, for he had his own "house of instruction" to which pupils were invited

(li. 23). The influence of *Sirach* is reflected in the New Testament, especially in the Gospels and in the *Epistle of St. James*.

In *Judith* we meet with a kind of religious novel. Holofernes, a general of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Assyria, marches against Palestine and besieges Bethulia. The water supply is cut, and the people urge the city authority to surrender. The latter agrees to do so unless help should come within five days. In the meantime Judith, a widow, arrays herself in fine robes, visits the enemies' camp, and endears herself to the commander. At a banquet she slays Holofernes as he lies helpless in a drunken stupor. The Assyrian army flees and the Jews are saved. Obviously this is not history though the names in the book may be pseudonyms for historical persons. The book is a religious romance written to strengthen patriotism and to encourage prayer and absolute fidelity to the law; in its first form it may date from about the middle of the second century B.C.

Tobit belongs to the same literary class as *Judith*. It is a tale of two Jewish families whose adversities ended happily in their union by marriage. It is not possible within our available space to outline the contents or to describe the sources of the story and the stages through which it passed. The author's aim is to commend prayer, fasting, and especially almsgiving. Angels and demons play an important part and magical practices are prominent. The versions of *Tobit* in various languages and its influence on Jewish and Christian writings attest its wide appeal. Clearly the Jewish author has used and modified a far-spread popular folk-tale to emphasize the religious obligations of obedience to the law, almsgiving, and the ritual burying of the dead. The date is generally put between 150 and 100 B.C. or possibly earlier. Some think that the place of origin was Egypt, others favour Palestine.

Two of the *Additions to Daniel* belong to the same category of religious romance. *Susanna* is interesting as an early example of the detective story. It relates how a certain Daniel intervenes in a plot by two elders against Susanna, the wife of a rich Jew of Babylon, whom they accuse of adultery. Daniel proves her innocence and the elders are put to death. It has been suggested that the story was originally put forward by the Pharisees who,

following a miscarriage of justice about 100 B.C., urged the need of closer examination of witnesses and severer punishment for perjury. Or the book may embody merely an edifying tale teaching God's vindication of the innocent and retribution on the guilty. *Bel and the Dragon* again emphasizes the wisdom of Daniel, who in two independent episodes exposes the folly and wickedness of idolatry.

Here we may conveniently notice the third addition to the canonical *Daniel*, namely the *Song of the Three Holy Children.* This records the Prayer of Azariah, the ordeal in the fiery furnace, and the song of thanksgiving for deliverance.

Two books of the Apocrypha belong to the prophetic and apocalyptic type. *Baruch* is a composite document, the first part written in prose, the second in poetry. A brief historical introduction tells how Baruch in Babylon causes money and silver vessels to be sent for the Temple worship to the people of Jerusalem, whose city had been laid in ruins by the Chaldeans. Then follow a confession of sin, prayer for forgiveness, and two passages, one in praise of wisdom, which is identified with the law, the other giving encouragement to the Jews. That the book was intended for liturgical use is stated in i. 14. In its present form the book probably dates from towards the end of the first century A.D. The author(s) shows strong faith in the divine promises to Israel and deep devotion to the Jewish religion, especially the law.

With *Baruch* we may notice the *Epistle of Jeremy* which in the Vulgate and the English version stands as the last chapter (vi) of *Baruch*, while in the Septuagint it appears as a separate fragment. Its claim to be a letter written by Jeremiah to the Jewish exiles about to be deported to Babylon cannot be substantiated. It is plainly the work of a later author writing in Greek, perhaps from a lost Hebrew original, an impassioned though wearisome polemic against Babylonian idolatry.

2 Esdras (or *4 Ezra*) is an important specimen of apocalyptic literature. Versions in various languages (the Latin is the most important, being translated from a lost Greek version) show its wide popularity. It consists chiefly of seven visions. The writer is burdened by the problem of Israel's sufferings. Why has God

cast off his people, whilst their enemies enjoy prosperity? No final solution is reached, but Israel is urged to trust in the love of God and in the recompense of a future life of blessedness for the righteous. Many scholars hold that the book was written in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96). Others think that the book comprises five separate pieces which were put together about A.D. 120. Not a little of the material embodied derives from pre-Christian times.

Finally we may note the two remaining additions to the Old Testament. In the Greek version of the *Book of Esther* six additional sections (*The Rest of Esther*) are inserted. In the Vulgate and the English version these sections form a separate unit. The additions may have been made partly to correct the secularity of *Esther* by imparting a more religious atmosphere and tone. The name of God, absent from the canonical book, appears freely.

In the *Prayer of Manasses* (ostensibly composed to supply an omission of a prayer in *2 Chronicles* xxxiii. 18–19) we have a later Jewish composition. It has been commended as "one of the best pieces in the Apocrypha". We owe its preservation to an early Christian writing, the *Didascalia*, of the third century.

It should be noted that many other writings (the so-called Pseudepigrapha) of the same period were composed under assumed names of Jewish worthies, for example, *I Enoch*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, the *Letter of Aristeas* etc. But these do not fall within the scope of the present article.

The influence of the Bible in social history

By BASIL WILLEY

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"I DREAMED, and behold, I saw a man cloathed with rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back; I looked and saw him open the Book, and read therein, and as he read he wept and trembled, and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry, saying, What shall I do?"

These familiar words, from the opening of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, may well stand as text for any discourse on the influence of the Bible in our national life and thought. Bunyan's Christian escaping from the City of Destruction, with the load of sin on his back, and the Bible in his hand to guide his pilgrimage, is a fitting and widely-accepted symbol of the inmost meaning of post-Reformation Christianity. The conception of life as a pilgrimage is indeed much older than the Reformation, but Bunyan's stress (here and throughout his work) upon The Book, and upon its part in the salvation of the individual soul, makes him representative of Protestantism—that is to say, of that phase of history with which this article is mainly concerned. There never was a time, since the establishment of the Scriptural Canon, when the Bible was not the foundation of Christian civilization. So fully had it permeated the main currents of life and thought from the earliest times onwards, that it is difficult to speak of its influence without slipping imperceptibly into a history of Christendom itself. But it was only in the Protestant world, and after the period of vernacular translations, that the Bible assumed its historic role as the supreme spiritual authority, the rule of faith—even the guide in secular

affairs as well–and the source of comfort, admonition and saving truth for every believer and every godly family.

Mediaeval Christianity was, indeed, founded upon the revelation recorded in the sacred writings, but the Church, rather than the book, was the supreme authority in spiritual matters (some held, in temporal affairs also). It was the Church, founded by Christ and guided ever since by the Holy Spirit, that had determined which scriptures were canonical; it was the Church alone that could shape the developing creeds and draw the subtle distinctions between orthodoxy and heresy. As long as the Bible was available only in Latin, it was of course inaccessible to the unlearned, and had necessarily to be mediated and interpreted by the priesthood.

Nor need this be held, as it formerly was by Protestant controversialists, as a reproach against the Church. It is only recently that we have come to realize how much learning, and how elaborate a critical apparatus, are required to understand the Bible; the mediaeval Church recognized this, and rightly held that the study of it by laymen was likely to lead to heresy. The difference between the mediaeval and modern attitudes may be expressed by saying that whereas the modern biblical scholar attacks the difficulties with all the resources of historical, linguistic, textual and literary criticism at his disposal, the mediaeval expositor–lacking these, but aware of the complexities–held to the four-fold method of interpretation:

> Littera *gesta docet*, *quae credas* Allegoria,
> Moralis *quid agas*, *quo tendas* Anagogia.

Everything in scripture could be expounded on one of these levels or on all of them at once: the literal for narrative, the allegorical where literal belief was not requisite, the moral for edification, and the "anagogical" for mystical assurance. Thus wherever the literal sense of a passage was obscure or offensive, one or more of the other senses must needs be the true interpretation.

In sharp contrast with both the mediaeval and the modern approaches, the Reformers proclaimed a single, plain and literal meaning for the text of scripture. Behind this lay the

main presuppositions of Protestantism: that the Bible, as God's own word to man, must be comprehensible to all; that it was the duty of all to search the scriptures for their own salvation; that the plain meaning of the Bible had been deliberately obscured by the Church so as to preserve its own prestige; that the plain text had become so over-scrawled with priestly glosses that nothing would serve but a fresh start on a clean sheet; finally, that the saving word, hitherto jealously guarded by the clergy and kept mysterious by its Latin disguise, must be set free in the mother tongue for all who could read. The Church had become corrupt; God's word had been overlaid with the "hay and stubble of men's inventions"; the Bible alone must become "the religion of Protestants".

The great advantage of this new approach lay in the immense stimulus, both intellectual and spiritual, given by first-hand contact with the Bible in the mother tongue. The main disadvantage was that in throwing the Bible open to the many and exalting it above the Church as the rule of faith, anarchy and conflict would ensue. In so heterogeneous a collection of writings, dating from so many different periods and proceeding from so many different stages of spiritual development, almost any enthusiast could find texts to support his own pet doctrine. Richard Hooker, in defending the Elizabethan Church Settlement against the scriptural rigidity of the Genevans, pointed prophetically to the twofold dangers of private interpretation and of taking scripture as the sole guide in daily practical life. Already, he says, we find thousands so headstrong that a man who can scarcely "utter five words in a sensible manner blusheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *Yea* as good as the *Nay* of all the wise". And (on the second point), if God in delivering scripture had entirely abrogated the light of nature or practical commonsense, making every action sinful unless expressly sanctioned in scripture, how could this fail, Hooker asks, to "bring the simple a thousand times to their wits' end"? The force of this warning was soon after to be shown in Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*, where Bunyan relates how for months on end he was at the mercy of whatever scripture-text happened to "dart into his mind"–

elated if the text "smiled upon him", dejected if it frowned, and sometimes at desperate tug-of-war with the Devil over a "sweet" text: "he at one end and I at the other".

Yet far more important than all this, for the time being, was the exhilarating effect of the English translations, and especially of the "Authorized" version of 1611. The new version, heard now in Church as well as read at home, took the people by storm and became their book of books—loved like a national epic but also revered as though God himself dictated its English. Of the extraordinary hold exerted by the Authorized Version over the minds and hearts of Englishmen, and (later) of all English-speaking people, the excellence of its literary quality is one chief cause. For this excellence we are indebted to the 1611 translators themselves, to Tyndale and Coverdale their most notable predecessors, and to the youthful vigour of the English language, of which as yet custom had not bedimmed the lustre nor dried up the sparkle and the dewdrops.

But there was another reason besides this. The translation came, as has been said, "at a psychological moment in the moral and political development of our people. It not only entered into the warp and woof of our literature, but seemed to give point, emphasis and expression to the new ethical, social and religious impulses with which the country was at that time stirred." No examples can be given of the influence of the Bible in national life more striking than its effects upon the Puritans of England and New England in the seventeenth century. At first, in the jubilation following the Armada victory, the English as a whole could feel themselves to be God's chosen people, his chosen champions against the popish aggressor. But as the crisis of the Civil War drew on, it was the Puritans in particular who identified themselves with Israel; it was they who were called to leave the flesh-pots of Egypt, to "come out from among them and be separate", to defend the good old cause of England's liberties, and protect their own honest and god-fearing home-lives, against the proud encroaching prelates and the lewd hirelings of the court. Accepting the whole Bible as the undoubted word of God, they found, in the Old Testament especially, precedent and sanction for revolt against un-

godly kings, for the destruction of idols, and for the execution of God's vengeance upon his enemies. Their God, the God of Cromwell and his psalm-singing Ironsides, was the Lord of hosts "who would help them to smite Philistines and Amalekites hip and thigh". Not only in war, but in peace as well, the Puritans tried to live out the Old Testament analogy. "At Geneva", says Froude, "as for a time in Scotland, moral sins were treated after the example of the Mosaic law, as crimes to be punished by the magistrate". Working and living "as ever in their great Taskmaster's eye", the Puritans attempted a complete elimination of all that savoured of *homo naturalis*, renouncing the carnal or tawdry shows of Vanity Fair ("Merrie England"), and submitting their lives to the statutes of the divine lawgiver. In New England, where the situation of the early settlers presented the closest modern parallel to that of the Israelites in the wilderness or amongst the Canaanitish tribes, the founding fathers of one plantation decided that the scriptures "do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to God and men as well in the government of families and commonwealth as in matters of the church".

Matthew Arnold, who thought Shakespeare or Vergil would have found the Pilgrim Fathers intolerable company, used to repeat that the spirit of England had by his time been locked within the prison-house of Puritanism for 200 years. Remembering Arnold's campaign for Hellenism versus Hebraism, remembering his distaste for "the hideous and grotesque illusions of middle-class Protestantism", remembering too what we know or have read of the Puritan Sunday (one of the chief social legacies of Reformation scripturalism)—remembering all this and more, we cannot wonder at Arnold's attitude. But during those 200 years, outside the Puritan penumbra, another race was run, and other palms were being won. Scientists, from Copernicus to Newton, had destroyed the mediaeval world-picture (assumed to be orthodox and biblical), and replaced it by the Great Machine. And the multiplication of sects, all claiming to be scriptural, and all prepared to fight and persecute in support of their own views, had weakened the founda-

tions of Protestantism. To many thoughtful men in the eighteenth century—Christians as well as deists—it seemed that nature, the book of God's Work, was a more satisfactory scripture, a more convincing kind of "revelation", than the book of his Word. The Hebrew Jehovah began to recede before the Supreme Being, the divine original proclaimed by nature in its ordered and law-abiding majesty. Textual and historical criticism of the Bible begins to appear, and Spinoza (one of its pioneers) had already pronounced that scripture has authority in the sphere of faith and morals, but not in matters of science and history. Yet despite these unsettling influences, despite the irony of Voltaire and the deists, and despite the growing reluctance of the "enlightened" to base their faith upon miraculous and prophetic "evidences", the Bible remained for the people at large a numinous book. Standing in hallowed majesty upon every church lectern, lying in state at the centre of every godly family circle, opened and read from at family prayers, inscribed on the flyleaf with dates of births, deaths and marriages, it represented the nearness of God and his protecting care; its presence was the cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night, and its words were those of the Almighty who spoke in thunder from Sinai.

Doubtless the Bible has at all times been chiefly put to its proper uses—that is to say, as a manual of devotion, a record of spiritual experience, and an incomparable incentive to repentance and rebirth. Moreover, its spirit has shaped the outlook, and its language the style, of generations of the English-speaking people. Of this our national and social history, and our literature—imaginative, biographical and historical—furnish abundant proof. But it has also been used "talismanically", and the theory of its alleged "verbal inspiration", of its infallible authority not only in the realm of the spirit but also in matters of science and of history, was bound to conflict in the end with the results of scientific enquiry. The crisis of Protestantism in the nineteenth century was due to the discovery that "the Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture", on which it was founded, was not impregnable at all—or at least, not in the hitherto accepted sense. The Protestant world had attached its emotion

and faith to a book, and now, under the solvents of natural science and the higher criticism, the book was failing it. Why, it may be asked, did this crisis not arise before? Why not in the eighteenth century, when there were plenty of scoffers and atheists, when it was customary to ridicule the Pentateuch, and when many of the "believers" themselves were at heart deists? It was partly because such matters were then discussed only by an élite group of scholars and gentlemen; it was partly because science, so far mainly astronomical, physical and chemical, had not yet trespassed much on the sacred ground. Only in the nineteenth century were the biblical documents fully subjected to the kind of critical and historical analysis which was admitted to be applicable to all other ancient texts; only then was the "development theory" applied to the creation of the world and the evolution of living creatures. Whatever the infidels might have said, the garden of Eden, Adam and Eve, the fall, the flood, the miracles and the prophecies had been felt and imagined by most people as facts, facts so divinely authenticated that they could be used as an unquestioned frame of reference in all thinking and doing. But now geology demanded millions of years, not six days, for the creation; evolution replaced the fall by the ascent of man from the ape; and biblical criticism was showing the Bible to be a collection of imperfect human documents instead of a supernatural message dictated by God himself.

The Origin of Species and *Essays and Reviews* appeared rather less than a hundred years ago, but we have now moved into so different a world that it is hard to imagine the outraged feelings of many who then first read them, and who felt that if these writers were correct the Bible was "not true". And if it were indeed not true, if it must be read, as Jowett said, "like any other book", then chaos was come again. Samuel Wilberforce, reviewing Darwin in the *Quarterly*, declared that "the principle of natural selection is absolutely incompatible with the word of God"; another clerical reviewer said that Darwin had done "open violence to everything which the Creator himself has told us in the Scriptures of the methods and results of his work"; yet another, that "if the Darwinian theory is true,



10. Scottish Psalmody by Millais



11. Evening prayer, engraved by William Hole after the picture by Edward Prentis (1797-1854)

CHAP. I.

1 *Isaiah complaineth of Judah's rebellion:* 5 *their total corruption and desolation:* 10 *he upbraideth their vain religious service:* 16 *he exhorteth to repentance, enforced by promises and threatenings:* 21 *he bewaileth their wickedness, and denounceth God's judgments, mixed with promises of mercy.* 28 *The wicked's destruction.*

Before Christ 810.

THE vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, *and* Hezekiah, kings of Judah.

a Deut. 32. 1.

2 [a] Hear, O heavens; and give ear, O earth: for the LORD hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.

b Jerem. 8. 7.

3 [b] The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: *but* Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.

‡ Heb. *of heavy doing.*

4 Ah, sinful nation, a people ‡laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that are corrupters! they have forsaken the LORD, they have provoked the holy One of Israel unto anger, they are ‡gone away backward.

‡ Heb. *multiply to rebel.*

‡ Heb. *sick for revolts.*

5 ¶ Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will ‡revolt more and more: the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.

6 From the sole of the foot even unto the head *there is* no soundness in it; *but* wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ‖ ointment.

‖ Or, *oil.*

c Deut. 28. 51, 52.

7 Your country *is* desolate, your cities *are* burnt with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and *it is* desolate, ‡as overthrown by strangers.

‡ Heb. *as the overthrow of strangers.*

8 And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.

d Lam. 3. 22. Romans 9. 29.

9 [d] Except the LORD of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as [e] Sodom, *and* we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

e Gen. 19. 24.

10 ¶ Hear the word of the LORD, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah:

f Prov. 15. 8. & 21. 27. Chap. 66. 3. Jerem. 6. 20. Amos 5. 21, 22.

11 To what purpose *is* the multitude of your [f] sacrifices unto me? saith the LORD: I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of ‡he-goats.

‡ Heb. *great he-goats.*

12 When ye come ‡to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts?

‡ Heb. *to be seen.*

13 Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new-moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; *it is* ‖ iniquity, even the solemn meeting.

‖ Or, *grief.*

14 Your new-moons, and your appointed feasts, my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear *them.*

g Prov. 1. 28. Jerem. 14. 12. Micah 3. 4.

15 [g] And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye ‡make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of [h] ‡blood.

‡ Heb. *multiply prayer.*

16 ¶ Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; [i] cease to do evil;

h Chap. 59. 3. ‡ Heb. *bloods.* i 1 Pet. 3. 11.

17 Learn to do well; seek judgment, ‖ relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

‖ Or, *relieve the oppressed.*

18 Come now, and let us reason together, saith the LORD: Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.

19 If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land:

20 But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken *it.*

21 ¶ How is the faithful city become an harlot! it was full of judgment: righteousness lodged in it; but now murderers!

22 Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water:

23 Thy princes *are* rebellious, and companions of thieves: every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they [k] judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them.

k Jerem. 5. 28. Zech. 7. 10.

24 Therefore, saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts, the mighty One of Israel, Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies.

25 And I will turn my hand upon thee, and ‡purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin.

‡ Heb. *according to pure ashes.*

26 And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called, The city of righteousness, The faithful city.

27 Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and ‖ her converts with righteousness.

‖ Or, *they that return of her.*

28 ¶ And the [l] ‡destruction of the transgressors and of the sinners *shall be* together, and they that forsake the LORD shall be consumed.

l Job 31. 3. Psalm 1. 6. & 5. 6. & 73. 27. & 92. 9. & 104. 35. ‡ Heb. *breaking.*

29 For they shall be ashamed of the oaks which ye have desired, and ye shall be confounded for the gardens that ye have chosen.

30 For ye shall be as an oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that hath no water.

31 And the strong shall be as tow, ‖ and the maker of it as a spark, and they shall both burn together, and none shall quench *them.*

‖ Or, *and his work.*

CHAP. II.

1 *Isaiah prophesieth the coming of Christ's kingdom.* 6 *Wickedness is the cause why God hath forsaken his people.* 10 *The prophet forewarneth them of the terrible day of the Lord.*

THE word that Isaiah the son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.

a Micah 4. 1, &c. ‖ Or, *prepared.*

2 [a] And it shall come to pass in the last days, *that* the mountain of the LORD's house shall be ‖ established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.

3 And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob: and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.

4 And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into ‖ pruning-

‖ Or, *hooks.*

In the midst of our trouble 1828

12. Elizabeth Fry's Bible, annotated in her own hand

Genesis is a lie, the whole framework of the book of life falls to pieces, and the revelation of God to man, as we Christians know it, is a delusion and a snare". About twenty years before, Lyell had been accused of closing his eyes to "the solemn declarations of the Almighty", because his view of geological history was incompatible with the Flood. And most people have read of the efforts of Edmund Gosse's father to show that the fossils, the glacial striations, the heaps of lava from extinct volcanoes, the level or twisted strata, and all the varied phenomena of the earth's crust were in fact created together and instantaneously out of nothing. Even more subtly diabolical than the scientists—so it seemed to many—were those theologians and scholars (mostly wicked Germans) who were undermining the impregnable rock from below: treating the sacred narratives as part of secular history, questioning the received authorships and dates of composition, pointing out textual errors or interpolations, applying the categories of "evolution" to religious concepts, and even showing the mythological character of some central passages.

Of what use can it be, some may ask, to revive the memory of these dead controversies, to recall such old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago? It is of use if it helps us to remember that, after all, it was *not* so very long ago that sincere Christians believed their religion to stand or fall by the historical veracity of the book of Genesis and the "cover-to-cover" inspiration of the whole Bible; not so very long ago that many Christians were trying desperately to retain old values by closing their eyes to new truths. It is of use if it helps us to understand how it is that Christianity has survived the nineteenth-century attack, how it is that believers no longer fear the latest scientific or archaeological discovery, and how it is that the Bible—after being treated for so long "like any other book" (indeed, overhauled as *no* other book has ever been)—has turned out after all to be valuable beyond any other. Christianity owes its present deliverance from impossible positions largely to those who, in the last century, demonstrated how untenable they were. And the Bible, now that it need no longer be a fetish, no longer be worshipped with mechanical rever-

ence, can be read for what it is—a historical record of a uniquely significant line of religious development, and an incomparable pointer towards heaven.

It cannot be pretended that all Christians have reached this stage of disencumberment, still less that "the outside world" understands how far apologetic has changed its ground. If the Bible, as we are often told, has become a closed book to the multitude of our fellow-citizens, that is partly because it is thought to be a collection of fairy-tales which the pious, with characteristic hypocrisy, still pretend to believe in. It is a curious historical fact that the British and Foreign Bible Society, which celebrated its third jubilee last year, began its illustrious work of Bible distribution and translation at the beginning of the very period in which the Bible was to lose so much of its influence in this country. The dissemination of Bibles has proceeded, ever since, in inverse ratio to the amount of Bible reading done at home.

Not that this decline of biblical influence had proceeded very far by the mid-nineteenth century; on the contrary, many of the agnostics and scientific belligerents—men like Leslie Stephen, John Morley, Frederic Harrison, Huxley and the rest—had been nurtured upon the Bible from infancy, and never lost their knowledge and love of it. But by the eighteen-seventies Matthew Arnold, whose notebooks are thickly sown with biblical extracts from beginning to end, could lament that the masses were losing touch with the Bible. He thought this one of the most disquieting portents of his time, and did his utmost—in *Literature and Dogma* and *God and the Bible*—to disengage, from what seemed to him the "dated" parts of the Bible, its core of perennial truth and spiritual power. He would have been still more disquieted by the situation of today, when it is precarious to risk a biblical allusion, even in so-called "educated" circles, if one is at all anxious to be understood. The great majority of the young of today have not been taught the Bible at their mothers' knee, nor heard it read aloud at family prayers or in church; they know as little about it as they do about Homer or Vergil. This is a disturbing thought, for the combined heritages of classical and biblical antiquity have

hitherto given our western civilization whatever ideal meaning and purpose it has ever had.

How much of this neglect is due, not to reaction against bibliolatry, but simply to distaste for the archaic language of the Authorized Version and its association with the "churchy" and the parsonical? It is difficult to say; evidence in such matters is hard to come by. Shakespeare's Elizabethan English does not seem to be a hindrance to the popular appreciation of him, and as for Bible English—it is commonly extolled as the grandest and noblest in the language. Indeed, when the religious authority of the Bible seemed most in danger, it was customary to suppose that the book would at least survive "as literature". It may be questioned, however, whether "literature" whose whole *raison-d'être* is the record and evocation of spiritual experience will survive "as such" unless it is also read in a devotional spirit and for spiritual reasons. And if this is so, will the ancient language be a positive aid to its numinous and evocative power, enhancing the message with a mysterious glamour, or will it rob the meaning of all sense of connexion with the real issues of daily living? If new translations of the Bible, translations into the English of today, continue to be produced (as they do), it must be on the latter supposition. It must be on the assumption that, however beautiful and irreplaceable the Authorized Version may be for those with a trained literary taste, there are hundreds of thousands who will never read it in that version, yet who need the saving truths contained in the Bible, and need them in a form which is accurate, intelligible and contemporary. Many of those who most loudly extol the beauties of the King James Bible and most bitterly deplore all attempts to modernize it, are really only familiar with a few spot-passages and "hallowed phrases", and do not realize how large a proportion of the whole is imperfectly translated or actually unintelligible. If the Bible has perennial truths still to teach us—as it indubitably has—then it is important that readers and listeners should approach it with their minds alert, and neither turn away with contempt, nor respond with routine reverence to a series of august ecclesiastical sounds.

Background to the Ministry of Jesus

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THROUGHOUT its history the military and political importance of Palestine has lain in its position as a land-bridge between the great imperial civilizations which grew up in the Nile valley and in Mesopotamia. For centuries it was the debatable land between Egypt on the one side and the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian empires on the other. At the same time the country was always vulnerable to raiding, infiltration or full-scale invasion, by Semitic nomad tribes from the deserts to the east and south-east or by European settlers descending by land and sea on the coastal plains. The Hebrew entry into the Promised Land was an example of the one kind of invasion, the Philistine settlements an example of the latter.

Towards the end of the fourth century B.C. came the massive full-scale invasion from the west under Alexander the Great. His immense conquests took Palestine in their stride. But Alexander did more than merely overrun and annex vast territories: in the train of his armies went Greek culture and civilization. He planted Greek cities at strategic points in the east, just as St. Paul, centuries later, was to plant Christian churches at strategic points in the west. After Alexander's death the division of his empire between Seleucids and Ptolemies, with their headquarters at Antioch and Alexandria respectively, meant that once more Palestine was the debatable land between two powerful kingdoms; one based on the Nile valley, the other on Syria and Mesopotamia. For something like a century and a half this state of affairs continued; and during this period the Jewish people in Jerusalem and the country round about—a territory much smaller than that ruled over by David and Solomon—were subject, not only to the military and political overlordship of one or other of the neighbouring great powers, but also to the steady pressure of the ideas and ideals of Hellen-

istic culture and civilization. Under the Maccabees the Jewish people took up arms successfully against this threat to their religion and way of life; and from the middle of the second century until the coming of the Romans under Pompey they enjoyed a great measure of political autonomy and religious freedom.

The occupation of the country by Pompey in the sixties of the first century B.C. meant that Rome had arrived to take possession of the heritage of Alexander. The establishment of Herod the Great—half Jew and half Idumean—as king only served to strengthen the Roman grip on Palestine. After Herod's death in 4 B.C. his kingdom was divided up by the Emperor Augustus. The eldest surviving son Archelaus received Judea and Samaria (he is once named in the New Testament: Matt. ii. 22 f.); Antipas, the Herod of the ministry of Jesus, became tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea (Trans-Jordan); a third son, Philip, ruled over territories lying to the north-east of the lake of Galilee. In A.D. 6 Archelaus was deposed by the Romans for his misrule and thereafter his territory was administered by a series of Roman procurators. The best known of these, Pontius Pilate, was in office from A.D. 26 to 36. The ministry of Jesus took place during his governorship; and he was finally responsible for the crucifixion. Herod Philip died in A.D. 34, and Antipas was deposed in A.D. 39.

The method of government by procurators or native princes was used largely in remote and unruly districts, such as Palestine was in this period. It was essentially a regime of mistrust. The local population could not be relied upon to keep the peace. Therefore the man appointed to administer the area must be strong enough and must be provided with sufficient forces, to maintain order. For him to show any weakness in the handling of his subjects was to invite supersession. On the other hand the central government took great care to see that the local ruler, whether native prince or Roman official, did not become too strong, lest his ambitions should threaten the imperial throne. Antipas was deposed for having ideas above the station to which it had pleased the emperor to call him: he was tetrarch and he asked for promotion to king.

The Roman administration of Judaea was further complicated by the fact that the high-priesthood of the Temple at Jerusalem had become an office of immense prestige and authority, not only in Palestine, but also among the Jewish communities in all parts of the empire. The downfall of the kingdom of Judah in 586 B.C. had meant that Jerusalem after the exile became a holy city, the spiritual metropolis of world-Judaism. The rule of the Maccabean priest-kings had greatly enhanced the wealth and power of the Jerusalem hierarchy; and it is significant that, when the Maccabean dynasty came to an end in the days of Herod the Great, stringent precautions were taken by the civil authorities to prevent any one man or family from obtaining too firm a grasp of the high-priestly office and authority. Even so, the high-priest and his court, the Sanhedrin, exercised great power through their interpretation and administration of the Jewish law; and their co-operation was a prime necessity if the procurator was to govern Judaea successfully. The Roman policy was to allow as much freedom as possible for the use of native laws and the practice of the native religion, provided that Roman interests were not imperilled or Roman standards of behaviour gravely violated. Special concessions were made to the Jews on account of their religious scruples; and wide discretion was allowed to the Sanhedrin as a legal tribunal, though it is probable that they were not permitted to inflict capital punishment.

The subjects of this complex regime of Herodian princelings, Roman officials and Jewish ecclesiastical dignitaries, cherished their own ideas of what the status of God's chosen people should be. There were those zealots who were ready on any provocation—or none—to raise the standard of revolt and try to drive their hated overlords into the Mediterranean. There were those who were prepared to wait patiently for the day when the God of Israel would visit and redeem his people; and, either directly or through the Messiah, the anointed heir of the house of David, would overthrow the heathen and inaugurate an era of peace, prosperity, and happiness for Israel. This on the whole was the attitude of the Pharisees. Others again were willing to accept the status quo as hard fact; and, without

spending any time on plans for present resistance or dreams of future triumphs, to collaborate where necessary with the occupying forces, and so to make the best of a bad job. That was the policy of the Sadducees. The situation of the Jews in Palestine was one that has often repeated itself in the history of other small nations, with a similar variety of response to its challenge.

The main sources of wealth were agriculture, fisheries (particularly those of the lake of Galilee), and the Temple in Jerusalem, which received the contributions of the faithful all over the world as well as gifts from non-Jews. Much of the country's wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few big landowners and senior members of the Temple hierarchy. At the other end of the economic scale were the peasants, artisans and day-labourers. The day's wages for a working man was a "penny", the Roman *denarius*, a silver coin somewhat smaller than a shilling, but with far greater purchasing power. When the Good Samaritan in the parable gave two pence to the innkeeper for the care of the wounded man, he was giving two days' wages. One of the greatest hardships for the man in the street of Jerusalem or Capernaum was the fact that he was subject to double taxation: he had to pay taxes to the government; and, if he was a devout Jew, he had to pay his religious dues in addition. The method of collecting the civil taxes through tax-farmers and publicans opened the door to extortion and fraud on the part of the collectors. The assessment of religious dues, on the other hand, depended to some extent on the conscience of the individual Jew. It is not difficult to see that, between the demands of an unscrupulous tax-collector and those of his own scrupulous conscience, the devout Jew might pay a large part of his modest income in tax; and it is easy to understand the dislike felt by good Jews for the rapacious, and often dishonest, publicans, and their contempt for any of their fellow-Jews who tried to evade their religious obligations.

The communal life of Palestinian Jewry was focussed in the main on work and worship. Great store was set by the possession of professional knowledge and skill or the mastery of a craft. It was the responsibility of every Jewish father to see that

his sons were equipped to earn an honest living; and there was a saying of the rabbis that a father who did not teach his son to be a worker was teaching him to be a thief. St. Paul, who seems to have belonged to a well-to-do family and to have had the Jewish equivalent of a university education, also had a craft at his finger-tips, and supported himself by the work of his own hands. The same was true of many distinguished rabbis. Manual work was not looked down upon; and honesty and industry in business were highly valued.

The greatest esteem was reserved for those who devoted themselves to the study of the law and the application of its precepts to the life of the community. To the Jew his own law differed from the laws of all other nations in that it was not merely a code of behaviour, but was also the supreme revelation of the character and will of God. It followed that no part of it could be subject to repeal or amendment. Nothing could be taken from it or added to it. The whole duty of man was to know it, to understand its principles and its purpose, and to apply it rightly to all the situations that arise in life. Moreover, since the law covered the whole of life in all its aspects, the systematic study of it constituted a liberal education; and to sit at the feet of the scribes (rabbis) was the equivalent of attending a university in the modern world. To receive this higher instruction in the law was a great privilege; to give it was a high honour.

The social stratification of the community depended in the main on wealth, learning and ecclesiastical position. The unique position of the Temple in Jerusalem gave a unique dignity and authority to its hereditary ministers, and especially to the high-priest and his immediate entourage. A prestige which closely rivalled this was enjoyed by the aristocracy of learning, the scribes whose expert knowledge made them members of the Sanhedrin, the supreme Jewish court. Somewhere near the same level came the great landowners, especially those who took an active part in the public life of the nation or who were eminent for piety and charity. About the middle of the social scale came the merchants and skilled artisans, often people of strong religious conviction and very conscientious in their

obedience to the law. In many ways they were the backbone of the nation; and, when the disasters of the war against Rome (A.D. 66–70) had wiped out the greater part of the old aristocracy, it was upon the foundation of their loyalty and devotion that Judaism was rebuilt. The lowest class in the Jewish community consisted of those who either did not trouble to learn or, having been taught, failed to observe faithfully the precepts of the Mosaic law as interpreted by the scribes. They might be well-to-do economically; but their wealth could not raise them in the social scale. Social standing depended far more on character and conduct than on possessions; and the highest place in public esteem was reserved for the man who was a master of God's law in theory and its devoted servant in practice. More than three centuries of conscious, and at times militant, resistance to the infiltration or imposition of Greek customs and Greek religion had made the Jewish people intensely aware of themselves as a compact community closely bound to God and sharply distinguished from all other nations by their possession of God's law and their adherence to it.

Any born Jew who abandoned the law of his fathers was regarded as an apostate and a renegade. On the other hand a non-Jew who was prepared to accept the God of Israel as his God and to give full obedience to the Mosaic law could become a full member of the Jewish community; a proselyte. The proselyte became not only a member of a religious body; he was also naturalized into the people of Israel. There is evidence that in the years round about the beginning of the Christian era many non-Jews were attracted by the pure monotheism of the Jewish faith and the high standards of the Jewish law. Some of them became full converts; many more were adherents of the Jewish synagogues scattered over the Roman empire, worshipped the God of Israel, and accepted the moral standards of the law, without taking the final steps that would make them Jews in the full sense.

The religious life of Israel expressed itself in the sacrificial worship of the Jerusalem Temple, the only sanctuary at which this kind of ritual could lawfully be performed; and in the prayers, praises, scripture-readings, and sermons of the syna-

gogue. This latter worship could be offered in any place where there was a quorum (*minyan*) of ten free adult male Jews. As the Jews were scattered all over the Roman empire, and travel was slow and costly, it was not practicable for great numbers of them to take part in the Temple worship with the regularity required by the law. An occasional visit for one of the major festivals, together with a regular contribution to the maintenance of the services, was the most that could be managed. For the rest the synagogue services were the regular means of grace. Synagogues were established wherever there was a Jewish community. They became the centres of Jewish religion, culture, social service, and worship throughout the empire; and when the Temple and its cultus were swept away in A.D. 70, it was the synagogues that kept Judaism alive as a religion and a way of life.

The synagogues of the Dispersion, scattered all over the Graeco-Roman world, provided the pattern for the early Christian communities which resulted from the missionary enterprises of St. Paul and others. Jews of the Dispersion had a closer contact with Greek thought than was possible in Palestine; and the voluminous works of Philo are a standing demonstration of how far a Jewish thinker could go in assimilating the teachings of Greek philosophy without abandoning the distinctive tenets of Judaism. With a little good will and a lot of allegorical interpretation it was possible to find much common ground between the great philosophical tradition of Greece, represented by Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics, and the great theological tradition of Judaism represented by the law and the prophets. Some kinship could be discovered between Stoic monism and Jewish monotheism; and the Stoic emphasis on character and conduct could be matched by the Jewish insistence on obedience to the divine precepts of the law. The philosophers' arguments for personal immortality could be brought into some kind of relation to the Pharisaic belief in a resurrection; and the Jewish idea of the kingdom of God had a counterpart of sorts in the Stoic conception of "the Universe as a kind of Commonwealth" (Marcus Aurelius).

But however much the cultured exponent of Jewish doctrine

might find congenial in the best Greek thought, the Jewish communities in the empire could not but be aware of the standing contradictions between their standard of belief and practice and the religious observances and moral standards of their pagan neighbours. These contradictions were most sharply defined at the points where no compromise was possible for the Jew, above all in the matter of idolatry. It became natural for the Jewish communities to take great precautions to avoid any contamination from the false religions and the low moral standards of heathenism. How elaborate and detailed these protective measures were can readily be seen in the Mishnah tractate on Idolatry.

It is perhaps not going too far to say that, in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era, Judaism was pulled in two opposite directions. On the one side the doctrine of God as God of the whole world and ruler of the destinies of all nations had as one immediate corollary the missionary task of Israel to all mankind. On the other side the hard facts of the history of Israel tended to show the nations of the world as the inveterate foes of everything that the devout Jew held most dear. One way meant taking the religion of Israel to the Gentiles, with all the risks of contamination and assimilation to their ideas and standards. The other meant separation from all the defilements of the pagan environment, with all the perils that go with spiritual isolationism. It is the perennial problem for any religion that holds higher beliefs and makes greater claims than are acknowledged by the generality of mankind.

The New Testament

By the REV. C. S. C. WILLIAMS
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THE gospel or good news of Christianity was preached orally in the Church for nearly a generation before the first written gospel was penned. In the course of the years that separated the resurrection from the composition of St. Mark's Gospel, collections of the Lord's sayings were made. But, unless there was a written account to be used later by "St. Matthew" and St. Mark in common or unless there were written sources used by St. Mark or sources so fixed in oral tradition that they amount almost to written sources, no connected record of the sayings and doings of Jesus appeared between *c.* A.D. 33 and *c.* A.D. 65. Yet during this period the letters of St. Paul were written, usually to meet the needs of Christians in the particular circumstances of their day. The extant letters are dated roughly between *c.* A.D. 49 or 51 and A.D. 62, excluding the Pastorals, only fragments of which are genuine in all probability.

Doubts are expressed about any possibility of reconstructing the exact chronological order of the Pauline epistles but their usual grouping is as follows: 1 and 2 Thessalonians; 1 and 2 Corinthians, the last four chapters of the latter possibly being part of an earlier letter, Galatians (unless this is the oldest extant letter written before the council meeting of Acts xv), Romans; Philippians, Philemon, Colossians and, if it is not the work of a Pauline disciple steeped in Pauline thought and style, Ephesians. The Epistle to the Hebrews is not Pauline, as the west knew at first but forgot later, but it may be placed perhaps before the catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, which the author does not use as his "clinching argument" that the old dispensation was but a shadow of the new or that the new Israel had displaced the old.

Though a few scholars, including Aramaic experts postulating written Aramaic originals, would date all four gospels before A.D. 70, the usual dates assigned are as follows: *c.* A.D. 65–75 to Mark; *c.* A.D. 80-85 to Luke; *c.* A.D. 85–90 to Matthew and *c.* A.D. 90–110 to "John", for papyrological evidence has made it difficult to suppose a later date for the Fourth Gospel. Similarly, some scholars date the Acts before A.D. 70 and even before the death of St. Paul, which is not mentioned explicitly, *c.* A.D. 64–65. Others place it later in the first century but before a collection of Pauline epistles was made, for of these–as we know them at least–the author of Acts, probably St. Luke, St. Paul's companion, made no use. Written gospel records of both sayings and doings of the Lord were needed when members of the apostolic circle which witnessed his resurrection were removed by death and also in order to meet the liturgical and other needs of the growing community of Christians, especially those of preachers, teachers, catechists and miracle-workers.

To interpret every small section of a gospel solely in the light of the needs, supposed as well as real, of the early Church, became popular after the first world war among German scholars and their imitators, but there are signs that this fashion of exegesis is passing. At the same time, scholarship today is less concerned with problems of date and authorship, highly important as these are, than with "Biblical Theology" and with the unity of the New Testament. There is, for instance, in the New Testament a clearly discernible pattern of the apostolic preaching (*kerygma*) that underlies the speeches in Acts, the Epistles, even Hebrews and 1 John, and indeed St. Mark's Gospel. It provided an outline of the saving acts of God done for this world through Christ's fulfilment of Old Testament ideals and longings, his coming after John the Baptist's preaching, his ministry (very briefly told), his death, resurrection and ascension, to all of which the apostles bore witness, his gift of the Spirit, and his future coming again in glory. How this *kerygma* foreshadows the oldest form of the "Apostles Creed"! The *kerygma* could close with a warning to repent and to be baptized. Equally clear is the influence of certain passages of the

Old Testament which proved that the saving acts of God through Christ were "according to the scriptures".

Teaching (*didache*), as opposed to preaching (*kerygma*), also had its patterns, some of which recent scholars have traced, finding some valuable traces of the doctrines assumed or mentioned in the Pauline letters and other parts of the New Testament. The *kerygma* was the basis of the *didache*: because God has acted as he has in and through Christ, therefore the Christian must become as he is. The gospel is good news, not good advice, though the good advice of Jesus, including the Sermon on the Mount, follows from his doctrine. His code of ethics assumes the doctrine of the "grace" or love and help of God through his holy Spirit. The Church exists to help the Christian to strive by grace towards the "unattainable ideal" of the Sermon on the Mount. So the community of worshipping Christians is receiving again the attention of New Testament students.

In line with the modern study of oral "forms" and "patterns" is the hypothesis, still unproved, that St. John's Gospel may be much earlier than A.D. 90 and may be independent of the other three gospels. Though it resembles at times a religious drama rather than an evangelistic biography, it contains much that may well be historical in origin. If the account of the last week of the Lord's ministry seems more accurate and self-consistent than that of St. Mark, the earlier parts of the Johannine gospel may reflect not only deep spiritual truths but, sometimes, also the actual historical situation. Some scholars have worked back from this conclusion to the three Synoptic Gospels and they have read each one, especially St. Mark's, more as religious drama too than as a chronological account of Jesus' ministry, but here again, though all four gospels are in a real sense religious propaganda, there are signs that the movement of thought is passing, according to which the Synoptic Gospels are assumed to include more "interpretation" than "history". If this is so, more "Lives of Christ" may be expected in future than in the last thirty years from the pens of scholars.

Also in line with the study of "patterns" of teaching common to New Testament writers is the renewed emphasis in some quarters on a "pattern of events" or on a pattern of interpreta-

tion of events, for instance in the Gospel of St. Mark or the Book of Revelation. Sometimes these two patterns seem a little confused. At other times a picture is discernible, at least to the eye of faith, in the light of Old Testament prototypes which even the New Testament writer may not have had consciously in mind. But, just as a poet speaks truths of which he may be unaware, so, it can be argued, if we conceive of the holy Spirit working in such a manner, a New Testament writer may have been inspired by him to follow a pattern which has awaited a scholar able to trace it some nineteen hundred years later. If the risks involved in this kind of exegesis are obvious, at least all can see the pressing need to define how far, humanly speaking, Old Testament prototypes can be said to have influenced New Testament writers or the community for which they wrote. Recent scholarship has shown an increasing awareness of this need.

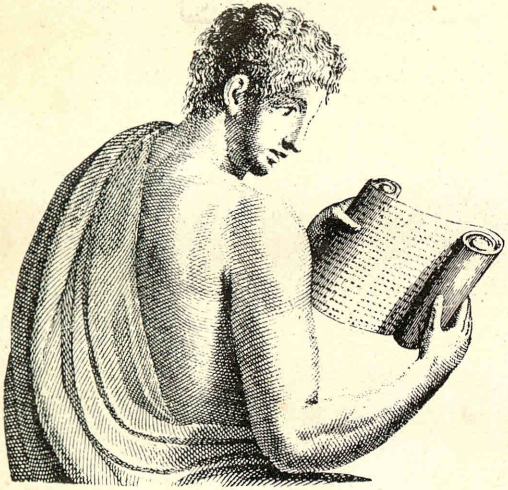
The Book of Revelation remains an enigma, though some patterns, like that based on the sacred number seven, are apparent in it and though it is recognized that many allusions now obscure must have been clear to the first readers; its date, authorship and unity are still subjects of dispute. Many would agree with Dionysius of Alexandria that, on grounds of style, the Apocalypse stands apart from other "Johannine" literature. The Johannine epistles, if taken together, reveal probably the signature of the fourth evangelist to be that of the "elder", yet many even outside the Roman Catholic Church deny the latter's existence if he was not the son of Zebedee himself. Of the other Catholic epistles, the first Epistle of Peter finds champions still, especially in this country, who maintain both its apostolic authorship and, therefore, a date as early as that of the Neronian persecution. Others take it to contain a baptismal homily—or two—produced by a cultured Greek writer, towards the end of the first century A.D. or even later about the time when Pliny corresponded with Trajan on the subject of persecuting Christians in Bithynia-Pontus.

It is significant that yet others leave these problems aside and value the work for its doctrine of Christ, the Suffering Servant, or they are more concerned with its affinity to the works of

Hippolytus or the recently discovered homily of Melito of Sardis on the Passion. 2 Peter is almost certainly the latest work to be included in the New Testament canon of scripture though it may be the earliest of many pseudonymous Petrine writings produced in the second century. It incorporates much of the Epistle of Jude, which may not be apostolic though it is an earlier work. Both these works like the Pastoral letters, were written to combat Gnostic tendencies in Christian circles. The Epistle of James, so ill-attested in the patristic period, may be based on a simple form of blessings that goes back to James the Lord's brother. The absence from it of definite doctrinal teaching together with its emphasis on "works" rather than "faith" (in the sense of "intellectual assent") which earned Luther's condemnation, was probably intentional, if the author addressed both Jews and Gentiles in it; this does not make the problem of its date any easier.

Some thirty years ago, Harnack suggested that, though the reformers would have been wrong to exclude the Old Testament, we might be right to do so. He has convinced few by this suggestion, prompted as it was by his own researches into the work of the anti-semitic Marcion. For the influence of the Old Testament, chiefly in its Greek version, on New Testament writers can hardly be exaggerated. To take a crude analogy, let us suppose that we are in a portrait gallery: the portraits are those of Old Testament saints and heroes in their historical setting. Jesus and his followers undoubtedly knew that gallery well and the role of more than one of those portrayed there was raised by him to its highest spiritual level as he identified his role with theirs. The portraits of Messiah, Son of God, Servant of the Lord and Son of Man leap to mind. Some scholars may pause before a few portraits in order to ask if Jesus or his Church or one of the New Testament writers was the first to make the identification; hence arise some of the minor differences between scholars.

The majority, however, would stress that in the end Jesus explains the portraits and not they him. He is at least what they had tried to convey and he is more than the sum of them. It was those portraits which the new Israel could claim as her



13. Reader holding a scroll from *Books and Readers in Greece and Rome* by F. G. Kenyon



14. St. John dictating to Procopius, an illustration from a Greek MS. of the eleventh century



15. St. John writing his Gospel, from a tenth-century Greek MS.

own. Christians possess the family portraits of the patriarchs. The Old Testament leads on to the Christian Church and not to Rabbinic Judaism for Christ is the affirmative answer, "the yes, to all the promises of God". Connected with this conception of him as the true fulfilment of Jewish hopes is the belief that with him, the messianic king, the kingdom of God has come already in a deep and real sense. If Jewish eschatology or doctrine of "the last things" pointed men's eyes to a future consummation when God would take action forcibly in the last act of the drama of that human history of which he is Lord, Christian eschatology is concerned not merely with Christ's second coming as future judge of the world, but also with his fulfilment of eschatological hopes at his first coming. It is in part "realized" or "inaugurated" eschatology.

His first public utterance, according to St. Mark, was that the kingdom of God has drawn near; it was on, if not over, the threshold. His answer to John the Baptist's disciples, who asked if he were the Messiah or if they should look for another was to do deeds of mercy: "Go and tell John what things you have seen and heard. . . ." His miracles reveal often that the strong one, Satan, has been bound by an even stronger one, Christ, and that Satan's spoils, the sick and dead, have been won back by the Lord of life. Both from the book of Acts and from the epistles it is clear that the early Christians were convinced that they possessed already the gift of the holy Spirit as the pledge and first instalment of the bliss of the new age. Though the Christian must pray, "thy kingdom come", he knows that he has already had a foretaste of the kingdom in so far as he has encountered Christ. He has "tasted the powers of the age to come".

Jesus's parables and sayings, like his miracles, reveal frequently that the true messianic king has entered upon his kingdom and that the harvest sown by the prophets, lawgivers and seers of old was ready for reaping by him and his disciples. Gone are the old notions that Christ sowed a small seed which, after nineteen centuries, would gradually reach enormous growth by lapse of time or through human endeavour. Equally obsolete is the other extreme view that for him the kingdom

belonged exclusively to the near future and that as it was merely over the horizon all his ethical teaching was an "ethic of the interim" before his second coming. Rather, for the Christian, there is to be constant tension, so long as he is alive, between the "now" and the "not yet".

There is a real unity of the New Testament and, indeed, of the whole Bible. In recent years increasing emphasis has been put on this unity and on the figure of Christ as the centre of the whole. For Christianity is not the religion of a book, like Judaism or Mohammedanism, but of a person, though to know that person we go first and often to the book. The Old Testament which points forward to Christ is the record of God's self-revelation in deeds of power to a people with increasing faith which enabled them to understand and to receive the disclosure of his nature. His hand, seen at work behind Old Testament history, is at work in and behind the New Testament too. Typologists studying the Bible, who confine their attention to the interpretation of the divine lordship over history and not simply to finding parallels between verses in the two testaments, avoid the abyss of fanciful allegory and Philonic speculation where many met their fate when "typology" flourished before the era of the scientific criticism of the biblical records. For the Christian, God's covenant has been remade, his victory over sin has been won, his creation has been renewed and his people have been set free.

So, like the author of Acts, we can be aware that both Joseph and Moses in the Pentateuch can be treated as figures pointing to Christ; spurned by their fellows, yet they were set on high by God to bring salvation to his people; in that sense they are "types" of the Messiah, Jesus. But this would not justify our taking the pit into which Joseph's brethren lowered him, as they hoped, to his death, to be the "type" of Christ's grave, or the ark among the bulrushes by the river where the infant Moses was placed as the "type" of the ark of the Church which is entered by baptism with water. Far-fetched typological speculations of this kind would do more harm to an appreciation of the primitive *kerygma* than any recent German attempt to challenge the validity of all images used in the *kerygma* and in

the rest of the Gospel and to reclothe the barest skeleton of Christian faith in the existentialist garb of Heidegger's philosophy.

The books of the New Testament were written, some of them in haste, on papyrus rolls or codices (the latter being more popular among Christians than pagans) and they were copied and circulated among the Christian communities till they grew into a "canon" or rule of scripture not by any fiat of the pope of Alexandria or Rome or Constantinople but simply by the "consent of the faithful" who treasured the word of God in them and placed them on a par with the Old Testament writings. Papyrus fragments of New Testament manuscripts, over sixty in number, have been found in the sands of Egypt, some very small and some, like the Chester Beatty papyri, of considerable length. On the whole they confirm in a remarkable way the text of the best and oldest uncial manuscripts. These latter, taken from the four and a half thousand witnesses to the text, are grouped into families by specialists who study even the minor variants and the versions, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian and others, for this purpose. Only very seldom is a hitherto unsupported variant discovered which commends itself to the judgment of experts. One such variant may be the reading in the Chester Beatty papyrus of Heb. xii. 1, which by having "euperispaston" for "euperistaton" gives the attractive text, "the sin which doth so easily distract us" instead of "the sin which doth so easily beset us". The study of the quotations from the New Testament in patristic writings supplements the work of the textual critic.

Finally, every book in the New Testament has its own history of inclusion in a list or lists of such books before it became part of the "Canon of Scripture". If some books, like the Gospels, lie at the very centre of the canon, others like Jude, 2 Peter or Revelation, lie near the circumference, while books outside the canon, like Clement of Rome's First Letter to the Corinthians, Ignatius' seven genuine letters or the anonymous Letter to Diognetus, might have some claim for inclusion. Those, however, which won a place in the canon, did so because they had won and will always win a place in the heart of

Christians who find in them the works of men who lived in union with God and with his Son or of men so inspired by his Spirit that they inspire us still, teaching us not natural science or geography or anything but the nature and the character of God himself, and the nature of man and his destiny.

Sortes Biblicae

By the REV. CLAUDE JENKINS

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ARE we justified in using the Bible like the works of Homer and Vergil in ancient and even comparatively modern times as a means or guide for ascertaining the course of present and future events? It is more than a rhetorical question, nor is there likely to be unanimous agreement about the answer. Something indeed may depend upon the opinion adopted as to the present legitimacy of methods apparently sanctioned by the authority of scripture itself. It is not merely that the reader's mind is struck by the psalmist's declaration: "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path" or the reference in the Fourth Gospel to searching the scriptures or the commendation in Acts of the Beroean practice of examining the scriptures daily. Such regular systematic use of sacred writings by which they are woven, as it were, into the texture of life and spirit and language and outlook is felt not only to be "worthy note" but directly congruous with their purpose. Indirectly the practice may yield the kind of "sortes" so often recorded in diaries or mentioned to friends as on John Wesley's voyage to Georgia when the New World came in view it is noted that the words "A great door and effectual is opened unto me" occurred in that evening lesson, or on another occasion: "It is I. Be not afraid."

It is hardly surprising if many derive encouragement and what they not unjustly call inspiration from such concurrences. But it may be argued that it is the very indirectness of reception which may be said to guarantee an objective as well as subjective value for such intimations. Yet scripture speaks of inquiry of God as of an oracle, and language is used of Moses and Ahithophel and Elisha and even of inanimate objects such as Urim and Thummim, ephods, rods, arrows and the like which might seem to warrant something further. And the writer of

the Book of Proverbs says not only that "divination is in the lips of the king: his mouth shall not transgress in judgment" but also that "the lot is cast in the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is in the Lord". The scriptural lot indeed discriminates to the indication of Achan and Jonathan and Matthias, and whatever origin be assigned to the feast of Purim, Haman's practice in seeking a favourable day for the destruction of the Jews does not stand alone. A modern commentator (Dr. Bicknell) has urged that the use of lots in Acts is due to a literal interpretation of the Old Testament and that "recourse to such means to ascertain the will of God is a sign that the Spirit has not yet been given and never recurs after Pentecost". In an earlier age few would have agreed with him, and, whatever interpretation be placed upon the celebrated Letter to Januarius, certainly not Augustine.

It would have needed not great fortitude but stark Johnsonian insensibility to disregard the consequences of the "Tolle lege" which led Augustine, according to one of the great stories in literature, to light upon the passage in the Epistle to the Romans: "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." Of all the methods of divination which fill so many columns in Bell's *Pantheon* and earlier works and even in the more succinct lucubrations of Cabrol-Leclercq-Marrou, this is the most striking when it "comes off". You may put it side by side with the "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento" vouchsafed to the future Emperor Alexander Severus. But that is Vergilian, and admittedly more rewarding than the results achieved by Lucius Cary and Charles I when seeking guidance in the same quarter. A casual experiment with a novel of Edgar Wallace has been found to yield: "It is not bloodshed but love that you've got to guard against", which in some circumstances might be quite impressive. But some may hold that the very conjunctioning of three such sources is too bizarre to allow the use of the first to be tolerable or decent. It is not a matter of good faith. It must not be arranged for "blockish Ajax" to "draw the sort to fight with Hector"; but

how are we to escape from what William James called "dupery through hope". It is not a question simply of reverence.

This was certainly not lacking when, as Gregory of Tours relates, a Bible was laid upon the altar with a prayer that the Lord would reveal what was to come to pass. And though Marjorie Bowen may exaggerate somewhat in the numerous references to "sortilege" of various kinds contained in *Wrestling Jacob*, there is no doubt that John Wesley and the early Methodists took this appeal to scripture and cognate practices very seriously. We may boggle at the use of selected lots in the case of Sophie Hopkey which might seem to link Panurge and John Wesley; and we may remind ourselves that Wesley seems erroneously to have interpreted "Get thee up into a mountain and die in the mount" as foreshadowing possible martyrdom at Bristol. Those who spin a coin for choice of a "station" or an innings without conscious reference to divine arbitrament are not thereby shown to be devotees of the Aristophanic king Dinos, nor if the issue were raised would they necessarily defend the rationality of their action. The Church councils which from the fifth century onwards condemned the "sortes" were censuring abuses, and the opposition of men so different as the prophet Hosea, Cornelius Agrippa and George Whitefield might well rest on grounds which modern conceptions of God and the universe would disallow. And if the paronomasia be permitted some will continue to say that it is small wonder if "all my pains be sorted to no proof".

The Ministry of Jesus

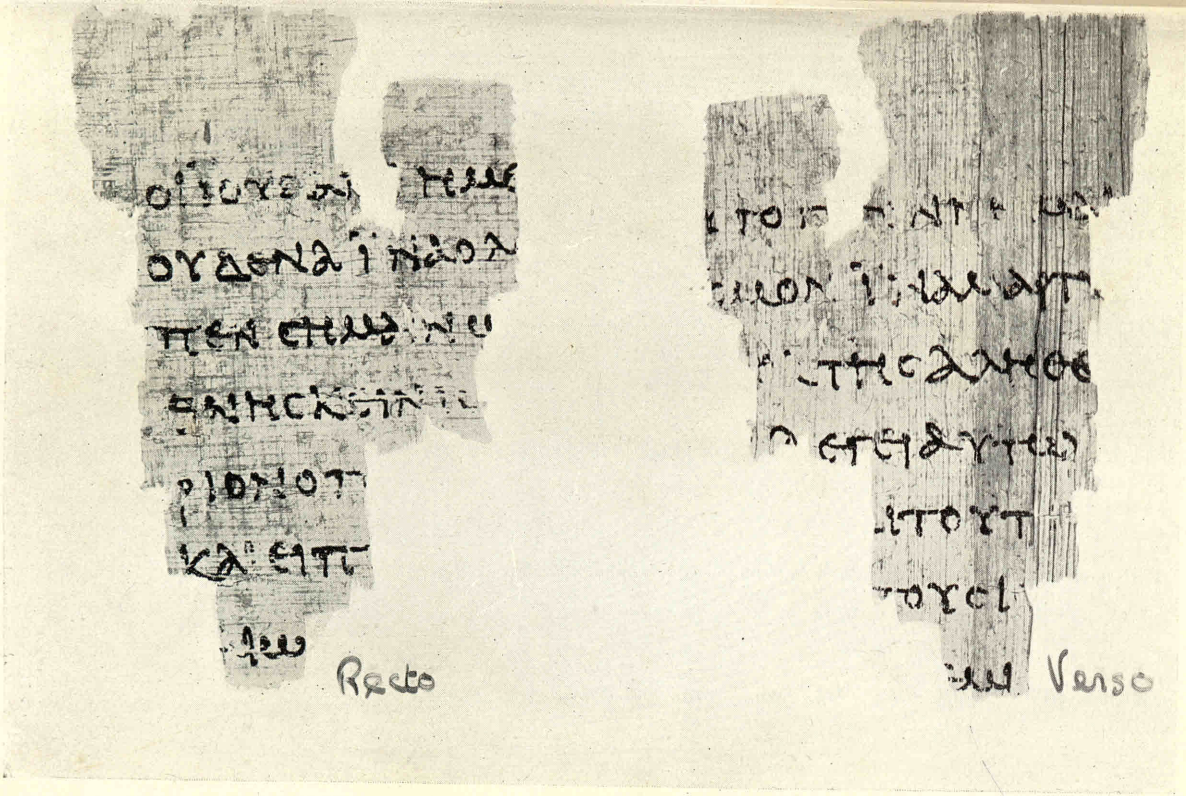
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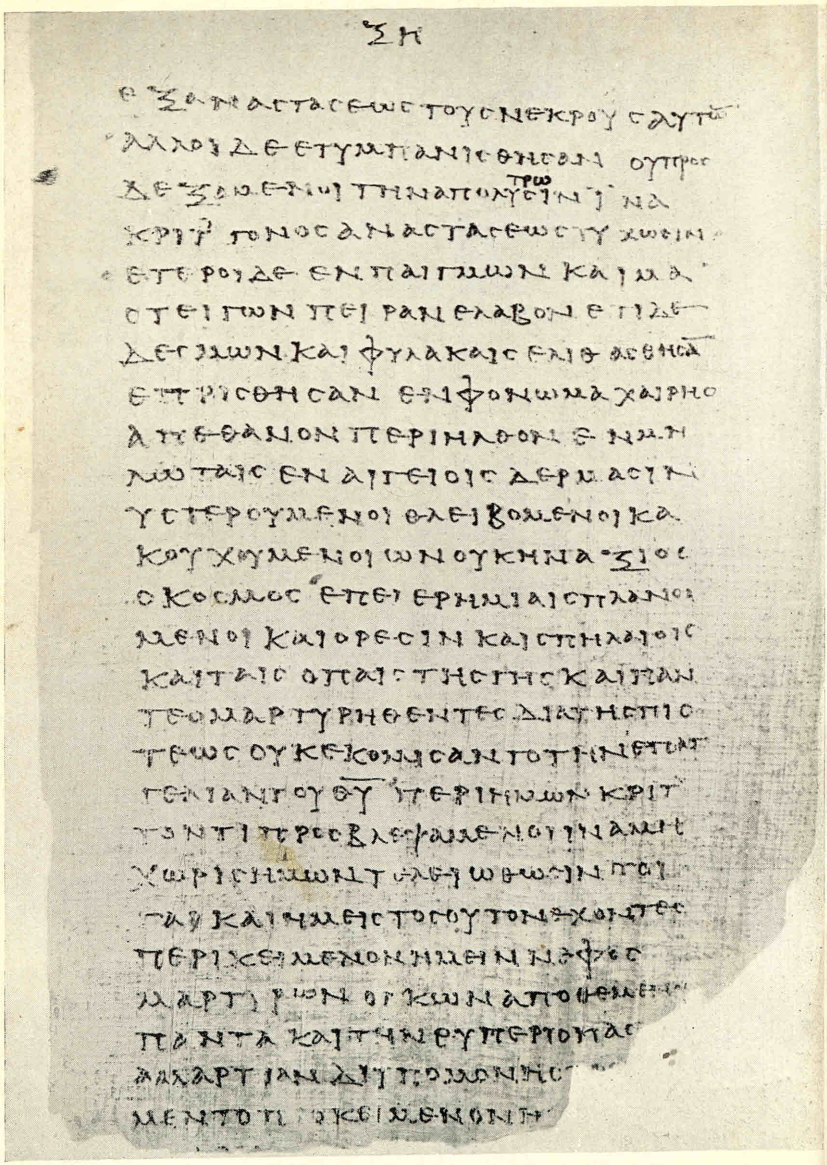
To choose "The Ministry of Jesus" rather than "The Life of Jesus" as the title of such an article as this is not to confess a limitation of interest but to assert a limitation of knowledge. Concerning the greater part of the life of Jesus our sources provide no information whatsoever. The Gospels of Matthew and Luke open with accounts of the circumstances in which he was born; St. Luke gives one brief anecdote of his boyhood; and then there is complete silence broken some twenty years later by the voice of John the Baptist calling the people to repentance and reformation of life in view of the imminent advent of the Messiah. It is possible from what we otherwise know about life in Palestine in those days to form some idea of the conditions in which the first thirty years of the life of Jesus were spent; but of *his* thoughts, words, and acts during this period we are almost completely ignorant. What the Gospels present to us in their records of the ministry is a character fully formed, a faith clearly defined and firmly held, and a purpose to be unflinchingly followed to the end.

Of the ministry itself we are not given a complete and detailed account. Rather we are shown a selection of the characteristic activities of Jesus, such things as can be brought under the summary statement (Acts x. 38) that he "went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him". Besides this we are given a fairly full account of his teaching on important matters of belief and behaviour. Most important of all we are allowed to be present at some of the critical points in the ministry, when great decisions were made and put into effect. It may therefore be claimed that even if we have not an exhaustive account of the ministry, we are put in possession of the essential facts.

The story begins in the late twenties of the first century with



16. Fragment of the Gospel of St. John in a second-century codex



17. A page of the third-century codex of the Pauline epistles

the appearance of John the Baptist announcing that the present order was coming to an end and that the new age to be inaugurated by the Messiah would involve judgment not only upon the enemies of Israel—that could be taken for granted—but also upon the Israelites themselves, unless they repented of their evil ways, sealed their repentance by undergoing the rite of baptism, and followed it by living much better lives in the future. John's whole ministry was a strong assertion of the fact that before God it is character and conduct that count, and that Israelite birth could by itself establish no claim for special favour. This was reinforced by his insistence on baptism, which ~~which~~ was a part of the ritual for the reception of converts to Judaism. To invite born Jews to undergo this rite was to tell them in effect that their status before God called urgently for reestablishment.

John's conception of the nature of the messianic task does not appear to have differed materially from that of most patriotic and devout Jews in the period. The Messiah would inaugurate a reign of righteousness, under which the enemies of Israel would be deprived of their power, and those Israelites who were worthy would enjoy peace and prosperity, worshipping the one true God and walking in the way of his commandments.

The Gospels tell us that Jesus associated himself fully with John's movement. He accepted John's baptism, and, by so doing, identified himself with the new Israel which John was preparing for the coming of the Messiah. Then came a sudden check. John was arrested by Herod Antipas and put into prison in the fortress of Machaerus, east of the Dead Sea. Mark tells us that it was because of his outspoken comments on Herod's marriage with his sister-in-law Herodias. Josephus says that it was because the Tetrarch was alarmed at the growing influence of John with the common people, and feared that it might lead to a revolution. The explanations are not incompatible. Later, at the instigation of Herodias, John was put to death.

After John's arrest Jesus left the lower Jordan valley, where the Baptist's activity had been concentrated, and began a ministry in Galilee. In all respects save one his message was similar to John's: it was an announcement that the time had

come for the arrival of the kingdom of God, and a call to repentance in view of its imminent advent. The one new thing was the further call to believe that all this was good news and to accept it as such. This involved an important change of emphasis: the coming of the kingdom was no longer merely for the suppression of all evil in Israel or outside; it was also, and primarily, the mighty hand of God stretched out to deliver his people from the evil forces that spoiled their lives. In this connexion one of the most significant sayings of Jesus about the kingdom is: "If I, by the finger of God, expel demons, then you may be sure that the kingdom of God has come upon you." This may be paraphrased in some such way as this: "Whenever, by the power of God, I set a man on his feet and enable him to live a life really worth living, that is a sure sign that the kingdom of God is a present reality among you." The impressiveness of this claim rested in large part on the fact that many people were being rehabilitated mentally, morally, and physically through their contact with Jesus. The effect of this was cumulative: the more benefits were received, the greater became the confidence and hope with which the ever increasing crowds of the distressed and disabled came forward to seek the help of this man of God.

It was natural that many of those who experienced or witnessed these manifestations of spiritual power should ask themselves whether they were not the signs and portents of something, which to them appeared greater still, "the coming kingdom of our father David", the vindication of God's people and the confounding of their heathen overlords. There is no lack of evidence to show that before the Galilean ministry had been going on for very long, people were beginning to think that Jesus might well be the expected Messiah. John the Baptist sent an urgent question from his prison, asking in effect for a plain declaration from Jesus regarding his claims and purposes. The occasion of the feeding of the multitude showed plainly enough that there were large numbers of men in Galilee ready to raise the standard of revolt against Rome in the name of the God of Israel, if only they could be given a definite lead. Peter's declaration at Caesarea Philippi was an invitation to Jesus to

take up the task of Messiahship and bring in the kind of kingdom of God for which patriotic Jews were hoping.

Jesus declined that honour and began to speak quite plainly to his followers about the Messianic ideal as he conceived it. The kingdom of God was not to be just another world-empire of the recognized pattern, and therefore bound sooner or later to accept the standards and use the methods of Assyria or Egypt, Macedonia or Rome. The true kingdom of God was a rule of mercy and love; and its only weapons were words of understanding and persuasion and acts of service and self-giving. "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." This principle was valid not only for Jesus: it was binding also upon his followers; and he called upon them to believe that the only true greatness is service, and to order their whole life in accordance with that belief. It was hard for men to understand such teaching, harder still to accept it; and the story of the ministry is increasingly one of tension: on the one hand between Jesus and his followers, who wish to see him Messiah according to their conception of Messiahship; on the other hand between Jesus and the Roman and Jewish upholders of the status quo, who fear that he may do what his followers want. To persist with his ministry of rehabilitation and reconciliation regardless of the hopes of one group and the suspicions of the other was to tread a more and more lonely road. The enthusiasm of patriotic followers must inevitably be chilled, while the fears and suspicions of those in authority would certainly not be allayed.

There was a further complication which made the continuation of the ministry dangerous for Jesus. The law of Moses and its authoritative interpretation by the Scribes had become the joy and pride of devout Jews, and especially of that small section of the Jewish community known as the Pharisees. The ministry of Jesus collided at times with scribal interpretations of the law and with Pharisaic practice. His conception of the nature of the kingdom of God required him to go into action whenever people were in trouble or distress; and this involved him in what the conscientious Scribes and Pharisees were bound to condemn as breaches of those vitally important stan-

dards of Jewish behaviour, the Sabbath laws. He, on his part, was sharply critical of the extreme subtlety of some scribal expositions of the law, a subtlety which, it could be claimed, served to frustrate rather than to fulfil the real intentions of the lawgiver. His strictures on the rules concerning divorce and the annulment of vows may be cited as examples. He boldly declared that the sum and substance of the Jewish law was contained in the twin injunctions (one from Deuteronomy, the other from Leviticus) of love to God and love to neighbour. To many earnest students of the law this must have seemed to be an over-simplification. They certainly could not support a teacher who held such radical views.

The whole story is one of misunderstandings and cross-purposes. The very uniqueness of Jesus and the originality of his interpretation of the Messianic task helped to make misunderstanding and opposition inevitable. It would seem that a considerable part of the last summer of his life was spent in voluntary exile in the territories to the north and east of Galilee; and it is at least possible that the motive for the withdrawal was as much to escape the dangerous enthusiasms of his Galilean followers as to avoid arrest by Herod Antipas.

When the ministry was resumed, it was resumed in the south. Evidence is not very plentiful; but what there is points to work in Herod's territory east of Jordan (Peraea) as well as in Judaea. To this period belong the formal entry into Jerusalem and the cleansing of the Temple. It is very significant that these two acts are so closely associated. For if the entry was Messianic, then the first official act of the Messiah was to assert and vindicate the rights of Gentiles in the central sanctuary of Israel. The cleansing of the Temple was really the clearing of the court of the Gentiles, presumably in order that the Gentiles might have full use of it.

The opposition to Jesus was hardened by such actions as these; and the sympathies of patriotic Jews were increasingly alienated. Eventually it was decided that he must be got rid of. The heads of the Jewish community in Jerusalem satisfied themselves that he was a menace to Israel, a false teacher and deceiver of the people: they succeeded in making a case before

the Roman governor that he was also a danger to the empire. On this latter ground he was condemned and crucified by the Roman authorities. And that should have been the end of the matter.

It proved to be only the beginning. The crucifixion took place on a Friday: by the following Sunday the dispirited remnant of his followers were going through experiences which sufficed to convince them beyond all question that their master was alive and active. By those experiences they were themselves transformed, and began to do things which changed the course of history. The ministry of Jesus had been the manifestation of the true nature of the sovereignty of God in human terms. Now it was made clear that that ministry is as eternal as the divine sovereignty. The continuing Church would be the organ of the continuing ministry of its Lord, the continuing manifestation on earth of the eternal rule of God.

The manuscripts and ancient versions of the New Testament

By the REV. R. V. G. TASKER

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FOR no literary work that has come down to us from the ancient world is there such an abundance of MSS. evidence as for the New Testament. Classical editors have at their disposal for the reconstruction of the text of the great literary products of ancient Greece and Rome only a few MSS., most of which are later than the ninth century; for only in the case of Virgil do MSS. exist written some three or four hundred years after the poet's death. They are compelled therefore often to rely upon a single and comparatively late MS., and to resort to a large amount of emendation, checking their work as best they may by such fragments of papyri as may exist which were written many centuries earlier than the vellum MSS.

The New Testament scholar is in a much happier position both in the amount and in the general accuracy of his material. In some respects his is an *embarras de richesse*. It is true that the original autographs of all the New Testament books disappeared soon after they were written, and that numerous copies were made very early by local unskilled scribes and private individuals, who cared much more for the general substance of the books (for was it not to them a message of salvation?) than for precise accuracy; and that this state of affairs lasted to some extent till all the books received general recognition as scripture. It is true also that many of the better copies used in the more important local churches must have been destroyed in the great persecutions which preceded the conversion of Constantine. Nevertheless we possess today in the fourth-century *Codex Sinaiticus* in the British Museum the entire New Testament; while the fourth-century *Codex Vaticanus* at Rome lacks only the last four chapters of Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles,

Philemon and Revelation. Moreover the fifth century *Codex Ephraemi* at Paris contains fragments from all parts of the New Testament; and the intensely interesting if erratic fifth or sixth century *Codex Bezae* at Cambridge is an important authority for the four Gospels and most of Acts.

All these ancient and substantial witnesses were known at the time of the English Revised Version in 1881; and it was generally and rightly acknowledged that they carry us back nearer to the original than the great mass of later MSS. containing the type of text which became standardized in the Byzantine Empire and formed the basis of the Greek Testament of Erasmus and of the English Authorized Version. It was also recognized that pre-Byzantine types of text are also preserved in a number of later MSS., some of which have come down to us from the ninth century and later when the "cursive" or running style of handwriting superseded the older capital or "uncial" style. Among these should be mentioned the family of cursives related to a twelfth-century MS. at Basle, known to scholars as fam. 1, and the family descended from a twelfth-century MS. at Paris, known to scholars as fam. 13.

Many discoveries of MSS. in recent years have thrown additional light upon the variations of text current, as we can discover from the quotations made by contemporary Christian writers of the period, in various parts of Christendom in the second and third centuries. Outstanding among these are the fourth or fifth century MS. of the gospels purchased by Mr. Freer in 1906 and now in Washington, which has clearly been copied from different MSS. in different parts of the Gospels and reflects a variety of early texts; and the Koridethi MS. of the Gospels, written perhaps in the ninth century, and discovered in 1913, which retains many early readings though in many places its text has been made to conform to the later standardized pattern.

More fragmentary, but in some respects of even greater importance, are the papyri which have been dug up during this century from the sands of Egypt. In 1913 Mr. Chester Beatty purchased three comparatively extensive papyrus fragments of the four Gospels and Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and Revelation,

copied it would seem in the third century, *i.e.*, a hundred years earlier than *Codex Sinaiticus* and *Codex Vaticanus*. The main importance of this very ancient testimony, to speak very generally, lies not in the comparatively few singular readings to which it bears evidence, but in its witness to the existence in Egypt in the early part of the third century of not just one, but several of the various types of text whose identity had already been deduced by scholars from the other evidence at their disposal. In other words, the Chester Beatty papyri sometimes are on the side of one such grouping and sometimes of another. The inference therefore must be that no one MS. and no one group of MSS. should be exclusively followed however generally reliable it may be. Another feature of great interest about the three Chester Beatty papyri of the New Testament is that they are *codices*, in which strips of papyrus have been folded in quires, and bound together in book form. This supports the conclusion which had already been formed by scholars in the light of other papyri discoveries and especially of the tiny fragment of a second century codex containing a few verses of the gospel of John, discovered in 1920 and now in the Rylands Library at Manchester, the oldest copy of any part of the New Testament in existence, that the Christians were the first to make extensive use of the papyrus codex; and it may perhaps be that it was the desire to read the four Gospels in one volume instead of in four separate rolls that led them to do this at a time when some were concentrating attention too exclusively upon a single "favourite" Gospel.

While in the case of most literary products of antiquity, MSS. are the *only* sources available, we are in a much happier position with regard to the New Testament; for we possess a scarcely less valuable secondary source of evidence in the ancient versions. Owing to the rapid spread of Christianity in the second century, parts at least of the New Testament, and the Gospels in particular, were translated into Latin and Syriac at an early date and not much later into the Koptic dialects of Egypt. Although it is sometimes not easy to know the exact Greek word which is being translated, for the versions are not always slavishly literal, nevertheless the importance of this evidence



18. St. Mark at work on his Gospel. Miniature from a twelfth-century MS.



19. An engraving of St. Jerome by Dürer

in the more outstanding variants can scarcely be exaggerated. Existing MSS. of these versions, though they may have been written two or three centuries later than the time when the original version was made, are found, as we can discover by comparing their text with that used by contemporary ecclesiastical writers, to bear witness to readings current in the second and third centuries. Thus the text of the fourth century Latin MS. *Codex Bobiensis* at Turin which contains fragments of Matthew and Mark, agrees very largely with that found in the writings of the African ecclesiastics Tertullian and Cyprian. We have here a text equally as old as that to be discovered in any extant Greek MS. Similarly the fourth or fifth century Syriac MS. found in 1892 on mount Sinai, in many ways the most important of all MSS. discoveries in the modern period, which contains portions of the Gospels, reflects a text which, though it often stands outside all other recognized classifications, is sometimes in agreement with the old Latin and second-century Patristic evidence. This MS. together with the other fragmentary fourth-century MS. containing an old Syriac version of the Gospels, which was acquired by the British Museum in 1842 and published by W. Cureton, is witness to the version known at the time it was made as "The Gospel of the Separated Ones", *i.e.*, it contains the Gospels in separate form. It would seem that originally the Syriac speaking church knew the Gospels only in the form of a gospel harmony made by Tatian towards the middle of the second century, a small fragment of which in Greek was found at Dura in 1920.

A general revision of the earlier Latin versions in the light of ancient Greek MSS. was made by Jerome in 382; and this Vulgate, many times revised, was the form in which the Western Church read the New Testament for more than a thousand years. In the same way the older Syriac versions were largely ousted by an official revised version made in the fifth century and known as the Peshitta or common version.

Though the variations found in these different witnesses to the text of the New Testament are numerous, most of them are small variants which make no difference to the general sense. Of the remainder some are of immense interest and of con-

siderable importance, and the urge to discover the original in such cases is the great stimulus of the textual critic. It can however be truly said that in no case has the validity of any essential Christian belief been discredited by the assured results of textual criticism. On the contrary, new discoveries of MSS. have had the effect of emphasizing still further the fundamental integrity of the text.

The Apocrypha of the New Testament

By the REV. E. C. BLACKMAN

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THE term New Testament Apocrypha denotes a number of writings which, though never part of the New Testament, describe the activity of New Testament figures like the Apostles and the Virgin Mary, and presume to give information about the childhood and resurrection of Jesus which scripture itself did not record. The more important of these writings originated between the second and fifth centuries A.D. They are in the main fictitious, but not on that account worthless. The reticence of the Bible on many matters provided an opportunity for the romanticist, and it is hardly surprising that when the Church emerged from the stage of struggle for existence, and increasing numbers of converts were coming in, there were found storytellers who attempted to satisfy a very natural desire for fuller detail about the basic Gospel events.

We should remember that we are thinking of an age which had no newspapers and no novels, and so this new development of Christian literature met a need. As the Church grew more sure of itself in its pagan environment it seemed permissible to consider the entertainment as well as the edification of the faithful. The legendary element can be recognized, and there is no need to assume that the writers were governed by the original oral tradition of the Church or by any writings belonging to the earliest days (such as those referred to in Luke i. 1–4). Our canonical writings provide the framework of course, and here and there a trustworthy tradition may be preserved, for example the statement in the *Gospel of James* that Christ was born in a cave, or the description of Paul in *Acts of Paul*: "a man little of stature, slightly bald, crooked in the legs, well-preserved, with eyebrows joining and nose somewhat hooked". But on the whole we are dealing with works of imagination; and what a temptation it was to enlarge on how Paul fought

with beasts at Ephesus (cf. I Cor. xv. 29), and to add to the tantalizingly meagre narrative of Acts xxviii by a description of how he met his death! In the *Gospel of Peter* (ch. 10) the Roman soldiers at the tomb "saw again three men coming out of the sepulchre, two of them sustaining the other, and a cross following them. And of the two they saw that their heads reached to heaven, but of him that was led by them that it overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice out of the heavens saying: Hast thou preached unto them that sleep? And an answer was heard from the cross: Yea." This illustrates the legendarizing tendency at work—and incidentally confirms faith in the reliability of our canonical Gospels which are almost entirely free of this.

The other main characteristic of these writings is the tendency to propagate esoteric doctrine not in accord with fundamental Christian belief: for example the stress on virginity which is a marked feature of the *Acts of John* and *Acts of Paul*, or plain heresy as in the *Gospel of Peter*.

We know very little about the authors of these books. Tertullian (A.D. 200) tells us the *Acts of Paul* was composed by a presbyter of Asia, who was deprived of his office for forgery. The *Acts of John* was written by a certain Leucius Charinus, who came to be regarded as author of the other apocryphal Acts also. Some are in homiletic form, and we may perhaps infer that preachers' elaborations were the origin of much of this material.

These writings fall into the classification familiar from the New Testament, *viz.* Gospels, Acts, Epistles, Apocalypses. The latter two categories are small, and it is Acts which bulk largest. The Gospels are generally classed as Infancy Gospels, and Passion Gospels, according to their content. From references in Church Fathers we know of Gospels according to the Hebrews, Egyptians, Ebionites, Philip, Matthias, but no fragments of these have survived.

Excavations at Oxyrhyncus in Egypt in 1897 discovered a leaf of a papyrus book containing Sayings of Jesus. A similar fragment turned up in 1903; both date from the third century. They include some hitherto unknown words of Jesus, *e.g.*:

"Jesus saith: I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh appeared unto them: and I found all men drunken and none did I find thirsting among them . . ."

". . . where there is one alone I say I am with him. Lift up the stone and there shalt thou find me: cleave the wood and there am I."

The relation of these Logia to our canonical Gospels remains an enigma. They are probably from a Sayings-collection rather than a full Gospel, though some scholars think they come from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. It is also conceivable that they originated in the first century as brief collections of dominical sayings made on single sheets of papyrus, possibly by a group of Palestinian Christians who moved down to Egypt.

Mention may be made of the Fragments of an Unknown Gospel acquired by the British Museum in 1934. These fragments, amounting to eighteen verses, are dated *c.* A.D. 150, and the Gospel from which they derive must have been composed soon after A.D. 100.

Of the Infancy Gospels the most important are those of James and Thomas. Several others are based on these, with additions. Apart from ones which circulated in Europe we have Syriac, Arabic and Armenian Gospels. The Virgin Mary figures conspicuously in Infancy narratives, of course. There is also extant a *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, and some Lives or Panegyrics of the Virgin. As if to counterbalance the attention paid to the Virgin Mother there is a *History of Joseph*, written in Sahidic and Bohairic (dialects of Egypt where it originated in the fourth century or later).

Another main group is Passion Gospels, of which the outstanding are the fragmentary *Gospel of Peter* (*c.* A.D. 150—our earliest uncanonical account of the Passion), and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (probably fourth century; also called *Acts of Pilate*) into which was inserted the dramatic and moving *Descent into Hell*, in which Christ liberates the righteous; this, through its later Latin version, was to have a great vogue in mediaeval Europe. In this section belongs the *Assumption of the Virgin*. This legend took many forms and we have texts in Coptic, Greek,

Latin, Syriac and Arabic. Dr. James thinks it originated in Egypt. The assumption is mostly conceived as bodily.

The section of Acts comprises *Acts of John*, *Paul*, *Peter*, *Andrew* and *Thomas*, all originally in Greek, except *Acts of Thomas* which was in Syriac; and dating from the second and third centuries. There is also a smaller *Acts of Philip*, and some fragments. The *Acts of John* and *Paul* are as early as the second century. They describe journeys of the apostles and their conversion of notable unbelievers. John challenging Artemis in the theatre at Ephesus, and Peter vis-à-vis Simon the sorcerer at Rome, recall the famous episode of Elijah on mount Carmel. The Acts abound in picturesque detail and miracle; a healing is a small thing to attribute to an apostle, raising of the dead not uncommon; but when Simon comes to a bad end he is left on the ground with his leg broken in three places!

The *Acts of Peter* concludes with an account of Peter's crucifixion, upside down, at Rome, preceded by the famous *Quo Vadis* episode, in which Peter, fleeing from Rome, meets Christ and finds fresh courage to return and face martyrdom. The *Acts of Thomas* contains the tradition that Thomas became the apostle of India.

Among apocalypses we have the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a fragment only, but dating from the second century, when some thought it worthy of a place in the New Testament; and the *Apocalypse of Paul*, complete in the original Greek and probably of the fourth century. Of Epistles the most important is the *Epistle of the Apostles*, written about A.D. 160 in Asia Minor. It is really a dialogue between Christ and the Twelve after the resurrection, in which they raise questions about the second coming, the destiny of sinners, etc.

Generally, we note a crude emphasis on miracle: the boy Jesus makes clay sparrows fly, and lengthens a beam which poor Joseph had cut too short. This sometimes degenerates into the fantastic, as when Jesus is credited with power to kill those who oppose him, or the Roman standards are depicted as bowing to him as he is brought in for examination by Pilate.

Among the more interesting details we notice that the man with the withered hand (Matt. xii. 23) is described as a mason;

the brethren of the Lord are regarded as sons of Joseph by a former wife; a midwife was thought to be present at the birth; the soldier at the cross gets a name: Longinus; the woman with the issue of blood appears as Veronica. The narrative of Jesus' baptism is in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* made to emphasize his sinlessness, and in the *Gospel of the Ebionites* it has John the Baptist requesting to be baptized by Jesus.

Traces of heresy are to be found in the *Gospel of Peter* and *Acts of John*. These held that Jesus had not a fully human body and did not truly suffer. On the cross "he kept silence as one feeling no pain". John relates: "Sometimes when I would lay hold on him, I met with a material and solid body, at other times . . . the substance was immaterial . . . oftentimes I desired to see the print of his foot . . . I never saw it."

According to the *Acts of John* and *Acts of Paul* marriage is unnecessary, sexual intercourse devilish.

The Apocrypha are on a lower level than the New Testament. They represent the unreflective belief of the average Christian, and we can learn something of what it was like to be a Christian in a pagan environment. Simon the sorcerer's reproach to Peter represents the common objection of Gentiles to Christianity: "thou hast believed on a man which is a Jew and a carpenter's son" (*Acts of Peter*, ch. xiv). In the words of Dr. M. R. James, whose *The Apocryphal New Testament* is the outstanding book in English on this subject: "They show what was acceptable to the unlearned Christians of the first ages, what interested them, what ideals of conduct they cherished for this life, what they thought they would find in the next."

St. Paul

By MONSIGNOR RONALD KNOX

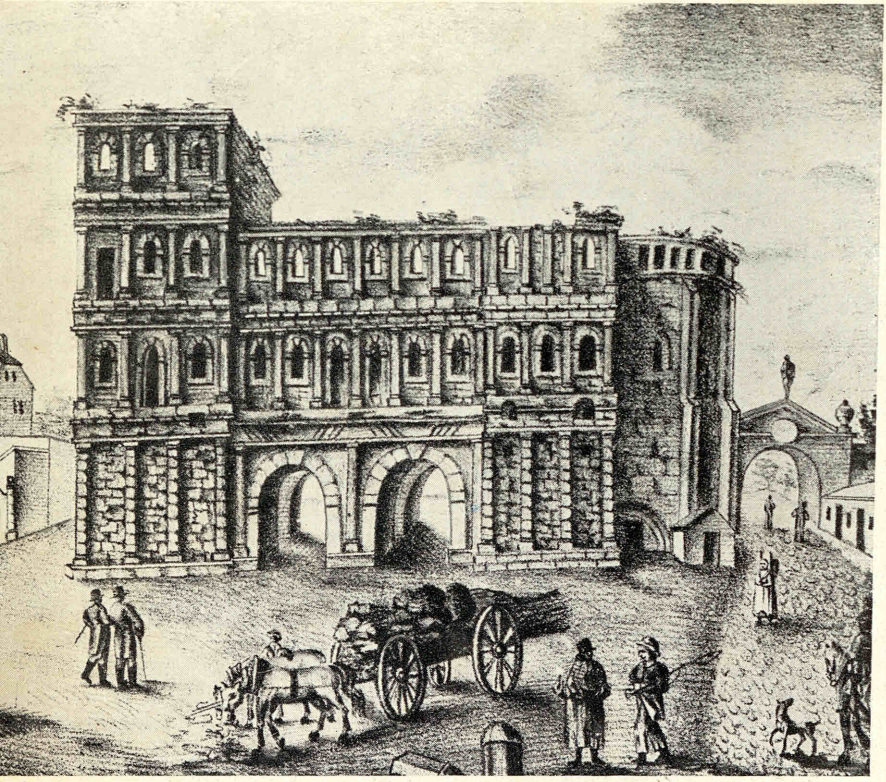
THERE are few documents, written before the sixteenth century, of which you can say, "This is in the full sense authentic; I feel that I know the man, and could write a character-sketch of him from his own admissions." Only three occur at once to the mind—Cicero's Letters, St. Paul's Epistles, and the Confessions of St. Augustine. And of these St. Paul's Epistles are the most obviously authentic, because they are the most obviously unselfconscious. There is no question of the man drawing himself up before a looking-glass, studying the effect, on posterity, of what he is going to say. You are overhearing one side of a conversation, and the speaker is a man who never pauses for breath, never shrinks from an affirmation, never corrects himself.

Three things especially contribute to this impression—the vividness of St. Paul's character, the freshness of his style, and the actuality of the situations he is dealing with.

He is no saint of the stained-glass window; he has as much *naturel* about him as St. Francis, or St. Philip Neri. Because he is a man of quick temperament he is, like the rest of us, a mass of apparent contradictions. Nobody is more conscious than he that it is God's judgement, not man's judgement, which matters; yet any imputations against his good faith or his consistency will hold up the argument for paragraph after paragraph while he justifies himself. He will inveigh, in startling terms, against those who give a different presentation of the Gospel from his own, yet thank God that Christ is being preached even in an anti-Pauline fashion, from anti-Pauline motives. He will thunder excommunications against some disloyal convert, and then, when his methods prove successful, will half-accuse himself of undue severity. He will refer ominously to the coercive powers to which, as an apostle, he can have recourse, yet entreat the malcontents to make the exercise of such powers un-



20. St. Paul by El Greco



21. The Porta Nigra, part of the ancient Roman fortifications of Trier now used as a Christian church



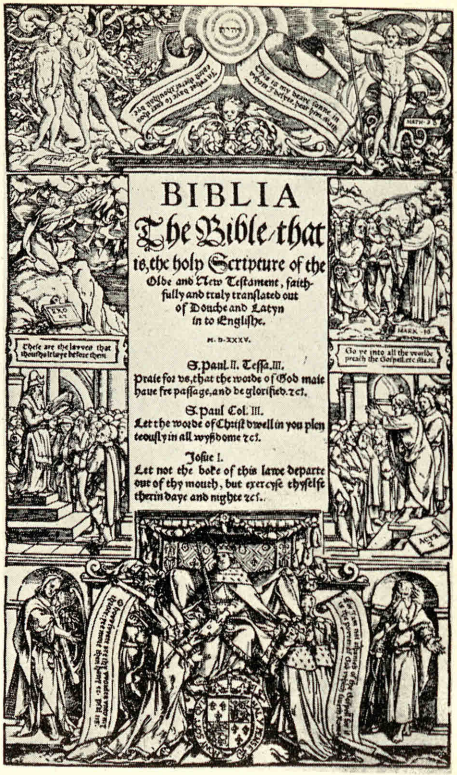
26. William Tyndale



27. Miles Coverdale



28. John Calvin



29. Title page from Coverdale's Bible

necessary—always he would rather ask for obedience as a favour than claim it as a right. He will admit, by way of irony, the unimpressiveness of his own personality, and appeal, in the next breath, to the manifest signs of authority with which this apostleship has endowed him.

It is the same all through. All his converts alike are his little children, born in Christ and meant to grow up into the full stature of Christ, yet frequent references to "my beloved" So-and-so assure us that his natural affection was not starved. He shews an anguished delicacy when he makes an appeal for alms, yet he reverts, in season and out of season, to the necessities of the saints at Jerusalem. He is outraged by the attempt to make Gentile Christians fall in with Jewish ways in Galatia, yet he warns Gentile Christians against offending Jewish susceptibilities at Rome. He has neither the philosophic calm of Cicero, nor the rather inhuman theocentricity of St. Augustine. He is the victim of his own moods, and will tell us frankly how he was in the depths of depression until some piece of good news brought the sunshine back again. Even in the course of the same letter these moods of his will alternate, to the confusion (as in the second epistle to the Corinthians) of his commentators. He was a sensitive man, both in the narrow meaning of the term (for he was stung by ingratitude and disloyalty) and in the broader meaning of it—he was sensitive to atmospheres. Again and again you may watch him taking the temperature of the people he is writing to. And at the same time (for he was a man of vast courtesy) he will always affect to take his correspondents at their own estimate. So, at the beginning of his first letter to the Corinthians, he congratulates them, in terms surely borrowed from their own letter, on the high state of prayer they have reached, knowing well that he will have some unpalatable things to say about this later on. He is always affecting to think us better than we are, in the hope of making us so.

The vividness of St. Paul's personality is matched by, is mirrored in, his manner of writing. He knew how to write; he could use words like a craftsman, relish the magic of them and ound the music of them. But it seems evident that he wrote, more probably dictated, at top speed, putting his thoughts

on to paper exactly as they occurred to him; and there is no kind of evidence that he looked through his script and corrected it afterwards. His sentences are sometimes of prodigious length; the first seven verses of the epistle to the Romans have only one main verb in them. His parentheses are notorious, running to a couple of paragraphs, or even a couple of chapters. Nouns will appear suddenly in the nominative, the subject of no verb in particular. He mixes his metaphors with remarkable freedom, ringing the changes on them till the pattern dazzles the reader. Again and again it is difficult to know whether a repetition of the same word, or of the same root, was meant to convey a calculated effect or was the result of sheer oversight. All this rich confusion, more or less toned down by his translators, makes us wonder how these letters can have conveyed any definite impression to the audiences before which they were read out in the first instance; how did a slave of the first century make anything of utterances so *décousus*?

But, because they went unedited, these writings have, for the student, a value and a fascination all their own; they show the workings of a man's mind, which the vanity of authorship ordinarily conceals. The logical transitions from one point to another, so dearly prized by a Cicero, explain not so much what the man is thinking as what he wants you to think he is thinking. St. Paul's transitions, prophetic rather than logical, let you into the background of his mind, and show you the mystical setting of it. Sometimes, with the care of all the churches upon him, he will go off at a tangent, forgetting the matter in hand. Sometimes, unexpectedly, he will draw on his rich supplies of Old Testament erudition, hardly making the matter plainer (you would think) to his Gentile readers, but determined, like the good symbolist he is, to illustrate the recurrence of the same pattern in spiritual history. But best of all, when his theology overflows into the affairs of daily life; when the mere associations of a word, or the inner significance of some moral situation, touch a spring that lets loose a whole flood of mystical speculation. Seldom, if ever, does he teach us theology *ex professo*; it comes out in gasps, between whiles, all the more impressive because it is clearly unpremeditated.

Thus, when he is discussing (a favourite subject) the "diversities of gifts" among Christian people, in one context it will lead to an unmistakeable statement of Trinitarian doctrine; in another (by way of a recondite allusion to the Psalms) it will become the text for an excursus on our Lord's Ascension. Warning the Corinthians against the dangers of bad example, he reflects that "a little leaven is enough to leaven the whole batch", and immediately the word "leaven" carried him off into the symbolism of Christ as our paschal sacrifice. But above all, the doctrine of the Incarnation, of Christ as the head of redeemed humanity and ourselves as constituting his mystical body, is continually in the forefront of St. Paul's mind. Whether he is forbidding the women of Corinth to let their veils down and prophesy, or urging the husbands at Ephesus to treat their wives considerately, or calling upon the Philippians to show more humility in their dealings with one another, it is the Incarnation these things illustrate—or rather, it is the Incarnation that illustrates these things. In season and out of season, he will remind us that the Christian life is lived "in Christ", that the Christian prayer is offered "through the Church"; the Incarnation is the medium in which his whole world-picture is painted. The most prosaic exhortations to fulfil the most elementary Christian duties echo, all the time, with these overtones of mysticism.

Yet these passages are, from the logical point of view, only splendid asides: sooner or later, St. Paul will return to the matter in hand, and become practical. He does not waste his blows on the air; there is always a situation to be grappled with. And this fact lends, to the epistles as a whole, a further certificate of authenticity. A mere imitator, trying to pass off a forgery in the name of St. Paul, would neither have given us a character so complex, nor credited him with so breathless and parenthetic a style. Over and above that, he would not have introduced us to situations so concrete. Occasionally, to be sure, when he is addressing people whom he does not know personally, and cannot tell whether the dangers he is referring to are immediate or remote, the apostle will confine himself to generalities, leaving us to read between the lines, and letting

the cap be worn where it fits; that is true, for example, of the letter to the Colossians. But elsewhere, notably when he writes to the Galatians and in his two epistles to Corinth, he is envisaging an actual situation and reacting to it with all the force of his generous nature; heart speaks to heart. If we are told that the epistles attributed to St. Peter and St. John were in fact second-century imitations of the apostolic manner, we cannot prove the contrary by mere reference to their subject-matter; an imitator *might* have written like that. But those pathetic appeals to the loyalty of St. Paul's little children in Galatia, those ironic hints with which he puts the Corinthian agitators in their place, belong to the realm of actuality; make what you will of them, your sense of literature compels you to connect them with something which really happened. Those theological overtones have been awoken by genuine first-century discords.

As if it were not enough that he should stamp his own personality thus unmistakeably on the face of literature, St. Paul has found a biographer whose work reeks of authenticity hardly less than his own. No doubt, when he wrote the first half of the Acts, St. Luke was depending on second-hand information, perhaps on written sources. But, in the travel-narratives which follow, you find personal reminiscences of seafaring not to be matched in Demosthenes; you find a familiarity with obscure technical terms only possible to a contemporary writer; you find a hundred remembered details, effortlessly produced, which betray the eye-witness. Here and there he records minor incidents which could have no importance except as they threw light on the controversies of the moment—the moment when St. Paul was writing to Galatia or to Corinth. And all through this obviously authentic narrative, it is the same Paul who emerges: generous, sensitive, impulsive, considerate, human, unflinching—everything by turns, and supple to every indication of the divine will. He has the same friends and enemies, the same quick reactions to both.

The career which has left such a mark on the history and the literature of the Church was, for practical purposes, a short one. Roughly, it would seem, St. Paul was our Lord's contem-

porary; he was over thirty at the time of his conversion to Christianity, and there is a gap of at least fourteen years before you find him in full missionary work. Only twenty years or so remained to him, and of these something between a quarter and a third were spent in prison. Meanwhile, he had preached the Gospel in a wide sweep from Jerusalem as far as Illyria – that is, the coast of modern Jugoslavia. He had been the centre of Christian effort all round the shores of the Levant, and had probably been largely responsible for setting the infant Church free from the caul of Judaism. And of that full life his epistles, uncut jewels which have been treasured by twenty centuries of Christendom, are the by-product.

The Bible in the Roman Empire

By the late REV. ARTHUR S. DUNCAN-JONES

Dean of Chichester, 1929-1955

THE dissemination of the Bible throughout the Roman Empire was an inevitable consequence of the growth of the Christian Church. The temporal conditions that made a favourable climate for that growth have often been remarked by scholars. The unification of the Mediterranean lands by the Roman Empire, with the security that it afforded to traders, the good roads along which soldiers were always on the march, the wandering teachers, making for a common philosophy, the intermingling of the races in the towns, the majesty of the Roman law, the opening of Roman citizenship to the provincials, the importance acquired by educated slaves – these factors prepared the way for a universal religion. In addition there were religious influences at work which ultimately tended in the same direction. The old local religions were losing their grip. So long as the cult of the State was respected, the Roman government put no obstacle in the way of the more exciting forms of worship that seeped in from Syria and Persia. Religion became a matter of individual choice. Men were becoming conscious of a sense of guilt. They feared that they were in the grip of an all-embracing fate. The dissatisfaction with life as it is created a new yearning for something beyond mortality. The universe held secrets which they wished to penetrate. Initiation into mysteries exercised a powerful attraction especially when they were associated with bodily healing. In a hundred ways society in the Roman Empire was being prepared for the emergence of a new idea – conversion – and of a sacramental religion which would give to the individual a secure basis for facing his inner anxiety and outward terrors. Men desired satisfaction from the state of mind summed up in the couplet

> I a stranger and afraid
> In a world I never made.

For salvation, faith was the key: deliverance from the powers of evil the reward. Salvation, when found, created missionaries.

One element in the situation was of primary importance, the Jewish religion.

A long time before the Christian era the Jews were already to be found in many parts of the Roman Empire and beyond, as the Acts of the Apostles bear witness—"Parthians, Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, Judaea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, dwellers in Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians". Two things are noteworthy about this statement: for the most part they were Greek-speaking people and they were people of two kinds, born Jews, but also proselytes. Outside Palestine they were thickest on the ground in Egypt, in Syria, in Rome itself and in the province of Asia Minor. It was claimed that there were a million Jews in Egypt.

In Alexandria the first step was taken in the spread of the Bible through the Roman Empire at some time in the third century B.C. when the Old Testament was translated into Greek. The name, Septuagint, points to a legendary origin. But there can be no doubt that the Jewish sacred books existed in a language understood over the greater part of the Mediterranean area. The destruction of Jerusalem largely increased the dispersion. In Rome itself Jews must have been found in considerable numbers from an early period. Tiberius deported 4,000 Jews capable of bearing arms to Sardinia. From time to time the Jews were subject to such attacks, but in spite of their sufferings they generally turned up again.

The mention of proselytes in the Acts draws attention to the fact that the Jewish religion had already become missionary. Some Gentiles accepted the whole demands of Judaism. Others, "God-fearers", accepted those laws which were binding on all mankind, and they participated in the worship of the synagogue on the Sabbath. Though they had neither the privileges nor the burdens of the real Jews, and avoided the social slur attaching to the race, they gained much. They believed in one God, Creator of heaven and earth; they accepted a moral law of uni-

versal obligation; they recognized the just judgement of God. Their beliefs were obviously a foundation for subsequent belief in Christianity. In the synagogue, in which preaching was so important, many non-Jews came to know these truths, and also what was of cardinal importance: they became familiar with the Jewish Bible. The Jewish Bible was, of course, the only Bible that the early Christian communities possessed. The importance of the Jews in the Christian outlook on the world is revealed in the division of humanity into three kinds of worshippers, Greeks, Jews and Christians. All worshipped God, the Jews better than the Greeks, and the Christians – who came to be called the "Third Race", best of all. It was this consciousness of being a "People" and indeed both an older and a younger "People" than any other that gave Christians so strong a corporate and communal sense.

"When the advent of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, recently shone forth on all men, it was confessedly a new race which has thus appeared in such numbers, in accordance with the ineffable prophecies of that date, it is not little nor weak nor founded in some obscure corner of the earth, but the most populous of all nations." Thus writes Eusebius of Caesarea in the beginning of the fourth century, just as the Christian victory was approaching. "The race of the Hebrews", he says, "is not new but is honoured among all men for its antiquity." It is this antique religion of Abraham which is now discovered afresh in Christ.

The translation of the Hebrew Bible into the Greek language and the fact that the books of the New Testament were all written in Greek quickly provided the basis for one volume of Holy Scripture. It is remarkable how quickly the books of the New Testament take their place beside that Old Testament which had so long a history as an authoritative oracle of religion. Justin Martyr (*c.* 150) appeals to the Old Testament to establish the antiquity of the Christian religion. The prophets, long before the philosophers "both saw and announced the truth to men, neither renouncing nor fearing any man . . . but speaking those things alone which they saw and heard, being filled with the Holy Spirit". They can only be understood by



22. Catacomb of St. Calixtus: crypt of St. Cornelius



23. Crypt of St. Cornelius, painting of the miracle of the fountain

them to whom God and his Christ have imparted wisdom. It was through reading the Old Testament that men learnt that the New Testament recorded history fulfilled. Moreover the Old Testament was of great propaganda value.

It is probable that some part of the old tradition, which must have been in Aramaic at the first, such as the sayings of Christ, were written down quite early. The ministry of Christ was confined to a region where Aramaic was the prevailing language. But it was surrounded by Greek-speaking districts. No trace of an Aramaic gospel survives. It is significant that the Gospels themselves all exist in a Greek form, which must have come into existence quite early. For this reason and even more because the missionary activities of the first believers looked outward to the shores of the Mediterranean, to Asia Minor, Greece and Egypt. Thus our Gospels themselves are evidence of the swift spread of the Gospels through the empire.

This impression is confirmed by the Apostolic Father and the early Apologists, all of whom wrote in Greek. These writers indicate some of the places where the Gospel was carried. The letter of Clement shows that at the beginning of the second century there was a community established at Rome. Almost contemporaneous, the letters of Ignatius refer also to Rome; they picture also a number of communities in Asia-Minor. In Asia-Minor too the letters of Pliny to Trajan confirm this witness. The apologist Quadratus presents his case to Hadrian a few years later. The evidence of the gnostic writers takes us to Alexandria and Antioch. Marcion bears witness to flourishing communities on the Black Sea before 160.

In the middle of the second century two important new developments take place. The Greek Bible was translated into Latin and also into Syriac. As has already been said, the Church of Rome was at the first predominantly Greek-speaking and it remained so until the middle of the third century, when Greek had to yield to Latin. Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, wrote to Cyprian of Carthage in Latin, but to Fabius of Antioch in Greek. It is not in Rome that the first Christian Latin literature flourishes but in the cultivated district of north Africa, which

was at the beginning of the third century the home of Tertullian, one of the greatest Christian writers, and his younger contemporary Cyprian. Their writings bear witness to an already existing Latin version of the Bible. Edessa on the Orontes was outside the Roman Empire. It is probable that the form in which the Gospels first found their way there was when Tatian brought from Rome the Harmony (Diatessaron) he had made of the four Gospels to his native Mesopotamia round about 172 or 173. Before long there were texts of the separate Gospels, and eventually a whole Bible. Syriac-speaking missionaries carried this version far into the interior of Asia. The Syriac versions remain an important factor in establishing the text of the New Testament. There were bishops in Spain in the third century.

In southern Gaul the Christian Church was established in the second century. The martyrs attest the fact. The new religion spread via the Rhone Valley up to northern France so that before the Council of Nicaea in 325 more than a dozen episcopal sees can be affirmed. It was spreading beyond the Channel – Tertullian and Origen have heard that there were Christian communities in Britain. It is certain that there were British bishops at the Council of Arles in 314. In the Rhineland Irenaeus speaks of Christian churches in Germany in a vague way at the end of the second century. A bishop of Cologne was certainly in Rome in 313; there is record of a bishop of Trier at the Council of Arles. Christian communities existed west of the Rhine, though probably in no great numbers. Beyond the *limes* of the Roman Empire there loomed the hordes of the heathen Franks and Teutons. Before the Council of Nicaea the Danubian provinces certainly contained some Christian communities. At the beginning of the fourth century we hear of bishops at Petau and Lorsch.

Most significant in the swift spread of Christianity in the early centuries is the influence exercised by its sacred books. The early Christian writers are soaked in the language and thought of the scriptures. The religion that was proved from the Bible won acceptance because it was put forward as the truth. It was the Catholic religion, universally necessary, an

authoritative explanation of human history, creating a universal brotherhood, highly organized, with a lofty moral law of universal obligation, and in its sacramental life the one way to union with God.

Jew and Greek

By the REV. C. H. DODD

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THE Old Testament is written in Hebrew (apart from a few chapters in the kindred Aramaic); the New Testament is written in Greek. The older scriptures were thus addressed to the small society which used a local Palestinian dialect, the new to the wide public of a great cosmopolitan civilization. Greek was by this time the common language of intercourse among the principal provinces of the Roman Empire, and had some currency beyond its bounds, as far east as Afghanistan and the Punjab. The Christian movement, arising in the first place with Judaism, deliberately set itself towards the larger world, and addressed it in the international language of the time. In doing so, it took into its service a potent and subtle instrument of thought, of which early Christian thinkers, with all the intensity of their Hebraic inheritance, made good use.

All Greek thinking bears the stamp of the unique achievement of classical Hellas in the centuries between 700 B.C. and 400 B.C. But in the intervening period much had happened. The conquests of Alexander the Great had opened up a new field not only to Greek political and commercial enterprise, but to the enquiring Greek mind. Greek influence upon the native cultures of the Near and Middle East was both deep and far-reaching. But the influence was reciprocal. Egypt, Syria, Iran all had old and still vital civilizations of their own. These civilizations learned Greek. Their attitudes and ideas passed into the common stock of Greek-speaking people throughout this vast area. Thus Hellenistic civilization (as it is customary to call the product) is Greek with a difference. Its thought, if less vigorous, confident and lucid than that of the classical age, is scarcely less subtle, and perhaps more aware of the complexities of existence, in nature and in man. It was into the Hellenistic world that Christianity was born.

Among the peoples whose cultures shared in this process of cross-fertilization we must count the Jews. From the time of Alexander they formed part, willy nilly, of the Hellenistic society. In many of the new Greek colonies Jewish settlers played a part from their foundation—notably at Alexandria in Egypt. It was there that the books of the Old Testament were translated into Greek. The translation, known as the Septuagint, is proof of the extent to which Jews abroad were making Greek the language of their religious life; and you cannot talk Greek (especially in the major concerns of life) without in some measure thinking Greek. The Septuagint is not the same thing as the Hebrew Old Testament, even though it is in the main a reasonably faithful rendering. It is the Bible of a developing Hellenistic Judaism; and it became the Bible of the early Church.

In Judaea itself, things were different. After a period of peaceful penetration, reaction set in. For two centuries or more the tension between a fiercely national religious tradition and the influences of an alien culture was a leading motive of Jewish history in Palestine. In the end, after desolating conflicts, the Judaism which survived the Roman destruction of Jerusalem turned in upon itself. Yet the literature of the subsequent rabbinic Judaism shows, in many traits of thought and language, how much the Jew had learned from the Greek. Even in Jewish Palestine, and particularly in Galilee, the first cradle of the new faith, though the national tradition was at the beginning of the Christian era strongly on the defensive, the barriers were already partly down.

The debt was not entirely on one side. In spite of a good deal of sporadic anti-semitism in the Hellenistic world, the religion of the Jews, with its jealous secretiveness and its mysterious rites for the worship of the one God whom they refused either to name or to represent by images, exerted a certain fascination. Jewish propaganda may not have won very many fully committed proselytes, though it certainly did succeed in attaching a considerable number of interested Gentiles more or less loosely to the synagogue. But beyond the limits of the synagogue ideas ultimately derived from the Old Testament, how-

ever vaguely understood, made their way, and contributed one element to the amalgam of religious beliefs which is characteristic of the period. In itself this watery mixture of diverse traditions may have had no great positive value, but at least it meant that to some extent Greek and Jewish thinkers could meet across the dividing line, and it held possibilities for important developments in the future.

The first Christian missionaries took advantage of this community of thought and speech, not as a deliberate piece of missionary tactics, but because most of them moved naturally enough in the Hellenistic *milieu*, even though their roots were deep in Judaism. The great words and ideas of the New Testament demand to be understood in relation to an extensive history, not in one line of descent but in two, and this gives them a stereoscopic depth of meaning. The resultant product is no mere stitching together of diverse material (such as one finds in some Hellenistic writers, Jewish and Gentile), but a fresh creation. There were good reasons for this. Christian thinkers believed they had genuinely new facts of the first importance to take into account, those connected with the career of Jesus Christ, and their thinking was done in an atmosphere of heightened awareness which they attributed to an infusion of the divine spirit, mediated through him. The Hebraic and the Hellenic were fused at a high temperature, and the product was something new.

To take one striking example, the Greek term "logos" was adopted to express the central idea of Christian theology, summarized in the New Testament phrase, "The word (logos) was made flesh". No term in the language may more properly be said to hold within it the key to the Greek outlook. "Logos" means "word"; but it is the word as instrument and expression of thought; indeed it means rational and articulate thought, whether uttered or not. When Greek thinkers said that there was "logos" in the world and in man, they meant that the universe had meaning and order, and that man was capable of understanding it. If you cared to say that Logos was God, well and good, for the rational was the divine. Gods there might be; there might even be an unknowable supreme Being to be

thought of with silent awe; but for many Greek thinkers the hypothesis of a God beyond the world seemed superfluous. For practical purposes the universe was self-explanatory and man "the measure of all things".

For the Hebrew, on the other hand, the "living God" was the most insistent of all realities, by whose will and through whose power all things existed. When he spoke of the "word" of God, he was thinking of the expression of sovereign will and the vehicle of irresistible power. This was the "word of the Lord" that came to the prophets, and came "like a fire, like a hammer that breaketh the rocks in pieces". Human life had worth only as it was moved by the word of God. It was on this analogy that the Hebrew mind sought to understand—or rather to imagine—the mystery of creation. "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made." This and this alone gave meaning to the world, as to human existence: its dependence on God. God remained altogether other than man, beyond the universe, and yet communicated life and being to both through his "word", conceived as the freely willed expression of his concern for all his creatures, and the "wisdom" by which their behaviour was to be directed.

Now bring these two hemispheres of thought together. The rational meaning (the "logos") which the Greek believed he discerned in the universe is indeed there, but is there as the utterance of the mind of the living God and the instrument of his will. It is not only rationality but power, creative as well as enlightening. Man and the world are indeed dependent upon God, as the Hebrew had always known, but they are not dependent in any external fashion, as if he were the celestial clockmaker of the deists. For God's thought (the "logos") is immanent in his creation, as the Greek had always known, and it is the "light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world". But "logos" is word as well as thought, and to speak of the "word" of God implies that God stands over against all created beings, yet in *rapport* with them in a manner analogous at least to personal relations such as we know among ourselves when we speak to one another.

This personal element in the self-revelation of God becomes

more emphatic when the New Testament affirms that "the word was made flesh", signifying that the crucial moment in the intercourse of God with his creatures lies within the experience of a real human personality in a concrete historical situation. And the very use of the term "flesh" was a challenge to the exaggerated spirituality of the dominant "Hellenistic mysticism", which could make nothing of matter, and regarded the body as no better than the tomb or the prison of the soul. Hebrew thought had never allowed itself to be cramped by any such dualism of body and soul. It took man as he is, animated body or embodied soul, and as such saw him formed, upheld and guided by the word of God. The New Testament affirmed that such a concrete human personality was the very seat of the logos, using that term over the whole range of its meaning, Hebrew and Greek, and in doing so opened up surprising new vistas upon God, man and the world.

It is claimed by one New Testament writer that the Gospel, confronting two rival groups, Jews and Gentiles, so reconciled them as to make "of the twain one new man". It is certainly true that Greek and Hebrew ways of thought were so reconciled in early Christianity that something genuinely new emerged, in which each tradition found fulfilment. The two strains remain in Christian thinking, and must always remain while the Bible is its foundation. At one period stress will be laid upon the Greek element, at another period on the Hebraic, but the tension can never be resolved by denying the one or the other. It belongs to the genius of our religion.

The shaping of the New Testament

By the REV. C. F. D. MOULE

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It is not always remembered that the earliest Christians had no authoritative writings except what we call the Old Testament, which, like other Jews, they naturally continued to regard as a medium of God's voice. Unlike other Jews, however, they were profoundly convinced that in Jesus of Nazareth God had spoken decisively, when he raised him from death, designating him King and Lord; and by this conviction the old scriptures were set in a totally new light. As St. Paul put it, it was as though a veil had been removed from their eyes. Passages like "The stone which the builders rejected, the same was made the head of the corner" now became luminous with meaning, after the rejection and vindication of Christ. "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet" now signified the exalted status of Jesus and the destined consummation of his reign. The dark passages of scripture about a triumphant sufferer—someone who was downtrodden and eclipsed, yet in whose hands God's purposes had prospered—manifestly confirmed the Christian assurance that the crucified and risen Lord was God's own agent. Little by little, certain whole sequences of scripture came to be recognized as of special import; and in the heads of the Christians, if not in writing, a distinctively Christian view of the Jewish scriptures shaped itself.

But side by side with this was the story of the events themselves which had placed the ancient scriptures in so startlingly new a light—the story of the crucifixion of Jesus and of his resurrection, and of all that led up to that climax. At worship and at the instruction of enquirers the story would be told, in whole or in part, as need required; and among the large number of eyewitnesses there were twelve specially accredited to vouch for its truth—although the very results of what had hap-

pened, visible in the community's new quality of life, must often have been enough authentication in themselves without further evidence.

Thus the earliest Good News or Gospel, even before it came to be put in writing, was the narrative of what God had done, told with reference to the Jewish scriptures in order to underline the fact that it had been no haphazard matter, but according to design. This was why the attempts of certain early teachers (notably the heretic Marcion) to repudiate the Old Testament were resisted. Meanwhile, however, Christian evangelists, and in particular St. Paul, were writing pastoral letters which, though the writers themselves never dreamt it, were destined to become scripture. They were letters of advice, admonition, encouragement to the little Christian communities which the Gospel had brought into being, and which the apostle had had to leave behind when he moved on to new territory. After a time, a number of communities must have had, treasured in their archives, a few papyrus sheets covered with such messages from St. Paul. Doubtless some were lost or destroyed. It is not impossible that our 2 Corinthians is really the beginning (chapters i–ix) and end (chapters x–xiii) of two separate letters which may have been found partly mutilated, and then copied continuously on to a single roll before they further deteriorated. The marvel is, not that some letters perished or only partially survived, but rather that so many were preserved at all. It is a measure of the high estimation in which they were held.

But how did these several letters to scattered Christians in many different towns even come to be assembled into "Collected Letters of the Apostle Paul"? We know roughly when they were written (the latest not much later than A.D. 60). We know that some of them were soon being quoted, as by Clement of Rome in his letter to Corinth, somewhere near the end of the first century. Indeed, within the New Testament itself (in 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16), there is allusion, apparently, to a collection of them–spoken of, too, as scripture. And we know that by about A.D. 140 that most interesting and unusual heretic Marcion, to whom allusion has already been made, was using a

Pauline "corpus" whose contents, and even their order, can be recovered from his opponent Tertullian. But exactly what steps led to the collecting, remains a matter for guesswork. One very ingenious guess is that of the distinguished American scholar E. J. Goodspeed, who finds the collector in a Christian of the Lycus Valley, who, already knowing the letters to the Colossians and to Philemon, was stimulated, by reading the Acts with its narrative of the apostle's work elsewhere, to look for further treasures in the other Pauline churches. Be that as it may, next in time to the heretical list of Marcion comes a fragment of another list, now known as "the Muratorian canon", probably representing the canon of the Church of Rome towards the end of the second century and showing, among other scriptures, the same letters of St. Paul, though in a different order and in company with other writings; and thereafter further evidence is forthcoming to show the Pauline collection well established, together with epistles from some other writers.

But what of the Gospels? Questions which suggest themselves are how soon they were current and why there are four, no fewer and no more. The earliest epistles of the New Testament already show traces of a knowledge of the sort of material which ultimately went into the Gospels, but it is impossible to say precisely how early any such material was actually in writing. For a time, though probably only for a short time while apostles were still within reach, the traditions must have passed from mouth to mouth, especially (as we have seen) at times of worship or instruction. It is probable that the story of the death and resurrection of Jesus was from the earliest days told as a connected whole. But very soon, at least parts of the tradition came to be written down in Aramaic or in Greek. Behind St. Mark's Gospel, according to a second century witness, Papias, who was in touch with earlier traditions, lay the reminiscences of the apostle Peter himself. The majority of scholars agree that St. Mark's Gospel, in turn, was used in the composition of Matthew and Luke, together with some other source, common to these two, consisting largely of the sayings of Jesus. There is evidence that other primitive sources also

went to make up these Gospels. As for St. John's Gospel, at the end of the first century, it is a miracle of artistry and insight, an inspired interpretation of the inner meaning of those outward things which were seen and felt and handled under Pontius Pilate. It explains the significance of much that the other three are content merely to narrate. Sometimes, indeed, it has all the air of going back to independent and early streams of tradition. But in certain of its details and in its approach, it is strikingly different from the three "Synoptists"; and the very contrast which it presents accentuates our question—Why these four? Before the canon settled down, many other Gospels were current—the Gospel of Peter, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and so forth. Yet only the four eventually won universal recognition. In the so-called Teaching of the Apostles (the *Didache*, about A.D. 110 perhaps) the Lord's Prayer and other material is cited as from "the Gospel", a collective term giving no indication of whether there was one or more; and so it is with the letters of Ignatius of Antioch at about the same date. The apologist Justin Martyr about 145, also quotes from "the Gospel" collectively, as well as from "the Apostles' memoirs, which are called Gospels", so that it is not clear how many Gospels he knew. But by the time of the strange Assyrian Christian Tatian (about 170), there are definitely four, for it was from them that he wove his famous composite, unified Gospel, the "Diatessaron". And Irenaeus, a little later, asserts that it is as proper that there should be four Gospels as that there should be four winds, four corners of the earth, and cherubim of fourfold visage to support the throne of God (Irenaeus is among the earliest to characterize the evangelists by the symbols of those fourfold supporters of the throne in Ezekiel i). And it is these four which hold their own against later competitors. We are thus presented with a striking phenomenon. There were, at one time or another, more than four Gospels claiming apostolic names, whereas of the canonical four two were in fact not apostolically titled. Yet it was these four, and these alone, which ultimately established themselves. The reason, apparently, is that these four came to be recognized as authentic—authentic both in the sense that the story

they told was, in its essentials, adjudged sound by a remarkably unanimous consent, and also in the sense that their interpretation of its meaning was equally widely recognized as true to the apostles' faith and teaching. Other Gospels competed, and were for a time, or by particular groups, accepted; but only these four gained a permanent and a catholic currency. In addition to the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles–Luke's "second volume"–was decisively accepted also.

The other writings in our New Testament came into universal currency by a similar process. About the Apocalypse there was hesitation for a time in many quarters; about the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the west. And considerable discussion revolved round some of the minor epistles, while certain writings now no longer in our canon floated in and out over a period of uncertainty. But before the end of the fourth century there was virtually universal agreement; and when at length the canon came to be defined by church councils in that century, it was only a confirmation of a *fait accompli*. The bulk of the canonical writings had won their way by their inherent authority; and regarding the disputed ones, decision had probably been accelerated by the competition of heretical writings or ones of doubtful soundness, which compelled the Church to draw the line precisely, and by the persecution of Diocletian, which attacked the Christian scriptures, thus driving Christians to decide which to regard as such. The whole body of authoritative Christian writings had come to be called, collectively, the scriptures of the New Testament, because of its theme–God's New Covenant with men in Jesus Christ. It is nothing short of astounding that the ancient and supremely venerated, Jewish Bible should thus have been rivalled in authority by writings which, by comparison, were but of yesterday. But the very name of the new collection was a reminder of its connexion with its antecedents, as well as of its difference from them; and the Old Testament (as it came correspondingly to be known) continued to be recognized by Christians as an essential part of their scriptures.

One further observation must be made. It is true, in a sense, that it was the Church which originally created the canon of

scripture. On the other hand, this was only the Church's confession of faith in the authoritative event to which the Church itself owed its being. Church and scriptures alike bear witness to the creative fact behind both, namely the Gospel, or Good News of Jesus Christ.

The English Bible before the Authorized Version

By DR. J. F. MOZLEY

THE history of the English Bible, if by that we mean the translation of the whole scripture for the common people, begins with Wyclif. Parts had indeed been translated before A.D. 1050 into Anglo-Saxon, usually as metrical paraphrases or else word for word cribs written over the Latin, but after the Norman Conquest, French became the language of the upper classes, and no English versions, save one or two books in metrical paraphrase, seem to have appeared until the fourteenth century, when the native tongue triumphed over its foreign rival. But meanwhile the western Church had conceived a strong hostility to vernacular scripture. It might be tolerated in the hands of great persons, or as an aid to monks and nuns who did not understand the Latin of their offices, but its general dispersion was considered dangerous. About 1330–50 two English versions of the Psalter appeared with the Latin text, one by the hermit Richard Rolle. Later in the century about one-third of the New Testament was translated, but the number of manuscripts is extremely small, and the translators may have come under Wyclif's influence. One of them felt he was taking a risk; his translating might, he says, perhaps lead to his death.

Far bolder and more sweeping were the proceedings of the Lollards. Wyclif not only demanded for the layman the whole Bible in his mother tongue, but took steps to supply the need. He may have translated little or nothing himself, but he inspired his followers to do so. The first Lollard version was completed about 1380. It was made from the Latin by Nicholas Hereford and others, and is in the old style, painfully literal. Something more English was needed, and after Wyclif's death John Purvey revised the version (about 1395) and gave it a more

natural speech and rhythm. These two versions were eagerly read, and about 180 copies survive today, mainly of the later version. These were no doubt the English bibles that Sir Thomas More said he had seen in great libraries.

A sharp counterblow followed from the hierarchy. In 1408 Convocation passed at Oxford the famous Constitution forbidding any man, under pain of the greater excommunication, to translate any part of scripture, unless authorized by a bishop to do so. This made matters clear with a vengeance. The bishops took the whole business into their own hands. Did they produce a version? By no means; they did nothing, even when the invention of printing might have given them a spur; and thus the English people were still without the Bible, when the bold spirit of William Tyndale arose to defy the ecclesiastical ban.

But Tyndale did not act without first giving the bishops their chance. He went to Tunstal, Bishop of London, and offered to translate the New Testament under his patronage. The cautious prelate refused, and Tyndale determined to go oversea to Wittenburg, where he would be safe from the Constitution of Oxford. On completing his New Testament in 1525, he began to print it in quarto at Cologne, but the town council intervened when St. Matthew's Gospel was barely finished. Snatching up the printed sheets Tyndale fled to Worms, where he printed the book through in octavo, without notes, and sent the two prints over into England. The translation is from the Greek of Erasmus—a wise decision, even though Erasmus's text was not a very good one.

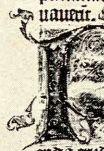
The book was furiously attacked. Bishops and king denounced it, seized and burnt the copies, and hunted down the readers. This was not due, as is often said, to the bitterness of its notes; for there are no bitter notes, in fact very few notes at all. Sir Thomas More branded the translation as "false", mainly because it writes "congregation" for "ecclesia" or "church", "love" for "charity", and the like. By "false" More really means unaccustomed or surprising. If these renderings are false, then both the Authorized and the Revised Versions are false: for they support Tyndale in most of them, though not in "congre-

ye lalbe of moyses. & in prophetis
& in plalmes of me/ yanne he
openyde to hem lbitte. yat pei
lbuldeen vndirstonde scriptures
and he seyde to hem/ for pus it
is lbreten/ & pus it bihoue crist
forto suffre/ & rise a3en fro deede
ye pridde day/ & penaunce & re
myllioñ of synnes forto be pre
chide in his name into alle fol
kis. men bygynnynge fro irlm
forseye 3ee ben lbitnessis of pes
ynges and I athal sende pe lbhijte
ynge of my fadir into 30u. soye
ye sitte 3eem ye cytee. til yat 3ee
be clopide ibip vertue fropm an
lyze forseye he ledde hem forpe
into bethanye & his hondis lifte
vp. he blessidc hem and it is done
ye lbhile he blessidc hem. he depar
tide fro hem & ibas borne into he
uene and pei lboxthynge. lbe
ten a3en into irlm ibip greet ioye.
and lberen euermore in ye temple
heryngc & blessynge god

Tn ye bygynnynge lbas ye
lboxde pat is goddis sone
and ye lboxde lbas at god &
god lbas ye lboxde/ pis lbas
in ye bigynnynge at god/
alle pingis ben made bp hym.
and lbip outen hym is ma
de nouste pat pinge pat is
made. in hym lbas lyfe and
pe lyfe lbas pe lyzte of men
and pe lyzte schynep in derke
nesse & derknesse comprse
henden of taken not it a
man lbas sente fro god. to
lbhom pe name lbas ioon/
pis man came into lbitnes
synge. pat he schulde bere
lbitnessynge of pe lyzt. pat alle
men schulden lbeue bp hym. he
lbas not pe lyzt. but pat he schulde
bere lbitnessynge of pe lyzt/ it ibas
verep lyzte pe lbhiche lyzteneth eche
man comynge into pis lboxlde
he lbas in pe lboxlde & pe lboxlde
lbas made bp hym/ and pe lboxl
de knelbe hym not/ he came into
his olline pingis. and hes recey
uedeu hym not. forsope lboh ma
nye euer receyueden hym. he 3a
ue to hem polber forto be made
ye sones of god. to hem yat bi
leueden in his name pe lbhiche
not of bloodis. neper of lbille
of flesshe. neper of lbille of ma.
but ben borne of god/ and ye lbo
rde yat is goddis sone. is made
flesshe or man/ & hap dlvellide
in vs. and lbe haue seen pe glo
rie of hym. pe glorie as of pe
one bigoten of pe fadir. pe sone
ful of grace & trupe. Joon be
ryp lbitnessynge of hym. and
crieb seynge. pis it lbas of lbho
I seyde he yat is to come after
me. is made bifore me. for he lbas
ye former pan I and of pe plenty
of hym. lbe alle haue taken/ &
grace for grace. for pe lalbe is 30
uen bp moyses. forsope grace
& trupe is made bp ihū crist
noman euer syze god. no but
pe one bigoten sone yat is in pe
bolum of pe fadir. he hap tolde
oute. and pis is pe lbitnessynge
of Joon. lbhanne 3elbis senten
fro irlm prestis & deknes to hym.
yat pei schulden aske hym/ lbho
art pou. and he knolbeleche
& denyede not. and he knolbele
chide. for I am not crist. and pei
asseden hym/ lbhat perfore art
pou hehe. and he seyde I am
not. art pou a prophete. and
he answerde, nay perfore pei
seyden to hym. lbho art pou.
yat we 3yue answere to pes
yat senten vs lbhat seist pou
of pi self. he seip. I am a voyce
of a man crynge in deserte.
dresse 3ee pe lbeye of pe lorde. as

Iungat epistola quos iūgit sacerdotium: nunc carta non diuidat: quos xp̄i nectit amor. Lōuictarios in oseamos: z zachariā malachiā: quoq; ꝓphetas. Scripsisse: si ineruisse pr̄ valitudine. Mittis solacia sumptuum notarios nr̄os et librarios sustentacionis: ut uobis ꝓuisionē nr̄a defuncti ingenii. Et ecce ex latere frequēs uerba diuisa ꝓsecutū: quasi aut equū sit me uobis seruientibus alijs laborare: aut in ratione dati et accepti: cuiꝰ pr̄ceptor uos obnoxios sim. Itaq; lōga egrotatione fractus: ne penitus hoc anno recreē: z apud uos meus sanguis euanescat: indui opus nouum: ut ꝑ uos consecrem interpretationē uiduelicet tuā salomonis voluminū: malloth qđ hebraice parabolas: uulgata editio ꝓuerbia uocat: coeleth: quē grece ecclesiasten: latine concionatorē possum⁹ dicere: sirasirim: qđ i lingua nr̄a uerū canticū canticoꝝ. Sapientem et panaretos: ihesu filij sirach liber: z alius pseudographus: qui sapientia salomonis inscribit. Quoꝝ priorē hebraicum reperi: nō ecclesiasticū ut apud latinos: sed parabolas ꝓnotatū. Cui iūcti sunt ecclesiastes: et cantici canticoꝝ: ut simulitudine salomonis: nō solū numero librorū: sed et materiaꝝ genere coequarent. Secundus apud hebreos nullus est: quia et ipse stilus grecam eloquentiā redolet: et nōnulli scriptoꝝ ueteꝝ huic esse iudā filonis affirmāt. Sicut ergo iudith: z thobie: z machabeoꝝ libros: legit quidē eos ecclia: sed inter canonicas scripturas nō recipit: sic: z hec duo uolumina legat ad edificationē plebis: nō ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticoꝝ dogmatū cōfirmandam.

Si cui sane spretor agūa interpretum magis editio placet: habet eā a nobis olim emendatā. Neq; enī noua sit ecclesiaꝝ: ut uetera detestam⁹. Et tamē cū diligentissime legerit: inuenit magis nr̄a scripta intelligi: quē nō in ecclesiaꝝ uas cōfusa ꝓ aurea: sed stamen de preciosa purissime emendata retulisse. Suū saporē seruauerit. Explicit ꝓlā. Incipit ꝓlūm salomonis. I



Parabole salomonis filij dauid regis israel: ad sciendā sapientiam z disciplinā: ad intelligendā uerba prudentie et suscipiendā eruditionē doctrine: iustitiā et iudiciū z equitatē: ut detur parulis astutia: et adolescentī scientia et intellectus. Audiēs sapiens sapiētior erit: z intelligens gubernacula possidebit. Animaduertet parabolam et interpretationem: uerba sapientiū z enigmata eoꝝ. Timor dñi principiū sapiēcie. Sapientiam autē doctrinam stulti dispiciūt. Audi fili mi disciplinā ꝑris tui et ne dimittas legem matris tue: ut addatur gratia capiti tuo: z torques collo tuo. Fili mi si te lactauerint peccatores: ne acquiescas eis. Si dixerit ueni nobiscū: insidiemur sanguini: abscōdam⁹ ceu insontes laqueos: deglutiamus eos sicut infernus uiuentes et integros: quasi descendentes in lacū: omnē preciosā substantiā reperiem⁹: implebim⁹ domus nr̄as spoliis: sortem mitte nobiscum: marsupiū sit unum omniū nr̄m: fili mi ne ambules cū eis. Prohibe pedem tuū a semitis eoꝝ. Pedes enī illoꝝ ad malū currūt: z festināt ut effundant sanguinē. Frustra autem iacit rete ante oculos pennatoꝝ. Ipsi iſ contra sanguinē suū insidiantur: et

25. A page from the Gutenberg Bible, 1456

gation". More himself slips into one or two of them, when off his guard. In truth the version is remarkably good–scholarly but at the same time racy and direct, though sometimes clumsy in the epistles. It was followed in 1530 by the Pentateuch, translated from the Hebrew (this *has* some bitter notes), in 1531 by Jonah, and in 1534–5 by two revised editions of the New Testament. To placate the conservatives Cranmer in 1535 tried to have Tyndale's New Testament revised by a team of divines, but the attempt failed.

Since Tyndale was slow in finishing his Old Testament, Coverdale stepped into the breach with a complete Bible of his own, printed at Cologne in October 1535 with a woodcut by Holbein. Having little knowledge of Greek or Hebrew, he is content to base himself on Tyndale and the German and Latin versions, but he has a sense of style, and is surprisingly successful with this eclectic method. From him come "She brought forth butter in a lordly dish" (Judges v. 25) and "Man goeth to his long home" (Eccles. xii. 5). His Bible was not licensed by the king, but was permitted to circulate, and Anne Boleyn had a copy in her chamber.

Within a year Tyndale was martyred, leaving behind him a manuscript translation of Joshua to 2 Chronicles. In order to preserve this for posterity his disciple John Rogers produced in August 1537 at Antwerp another Bible under the name of Thomas Matthew. This contained all Tyndale's versions, and made up the rest from Coverdale's Bible. There was also an apparatus of notes of a Protestant trend, which gave much offence. The book was licensed by the king, as was the Coverdale Bible soon afterwards, and these two Bibles began to be set up in the parish churches by the authority of the bishop of the diocese and with the encouragement of Cromwell.

In September 1538 Cromwell went further and issued the celebrated royal injunction, ordering every church to instal the Bible for the reading of laymen. The Bible to be installed was a new one, called the Great Bible from its size, a revision of the Matthew Bible made by Coverdale, with the offending notes omitted. The book was being printed, and finely printed, at Paris, but when it was near completion, the inquisition inter-

vened, confiscated the sheets, and burnt a part. Coverdale escaped to England, and in due course the confiscated sheets were recovered from Paris, and the printing finished in London in April 1539. The Psalms from the Great Bible are still in use today in the Book of Common Prayer.

But the Great Bible, though it contained hardly a single note, proved no more palatable to the conservatives than Matthew had been, and in 1542 Convocation sought to revise it. The king quashed the plan because of the impossible Latinisms which Bishop Gardiner wished to introduce, and the Great Bible remained in the churches. But it cannot have been much read, after Parliament in 1543 passed a law forbidding Bible reading to any but a few persons of high place. Under Queen Mary the Bible was dethroned and many copies burnt. But on Elizabeth's accession all was again fair, and in 1560 a new version appeared from the English exiles in Geneva, and became very popular in the home. Archbishop Parker disliked the puritan notes of the Genevan Bible, and being also dissatisfied with the Great Bible he had the latter revised by a group of divines, most of whom were bishops, and the Bishops' Bible of 1568 became the Church Bible for forty-three years. The revisers varied greatly in skill and care, so the version can hardly be called a success. However it brought back the word "church" in place of "congregation".

To counteract the influence of these Bibles, the Romanist exiles at Douai were at length driven to produce a version of their own. They do it with little enthusiasm. Vernacular scriptures, they say, are not "much requisite, nor perhaps wholly tolerable", and have often been "pernicious", but this one is put out "for special considerations of the present time, state and condition of our country". Their New Testament appeared at Rheims in 1582, made from the Latin by Gregory Martin, a sound piece of scholarship, but marred by the excessive Latinity of its style. The Old Testament was also ready, but from lack of funds could not be printed till 1609–a delay to stir the sympathy of every author, but on which a comment may be made. Tyndale and the Protestant exiles did not wait twenty-seven years before printing their work, but then they

had the ardent zeal that overleaps obstacles. That zeal has now triumphed. The English Bible is established, a friendly sovereign is on the throne, knowledge of the ancient tongues is growing, and all is set for the making of the majestic version which we love so well.

The Geneva Bible

By a Special Correspondent of *The Times*

ENGLISH Protestantism produced two great literary monuments, apart from the Book of Common Prayer. The Geneva Bible and the Book of Martyrs were the works of two relatively young Oxford reformers, both originally of, or connected with, Brasenose College. Exiles together under Queen Mary, first in Germany, where they joined John Knox, and later in Switzerland, they all seceded together from the Frankfort congregation, but then separated. The elder, John Foxe, went to Basle, where he worked as a printer's reader and wrote his Martyrology; while the younger, William Whittingham, decided in favour of Geneva where he rejoined Knox and started to translate the Bible. Foxe's gigantic compound of religiosity and ribaldry is a masterpiece of literary propaganda, without which the Protestant tide might well have been turned back to Catholicism. But Whittingham's great work of making a contemporary translation of the scriptures was by far the greater and more permanent force in the spiritual life of those who accepted Protestantism. Both became "family" books.

Of all the Reformation cities, Geneva was by far the most illustrious in learning, energetic in missionary zeal and militant in theology. Within twenty years after the magistrates of Geneva decided for the Reformation, the new Church counted from many nations scholars so numerous and eminent, that John Calvin, its founder, could hope that Geneva would quickly take the authoritative position so long occupied by Rome. All the sacred and classical languages were assiduously cultivated, pedagogical sciences were revived and the foundations laid for the academy which became the University of Geneva.

The company here assembled were supremely confident of their scholarship. The erudition of Theodore Beza was already famous and, to the abundance at Geneva of Latin, Greek and

Hebrew learning, there was added a completely new interest in the development of French and other vernaculars. The pursuit of biblical philology, first quickened for humanist reasons by Erasmus, was now recognized to be vital to the success of the movement that opposed the authority of scripture to that of the Church. The expansion of the Genevan Church depended upon new, vernacular, and cheap editions of the scriptures. Calvin, with his kinsman, Olivetan, had pointed the way with the Bible printed at Neuchatel in 1535, the first genuine product of the French Reformation.

Calvin's followers quickly applied his standards to the production of a new version for England. In the great international college of Protestantism at Geneva the English took high rank. The English Protestants who emigrated to Switzerland in Queen Mary's time were notable men. At Basle, Foxe had as a contemporary, Francis Walsingham, who was destined to be Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State; at Geneva, Whittingham had Christopher Goodman (another Brasenose man) and John Bodley for companions. (John Bodley had with him his precocious son, Thomas, the future creator of the library at Oxford, who followed the lectures of Béroald for Greek, and Chevalier for Hebrew.) Bodley was the capitalist; Whittingham was the leader.

Whittingham (or was it Bodley?) realized the need for a vernacular Bible adapted equally to the intelligence and circumstances of the average English Protestant. On the lectern of the English parish church in the time of Henry VIII, Edward VI and again under Elizabeth, there was a large tome. It rested there, the "Open" Bible, for the open consultation of the people. It was anything but portable. It would remain too big and too expensive for middle class private purchase. State policy, so far, had not placed the Bible in the home. The English emigrés in Geneva set out to provide a new type of English Bible; new, at least, to that generation.

As far as Latin was concerned, there had been no lack of small Bibles. In the thirteenth century there were pocket-size Vulgates. Since 1535 there had been numerous Latin Bibles and New Testaments printed in small format. Later came Protes-

tant Testaments in small format. Beza's translation from the Greek into Latin (Geneva 1556) was in small format. The French and Italian Catholic versions of the complete Bible were in quarto.

In 1557 the English group at Geneva brought out *The Neue Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ conferred diligently with the Greke, and best approved translations in divers languages.* The size was duodecimo or $3\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The page was well proportioned and, for the first time in English, verses were divided and numbered consecutively, a device originated for the Latin Vulgate edited by the Dominican Santes Pagnini, and printed at Lyons in 1527.

Whittingham's choice of type symbolizes the international humanist element remaining in the Geneva evangel. The great Paris printers Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne had already deliberately abandoned black-letter. In Italy, too, roman was in vogue for everything except liturgical and legal work. In England and Germany it was otherwise. For these countries, the sense of seemliness which prescribed roman for Latin was balanced by a sense of continuity which maintained black-letter for English authors. Thus in England as in Germany, black-letter became the national form for the vernacular. And as the leaders of the English Reformation needed to proceed cautiously they continued for the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible the type that had been used for the Primer and the Missal. The significance of Whittingham's choice of roman may be measured if the first editions of the Geneva books, in roman, are compared with the first edition of the Authorized Version, which is in black-letter. It is at once seen that Whittingham's New Testament and Bible are modern, and the Authorized Version an archaic production. Had Calvin and Whittingham elected to use black-letter, the bulk of English Bible composition might still be in that style. The Geneva Bible gradually taught the English to prefer roman typography, an educative process that began with the New Testament of 1557, continued with the Bible, and was reinforced by Thomas Norton's English translation of Calvin's *Institutes*, which was set in roman deliberately, as the Preface explains. But the tran-

sition was not easy and black-letter Geneva Bibles appeared from 1579.

As the English community in Geneva did not possess a press of its own, Whittingham's New Testament was printed for the group by a learned convert and friend of Calvin's, Conrad Badius, son of the renowned Paris printer Iodocus Badius Ascensius. It is a competent piece of typography in the French style with characteristically handsome large decorated initial letters to the beginnings of the Gospels and epistles. The preliminaries are interesting. The translators, writing as denizens of Geneva, write with mingled gratitude, pride and humility of their situation, responsibility and intentions. They were "moved with zeal, counselled by the Godly, and drawen by the occasion, both of the place where God hath appointed us to dwell, and also by the store of heavenly learning and judgement, which so aboundes in this Citie of Geneva, that justly it may be called the patron and mirrour of true religion and godliness". To give it authority, the great Calvin himself wrote an introductory epistle.

The success of the first pocket New Testament in English was instantaneous. Whittingham and his colleagues were encouraged to proceed with the Psalms, which appeared in 1558. Queen Mary died on 17 November 1558, but Whittingham remained in Geneva to complete *The Bible, and Holy scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Neue Testament.* The preface is dated 10 April 1560, more than a year after Elizabeth's coronation. By this time Whittingham, with the powerful assistance of Bodley and Hall, had organized their own press. The whole book, then, was impressed (as well as translated) by the English community, under the imprint "At Geneva printed by Rowland Hall, MDLX". The verses were numbered and the size was 4to instead of 12mo; large enough to attract in the home the respect due to Holy Writ. Here at last was the first family Bible, far more portable in form than any previous English Bible, but also impressive.

The dedication "To the Moste Vertuous and Noble Quene Elizabeth, Quene of England, France and Ireland . . ." from "Your humble subjects of the English Church at Geneva" was

politically adroit. The volume came from a group that included Knox and Goodman, well known for their objection, raised on theological grounds, to the "regiment" of women over the State, not to speak of their rule over the Church. Also the book contained much more than the text of the scriptures. Each book of the Bible was introduced by an "argument", and each page was annotated with marginal notes, which naturally enforced a Calvinist interpretation of texts in dispute among the Reformers. A dutiful submission to Elizabeth was tactful, since the Genevan exiles had no desire to be taken at home for a set of anti-monarchists. The dedication was also commercially adroit, and was effective for the time being. Less than a year after publication, Elizabeth conferred upon John Bodley the right, exclusive for seven years, to print the Geneva version in England from 8 January 1561. But the patent, like others of the period, had been carelessly considered.

The dialectical nature of the Geneva Bible was too explicitly Calvinist to please all who had taken the responsibility of changing the religion of England. The Act of Uniformity of 1559 had been got through parliament only with the greatest difficulty. Not a single bishop voted for it. The majority finally secured in the House of Commons was three, and even those in favour were sharply divided, the general tendency of the majority, such as it was, being radical. In the opinion of William Cecil, the chief architect of the Reformation, to make the issue between Catholicism and Protestantism definite would be poor statecraft. Vagueness and compromise were necessary in the interest of smoothing the necessary changes; unnecessary changes were not to be considered. The uncompromising note of the comments made it desirable to limit the Geneva Bible; its proscription could not be attempted. The prestige of Calvin was far greater than that of any other Reformer. While permitting the sale of the Geneva Bible, a new national English version of the scriptures on familiar lines that should avoid extremes would be devised. Parker, the Queen's Archbishop of Canterbury, was of the same mind and organized the "Bishops' Bible". It appeared in 1568, the year of the expiry of Bodley's patent to publish the Geneva Bible, and was a sump-

tuous folio black-letter text. It had marginal notes, which, while following much of the line of the Geneva Bible, fell short of Calvinist doctrine at many points, and though in fact it was the compromise that Cecil desired, it was a failure. It did not receive the authority of the Privy Council; it did not even receive the imprimatur of the Convocation of Canterbury until 1571, and it was not in a position to compete with the appeal of the Geneva quartos of the English Protestants.

Yet it remained impossible for Bodley to exploit his patent in England, though Cecil did not, apparently, object to its renewal and took no steps to impede the sale in London of editions published in Geneva. But no Geneva New Testament or Bible was made available from a London press for over ten years after its first printing.

The delay can only have been due to the divergences within Elizabeth's council. The Bishops' Bible had the garnish of portraits of Elizabeth, Leicester and of Cecil, who made the official presentation of the book to the queen. It would then have been unseemly to print in London the version which the Bishops' Bible was designed to counteract. Cecil represented the conservative wing in the movement. The settling of religion as within the royal prerogative was absolutely vital to his conception of the Reformation; there could be no appeal to scripture over the head of the monarch. Hence any Bible like that of Geneva, which incorporated notes that allowed disobedience to monarchs was to be scrutinized. The dedication to the queen from her "humble subjects of the English Church at Geneva", did call upon her to be "strong and bold in God's matters". This language did not appeal to the conservative Reformers, already made very nervous by the extremists who, like Whittingham, Sampson and the rest of the Genevan scholars, adversely criticized the Book of Common Prayer, the use of the surplice and other articles of clerical raiment. Also, those who stuck to the old religion were very numerous outside London. It could not suit Cecil's book to encourage Calvinists.

It must have been hoped, then, that no Geneva version would ever be printed in London. As time passed the republican

system of government in Geneva became more and more repugnant to typical Tudor statesmen. It became clear that the maintenance of episcopalianism against presbyterianism was an interest of the monarchical order, and the royal Church a guarantee of the stability of the state. The others who saw things differently included Francis Walsingham, Cecil's opponent and successor as Secretary of State, and protector of the Calvinist wing.

At last, in 1575, an essay was made in London. Two editions, in 12 mo. and in 8vo., of the Geneva New Testament appeared, and in 1576 the full Bible. Both were published by Christopher Barker, a former agent of Walsingham, whose coat of arms decorates the new Testament. That Walsingham had an abiding interest in the Geneva school is confirmed by the translation by Laurence Tomson, one of his secretaries, of the Latin version of the New Testament made by Beza in 155. Tomson's translation was first printed by Barker in 1576 and is later (not immediately) found taking the place of Whittingham's text in the roman type editions of the Geneva Bible printed by Barker. For no obvious reason, Whittingham's text of the New Testament maintains its place in the black-letter Geneva bibles printed by Barker.

The first portion of the Geneva Bible to be printed in Scotland (Edinburgh, Thomas Bassandyne, 1576) is the Whittingham New Testament in roman type. A dedication to the Scottish monarch is in terms that were copied in the Authorized Version: "To the Richt Excellent Heich and Mightie Prince James the Sext, King of Scottis." The "commissionaries of the Kyrkes" are proud of the Genevan pedigree of the text, and are so generous in their attitude towards those who laboured on the translation that one sentence, at least, must be quoted:

> "Trueth it is that the godly (men of the nation of England for the maist part) benisht from their countrie for the Gospelis cause and convenit at Geneva quha did faithfullie and learnedlie translate this buke."

The Old Testament appeared three years later (Edinburgh, Alexander Arbuthnet, 1579), and the whole Bible thus com-

pleted was given the authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on the "tent day of Julie, 1579". It is curious that the Scots should have determined on the folio format. It turned out to be so expensive that fines were levied upon Scots who evaded their duty to purchase it.

The second print, set up thirty years later (Edinburgh, Andro Hart, 1610) was also in folio. It was followed by two Dutch editions. The last edition (Amsterdam, Thomas Stafford) embodied the New Testament of Laurence Tomson. This, too, was in folio, and it is to be remarked that its date shows the Scots to have been faithful to Geneva for a generation after the English had accepted the version authorized in 1611 by their (and now, the English) king.

After 1616 the Geneva Bible was never reprinted in England but the quarto, with nearly one hundred and fifty separate editions to its credit before 1611, had established itself as the standard format for the English family Bible. Its language was firmly implanted in the memory and affection of the English Protestants long before the Authorised Version was thought of. As Mr. C. C. Butterworth points out in his *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, a very large percentage of the well-known equivalents in the Authorised Version are drawn directly from the older text. But, after nearly four centuries, its English lives on in the 1611 text; a standing memorial to the discerning of the creative work by William Whittingham, of Oxford and Geneva.

The Authorized Version of 1611

By NORMAN SYKES, F.B.A.

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"We may remember", wrote Thomas Fuller in *The Church History of Britain*, "that one of the best things produced by the Hampton Court Conference was a resolution in his majesty for a new translation of the Bible." It is to the history of that conference therefore that recourse must be had to ascertain the origins of the Authorized Version of the English Bible, published in 1611. The Hampton Court Conference arose from the presentation to James I during his journey from Scotland to London of the Millenary Petition; in which a number of puritan ministers, traditionally believed to be one thousand, declared their desire for certain reforms in the liturgy and discipline of the Church of England. Accordingly the king summoned a conference of divines of both the episcopalian and presbyterian persuasions to meet in his presence at Hampton Court on 14 January 1603. There, on the second day, Dr. John Reynolds, one of the puritan representatives, asked: "May your majesty be pleased that the Bible be new translated, such as are extant not answering the original." To this Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, rejoined that "if every man's humour might be followed, there would be no end of translating". But the king took a more favourable view. "I profess I could never yet see a Bible well translated in English; but I think that of all, that of Geneva is the worst. I wish some special pains were taken for an uniform translation; which should be done by the best learned in both universities, then reviewed by the bishops, presented to the privy council, lastly ratified by royal authority to be read in the whole church and no other." Taking his cue from this speech, Bancroft added, "But it is fit that no marginal notes be added thereunto"; and his majesty agreed. "That caveat is well put in; for in the Genevan translation some notes are partial, untrue,

seditious, and savouring of traitorous conceits"; of which he profferred examples, and continued: "To conclude this point, let errors in matters of faith be amended, and indifferent things be interpreted, and a gloss added unto them."

The honour of inaugurating the discussion from which the Authorized Version sprang, belonged therefore to Dr. John Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford and Dean of Lincoln. His proposal was designed to provide a standard translation to take the place of the rival Bishops' Bible and the Genevan Bible. The former was sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority for public reading in church; but the latter was the popular version. At the first introduction of the Genevan Bible in English, Archbishop Matthew Parker and Bishop Edmund Grindal thought "so well of the first impression", as to see no objection to its reprinting in 1565. "For though one other special Bible for the churches be meant by us to be set forth, as convenient time and leasure hereafter will permit; yet shall it nothing hinder, but rather do much good, to have diversity of translations and readings." But in 1603 it was thought otherwise; the more especially in view of the tendentious character of some of the marginal notes in the Genevan version. Accordingly when James I put into execution his promise to authorize a new translation, his rules for the direction of the divines, indicated the conservative character of the undertaking. "Now, for the better ordering of their proceedings, his majesty recommended the following rules by them to be most carefully observed:

i. The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit.
ii. The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with other names in the text, to be retained as near as may be, accordingly as they are vulgarly used.
iii. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. as the word *church* not to be translated *congregation*, &c.
iv. When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the

most eminent fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of faith.

v. The division of chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

vi. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words which cannot without some circumlocution so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.

vii. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.

viii. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters; and, having translated or amended them severally by himself, where he thinks good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand.

ix. As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously; for his majesty is very careful in this point.

x. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal send their reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work.

xi. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to send to any learned in the land, for his judgment in such a place.

xii. Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them to this translation in hand; and to move and charge as many as, being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge or Oxford.

xiii. The directors in each company to be, the deans of Westminster and Chester for that place, and the

king's professors in the Hebrew and Greek in each university.

xiv. These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz. Tindal's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch, Geneva."

On 22 July 1604 James informed Bancroft that he had "appointed certain learned men, to the number of four and fifty, for the translating of the Bible"; but when the list of names was published, it comprised only forty-seven, who were divided into six companies, of which two were to meet respectively at Westminster, Cambridge and Oxford. The first Westminster contingent, who were to be responsible for the Old Testament books from Genesis to 2 Kings inclusive, numbered ten divines; namely Lancelot Andrewes, dean of Westminster; John Overall, dean of St. Paul's; Adrian de Saravia, prebendary of Canterbury; R. Clark, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; J. Layfield, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and rector of St. Clement Danes; R. Teigh, archdeacon of Middlesex and incumbent of All Hallows, Barking; F. Burleigh of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; G. King, fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Mr. Thompson of Clare Hall, Cambridge; and William Bedwell, vicar of Tottenham. The first Cambridge group was eight in number, and undertook the Old Testament from 1 Chronicles to Ecclesiastes inclusive. It embraced Edward Lively, regius professor of Hebrew at Cambridge; John Richardson, fellow of Emmanuel College; Laurence Chaderton, master of the same college; Mr. Dillingham, fellow of Christ's College; Mr. Harrison, vice-master of Trinity College; Roger Andrewes, master of Jesus College; Robert Spalding, fellow of St. John's College; and Andrew Byng, fellow of Peterhouse. The first Oxford contingent of seven divines was responsible for Isaiah to Malachi; and included John Harding, president of Magdalen College and regius professor of Hebrew; John Reynolds before mentioned; Thomas Holland, rector of Exeter College and regius professor of Divinity; Richard Kilby, rector of Lincoln College; Miles Smith of Brasenose College; Richard Brett, fellow of Lincoln College; and Richard Fair-

clough, fellow of New College. The second Cambridge committee had seven members, responsible for the Apocrypha; and included John Duport, master of Jesus College; William Branthwait, master of Caius College and formerly fellow of Emmanuel College; Jeremiah Radcliffe, fellow of Trinity College; Samuel Ward, fellow of Emmanuel College; Andrew Downes, fellow of St. John's College and professor of Greek; John Boyes, fellow of St. John's College; and Mr. Ward, fellow of King's College. Passing to the New Testament, the four Gospels, the Acts, and the Apocalypse were assigned to the following eight Oxford divines: Thomas Ravis, dean of Christ Church; George Abbot, master of University College and dean of Winchester; Richard Eedes, dean of Worcester; Giles Thompson, fellow of All Soul's College and dean of Windsor; Sir Henry Savile, warden of Merton College and provost of Eton; John Perin, fellow of St. John's College and regius professor of Greek; Ralph Ravens, fellow of St. John's College; and John Harmer, fellow of New College and warden of Winchester College. The canonical Epistles from Romans to Jude inclusive were entrusted to seven divines meeting at Westminster, William Barlow, dean of Chester; William Hutchinson, archdeacon of St. Albans; John Spencer, afterwards president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Roger Fenton, fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; Michael Rabbett of Trinity College, Cambridge; Mr. Sanderson of Balliol College, Oxford; and William Dakins, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Although the details of names vary in the several accounts, and cannot always be certainly known, the forty-seven translators were to be assisted by three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either university, nominated by the vice-chancellor and heads of houses; whose office it was to be overseers of the translations from Hebrew and Greek, "for better observation of the 4th rule above-specified".

The distinction of this panel of translators may be judged from the circumstances that it embraced a future archbishop of Canterbury, Abbot, and six bishops, Andrewes, Overall, Smith, Ravis, Thompson, and Barlow; as well as a galaxy of academic talents, of which, it may be observed in passing, the

nes is the scepter of thy kingdome.

7 Thou hast loued iustice & hated vngodlinesse: wherefore the Lorde euen thy Lorde hath anointed thee with the oyle of gladnesse more then thy fellowes.

8 All thy garments smell of Myrre, Aloes, and Cassia, out of the iuorie palaces: whereby they haue made thee

9 Kings daughters are amongest thy honourable women: vpon thy right hande standeth the queene in a vesture of golde of [a] Ophir.

a Ophir is thought to be the Ilande in the west coast, of late found by Christopher Columbo: frō whence at this day is brought most fine golde.

10 Hearken O daughter and consider, encline thine eare: forget also thine owne people and thy fathers house.

11 So shall the king haue pleasure in thy beautie: for he is thy Lorde, and worship thou him.

12 And the daughter of Tyre shall come with a present: the riche among the people shall make their earnest prayer before thee.

13 The kings daughter is all glorious within: her clothing is of wrought golde.

14 She shalbe brought vnto the king in rayment of needle worke: the virgins

30. Page from an English Bible printed in 1585. The marginal note suggests that Ophir is an island "of late found" by Christopher Columbus



31. Part of title page of the Bishop's Bible

recent puritan foundation of Sir Walter Mildmay, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, contributed its master and three fellows; and that its personnel was agreeably diversified by Saravia, the friend of Hooker who had found in England the desired *via media* between the extremes of Rome and Geneva; by Layfield, "who being skilled in architecture, his judgment was much relied on for the fabric of the Tabernacle and Temple"; and by Bedwell who was a distinguished Arabic scholar. It may be observed further that Miles Smith was the author of the preface to the completed version, which is no longer printed in modern editions. Although the translators were appointed in 1604, the revision does not appear to have been undertaken seriously till 1607; and during its progress some scholars were removed by death, including the originator, Reynolds, and Lively, one of the Hebraists. Nor did the work proceed with undue haste. Fuller remarked that the company "vigorously, though slowly, proceeded in this hard, heavy, and holy task, nothing offended with the censures of impatient people, condemning their delays (though indeed but due deliberation) for laziness". Likewise Smith in his preface observed that "neither did we run over the work with that posting haste that the *Septuagint* did, if that be true which is reported of them, that they finished it in 72 days; . . . the worke hath not bene hudled up in 72 dayes, but hath cost the workemen, as light as it seemeth, the paines of twise seuen times seuentie two days and more: matters of such weight and consequence are to be speeded with maturitie: for in a business of moment a man feareth not the blame of conuenient slacknesse". When the translation was completed at the different centres, six members, two from each of the Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford groups, were chosen to superintend the final preparation of the work for the press in London. Their task was finished in nine months; and the Authorized Version was published by the King's Printer, Robert Barker, in 1611. Its title was: "The Holy Bible: conteyning the Old Testament and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues; and with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised by his Maiesties speciall Commandement"; and it was "Appointed to be read in Churches".

Not the least interesting of its contents was the preface from *The Translators to the Reader*; in which the authors not only sought to explain the principles upon which they had acted, but also to forestall criticism from both romanist and puritan angles. They first defended themselves against the charge of newfangledness. "For, was there euer any thing proiected, that sauoured any way of newnesse or renewing, but the same endured many a storme of gainesaying or opposition?" Notwithstanding that James I "knew full well, . . . that whosoeuer attempteth any thing for the publike (specially if it pertaine to Religion, and to the opening and clearing of the word of God) the same setteth himself upon a stage to be glouted upon by euery euil eye, yea he casteth himselfe headlong upon pikes, to be gored by euery sharpe tongue", his majesty's "Royall heart was not daunted or discouraged". Moreover, since the Bible was written in tongues not now understanded of the people, "how shall men meditate in that, which they cannot understand? How shall they understand that which is kept close in an unknown tongue? . . . Translation it is that openeth the window to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtain, that we may looke into the most Holy place; that remooueth the couer of the well, that wee may come by the water". There followed an attack on the Church of Rome as "afraid of the light of the Scripture (*Lucifugae Scripturarum*, as Tertullian speaketh)", and as having been forced by its adversaries "to translate it into English against their wills". But the translators had not sought to innovate. "We are so farre off from condemning any of their labours that traueiled before us in this kinde, either in this land or beyond sea . . . that we acknowledge them to haue beene raised up of God, for the building and furnishing of his Church, and that they deserue to be had of us and of posteritie in euerlasting remembrance". Their purpose had been not "to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one; . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath bene our indeauour, that our marke". They had "not tyed themselves to an uniformitie of phrasing, or to an identitie of

words"; but had availed themselves of synonyms. They had allowed the insertion in the margin of a variety of senses of Hebrew and Greek words; but "We haue on the one side auoided the scrupulositie of the Puritanes, who leaue the olde Ecclesiasticall words and betake them to other, as when they put *washing* for *Baptisme* and *Congregation* in stead of *Church*; as also on the other side we haue shunned the obscuritie of the Papists, in their *Azimes*, *Tunike*, *Rational*, *Holocausts*, *Praepuce*, *Pasche* and a number of suchlike". Finally the preface concluded with an appeal to the reader not to despise their work, but to use and make it profitable to salvation.

Perhaps the verdict of a modern scholar, Bishop Westcott, may best sum up the results of the translators' labours. "As a whole their work was done most carefully and honestly. It is possible to point out inconsistencies of rendering and other traces of compromise, but even in the minutest details the translation is that of a Church and not of a party. It differs from the Rhemish Version in seeking to fix an intelligible sense on the words rendered; it differs from the Genevan Version in leaving the literal rendering unclouded by any expository notes. And yet it is most worthy of notice that these two Versions, representing as they do the opposite extremes of opinion, contributed most largely of all to the changes which the revisers introduced". With this testimony may be coupled that of Professor J. Isaacs from the literary standpoint. "The Authorized Version is a miracle and a landmark. Its felicities are manifold, its music has entered into the very blood and marrow of English thought and speech, it has given countless proverbs and proverbial phrases even to the unlearned and irreligious. There is no corner of English life, no conversation reverent or ribald it has not adorned. It has both broadened and retarded the stream of English speech. It is more archaic in places than its forerunners, and it is impossible for us to disentangle from our ordinary talk the phrases of Judea, whether Hebrew or Greek, whether of the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Poets or the Apostles." But even these accumulated merits did not discharge the authors from contemporary criticism. "The popish Romanists much excepted hereat", as Fuller remarked; "whilst others

complained that they could not see into the sense of the scripture for lack of the spectacles of those Genevan annotations." The Authorized Version indeed was adopted forthwith in churches; but the Genevan Bible retained its popularity for private reading. Notwithstanding, we may acquiesce in Westcott's conclusion that it "remains absolutely indisputable that their work resulted in a version of the Bible better–because more faithful to the original–than any which had been given in English before"; and of its translators we may say with Fuller, "Leave we then these worthy men, however they were requited on earth, well rewarded in heaven for their worthy work."

The Revised Version

By G. R. DRIVER

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THE Authorized Version, published in 1611, soon became the object of attacks from various quarters, primarily on sectarian grounds. As time went on, attention was drawn to the increasing number of misprints and similar errors appearing in successive editions. Lastly, in the nineteenth century, its scholarship began to be seriously questioned.

From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries therefore, a series of new translations of individual books of the Bible was issued from the press; these kept the problem of revision continuously before the public eye. In the nineteenth century the forces working for revision were strengthened by the general movement for reform, while the Tractarian Movement roused a lively interest in biblical studies. The work, too, of Tischendorf and Tregelles, Wordsworth and Alford, Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort, and of many other scholars, brought home the need for improved translation of the scriptures; and articles in the press and pamphlets drove the lesson home. Thus it came about that in 1856 Canon Selwyn raised the matter in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, while Mr. James Heywood brought it up in Parliament. Nothing, however, was then done. By 1870, however, public opinion was ready for action, and the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Wilberforce) in the Upper House of Convocation moved the appointment of a committee to report on the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament; the Bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Ollivant) carried an amendment to add the Old Testament, and the motion was passed. The Lower House passed it without a division. The Convocation of York, however, while expressing approval, refused their co-operation.

The instructions of the Revisers laid down that the revision

should include both marginal renderings and such emendations, which should follow the style of the existing versions, as might be found desirable in the text of the Authorized Version, that no alteration of the language should be made except when thought necessary by the most competent scholars; and they authorized them "to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong". The Upper House unanimously adopted these rules; the Lower House followed suit, though only after a division caused by opposition to the last rule. A joint committee of both Houses was then formed and drew up resolutions for the guidance of the Revisers. These included the rules mentioned above and further instructed the Revisers to go over the text, making the necessary corrections, once provisionally and once finally; where the text differs inalienably from that underlying the Authorized Version, to indicate this in the margin, and to make or retain no alteration in the text on the second final revision unless approved by two-thirds of those present.

Both companies began their work, sitting in Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey, in June 1870. That for the New Testament, which sat for six and a half hours on four consecutive days of every month except August and September, completed their task in November 1880, and the work was published in 1881; the revision of the Old Testament, completed after 792 days of six hours each in June 1884, was published in 1885. Finally, the committee for the Old Testament appointed six of their members to revise the translation of the Apocrypha in the Authorized Version. Two were unable to take part in this work, and one died; the survivors began work in 1885 and brought it to completion in 1895.

One important factor increased the length of time required. An American committee, set up in 1871 to carry out a similar task, began in 1872, when the English companies had already gone twice over the Pentateuch and once over the Synoptic Gospels. The English companies, however, were then instructed to invite American co-operation; the difficulties which arose at the outset were soon overcome and the work proceeded jointly and harmoniously to the end. An appendix,

printed at the end of all English editions of the Revised Version, sets out those alterations which the Americans preferred but which their English colleagues were unwilling to adopt in the text, and a corresponding American version was issued.

The Revisers of the New Testament had to prepare a trustworthy Greek text, so far as possible, and to amend the old translation both where their text diverged from that of the Authorized Version but also where the old translation was unintelligible, whether through faulty interpretation or the obsolescence of expressions in it. There are said to have been over 5,000 alterations in the text and more than 35,000 corrections in the translation. Some of both raised storms of protest, especially in the Lord's Prayer; here, for example, the doxology was omitted and "deliver us from evil" was altered to "from the evil one". Whatever the merits of individual alterations may be here, there can be little doubt that the new text, based on far older manuscripts and scientifically prepared, was superior to that used for the Authorized Version in the majority of passages, and the same may be said of the revised translations. These continually brought out the sense better and in fact made much that had been or had become barely intelligible in the Authorized Version, especially in the epistles, clearer than it had been, if not always absolutely clear. Yet the complaint was just that many of the alterations were needless and irritating; so, while the alteration of "take no thought for your life" into "be not anxious for your life" brought out the precise sense, this could not be said of the substitution of "bowls of wrath" for "vials of wrath" and of "the last farthing" for "uttermost farthing". Worse still was the pedantry, commonly attributed to the presence of too many schoolmasters among the Revisers; this led to unhappy attempts to render the same Greek word as often as possible by the same English word (a practice which the translators of the Authorized Version had explicitly disclaimed) and to treating the Greek idiom of the New Testament as though it was that of the classical language; so "we have toiled all night and took nothing" became "we toiled all night and took nothing" (Luke v. 5) solely from a mistaken desire meticulously to reproduce an aorist tense. All in all, however,

the Revised Version brought much gain to the understanding of the New Testament in a more scholarly translation. Its faults were largely superficial, its advantages fundamental; but the world, whose judgement is often superficial, disliked it.

The Revisers of the Old Testament had no need to prepare a text; they worked on the Massoretic or traditional Hebrew text. Their difficulties, however, though different, greatly exceeded those of their colleagues on the New Testament; for the Hebrew text was in very many places unintelligible, whether through the faults of the copyists, who had transmitted it, or through the obscurities of the Hebrew language, which was much less well known than the Greek. Great progress, however, had been made in the elucidation of that language since the appearance of the Authorized Version, but this meant that a large literature on the subject had to be culled for improvements.

Like their colleagues, this company removed most archaisms, even though they occasionally retained words which were already becoming if they had not already become obsolete; for example, they altered "breaches" to "creeks" but kept "chapmen" for "traders", while the Latin "desired" for "regretted" (if indeed that is what is meant) is still found once (2 Chron. xxi. 20). They succeeded, however, in correcting a vast mass of incorrect renderings and in throwing light on a large number of obscure passages, especially in the prophetical and poetical books; so "the ships of Tarshish did sing of them in thy market", which is nonsense, becomes "were thy caravans for thy merchandise" (Ezek. xxvii. 25), which makes a sort of sense, whatever may be said of the Hebrew text or of its English translation. Yet at other times their corrections are ludicrous; thus unhappily the Revisers alter the Authorized Version's "my desire is that the Almighty would answer me", which represents the Hebrew text perfectly well and has the support of two ancient versions, to "lo! there is my signature, let the Almighty answer me!" (Job xxxi. 35), which makes no sense. Yet the revision of the Old Testament, as the writer's father who was one of the Revisers often told him, like that of the New Testament was hampered by the inclusion of backwoodsmen, added

for the express purpose of preventing alteration and improvement; consequently what was right was often relegated to the margin or rejected outright. Thus that most unfortunate of all mistranslations, "virgin" for "young woman", came to be retained in "behold! a virgin shall conceive and bear a son" (Isa. vii. 14).

The Revised Version was in some sense prematurely born; the Old Testament came before the vast treasures of Assyriology were fully available to throw a flood of light on the Hebrew language, the Apocrypha appeared before the discovery of the Hebrew text of Jesus ben Sirach, and the New Testament was finished when the Greek papyri were still not yet available to illustrate the Greek dialect in which it was written. This handicap was most serious probably for the Old Testament. On the other hand, extreme conservatism compelled the Revisers to accept the Hebrew text, often even if it made nonsense, when it could easily be corrected by the aid of the ancient versions, if not by conjecture; they still kept "upon the wicked He shall rain snares, fire and brimstone and burning wind" (Ps. xi. 6), although one of the ancient translators showed that the word rendered "snares" could be corrected by a minute alteration of the text to read "coals", which makes perfect sense. On the other hand, Assyriology had not yet revealed that the word translated "glory" in "my heart is glad and my glory rejoiceth" (Ps. xvi. 9) ought by a similarly slight correction to be read "liver", which the Hebrews regarded as the seat of the emotions.

Their work now calls for revision along three lines. First, the ancient versions, which are many centuries older than the oldest Hebrew manuscript of the Old Testament (except the scrolls of Isaiah and other fragmentary texts recently found in a cave overlooking the Dead Sea), must be followed where they are manifestly superior to the Hebrew text. For example, the story of casting the lots between Saul and Jonathan as it stands is unintelligible (1 Sam. xiv. 41–2); a few words have dropped out but are found in the ancient Greek translation and must be brought back into any English revision to restore sense. Secondly, the Revisers did not apparently always ask them-

selves what they meant by their translations. Did they really think that a molten image was made with a graving tool, or that rain was a blessing on mown grass? Did they ask themselves what use a "bow of brass" would be, what "he that speaketh with his foot" might mean, or how a man could frighten a driven leaf? Thirdly, scientific terms must be overhauled; so, for example, the stone translated sapphire is lapis lazuli, and "eagle" is an evident error for "vulture" in "enlarge thy baldness as the eagle" (Mic. i. 16), where the reference is to the griffon-vulture, which has the head and neck bare of feathers. Lastly, where the Hebrew text obviously makes no sense and cannot be corrected from the ancient versions, it must be emended, however sparingly, by conjecture; a dead thief cannot be compelled to make restitution (Exod. xxii. 1–4)!

The Apocrypha was the least successful part of the Revisers' work. They made, it is true, many small improvements in the translation and they gained much by printing Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as poetry; but why did they not extend this practice, for example, to the Song of the Three Holy Children? They sometimes accept emendations of the text, at others they leave such ridiculous renderings as "they showed the elephants the blood of grapes and mulberries that they might prepare them for battle" (1 Macc. vi. 34), which is as absurd as "look not on the wine when it is red" (Prov. xxiii. 31); both renderings are due to confusing two verbs of similar appearance but otherwise totally distinct, one meaning "to see" and the other "to drink". No one is helped or harmed by looking at wine, even when "it is red", *i.e.* undiluted with water. Lastly, there is much inconsistency in the form of Hebrew proper names; the Latin "Esaias" and the English "Jeremy" stand side by side in the same verse. Even so, the gains far outweigh the losses in the Apocrypha as in the two Testaments.

Apart from details of interpretation, the Revisers made a number of general improvements which were common to all three parts of the scriptures. They broke the text up into paragraphs instead of verses in the prose portions and they went far, but not far enough, in setting out the poetical parts in verse-form; they indicated changes of subject by spaces and they

clearly marked quotations. They did not, however, always avoid writing nonsense, even when this had long been recognized and ought to have been put right, and they were far too sparing in their use of the principal ancient versions, which in the Roman Church have equal validity with the Hebrew and Greek texts, as also in their recourse to textual emendation; for surely it is ludicrous to perpetuate the palpable errors of an ancient scribe when a simple conjecture will restore the sense of a passage. In spite of these weaknesses, their translation was immensely superior in scholarship if not in style to that of their predecessors, and they cannot be blamed for not making use of knowledge not yet available to them. Yet the time has come for a new English translation of the Bible; but *dies diem docet* and, when that appears, the need for yet another revision will perhaps already be looming on the horizon.

Unfortunately, the Revised Version was pirated by unscrupulous publishers in the United States, who issued editions containing unauthorized alterations in the supposed interest of American readers. In 1901, therefore, it was copyrighted and a fresh edition, the so-called Standard Version, was put out; this was simply a variant edition of the English Revised Version, rid of these alterations and having the American preferences, which had been put in the appendix of the English edition, in the text while the English preferences were relegated in their turn to the appendix. Thus it was perhaps slightly more accurate and somewhat less stilted than the English version; but it was substantially that version.

In 1928 a joint American and Canadian body called the International Council of Religious Education acquired this copyright. Aware of the general opinion that the Revised Version was no longer adequate as a translation, the Council appointed a committee to examine the question; on receiving the committee's report that extensive revision was necessary, in 1937 it appointed thirty-two scholars to carry out the work. They were instructed to produce a version embodying "the best results of modern scholarship as to the meaning of the Scriptures", to express this in language "designed for use in public and private worship" and to preserve those qualities, so far as

possible, which had given the Authorized Version its supreme position in literature.

These latest American Revisers begin by getting rid of most of the surviving archaisms in the English text. For example, they have substituted "you" for "thou, thee" everywhere except in prayers and addresses to God, thus modernizing the form of expression but occasionally obscuring the sense where a distinction between the singular and plural is wanted. They have also removed all such forms of the verb as "hath" as well as the subjunctive mood, which has now become almost entirely obsolete. They have further eliminated archaic idioms likely to be misunderstood, for example changing "to tempt God" into "to try God" wherever the phrase occurs. At the same time they have retained many, often quite happily from the point of view of style, where the sense is clear; they still speak of a son who succeeds his father on the throne as reigning "in his stead" and of coveting another's "manservant" or "maidservant", though here inaccurately since slaves rather than hired servants are meant. On one important point the Americans have reversed the action of their predecessors; for, whereas the English Revisers used "Lord" for the Hebrew divine name and their American colleagues unfortunately preferred "Jehovah", which is *vox nihili* invented in or before the fourteenth century, these last have wisely re-introduced "Lord" into the text.

In the realm of scholarship there is much gain, but not perhaps as much as there ought to have been. One or two examples of the rendering of key-words will illustrate this point. Less trammelled by old-fashioned religious prejudices than the English Revisers, the Americans have banished the incorrect and unhappy "virgin" in "Behold! a virgin shall conceive and bear a son" (Isa. vii. 14) and, going beyond the English Revisers' half-hearted attempt to mend the sense by putting the equivocal "maiden" in the margin, have boldly put "young woman" in the text. This is perfectly right; for the Hebrew word simply means any young woman of marriageable age. Again, the Hebrew word commonly translated "loving kindness" in our Bibles is accompanied by parallel terms denoting truth, firmness and fidelity, righteousness and justice, in many

passages, and it is even used for a man's stability of life and for his lasting power or state as compared with that of a fading flower. These comparisons show that the word really means "steadiness, steady love, loyalty" or the like, and the Americans now rightly have "steadfast love" for it; yet they miss the point when they keep "all flesh is as grass, and all its beauty is like the flower of the field" (Isa. lx. 6), where "beauty" is based on an incorrect emendation for "stability" or the like. Elsewhere, too, they sometimes miss the precise sense of a word. Thus the word translated "scoffer" in the opening Psalm and in many of the Proverbs has been shown to mean something like "hybristic" or "insolent", which have a quite different sense; yet the Americans have unfortunately not made this correction.

Much work has been done on the language, archaeology and history, and other aspects of Semitic civilization since the appearance of the Revised Version, and the American Revisers have made ample use of this new knowledge. They rightly alter the last words in "the king's merchants received them (*sc.* Solomon's horses) in droves" (1 Kings x. 28) to "from Kue" (which is the district afterwards called Cilicia), where horses were bred; the object translated "sun-pillar" in the Revised Version in deference to an incorrect etymology becomes "incense-altar" (for such an altar has actually been found inscribed with the very word used in the Old Testament); and the concluding words in the statement that "in his (*sc.* king Josiah's) days Pharaoh-Necoh king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria" (2 Kings xxiii. 29) become "to the king of Assyria" (for an Assyrian text found in the British Museum and published in 1923 proves that these two kings were then in alliance).

At the same time the American Revisers have missed much that ought to have been incorporated in their revision; they even in places retain what can only be condemned as nonsense. They leave "its stones are the place of sapphires, and it has dust of gold", where the original text means "its stones are lapis lazuli speckled with gold" (Job xxviii. 6); they still make "the swallow . . . observe the time of her coming" (Jer. viii. 7), although in Palestine it is not the swallow but the swift which is a migrant; and they still speak of "them which dwell in

houses of clay . . . which are crushed before the moth" (Job iv. 19), although it has long been known that the meaning is "which are destroyed like a bird's nest". Job still asks why he will be condemned "if I wash my hands with snow" (Job ix. 30), the Psalmist still prays that his enemies may be "like the snail which dissolves into slime" (Ps. lviii. 8) and that God may show himself beneficent "like rain that falls on the mown grass" (Ps. lxxii. 6); yet snow has no cleaning property, no harm comes to snails though they leave a trail of slime behind them, and rain ruins hay!

Contrariwise, the Americans do not hesitate at times to alter the text. For example, they follow the modern re-arrangement of the text concerning the thief who, as the text stands, is required to pay compensation though he has been killed (Exod. xxii. 1–4, where they re-arrange the verses as 1–4–2–3), and they adopt the universally accepted emendation which turns "serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the son" into "serve the Lord with fear, with trembling kiss his feet" (Ps. ii. 11–12). Again, in the casting of the lots between Saul and Jonathan, they do not hesitate to insert the words which, omitted (as said above) from the Hebrew text, have been preserved in the ancient Greek version, thus restoring sense to the passage (1 Sam. xiv. 41–2).

The first impression that a Hebrew scholar gets is that many erroneous renderings have disappeared, but on second thoughts he cannot avoid the conclusion that the clearance of dead matter is not so thorough as it ought to have been. The American Revisers seem to have made full use of all the work that has been done on the Old Testament up to the war of 1914–18, but they have missed much done since that date. The reason is not far to seek. The work of the earlier period has been well digested in commentaries and dictionaries; the bulk of the later work still remains in papers written in diverse languages and scattered, often in very ephemeral publications, even in daily papers, over half the world. In spite of these difficulties, they have effected a very real improvement in the interpretation of the Hebrew text in innumerable places. From the point of view of style the Americans seem to have been eminently successful.

Their translation is hardly anywhere, if not indeed nowhere, archaistic, stilted or awkward; it is natural and easy, and the rhythm is excellent. Most important of all, the practice which they have introduced of printing poetry as verse and not confining it to the three books traditionally so printed (Job, Psalms, Proverbs), *i.e.*, in balanced half-lines or lines, is altogether admirable; and the parallelism of thought, which is the most marked characteristic of Hebrew poetry, stands out with admirable clarity and the true sense, which can often be reached only by comparing the parallel clauses, becomes immediately apparent.

The problem of revising the Revised Version of the New Testament was different. The Greek language is much better known than the Hebrew, and the New Testament contains few unknown words. The text is far less corrupt, being firmly based on a large number of ancient manuscripts reaching back to within two centuries of the time of Christ and not depending, as the Old Testament does, on a single line, of which the earliest (except the Scrolls of Isaiah and other fragments of the Hebrew text recently found near the Dead Sea) dates from a thousand years after the composition of its latest part.

Unfortunately, one of the very few unknown words is still mistranslated, and the Revised Version's "spikenard" becomes "pure nard" (Mark xiv. 3, John xii. 3); it was indeed far from being pure, being a perfume compounded of nard or spikenard and some five other ingredients and mixed with an extract of the ben or pistachio nut, which was used as a liquid solvent and to which the adjective "pistic" refers. Again, did Cleophas ask the risen Lord "Are you the only visitor to Jerusalem who does not know" and not rather "Do you lodge" or "live alone in Jerusalem that you do not know the things that have happened there?" (Luke xxiv. 18). One may also ask whether "Thomas called Didymus" ought to be translated "Thomas called the Twin" (John vi. 16, xx. 24, xxi. 2); for Didymus, being without the definite article, is rather Thomas's Greek name (being one well enough known in the Hellenistic period), such as many Jews had in the Graeco-Roman world, for example, Saul who became Paul and "Jesus who is called Justus" (Col. iv. 11).

Occasionally some of the less happy renderings of the older English versions have been retained. Such are the English Revisers' awkward preterite tense in "we toiled all night and took nothing" (Luke v. 5), where English idiom requires the perfect tense (as said above) and their "keys of Hades" (Rev. i. 18) is kept, although the Greek term now hardly gives a correct impression of the sense.

Contrariwise, the American Revisers bring out the sense much better in countless turns of expression. So "the Augustan Cohort" is a great improvement on the Revisers' "Augustan band" (Acts xxvii. 1), since "band" is an ambiguous term in modern usage. In the same way the description of Peter as "stripped for work" is preferable to "naked" (John xxi. 7) when he leapt into the sea to meet the risen Lord; and certainly "to the close of the age" is a more accurate rendering of the Greek phrase than "to the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 20). Or again the alteration of "if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him and rid you of care" into "we will satisfy him and get you out of trouble" (Matt. xxviii. 14), removes an awkward idiom, even though it goes somewhat beyond the Greek words, which perhaps mean rather "we will relieve you of anxiety" on the score of having slept when on guard.

The clearest gain, however, is in the epistles which, unintelligible in many places in the Authorized Version, often remain obscure in the Revised Version. Here, for example, the totally unintelligible "beware of the concision" becomes "look out for those who mutilate the flesh" (Phil. iii. 2), which approaches even if it does not entirely indicate the full force of the Greek word. There are, indeed, many such changes throughout these difficult books, almost all bringing out what the authors mean far more clearly than any previous version. In conclusion, one such passage may be quoted in full. It runs in the new translation: "Do you not know that in a race all the runners compete, but only one receives the prize. So run that you may obtain it. Every athlete exercises self-control in all things. They do it to receive a perishable wreath, but we are imperishable. Well, I do not run aimlessly, I do not box as one beating the air; but I pommel my body and subdue it, lest after

page 160, 3 lines up, for "are" *read* "an"



32. Dr. John Reynolds



33. Dr. Lancelot Andrewes



34. King James's Psalter



35. Title and authorization of the King James Psalter, 1631

preaching to others I myself should be disqualified" (1 Cor. ix. 24–7). This is excellent; the translation is accurate and at the same time perfectly intelligible at no sacrifice of English idiom.

Another advantage is that, where there is reason to suspect poetry, the passage is printed as verse and not, as hitherto, in prose form (*e.g.*, Rev. xviii. 2–8, 14–24); the form thus catches the eye and holds the attention of the reader, who sees the sense standing out as though in relief from the background. One can therefore only regret that modernization was not carried one step further and that the numbers of the verses were not relegated to the margin instead of being left in the body of the text.

All in all, this new American revision of the Revised Version marks a welcome step forward in making the scriptures intelligible to the ordinary man and woman in the street. Nearly every alteration is an improvement, and there are singularly few errors of interpretation; one can but regret that it is not even more thorough and up to date than it actually is.

English versions since 1611

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It is probably not very widely known that there were at least seventy "private versions" of the Bible or of notable parts thereof produced by members of various Protestant groups between the Authorized Version of 1611 and the Revised Version of 1881–85. During these 270 years the Authorized Version retained its position of supremacy, so that the greater number of these "private versions" have been forgotten. It will not be possible to name them all here, but the memory of some should be preserved, either because of the eminence of the translator or because of the interesting nature of the effort.

Among the Catholics in the same way the Rheims New Testament of 1582 and the Douay Old Testament of 1609–10 remained almost unchallenged until Dr. Challoner's revisions in the mid-eighteenth century, which then became the standard Catholic text.

English Jews have usually made use of the current Protestant text, though Jewish versions were made in America in 1854 and 1917.

Since the Revised Version the tradition of "private versions" has continued, about ten texts having appeared making use of the traditional archaic diction. On the other hand the number of "modern speech versions" during the seventy years since the Revised Version has risen to over twenty, without including that great achievement of the American Protestants, the Revised Standard Version of 1946–52. During the same period several Catholic versions, notably that of Mgr. Knox, have appeared on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Earlier "Private Versions"

The first texts in English to appear after the Authorized

Version were those of the Brownist Henry Ainsworth at Amsterdam in 1616–27, and his successor, John Canne, produced the first fully cross-referenced Bible in 1647. The next development was the long series of paraphrases. The method was to insert explanatory phrases in italics into the text of the Authorized Version. The first of these was the *New Testament Paraphrase* by the Oxford divine Dr. Hammond (1653), which was much esteemed by Dr. Johnson. Associated with Dr. Hammond were the three Oxford dons, Woodhead, Allestry and Walker, all strong royalists, and Woodhead and Walker crypto-Catholics, who produced a *Paraphrase on the Epistles* in 1675. The *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* of Dr. Daniel Whitby, Precentor of Salisbury (1702) is particularly ponderous, but went through four editions. Two Cambridge men, Dr. Clarke and Thomas Pyle, both associated with Whiston and the Arian movement within the Church of England, between them paraphrased the whole New Testament (1701–2 and 1725–35). A strong anti-Arian was the Independent John Guyse, whose paraphrase appeared 1739–52. This marks the end of the fashion for paraphrases of this kind, except for Edward Barlee's on the epistles as late as 1837.

Meanwhile some of the leading Dissenters were occupying themselves with biblical translation. The great Puritan theologian Richard Baxter brought out his New Testament in 1685, and Philip Doddridge, the most important Nonconformist writer of the next century, published his *Family Expositor, or, a Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament* in 1739. Part of Doddridge's text, combined with Campbell's Gospels (1789) and Macknight's Epistles (1795), was used to form a complete Presbyterian New Testament in 1818. The first Presbyterian contribution, however, was the New Testament of William Mace (1729) with an early attempt at a critical Greek text and a new English translation into a quaint colloquial style. In 1764 the massive folios of Anthony Purver's "Quakers' Bible" appeared, designed to replace the Authorized Version in the Society of Friends; and by 1808 the Unitarians had their own "Improved Version".

Revisions of the Authorized Version

Early in the eighteenth century we find the first deliberate attempt to revise the text of the Authorized Version of 1611. The Rev. Edward Wells, Rector of Bletchley, published the *Common Translation Corrected* in 1718–24. Many such "corrections" appeared during the next 150 years; some, as John Wesley's of 1755, set out to make the translation more accurate, while others, as that of the American lexicographer Noah Webster in 1833, were primarily concerned with modernizing the idiom. The *Primitive New Testament* of the Arian William Whiston (1745) was an adjustment of the Authorized Version to the text of Codex Bezae, which Whiston mistakenly believed to be the oldest. After the appearance of Griesbach's critical Greek text in 1774–5, several revisions were made according to this or subsequent critical texts. Of these the most important is the work of the gentle Oxford scholar William Newcome, who became Primate of the Established Church of Ireland. He was probably the first to publish a plea for a revision by authority of the Authorized Version. His own revision of the New Testament (1796), elegantly printed in paragraphs with verse-numbers in the margin, in many ways paved the way for the Revised Version, and his many notes are soundly critical and theologically orthodox. His text was the basis of the Unitarian Version of 1808. Some groups made their own revisions, such as the Millerites and Baptists in America (1849 and 1851). Work on the Revised Version began in 1870, and one of the Revisers, Dean Alford, had already published a revision in 1869; moreover, the Revisers' methods were not acceptable to all, and Canon F. C. Cook edited the *Speaker's Commentary* (1871–81) involving a revision along different lines. Similarly the *Modern Reader's Bible* of Richard Moulton (1907), the Rev. E. E. Cunnington's *New Testament* (1914, revised 1935), and R. Mercer Wilson's *The Book of Books* (1938), represent, among others, independent attempts at revision.

Later "Private Versions"

In the latter part of the eighteenth century several curious and original versions of the New Testament appeared. In 1764

Richard Wynne, a London parson, published his translation, explaining that he is endeavouring "to steer a just medium between a servile literal translation and a paraphrastic loose version". In 1768 Edward Harwood, a Presbyterian minister, brought out his "Liberal Translation", the fulsome periods of which have earned him some lasting notoriety. The style is only rivalled in what to us seems absurdity by that of the American Episcopalian Rodolphus Dickinson (1833), who calls his own language "a splendid and sweetly flowing diction". In marked contrast to these we find a "modern speech" version of 1770, by John Worsley, a layman of Hertford, who maintained that the "sacred oracles" needed retranslation into the current idiom at least once a century. Somewhat similar is the work of Gilbert Wakefield, a Dissenter with Unitarian leanings (1791), whose object was to produce a version that was "completely vernacular without vulgarism". Finally we should notice the version of Nathaniel Scarlett, a Universalist and then a Baptist (1798), colloquial but not periphrastic, and "personifying", *i.e.*, naming the speaker (including "Historian") as in the text of a play.

In the mid-nineteenth century there were a few deliberately "literal" translations, notably those of Herman Heinfetter (a pseudonym for F. Parker) (begun 1854), and of the concordance-maker Robert Young (1863), which is probably the most literal translation ever made.

Among the Plymouth Brethren the Bible of J. N. Darby (1884), one of the most influential Brethren at the beginning, is widely used; and in 1885 an entirely original translation from the Hebrew was completed by Mrs. Helen Spurrell, who was among the first to lay out poetical passages like poetry, and to use the name "Jehovah", as in the American Standard Version of 1901.

The Catholic Bible

By the eighteenth century the Catholics were also finding that their official version was becoming outmoded in its diction. In 1718, Dr. Nary, a parish-priest of Dublin, produced a fresh translation of the New Testament. He was probably the

first to publish (in his long preface) a reasoned theory of biblical translation: it must be literal, he said, but in current idiom. The Rheims-Douay Version was deliberately made from the Latin Vulgate, partly because it was to be a translation of the Latin text used in the liturgy, and partly because of the unsound state of the Greek text at the time, although the original texts, as then available, were consulted throughout. Dr. Nary similarly translated the Vulgate.

In 1730 Dr. Robert Witham published a revision of the Rheims New Testament, again with an elaborate exposition of his methods, including the interesting notion that an obscure passage in the original should be obscure also in translation.

In 1749 Bishop Richard Challoner made his first, official, and very considerable revision of Rheims. It is this text that is the basis of current Catholic New Testaments. He next revised the Douay Old Testament, with a slight further revision of the New (1750). In 1752 he revised the New Testament again, extensively, but this text has never had the popularity of that of 1749, and has not been re-issued during the last 100 years.

During the nineteenth century John Lingard translated the Gospels from the Greek (1836), and Archbishop Kenrick in America made an independent revision of Rheims-Douay (1851–61).

The Westminster Version, under Fr. C. Lattey, S.J. (†1954), translates from the original tongues: the New Testament was completed 1913–35, and the Old is still in production. The New Testament from the Greek, by Fr. A. Spencer, O.P. (1937), is well-known in America, as is also the *Confraternity Edition* (1941), which is a far-reaching revision of Challoner's New Testament, retaining, in common with all the texts mentioned above, something of the traditional archaic diction. The *Confraternity* Old Testament, however, (begun 1948) is a new translation from the Hebrew into current American idiom.

A completely new and original work is the translation of the whole Bible, from the Vulgate, by Mgr. Ronald Knox, into a very distinctive literary style, more archaic in the Old Testament than in the New (1944–49), which has probably been

more widely appreciated and discussed than any other modern version.

The Modern Speech Versions

The first attempts to use the idiom of today were made 100 years ago in America: A. Norton, of Harvard, produced the Gospels in 1855 and L. A. Sawyer the whole New Testament in 1858. The next attempt brings us into the present century, with the Bible of Ferrar Fenton, a London business man, in 1883–1903.

The early years of the century saw three modern speech New Testaments which have remained popular: *The Twentieth Century New Testament* (1898–1901, revised 1904), the work of an anonymous group, apparently Anglican and Nonconformist; Dr. Weymouth's of 1903; and Dr. Moffatt's of 1913, the most widely esteemed of the three, though the most free and periphrastic. Dr. Moffatt's Old Testament appeared in 1924, and the complete "Moffatt Bible" in 1926.

In 1923 Prof. Edgar J. Goodspeed, making full use of the developments of research, published his *American Translation* of the New Testament, deliberately using the literary style of the American idiom. The Old Testament edited by Prof. J. M. Powis Smith, appeared in 1931. Goodspeed, Powis Smith and Moffatt were all later associated with the Revised Standard Version.

Dr. G. W. Wade translated freely *The Documents of the New Testament* believed to underlie the present text (1934), somewhat in the manner of Dr. Moffatt's *Historical New Testament* of 1901 in "biblical English".

A remarkable *tour-de-force* was achieved when Prof. S. H. Hooke put the whole Bible into Basic English (New Testament 1941, Bible 1949), and the directness of the language gives a remarkable power to the rendering.

Two expressly free versions of the epistles appeared just after the war: the masterly *Paraphrase* by Dr. Wand, Bishop of London, in 1946 (an earlier version had appeared in Australia in 1943), where often the economy of words of striking aptness make it a close translation; and in 1947 the Rev. J. B. Phillips'

daring rendering into a colloquial letter-style, followed in 1952 by a similar translation of the Gospels. Mr. Phillips' work is brilliant, but it stands at the furthest edge of possible experiment with modern diction.

Meanwhile two New Testaments were published in America, the *Berkeley* in 1945, and the *New World* of the Jehovah's Witnesses, in 1950.

Lastly in this section we have the New Testament "in plain English", using a small and simple vocabulary, by the Methodist minister C. Kingsley Williams; and the engaging translation of the Gospels in the *Penguin Classics* by Dr. Rieu, the translator of the Greek classics, giving us what is perhaps the most easily readable text for today. Both these versions appeared in 1952.

The Revised Standard Version

The year 1952 also witnessed the completion of a particularly important undertaking. Scholars were not satisfied with either the Revised Version, or its American counterpart, the American Standard Version of 1901, and in 1937 a committee was formed in America, under the chairmanship of Dean Luther Weigle, of Yale, with a view to a more thorough revision, especially in the light of the considerable progress of studies since the end of the last century. The committee included a Jew on the Old Testament side, and had the official support of thirty-eight Protestant denominations in America. The translation uses a fine, entirely modern, dignified, literary English, retaining something of the periods of the Authorized Version, but not hesitating to alter any word, if accuracy or intelligibility is to be gained. To the English ear nothing transatlantic obtrudes itself, and the version has been generally acclaimed as the most accurate and close rendering of the original. The New Testament appeared in 1946, and the whole Bible (as yet without the Apocrypha), with about eighty new changes in the New Testament, in 1952, together with valuable introductory booklets explaining the Revisers' principles and methods. The Revised Standard Version marks one more definite period in the history of the Scriptures in English.

The Bible Societies

By the REV. J. E. FENN

Editorial Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society

THE British and Foreign Bible Society, which was 150 years old in the year 1954, exists for a very simple purpose: to make the Scriptures available to all men in the languages they speak and at a price they can afford to pay. It is the oldest of the Bible Societies in the world and provided the pattern for those which came later; and thus in any discussion of the work of these Societies we must begin by giving an account of the original foundation. The founders of the Society were men who had been deeply stirred by the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. Their imaginations were kindled by the idea of bringing the Book in which they had found their own salvation within reach of all who could read, whatever their race or language. Men like William Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Charles Grant and Lord Teignmouth (who became the first President of the Society) willingly gave their support and maintained their enthusiasm throughout the formative years of the work. The first foreign version to be published in 1804 was the Gospel of St. John in the Mohawk language; and, while the home organization strained every nerve to provide British homes with Scriptures, the business of the General Committee was soon ranging the world.

In many ways the Society is a peculiarly British institution. The very idea of founding a society for a specific purpose rather than waiting for official action seems natural to the British genius. The severely practical aim of "encouraging the wider distribution of the Scriptures" appealed with notable force to the generosity of a people always more responsive to action than to theory, while the addition of the words "without note or comment" expressed the determination of men of affairs not to get side-tracked in theological discussion. The Society

offered an opportunity of repaying at least part of the immense debt of the British people to the Bible by sharing this "national testament" with other peoples. For all these reasons the initial enthusiasm was remarkable and has been sustained through the years. It has always been a principle of the Society that nobody should be debarred from access to the Scriptures merely for lack of money, and the prices of overseas versions are fixed by what people can afford to pay: the difference –often very considerable–between this and the total cost to the Society is made up by the generous contributions of Christian people at home and abroad, frequently at heavy sacrifice to themselves.

Both in activity and in the structure of its committees the Society is international and interdenominational, thus bearing the two essential marks of the "ecumenical movement". Indeed, it was one of the first meeting-grounds for Christians of differing allegiance and the early reports ring with joyful surprise at this close co-operation across hardened denominational frontiers.

Supporting the Pioneer

One of the impressive things revealed in the record of the Society is its willingness to take the unpopular line and to support the pioneer. By 1804, when the inaugural meeting was held, William Carey had already begun the vast work of putting the Scriptures into Eastern languages, but he had to live in Serampore (then Danish territory) because of the opposition of the East India Company to all missionary work. The Bible Society immediately showed an active interest in what Carey was doing, subsidizing him to the extent of £1,000 a year and rejoicing in the mounting tally of languages he mastered. It is still almost incredible that before he died in 1834 he and his friends should have translated the Bible, or some part of it, into thirty-four Asiatic tongues. Moreover, members of the Society who had links with the East India Company were active in the struggle which ultimately changed the company's policy in this matter. Again, Robert Morrison went out to Canton in 1807 when China was closed to Christianity and,

at peril to his own life and to the lives of the Chinese who helped him, and in face of the scepticism of the Europeans, translated the Bible into Chinese–with the whole-hearted support of the Society. Later, the committee had the insight to see in that eccentric genius, George Borrow, a potential ally and the courage to employ him, first in Russia in connexion with a Manchu version and then in Spain, where he and his work are still remembered. The Tibetan Bible, begun in 1856 by a group of Moravian missionaries in Ladakh and only published in 1948, was constantly on the agenda of the Society, and today it is being read in at least seventeen lamaseries in this "closed" land.

The record reveals also considerable nimbleness in getting round awkward corners. To give but two examples: in 1812, with Napoleon's armies at the gates of Moscow, Prince Galitzin and Dr. Paterson persuaded the Tsar, Alexander I, to allow the formation of a Russian Bible Society, to which he gave a personal donation as well as his official patronage; and throughout the recent war in Korea the work was maintained with heroic determination even though the Bible House in Seoul was burnt to the ground in 1950 and its successor in Pusan was destroyed in November 1953 in the fire which swept that tragic city.

The Society faces grave difficulties today throughout the broad belt from the China Sea to the Oder, but elsewhere it is confronted with almost terrifying opportunity. In Japan, one of the most literate of nations, the breakdown following defeat in 1945 has set men searching feverishly for a new foundation for life–and chiefly in Marxist and Christian literature. Recently, for instance, the New Testament reached the phenomenal circulation of 500,000 copies a year–more than double that of the most popular Japanese novel and far in excess of the needs of the small Christian minority in the country. In South America, wherever there is any real religious freedom, the circulation is only limited by the possibilities of production and the restrictions on imports. In Africa and India the doors are wide open, though knowledgeable observers tell us that the opportunity may not last much longer.

Influence on Culture

The fact that the Bible is so widely read has a bearing on the general culture of mankind as well as on the missionary work of the Churches. In many African tongues it is the first literature to appear at all, thereby playing a vital part in the creation of national communities. The research which goes into the preparation of a standard version such as that recently produced in Swahili, bears fruit in the gradual unification of dialects into a common language, much as the Authorized Version integrated our own English tongue. Scriptural ideas enter into non-Christian cultures and change the conception of God and basic ideas of virtue, so that, for instance, a Hindu writer seeking the highest terms in which to refer to Mahatma Gandhi could find no better phrase than "Christ-like."

This immense undertaking rests on the conviction that while the Christian believer needs to nourish his soul on the Scriptures the unbeliever may also be reached and even converted through the printed word. This has been proved again and again in the history of the society and it has sanction in the early practice of the Church; yet there are those who view the method with suspicion and even with dismay. What guarantee is there that the individual will understand these writings aright? What safeguard against the wildest vagaries of interpretation?

There is, indeed, a grave risk in broadcasting the Bible to all and sundry and there is no guarantee at all that those who read it will come to one conclusion. The impressive thing, however, is not that some people misunderstand the Scriptures but that so many more find in them a way to direct knowledge of the truth. Moreover, the vast majority of the men who sell these books in the towns and villages of the world are themselves members of some Christian community, while those non-Christians who are moved by their reading invariably apply to some branch of the Christian Church for further instruction and are thus taken up into a living fellowship. Finally, it is the Christian belief that the situation is not exhausted by the picture of a man reading a book: there is the incalculable influence

of the Holy Spirit and the fact that, as he reads, the man comes within reach of the grace of God.

Today the society has no less than sixty-three complete Bibles and fifty-five New Testaments in preparation or under revision in different parts of the world. The significance of such figures lies in this: when a Gospel is first translated and published it is a sign that in some part of the world the Church is at grips with its evangelistic task; generally, when the New Testament appears it shows that there has been a response and a Christian community has come into existence; the appearance of the whole Bible indicates that this Christian community has come to stay; while the revision of a translation proves that the Church in that place has grown to maturity and is refurbishing its weapons. The large number of revisions now in progress also shows a determination to meet the needs of this generation which, all over the world, has broken or is breaking with archaic forms of society and classical forms of speech. In translation and revision the Bible Society works hand-in-glove with the missionaries of the various churches and has thus become an indispensable auxiliary to the world-wide task of the Christian Churches, a chief source of that basic equipment without which the Christian forces must inevitably falter.

A chief source, but not the only one; for even while the Napoleonic wars were still raging the emissaries of the infant Society were travelling the dangerous roads of Europe, seeking eagerly for like-minded men in other countries who would follow the example of those who met in the London Tavern in 1804 to launch this fantastic enterprize. Nor did they seek in vain. Two months after the historic meeting in London a Bible Society was founded in Nuremberg, the prototype of the German Bible Societies which have flourished ever since and which have now recovered from their temporary eclipse under Adolf Hitler and the stress of the second world war. The Nuremberg Society had to move to Basel in 1806 because of the intensification of hostilities and there stimulated a similar movement in Switzerland. Two Scottish missionaries, Paterson and Pinkerton, seeking to get to the Far East via Russia, got held up in the

Low Countries and Denmark, and the result was the formation of Bible Societies in the Netherlands, Denmark and Finland. Paterson got through to Russia and (as already noted) with the help of Prince Galitzin persuaded the Czar to sanction the formation of a Russian Bible Society in the fateful year 1812. Steinkopf, the first foreigner to be employed by the parent Society, toured Europe and the Near East shortly after the end of hostilities, with similar results. The enthusiasm spread by more subtle ways to America and led to the formation of the American Bible Society in May 1816. Within two decades of the original initiative a movement was afoot which clearly saw itself as a world movement and which expected and obtained the support of practically all Christians, whatever their ecclesiastical obedience. Even the Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox joined in at the first.

We cannot in such an article as this trace the movement in detail. The resultant pattern of Bible Society work is formed of three main strands; the British and Foreign Bible Society and its major auxiliaries in the Dominions; the three great "missionary" Bible Societies which came from the original impetus in America, the Netherlands and Scotland; and more recent growths in the "missionary countries" themselves. The interaction of these elements now provides the foundation for the "United Bible Societies", a world fellowship which has come into being in the course of the past ten years as a means of common planning and consultation. It will be convenient to take these in a somewhat different order and briefly comment on each.

The first Bible Society to be formed in the United States of America was that in Philadelphia in the year 1808. This was followed a year later by others in Connecticutt, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York. By 1814 there were sixty-nine such organizations and two years later, in the Dutch Reformed Church in New York, more than one hundred Societies came together to form the American Bible Society and to plan the work on an inter-state scale. It was only in 1782 that Congress had given permission for the "King James' Version" to be printed in U.S.A. Up to that time all English Bibles had been

carried across the Atlantic. The step taken which authorized printing on American soil was hailed as "our Biblical Declaration of Independence", but it did not lead to any widespread distribution of the Bible and the founders of the American Bible Society had their hands full in the early years in supplying their own country with the Scriptures. It was not long, however, before their eyes turned to other countries. In the middle of the century we find them sending a representative to South America, where already an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society had ventured; with the opening up of China and later of Japan and Korea, American missionaries rapidly became involved in work in the Far East and the scope of the American Bible Society expanded accordingly. By the end of the century their agents were working side by side—and sometimes, be it said, in competition—with British agents in South America, the Near East, the Pacific islands and the Far East. Today this Society can report that in 1953 it circulated throughout the world no less than 13,695,291 books, of which some 678,000 were complete Bibles; and its total income amounted to three and a half million dollars. It is the official Bible agent of the American denominations, representatives of which meet each year to help the Society plan its programme.

The Netherlands Bible Society was founded in 1814 after the visit of Dr. Pinkerton to Amsterdam. Its first task was to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures among its own people, but once again interest widened rapidly to embrace the countries where the Netherlands government had colonial responsibilities. In its translation work the Netherlands Society has adopted a somewhat different policy from that of the British and the American Societies, which have always relied on missionaries for the first steps in putting the Scriptures into foreign tongues, giving them what support was necessary and at times subsidizing them so that the work could be hastened. The Dutch have preferred to train their own translators and send them out to the East Indies or to New Guinea to work alongside the missionaries, with a primary obligation towards linguistic study. Today they have translation work going forward in forty-five languages spoken in Indonesia, New Guinea,

Surinam and the West Indies. In Holland itself the Society's greatest triumph in recent years is the production of a new edition of the Bible in Dutch which has the complete approval of all the Protestant churches, an achievement which all who know anything of the tenacious hold an "Authorized Version" has over the human mind can well appreciate. The Society has now 157,000 members and contributors, organized in more than 700 branches and kept in touch with the work by the use of exhibitions, films and film-strips, broadcasts and the like. Its work in Holland includes the use of two book vans each manned by two experienced salesmen. In its outreach into the non-Christian world the Netherlands Bible Society also came into contact with agents of other societies and had to establish co-operation with them. In particular, the work in Indonesia rapidly became a joint enterprize on the part of this Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland.

The National Bible Society of Scotland grew out of the smaller societies formed soon after 1804 and which included the Edinburgh Bible Society (1809) and the Glasgow Society (1812) and which were, in the early days, somewhat restive auxiliaries of the parent society in London. They developed their own interests overseas, particularly in Europe and India, where they were strong supporters of the work of William Carey. The links with London were severed as a result of a most unfortunate controversy over the publication of the Apocrypha, which rocked the Society for some ten years, and, in 1861 an independent society was formed in Scotland. Today no trace of this disagreement remains and the two British societies work together in the greatest harmony.

The first major publication of the National Society of Scotland was the Efik Bible for Nigeria, but its principal overseas interest lay in the Far East. It was a colporteur of this Society who first took printed Gospels to Korea at a time when to do so was to court almost certain death; and in Manchuria and Japan agents of the Scottish Society undertook pioneer distribution. Today the Society has a share in the work being done from Hong Kong (a large distributing centre for south-east

Asia), in Singapore, Korea, India, Africa, South America and Europe. It has published the Bible in Gaelic and is doing all it can to see that Scotland itself remains true to its biblical heritage.

Perhaps we had better explain a term which has just been used for the first time in this article. It is the word "colporteur" and it occurs somewhat frequently in any writing about the work of the Bible Societies. From the earliest days it has been the custom to employ men to take the books round to the remote villages, seeking out those who could read and persuading them, whatever their religion, to buy a Gospel or a New Testament or even, maybe, a Bible in their own language. These men, who still for the most part carry their books in a satchel round their necks, are called "colporteurs". Most of them are men of humble origin but of deep and tenacious faith, and their job is a very lonely one—and sometimes dangerous.

From the contact and interaction of these large, missionary-minded societies working in Africa and the Far East, in South America and the West Indies has sprung the necessity to devise a means of co-operation. In consequence a number of "joint agencies" have grown up in which two or more societies agree to run the work together. Thus, in South America all the work is of this nature, a co-operation between the American Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society which is close and organic. Similarly, in the Near East, the same two societies share the work over the whole area, from Turkey to Egypt; while in Indonesia responsibility rests with the National Bible Society of Scotland, the Netherlands Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society. The next step in this process is the formation of a national Bible Society which is independent in its policies but continues to receive help, financial and other, from the larger societies. So in Brazil the former joint agency is now an independent Bible Society, supported by the American and the British Societies; and similarly in Japan, Korea, Indonesia and China (though since 1950 it has been impossible for the China Bible Society to receive any help from western sources). The Bible Society of India, Pakistan and Ceylon is in

a similar position, except that the support comes predominantly from Great Britain. There is another group of independent societies the origins of which were rather different: for instance, in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, where the British and Foreign Bible Society had considerable interests before the recent war, it became urgent to sever the organization from "western" control as soon as the iron curtain began to descend: and the work was therefore put in the hands of a national committee which has continued to function and even, in recent years, has been able to receive help from Britain, at least in the form of shipments of Bible paper for their own printing. Last year, however, we heard in England that the Czechoslovakian society had been disbanded, for reasons which are still obscure.

With this outline of the growth of modern Bible Society work in mind it is possible to appreciate the significance of the "United Bible Societies". It is a means of bringing together, for consultation and common planning, all the Bible-printing and Bible-distributing agencies which have grown out of the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. These include those which we have briefly described, together with the other European societies which have no very clearly defined "missionary" function but serve their own people; and those young societies whose independence is still only partial and who need the support and the fellowship of the older and more experienced bodies. In practice it is a meeting ground for the principal executive officers of some twenty-four such agencies and a most valuable instrument of co-operation.

Through the joint efforts of the Bible Societies of the world, the whole Bible now exists in just over 200 of the world's languages; the New Testament in a further 260 and some book or books of the Bible in over 600 other tongues. This means that some part of the Bible is now available to four-fifths of the population of the globe—or to those among them who can read. The average annual circulation of the scriptures through the Bible Societies is about 23 million books, of which some $3\frac{1}{2}$ million are complete Bibles, in roughly 500 of these languages. The measure of the task which still remains to be done lies in

the facts, first that there are some 1,600 languages still untouched and second that it is reckoned that some 25 million people learn to read for the first time each year!

Enough, however, has been said to explain how it was that the third jubilee of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1954 had an importance far outside the bounds of Great Britain. What was being celebrated was not simply the foundation of a great British institution: it was the beginning of a movement of translation and distribution of the Holy Scriptures which has affected the whole world.

The Bible and Christian worship:

The Lectionary and the Psalter

By the REV. E. C. RATCLIFF

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LECTIONS, "lessons" or readings, from the Bible have formed an important element of Christian corporate worship from the earliest days of the Church. The first Christians were Jews, familiar with the worship of the Synagogue. In the time of Jesus, lessons from the Pentateuch and the Prophets were read in the Synagogue services on Sabbath and festival days. It would have been surprising if the Christians had abandoned this usage, the more so because it was their resolute conviction that the Old Testament scriptures, and particularly the books of the Prophets, when rightly interpreted, could be seen to point to, and to be fulfilled in, Christ and Christianity. From the oldest surviving description of a Christian service, contained in the *First Apology* of Justin Martyr, written at Rome *c.* A.D. 155, we learn that the principal and distinctive rite of Christian worship, the Sunday Eucharist, was preceded by readings from the Gospels (now clearly on their way towards acquiring the status of scripture) or from the writings of the Prophets "as long as time permits", and that the sermon or instruction, which followed, was based upon what had been read. Although we may be sure that the narrative of the Lord's passion and resurrection was always read at Pascha, or Easter, there is no sign, at this early period, of any schematized arrangement of lessons. The choice and length of the passages to be read were decided by the presiding minister, in accordance with the instruction which he proposed to give.

The need for systematic instruction founded upon scripture may be taken as a leading factor in the origination and development of a defined system of scriptural lessons, both for the Eucharist and for other occasions upon which Christians met

for instruction and prayer. The great Origen, who died in A.D. 254 or 255, once excused himself from expounding the lesson appointed for the day on the ground that certain of his hearers had pressed him to elucidate the prophecy of Balaam. It is not possible to reconstruct the system or systems of lessons which obtained in Origen's day. On the other hand, it appears likely that we may attribute to his century the foundation of a tradition which has descended to our own day. The assignation of certain books to certain periods of the year was considered to be of inveterate usage already at the end of the fourth century. St. John Chrysostom, for instance, accepts the restriction of the liturgical reading of *Genesis* to Lent as immemorial practice. The Lent with which Chrysostom was familiar, however, was not an institution of any great antiquity; it had barely a century behind it, perhaps less. The original association of *Genesis* was, not with Lent, but with the season of spring, to which its description of the creation of the world and its pictures of the springtime of human history made it seem particularly apposite. Chrysostom again notices that "the rule of the Fathers" had assigned the reading of *The Acts of the Apostles* to the weeks between Easter day and Pentecost, or Whitsunday. The reading of *The Gospel according to St. John* was allotted to the same weeks. This ancient arrangement is still to be found in the provision of lessons for the rites and offices of the Roman Missal and Breviary and of the English Prayer Book.

Like "the Prophets", the Psalter also was understood to be filled with prophecies of Christ. In his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, Justin Martyr appeals constantly to the Psalter in defence of Christianity; and he cites most of the psalms appointed in the Prayer Book for Christmas, Easter and Ascension days as specifically predicting Christ's coming, and his death, resurrection and heavenly glory. That the early Christians sang psalms at worship, we may be reasonably certain; but we know nothing of their principle of selection. According to a tradition, which may contain an element of truth, Pope Damasus, *c.* A.D. 380, directed Jerome to arrange the psalms for the services of day and night. About a century and a half later, when St. Benedict was composing his famous *Regula Monachorum*, it was the estab-

lished custom of the Roman Church to recite the whole Psalter in the course of a week. Apart from the Eucharist, the Psalter was held to be the most acceptable means of praising God; "To the end that God might be truly praised by man", wrote Augustine, "God Himself expressed His own praise, and because He was worthy of praising Himself, man acquired the wherewithal to praise Him" in the Psalter. The Psalter therefore formed the staple of all those services represented by the Prayer Book offices of Morning and Evening Prayer. The old Roman weekly distribution of the Psalter was incorporated in the Sarum and other Breviaries of the English mediaeval uses. When the English Reformers compiled the first Prayer Book of 1549, they preserved the historic principle of serial recitation of the Psalter, but applied it in a new way by distributing the psalms over the course of a month. Subsequent revisions of the Prayer Book have left this arrangement undisturbed.

The ancient system of lessons was simple in use. The whole, or at least the greater part, of each book was read in sequence; and the beginnings and endings of the appointed passages were marked in the margins of the Bibles. In the fourth and following centuries, more extensive and elaborate arrangements began to make their appearance. These arrangements were adapted to conform with the "Liturgical Year"; that is to say, with the series of seasons and festivals which now begins with Advent and Christmas, continues over Lent, Holy Week and Easter to Whitsunday, and concludes with the long succession of Sundays following Trinity Sunday (or, according to the more conservative Roman calculation, Whitsunday). The germ of the Liturgical Year was created by the Church of Jerusalem. At some time in the fourth century, after the emperor Constantine and his mother, Helena, had sought out the sacred places of the city and had built churches over the site of the Holy Sepulchre and upon the Mount of Olives and also over the cave of the Lord's birthplace at Bethlehem, the Church of Jerusalem instituted a novel liturgical usage. In addition to the traditional observances of Easter and Whitsun, it began to commemorate, at the appropriate sacred place wherever possible, the anniversaries of the Lord's Epiphany and his Presentation in the

Temple, together with the events of the last, the "great" or "holy", week of his earthly life. The Sunday before Easter, for instance, was solemnized by a procession from the Mount of Olives to the Church of the Sepulchre, all who took part bearing branches of palm or olive. Not the least striking feature of this original procedure was the reading of the scriptural passages relevant to the occasion and the singing of appropriate psalms. The devotional attractiveness of such a dramatic treatment of liturgy was at once appreciated. The new ways, widely reported by returning pilgrims, were as widely imitated. It was soon recognized that the principle of Jerusalem usage was capable of almost infinite application. When, for example, the Roman Church instituted the festival of Christmas, an epistle and gospel for the mass (now those of the Third Mass *in die*) and appropriate lessons for the office were chosen. "Proper" lessons and psalms, again, quickly suggested themselves for the commemorations of martyrs and other saints. When the season of Advent was introduced, in the West, as a preparation for Christmas, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* was inevitably chosen to supply the lessons, because Isaiah was held to be pre-eminently the prophet of the incarnation. *Isaiah*, it may be added, still supplies the Advent lessons in the offices of the Breviary and the Prayer Book.

The application of the Jerusalem principle in the West led to the development of a dual system of lessons. One system or lectionary (the term "lectionary", originally descriptive of the special book containing lections, is now commonly applied to a system of lessons) was concerned with the cycle of the Liturgical Year, the other with the sequence of saints' days. The enormous increase of saints' days encroached upon the seasonal cycle, and disrupted alike the serial reading of scripture and the serial recitation of the Psalter. Books were now never read in their entirety. An attempt at reform was made in Rome by Cardinal Quiñonez in his first Breviary of 1535, but was not well received. A large measure of reform was instituted by Pope Pius X, and was promulgated in 1911. Quiñonez's ideas had a speedier effect in England. The lectionary of the first Prayer Book of 1549 clearly exhibits his influence. The serial

reading of scripture was restored over the cycle of the civil year, with but few interruptions for holy days and only four departures from the new monthly distribution of the Psalter. Queen Elizabeth I's Table of Proper Lessons for Sundays and Holy Days, issued in 1561, remedied certain of the defects of the lectionary of 1549, and manifested in its choice of passages a sense of tradition which, for all its novelty, the first lectionary had not lost. In 1922, Parliamentary sanction was given to a new lectionary based not upon the civil, but upon the ecclesiastical year. Recent attempts to improve it are evidence that the system of 1922 is no more satisfactory than its predecessors. The perfect lectionary has yet to be devised.

Metrical Psalms and Paraphrases

By the REV. DR. W. D. MAXWELL

METRICAL psalmody was a device of the Reformers in the sixteenth century to break the silence that had fallen upon the parish churches and restore the people's part in worship. Low mass said inaudibly by the parish priest with the responses said in an undertone by a server was the usual service in the parish churches, which, unlike the great churches, lacked the resources to sing high mass with its accompanying splendour of ceremonial and music.

The Reformers desired, as Calvin said, to recover "l'usage de l'église primitive", making worship a corporate action. Accordingly, they issued service books to the people, a daring innovation made possible by the application of printing. In them were simplified vernacular versions of the old services, with the psalter and canticles in metrical form. The service itself was said in a loud clear voice, and the people were taught to take an active part in worship by singing the psalms in the new form.

This was true even in England. The Prayer Book contained people's responses and a prose psalter with simple chants, but in ordinary parish practice the responses were said by the parish clerk and the prose psalms back and forth by parson and clerk in the two-decker pulpit. Thus metrical psalms for the people came to be bound up with the Prayer Book, and did not begin to fall out of favour until the Oxford Movement a century and a quarter ago stimulated a new liturgical awakening.

We now associate metrical psalms and paraphrases with Scottish worship, though they are commonly used in the continental Churches, and large numbers of one version or another appear in modern hymnals as for example, "Praise my soul the King of heaven" and "Praise to the Lord the Almighty the King of creation" (both Ps. ciii), "The King of love my shepherd is" (Ps. xxiii), "All people that on earth do dwell" (Ps. c), "Hark

the glad sound the Saviour comes", and "Blest be the everlasting God" (Paraphrases), to name only a few; while psalm tunes provide many of the best tunes in our hymn books. A few years ago at a diocesan conference at Oxford a distinguished musician introduced some "new" hymn tunes of high merit, all of which were French and English psalm tunes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Reformers cast the psalms into metrical form and set them to tunes easily learnt by their simplified rhythm. Some tunes they adapted from the old tones and other medieval music, others they drew from traditional folk music, and eminent musicians composed many new tunes. At first generous variety in metre allowed of a rich profusion of tunes, later reduced by a preference in England and Scotland for common, long, and short metre. Thus many early tunes were not usable here and are still in process of revival set to hymns whose metre can accommodate them. Indeed, many of these psalm tunes were not easily accessible until Maurice Frost's fascinating collection, *English and Scottish Psalm and Hymn Tunes, c.* 1543—1677 appeared last year; German tunes have been long available in Zahn's monumental volume, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirkenlieder*; Calvinian tunes may be found in modern Reformed psalters, and reference should be made also to Douen's *Clément Marot et le Psautier huguenot.*

The compilers of metrical psalters did not aim at polished literary felicity but at easy memorization (in an age when few could read) and scriptural and metrical accuracy. Popular balladry supplied the models, and it is their simple, homely, rugged, and virile qualities which have made these psalms memorable. Attempts to improve the literary form almost invariably impair these qualities and result in a cloying sweetness, lacking the tang and flavour of the old strong versions.

Although the whole psalter was gradually metricized, in practice only selections were sung. The metrical psalms were not designed for recitation at the offices or daily services, but to be sung at the central Sunday worship of the Church. For this worship, selections were traditional in introit, gradual, offertory, and communion psalms, and this custom of selection

continued in the Reformed Churches. Thus, much that was crude and even risible has in fact never been in use.

The metricization of the psalms, like the Reformation itself, began in Germany, although Lutherans included hymns as well as psalms in their collections. Many Lutheran psalms and hymns occur in our present hymnals: "Fear not, thou faithful christian flock" which became the battle-hymn in the religious wars after the Reformation, "From heaven above to earth I come", "A safe stronghold our God is still" (Ps. xlvi), "All my heart this night rejoices", and many others. The music of these collections was later enriched by Bach's incomparable compositions, which have in turn enriched our hymnals today.

The chief early influence in England and Scotland came, however, from Geneva where under Calvin hymns were forbidden as unscriptural and only psalms and New Testament canticles permitted. Marot, at the Court of Francis I, had set the fashion of metrical psalmody in France; and in 1539, when Calvin at Strasbourg issued a small collection of French psalms in metre, of these twelve carefully revised were Marot's, the music being edited by Greiter, a former monk and singer in the cathedral. This psalter contained two famous tunes still in use in Scotland, Psalm xxxvi (68) to "Fear not, thou faithful christian flock" (mentioned above), and Psalm cxxx now set to How's hymn "Bowed low in supplication".

Shortly after this Calvin returned to Geneva, and Marot, indicted for heresy, took refuge there and for a brief time collaborated uneasily with Calvin while his *Cinquante Psaumes* were published. In 1548 Beza took up the work, finishing the words of the French psalter in 1562; and it still continues in use with minor alterations in the French Reformed Church. This psalter had 110 metres and 125 tunes, and was incomparably more various and ingenious metrically than anything ever issued in England or Scotland. Its music was of a very high order, principally the work of Bourgeois, who eventually broke with Calvin over singing in harmony. Harmony, however, prevailed in the end, the melody in these early psalters being carried (both abroad and in this country) by men's voices in the tenor (*teneo*). French psalter-tunes are becoming increasingly known and

valued today, and many have been in long use here. All are tunes of signal strength and character, such as Old Hundredth, Old 124th, French, Donne Secours, Les Commandements de Dieu, and many more too numerous to mention.

The English versions were less ambitious in metrical variety and more restricted in musical compass. Sternhold, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and a gentleman of the Privy Chamber of Henry VIII and Edward VI, was first in the field; and his work was completed by Hopkins, a clergyman and schoolmaster in Suffolk. Much cant has been written about the defects (glaring enough) of these writers, but their psalms won the hearts of the common folk for whom they were designed. Nor are we to forget that at this time "the accentuation of English words was in a great measure unsettled, the code of rhymes which now regulates our meanest poetaster had not yet been framed and sanctioned, and the grammar of the language was arbitrary and fluctuating". These psalms are not poetry but they are good balladry, and sometimes achieve real dignity, as in Psalm xviii:

> The Lord descended from above,
> and bowd the heavens hie;
> And underneath his feete hee cast
> the darkness of the skie.
> On cherubs and on cherubins
> full royally he rode,
> And on the wings of all the winds
> came flying all abroad.

The first Anglo-Genevan psalter was compiled by Marian exiles and published in 1556. Incomplete, it contained forty-four psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, and seven by Whittingham who later became Dean of Durham.

The first Scottish psalter was completed in 1564, based on the Anglo-Genevan psalter, but containing notable additions by William Kethe one of which is the best-known psalm in the world today, "All people that on earth do dwell", set to the tune Old Hundredth originally written for Psalm cxxxiv in Calvin's psalter.

Even to mention the many other English and Scottish

psalters, some of them remarkable for their musical beauty, is here impossible, but the story of the Scottish psalters has been pleasantly told with distinction and learning by the late Dr. Millar Patrick in his *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* published a few years ago.

The present Scottish psalter, prepared by a committee of the General Assembly, was first issued in 1650. It has often been attributed to Francis Rous, a provost of Eton, but little of his work (878 lines in all) remains. Psalm i provides an interesting comparison:

Rous (1646)

The man is blest that in th'advice
of those that wicked are
Walks not, nor stands in sinner's path,
nor sits in scorner's chaire,
But in God's law delights, on's law
both day and night doth think;
He shall be like unto a tree
set by the river's brink,
Whose fruits in season, leaf fades not;
all that he doth shall thrive.

Scottish (1650)

That man hath perfect blessedness
who walketh not astray
In counsel of ungodly men,
nor stands in sinners' way,
Nor sitteth in the scorner's chair:
but placeth his delight
Upon God's law, and meditates
on his law day and night.
He shall be like a tree that grows
near planted by a river
Which in his season yields his fruit,
and his leaf fadeth never.

This psalter, issued in a period of political commotion, ecclesiastical division, and musical eclipse, contained no tunes, a clean break with all former Reformed practice. About this time also the deplorable practice of "lining" had been borrowed from England, by which the precentor read out or sang in a monotone a line of the psalm, and the people came in repeating

the line to the tune from which they must sadly have wandered. The results must often have been fearful.

Some sixteen years later, twelve common-metre tunes were published in Aberdeen, of which French, London New, Dunfermline, Dundee, York, Martyrs, and Elgin survive in general use.

Little progress was made for more than a century, but a revival gradually set in; choirs were formed and "lining" faded slowly from the scene. By the end of the nineteenth century the revival had become a richly swelling stream that, with the help of organ accompaniment, gathered to itself a great flood of melody from the earlier psalters and many fine tunes from the eighteenth century and some from the nineteenth. In Scotland common rather than proper tunes are still used, and the psalter is printed with cut pages to allow of variety in the choice of tune for a given psalm. One hundred and ninety-two tunes are provided, and most of these are in use. And in the Scottish *Revised Church Hymnary*, as in many modern hymnals, a large number of psalm tunes of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries have been revived. A typical example of a much loved Scottish metrical psalm is Psalm xlvi, usually sung now to the eighteenth-century tune Stroudwater:

God is our refuge and our strength,
in straits a present aid;
Therefore although the earth remove,
we will not be afraid:
Though hills amidst the seas be cast;
though waters roaring make,
And troubled be; yea, though the hills
by swelling seas do shake.

A river is, whose streams do glad
the city of our God;
The holy place, wherein the Lord
most high hath his abode.
God in the midst of her doth dwell;
nothing shall her remove:
The Lord to her an helper will,
and that right early prove.

This is a fair illustration of the Scottish metrical version, as

it is used in the churches. Here is no poetical excellence, but wedded to a noble tune it proclaims faith, adoration, and truth with a massive imperishable power and possesses a rugged virility that matches the sublime experience of great hours.

The paraphrases were added to the psalms, after much controversy, towards the end of the eighteenth century, though prepared about 1745. They consist of passages taken from Holy Scripture and put into metrical form, sixty-seven in all. Many of these have also become familiar in hymnals: "O God of Bethel by whose hand", "Come let us to the Lord our God", "The race that long in darkness pined", "While humble shepherds", "Father of peace and God of love", "How bright these glorious spirits shine", and others. All are sung to psalm tunes. Worth quoting is one perhaps less generally known, but much used in Scotland, and usually sung to Isaac Smith's tune, St. Stephen:

Supreme in wisdom as in power
the Rock of ages stands;
Though him thou canst not see, nor trace
the working of his hands.

He gives the conquest to the weak,
supports the fainting heart;
And courage in the evil hour
his heavenly aids impart.
Mere human power shall fast decay,
and youthful vigour cease;
But they who wait upon the Lord
in strength shall still increase.

They with unwearied feet shall tread
the path of life divine;
With growing ardour onward move,
with growing brightness shine.
On eagles' wings they mount, they soar,
their wings are faith and love;
Till past the cloudy regions here,
they rise to heaven above.

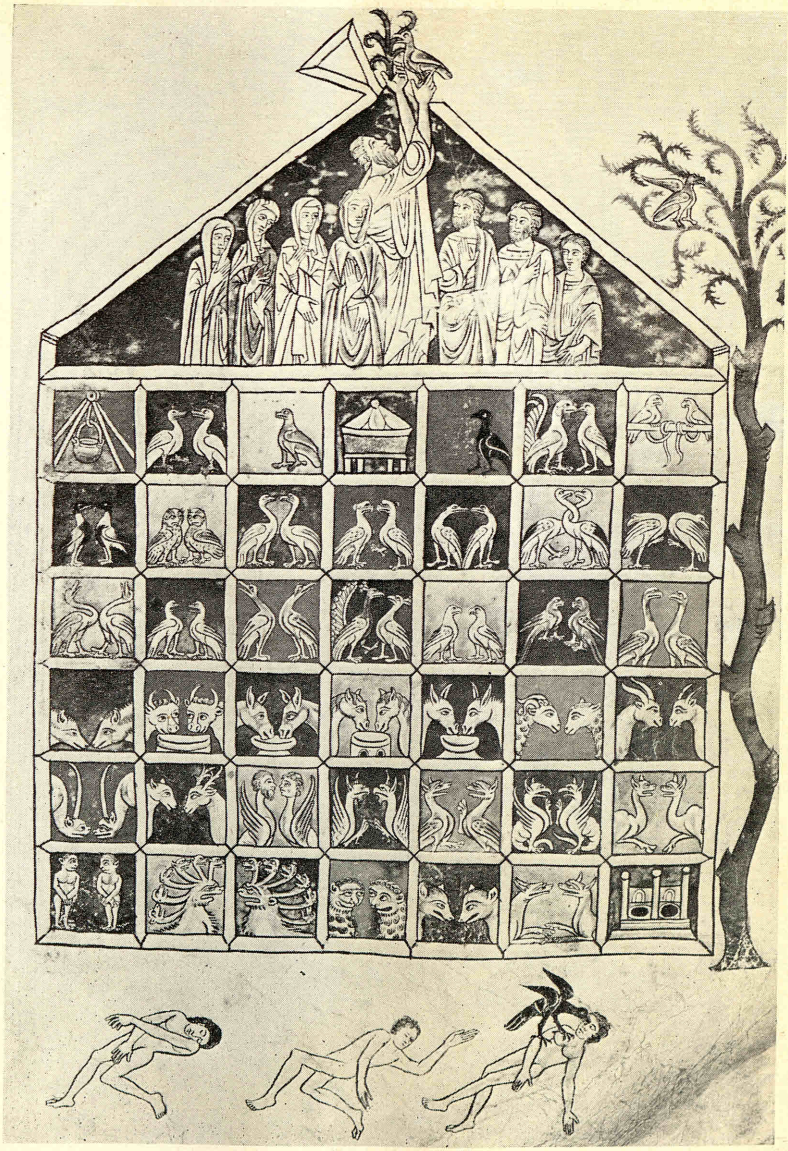
Of necessity, mention has been made here of only a few of the well-known versions of the metrical psalms. But while, during two hundred years and more, a great variety of revisions and new versions were offered, the great versions lived on.

The Scottish metrical psalter was carried by emigrants to Northern Ireland, England, Canada, Australia, indeed to all the British colonies and dominions, and to the United States. It is still used by Presbyterians throughout the English-speaking world, usually without any substantial revision (except in Northern Ireland); though within the last hundred years it has become general outside Scotland and Northern Ireland to print not the whole metrical psalter but selections only, and to attach these with "proper" tunes to the hymn books.

Sternhold and Hopkins, and later Tate and Brady, were carried throughout the empire and to North America by Anglicans, bound up with the Prayer Book, and in the United States the use of the metrical versions and of hymns was strictly regulated over a long period by the Episcopal Church in contrast to the freedom allowed in these matters in England.

The Puritans, too, were most tenacious in their attachment to the metrical psalms, but less tied to a specific version. Professor H. C. Macdougall in his *Early New England Psalmody* has told the story of how the metrical psalms were brought to the new world in the seventeenth century and of the complex developments which followed. Accustomed in England to Sternhold and Hopkins, the Pilgrims brought with them to America their own psalter published in Amsterdam in 1612, the work of Henry Ainsworth, an accomplished Hebrew scholar and a leader and teacher among them. The tunes were chiefly derived from the Genevan psalter, and indicate a good standard of musical proficiency among these early settlers. Ravenscroft's psalter (1621) too was known to them, for Governor John Endicott's copy is still preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library, but it is unlikely with its elaborate four-part tunes that it was in wide use.

By 1650 the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640) had begun to establish itself in solid use, and its common metre tunes and simpler harmonies were more within the reach of the majority of the people. It has been said that five or six tunes comprised the repertory of these early New England congregations—St. Mary's (Hackney), Martyrs, Windsor, York, Lichfield—but clearly more were known and used among them.



36. Noah's Ark: a twelfth-century artist's conception, from the commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse



37. The first page of the Hebrew historical books, 1485. The first Bible printed by the celebrated Hebrew Press of Soncino

Unfortunately, "lining", carried over from the old world, played havoc with the music, but in the mid-eighteenth century a revolt against this execrable and destructive practice set in. Ordinarily the voices of the singers were unaccompanied, but sometimes and in some places various musical instruments did accompany the singers. Organs were not unknown, but till the nineteenth century were rare. The first organ is said to have been installed in the Swedish Church of Gloria Dei in Philadelphia in 1694; and six years later one was installed in the Episcopal Church at Port Royal, Virginia; while Boston got its first organ in the King's Chapel in 1714, the gift of Thomas Brattle.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, William Billings injected new life into American psalmody. His tunes, of which he composed large numbers, were blatantly lacking in musical literacy; but they excited a robust emotionalism which answered a deep need in the life of the young nation, and they prepared the way for better things. These better things came in the nineteenth century under, among others, the brilliant inspiration and guidance of Lowell Mason; and with them too came the introduction of hymnody. The metrical psalms gradually declined to a secondary place, but are not yet forgotten or disused in the United States. With the revival of many of the old sixteenth and seventeenth century tunes, they occupy a proud place in the praise of American Protestantism in nearly all its denominations, and are still to be found, sometimes among the hymns, sometimes printed together separately, in almost every hymnary in use on the North American continent. Many versions are represented, often revised, and the tunes come not only from every land of the Reformation but also from that store which American genius itself has created.

Music and the Bible:

Perennial source of inspiration

By "THE TIMES" MUSIC CRITIC

THE Psalms, the most copious quarry of song-texts in European civilization, belong in origin to a stage of artistic development in which the roles of poet and musician cannot be clearly differentiated. It seems unlikely that the minstrel, whether of the Old Testament, classical antiquity, or the Middle Ages, was always an equally capable performer in the two arts, yet it is clear that some were and that the modern disputes between the two arts about status, sovereignty and supremacy did not arise. The Psalms exist as a body of songs to be sung and, though scholars are not agreed on the significance of the terms, instructions for their musical performance are attached to them. They may be recited, intoned, cantillated, or, in the full sense, sung, and some of the directions may even be the names of the melodies. The music of the Bible is a subject in itself, much of it still obscure. It has recently been usefully summarized for musical readers by the opera singer Mr. Marko Rothmüller, in *The Music of the Jews* (Valentine Mitchell).

The Psalms, then, have the longest history of musical performance, since they served the liturgies of the Temple of Jerusalem, of the synagogues of the Jews of the Dispersion, of the early Christian Church, of the Jews in the original Hebrew, of the early Christian Church in Greek and Latin, and of every branch of the Church universal in every modern language into which they have been translated. But as early as the time of St. Paul they ceased to be the sole source of Christian song. In the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians, the apostle to the Gentiles bids the followers of Christ speak to themselves "in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs". In the Byzantine Church these became three recognizably distinct forms, of

which the Psalms were the Psalms as of old, the hymns were paraphrases of, or poems based on, scripture, and the spiritual songs were alleluias to melismatic melodies. The category of hymns thenceforth becomes the type of all subsequent service music, comprizing the canticles like *Venite* and *Magnificat* from scripture itself, the paraphrases and metrical versions of the Psalms as used in the Church of Scotland, motets and anthems based directly or indirectly on biblical texts, and finally the congregational hymns, which have no literary but only a doctrinal connexion with the Bible. But the Bible has been a source of inspiration to the modern art of music that has spread far beyond the walls of the church which provided its cradle and its home. It is a commonplace of musical history that there always must have been a secular as well as a sacred music, but that neither it nor its history got written down. But even allowing for the clerical bias of our written history of early music it is still undeniable that the technique of music, or more specifically the evolution of polyphony, was perfected in the service of the Church. It so happens, however, that the secularization of the art of music took place in the early years of the seventeenth century, precisely at the same time as the crystallization of the English Bible in the Authorized Version of King James I. This was the period which saw the beginning not only of opera but of oratorio in Italy, the rudimentary concerto which Gabrieli founded on the architectural antiphony of St. Mark's at Venice, the substitution of the major-minor key system for the old church modes, and the first steps in the evolution of the modern orchestra. The intellectual ferment of that astonishing epoch, which also included the revolutionary ideas of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, was indeed tremendous.

The oratorio is the chief musical form to have been shaped by the Bible. The impulse behind St. Philip Neri's experiments (*c.* 1565) in musical edification was the same as had produced, as far back as the tenth century, a religious music-drama which was ultimately to culminate in Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*. St. Philip's oratory gave its name to the form, and within a hundred years Carissimi had written a number of biblical

oratorios, of which *Jephtha* is the most familiar. Another hundred years saw the oratorio reshaped with a larger share for the chorus by the accident of Handel's residence in England. Handel wrote a score of oratorios, mostly to scenarios drawn from the Old Testament. The pre-eminence of *The Messiah* is due not only to the more sustained flow of inspiration during its rapid composition, but to its breaking the bounds of confinement to Old Testament history and to the dramatic form of both the Old Testament and the passion types of oratorio. Its text, derived wholly from scripture, deals with the prophecy, the birth, the crucifixion, the teaching and the religious consequences of Jesus Christ, not in the manner of narrative but of their universal significance. *The Messiah* is not only a masterpiece of art, but has become the Englishman's creed, a social phenomenon, a phenomenon without parallel in the whole literature of music, though Beethoven's symphonies have recently come to occupy a somewhat similar place in the spiritual experience of our own as well as the German nation.

Following Handel's success in gauging the musico-spiritual needs of the British people was a series of biblical oratorios, with Mendelssohn's *Elijah* at their head, which by the end of the nineteenth century had killed the form with a surfeit of Old Testament history. Various attempts have been made to give new life to it: Parry broke away into ethical idealism, Elgar drew on Newman's religious poem, *The Dream of Gerontius*, but for *The Apostles* and *The Kingdom* returned to an anthology of scriptural texts, selected on similar principles to those which Charles Jennens had employed in compiling the words for Handel's *Messiah*. In the present century the biblical oratorio has found few composers to give it a new direction, though episodes and excerpts sometimes produce a modern cantata: instances are Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms*, Vaughan Williams's *Sancta Civitas*, which is founded on the book of Revelation, and Honegger's *Le Roi David*.

But if the oratorio is the chief musical expression of the influence of the Bible it is not the only one: a few instrumental works derive from it by only slight verbal connexions. It would perhaps not be fair to include in this class the early English

form of chamber music known as the *In nomine*, which is a fantasia upon the Gregorian antiphon "Gloria tibi Trinitas", though there are echoes of the Vulgate in its origins. The best known instrumental music derived from the Bible is the set of six biblical sonatas by Johann Kuhnau, Bach's predecessor at St. Thomas's Church at Leipzig. Herein he depicted in vivid if naive programme music the fight between David and Goliath, David curing Saul by means of music, and the sickness of Hezekiah. More substantial and less programmatic are the seven slow movements, *The Seven Words of Our Saviour on the Cross*, composed by Haydn originally in an orchestral version to provide interludes between the sermons of a Good Friday service at Cadiz cathedral, and subsequently arranged for string quartet, the form in which they are best known, and for chorus. Another great work of biblical origin is Vaughan Williams's orchestral suite *Job*. In this case the biblical inspiration was deflected through Blake's *Illustrations of the Book of Job*, to become ultimately a "Masque for Dancing", which with Dame Ninette de Valois's choreography is still in the repertory of the Sadler's Wells Ballet Company.

Such are the major works of modern music directly inspired by the Bible, using "modern" to mean from the seventeenth century to our own day, which is the period covered by our ordinary musical experience. It remains to note a few works less easily classified—Purcell's scenas of Saul and the Witch of Endor and *The Blessed Virgin's Expostulation*, Bach's setting of the *Magnificat* in the Latin of the Vulgate for use at the high festivals of the Lutheran Church, Brahms's compilation of biblical texts that he called *A German Requiem* and his setting for low solo voice of the passage about charity from St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, and Franck's full length oratorio *The Beatitudes*. The countless settings of the Roman mass, which provides fresh inspiration to composers in every generation, lie beyond this brief survey, but within the Anglican communion the words of the Authorized Version continue to provide perennial inspiration to generation after generation of Church musicians.

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