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**THE
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THEOLOGICAL REVIEW**

VOLUME XIV



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The *Harvard Theological Review* has been partially endowed by a bequest of the late Miss Mildred Everett, "for the establishment and maintenance of an undenominational theological review, to be edited under the direction of the Faculty of the Divinity School of Harvard University. . . . I make this provision in order to carry out a plan suggested by my late father, the Rev. Charles Carroll Everett." During the continuance of *The New World*, Dr. Everett was on its editorial board, and many of his essays, now collected in the volume entitled *Essays, Theological and Literary*, appeared first in its pages. Sharing his belief in the value of such a theological review, and in devotion to his honored memory, the Faculty of the Harvard Divinity School, of which he was a member from 1869, and its Dean from 1878 until his death in 1900, has accepted the trust, and will strive to make the *Review* a worthy memorial of his comprehensive thought and catholic spirit.

The *Review* is edited for the Faculty of the Harvard Divinity School by a committee consisting of Professors G. F. Moore, J. H. Ropes, W. B. Arnold and K. Lake, and Dr. Frederic Palmer.

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JANUARY, 1921

NUMBER 1

IMMANENCE, STOIC AND CHRISTIAN

GERALD H. RENDALL

DEDHAM, ESSEX, ENGLAND

As an effective philosophic concept, applicable to all forms of being, Immanence takes its start from Stoicism. It was a growth, rather than a first principle or formula. It did not start as a scientific hypothesis, but rather as an attractive figure or guess, which gradually grew into a theory, and was elaborated into a body of doctrine. The assumption out of which it sprang was that the world was an ordered unity, as Pythagoras had declared — a *Kosmos*. Whence came the Order of the Unity, and how imposed?

Noûs διεκόσμησε πάντα — Mind (or A Mind) ordered all things — had been the formula propounded by Anaxagoras; and Socrates at first hearing gave enthusiastic welcome to the idea, but turned from it in disappointment when he found in it no more than a rational analysis and classification of efficient causes, without any attempt to account for their genesis, their method, or their goal. To the Stoics, on the other hand, the term seemed too precise and personal. *Noûs* connoted or implied an external mind directing or at least designing the universe, a deistic assumption to which they could not subscribe. Instinctively, deliberately, or evasively, by no means foreseeing the results and eventual consequences of the choice, they preferred the more oracular dicta of Heraclitus regarding the directive *λόγος*. In his pregnant and poetic way, the 'dark' Sage of Ephesus had spoken of the ever-existent Word or Reason as the sovereign ordinance by which the Universe pursues its course. Not dogmatically, but in a series of pregnant metaphors, he indicates its modes of action. On the rational side it declares itself as design, intelligence, an ordered purpose running through nature, 'the mind of Zeus,' imparting to it

coherence and unity; at other times it is regarded as constructive energy or force, 'the plastic fire' in which being has its source, or as the authoritative fiat 'the thunderbolt which steers all things'; the changes and processes of nature are the kindling and combustion of the ever-burning fire 'kindled in due measure and extinguished in due measure.' And with this Logos men were in constant, though often unconscious, communion, 'unconscious of what they do when awake, just as oblivious when they sleep.' Often they are at variance with this Logos, though it is none the less their constant companion and the pilot of their destinies. Thus figuratively or even mythologically rather than scientifically, Heraclitus conceived or clothed the Logos with attributes in part material, in part intellectual and spiritual, without any attempt to define the relation or interaction between the two. It could be thought of as the quintessential source of being, the life-energy in all phenomena; or again as the cause and *reason* of their being what they were, the counterpart of reason and consciousness in man; or again as the directive power of the Zeus, the fate, the destiny, which ruled and determined the process due to its instigation and impact. The word itself favored and covered such ambiguities. *Logos* could mean reason acting from within, or thought finding articulate expression in speech, or the authoritative mandate of direction from without, or even more vaguely the principle of relation and proportion, which maintained the balance, the equipoise of being and action between thing and thing.

To this conception, so elastic and undefined in its extent, Zeno gave ready welcome. And already in the Hymn to Zeus, practically the earliest authentic document of Stoicism which has survived, Cleanthes treats it as the vehicle of that cosmic pantheism which the Stoic thought of immanence evolved.

Zeus, King of Kings,

Chaos to thee is order; in thine eyes
The unloved is lovely, who did'st harmonise
Things evil with things good, that there should be
One Word through all things everlastingly.
One Word — whose voice, alas! the wicked spurn.

The quotation is characteristic of the Stoic position. It affirms the unity, but allows the contradictions. In the universe at large it believes in the existence of a higher constraining power or providence, which constitutes a higher harmony, and reconciles seeming evil with higher good. The evil is but apparent, and in reality contributory to the good; it is either non-existent, an illusion in the mind of the observer, or misinterpreted owing to defects of insight. But the most formidable difficulty arises from the nature and the mind of Man, in his estrangement, his conflict with the Order of the Universe. Now the relation of Man to the Kosmos was vital to the Stoic scheme of thought. The Kosmos was in a sense invented and affirmed in his behalf. The Kosmos of the Universe must be in correspondence with the Kosmos of Man; each must be a true Kosmos, possessed of inner unity and of stability, and the two must be reconcilable, must agree together.

This could only be if there existed some link, some interaction, inner correspondence, or identity between the two. By a bold venture or guess, availing themselves of the figurative ambiguities of the Logos idea, the Stoics interpreted the world upon the basis and analogy of man; and the analogy was elaborated with remarkable acumen and completeness. In detail and in mass the Kosmos is the counterpart of the individual man. The Universe is a living whole — *ἓν ζῶον* — a single live organism, a coherent rational order, as shown by the complete interdependence of all its activities and parts. "Spiritus intus alit." Pervading spirit animates the frame; manifesting itself in various phases, it may be called by a variety of names, according to the various functions in which it is engaged — breath, life, mind, will, nature, necessity, law, God, currents of heat, and many more. Each is a partial aspect of one inherent energy. God, if that name be used, is not transcendent, imposing orders from without, but inherent, immanent, acting from within, and therefore circumscribed by the organism in and through which he acts. From Cleanthes onwards, *Pneuma*, a more material category than *Logos*, becomes the favorite term for this life-power, and passes into Latin *Anima Mundi*. Physically it takes effect as breath, expanding and contracting

the lungs, maintaining the respiratory activities of life; physiologically it acts as currents of heat and force, coursing along the arteries and nerves, beating in the heart, producing the coordinated reactions of the organs of nutrition, digestion, and the several senses, which make up the life of the organism; emotionally it operates as desire, anger, shame, and all the various impulses, which have their well-known physical concomitants; once more, it manifests itself as reason, conscience, will, directing the operations of the subordinate parts and the self-conscious whole. Spirit is matter; matter is spirit. Matter only exists by virtue of the inherence of spirit.

In this monistic theory of Spirit, Matter, and Being, the Stoics made little serious attempt to grapple with the difficulties created by the vast variety and multiplicity of the phases of phenomena. Dialectically they did not face the unsolved problems of the One and Many, of plurality of being as the expression of a single source and energy of life. Only as difficulties arose were theories devised to countervail or parry them.

The most ingenious was the theory of *Tonos*, tension or strain. The *Pneuma*, it was held, underwent varieties of self-embodiment. Hence arose different states of matter — solid, liquid, gaseous — inorganic or organic — and the varieties of being which phenomena exhibit. The lower grade of tension produces inanimate solids — earth, stone, pulp, the mineral kingdom, characterised by the property of *ἔξις* — ‘hold,’ cohesion, weight. A higher tension produces organic potentialities of vegetable life, evinced in *ῥῆσις* — growth; a yet higher, the animal world, with its more sensitive machinery of tissues, nerves, sensation, etc.; a higher still, consciousness, mind, the attributes of man, which evince the highest products of the world-spirit, rising to those of ‘the plastic fire’ which is the vital force at its highest development.

Projected as a speculation, with little attempt at observational or scientific proof, the hypothesis seemed fantastic, and utterly inadequate to account for the multiplicity of forms and forces, the differentiation of kinds, the fixity of the reactions of the various phases and metamorphoses. But strangely enough it has found a remarkable analogy — Stoics might justly say,

corroboration — in the properties and functions assigned by modern physicists to Ether. That, too, belongs to the material order, yet has strange affinities or interactions with the spiritual. As luminiferous ether it is omnipresent to the furthest confines of the known (or sensible) Universe. Called “void” — but in reality a *plenum* — it is all-pervasive, and seems to lie at the base of all material existence. If all matter is composed of atoms, the atom itself is now conceived as a system of electrons, and the electron itself as an electrical unit, deriving its attributes from Ether. Thus, in terms of Ether it has become possible at last to think the contradictions and the metamorphoses of the Stoic *Pneuma*. On the material side it offers an attractive, if elusive, key to the problem of the cosmic unity. Yet Ether, it is all-important to observe, operates wholly in the domain and along the lines of the external and material order, in absolute obedience to natural and causal law. There is no valid indication that Ether can pass into thought or consciousness, or that it shares any of the attributes and freedoms of Soul. There is nothing in consciousness or thought, little even by way of analogy to suggest, still less to warrant, that thought can thus change into an existence, external to itself, which it is then able to utilize, direct, and control, and which is subject to laws, processes, limitations, ways of behavior, entirely foreign to itself.

It is easy — and in much modern theology, preaching, and poetry, it is common — to fall into the wiles of the *Logos* doctrine and become the victim of its ambiguities. The ancients were beguiled by the term ‘Word’; we more often by such substitutes as ‘expression,’ ‘utterance,’ and the like. Things, it is said, are an ‘utterance’ of the will or thought of God; God, or the Creator spirit, ‘expresses’ himself in such and such forms or aspects of matter. But when thought *expresses itself* in a word (spoken or written), or in a melody (whether through the medium of instruments or written notes), or in a work of art (be it picture or building), it does not mean that thought *brings into existence*, creates, or becomes, the *media* employed, but only that it is able to use materials at its disposal — vocal organs, ear-drums, optical nerves, pen and ink, bricks and

mortar, or whatever other medium is employed — to further and fulfil its own ends, and to convey the fact of its existence and the interpretations of its experience to other minds trained to understanding of the symbols and materials employed. Thought does not create, call into existence, these things, it utilizes and employs them; it *moves matter*, utilizes and co-ordinates it — it does not create. Wide and profound as the distinction is, it may easily escape us under cover of a term.

Again, when *Pneuma* is thought of as admitting all the various metamorphoses which are exhibited in the multiplicity of phenomena, its unitive function evaporates and tends to disappear. The individual man, for instance, comprises *Pneuma* in every variety of phase, and it is hard to say by what right the *Hegemonic Pneuma* controls or unifies the rest, which make up his totality of being. The claim made, psychologically, is independence, not control or subordination of the inferior types. The world-soul is in proportionately worse case; it becomes the directive principle of a pluralist universe, of an infinite number of embodiments of the *Logos*. In what sense can it be held to direct or control? What relation has it to the individual embodiments?

Pantheism identifies the universe with God, and in so doing circumscribes him to the universe, which he is. God is everything, because everything is God. This means that God is just as much decay and disease as conservation and health, as much excretion as nutrition, as much death and extinction as birth and reproduction, as much paralysis as function, as much moral evil as moral good. What are we to say of bad men, the base, the vile, the liar, the murderer? Are these also in God and of God? "Yes," answers Spinoza, "they are." But more and more, as it developed, Stoicism shrank from that rigor of inference. It seemed the *reductio ad absurdum* of the ethical demand which it had adopted its doctrine of immanence to establish. The theory of immanence helps little to account for the unitary order and correspondences of the *Kosmos* and all its parts.

But to pass to the psychological aspects of the case.

The object of the Stoics was to supply a basis for the *αὐτάρκεια*, the moral independence, of the soul, and to show that such moral independence accorded with the constitution of the world, that it was indeed *κατὰ φύσιν*, 'in accordance with nature,' and part of the cosmic harmony. The world-soul was the analogy of man's. But the world-soul on examination revealed itself as a rational order, a system of processes and laws conforming to a general scheme, which showed no trace of emotion or of passion, of impulse or desires, but was an ordered scheme of providential design. *Logos* was 'the pilot of the universe.' The one element in man's nature — in keeping with the term *Logos* — which conformed to this type, was reason, the rational and moral will; and this the Stoics affirmed to be the seminal, directive, hegemonic faculty in man. They definitely separated it off from the other faculties, and claimed for it a sovereign place. Man is master of his will; ethically that is the centre of the system. The appetites, the sensations, the impulses, the emotions are rigorously subordinated and ruled out. "Efface impression; stay impulse; quench inclination; be master of the directive will." There, in short, was the creed.

But what an arbitrary, untenable line of cleavage this introduces! The vital distinction is drawn not at self-consciousness, but at the exercise of a particular faculty or set of faculties that belong to the soul. If there is one conclusion more than another in which all modern schemes of psychology agree, it is the assertion of the unity of soul. From the same source, whatever that *ἀρχή* may be, proceed sensation, emotion, consciousness, thought, will, and the other activities of the soul, the Ego. Historically we may discuss Plato's tripartite division of the soul, or Paul's distinction between *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, or Stoic classifications of the various soul-faculties; they are useful for analysis, for study of human faculty, and of the nature of 'Soul' itself; but they do not represent an actual cleavage or contain the promise of a differentia showing the true relation of the Ego to the universal life.

At this point Stoicism develops its inferences in a new and — at bottom — unfounded and illogical direction. Having first discerned in the material constitution of the universe an

analogue to the physical organism of man, and having then isolated in man a particular element or activity of soul, which seems most in accordance with the directive genius of the universe, it next proceeds to endow the world-spirit with the companion attributes which belong to human personality. And so we pass to the strange and inconsistent paradox of personal and emotional Pantheism, which became the chief legacy of Stoicism to Christian and to modern thought. In the hands of the later Stoics — of Seneca, of Epictetus, of Marcus Aurelius — the accent of emotion everywhere intrudes. Nature is God's familiar; the Reason of the Universe becomes once more Father of gods and men, the god within the breast, the ever-present deity, the protector of the struggling and oppressed, the inward monitor of all who are to seek, the stay of the despised, the companion of the sorrowful, the comforter of the bereaved. And Stoicism holds out the hand of fellowship to rival philosophies and cults, becomes the revivalist of pagan rites and liturgies, the hierophant and worshipper at mysteries, the patron of the diviner and the thaumaturgist. This is the version of Immanence which appeals to the eclectic, undogmatic, questioning spirit of today. The doctrine lays hold as a poetry of Nature, which imputes to material things the emotions of which we are conscious in our own soul. They express and answer to

A sense sublime

Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts,
And rolls through all things.

It is superfluous to quote the trite passages from Pope, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, E. Brontë, and the rest. They form the kernel and the charm of current beliefs in Immanence.

Theology has fastened on them, and modern thought upon the Incarnation has done much to confirm belief in immanence. It seems to bridge the gulf between God and man. All creation is but partial, incomplete incarnation, and is for that reason

sacramental. Into humanity in particular God has ever been coming; striving, longing to enfold it in the embrace of love; at last, in Jesus, he completes the confluence of love with the object of desire. But a true doctrine of immanence must rest upon a valid and coherent psychology.

What is *Soul* — the most baffling problem in philosophy. Theologically, the two main doctrines of the origin of soul are the Creationist and the Traducian. The Creationist, adopted by Augustine and the Schoolmen, and by Origen with the characteristic addition of pre-existence, assumes the separate creation of each individual soul. The idea of creation out of nothing baffles thought, and is to our intelligence meaningless — though that does not disprove its possibility. Pre-existence of soul can only be said to postpone the difficulty and shift it a stage further back. But independently of this ultimate difficulty, the objections which beset the Creationist theory are very serious. It gives no account of heredity or of the reproductive machinery of life. Yet moral and spiritual qualities of soul are unmistakably in some sense inherited, transmitted. Does God, by some 'pre-arranged harmony,' create the soul in accord with the physical organ for which he designs it? What fatal arbitrariness and inconsequence attend the idea! Theologically put, Creationism excludes the theory of Original Sin or of hereditary taint, and throws upon God, with all the difficulties of hard Calvinistic predestinarianism, the responsibility of continuously creating imperfect, blighted, vicious, and infructuous souls. It may accord well enough with a theory of immanence, but on other grounds seems unsatisfying and inadmissible. Partly for these reasons Reformed theology turned towards the Traducian hypothesis, *viz.*, that soul is transmitted and inherited as part of the physical organism with which it is associated.

The Traducian theory — in biological terms, the protoplasmic — is that of the modern biologist. It affirms the transmission of the soul by way of natural reproduction from parent to offspring. It has behind it the whole cumulative evidence of the reproductive machinery and of the observed facts of hered-

ity, but it fails to give any just account of the self-centred independence of the soul. It leaves no room for immanence of the divine, unless by way of supplementary intrusion or addition.

A far more helpful and attractive speculation is to regard soul, not as an entity, either created or transmitted, but rather as a centre or nucleus of potential capacities, forming itself within a vast and continuous stream of universal life. Soul may be compared with the atom, ultimately resolved into units susceptible of electric charges, positive and negative. This may be best apprehended in the form of illustration. Conceive a universal stream of energy and being. Within this stream a vortex forms, a self-centred nucleus of will-to-live, will-to-bear, will-to-respond. It gathers into its individual swirl elements of which it is itself composed. It has independent existence, and yet it moves within and as a part of the great current in which it is immersed, and is sensitive to the various movements and reactions of all the neighbor vortices with which it is in contact. Its very existence depends upon reaction and response, and yet it unifies all that comes within its private range and circumference. This is the interpenetration of souls, the influence of soul on soul, which (however inexplicable) is a fact of daily and undeniable experience. Thus it takes its place as a self-determined whole, yet deriving all its capabilities from, and subject to, over-mastering restrictions from without. This meets and explains the seeming contradictions of determinism and free-will. Soul lives by response, a self-determined whole, within the universal life, or thought, of God. *Will* is its own motion, *emotion* its relation and its reaction, partly to the illimitable whole, partly to the self-centred vortices among which it moves. The will-to-live and the will-to-love are its guarantees of continued existence. It is a nucleus of power in the sense that it gathers into itself and into its own motion elements or influences from without, and makes them part of its own being. By such assimilative action we win our souls, we enlarge their action and circumference.

So far from conflicting with the demands of heredity and transmission, this confirms and interprets them. Reproduction

involves only the detachment, by fission, of a germ, a tiny cell possessing the capacities (the motions and reactions) of the organism of which it formed a part. The evolutionary life-process has been the machinery for preserving and transmitting the ever-accumulating store of sensitiveness to reactions derived from the immemorial past. Countless numbers of such germs continually detach themselves — the soft roe and the hard — of each several organism. Only by inter-union is new and independent life attained, a combination of allied potentialities. The new self-centred vortex starts with the union of two responsive, complementary germs; that is indispensable for the origination of a fresh independent vortex-motion; that is to say, accompanying the will-to-live there must exist also the will-to-love. Only so does the new life and being realize itself, and at once *create* and *pass on* the ἀρχή of a new life unit. Creationism and Traducianism each find their true interpretation.

Immanence upon this showing is no longer an intrusion of some force from without, an interference with individuality and an invasion of the soul's prerogative, but represents the soul's own sensitiveness and completeness of reaction and response to the primal life-power, the being — or the product — of the omnipresent life-giving and self-moving God. The measure of the soul's activity lies in its capacity and sensitiveness of response; and the pledge and condition of its survival is the everlastingness of the perennial and overflowing life-stream in which it is immersed. All the soul-experiences which the Stoics devised immanence to satisfy are at least as well accounted for by capacity of response to a transcendent being, as by indwelling of a derived and partial and immanent energy similar in kind. In terms of Old Testament thought, "Thou hast *beset me behind and before*, and laid thy hand upon me," may be taken as the typical text. And this is the preponderating note in the New Testament, even in the writers who have most felt the impact of Stoicism. In the speech at Athens (Acts 17, 28), steeped as it is in Stoic coloring, "In Him we live and move and have our being" is the formula adopted, just as in Rom. 11, 36 we read, "Of Him, and through Him, and unto Him are all

things." Ἐν χριστῷ is the typical phrase, denoting the union of the believer with Christ, and the admissible "Christ in me" (Gal. 2, 20; Rom. 8, 10, etc.), connotes a transcendental transformation of the inner life. The definition of Christian belief as compared with pagan, in 1 Cor. 8, 6, runs, "To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we unto him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him." We are in God rather than God in us.

In the external world, where we discern nothing but absolute and undeviating adherence to law, God *may* act by immanence. What creation is, or by what means it takes effect, lies beyond our grasp. Indeed, in what sense or degree the personal self creates, transcends, or indwells its bodily organ we cannot say. Continuous creation may be a mode, a function, or a fiat, of the divine being. And in created things perfection of response is indistinguishable from passive and inert obedience. Thus in the cosmic process God may operate by immanence, though there is nothing to prove and not much that is valid to countenance it. The very distinction between immanence and transcendence eludes our grasp. But when we come to finite centres of self-conscious life, the idea of immanence lands us in insoluble contradictions. It violates the self-determining prerogative of soul. For immanence presupposes an intruded element of divine spirit, somehow coördinated and acting side by side with the individual personality. How are the two related? How do they interact? We are brought face to face in every individual with the tangled difficulties that beset the doctrine of the two natures in the theology of the Incarnation. There the difficulty was turned by assuming perfect reciprocity of wills and mutual interchange (*communicatio idiomatum*), in fact perfection of response. But in the case of human personalities that is not so; there is a balance of forces, and antagonism as well as reciprocity of wills. The position cannot be saved by the assumption which preserves a unity of personality in the incarnate God-man. And if the spiritual consciousness is a sort of tug-of-war between the rival wills, it is hard to think of the divine will as constantly over-ruled and set at nought by the human will, and only fitfully and partially asserting its pre-

dominance. One would expect rather that the divine will would inevitably and by its nature prevail; that it would assert itself, in theological terms, as irresistible grace. But with that assumption, free-will is at an end, as Calvinism consistently taught.

Again — and this goes far deeper than Calvinist interpretations of the relation of the soul to God — assuming there is an element of immanence in the obdurate soul which refuses to hear the voice of the charmer or to yield up its independence, what shall we say? That it detaches itself or somehow emanates from the soul, in which it failed to establish its footing? or, on the other hand, that it continues to share its destinies? that we may postulate an immanence of the Divine even in permanently recalcitrant souls? Ineffectual immanence cuts at the root of divine power and holiness.

Finally, let us apply the argument to the belief in personal survival. For the Stoic, accepting re-absorption into the universal life, there was no difficulty; personality was but a temporary phase of immanent life; but for the believer in immortality no such way of escape is open. The consistent evolutionist is faced by corresponding difficulties about the genesis of immortality. In the process of development there are various points — the apparent chasm between the inorganic and the organic, between the automatic and the self-conscious — where it seems hard to reconstruct a gradual process and avoid a sudden catastrophic leap; but the gaps are being steadily reduced and bid fair at last to close up into a continuum. Few are more perplexing, at first sight more unbridgeable, than the transition from extinction into immortality. If soul is an entity, created imperishable, there seems no solution except in the will or fiat of the Creator; immortality is withheld or conferred or withdrawn *per saltum*, from without. If, on the other hand, soul is a unit of life, which through accumulating heritages from the past at last attained potentialities which fit it for a self-centred motion of its own, initiated by combination with another unit of like kind, then it may well be that soul after soul trembled upon the very verge of success yet failed to attain; that there have been countless relapses from attainment

achieved but forfeited; that many do not even make their start. Immortality is but the realization of potential survival-values. By defiant, self-willed refusal to accept the flow of the main current, or by incessant failure of reaction to the companion nuclei or vortices among which it moves, the title and capacity for independent movement on the axis of the personal and individual self may dwindle and die out. That is to fail to win our souls, to forfeit all survival rights, to lapse from that immortality which our source of being and our environment, if used aright, offered and guaranteed to us; we gain no lasting place in the world-order. But there is neither re-absorption nor diminution nor extinction of the larger life in which we lived and moved and had our being.

THE EPISTOLA APOSTOLORUM

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IN 1895 there appeared in the Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy an account of *Eine bisher unbekannte altchristliche Schrift in koptischer Sprache*,¹ by Carl Schmidt, at that time a scholar of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute in Egypt. Schmidt was helped in further research on this document by Pierre Lacau, the Egyptologist, but a full publication was delayed in the hope of further knowledge. This has come, slowly but satisfactorily from new discoveries and the friendly coöperation of French, English, and German scholars.

The first step was the discovery in Vienna, by Dr. Bick, the librarian, of a palimpsest, originally from Bobbio, of a Latin version of the same document.² Schmidt then determined to publish the Coptic text, and in 1910 this had already been printed, when the present Provost of Eton, Montague Rhodes James, noticed an article by the Abbé Guerrier in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, entitled, "*Un testament (éthiopien) de Notre Seigneur et Sauveur Jésus Christ en Galilée.*" He wrote to Schmidt, who in turn corresponded with Guerrier, and it was found that this Ethiopic document, which Dillmann had known but not thought worth publication, was identical with the Coptic apocryph. Schmidt once more delayed his publication until Guerrier was ready, and it was not until 1913 that Guerrier published the text, with a French translation, in the *Patrologia Orientalis* of Graffin and Nau.³

Finally in 1919⁴ Schmidt published in volume xliii of the

¹ Sitzungsbericht der phil.-hist. Classe vom 20 Juni, 1895.

² Wiener Palimpseste, I. Teil. Cod. Palat. Vindobonensis 16, olim Bobbiensis (Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, Band cliv, 7 Abteil.), and Hauler, Wiener Studien, 1908, Bd. xxx, pp. 308 ff.

³ Vol. ix, part 3. Le testament en Galilée de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ.

⁴ Owing to the excellence of the international mail, it reached America in the following year.

*Texte und Untersuchungen*⁵ a parallel translation of the Epistola from Coptic and Ethiopic, with full discussions of all the questions connected with it, and three remarkable appendices on "Cerinthus and the Alogi," the "Descensus ad Inferos," and the "Celebration of Easter in the Church of Asia Minor." To these appendices reference must be made in a later article. His edition is of first rate importance, worthy of a document comparable with the Didache or the Odes of Solomon for its additions to our knowledge of the second century. It must suffice for the present to give an account of the Epistola itself and its chief problems, but I cannot refrain from quoting the dignified and touching conclusion of Schmidt's preface.

Wenn ich zum Schluss meinem Werke noch ein Geleitwort auf den Weg geben darf, so möchte ich darauf hinweisen, dass es, wie das Titelblatt zeigt, ein Dokument der angeregten internationalen Cooperation vor dem Völkerkriege bildet. Ich durfte mich der Mitarbeit des Aegyptologen Pierre Lacau, des heutigen Generaldirektors der ägyptischen Museen, erfreuen und zu ebenso grossem Danke bin ich und die Wissenschaft dem Abbé Guerrier verpflichtet, der den äthiopischen Text aus der Verborgenheit gezogen und dadurch eine umfassende Untersuchung des lückenhaft erhaltenen koptischen Textes ermöglicht hat. Wahrscheinlich wäre mir diese Publikation entgangen oder wenigstens zu spät in meine Hände gelangt, wenn nicht Herr Montague Rhodes James mich in liebenswürdiger Weise auf einen Artikel von Herrn Guerrier aufmerksam gemacht hätte. So konnte Herr Dr. Wajnberg aus Warschau eine erneute Uebersetzung des äthiopischen Textes vorlegen, und auf der anderen Seite haben die Wiener Gelehrten Bick und Hauler ein lateinisches Palimpsestfragment beigesteuert. Niemals hätte also die vorliegende Publikation ohne jene tatkräftige Unterstützung dieser auswärtigen Gelehrten diejenige Gestalt erhalten, in der ich sie heute der gelehrten Welt vorlegen kann. Die Fäden, welche uns mit der westeuropäischen Wissenschaft verbunden, sind seit fünf Jahren abgerissen, aber ich kann die Hoffnung nicht aufgeben dass dieses Band doch wieder einmal angeknüpft wird. In dieser Aussicht wage ich mein Werk der internationalen Wissenschaft zu überreichen und ihrem Urteile zu unterbreiten."

Guerrier's publication had never attracted much attention; partly because it was unaccompanied by any introduction indicating its importance, but chiefly because its title was misleading and its contents composite. The title "Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" implies some connection

⁵ The title is *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung, ein katholisch-apostolisches Sendschreiben des 2ten Jahrhunderts*; but in the body of the book Schmidt always speaks of the document as the *Epistola Apostolorum*.

with the *Testamentum Domini* of Rahmani; but the opening chapters dissipate this notion, for they contain merely an apocalypse, important mainly for its delineation of Antichrist. Guerrier seems to have been ignorant of Schmidt's preliminary notice in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*. Probably only the interest of M. R. James in the Antichrist led him to notice the book and read it through, and discover that in the middle its character suddenly changed.

Schmidt has now shown beyond all doubt, that the title "Testament of the Lord" was taken from the ordinary book of that name, which was accidentally associated with the other document in the Ethiopic copy. He has also shown — what is self-evident when it is pointed out — that the first eleven chapters of Guerrier's document have nothing in common with the remainder of it, which contains an *Epistola Apostolorum* identical with the Coptic document. The Coptic is an incomplete manuscript of a better text, while the Ethiopic is a complete manuscript of a worse text. Both are based, directly or indirectly, on a lost Greek original from which the Latin palimpsest, unfortunately only a small fragment, was also derived.

The *Epistola Apostolorum* begins by describing how the apostles determined, in order to confute Simon and Cerinthus, to write an account of their preaching concerning Jesus Christ. They therefore proceed to give a short account of their general doctrine, of which the centre is the Incarnation of the Logos, and summarize it as consisting of five points: the belief in the Father, in Jesus Christ, in the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church, and in the Forgiveness of Sins. Cerinthus and Simon have corrupted this message, apparently by denying the truth of the death of Christ; and the apostles therefore emphasize the facts of the Passion, the Death, and the Resurrection, ending with the appearance of the risen Lord, and passing into an account of the special revelation which he made to them in the days before the Ascension.

This special revelation begins with what may perhaps be called the preliminaries of the Incarnation. It describes the

descent of Jesus through the various heavens, attended by the great Archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, until the fifth heaven, and finally he appeared in the form of the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary and so became incarnate. This is so similar to the Ascension of Isaiah that it seems to me probable that there is some literary connection between the two.

There then seems to be a break in the sense; but Schmidt does not notice it, and it is true that if anything is missing from the text it must have been lost very early, as there is no difference between the Ethiopic and the Coptic. The words of Jesus pass without a break from the account of the Incarnation to the institution of the Easter Eucharist, which seems to be regarded as the perpetuation of the Passover to be commemorated until the Second Advent. But the interpretation of this passage is difficult. "Must we still drink the cup of the Passover?" ask the disciples. "Yes," replies the Lord, "until I come again." The mention of the Passover suggests an annual celebration, but the reference to the second coming reminds us of the Eucharist in Corinthians. Does the *Epistola* describe the connection with the Paschal feast of an already instituted eucharistic meal, or the institution of this meal at the time of the Passover as a commemoration of the death of Christ? Schmidt thinks it is the former, and connects it with the Quarto-deciman question; but even if he is right in this connection (and I think that he is), the question might well be argued whether there is not here an indication of an early usage which had an eucharist once a year. The turning point in the problem may prove to be the meaning of the word *agape*, which in the Ethiopic seems to be identical with the commemorative feast, but in the Coptic to be separate from it. Might not Schmidt have profitably given more attention to Batiffol's study of the *Agape*? Perhaps the time will soon be ripe to reopen this question.

The disciples then ask questions about the second advent, and are told that the Lord will return as the rising sun, brighter by seven times than the sun in his glory; he will be borne on the clouds of heaven, and the sign of the cross will go before

him. With him will come the martyrs, and he will judge the living and the dead. This will happen between Passover and Pentecost, a hundred and twenty years later, or, according to the Ethiopic, a hundred and fifty years.

The apostles then raise a question of much interest to the historian of doctrine: Will he who shall come at the Judgment be the Lord Jesus or he who sent him? The answer of Jesus is an affirmation of the identity of himself with his Father in a manner strongly reminiscent of the lamentable heresy of Sabellius, but it contains also an obscure reference to the Ogdoad, if, at least, Schmidt's rendering be correct.* This is an obvious point of connection with some of the systems of thought loosely called Gnostic — a term which has wrought more confusion of thought in our time than the systems so described raised controversy in the days of the Fathers. Schmidt argues here, much as he did formerly in his *Alte Petrusakten*, that a belief in ogdoads and dodecads was not necessarily excluded from orthodox thought in the second century. Heresy in that happy period was found in opinions, not so much on the constitution of the divine sphere of influence in heaven, as on the relation between God and the world. To believe that heaven or even the fulness of divine being was divided into three, seven, eight, or twelve was not important; what was decisive was the question whether creation was due to the good will of a supreme God who called for the coöperation of his creatures, or to the incompetence of an inferior one, to escape from whose inadequacy was salvation and life.

Jesus then gives the new commandment that "they shall love one another and obey one another in order that peace may be among them. Love your enemies and what you do not wish should be done to you, do not so to others." This is to be the substance of the preaching of the apostles; they are to teach it to believers and to preach the kingdom of his Father, and how the Father has given him authority in order to bring together his children.

He next promises the disciples a rest, where there is neither eating nor drinking, lamentation nor trouble, and they will

* The only reason for doubting this is that the manuscript appears to be defective.

be companions not of the earthly creation, but of that of the Father which is incorruptible; as the Christ is ever in his Father, so will they be ever in him. Moreover this eternal life relates also to the flesh, for just as the divine Logos became flesh, so the flesh of humanity will become divine.⁷ It will be raised up at the Resurrection in order that it, as well as the soul, may receive the due recompense for its deeds. At the Judgment the Lord will spare neither rich nor poor, and will treat each according to his deeds, but those who have loved him will be taken into the rest of the Kingdom of Heaven.

There follows a rather difficult passage. According to the Ethiopic Jesus says, "For this cause did I descend and spoke to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, your fathers, the prophets, . . . and gave them my right hand, the baptism of life, and release and forgiveness of all evil." This might conceivably mean that the Logos had been present in Old Testament history, or it might be a reference to the descent into Hades, with an obvious resemblance to the Shepherd of Hermas and to the *Acta Pilati*. The Coptic clearly takes the latter view, as instead of mentioning the patriarchs by name it says, "I descended to the place of Lazarus and preached to the righteous and to the prophets that they might come forth." Schmidt thinks that the Coptic is the original text, and this gives him occasion to devote an excursus to the development of the doctrine of the *descensus ad inferos*, controverting Bousset's view that the origin of the doctrine was an ancient popular myth, to which theological justification was afterwards added.⁸

When the disciples heard these revelations they said: "O Lord, blessed are we, for we see thee and hear thee . . . but he answered and said to them, "Blessed rather are they who have not seen and yet have believed, for they shall be called the children of the Kingdom, and I will be their life in the Kingdom of my Father."

⁷ It is unnecessary to point out how closely this resembles Irenaeus.

⁸ Bousset replied in an article which he had passed for press only a few days before his sudden death on March 15. It is published in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, July 1920, with a note of affectionate farewell from the editor, Erwin Preuschen, who has himself since then passed away. *Requiescant a laboribus suis; opera enim illorum sequuntur illos.*

The apostles are then told to go and preach to the twelve tribes, and to the heathen, and to the whole land of Israel throughout the world. While they are doing this they will meet a man whose name is Saul, which means Paul. The passage is so important that I quote it exactly.

And behold, ye shall meet a man whose name is Saul, which means Paul. He is a Jew, circumcised according to the Law. And he shall bear my voice from heaven with terror and fright and trembling. And his eyes shall be blinded, and by your hand shall the shadow of the cross fall on his eyes. Do to him all that I did to you. Pass it on to the others. And at the same time shall the eyes of that man be opened, and he shall praise the Lord, my Father in Heaven. He shall gain power with the people and preach and teach. And many, when they hear him, shall find joy and be saved. And because of this, men shall be angry and deliver him into the hands of his enemies, and he shall bear witness before earthly kings, and his end shall be that he acknowledge me, instead of having persecuted me. He shall preach and teach and abide with the elect, a chosen vessel, and a wall which nothing overthrows. The least of all shall be for a preacher to the people, perfected through the will of my Father. As ye have also learned through the Scriptures that your fathers, the prophets, spoke concerning me, and in me is the prophecy actually fulfilled. And he said to us, 'Ye shall be guides to them and tell them everything that I have told you and that ye wrote about me — that I am the Word of the Father and that the Father is in me. So shall ye be to that man as ye ought. Teach him and remind him of the things that are spoken of me in the Scriptures and have been fulfilled, and he will hereafter lead the people to salvation.'

And we asked him, "Oh master, is there one and the same hope on earth for us and for them?" He answered and said to us, "Are the fingers of the hand like each other, or the ears of corn in the fields, or do the fruit trees bear the same kind of fruit? Does not each fruit grow after its own kind?" And we said to him, "O Lord, wilt thou speak to us again in parables?" Then said he to us, "Grieve not; verily I say unto you, ye are my brothers, my companions in the Kingdom of Heaven with my Father, for so it hath pleased him. Verily I say unto you, to them also whom ye teach and who therefore believe on me will I send the same hope."

And we asked him again, "When shall we meet that man, and when wilt thou bring him to thy Father and our God and Lord?" He answered and said unto us, "That man shall come out of the land of Cilicia near Damascus in Syria, to root up the churches which it is commanded you to plant. I am he who speaks through you, and he shall come quickly. And he shall become strong in that belief, that the word of the prophet may be fulfilled which says, "Behold, out of Syria will I begin to call together a new Jerusalem, and Sion will I conquer, and it shall be imprisoned, and the place which is childless shall be called the son and daughter of my Father, and my bride," for so hath it pleased him who sent me. But that man will I turn away that he may not accomplish his wicked purpose, and through him my Father's praise shall be perfected. But after I go away and tarry with my Father, I will speak to

him from heaven, and all the things will take place of which I told you before in regard to him."

In chapter 34, the apostles ask what will be the signs of the end of the world, and Jesus replies that he will tell them what will happen to them and to their converts, and also to the converts of Paul. What follows, however, is merely a repetition of the conventional apocalyptic scenery, in which no special historical facts can be distinguished, and in chapter 41 a new question is raised. Jesus tells the apostles to go and preach, and they reply, "O Lord, thou art our Father," to which he appears to rejoin that they are all fathers, servants (or possibly deacons), teachers. The disciples object that Jesus himself had said, "Call no one on earth Father or Teacher," but Jesus explains that as soon as they make converts they really become fathers or teachers. Seeing that the *Epistola* appears to be directed against Cerinthus, it is interesting to notice that according to one tradition, though not the earliest, Cerinthus quoted this verse as an argument against Pauline Christianity.⁹ Schmidt believes that the "Judaist" Cerinthus is a figment; but this is one of the points where the questions which he raises call for further study.

Jesus then summarizes his teaching by a new interpretation of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The five wise are Faith, Love, Joy, Peace and Hope. These are the guides of believers, but the foolish virgins are Understanding, Knowledge, Obedience, Patience, and Pity. These virtues have slumbered among those who have believed on the Lord but not practised his commandments. The interpretation is not wholly logical, but only those who have never interpreted a parable will find both reason and right to throw stones at it on this ground.

⁹ Καὶ ταύτην μαρτυρίαν φέρουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου πάλιν λέγοντες ὅτι ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος. τί οὖν; φησί, περιετέμθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, περιετέμθητι καὶ αὐτός. Χριστὸς κατὰ νόμον, φησὶν, ἐπολιτέωσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἴσα ποιήσων. ἕθεν καὶ τινες ἐκ τούτων ὡς ἐκὸν δηλητηρίων ὀφθαλμοκλήματα πείθονται ταῖς πιθανολογίαις διὰ τὸ τὸν Χριστὸν περιτετέμθαι. Eriph. xxviii, 5, 1 f. Cf. also Αὐτοῦσι δὲ πάλιν περιτεμῆν ἔχοντες . . . καὶ ὅσα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ταύτης βούλονται φέρειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ περὶ Κήρυθον. φασὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων ληρώδη λόγον, ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος. περιετέμθη, φησὶν, ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ σὺ περιτετέμθητι. Eriph. xxx. 26, 1 f.

After a little more exhortation, the document ends as follows:

When he had said this and had finished his discourse with us, he said to us again, "Lo, on the third day and in the third hour will he come who sent me, that I may depart with him." And while he thus spoke, there was thunder and lightning and an earthquake, and the heaven opened and there appeared a cloud which took him up. And there was heard the voice of many angels rejoicing and giving praise and saying, "Gather us together, O Priest, to the light of glory." And as he reached the sky, we heard his voice, "Go in peace."

The translation of the Ethiopic and Coptic with full critical notes take up 130 pages of Schmidt's book; to this he has added another 600 pages of comment. Many of these pages raise controversial points, and naturally difference of opinion will be wide spread, but no one is likely to think that Schmidt has written too much. On the contrary, there are many places where the reader would be glad to have had further comment.

His principal discussion covers the usual introduction to the problems, divided into eleven sections, of which the last deals with the place and time of the Epistola; and the reader who has had some experience of German *Wissenschaft* will prefer to read this first, for among its many virtues, German *Wissenschaft* has never quite learned what the French know so well, that the order of presentation usually reverses the order of research. The result is that with almost every book of this kind it is necessary to read it twice if one has followed the order of the writer. The whole is, in point of fact, a closely connected argument which cannot fully be followed until we know what the writer believes that he can prove. In the light of this knowledge everything becomes clear, but it is not revealed until the end of this treatise. It may be submitted that even in dealing with an apocalypse this economy of revelation is undesirable.

The position which Schmidt reaches is that the Epistola does not come originally from Egypt but from Asia Minor, and that it belongs to the second century. These two points are not, I think, equally certain. The date is more certain than the locality. The main point which bears on the date is, of course, the statement that the second advent will take place in the year

120 after Christ, which from the context seems to mean 120 years after the Resurrection. This is the date given by the Coptic; the Ethiopic puts 150 instead of 120, which seems to be an attempt to give the date in terms of a chronology beginning from the birth of Christ, but even if the Ethiopic be the correct text, a document, belonging to the year 180 in our reckoning is a sufficiently valuable discovery. In general there can be little doubt but that before 180 is the latest date to which the *Epistola* can be referred, and before 150 seems to me more probable.¹⁰

So far as locality is concerned the argument is less convincing, though it is, I think, possibly correct. The points which stand out as really remarkable are the reference to Cerinthus and the curious list of the apostles.

Schmidt has a long excursus on Cerinthus and the Alogi, in which he controverts Edward Schwartz, who in 1914 had argued that the tradition of Irenaeus linking Cerinthus with Ephesus was quite untrustworthy.^{10a} Schmidt endeavors to refute Schwartz and re-establish the old tradition, incidentally dealing at length with the question of the Alogi. In this he may be right, and it is perhaps more probable that Cerinthus belongs at Ephesus than elsewhere, but the whole question may well be re-opened. Whether, however, he is right in thinking that Cerinthus cannot have been a Judaist is more doubtful, and the whole question is still full of difficulties. Was it impossible for a man to be a Judaizer and a Docetist at the same time? Before this question can be answered we shall be brought back once more to the problem whether Ignatius in his epistles was attacking one party or two.

The connection of Cerinthus with Ephesus and of the *Epistola* with Cerinthus is the main argument which Schmidt brings forward, but he also attaches great weight to the fact that the *Epistola* commands the celebration of the Passover in commemoration of the death of Christ, and connects this with the Quartodecimans of Asia.

¹⁰ Can Papias have been referring to the *Epistola* when he expressed his famous preference for oral tradition to that which was written?

^{10a} *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1914, pp. 210 ff.

All these arguments are weighty so far as they go. They are convincing evidence that Ephesus is a possible place. The main reason why I hesitate to go all the way is the curious list of the apostles. The list is as follows: "We, John, Thomas, Peter, Andrew, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Nathanael, Judas Zelotes, and Cephas." There is extant another list which has many of the same characteristics, that is to say it begins with John, and includes Cephas as well as Peter, found in the Apostolic Church Orders, commonly called KO,¹¹ (*Kirchen-Ordnung*), a book which almost certainly belongs to Egypt and the third century. Schmidt thinks that the KO borrowed the list from the Epistola and that this is based on a scrutiny of the Fourth Gospel. He thinks that the variation of order between the two is irrelevant. To this I cannot agree: the difference seems to me to show that the two lists are independent, though belonging to the same tradition, and one different from that of the Synoptic Gospels. Moreover Schmidt takes too little notice of the fact that Clement of Alexandria also regards Cephas as distinct from Peter, though he places him among the Seventy and not among the Twelve. Thus Clement, the Epistola, and the KO agree in believing that there was a Cephas other than Peter. John 1, 43 alone distinctly says that Cephas is a name which was given to Simon and that it means "Peter," and that Simon, Cephas, and Peter are only three names for one person.¹²

Does this really point to Egypt or Ephesus as the home of the Epistola? Obviously, I think, to Egypt. If the writer had been basing his list wholly on the Fourth Gospel would he have disregarded John 1, 43? Moreover, is such disregard probable in Ephesus of all places? Therefore it becomes more important to consider Schmidt's view that Cerinthus had only a local importance. This seems to me very doubtful as the amount of space devoted to him by Epiphanius and the other later writers is not consistent with a merely local reputation. The whole question requires careful investigation. Schmidt

¹¹ The list in KO runs as follows: John, Matthew, Peter, Andrew, Philip, Simon, James, Nathanael, Thomas, Cephas, Bartholomew.

¹² See the Note, "Simon, Cephas, Peter," below, p. 95.

may well be right in thinking that Hippolytus introduced the reference to Egypt in his account of Cerinthus, and that Harvey¹³ was wrong to emend the text of Irenaeus; but is it so certain that the Egyptian tradition of Hippolytus was pure invention? If there be any foundation for Hippolytus' statement, Schmidt's argument would be greatly reduced in importance.

Schmidt thinks that the writer of the *Epistola* was acquainted with the canonical New Testament at least so far as the Four Gospels, the Acts, and the Pauline Epistles are concerned, and he rejects the use of any uncanonical source. In general the smallest resemblance satisfies him that a canonical book is used and the greatest difference is insufficient to persuade him that an uncanonical gospel was before the writer of the *Epistola*. Nevertheless it is indisputable that the writer lived in an uncanonical atmosphere. The majority of his quotations from the Prophets are *agrapha*, and the clearest reference to a "childhood" narrative is found only in apocryphal gospels.¹⁴

No doubt it is true that there has sometimes been a tendency to invent unnecessary "ausserkanonische" sources, but Schmidt seems to fall over backwards in his fear of this tendency. His main point is that the events mentioned are found in the canonical Gospels and Acts, though with considerable variation: why should not the writer of the *Epistola* have himself introduced the variation? The answer is that the *Epistola* is fictitious, but not fraudulent. In its references to history it is not attempting to give new and unheard of versions of facts, but to corroborate true teaching — which really represented the mind of the Apostles — by relating the prophecy by Jesus of facts which the readers would recognize as having really taken place. Therefore the description of history in the *Epistola* is not likely to represent variation due to the writer,

¹³ Irenaeus says *Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia . . . docuit*, but Hippolytus, who is otherwise obviously copying Irenaeus, says *Κήρυθος δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτίων ταῖς ἀποκάλυψας εἶπεν κ. τ. λ.* Harvey therefore proposed to emend *in Asia* to *in Aegypto*, and treats Cerinthus as an Egyptian.

¹⁴ In chapter 4 the *Epistola* obviously refers to the Gospel of Thomas, or one of the cognate gospels, in the course of the discussion between Jesus and a Rabbi as to the meaning of Alpha and Beta.

but rather to be the form of tradition followed by the church in which he lived.

The most obvious instances of this are the possible references to Acts in the Epistola. There are two of importance. In chapters 7-8 there is the following account of the release of one of the disciples from prison: "After my home-going to the Father, remember my death. When the Passover comes round, one of you will have been thrown into prison for my name's sake, and will be in sorrow and distress because ye celebrate the Passover while he is in prison and far from you; then will he grieve because he does not celebrate the Passover with you. But I will send my power in the form of the angel Gabriel, and it will open the gates of the prison. He shall go out and come to you, and shall keep the vigil with you and stay with you until the cock crows. But when ye have finished the memorial which takes place in remembrance of me, and the agape, he shall be thrown into prison again as a witness until he shall come out from there and preach what I have commanded you."

Schmidt thinks that this is a reference to the release of Peter from prison in Acts 12. Possibly this may be the ultimate source. But after all, in Acts Peter (who is not mentioned in this section of the Epistola) stays out of prison when he is released, and there is no mention of an Agape or Passover in the house to which he went. In the Epistola the important thing is that an unnamed apostle is let out of prison by Gabriel in order to eat the Passover with the rest of the Twelve, and is taken back at cock-crow to his cell. It is not quite clearly stated that Gabriel takes him back to prison, but it seems to be implied.

Equally difficult to reconcile with the direct use of the Acts of the Apostles is the account of the conversion of Paul. This has been quoted already. Is it possible that an account so greatly modified could have been put forward as a prophecy of which the account in Acts was to be regarded as the fulfilment, and is it likely that the man who wrote it was acquainted with the Epistle to the Galatians?

The general characteristics of the Epistola are admirably

brought out by Schmidt in his paragraphs on the Christology and other doctrinal points of the document. The supreme God remains, as it were, always in the background, and Jesus is the incarnate Logos, the second God of the Apologists, who is the divine centre of the Church, the Lord of the Christians, to whom he offers eternal life in the Kingdom of God. There is a noticeable absence of any importance attached to the death of Jesus, and the only value of the Death and Passion is to prove the true humanity obtained by the Incarnation. This is undoubtedly the Christology and Soteriology of the Apologists, and belongs to the same category as the Fourth Gospel, which it also resembles in anti-Docetic tendency.

There is, however, one point of great importance scarcely touched on by Schmidt: — the bearing of the Epistola on the position of Pauline Christianity. His omission to treat this question fully is the more remarkable in view of his selection of Ephesus as the home of the Epistola, and the problem can best be stated on the assumption that Schmidt is right on this point; it is only somewhat less striking if he be wrong.

One of the most certain facts in early Christian history is that Paul preached for a long time at Ephesus. Equally certain is the fact that he had many opponents. And a little later on, when we get the beginning of Ephesian tradition, the central figure is not Paul but John. Whether this John was the son of Zebedee or not is entirely unimportant compared with the fact that he, not Paul, is the centre of Ephesian tradition. With him are linked up the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles. The problem is, did this Johannine Christianity grow out of Pauline preaching or was it an independent growth? The general history of early Christianity tends to show that, though Baur exaggerated his application of the Hegelian formula, it is true that in several instances struggle was succeeded by reconciliation, and that much of the existing canonical literature belongs to the period of reconciliation which told the story of the past not as it really was, but as it was felt that it ought to have been. If this were so at Ephesus we should expect to find that after a period of struggle between Pauline and Johannine Christianity terms of peace were unconsciously ar-

ranged and are reflected in the pseudepigraphical literature of the next generation. On this hypothesis the Epistola is easily intelligible: it belongs to a party which is Johannine, not Pauline, but no longer wishes to defeat the Pauline party which it recognizes as its complement. To do this it emphasises the truth of the story, which Paul himself had so indignantly denied, that his commission came from Jerusalem. The Johannine tradition claims to represent the Twelve, but John, and not Peter, is their head. These Christians recognize that Paul had done good work, and accept, as it were, the validity of his converts, but they are not Pauline, and their greatest concession is that the church of the Twelve and that of Paul are united as the fingers on one hand.

It is greatly to be desired that as many students of early Christian literature as possible should study the Epistola. Their results will probably be instructively diverse, but they will agree in gratitude to Schmidt for his admirable presentation of the text and learned discussion of its problems.

CHURCH AND RELIGION IN GERMANY

RICHARD LEMPP *

STUTT GART

THE editors of the Harvard Theological Review have asked me for an article on "the state of religion in Germany as affected by the war, and its outlook in the period of reconstruction upon which — we may hope — the world is now entering." With some hesitation I comply with their request; but I must beg my readers to allow me first a word of very frank introduction.

Americans can have little idea of the terrible sufferings of my country, or of the hopelessness of the future which the peace of Versailles has set before us; nor can they easily imagine the mood of a nation which, after gigantic achievements and the most heroic endurance, has at last been broken in body and spirit by the force of hunger that its enemies saw fit to employ

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His studies and experience have thus peculiarly fitted him to deal with the subject which, at the request of the editors of the Review, he had undertaken in the present article.

as an instrument of war. If, after the slaughter of the innocents, the representatives of Herod had inquired of the good people of Bethlehem concerning the outlook for religion in the period of reconstruction then beginning, they would hardly have elicited a dispassionate reply. And we, who have witnessed the starvation, not of a hundred, but of hundreds of thousands of our children, are naturally in no very scientific frame of mind. Irrespective of the source of the inquiry, we are not just now in a mood for the calm investigation and exposition of our domestic situation. He that is sick almost unto death may indeed seek help and healing, but he is in no condition to compose a treatise on the nature of his malady and the outlook for his recovery. Since, however, I am personally acquainted with the editors of the Review and am convinced that their request originated in the sincerest sympathy, I have decided to attempt the task. Possibly I may be contributing to a genuine understanding of our internal situation; and mutual understanding is, after all, the indispensable prerequisite of any reconstruction.

The reader may recall my article on "Present Religious Conditions in Germany," published in this Review in January 1910. The questions there raised were: Could the German church, which down to the eighteenth century had been the chief promoter and embodiment of culture, endure, in the face of a culture which had become independent of it; or was that independent culture destined to destroy it; and in the latter event, what would be the fate of religion in Germany? The article consisted of two parts, the first giving an account of the actual condition of the German churches; the second discussing the two principal groups whose attitude toward the churches was either indifferent or actually hostile, wage-earners and people of education, or socialism on the one hand, and culture on the other. The present article likewise will be divided into two parts. The first will describe the state of the churches and institutional religion in Germany as the result of war and revolution. The second will concern itself with the temper of those who stand aloof, and their relation to religion and the churches.

I

For the German churches the revolution of November 11, 1918, was of profound significance, for one of the immediate consequences of that revolution was the separation of church and state. Up to that time the German churches were established national churches. This was true of all but the small free churches, the so-called "sects," which had come over from England and America, and constituted only one third of one per cent of the population of Germany. In principle every German was by birth a member of either the Protestant or the Catholic established church of his state, although he had the right to withdraw from such membership if he chose. Each of the twenty-six German states had a Protestant and a Catholic established church. In Prussia, the provinces annexed in 1866 retained their own independent establishments. The states paid a large part of the expenses of the churches, protected their cults, and saw to it that all school-children between six and eighteen years of age were taught the Protestant or Catholic religion. In some states the elementary schools were under the immediate supervision of the pastors and the churches controlled all elementary instruction. In the case of the Protestant churches the connection with the states was especially intimate, since they were governed by consistories appointed by the state, Luther having transferred the office of the bishop to the sovereign. The sovereigns appointed many of the pastors, as well as all professors in the theological faculties. The states, not the churches, controlled the education of the ministry. In time of war the government supplied both Protestant and Catholic chaplains to all divisions. Just as it cared for the soldier's health by means of hospitals and surgeons, and for his bodily needs by means of the commissariat, so it furnished chaplains for his spiritual welfare.

All this was entirely in accord with the character of the German state as it had been developed through the centuries: the state not merely the guardian of law and order and of the free development of the individual, but the promoter of all culture — education, health, science, art, industry, banking, etc. Nor

did it seem proper that the state should leave to individual enterprise the nation's most important interest. On the contrary, many, at least among the Protestants, still clung to the idea of Hegel and his theological disciple Richard Rothe (died 1867) that religious institutions should gradually be absorbed in the state as the representative of all culture, the promoter of the spiritual as well as physical welfare of its citizens.

To the church this intimate connection of church and state was acceptable so long as the rulers of the several states were professing Christians. The Hohenzollerns in particular were devoted to the church, but the other rulers also governed the church with no less solicitude and diligence than they did the state. Many Protestants, moreover, were of the opinion that the separation of church and state would be followed by a breach between conservatives and liberals, with the eventual weakening of the whole church. And they recognized that as a consequence of its relation to the state, the church reached not only those who were Christians at heart, but also, through the religious instruction in the schools and the nominal church-membership of the entire population, the irreligious as well. The missionary task of the church was rendered very much easier.

When the revolution broke out, it was manifest that the age-long connection between church and state was at an end. The chief objection to this connection had always come from the great mass of socialist wage-earners, who denounced the state as the patron of capital and militarism, and extended their antagonism to the state-supported churches. The church was in their eyes merely a means by which the state kept the masses in ignorance and contentment. The socialists, therefore, had always emphatically demanded the separation of church and state. In the Socialist Programme of Erfurt, 1891, they declared their principle: "Religion is a private affair." And when, by the revolution, these same masses took the government into their hands, the separation became inevitable. Now, however, the socialists were no longer alone in their attitude; those who formerly opposed the separation joined them in welcoming it. For the revolutionary states had

ceased to be governed by Christian rulers. They had, in fact, ceased to represent the idealistic Christian German culture of the past. In these states parliamentary majorities were the only sovereigns. And since in Germany friends and enemies of the church are about equally divided, it might come to pass that the majority in parliament, and hence the government for the time being, would be unfriendly to the church, and thus the close connection of church and state prove an actual source of danger to the cause of religion. Of the new states, therefore, no one asked or expected coöperation with the churches, but only strict neutrality towards every religion and every school of thought.

In the first period after the revolution, at any rate, the friends of the church were glad to secure strict neutrality. For it looked as if the new states would not be content merely to withdraw their patronage from the church, but would proceed, as in France, to antagonize it and do their utmost to destroy its influence. In all German states, the ministry of public worship and education, which before the revolution had charge of the churches, now came into the hands of men who belonged to no church; in many states, into the hands of pronounced enemies of the church, especially of radically-minded teachers. In the most important state, Prussia, the "Kultusminister" was the well-known Adolf Hoffmann, a Berlin bookseller who for years had opposed both religion and the churches with malice and contempt, and had directed the movement for popular secession *en masse*. He began by prohibiting prayer in the Prussian schools and proclaiming the abolition of all religious instruction. In other states attempts were made to abolish religious instruction without special legislation; so in Saxony, Gotha, Brunswick, and Hamburg. The union of German teachers made similar demands. Yet most of these people were by no means willing to give up altogether the principle of a positive moral education in the public schools — as in the United States; and it was to be feared that, whereas the old states had consciously cultivated Christian character through their schools and their coöperation with the churches, the new states, by introducing the study of morality and similar sub-

jects into the schools, would foster a positively irreligious training, partly upon an idealistic, but to a great extent also upon a materialistic basis.

In this situation, many people in Germany were surprised to see the energy and strength exhibited by the churches. That the Catholic church would enter the contest and prevent any injustice through the instrumentality of its powerful organization, the Centre party, was apparent to every judicious person. The radical politicians, with all their theoretical utopias, showed themselves lamentably ignorant of history when they failed to foresee that outcome. The Catholics west of the Rhine, in territory under the occupation of the Entente, actually threatened to secede from the Prussian Republic if the irreligious radicals continued to dominate its government. The Protestant churches likewise, though suddenly bereft of their princely leaders, disproved in the most striking manner the old assertion of the radicals, that without the protection of the states and their rulers the churches would forthwith perish. Hundreds of thousands rose and protested against violence being done to the churches. In northern Germany alone seven million Protestants signed a protest against the abolition of religious instruction in the schools. Free Protestant organizations were speedily formed throughout the country — not without immense difficulty, since the oppressive conditions of the armistice had crippled all railway traffic and even the postal service. The various political parties were interrogated as to their attitude on the subject of the church and religious instruction. In the elections of January, 1919, the radical parties lost many votes, especially among women voters, because they were suspected of designs unfriendly to the church. In the empire as a whole, as well as in Prussia and most of the other individual states, the first parliaments elected to frame a constitution had no socialistic majority. The national as well as the state governments were forced to admit men of the democratic and of the clerical (Centre) party as secretaries of state; and a legal separation of church and state distinctly hostile to the church, as in France, was effectually prevented.

The American system of separation, which makes the churches mere private associations, and which the Moderate Socialists desired to bring into effect, in accordance with their principle, "Religion is a private affair," was rejected by Catholics as well as Protestants, and therefore by the non-socialist parties. Few supporters of the church could bring themselves to accept a system which would have put the churches on a level with the sects. Rather it was universally demanded that the church, although now independent of the state, remain "Volkskirche," a national church which in principle includes all the people, although withdrawal from it should continue optional with the individual; that the churches should not become private associations, but should be public corporations¹ independent of the state; that the Protestant and Catholic religions be taught in the public schools by ministers and teachers; and that the churches should meet their financial requirements by levying income-taxes. It was agreed that direct financial support by the states be discontinued; but, since the states had in former times confiscated lands and funds belonging to the churches, in most of the states a fixed annuity was agreed upon as compensation for such property, or else an equitable adjustment, impossible at the moment on account of the fluctuating value of money, was promised. As in the past, so in the future, the individual states will eventually regulate their own relations to the churches; but the National Constitution, in Articles 135-150, laid down the general principles which are to govern such regulations. The following are the most important provisions:

ART. 136. Civil and political rights and duties shall be in no way affected by the exercise of the privilege of religious freedom.

No person shall be required to disclose his religious opinions.

ART. 137. There shall be no state church.

Freedom of association in religious societies shall be maintained. Confederation of religious societies within the Empire shall not be subject to limitation.

Within the bounds of the common law, every religious society shall regulate and administer its own affairs as it may see fit. It shall appoint its own officials, without the participation of the state or the municipality.

¹ "Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts."

Religious societies may acquire legal status by complying with the general provisions of the civil law.

Those religious societies which have heretofore been recognized by law as public corporations, shall continue to enjoy that privilege. Other religious societies shall, on their application, be granted the same rights, provided their organization and membership give assurance of their permanence.

Religious societies which are recognized as public corporations shall have power to levy taxes, on the basis of the civil tax-lists, in such amounts as the state law may determine.

ART. 138. The state legislatures shall provide for the commutation of all existing state support of religious societies, whether it be based on statute, contract, or other legal title. The principles governing such commutation shall be determined by the national government.

ART. 144. All schools shall be subject to the supervision of the state.

ART. 146. Admission to any public school shall be determined by the child's ability and aptitude, not by the economic and social position or the religious affiliation of its parents.

Nevertheless, upon the application of parents or guardians, elementary schools of a particular faith or way of thinking may be established in individual communities, provided such establishment be not prejudicial to the well-ordered conduct of the schools, and with due regard also to the provisions of the first section of this article. The utmost possible consideration shall be given to the wishes of parents or guardians.

ART. 147. Private elementary schools shall be permitted only in case a minority of parents or guardians, whose wishes must be considered (in accordance with Art. 146, sect. 2), have not been provided by the community with a public elementary school of their own faith or way of thinking.

ART. 149. Religious instruction shall be part of the regular course in all schools except such as are professedly non-religious or secular. Such instruction, while subject to the supervision of the state, shall be in conformity with the essential tenets of the religious society concerned.

The offering of religious instruction and the conduct of religious exercises shall be optional with the individual teacher. Attendance on such instruction shall be at the option of the person controlling the child's religious education.

The theological faculties of the universities shall be maintained.

Every one will recognize the inherent difficulties in the above provisions, especially those relating to the schools, which were necessarily the result of compromise between the totally opposed ideas of socialists and clericals. Religious instruction a "regular" branch — but "optional" for both teacher and pupil. "According to the tenets of the religious societies" — but "under the supervision of the state." Schools not separated according to creed — but, on the motion of a certain number of parents, Protestant or Catholic schools must be established.

In view of the fatal cleavage in German culture² there was but one logical alternative: either to make the schools mere organs of instruction, rather than of an education influencing both mind and character; or else, since that policy is generally rejected by German teachers, to give up the idea of a uniform system of public education, and supply separate schools for Protestants, Catholics, and unbelievers. Naturally the teachers are far from satisfied with this result of a revolution which many of them greeted as the opening of an era of great paedagogical reforms. But they themselves are partly to blame for the disappointing outcome, since, by agitating at first for schools without religious instruction, and then for religious instruction independent of the churches, they caused religious people to distrust the spirit of the new state and the training to be furnished by its schools.

On the whole the churches may be well satisfied with the constitution. In some states, to be sure, where the radical parties are in the majority, the constitution will be interpreted in a manner as unfriendly to the churches as possible. But if the general condition of the country remains at all orderly, and Bolshevism does not get the upper hand, all the German governments will proceed very cautiously with the separation of church and state, and will avoid every appearance of injustice to the churches. In the past two years they have learned that nothing serves to strengthen counter-revolution so much as injustice of that sort. Moreover, the elections of the summer of 1920 have returned a majority friendly to the church in the national as well as in many state parliaments. In view, however, of the fluctuating value of money, the immense debt of the nation — the whole desperate situation, in which there seems no prospect of escape from starvation and economic ruin — the definite solution of these problems, especially those relating to financial support and school reform, will probably be delayed for a considerable time.

Americans may think it strange that, since the German nation undertakes the separation of church and state at all, it should content itself with half-way measures. Yet there can

² See my former article, page 104.

be no question that that is in fact what German conditions demand. Here, where we have, not many denominations, but only two great churches, which have been connected with the several states for centuries, and have rendered them immeasurable moral and spiritual service; where the government has always promoted and regulated all the agencies of culture; where private initiative is less developed than is reliance on the government — here complete separation of church and state, with the churches transformed into mere private associations, would be a revolutionary step, equally detrimental to church and state. I may add, in this connection, that if our enemies should adopt a more reasonable attitude, and moderate their oppressive terms so that we may live, the churches in their new relation to the states may still be of invaluable service to the nation; whereas, if the present unreasonable attitude persists, chaos will certainly result, in which, as in Russia, the churches also will be engulfed. In that event, the moral as well as the material ruin of Germany will be sealed.

As the German churches proved stronger externally than either enemies or friends had believed, so also internally. During the war the churches had exposed themselves to much criticism and condemnation. Many who were tired of war and the suffering it entailed blamed the churches for encouraging the people to persevere to the point of victory. Only a few of the clergy sided with the pacifists. Most of them, taking into account the state of mind of our enemies, saw no chance of arriving at a mutual understanding. But many people were finally convinced of the soundness of that judgment only by the terms of the armistice and the peace of Versailles. The result was great dissatisfaction with the churches, which, instead of promoting peace, fanned the flames of war and blessed its weapons. On the other hand, to thousands the church became their truest friend and comforter in the great distress. At the outbreak of the war, the masses flocked to the churches as never before. It is true that the great hopes which were entertained of a revival of religion because of the war quickly vanished; the longer the war lasted, the more the life of the church tended to return to normal. Indeed, war showed its

usual effects in the impairment of morality and good custom. Nevertheless, the church reared itself a monument in thousands of hearts by its great work of help and comfort for the wounded, by its material and spiritual assistance of the lonely and the suffering, by its letters, bibles, and religious tracts sent to soldiers and prisoners of war. And when the sad end of the war was followed by the revolution, those who saw in it, not the dawn of a new time, but the ruin of all they had cherished, turned again to the churches in great numbers, the middle-classes in particular, who had always been very friendly. Spiritually, then, as well as externally, the churches remain a living power. Only the peasants, formerly their most loyal adherents, have in part become disaffected. For them the war involved a great spiritual crisis. On the one hand, they have become rich as never before, and mammonism has, in the case of some, destroyed their interest in spiritual things; on the other, in the great changes wrought by the war, many good old customs have been abandoned, and the mingling of peasant soldiers with men of other vocations has had unfortunate results. Then too, the state regulation of business has embittered the peasants and set them against all agencies of public order. Hence in many localities, and especially among those who took part in the war, the church and religion have suffered serious losses. But in general the peasants have remained loyal to the churches.

One element in the situation is especially gratifying. Most people were of the opinion that a split between conservatives and liberals within the Protestant church was inevitable when once the state ceased to hold them together. This opinion has proved mistaken. To be sure, some of the conservatives, when the new church was being organized, did insist that a rigid creed was the most important requisite; that the state and the consistories appointed by it had wrongfully tolerated "unbelievers" (i.e. adherents of modern theology) as ministers; and that the situation must be cleared. That view, however, was opposed not only by the liberals, but also by many conservatives, as well as some pietists. Professors Schmitz and Heim at Münster, and another leader of the pietists, Michaelis, main-

tained that so long as the orthodox were allowed freedom to work, they ought not to leave or divide the church, which as a united "Volkskirche" offers unrivalled opportunities for spreading the gospel among the masses. Up to the present, therefore, the unity of the old church has been preserved in all the states, and the great evil which most people apprehended in the event of the separation of church and state has been avoided. Special credit is due the liberals, who, in this time of distress as already during the war, refrained from every form of propaganda in behalf of their own views, worked solely for the "Volkskirche," and occupied the front rank in the fight against irreligion and the enemies of Christianity.

A very difficult task was the adoption of new constitutions for the churches. By the abdication of the sovereigns, the state churches had at one stroke been deprived of their heads, and the church authorities (consistories) were without legal standing. Nor did the general synods, which supplemented the consistories in the work of church-government, seem sufficiently representative of the membership of the church, since they had not been elected directly by the members, but the district synods had sent delegates to the provincial synods, and these in turn had sent their delegates to the general synods. Now that the state gave a vote to every man and woman of twenty, and sovereign national assemblies were engaged in drafting state constitutions on the basis of such universal suffrage, the existing synods seemed hardly qualified to determine the new constitution of the churches. In southern Germany, in Württemberg and Baden, the church authorities quickly hit upon the proper course. The existing synods ordered elections for constituent synods on the basis of universal direct suffrage; and those constituent synods in turn framed the constitutions of the churches. By these the entire legislative power was left in the hands of the newly-elected synods, while the administrative power was intrusted to church-presidents chosen by the synods and consistories nominated by the church-presidents. In Prussia, however, serious difficulties arose. The old general synod flatly refused to summon a constituent synod to be elected by universal suffrage. It cannot be denied that in a

"Volkskirche," of which even the enemies of religion are nominal members, universal suffrage is of doubtful value; if the socialist masses exercised their right to vote, the church in some states might come entirely into their hands, that is, into the hands of materialists and unbelievers. But while for this reason the synods of the northern states, notably that of Prussia, refused to yield to the democratic tendencies of the time, the new Prussian government, which, so long as the separation was not consummated, continued to hold supreme power in the church, insisted that the general synod grant universal suffrage for the election of a constituent synod. This conflict, which created much excitement in Prussia, has thus far prevented the assembling of a constituent synod in the leading German state, although the government and the synod have recently agreed upon a compromise.

On the whole, in Prussia as in the other states, the constitution of the church will hereafter be much more democratic. In all the states, the supreme power will be lodged in synods, which in most of the states (presumably in Prussia also) will consist of one-third ministers and two-thirds laymen. Women will have the vote in all Protestant churches. The influence of the individual parish in the appointment of its minister will be much increased. Indeed, if a minority of the members of a parish are dissatisfied with the minister's theology, they will under certain conditions be permitted to hold services of their own within the parish. But on the whole, the congregational element in German churches will be small even in the future; the church-presidents, generally elected for life, and the consistories nominated by them, will guard the churches against the vacillations caused by changing majorities.

Just as the individual state governments have, as the result of the revolution, lost some of their importance in comparison with the national government, so the prevailing tendency toward centralization has brought about the convocation of the first German "Kirchentag" (Church Congress). In the past, for the conduct of the common affairs of the churches, such as the representation of Protestantism over against Catholicism, the care of Germans abroad, etc., there existed only a

committee composed of delegates from the various consistories. Now, after thorough preparation, a Church Congress representing all German Protestants met for the first time in September 1919 at Dresden. Consistories, synods, theological parties, missionary societies, and Christian associations, sent their delegates. This assembly represented and disclosed great difference of opinion, theological, political, and social. Nevertheless, at a time when the new states and the spirit of the age tended to ignore both church and religion, it furnished a remarkable demonstration of strength and solidarity, and received a good deal of public notice. The "Kirchentag" is to be a regular institution, meeting if possible every year, not with the purpose of creating a "Reichskirche," or uniform national church, but merely to constitute a league of the various Protestant German churches, which for the rest will remain independent of each other, especially in matters of creed and doctrine. The common interests of German Protestantism will be promoted and defended, whether against the state, Catholicism, or unbelievers, through this "Kirchentag." Its first session was closed with the adoption of several very important declarations: an address to the Protestants of Germany regarding the humiliating impeachment of the Emperor and the detention of our prisoners of war; another to the Protestants in the lost provinces of Alsace, Poland, West Prussia, and Danzig; and a statement regarding the German foreign missions, which have been ruthlessly destroyed by our enemies.

How the theological differences will develop no one can foresee. Under the new democratic system, which through its recurring elections exposes theological differences to the discussion of laymen as never before, dissensions will certainly increase. The settlement of such controversies by governmental consistories has ceased. It is not certain that division can be permanently prevented. Possibly the orthodox party will secede in churches where the elections result in favor of the liberals. Thus far the elections have resulted to a surprising extent in favor of the conservatives, many of the liberals and all the socialists having kept away from the polls. Meanwhile, their common enemies, Rome, unbelief, and immorality,

strengthened by war and revolution, will continue to present great common tasks and impel the various parties to keep together. The provision of special services for the benefit of a dissenting minority within the parish is an attempt to satisfy scruples of conscience and thus prevent secession.

Like all other sciences in Germany, theology faces hard times. Our impoverished country cannot afford the ordinary instruments of science. Already the printing of scientific books and papers has become well-nigh impossible, and so has the purchase of scientific books by students and ministers. Assuredly not Germany only, but the rest of the world as well, will be seriously injured by this starving of German scholarship.

A strange element in the new relation of church and state is the fact that the theological faculties remain institutions of the state, the states, not the churches, appointing their professors. But this should not be matter of regret; the selection of the ablest scholars and the objectivity of scientific research is better guaranteed by the state than by the majorities of synods. On the other hand, the churches will be able to supplement the education furnished at the universities by maintaining, as some of them have in the past, seminaries of their own, to which candidates for the ministry may repair for training in practical work after leaving the university.

More lamentable even than the state of theology is that of the benevolent Christian organizations, particularly the numerous "innere Mission" societies, which are devoted to the care of the sick and the infirm, work among prisoners and outcasts, the fight against alcoholism and immorality, and to evangelical missions. All these organizations are now confronted with such great deficits that their maintenance is extremely problematical. One of the saddest effects of our defeat is the ruin of our works of charity.

Internally, the character of the German churches seems about to change in one respect, as a necessary consequence of the separation of church and state. In the article of 1910 I pointed out that the German churches, though differing from each other in many points, are all of a decidedly Lutheran type, in the sense that they emphasize the piety of the heart which is gen-

erated by the "Word," and give less attention to institutional religion or the element of religious fellowship. I said then that this was well enough so long as state, education, and public opinion in Germany were essentially Christian, but that the growing neglect of the institutional church was endangering the cause of religion. Now that the state and public opinion have adopted a distinctly neutral attitude towards religion, the judgment I expressed seems truer than ever, and indeed its truth is generally recognized. "The church of the past was a church of sacrament, the church of the present is a church of the word, *the church of the future must be a church of fellowship,*" said a prominent minister at the evangelical "Gemeindetag" at Leipzig in May 1920. The movement for building up a well-organized, rich, and vigorous parish life, with greater activity on the part of the laity, has been quickened. New organizations have come into being, such as the "Volkskirchenbünde" and "volkskirchliche Laienbünde." These associations were first called into existence by the situation in which the churches found themselves after the revolution, and the urgent need of demonstrations backed by numerous signatures; but they soon became centres of parish work and lay activity. The future of the Protestant church in Germany will depend very largely upon its success in putting an end to the inveterate passivity of the laity, and to the neglect of religious institutions as nurseries of Christian fellowship; and in uniting the real Christians within the great "Volkskirche" into small but active circles, which shall maintain a healthy parish life and effectively champion the cause of the churches before the general public.

In concluding this chapter on the position of the churches in Germany after the war, we may point out that, contrary to the expectation of the utopians who brought about the revolution, the Catholic church has been very greatly strengthened. By the separation of church and state, that church lost nothing but supervision and restrictions, while retaining its leaders. On the other hand, it gained unlimited freedom for monasteries, religious orders, and theological seminaries, the election of bishops, and a papal nuncio at Berlin. In the national, as well

as in many state governments, the Catholic (Centre) party is of decisive importance. The Imperial chancellor, Fehrenbach, belongs to that party. For the present, by reason of the prevailing distress and their common struggle against the atheistic policy of the revolutionists, peace between Protestants and Catholics has been fairly well preserved; but in the future, the increased power of Rome in Germany will provoke serious contests between the two bodies; and it is to be feared that, although in the majority, the disunited Protestants will prove the weaker party.

II

We have found the state of the church after the war, though by no means free from danger, yet not entirely unsatisfactory. The church has proved far too strong to be swept away by the forces of culture, in spite of the fact that the latter have come to be practically independent. The outlook becomes more serious when we turn to the second part of our survey: the temper of the outsiders and their relation to religion and the churches. This subject must be considered under two aspects: *First*, the relations of the Protestant church and the German working class, and *Second*, the relations of the Protestant church and German culture. Both these problems, it will be recalled, proved complicated in our article of 1910. The first appeared quite insoluble for the immediate future; the second seemed less difficult, since German culture, at least theoretically, was beginning to turn from naturalism to idealism, and hence was adopting a more sympathetic attitude, not indeed to the church, but at least to religion. In both respects the situation since the war and the revolution has not materially changed, although both questions have grown more acute for both sides — the working class and the educated class on the one side, and the church on the other.

We may begin with the working class, the vast majority of whom are organized into socialist parties. As a result of the war and the revolution, our prediction of 1910 has been fulfilled: the moderate and radical socialists have separated. The Moderate Socialists have been in control of the govern-

ment of Germany for the past eighteen months, and have therefore been compelled to do a certain amount of constructive work. In the course of their endeavours, the best of them have come to recognize that socialism made a serious mistake in teaching the masses to antagonize all existing institutions, and to base their hope of future welfare upon economic revolution alone, to the neglect of moral agencies. Some of their leaders have confessed as much. Others, like the Prussian Kultusminister, Haenisch, have explicitly acknowledged the moral achievements of the church, especially in the education of the masses. Still others, such as Schulz, Meerfeld, and Keil, have gone so far as to urge socialists who have not left the church to take an active part in its affairs, now that it is no longer in the service of a capitalistic and militaristic state.

Nevertheless, it can scarcely be affirmed, even of the moderate socialists, that they have actually drawn nearer to the church. It is true that, being compelled to do constructive work instead of contenting themselves with mere opposition, the moderate socialists have begun to adopt a more objective attitude also towards the church. Their press is beginning to show some regard for their own doctrine that religion is a private affair, and to refrain from deliberate attacks on religion and the churches. But as yet there is nothing like a positive inclination of moderate socialists toward the church or even toward religion. For one thing, the antipacifist position of the churches during the war had the effect of increasing the antagonism of many of them; while the problem of divine government in connection with the war furnished too tempting material for their scoffing. Moreover, since the revolution, workingmen are so taken up with urgent economic, trade-unionist, and political questions, that few of them have time or interest for religious subjects and the revision of their ideas concerning the church. Even the fact that some ministers have gone over to the socialist party has failed to bring more than a very few socialist workmen into touch with the life and work of the church.

More sinister is the attitude of the Independent Socialists ("Unabhängige Sozialisten," "Kommunisten"). In ever increasing numbers the majority of wage-earners not only re-

fused to follow their leaders into constructive work, but, persisting in the old attitude of hatred and opposition, abandoned the socialist party and went over to the Bolsheviks, in wrath and disappointment at the failure of the revolution to bring about the promised paradise. Among such the animosity toward the churches, now independent of the state, has remained as strong as that formerly directed against the established churches. The press of these radical socialists preaches Marxian materialism, according to which all churches are merely a means to stultify the masses and support capitalism. The surprising energy exhibited by the churches in the crisis led to a new movement to bring about secession from the church *en masse*. But in spite of this animosity, thus far only a small fraction of the workmen have left the church, about one half of one per cent of the population. Most wage-earners paid no church taxes anyhow; and their religious habits, together with the influence of their wives and children, have kept them from withdrawing.

Between 1912 and 1914, when for the first time such a movement for a general secession from the church was started by radical socialists like Hoffmann and Liebknecht, about 100,000 working-men left the churches. This movement subsided, however, when the war broke out. But after the great disappointments of 1918, when even the revolution failed to break the influence of the church, and the radical attitude of the revolutionists toward the churches actually turned many, especially women, into anti-revolutionists, the agitation for secession was resumed. Organizations such as the "Freethinkers," the "Central Union of Proletarian Freethinkers," the "Committee of the Unbelievers" are eagerly at work at the present time. And more favorable to their cause than all their agitation is the fact that many wage-earners, on account of their increased wages, must now pay church taxes. Consequently, since the close of the war another 100,000 (including women and children) have left the churches. When one considers, however, that at the last election there were twelve million socialist votes, those numbers are seen to be quite insignificant. Moreover, the withdrawal of children from the religious instruction

furnished in the public schools, and still more the establishment of non-religious schools (in accordance with articles 146 and 149 of the national constitution) proceed with surprising slowness, in spite of the continued agitation, especially on the part of socialist teachers. By far the greater number of children, even in the predominantly proletarian schools of the large cities, still attend the classes in religion. Nevertheless, the movement for secession from the church seems bound to increase. From the point of view of religion, it may not be wholly undesirable that people who reject religion in fact should not continue to profess it in name. But the realization of the ideal of a "Volkskirche" is seriously endangered by that movement.

More serious than the defections from the church is the fact that the majority of workingmen, even after the disappointments of the revolution, still fail to perceive that mere economic changes, without the birth of a new spirit, cannot create a paradise. The war, in Germany as in other countries, has thrown the moral standards of many into confusion; and the revolution has still further undermined respect for authority and made men critical of inherited institutions. To be sure, many radical leaders recognize that we need a new spirit if we are to emerge from our misery into better things. There are many to whom their Bolshevism is itself a new religion for which they would gladly give their lives, and who struggle with pure idealism for the anticipated salvation of the future. We must admit, also, that the churches, whose adherents belong mostly to the conservative political parties from which working men keep aloof, often cling too closely to the conservative side of political and economic questions, and show too little appreciation of the material and moral condition of the working class. But even where clergymen have turned to the radical parties — and some have gone very far, witness the so called "religiös-social" movement, with its organ, "Das neue Werk," which has adopted the radical socialism and pacifism of Swiss theologians³ — the effect in winning socialists for church and

³ One of them, Dr. Hartmann of Solingen, openly addressed an ultimatum to the church, threatening to lead a secession *en masse* himself if it did not reform in the direction of democratic socialism and radical pacifism.

religion has been negligible. Long-continued socialist agitation has rendered the heart of the working class utterly irresponsive to the influence of the church and the Christian religion. The situation is very serious — no small part of the seriousness of Germany's future. Either we shall overcome the fanatical mutual distrust of the classes in Germany, and in particular free the working class from its materialistic delusion and hostility to religion, which, I am convinced, is possible only through an awakening of the spirit of the love of Jesus in both upper and lower classes; or else Germany, like Russia, will perish together with its churches and its working class. Whether the "Volkskirche" in its traditional form will ever be able to win back the workingmen in Germany must be regarded as doubtful. Rather we may hope that in the distress which all of us, and not least our working-men, are now facing, a prophet may rise from the working class itself, to preach the gospel of Christ in a new tongue and devise new forms of fellowship for a re-awakened Christian faith.

The outlook is less discouraging, as was pointed out ten years ago, when we come to the second question, the relations of the church and culture, or the church and the educated classes. German culture, we saw, was already turning from the realistic-naturalistic thought of the second half of the nineteenth century to a new idealism. Certainly, the movement in that direction has made progress during the past ten years. The war and the revolution have contributed to the same result. Many are ready to admit that the old realistic culture went bankrupt in the war; that the much esteemed technical sciences celebrated their greatest triumph in the invention of the most terrible instruments of slaughter; that imperialistic politics led the nation to disaster; and that our splendid economic development proved one of the main causes of the war. The idea that only a new spirit of devotion, sacrifice, and sincerity can save us from the Russian chaos, that our external culture must give way to a new inwardness, is widely prevalent among educated men and women. Moreover, the dread of Bolshevism has caused many to look to the church as the defender of order and authority. The shallow mockery of

all religion and contempt of the church, which for a long time were common among the educated classes, have to a great extent disappeared. In the distress wrought by the war, and in the anxiety of the revolution, many educated people have found their way back to the churches. The movement for secession, inaugurated by professors of natural science like Hackel and Ostwald, makes very little progress among the educated. Its adherents are mainly teachers, among whom the old naturalistic radicalism, with its accompanying hostility to the church, continues to flourish. Not only the conservatives, but the liberal and democratic parties as well, proved friendly to the church on the issue of its separation from the state, and labored together for the maintenance of religious instruction in the schools.

But over against these gratifying facts we must set others not so encouraging. Simultaneously with the growth of theoretical idealism, the war, the universal distress, and state regulation of business, have resulted in a considerable degree of practical materialism, sensuality, and covetousness even among the educated. The struggle for existence, political and economic, has in many cases submerged the higher interests. And where this has not happened, and where educated people, especially among the young, are looking for a new idealism, they are for the most part still very far from the religion of the Christian church. Some, unmindful of history, turn to individualistic mysticism. Others are enticed by Christian Science and similar movements. In particular, the "spiritual science" (*Geisteswissenschaft*), or theosophy, of Dr. Rudolf Steiner has made considerable headway among the educated. Precisely this shows the remarkable change which has come about within the last twenty years. The same educated men who then held up natural science as the final solution of the riddles of the universe, now ally themselves with the mystical community of Rudolf Steiner, believe in a universe full of ghosts and angels, study their own "etherial body" and "astral body," and speculate on the question who they were in a former stage of existence. Even some Protestant theologians have been won over to these beliefs. Steiner himself insists that his

aim is not to combat, but to deepen and intensify Christian faith; that he is engaged in a common struggle with the churches against the great enemy of all genuine civilization, materialism. As an ally in this struggle, the church may perhaps welcome him; but it is to be feared that, with the inevitable disappointments of this "spiritual science," people will be drawn away from genuine religion and landed in abstruse and empty speculation.

So the problem of the "Protestant Church and German Culture," is no nearer solution today than it was ten years ago. In spite of the fact that the last few years have seemed to force them together, they still remain apart. No doubt the church has not been without fault. It has often been too inflexible, too rigid, too little mindful of the realities, too much engrossed with the poor in spirit. On the other hand, not a few people of education eagerly await the rise of some new prophet, some creative genius, who, amid the present confusion of thought and the crumbling of foundations, shall point a new way and proclaim the old gospel in new language. May the bitter and fearful period which by the will of God we face, and which threatens to surpass in incalculable misery all that has been experienced in the past, raise up for us such a man! Assuredly he would prove a blessing, not only to Germany, but likewise to the other nations, which are beset with the same confusion and cherish the same longing for new ideas and a new spiritual leader.

THE TOMBS OF PETER AND PAUL
AD CATACUMBAS

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RECENT archaeological discoveries have contributed in many ways to enrich our knowledge of the early periods of Christian history. It cannot be denied that the results of these investigations as a whole have given testimony in favor of the conservative historical tradition, rather than of the aggressive criticism of the last century. In many cases archaeological evidence has verified or confirmed traditions to which historical criticism had denied any positive value, and solved what had been regarded as insoluble problems. Where literary evidence was lacking or inconclusive, archaeology and ancient liturgy have furnished the historians of the early centuries of the Church new sources of knowledge of inestimable value.

A striking illustration of this is found in a recent book, "Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Liturgische und archaeologische Studien" (Bonn, 1915), in which Professor H. Lietzmann collects and analyzes a body of liturgical and archaeological evidence relating to the tombs of Peter and of Paul in Rome, and comes to the conclusion that the old Roman tradition which venerates Peter's grave at the Vatican and that of Paul on the Ostian Way is historically sound, and that no serious objection can be raised against it. Coming from a well known Protestant scholar, this new and very valuable contribution to the *vetusta quaestio* was warmly welcomed by eminent Catholic writers. "Was den Hauptteil des Buches angeht, so müssen wir Katholiken dem Verfasser geradezu dankbar sein. Wir hätten die Katholische Tradition nicht besser verteidigen können, als er es getan hat," says Rauschen (*Theologische Revue*, 1916, pp. 11 f.); and Professor Buonaiuti, of Rome, remarks that "fair play in scientific research has effectively overcome all confessional bias" (*Religio*, 1920, p. 78). Lietzmann's work did not pass unnoticed in America. Professor W. W. Rockwell

made a detailed survey of it in the *American Journal of Theology* (1918, pp. 113-124), and Professor Kirsopp Lake called to it the attention of the readers of the *American Historical Review* (April 1920, p. 483). But the importance of the question itself, and the fact that since the publication of Lietzmann's book, further excavations under the Basilica of St. Sebastian ad Catacumbas in Rome have supplied new and important material, make necessary a new survey and discussion of the whole problem.¹*

Lietzmann's efforts are directed towards tracing the tradition of the Apostolic tombs in Rome as far back as the third century, so as to be able to connect it with the well known statement of Gaius (about 200 A.D.) quoted by Eusebius: *Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. Ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ὠστίαν, εὕρησες τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσασμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* (H. E. ii. 25, 7), "I can show the trophies of the apostles. Go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way, and thou wilt find the trophies of the founders of this church." This statement is not decisive, it leaves room for doubt; but if we succeed in obtaining satisfactory evidence from other sources that about the middle of the third century the sites at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way where today stand the two great Basilicas were venerated as being the resting places of the bodies of Peter and Paul — so Lietzmann's argument seems to run — we must conclude that the tradition is genuine; the silence of all the literary sources from ca. 64 to 200 is regrettable, but does not invalidate the tradition, because there is to be put on the other side the absence of any rival claims in behalf of other cities, and positive archaeological evidence.

"If the graves shown about the year 200 had been fictitious, the error or fraud must have occurred by 170 at the latest. By that time, however, the custom of Christian burial in the catacombs was fully developed. One who was careless or meant to deceive would be likely to 'find' the remains in the catacombs, near those of other Christians, where Christian sentiment was dominant, where Christian worship was easy. The relics might have been 'invented' lying side by side. The ancient and unanimous tradition, however, finds the graves of Peter and Paul widely separated, hard by well-

* See Notes at the end of this article, pp. 87-94.

travelled roads, each alone in the midst of heathen graves. The natural explanation is that the ancient sites are genuine: that beneath the Hall of the Three Emperors there actually rest the remains of Paul and under the mighty dome of Bramante those of Peter.”²

Whatever may be thought of the probative value of this argument, so well presented by Lietzmann, it is undeniable that if we find a sound basis for the Roman tradition, so that the *τρεβραια* named by Gaius must really be identified with the tombs of the Apostles, we may assume that a definite step has been made towards the final historical solution of this problem.

The most important source of information about this tradition is found in the ancient Roman liturgy. The oldest *Feriale* of the church of Rome known to us, the so-called Philocalian Calendar,³ mentions two liturgical commemorations of the Apostles. The first is given under the 22d of February (*VIII Kal. Martias. Natale Petri de Cathedra*), and is intended to be a commemoration of the beginning of the episcopate or the apostolate of Peter. Its institution goes back to the first half of the fourth century. “The choice of the day,” says Duchesne, whose conclusions are followed by Lietzmann, “was not suggested by any Christian tradition. In the ancient calendar of pagan Rome the 22d of February was devoted to the celebration of a festival (*Caristia*, or *Cara Cognatio*), popular above all others, in memory of the dead of each family. The observance of this festival and the participation in its ceremonies were considered as incompatible with the profession of a Christian, but it was very difficult to uproot such ancient and cherished habits. It was doubtless to meet this difficulty that the Christian festival of the 22d of February was instituted.”⁴ This festival arose too late to shed any fresh light on the question of Peter’s pontificate in Rome.⁵

The second commemoration of Peter mentioned in the Philocalian Calendar, is that of the 29th of June, which is common to both Peter and Paul: *III Kal. Iul. Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense. Tusco et Basso Cons.* The consular date corresponds to the year 258. “Evidently we have here, not the anniversary of the martyrdom of either of the apostles, or of

them both together, but merely the commemoration of the translation of their relics to the place called *ad Catacumbas*, at the third milestone on the Appian Way." * This is the interpretation given to the passage of the Feriale by Duchesne and commonly accepted by historians. Lietzmann deals at length with this point, and fortifies Duchesne's theory by pointing out that in the Oriental martyrologies the festival of June 29 is ignored, while recourse was made to an artificial liturgical construction in assigning the commemoration of Peter and Paul to December 28.

If this interpretation of the Philocalian text is right, we have an historical datum of the greatest importance for the whole question in the fact that in the year 258 a liturgical commemoration was instituted for the temporary translation of the bodies of Peter and Paul from their resting places at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way to the site *ad Catacumbas* on the Appian Way. If this translation is proved to have happened, we have in it the connecting link with Gaius's *τρόπαια*, and the whole Roman tradition of the apostolic tombs may be considered as resting on a secure historical foundation. This is the pivot of the whole situation. To make the case stronger, just as Lietzmann's book was ready for publication, fresh excavations within the basilica *ad Catacumbas* brought to light a new and apparently irrefragable evidence that as early as the latter part of the third century the memory of Peter and Paul was an object of special cult in that place. The author was thus able to add to his book a new chapter (pp. 116-121) and an appendix (pp. 180-183) dealing with this opportune archaeological evidence, although on account of the lack of more complete information he gave to some important details of the new discoveries an entirely erroneous interpretation. The excavations, interrupted in May 1916, were resumed for a short period in 1917, and then again in 1919, with very important results. In the light of the new data, the great majority of the Roman archaeologists⁷ think that the question has been finally settled, and that the translation of the Apostles *ad Catacumbas* in the year 258 or even earlier is an established historical fact. Let us see whether such a conclusion is warranted by the docu-

mentary evidence on which rests the assumption of the translation ad Catacumbas, and by the archaeological evidence which is supposed to complete and to make irrefragable the testimony of the documents.

The first explicit mention of the fact that the bodies of Peter and Paul were once sheltered *ad Catacumbas* is found in the *Liber Pontificalis*. In the life of Pope Cornelius (251–253) it is said that the pope, yielding to the instances of the pious lady Lucina, restored Peter's body to the Vatican *iuxta locum quo crucifixus est*, while Lucina herself assumed the task of taking back the body of Paul to the site on the Via Ostiensis, *iuxta locum quo decollatus est*.⁸ This part of the *Liber Pontificalis* was compiled with the use of older documents, at the beginning of the sixth century; but the whole narrative of the translation is admittedly of a legendary character. If the bodies were restored to the old places in 251–253, the entire theory based on the consular date (258) in the *Feriale* would break down.

The tradition appears more definite, and with a great wealth of detail, in the apocryphal *Passiones* of the two Apostles, which probably were written about the middle of the fifth century. The Latin *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* relates that some Greek Christians, shortly after the death of the Apostles, made an attempt to steal their bodies and take them to the East, but were prevented by an earthquake and other miraculous occurrences from going farther than the site ad Catacumbas, on the Appian Way, where the Romans stopped the robbers, "*et ibi custodita sunt corpora anno uno et mensibus septem, quousque fabricarentur loca in quibus fuerunt posita corpora eorum.*"⁹ Similar is the narrative in the *Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου* and in the *Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου*;¹⁰ the latter, however, affirms that the bodies remained ad Catacumbas only one year and six months, instead of seven.

A different story is told in the *Passio Syriaca* of the martyr Sharbil.¹¹ According to it the Praetor of Rome, in the times of Pope Fabianus (236–250), ordered all foreigners living in Rome

to leave the city. The Oriental Christians asked from the Praetor permission to take their dead with them, which the Praetor granted; whereupon they set about removing the bodies of Peter and Paul. When the Romans objected to such a removal, the Orientals replied: "Learn and see that Simon, who is called Kephias, is of Bethsaida in Galilee, and that the Apostle Paul is of Tarsus in Cilicia." So the Romans let them take the bodies; but while they were removing them, a great earthquake threw the city into a panic, and not only were the bodies laid down in their places again, but the whole city was converted to the Christian religion.

The legendary acts of St. Sebastian, also mention the place ad Catacumbas *iuxta vestigia Apostolorum*, and the fifth century *Acta Quirini* say of the same place, "*ubi aliquando jacuerunt*," (sc. the Apostles). Finally, in the life of pope Damasus in the *Liber Pontificalis* (Cononian abridgement of the year 687) it is said that Damasus "*dedicavit Platonium in Catacumbas ubi corpora Petri et Pauli apostolorum iacuerunt, quam et versibus exornavit*." This statement is correct, as concerns what Damasus did, but the clause *ubi corpora . . . iacuerunt*, in a document compiled in the late seventh century, may be dependent on the legend and cannot be safely attributed to the compiler's source. This point will be made more clear when we come to deal with Damasus's inscription.

Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), in a letter to the empress Constantina, tells the story of the robbery attempted by the Greeks¹² and thus gave to the legend the consecration of his authority. The *Notitiae* and the *Itineraria* of the Middle Ages do not fail to mention that ad Catacumbas *olim requieverunt Apostolorum corpora*,¹³ thus perpetuating the tradition, which survived down to the modern times. According to these mediaeval documents, however, the bodies of the Apostles remained ad Catacumbas for a much longer period, that is to say forty years,¹⁴ and in others as much as 252 years.¹⁵

It is evident, therefore, that the first explicit mention of such a tradition appears only in documents which in the best case are not older than the fifth century, and by common acknowledgment are of a legendary character, and furthermore

give contradictory accounts about the time, the motives, and the circumstances of the assumed translation of the bodies of the Apostles. The only conclusion that can properly be drawn from these stories is that, about the middle of the fifth century, the tradition connecting the site ad Catacumbas with a temporary tomb of Peter and Paul, was already in existence. If this tradition had no other support than these legends, it could be dismissed with a few words; but there is another series of documentary sources, much older and more trustworthy, which although they do not make explicit mention of the translation ad Catacumbas, may be construed and interpreted as implicitly containing a positive statement about it.

And first, the liturgical commemoration of the Apostles ad Catacumbas. The passage of the Philocalian Calendar quoted above puzzling as it is, leaves no doubt that the commemoration of the Apostles on the 29th of June was already old when Philocalus compiled his Chronography. In effect, this date as we have already noticed, was not that of the martyrdom of either Peter or Paul, and yet when Philocalus copied the list of the *Depositio Martyrum* in his Chronography, the 29th of June was considered in Rome as being truly the *dies natalis* of the Apostles. This implies that the original meaning of the commemoration was already forgotten, and therefore that the commemoration itself had been instituted long before the times of Philocalus. The date of 258 (Tusco et Basso Cons.), if it is not a mistake, and has any meaning at all, can only be that of the institution of this commemoration ad Catacumbas.¹⁴

But according to the text of the *Feriale* only Peter was commemorated ad Catacumbas, while Paul's commemoration was held in the traditional place on the Ostian way — *Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense*. This is a serious difficulty, because it is impossible to admit that between 336 and 354, when the two redactions of the Chronography were made, Peter was commemorated only ad Catacumbas and not at the Vatican. Moreover, there is another source, in which we find a different text, viz. the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, which says: *III Kal. Jul. Romae Via Aurelia Natale Sanctorum Apostolorum*

Petri et Pauli. Petri in Vaticano Via Aurelia. Pauli vero in Via Ostiensi. Utrumque in Catacumbas. Passi sub Nerone. Basso et Tusco Consulibus. The Hieronymianum was compiled in Southern Gaul, probably in Auxerre, between the years 592 and 600, by putting together partial lists belonging to various churches. One of the most important sources of the compiler was an old Roman list, or local martyrology, of which we find traces in the latter part of the fourth century,¹⁵ so that we may assume with a measure of certainty that the passage above quoted, stood in a Roman martyrology which must have been in use in Rome, perhaps in the time of Philocalus, or at least only a few years later. From this passage we gather that in the latter part of the fourth century the *natale* of the Apostles was celebrated in Rome on June 29 in three different places, that of Peter at the Vatican, that of Paul on the Ostian way, and of both ad Catacumbas. The date of their martyrdom is given rightly under Nero. The consular date corresponding to the year 258 is also added, evidently from the old *Feriale*, but without any explanation.

It was thought that the divergence between the *Feriale* and the Hieronymianum could be explained by supposing that when the first redaction of the Philocalian was made the body of Paul had already been restored to the site on the Ostian way, in the newly built basilica, and therefore his commemoration also returned to the old place,¹⁶ whereas Peter's body was still ad Catacumbas, perhaps because the Vatican basilica was not yet completed; when several years later, the Roman martyrology (source of the Hieronymianum) was compiled, the translation of Peter's body had also taken place, and the commemoration was held at the Vatican; the memory, however, of their temporary deposition ad Catacumbas was perpetuated by keeping up the commemoration of both in that place. The weak point of this theory lies in the fact that while we may admit that in 336 the Vatican basilica may have not been completed, and that Peter's commemoration consequently could be held only ad Catacumbas, it cannot be admitted that the same condition existed in 354 when Philocalus revised his Chronography. By that time the Vatican basilica was already open for wor-

ship, and we have evidence that the veneration of Peter's memory was there fully established. Philocalus, therefore, who was living in Rome and in the ecclesiastical circles, could not have failed to add to the *Feriale* the commemoration of Peter at the Vatican. That about that time the commemoration of the Apostles was celebrated in the three places mentioned by the Hieronymianum, we have a proof in an old hymn attributed to Ambrose of Milan, in which it is said that on the 29th of June

Trinis celebratur viis
festum sacrorum martyrum.¹⁷

We must infer that the text of Philocalus is perhaps mutilated and therefore unreliable — "il faut le sacrifier," says Duchesne. The Hieronymianum becomes our best authority on this point. But apart from the late date of its compilation, we are familiar enough with the methods used by the compiler, and the instance of his duplication of the festival *de Cathedra* obliges us to be on guard. And if we must be distrustful of its express statements, much less is it permissible to rely upon it and draw further inferences from suspicious sources. In conclusion neither the *Feriale* nor the Hieronymianum affords either implicit or explicit evidence that a translation of the bodies of the Apostles ever took place in Rome: all that can be gathered from them is that at a certain time, perhaps after the middle of the third century, a commemoration of Peter was instituted ad Catacumbas, and that either at the same time or later a corresponding commemoration of Paul had been coupled with it. But there is no hint that the institution of this commemoration was due to a translation of the bodies of one or of both ad Catacumbas; on the contrary, this origin is implicitly excluded by the assumption that the 29th of June is the *dies natalis* of the Apostles. The date 258 given by the *Feriale* and reproduced in the Hieronymianum may be only a mistake; but in any case, it may be explained, as we shall see later, in a different way than by admitting a translation of the bodies. A more important literary source is Damasus' inscription mentioned in the passage already quoted of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Of this tablet only a small fragment has been found, but the text of the inscription

has been preserved by the old itineraria. According to the best reconstruction it read as follows:

Hic abitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes
 Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris
 Discipulos oriens misit quod sponte fatemur,
 Sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra secuti
 Aetherios petiere sinus regnaque piorum.
 Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives.
 Haec Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes.

“Thou must know that formerly saints dwelt here, and their names, if thou wish to inquire, are those of Peter and Paul. We confess willingly that the Orient sent these disciples. By the merit of their blood (their martyrdom) they followed Christ to heaven, and reached the celestial refuge and the kingdom of the saints. Rome merited the privilege of defending them as being its citizens. Damasus relates these things in your praise, O new stars.”

Damasus' poetical style in general is not notable for clearness; we must confess, however, that if this inscription appears to be an intricate puzzle, the fault is perhaps with the interpreters. It is assumed that in the first verse there is a clear statement (*habitasse prius*) that the Apostles had temporarily lodged in tombs ad Catacumbas, while in the antithesis of the third and sixth verses (*Oriens misit; Roma meruit defendere*) a no less clear allusion is discovered to the attempt of the Orientals to steal the bodies, and to the resistance of the Romans to this attempt.

There is no doubt that the inscription was so interpreted by the authors of the legends that flourished in the fifth century. Even a literary dependence may with much probability be recognized, as for instance in the passage of the *Passio* which says, “*Gaudete et exultate (o Romani), quia patronos magnos meruistis habere,*”^{17a} which evidently recalls the “*Roma meruit potius*” of Damasus. It might not be going too far to surmise that it was from such an interpretation of the inscription that the legend arose — it would not be the only case of legends which originated in misunderstanding of inscriptions finding their way into Christian hagiography. But if, forgetting the legend, we try to understand Damasus' awkward poem in the

light of the events of the time in which Damasus wrote it, we may find his inscription as clear as it must have been to his contemporaries.

The suggestion that the inscription may allude to the antagonistic attitude of the Eastern towards the Western Church, has been summarily dismissed as being out of the question. And yet I think that it is exactly what Damasus means by his antithesis, *Oriens misit — Roma meruit*. It must not be forgotten that it was in the pontificate of Damasus that a Council formally recognized the Church of Constantinople as standing on an equal footing with the Church of Rome. Bad feeling between the two great branches of Christianity had existed for long time. The Western Church had not forgotten that under the reign of Constantius it had been obliged to accept at Rimini the Arianizing theology of the eastern bishops who had the ear of the emperor, nor the violent measures taken against the recalcitrant western prelates. The West had learned to distrust the East, and these feelings played a great part in the whole history of that period. Damasus himself, under the influence of the intrigant Peter of Alexandria, made the disastrous error of alienating the sympathies of the theologians of the Cappadocian group, who were the staunchest supporters of orthodoxy, and were anxious to coöperate with Rome for the pacification of the Church.¹⁸

The situation was made still worse by the obstinacy with which Damasus in Rome and Ambrose in Milan insisted on recognizing as legitimate bishop of Antioch the intruder Paulinus, unlawfully ordained by Lucifer of Cagliari while passing through Antioch, against the legitimate bishop Meletius. The climax came at the Council of Constantinople (381). Thanks to the efforts of the Cappadocians and of their friends¹⁹ the theological formulations of the council were strictly orthodox; but on the other hand the Council did not hesitate to reject the claims of the West for Paulinus; nay it gave to Meletius, the bishop condemned by Rome and Milan, the presidency of the Council. It went still farther and after Meletius' death, which happened a few days later, refused to recognize Paulinus *pro bono pacis*, and had a new election held for the see of An-

tioch, emphasizing the fact that the East, would not brook the interference of the West in matter of episcopal elections or church discipline. And finally, it was the same Council that formulated the famous third Canon, attributing to the see of Constantinople, the New Rome, the same standing in the Church as the see of the Old Rome, to which was reserved nothing but an empty honorary precedence.

Now it was during these excited conciliar debates about Paulinus's case that some of the bishops uttered the famous remark, "After all Christ was born in the East," to which the pious bishop of Constantinople and new president of the Council, Gregory of Nazianzus, who was in favor of a more conciliatory policy, replied, "Yes, but it was because in the East it was easier to be crucified." ²⁰ That sentiments like those to which the bishops gave utterance at the council were very common among the people there, Gregory's own description leaves no doubt. Not only the young ones *τύρβη νέων*, but even the old bishops, *ἡ σέμνη γερουσία*, were like enraged hornets:

** Δακτα παφλάζουσιν ἢ σφικῶν δίκην
ἄπτουσιν εἰθὲ τῶν προσώπων ἀβρώως.*

Much more incensed must have been the common people, the *δῆμος κολοιῶν*, who were wont to take a more direct part in all religious issues than the western Christians. It is quite natural to suppose that they would boast also of the eastern nationality of Peter and Paul. A late echo of those popular expressions may be found in the *Passio Syriaca* quoted above, where to the remark of the Orientals, "Remember you Romans that Peter was born in Bethsaida and Paul in Tarsus," the discomfitted Roman had no reply. It would not be strange if Pope Damasus to counteract the impression that such claims might make upon his flock, and especially among the simple minded and ignorant, thought it advisable, now that they had been voiced even in a council, to take the opportunity of the dedication of the *Platomum*, to assert once more the rights of Rome. What Damasus says in effect is: "Yes, Peter and Paul were born in the East, you do not need to remind us of that (*sponte fatemur*), but it was here that they gave their blood, it was here that

they were reborn to the immortal life, and therefore Rome has the right to claim and defend them as its citizens."

We find ourselves on less firm ground in the interpretation of the first verse of Damasus's inscription: "*hic habitasse prius.*" It cannot be denied that the verb *habitare* is found in the epigraphic terminology in the meaning of *to be buried*; Damasus himself in another inscription has it in this meaning.²¹ But it is not impossible that in the inscription ad Catacumbas the verb *habitare* may have been used in its primary meaning, 'to dwell,' of a living person. It is not only possible but very likely that in that place, which much later was called ad Catacumbas, and where during the first century stood a large villa whose substructions have been discovered under the basilica, Peter may have found a refuge while living in Rome. There are traces that such was the case. Professor Marucchi himself who stands *unquibus et rostris* for the translation of the Apostles ad Catacumbas, not only does not deny the possibility of such a connection, but, on the contrary, thinks that there must have been an old tradition linking Peter with that neighborhood on the Appian way, a tradition which would explain the choice of the place for the cemetery of Callistus and the legend of the *Quo Vadis*.²² The *habitasse prius* of Damasus may be an echo of this tradition which disappeared when it was superseded by that of the translation.^{23a}

That Peter only, and not Paul, would be thus originally connected with the site ad Catacumbas is not a valid objection. The old Feriale of the Roman Church does the same. Moreover, we know that the Roman tradition of the third and following century was for various reasons strongly inclined to couple the names of the two Apostles on all occasions. Were not their *dies natalis* assigned to the same day, although they were executed neither the same day nor the same year? Peter and Paul was already a binomial like Castor and Pollux, and it has been remarked that Damasus, when he invokes the Apostles as *nova sidera*, must have been thinking of the *lucida sidera*, the title given by Horace to the Dioscuri protectors of the pagan Rome.²³

In this connection it will be useful to pay attention to the

circumstances of Damasus' times. It was a time in which the cult of the martyrs was acquiring immense importance in the life of the Church. Searching for the concealed bodies of the martyrs of the various persecutions had become a favorite occupation of both bishops and laymen. Hundreds of relics of supposed martyrs were brought to light, and churches and chapels were erected in their honor.²⁴ In many cases the martyr himself would reveal in a dream the place of his grave. It was thus that Ambrose of Milan discovered the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius. Damasus himself, who spent a great deal of his energy in finding and restoring tombs of martyrs²⁵ seems to have received visions of this kind, like that which led him to the identification of the remains of the martyr Eutychius:

Nocte soporifera turbant insomnia mentem,
Ostendit latebra insontis quae membra teneret
Quaeritur, inventus colitur, fovet, omnia praestat.²⁶

It is easy to perceive that such a practice could not fail to lead to serious abuses. As early as the year 401 an African council found it necessary to forbid the erection of altars in places pointed out by visions: "*Quae per somnia et per inanes quasi revelationes quorumlibet hominum ubique constituuntur altaria omnimode prohibentur.*" The *Memoriae Martyrum* were permitted only where there were bodies of real martyrs, or "*ubi origo alicuius habitationis, vel possessiomnis vel passionis, fidelissima origine traditur.*"²⁷ Although a decree of a provincial council, it reflects a situation which was more or less general, and the official attitude of the Church against the abuses. In Rome the procedure on this matter was always more regular than elsewhere, and it seems that the restrictions later formulated at Carthage for the Church of Africa were already applied in Rome in the time of Damasus. In fact, the poet pope does not fail to mention in his inscriptions the historical circumstance which justifies the cult of a martyr in a given place, and when he is not sure of the facts he is careful to say *fama refert*, or *Damasus haec audita refert*. It seems strange, however, that in the case before us, while he gives the fact as certain (*cognoscere debes*), he should mention such an important thing as the temporary occupation by the Apostles of tombs ad Catacumbas

with the ambiguous verb *habitasse*, without adding any explanatory clause.²⁸

That the verb *habitasse* is to be taken in its natural meaning will be evident when we see, as we shall, that a translation of the bodies of the Apostles to the Appian Way not only is not warranted by any positive testimony, but appears for various reasons to be highly improbable. Really, what could have been the motive for the removal of the bodies? The legend of the oriental thieves is out of the question.²⁹ Duchesne thought that the answer was to be found in the consular date (258) in the Feriale. The Church was under persecution, and in the preceding year (257) an imperial edict forbade all kinds of Christian meetings, especially in cemeteries. It seems that an armed guard was stationed to enforce the law in the places more frequented by the Christians. The apostolic tombs at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way must have been the first to be put under strict surveillance. It was natural under such circumstances that the Christians should think of removing the bodies of the Apostles to a new place, where they could hold their meetings without arousing the suspicion of the police. The site ad Catacumbas was exceptionally well adapted for such a purpose.

Against this hypothesis which found almost universal acceptance, serious objections were raised by no less an authority in the hagiographic literature than the Bollandist Fr. Delehaye.³⁰ First of all, it must be remembered that respect for the tomb was one of the most sacred traditions of Roman life, and that the Roman law was very severe against the transgressors.³¹ To violate a tomb and remove the remains was a capital crime. When, on account of extraordinary circumstances, a removal was necessary, it could be done only after the granting of a special permit. There is no example in Rome of the tombs of the martyrs ever being molested by the government even in times of fierce persecutions. The Christians therefore had nothing to fear for the tombs of the Apostles. Moreover, we can hardly think that the Christians, while they were being persecuted, would dare to transgress a law which was severely enforced at any time and the violation of which would have

drawn upon them fresh rigors of the law and the wrath of the superstitious populace. Not to mention that, if the cemeteries were, as we have reason to believe, under heavy guard, it must have been a very difficult task to accomplish such a removal.

It is more natural and more simple to suppose that the Christians of Rome, unable to meet in the usual places and to invoke the Apostles in the vicinity of their graves, held their religious meetings in the villa ad Catacumbas, which must have been the property of a rich Christian, and there celebrated the commemoration of the 29th of June which was destined to become the great festival of Peter and Paul. The choice of the place may have been suggested not only by its safety as on private property, but also by the tradition connecting it with Peter.²²

A removal of the bodies was not only unnecessary and impracticable, but against the feelings of the Christians of Rome, who very likely would have considered such a thing as a sacrilegious attempt. As a matter of fact we have no instance of translations of bodies of martyrs in Rome during the first five centuries. The so-called translations of which mention is found in catalogues and martyrologies as having happened in Rome during that period are either of a legendary character, or are special cases which cannot be classified as real translations. Such, for example, is the case of the bodies of Pope Pontianus and of Hippolytus brought from Sardinia to Rome. Those who were deported for any reason and died in exile were frequently reclaimed by their relatives, and the government usually did not refuse the permission, because they were considered as bodies which had not been *perpetuae sepulturae tradita* and as such their removal was an act of piety. In the same way the body of Pope Cornelius, who died an exile in Centumcellae, was brought back to Rome.

The two instances quoted by Lietzmann (pp. 84-87) to prove that translations were common in Rome, that of Parthenius and Calocerus (May 19, 304) and that of Blesilla (September 22, 304) have no historical basis. That their bodies were removed from one place to another in the same cemetery was never any-

thing but an hypothesis of De Rossi's which has been completely discarded, because there is no archaeological evidence of such a translation, and the year (304) mentioned by the Philocalian is really that of their martyrdom.³³ No less groundless are the supposed translations of Zephyrinus ³⁴ and Silanus ³⁵ from one cemetery to another, and that of Fabianus ³⁶ from the cemetery of Callistus to the place ad Catacumbas. The cases of the martyr Quirinus, bishop of Siscia in Pannonia, and that of the so-called *Quatuor Coronati*, are of a different kind. They were not Roman martyrs, but their remains were brought to Rome under peculiar circumstances. When the barbarians invaded Pannonia some Christians fled thence to Rome carrying with them the relics of Quirinus, their martyr patron. As for the *Quatuor Coronati*, the translation, if it ever happened, did not take place before the sixth century, although they were venerated in Rome as early as the fourth century.³⁷ In conclusion, there is not a single piece of incontrovertible evidence that translations of martyrs were practised in Rome until we come to the late fifth century. While in the East, and in the western provinces which had been influenced by the eastern discipline, translations of martyrs became common shortly after the peace of the Church, and their bodies were without any respect dismembered and scattered through the various churches to satisfy the demand for relics, Rome adhered firmly to its ancient discipline,³⁸ piously respecting the tombs of its martyrs, and refusing to touch them even at the request of emperors and empresses. The letter of Gregory the Great mentioned above was written in reply to a request made by the empress Constantina begging the pope to send to Constantinople relics of the bodies of Peter and Paul. "*Romanis consuetudo non est,*" replied the Pope.³⁹ The translation of the bodies of Peter and Paul, supposed to have taken place the year 258 or at an earlier date, would be therefore a *unique case* in the history of the Roman Church of the first centuries; and it is quite logical that before accepting it as an historical fact we should ask better evidence than that afforded by baseless legends or by equivocal interpretations of doubtful texts. Has archaeology supplied this evidence?

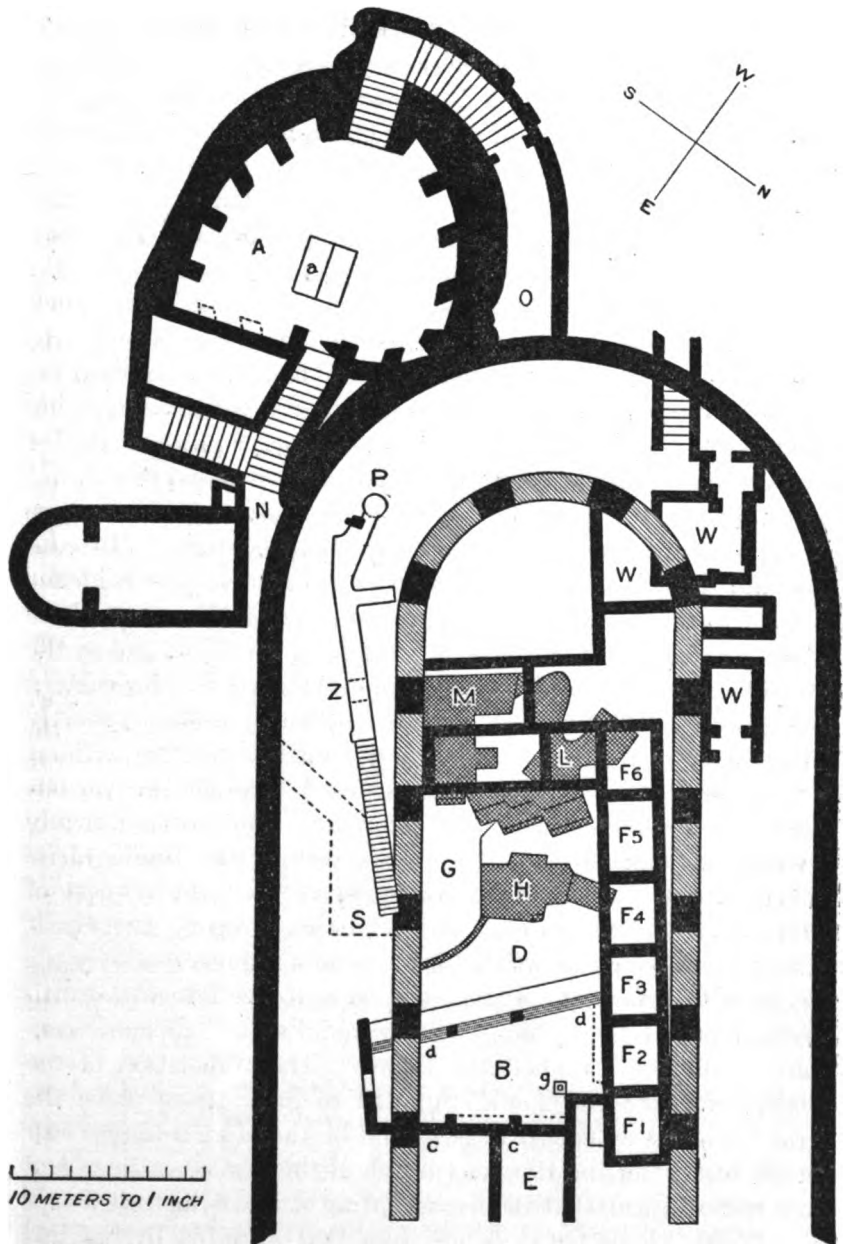


PLATE I

The Basilica of St. Sebastian ad Catacumbas on the Appian Way was originally built as a memorial to the Apostles Peter and Paul, and up to the eighth century was called *Basilica Apostolorum*. It was erected in the second half of the fourth century, probably under the pontificate of Damasus.⁴⁰ The basilica had originally three naves without a transept, and with a peribolos instead of an apse.⁴¹ In the eighth century, probably under Pope Adrian I (772-795), the whole building was collapsing, and it was thought necessary to close the two lateral naves by walling up the spaces between the pillars, the basilica being thus left with only its central nave. Extensive restorations carried on under Cardinal Scipione Borghese in the sixteenth century gave to the church its present uninteresting aspect. Outside the walls of the old basilica at the left side of the peribolos there is a small crypt (Plate I, A) which is now called *Platonia*,⁴² and probably since the sixteenth century has been identified as the place where the bodies of Peter and Paul were deposited while ad Catacumbas. Access to the Platonia, whose level is about 17 feet lower than the Basilica, was originally by a stairway on the east side (N), but in the course of Borghese's restoration this entrance was walled up, and a new entrance was constructed on the west side (O). Within the Platonia is a cella (*a*) in the form of a sarcophagus decorated with marble slabs and divided into two sections, as if it were made for two bodies. It is surmounted by a vault which still shows traces of paintings. The double sarcophagus was thought to be that which once held the remains of the Apostles. Around the wall of the Platonia there are thirteen arcossolia⁴³ decorated with stucco reliefs, which were supposed to contain the tombs of the early popes.*

* *On the plan (Plate I).*— A, Platonia. B, Triclia. D, Court. E, Cella S. Faviani. F 1-6, Columbaria. G, Cavity, 30 feet beneath the level of the Basilica. H, L, M, Roman funeral chambers. N, Old stairs to the Platonia. O, New stairs to the Platonia. P, Bottom of the excavation, 40 feet beneath the level of the Basilica. S, Stairway leading to the gallery. Z, Plastered strip on the walls of the gallery. W, Remains of a Roman Villa. *a*, Cella (*bisomus*) under the Platonia. *c-c*, Wall of the Triclia on which are the graffiti. *d-d*, Parapet of the Triclia facing the court. *g*, little fountain in the Triclia.

The small building with an apse, at the left of the Basilica, is the so-called *Domus Petri*.

In 1893 an investigation was made under the direction of Mgr. De Waal to ascertain whether the traditions were confirmed by archaeological evidence. The results were wholly unexpected.⁴⁴ Instead of containing the tombs of the early popes, the spaces within the arcosolia were found filled to their capacity with tombs in form of pigeon-holes, dating from the fifth century. In demolishing a superstructure added to the arcosolia in order to make room for other tombs, the old wall of the Platonica was discovered and on it a monumental inscription in six verses running around the whole semicircular hall. The first verse and part of the last were still legible:

Quae tibi martyr rependo munera laudis
Haec Quirine tuas . . . probari.

It was evident that the Platonica was not the Memoria Apostolorum, but a memorial of the martyr Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, whose remains, as has been said above, were brought to Rome in the beginning of the fifth century, and according to the Acta: "*Via Appia miliario tertio sepelierunt in basilica Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ubi aliquando jacuerunt, et ubi S. Sebastianus Martyr Christi requiescit in loco qui dicitur Catacumbas; aedificantes nomini eius dignam ecclesiam.*" The Platonica was this *digna ecclesia* built for Quirinus. The lower part of its walls belonged to a Roman building which was older than the Basilica, as is evident from the fact that the northern corner of the Platonica was cut to make room for the wall of the apse, while the upper part of the walls seems to be posterior to the Basilica.⁴⁵ Pope Innocent II (1130-1143) removed the remains of Quirinus from the Platonica to the Basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere and from that time the original destination of the Platonica began to be forgotten, making room for the tradition which connected it with the Apostles.

The builders of the old basilicas on the sites where there was a Memoria of a martyr in whose honor the basilica was erected, used to orient the whole building so that the Memoria would be included within the walls and if possible in the central part, under the altar, or the so-called Confession. The Platonica had been considered to be an exception to this rule, but once its supposed connection with the Apostles was found to be mis-

taken, it became clear that traces of the old *Memoria Apostolorum* could be found only under the pavement of the central part of the basilica itself. A careful survey of several mediaeval *Itineraria*, and of the descriptions of the basilica left by Panvinio (1570) and Ugonio (1590), confirmed this conjecture; and finally the discovery by Grisar of a decree of indulgence granted by Pope Leo X in 1521, in which are given topographical indications about the altars of that church, left no doubt that in

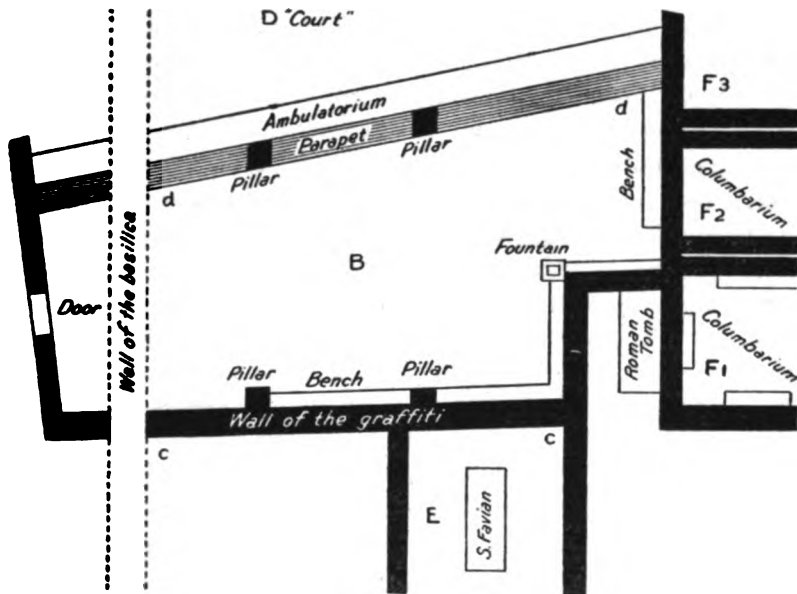


PLATE II

the central part of the nave there had been an altar called *altare reliquiarum*, having at one side the *Sepulchrum S. Petri* and on the other the *Sepulchrum S. Pauli*. That altar disappeared at the time of the unfortunate restorations of Borghese.

In March 1915 the new excavations were begun near the place where the altar of the relics probably stood (Plate I, B). From a few inches beneath the pavement to a depth of seven feet the site was found crowded with *formae*, or brick tombs, arranged in stories. Some of them had dated inscriptions, the oldest of which gives the consular date corresponding to the

year 356 or 357 A.D. If this necropolis was started after the basilica had been built, we must conclude that the basilica itself was erected about that time, that is to say under the pontificate of Liberius.⁴⁶ When the tombs had been removed, it was found that the site had been a hall of irregular shape of about 160 square feet. (See Plate II, p. 73.)

It was closed on the east side by a wall (c-c), the upper part of which was demolished to make way for the pavement of the basilica. On the lower part of this wall were traces of a bench running along its whole length. The upper part was decorated with frescoes representing climbing vines, and doves, and from the line of the bench up was covered with scrawls (*graffiti*) of various types in Latin and Greek letters. The opposite wall (d-d) was but a low parapet with two pillars to support the roof. The hall was therefore open to the southwest on an adjacent court (D). On the northern side the hall was closed by three Roman columbaria (F1, F2, F3). These columbaria were found elegantly decorated and still contained some of the *ollae*.⁴⁷ It was not difficult to identify this hall with one of the so-called *trichiae* or *pergulae* which during the fourth century could be seen commonly near Christian basilicas or cemeteries.⁴⁸ They were covered with a light roof of tiles, or even simple vines, and there the Christians gathered to celebrate funereal banquets. The bench around the walls, the little fountain in the corner (g), the frescoes, and the graffiti mentioning such banquets, leave no doubt that ad Catacumbas there was a *trichia* attached to the Memoria Apostolorum.⁴⁹ Behind the wall c-c, but on a higher level than the pavement of the *trichia*, there was a *cella* (E) in which were three sarcophagi containing mummified bodies. Within the middle sarcophagus above the head of the body, was a marble opisthographic tablet with the inscription: "*S. Favianus ic requiesit.*" The form of the letters is of a mediaeval type. Lietzmann (p. 120) thought that in this *cella* and in these sarcophagi the Apostles had been deposited. There is no ground for such an assumption: it is impossible to admit that the hiding place of the bodies could have been on a higher level than the *trichia*; and moreover if the sarcophagi had been those of the Apostles they would not

have been used for other bodies, nor the place crowded with other tombs.

At the same time, excavations executed under the right side of the apse brought to light imposing remains of an old Roman villa, with some halls beautifully decorated, and with a number of inscriptions and objects of classic Roman art.⁵⁰ (Plate I, W.)

At the close of this first phase of the excavation, while the discovery of the triclia had introduced new elements into the problem, yet the attempt to find traces of the *Memoria Apostolorum* had failed. New excavations carried on for short periods during 1916 and 1917 did not throw any further light on the subject, although three other columbaria (F4, F5, F6) added new details to what was already known about the topography and the use of the site before the erection of the basilica.^{50a}

In 1919 excavation was begun in the upper part of the court (D). When it was carried down to the tufaceous rock on which stand the foundation walls of the basilica, a large cavity (G) was found reaching the depth of about thirty feet below the level of the pavement of the basilica. Here was made the unexpected discovery of a group of three large funereal chambers irregularly disposed on a broken line (H, L, M), dug deep into the rock, with entrance doors in the area of the cavity (G). On one of those doors there is the name of M. Clodius Hermes, and paintings representing funereal banquets. Other paintings were found within the chamber, while two other chambers are adorned with stuccoes of fine workmanship. One of them was originally a columbarium adapted afterwards for interments; the other two contain *loculi*, or burial niches, similar to the Christian *cubiculi*. The chamber L seems to have belonged to a *collegium funeraticium*. There is no doubt that these sepulchres were originally built and used by pagans. The date of their construction is to be assigned to the first or second century; but there is evidence that they were in use up to the middle of the third century. On the rocky wall of the cavity (G) other tombs were dug, probably by Christians, as is inferred from an inscription.⁵¹

These discoveries proved two things: *first*, that on that site there was a necropolis of pagan origin and connected with the

buildings which we call the Roman villa; and, *second*, that Christians themselves used this necropolis before the construction of the basilica. The unusual depth of the cavity with its surrounding tombs explains why the name *ad catacumbas* was given to the place. It is well known that the name *catacumba* belonged originally to this site, and only afterwards was extended to other Christian cemeteries. De Rossi proposed the etymology of *κατά* and *accubitoria* (*cumbae*), but it seems more

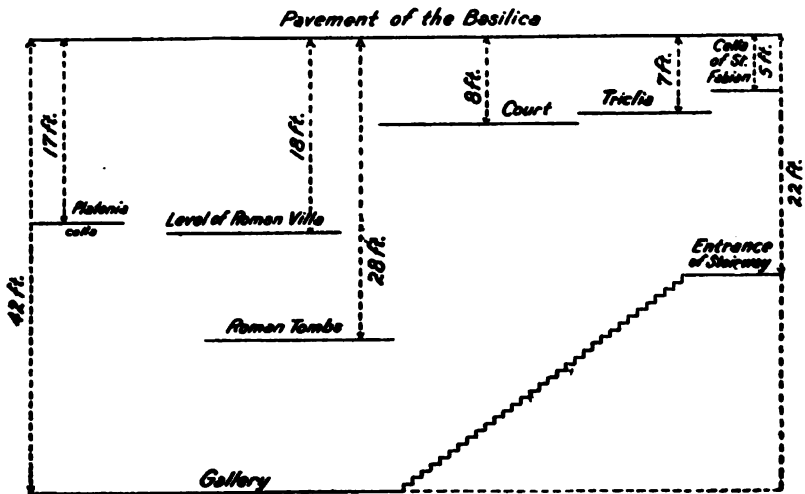


PLATE III

probable, and it is confirmed by the present discovery, that the name owes its origin to *κατά* and *κύμβος* (deep cavity with a concave bottom).

During the excavations of 1915, on the left side of the court (D), was discovered the beginning of a stairway (S) at about twenty-two feet below the pavement of the basilica. (Plate III). The entrance had been partially obstructed by the wall of the left nave, and was filled with debris. When in 1919 this debris was removed it was found that the steps ran down a depth of more than forty feet, to a gallery three feet wide and twelve feet in length, which ended in a kind of cella of irregular shape about seven feet wide. Behind this cella there was the bottom of a pit (P), whose mouth was found at the level of the old

Roman villa. The walls of the gallery show the tufa through which it is dug, with exception of a plastered strip (Plate I, Z) about three feet wide, not far from the end of the stairway on which graffiti are scrawled as on the wall of the triclia.

This last discovery was again thought to have solved the problem. According to Professor Marucchi the bodies of the Apostles were hidden in this gallery, exactly under the plastered strip. The names of Peter and Paul scrawled on the strip several times, with the usual invocation, *In mente habete*, leave no doubt that the gallery was connected with the cult of the Apostles ad Catacumbas. It seemed strange, however, that no other signs could be found in such a holy place, than a few rude and hardly decipherable charcoal scrawls — no inscriptions, no paintings, no decorations of any kind, nor any trace of a tomb or of an altar. Was this the venerated Memoria Apostolorum? This was plainly a serious difficulty for the theory. Marucchi tried to explain the enigma by supposing that originally the gallery ended at the point where there is the plastered strip, under which he supposes that the bodies of the Apostles were deposited. Being a temporary shelter, and so small that there was hardly room for anything else but the coffins, no work of ornamental character was done in it. Later, after the removal of the bodies, in order to make the place more accessible to pious visitors, the gallery was prolonged as far as the pit, and this gave origin to the mediaeval legend that the bodies of the Apostles were hidden in a pit. The mouth of the pit, which was originally at the level of the Roman villa, was raised so as to emerge near the wall of the crypt called Platonía, and within the Platonía Pope Damasus built the Memoria Apostolorum, that is, the cella under the altar where is the sarcophagus divided in two sections by a marble slab. This sarcophagus was never used; it never contained the bodies of the Apostles, but was a mere cenotaph, commemorative of the translation of the venerated relics. Later, the martyr Quirinus was deposited in the same crypt, but not in the sarcophagus, and the Platonía became at the same time a monument to Quirinus, without ceasing to be the Memoria Apostolorum. Professor Marucchi's explanation is very in-

genious, but it is too conjectural to be accepted without further evidence.^{51a}

After all the whole burden of proof is put upon the graffiti in the gallery and those of the triclia. It is to them that we must turn for conclusive evidence.

In the triclia were found 191 fragments of graffiti, some still on the wall, but mostly in the debris of the same wall scattered among the tombs, or on the floor of the triclia.⁵² Thirty-three of them are written in Greek,⁵³ the rest in Latin. They may be divided in three classes: *a.* those which give only names like Felicitas, Vitalis, Maxima, Quiracius, and even Cristus.⁵⁴ *b.* those which contain invocations to Peter and Paul. This is the largest class:

PAVLE ET PETRE PETITE PRO VICTORE
 PAULE PETRE PETITE PRO ERATE ROGATE
 PAVLE ET PETRE IN MENTE HABETE SOZOMENUM ET
 PETRUS ET PAVLVS IN MENTE HABEATIS ANTONIVS
 ΠΕΤΡΕ ΕΤ ΠΑΤΑΑΙ ΙΝ ΜΕΝΤΕ
 ΗΑΤΑΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΤΑΙ ΤΙΜΟΚΤΑΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΤΤΧΕΙΑΝ
 . . . Paule et PetRE A PETITE PRO NATIVV IN PERPETVVm

and many other of the same kind.

c. The third class (only eight graffiti) contain the word *refrigerium*, in a meaning which is new in Christian epigraphy.

. . . DVS IN . . . E REFRIGERAVimvs
 FELICISSIMVS CVM Suis
 XIII KAL APRILES
 REFRIGERAVI
 PARTHENIVS IN DEO ET NOS IN DEO OMNES
 AT PAVLVm
 ET PETRum
 REFRIgeravi
 DALMATIVS
 BOTVM IS PROMISIT
 REFRIGERIVM
 PETRO ET PAVLO
 TOMIVS COELIVS
 REFRIGERIVM FECI

and three others, in a more fragmentary condition but in which

the word *refrigerium* is easily recognizable. The graffiti of the gallery are few and contain invocations like:

VI IDVS AVG. PRIMVM . . . PETE . . . ORATIONIBVS ET BOTIS
 PETRE ET PAVLE IMMENTEM (sic) HABE
 TE PRIMVM ET PRIMAM IVGALE EIVS
 ET SATVRNINAM CONIVGEM . . . PRIMI
 ET VICTORINVM PATREM . . . IN
 SEMPER IN AETERNO . . .
 PETRE ET PAVLE IN Mente habete

On the arch is one scrawl in which probably the first two syllables of the word *REFRIGerium* may be identified, and near it there is a rough sketch of a cup with handles.

The graffiti of the first and of the second class do not afford any special evidence. Styger⁵⁵ suggests that invocations of martyrs are usually found in the cemeteries and only near their tombs, and therefore invocations like *Petre et Paule in mente habete*, would not have been written on the wall of the trichia and of the gallery unless the bodies of Peter and Paul were there. *Nimis probat*. No doubt graffiti with invocations are found commonly in the cemeteries and near the tombs of the martyrs, but that the Christians in Rome could not or would not write invocations to the Apostles in a place which, although it did not contain their relics, was dedicated to them, is still to be proved.

The real importance is with the graffiti of the third class. From them it is evident, that the Christians used to gather in the trichia and to celebrate there or in the gallery the rite of *refrigerium*; but the *refrigerium* is essentially a sepulchral rite; therefore the *refrigeria* in honor of Peter and Paul celebrated in that place necessarily suppose the presence of the bodies of Peter and Paul ad Catacumbas. It seems a strong argument, but its strength is more apparent than real when it is carefully analyzed.

First of all, what is this rite of the *refrigerium* mentioned by the graffiti of the trichia? The word *refrigerium* (*ἀνάψυξις*) is peculiar to the Christian Latinity,⁵⁶ and is found frequently in its metaphorical meaning of eternal joy in heaven or spiritual

refreshment in general.⁵⁷ Such a use in Christian inscriptions, is not uncommon. Equally common is the use of *refrigerium* in its material meaning of food and the like.⁵⁸ Tertullian (Apol. c. 39) uses the word of the fraternal agape of the Christians: "*inopes quosque refrigerio isto iuvamus.*" The agapae, or fraternal banquets, offered to the poor members of the community, had no relation to any funereal ceremony, and were held in the usual meeting places of the Christians. Now the word *refrigerium* in the graffiti of the triclia cannot be taken in its metaphorical meaning, but only in the material meaning of a banquet. A *triclia*, or *pergula*, was usually a place where friends and relatives would gather, "*ad confrequentandam memoriam quiescentium*"⁵⁹ with a funeral repast — "*Locum aediculae cum pergula et solarium tectum junctum in quo populus collegii epuletur.*"⁶⁰ No doubt the triclia ad Catacumbas was one of these places. After the excavations of the year 1915, when it was thought that the necropolis was later in time than the basilica, the existence itself of the triclia in that place was considered as convincing evidence that it had been built near the tombs of the Apostles to celebrate their memory with fraternal banquets. The excavations of 1919 have left no doubt that a pagan cemetery and after it a Christian one occupied the site before the basilica was erected, and therefore the triclia may not have been originally dedicated to the Apostles. There is, however, no doubt that it was used at some time for banquets in honor of the Apostles. Were those banquets of a funereal character, implying that the bodies of the Apostles were ad Catacumbas when the banquets were held?

Such a question leads us to inquire about the period in which the graffiti were written. Dr. Styger remarks quite rightly that it is a rather difficult investigation. The graffiti, which usually are scrawls from the hand of common people, always present the most puzzling combinations of hand-writing. Side by side with letters of an archaic form, we find others anticipating new forms which only later acquired right of citizenship in the calligraphic tradition. The difficulty is still greater when these graffiti are found in a city like Rome, where people from all the corners of the world flocked together and would naturally use

in writing their provincial peculiarities and traditions. In general, so far as palaeography can judge, the graffiti of the trichia may belong to the third as well as to the fourth century. But fortunately in the present case there are other elements than palaeographic guesses from which a more definite conclusion may be arrived at. As for the *terminus ad quem*, it is fixed by the erection of the basilica, at which time the upper walls of the trichia were demolished, open access to the place was cut off, and it was converted into a burial vault. As we said above, the basilica was built in the pontificate of Liberius or of Damasus, that is to say between 356 and 384. As for the *terminus a quo*, the rite of the *refrigerium* itself may throw some light on the date of the graffiti.

If the refrigeria to which the graffiti in the trichia bear witness were banquets in honor of the Apostles and near their tombs, they cannot have taken place before the second decade of the fourth century. It was only after the peace of the Church that such banquets in honor of the martyrs began to be celebrated. On this point we have the explicit and unimpeachable testimony of Augustine, who says:

. . . Post persecuciones tam multas, tamque vehementes, cum facta pace, turbæ gentilium in Christianum nomen venire cupientes hoc impedirentur, quod dies festos cum idolis suis solerent in abundantia epularum et ebriitate consumere, nec facile ab his . . . voluptatibus se possent abstinere, visum fuisse maioribus nostris ut huic infirmitatis parti interim parceretur, diesque festos, post eos quos relinquebant, alios in honore sanctorum martyrum vel non simili sacrilegio, quamvis simili luxu celebrarentur.⁶¹

The graffiti of the trichia were therefore written between 320 and 356 or 380.

It is suggested also that the *refrigerium* included, besides the banquet, the rite of pouring a libation on the tomb of the martyrs, and that the pious visitors ad Catacumbas, after the banquet in the trichia, would go down to the gallery, stop under the plastered strip, and complete their ceremony by pouring the content of their cup into a little hole of which traces were found in the floor.⁶²

But against all these assumptions there are serious objections. First of all, if *refrigerium* must be interpreted as a banquet at the tomb of a martyr, would it be a necessary in-

ference that between 320 and 380 the bodies of Peter and Paul were still ad Catacumbas? We have already remarked that if the translation of the bodies to their original resting places had taken place after Constantine, such a great event would certainly have left some trace in the records of the time. As a matter of fact, the archaeologists themselves who hold fast to the tradition that the remains of Peter and Paul found a shelter ad Catacumbas assign this event either to a very early period, shortly after the death of the apostles,⁶³ or to the year 258; but all of them agree that the bodies remained ad Catacumbas for a very brief time — one or two years.⁶⁴ It has to be admitted, therefore, that the *refrigeria* were held ad Catacumbas *absente cadavere*, and only because the place had once been sanctified by the presence of the bodies of the Apostles. This would be possible, so far as the banquet is concerned, but it is difficult to account in the same way for the pouring of libations. We have evidence that perfumes were poured on the real tombs of the martyrs in the fourth century, and we read in Prudentius,

Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
violis et fronde frequenti
titulumque et frigida saxa
liquido spargemus odore.

and in the poem to St. Hippolytus,

Oscula perspicuo figunt impressa metallo
balsama defundunt, fletibus ora rigant.⁶⁴

We have evidence also that libations of wine were made by the Christians *super tumulos defunctorum*" (Augustine, Sermo 190), and also on the tombs of the martyrs, in the belief that they would enjoy the refreshment. Paulinus of Nola looked with indulgent eyes upon this kind of superstition:

. . . quia mentibus error
Inrepit rudibus; nec tantae conscia culpae
Simplicitas pietate cadit, male credula sanctos
Perfusus, halante mero, gaudere sepulchris.

Poema xxvii. Natale de S. Felice, 564-567.

But we have no proof that this performance was called *refrigerium*, and no evidence whatever that it was done anywhere but at the actual tombs of the martyrs. Moreover, if the *re-*

frigerium was a banquet to be held at the tomb of a martyr, would it not be strange that the Roman Christians, or visitors from the provinces, should hold their banquets in honor of Peter and Paul ad Catacumbas, in the place where the bodies of the Apostles were not, when they could have gone to the real tombs, which were not only equally accessible but even more easily reached than the site three miles out on the Appian Way? “

In the last analysis the whole question hinges on the meaning to be assigned to the word *refrigerium* in the graffiti of the triclia. The Roman archaeologists agree that it is used in a way which has no example in Christian epigraphy. When we read *Petro et Paulo Tomius Coelius refrigeravi,*” we cannot interpret the words of an offering for the eternal rest of Peter and Paul, as they would first suggest. In the fourth century the cult of the martyrs was already well developed, and although among simple-minded Christians there might be room for misunderstanding,“ yet it is not probable that in Rome the custom of offering prayers and oblations *for* the Apostles could have been so long tolerated in one of the places sacred to their memory. The meaning of the phrase is, “Tomius Coelius celebrated a *refrigerium* in honor of Peter and Paul.” But then is it not evident that the word *refrigerium* has lost its original meaning and its connection with a funeral rite which was the essential part of that meaning? The fact, also, that these graffiti ad Catacumbas present the only instances of the use of *refrigerium* in the sense of a banquet, not *for*, but *in honor of*, somebody, joined with the fact that such a use is not found in regular inscriptions which would give it a kind of official sanction, but in scribbles traced on walls by common people — is not this a strong indication that the word *refrigerium* had come in the popular use to signify merely a banquet, having a loose religious connection and celebrated in a place dedicated to the memory of a martyr?

In other words, I do not see why, when it is admitted that the *refrigeria* celebrated ad Catacumbas are not the usual *refrigeria* known to us from other sources, but a peculiar celebration which here for the first time we find called *refrigerium*,

it must be taken as self-evident that such a celebration, improperly called *refrigerium*, retained the original sepulchral character of the true *refrigerium*. We are entitled at least to the benefit of the doubt. The argument would be cogent only in case we were prepared to interpret the graffito as meaning that Tomius Coelius, in his pious ignorance, offered a *refrigerium* for the eternal rest of Peter and Paul. In that case the funereal character of the ceremony could not be denied, and the graffiti would supply the evidence that the bodies of Peter and Paul were — or once had been — there. But as yet no one is ready to accept such an interpretation.

There is a passage in one of Augustine's Epistles which may, it seems to me, suggest a plausible explanation for the *refrigeria ad Catacumbas*. It is well known that the custom of holding banquets at the tombs of the martyrs rapidly degenerated, and like the pagan celebrations of which they were a thinly disguised survival, became veritable orgies. Early in the second half of the fourth century the Church started a campaign for their abolition. In the already quoted epistle to Aurelius, bishop of Tagaste, Augustine, then only a presbyter, tells how he had tried to persuade the people of Hippo to follow the example of those churches beyond the sea which had never indulged in such banquets or had already abolished them. It seems that somebody in his audience remarked that in Rome, even in the Vatican Basilica, people held banquets and got drunk every day:

Et quoniam de basilica beati apostoli Petri, quotidianus violentiae proferebantur exempla, dixi primo audisse nos saepe esse prohibitum, sed quod remotus sit locus ab episcopi conversatione et in tanta civitate magna sit carnalium multitudo, peregrinis praesertim, qui novi subinde venirent, tanto violentius quanto inscitius illam consuetudinem retinentibus, tam immanem pestem nondum compesci sedarique potuisse.

This custom has been forbidden again and again, says Augustine, but it has been impossible to stop it, because those banquets are celebrated in places far from the surveillance of the bishop, and because Rome is such a large city and there are always so many pilgrims both ignorant and drunkards.

No doubt in Rome, and especially at the tombs of the Apostles, many restrictions must have been imposed to check

the abuses of these banquets. Such restrictions, as always happens, hit first the poor folk, while they were not enforced against wealthy and influential people like Pammachius, who in 397 gave a great banquet at the Vatican, as a *refrigerium* for the soul of his deceased wife, Paulina.⁶⁶ The poor people, and those who wanted more freedom, had to search for a more available place than the gorgeous basilicas of the Vatican or the Ostian Way. For this the site ad Catacumbas was well adapted; it was a *locus remotus ab episcopi conversatione*, and was connected by an old tradition either with both the Apostles, or at least with Peter; and there those who were not allowed to do so at the Vatican held their religious banquets to which they gave the name *refrigeria*, perhaps like those celebrated at the tombs of the Apostles. And thus these banquets, assuming the name of *refrigeria* by analogy, may well have been one of the things which contributed to create the legend of the translation of the bodies of the Apostles ad Catacumbas.

Augustine's epistle is dated in the year 392, but he says that prohibitions against the banquets had been issued again and again, and we may safely assume that in Rome the reaction against these abuses must have been felt strongly at least from the middle of the century. Now, according to Dr. Styger, explorer of the trichia, the graffiti might have been written during the second half of the century, and not very long before the destruction of the trichia. As for the trichia itself, it is probable that in that place there was from much earlier times a trichia connected with the *collegia funeraticia* which owned their tombs there, and that it was either rebuilt or adapted by the Christians for their *refrigeria*.⁶⁷ It seems, however, that it was not in use by them for any very long time, because the graffiti are not very numerous, and may all have been written within a few years. And, finally, the motive for the construction of the basilica itself may have been not only a desire to honor the Apostles, but also to do away with the trichia and with it the abuses of the banquets. If the basilica was erected under Damasus, as many archaeologists think more probable, we should have a correspondence of dates which makes my suggestion plausible.

The final result is that up to the present the archaeological evidence is not sufficient to validate the tradition that the bodies of the Apostles were at some time or other removed ad Catacumbas and temporarily deposited there. But let us remark by the way of conclusion, that even, *dato et non concesso*, that the *refrigeria* mentioned in the *tricia* were ceremonies of a sepulchral character, and that the *hic abitasse* of Damasus meant "here were buried Peter and Paul," we should still be far from having the positive proof of the assumed translation. All that could be legitimately deduced from such evidence is that the tradition which appears in literary sources only in the fifth century already existed in the latter part of the fourth century. But could we say that we had thus found for it a sound historical basis? In making the tradition one century older we should not have disposed of the difficulties which stand in the way of supposing that the bodies of Peter and Paul were at any time removed from their tombs. The burden of proof would still be on the archaeologists.

NOTES

1. The articles and publications of which extensive use has been made in writing this article are the following:

Dr. Paolo Styger, Scavi a S. Sebastiano. Scoperta di una memoria degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo e del corpo di S. Fabiano Martire. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 73-110.

Gli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo ad Catacumbas. *Ibid.* 1915, pp. 149-205.

A. De Waal, Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas an der Via Appia. — Supplementheft d. *Römische Quartalschrift*. 1894.

Zu Wilpert's Domus Petri. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912, pp. 123-132.

Gli Scavi nel pavimento della Basilica di S. Sebastiano sulla Via Appia. — *Ibid.* 1915, pp. 145-148.

O. Fasiolo, La Pianta di S. Sebastiano. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 206-220.

F. Grossi-Gondi, S. J., Il Refrigerium celebrato in onore dei SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo nel sec. IV ad Catacumbas. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 221-249.

La Basilica di S. Sebastiano sull'Appia dopo le insigni scoperte degli anni 1915-16. — *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, vol. 2, pp. 588-598; 3, pp. 519-534.

La Data della costruzione della Basilica Apostolorum sull'Appia. — *Ibid.* 1918, 3, pp. 230-242.

Orazio Marucchi, Le recenti scoperte presso la Basilica di S. Sebastiano. — *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*. Roma. 1916, pp. 5-61.

Ulteriore studio storico e monumentale sulla Memoria Apostolica presso le Catacombe della Via Appia. *Ibid.* 1917, pp. 47-87.

La Memoria sepolcrale degli Apostoli sulla Via Appia secondo il risultato delle ultime ricerche. *Ibid.* 1920, p. 531.

Conferenze di Archeologia Cristiana. In all the issues of the *Bullettino* quoted above.

H. Grisar, S. J., Die Römische Sebastianuskirche und ihre Apostelgruft im Mittelalter. — *Römische Quartalschrift*. 1895.

E. Buonaiuti, Gli Scavi recentissimi a S. Sebastiano. — *Bollettino di Letteratura Critico-religiosa*. 1915, pp. 375-381.

G. B. Lugari, I varii seppellimenti degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo sull'Appia. — *Bessarione*. 1898.

T. Wilpert, Domus Petri. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912, pp. 117-122.

2. Lietzmann, p. 177. W. W. Rockwell, The Latest Discussion on Peter and Paul in Rome, *American Journal of Theology*, 1918, p. 121.

3. Furius Dionysius Philocalus was either the compiler or simply the copyist of a Chronography, which is but a collection of various Roman chronographic lists. Two of them are those related to the Roman Church which are called the *Depositio Episcoporum*, containing the obituary of the Roman bishops from 255 to 352; and the *Depositio Martyrum*, or list of the commemorations of the martyrs celebrated by the Roman Church, which is supposed to reproduce the oldest *Feriale* of that Church that we possess. Philocalus com-

piled his Chronography first in 336, but later revised it and carried the lists down to the year 354. The text of the Chronography in *Monum. Germ. Hist., Chronica Minora I*. See Mommsen, *Ueber den Chronographen vom Jahre 354*. Leipzig, 1850, and L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, p. vi.

4. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (English translation) 5th ed., p. 278.

5. The festival of February 22 often occurred in Lent. In countries observing the Gallican rite, where Lenten observance was considered incompatible with the honouring of saints, the difficulty was avoided by holding the festival on the 18th of January. When about the end of the sixth century the bishop of Auxerre, Annarius, compiled the so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, he thought it advisable to keep both dates, that of the Roman Calendar (attributing it to Antioch, a see which was believed to have been also occupied by Peter) and that of the Gallican Calendar, attributing it to Rome. But it was only in the sixteenth century that such an arrangement was adopted by the Roman Church. The assumption that the festival of February 22 might have been originally connected with the veneration of the relic known in Rome as the Chair of St. Peter (De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Christ.*, 1867, p. 38, and Lietzmann, p. 73) is untenable. No trustworthy mention of such a relic is found earlier than 1217. Cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 280.

6. Duchesne, *ibid.*, p. 277.

7. O. Marucchi, A. De Waal, F. Grossi-Gondi, P. Styger, and others.

8. According to tradition Paul was executed *ad Aquas Salvas*, which is not exactly *iuxta* the present basilica.

9. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Lipsius, I, 175. Cf. P. Styger, *Gli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo ad Catacumbas*, pp. 182-188. Cf. also Lipsius, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, II, 391-404.

10. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 220 f.

11. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, pp. 61 f.

12. *Epist. iv*, 30, Ewald-Hartmann I, 264 f.

13. *Notitia portarum*, compiled about the middle of the seventh century. Cf. Styger, *l. c.* pp. 194-196.

13a. *Itinerarium Salisburgense*. Cf. De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, I, 180.

13b. Decree of Indulgence of Leo X. Cf. Grisar, *op. cit. Römische Quartalschrift*, 1895, p. 452.

14. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, p. civ.

15. *Ibid.*, p. xlvi. Duchesne suggests the possibility that the text as it is given in the *Hieronymianum* is older than the *Philocalian*.

16. The *Hieronymianum* (recension of Auxerre) contains a separate commemoration under January 25 of a *Translatio S. Pauli Apostoli*, without any indication as to where this translation had taken place. But we are now too well acquainted with the method used by the compilers of martyrologies in filling the days which had no commemoration to give any importance to this *Translatio*.

17. Ambrosius, *Hymn. x*.

17a. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 173. The same motive is repeated in the Greek *Πράξεις*: Χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι μεγάλους προστάτας ἡξιώθητε ἔχειν. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

18. Basil of Caesarea wrote again and again to Damasus and to the western episcopacy, but his advances were coldly rejected. Some of his letters did not even get a reply; to another the only answer of Rome was to send Basil a declaration of faith to subscribe. "When one is haughty," wrote Basil to a friend, alluding to the pope, "when from the height of his throne he refuses to listen to those who from a humble place tell him the truth, it is impossible to deal with him about matters of general interest" (Ep. 215). In another letter he says: "Those western people do not know the truth and they do not want to know it; they are seduced by their false prepossessions and dislike those who tell them the truth. I should like to write to their coryphaeus (the pope); I would tell him nothing about ecclesiastical matters, because he has no idea of our true situation and does not care to know what it is, but I would make him understand that one cannot mistake arrogance for dignity, without committing a sin sufficient to provoke the wrath of God." (Ep. 239.)

19. Basil was already dead, but, as Duchesne says, his spirit was present and triumphed in the dogmatic work of the Council.

20. Καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν, ὡς ἐπαινετός, σέπτει.
 Δεῖν γὰρ συνάλλεσθ' ἤλιψ' τὰ πράγματα
 Ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνονθ' ὅθεν θεός
 Ἐλαμψεν ἡμῖν σαρκικῶ προβλήματι.
 Τί γούνη; Μάθωμεν μὴ σέβειν περιτροπᾶς
 Χριστοῦ δὲ σάρκα παντός ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους
 Οἴεσθ' ἀπαρχήν. Εἰ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο,
 Εἶποι τάχ' ἂν τις, ἔθθα πλείον τὸ θράσος
 Ὡς ῥαδίως ἐνταῦθα καὶ θανόμενος
 Ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔγερσις, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σωτηρία.

Carmen de Vita Sua. 1690-96.

21. The epigram for the Martyr Gorgonius:

Hic quicumque venit, sanctorum limina querat
 inveniet vicina in sede habitare beatos.

22. Marucchi, La Memoria Apostolorum, in *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1917, pp. 51-53.

22a. An argument in favor of this assumption is afforded by the graffito *DOMVS PETRI* which was found on the wall of a chamber under a little chapel near the Platonis, now itself called *Domus Petri* (Plate I). This chamber seems to have been in existence earlier than the basilica. The graffito, however, seems to have been written not earlier than the fifth century, and therefore cannot be considered as reliable testimony to the tradition connecting Peter with the old Roman villa. See Wilpert and De Waal on the *Domus Petri* in *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912.

23. The remark was made by the architect Gamurrini of Rome in a lecture given at the Arcadia, July 1, 1917. Gamurrini, who is an authority in archaeology, rejects the tradition that the Apostles were removed ad Catacumbas.

24. Vers la fin du IV^e siècle, on voit surgir sur certains points de la chrétienté, des cultes à qui semble manquer essentiellement la consécration de la tradition vivante. On découvre des martyrs inconnus jusque-là, et on se hâte de leur rendre les honneurs dont les autres martyrs étaient en possession

de date immémoriale. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des Martyrs*, 1912, p. 85.

25. *Hic multa corpora sanctorum requisivit et invenit. Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, I, 212.

26. Ihm, *Damasi Epigrammata*, 27.

27. Mansi III, 968, Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, II, 2, p. 129.

28. Delehaye remarks: "L'on reconnaîtra aussi que, s'il (Damasus) avait voulu rappeler le séjour de leurs reliques, la tyrannie du mètre ne l'en aurait pas empêché, puisqu'il suffisait, au lieu d'écrire *nomina*, de dire: *corpora quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris*." *Ibid.*, p. 308.

29. The utterances of the Orientals about the nationality of the Apostles, mentioned above, may have contributed to the origin of the legend. It is known how the imagination of the people gives a concrete form to ideas and traditions. It is possible, however, that the legend had an historical foundation in some event which must have occurred in Rome during the first half of the third century. I propose to deal with this point in a work on the Church of Rome at the beginning of the third century, which will appear soon.

30. Delehaye, *l. c.*, pp. 302-308.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 35 and 61. Cf. also, Ferrini, *De iure sepulchrorum apud Romanos* (Archivio Giuridico, Pisa, 1883), and Wamser, *De iure sepulchrali Romanorum*. Darmstadt, 1887.

32. In Rome the cult of the martyrs was started much later than in the East and in the Church of Africa. There are no traces of such a cult in Rome before the third or fourth decade of the third century. That explains the fact that when the Church of Rome thought of commemorating its martyrs of the first two centuries it had to fix arbitrarily their *dies natalis*, because nobody knew the exact dates. It is not improbable that the commemoration of the 29th of June in honor of the Apostles was the first to be regularly instituted, and that the date of the institution was recorded (258). I would suggest, also, that such an institution might have been made not only in imitation of what was done in other churches, and especially in the Church of Africa, which was in close relation with the Roman Christian community, but also in consequence of the fact that the Christians were at that time unable to visit the tombs of the Apostles. The commemoration ad Catacumbas was a kind of a substitute for the acts of piety that Christians had been accustomed to perform formerly on the apostolic tombs and which now the persecution prevented them from accomplishing.

33. Pio Franchi dei Cavalieri, *Studi e Testi Vaticani*, 27, fasc. 5, pp. 23 ff.

34. "La translation du pape Zephyrinus n'est point attesté par les documents. C'est un postulat de quelques archéologues et nullement nécessaire pour expliquer des faits établis. Delehaye, *l. c.* p. 77.

35. Of Silanus, the Philocalian says: "*Hunc martyrem Novati furati sunt*. That the Novatians, who posed as the guardians of a rigid morality and of the old traditions, should be guilty of the violation of a tomb, seems impossible. On the other hand, it is quite natural that their enemies might put in circulation slanderous accusations against them. It cannot, however, be considered as an evident fact, especially since as Delehaye remarks: "La mention de l'équipée dans un document qui n'est qu'une aride nomenclature, prouve qu'elle était de fraîche date." *l. c.*, p. 78.

36. The question about the remains of Pope Fabianus is more complex. The supposed translation of them to the Church of Santa Prassede, and later to that of St. Martin, has been proved to be unhistorical (Silvagni, *La Basilica di S. Martino ai Monti*, etc. Rome, 1912); and in any case would fall in a much later period (ninth century). The *Liber Pontificalis* says that he was buried in the cemetery of Callistus, and in fact De Rossi found there the epitaph of Fabianus. The first mention of the removal of the body of Fabianus ad Catacumbas is to be found in the martyrology called *Romanum Parvum*: "*Romas Fabiani papae et martyris ad vestigia Apostolorum sepulsi.*" Now the *Romanum Parvum* is a forgery due to Adon, bishop of Vienne, about the middle of the ninth century, as was clearly demonstrated by Dom Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1908, pp. 408-464. The discovery of a body near the trichia ad Catacumbas in 1915, with the inscription *S. Fabianus Martyr ic requiesit*, was taken by Styger (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 100 ff.) and by Grossi-Gondi (*Civiltà Cattolica*) as evidence that the body of Pope Fabianus was really translated ad Catacumbas. But as Professor Buonaiuti (*Bollettino di Letteratura Critico-religiosa*, 1915, p. 380) remarks, the inscription found on the body does not say that it was Fabianus the bishop, while such a qualification is always found in the epigraphs of the popes. Moreover, we find in various documents mention of a Fabianus Martyr different from the bishop of the same name. And after all, even granted that the body discovered ad Catacumbas is that of the pope, its translation would have happened in the ninth century.

37. On the legend of the Quatuor Coronati an exhaustive study was published by Pio Franchi dei Cavalieri, *Note agiografiche*, Fasc. 24, Roma, 1912, iii, "I Santi Quattro," pp. 57-66, giving evidence that this assumed translation of the four Pannonian martyrs never took place, and that during the sixth century the relics of four unknown martyrs in Rome were identified with the Quatuor Coronati.

38. The *Consuetudo Romana* is attested by various documents to have been in full vigor in the fourth century. When the Basilica of St. Pancratius was built on the Via Aureliana, on account of topographic difficulties it was impossible to orient the church in such a way that the body of the martyr would be in longitudinal position in relation with the axis of the building. It would have been necessary to turn the tomb, and yet it was preferred to sacrifice the architectural harmony and the tradition rather than touch the tomb. The body *ex obliqua aulae jacebat*, up to the time of Honorius (625-638), when the *consuetudo Romana* had already vanished, and the position of the tomb was changed.

39. In the beginning of the sixth century the emperor Justinian requested Pope Hormisdas (519-524) for relics of St. Laurentius, but the legates of the pope informed him of the *consuetudo Romana*, which was to send the so-called *sanctuaria* or *branda*, that is to say pieces of linen which had been deposited for a while on the tomb of the martyrs, and to which were attributed the same miraculous powers as to the real relics. On this custom, see Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, pp. 712 ff. in reference to the tombs of the Apostles in Rome.

40. The so-called Cononian abridgment of the part of the *Liber Pontificalis* which contains the life of Damasus mentions only the Platonia as a work

erected under Damasus ad Catacumbas; but a later redaction (Neapolitan mss.) attributes to Damasus the erection of the basilica. This question gave rise to long debates among archaeologists, and it cannot be considered as settled. But there is no doubt that the basilica belongs to the second half of the fourth century.

41. The peribolos was later called *matronsum*, or place reserved to the women.

42. *Platonía*, *platoma*, or *platuma* is a low Latin word, the derived like *platea*, from the concept of space (*πλατὴς*), and means a slab, or rather a space covered with marble slabs. De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, 241. It was rather recently that this name was given to the crypt, when it was thought to be the Platomum of Damasus.

43. Originally they were twelve, but one was destroyed in opening the new entrance, and the two on the left side were added by closing a door on the wall.

44. De Waal, *Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas*, 1894, and *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, p. 146.

45. O. Fasiolo, *La pianta di S. Sebastiano*, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 213-214.

46. Grossi-Gondi, in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1918, 3, pp. 588 ff. Such a theory, which is untenable after the excavations of 1919, was even from the beginning contested. See the letter of Professor Giovenale in *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 1917, pp. 148 ff.

47. The first of these columbaria seems to have been the property of a *collegium funeraticium*, of the first or second century, but later had been used for inhumations. O. Fasiolo, *l. c.*, p. 218.

48. The *trichiae*, or *alogiae*, or *pergulae*, were frequent in the precincts of the Roman tombs. See a series of texts in Styger, *l. c.*, pp. 156-158. In Africa they were of a rather simpler type and were called *mensae*. It seems, however, that there also the *trichiae* were common near Christian cemeteries and basilicas. Augustine mentions a *Basilica trichiarum* (*Enarratio in Ps. xxxii. Sermo ii, 29*). Cf. Grossi-Gondi, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, 3, p. 521.

49. This *trichia* ad Catacumbas is the first to be discovered in condition good enough to give us an idea of the plan and the arrangement of such places.

50. The excavations and discoveries relating to classic art and non-Christian archaeology are carried on by the Italian R. Commission of Archaeology, and are illustrated in the *Notizie degli Scavi* and the *Monumenti* of the Lincei.

50a. In one of these columbaria an inscription was found with the name of one "Callistus Imperatoris Caesaris Vespasiani Servus." It was surmised that probably the villa and the fields surrounding it were property of the Christian branch of the Flavii, since the cemetery of Domitilla began not very far from there. (Marucchi, *Bull. Archeol. Crist.*, 1917, p. 56). Others, on the contrary, thought of the family of the Uranii, because among the ruins of an old mausoleum close to the northern walls of the basilica, an architrave was found in which were engraved in large letters the name, VRANIORUM. To his family belonged Ambrose of Milan and his brother Uranius Satyrus. Grossi-Gondi, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, 2, p. 598).

51. O. Marucchi, *Bullettino di Archeologia Christiana*, 1919, pp. 7-9.

51a. One of Marucchi's capital arguments is his interpretation of the paintings in the vault of the *biomus*, or double sarcophagus, which he identifies with the Platomum built by Damasus as a cenotaph to commemorate the Apostles' temporary burial ad Catacumbas. The paintings have almost completely disappeared, but in the traces still apparent Marucchi recognizes the figures of Christ and the twelve Apostles. De Waal, on the contrary, sees in them the figures of Christ, of the Martyr Quirinus, and other unknown personages. Probably there will be no way of settling this question. Cenotaphs in honor of the Apostles were built by Constantine in his Basilica of the Apostles in Constantinople, following the ancient custom which dedicated cenotaphs to heroes buried in far away places; but a cenotaph of Peter and Paul in Rome, a few miles from their real tombs, does not seem to be in harmony with the prevalent ideas of the times. Moreover, it seems quite certain, from the description in the mediaeval documents which have preserved its text, that Damasus' inscription was not in the Platonica. To imagine that it had been already removed from its original place, is only an arbitrary assumption.

52. List and facsimiles of them in Styger, *l. c.*, pp. 81-94.

53. Some of them contain Latin words in Greek letters.

54. Classification of the graffiti in Grossi-Gondi, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, 3, p. 521.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

56. The verb *refrigero* is used by classic writers and is found also in pagan inscriptions.

57. In the translations of the Bible, like, "Justus si morte preoccupatus fuerit, in refrigerio erit," Ps. 65, 11. In Christian Latin literature: "Meliores fieri coguntur qui eis credunt, metu aeterni supplicii et spe aeterni refrigerii," Tert. Apol. 39. In Christian Inscriptions, De Rossi, *passim*. Cf. Grossi-Gondi, *Il Refrigerium in onore dei SS. Apostoli*, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 222-225.

58. *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis: Quid utique non permittis nobis refrigerare, etc.*

59. Inscription in Pompei. *Giornale degli Scavi*, 1869, i, p. 242.

60. Orelli, *Inscr. Lat. Coll. n. 2417*. Styger, *l. c.*

61. *Epist.* xxix, 11.

62. Marucchi, *Bullettino di Arch. Crist.* 1916, p. 13, and 1920, p. 20.

63. Grossi-Gondi, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, p. 242.

63a. According to Marucchi (*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1917, p. 57) the bodies of the Apostles were removed from the place ad Catacumbas to their old tombs during the pontificate of Dionysius, when the cemeteries were given back to the Church (260 A.D.). De Rossi (*Inscr. Christ. II*, p. 231-232) had already come to the conclusion on archaeological evidence that the tomb of Peter at the Vatican was not disturbed when the basilica was built on that site by Constantine. Its supposed removal from the place ad Catacumbas must have happened before the peace of the Church.

64. *Peristephanon* x, 169-172 and xi, 193-194. Dressel, pp. 65 and 450.

64a. Professor Buonaiuti (*Bollettino di Letteratura Critico-religiosa*, 1915, p. 378), called the attention to the fact that the *refrigerium* or *agape*, though an adaptation of the pagan *parentalia*, yet was not absolutely con-

nected with the tomb, but only with the memory of the martyrs, and could be celebrated outside the sepulchral precinct. Such was the case with the commemorations of the martyrs mentioned by Cyprian, as to be celebrated by himself while far from Carthage and from their tombs (Ep. 12, ed. Hartel): "celebrentur a nobis oblationes et sacrificia." Buonaiuti thinks that *oblationes* here means *agape*, as in Tertullian's passage: "Oblationes pro defunctis, pro nataliciis annua die facimus" (De Corona, 3). Moreover, it seems from St. Augustine's sermons (13, 305, 310) that agapes in honor of Cyprian were celebrated in three different places, and not only at his tomb in Carthage. To these arguments Grossi-Gondi replied at a great length (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 231 ff.) insisting on the strictly sepulchral character of the *agape-refrigerium*. This reply, however, still leaves room for doubt, and the impossibility of agapes in honor of the martyrs celebrated outside their sepulchral precincts is far from demonstrated.

65. From what we know about the abuses which are so energetically deplored by Augustine in his famous letter to Aurelius of Tagaste, by the unknown author of the *De Duplici Martyrio*, and by the passage quoted above from Paulinus of Nola, such misunderstandings were far from uncommon, but can hardly be imagined to have inspired all the visitors of the triclia.

66. A description of this banquet in Paulinus of Nola, Epist. xiii.

67. The paintings found in the tombs around the deep cavity represent funereal banquets.

NOTES

SIMON, CEPHAS, PETER

It is generally held that these three names apply to one person, who was the chief of the Twelve Apostles and the first witness to the Resurrection. It is, of course, recognized that there was another apostle named Simon, but he plays only a small part in Christian tradition.

The object of this note is to collect and discuss the evidence that suggests the existence of another tradition which separated Peter from Cephas, and—though the evidence for this point is less good—possibly did not regard Peter but some other Simon as the first witness to the risen Lord. It is not intended to increase knowledge but rather to suggest doubt.

According to all the traditions, beginning with that of Mark, Simon was the name of a fisherman on the Sea of Galilee who followed Jesus. He is called by that name in Mark 1, 16 and in Mark 1, 29 f. But according to Mark 3, 16 when Jesus appointed the Twelve he gave Simon the name of Peter. The text (*καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα, καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον, καὶ Ἰάκωβον κ. τ. λ.*) is remarkably clumsy, and if there were any evidence one might suspect that the words *καὶ . . . Σίμωνι* were an interpolation. But Matthew has straightened out the Greek, and speaks of *Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Πέτρος* (10, 2), and Luke also straightens out the construction with the same statement that Simon was called Peter. Thus there is no reason to doubt the universal tradition that there were two Simons among the list of the disciples and that one of them was called Peter; but was either of these Simons the first witness of the risen Lord? According to Luke 24, 34 the first person to see the risen Lord was Simon, but it is not clear whether this means Simon Peter or some other Simon. The point is one of considerable textual difficulty; in most of the manuscripts we read that the two disciples who had gone to Emmaus had returned to Jerusalem where they found *τοὺς ἑνδεκά καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς λέγοντας ὅτι ὄντως ἠγγέθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὤφθη Σίμωνι*. If that text is right, Luke is referring in this incredibly casual manner to the first appearance of Jesus, of which he gives absolutely no description. There is therefore not a little to be said in favor of the other reading of *λέγοντες* for *λέγοντας*, found in Codex Bezae and implied by Origen, which must mean that Simon was one of the two who went to Emmaus and

saw Jesus on the road. But in this case Simon cannot be Simon Peter, for the text states that the two who returned to Jerusalem found the eleven, which must include Peter, gathered together in that city. It would be foolish to suggest that this view ought to be adopted, but it suffices to show that the question of the identification of Simon with Peter is not quite so clear as it seems at first.

The question of Cephas is even more difficult, as will be seen if the evidence be taken in approximately chronological order. The apostle Peter is only mentioned once in the Pauline Epistles; Cephas is mentioned eight times. Does Paul mean that they are the same person? In the Epistle to the Galatians¹ he writes . . . *ιδόντες δι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ γινώσκτες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθείσαν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκῶντες στυλοὶ εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ . . . κ. τ. λ.* Is it Paul's intention to identify Peter and Cephas? To call the same man by two names in the same sentence is, to say the least, a curious device, and Clement of Alexandria is quoted by Eusebius² as believing that Cephas is intended to be different from Peter; he suggests that he was one of the Seventy. The *Epistola Apostolorum* and the Egyptian KO go further and produce a list of the Twelve containing the names of both Peter and Cephas.

A similar conclusion might well be reached by a consideration of Corinthians 15, 5, where in recording the appearance of the risen Lord Paul says . . . *ὠφθη Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα . . . κ. τ. λ.* It is, of course, possible that Cephas is included in the Twelve, but if one had no other information, it would probably be natural to conclude that he was not, in which case he was certainly not identical with Peter.

Why then has Christian tradition so completely lost sight of these doubts, which were clearly present in various forms to Clement of Alexandria and to the still earlier writer of the *Epistola Apostolorum*? The answer is that the Fourth Gospel definitely states in John 1, 43 that Cephas is Peter — *σὺ εἶ Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάννου, σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται Πέτρος.* So long as it was believed that the Fourth Gospel was written by one of the Twelve, a contemporary of Peter

¹ Galatians 2, 7 ff.

² Eus. *Eocl. Hist.* i. 12, 2. ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ Κλήμεντι κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐν ἣ καὶ Κηφᾶς, περὶ οὗ φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος, ὅτι δὲ ἦλθε Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶ ἀντίστην, ἕνα φησὶ γεγονέναι τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν, ὁμώνυμον Πέτρῳ τυγχάνοντα τῶ ἀποστόλῳ.

and a disciple of Jesus, it was reasonable to accept this as final.¹ But for those who take a very different view of the Fourth Gospel it is not unreasonable to ask why they ought not to share the doubts of Clement and the Epistola. The answer is that we are influenced, and probably ought to be influenced, by a combination of the fact that the Gospel of Mark when it breaks off seems to be leading up to an appearance of Jesus to Peter, and that Paul says that the first appearance of Jesus was to Cephas; ergo, Peter is Cephas. This is no doubt a reasonable proposition, but it is just as well to understand that it does not rest on the strongest possible authority, for Paul nowhere says that Peter is Cephas, though commentators have the bad habit² (to which I plead guilty myself) of constantly talking of Peter when he says Cephas, and Mark never speaks of Cephas at all.

K. LAKE.

FOURTEEN GENERATIONS: 490 YEARS

AN EXPLANATION OF THE GENEALOGY OF JESUS

“So the whole number of generations from Abraham to David is fourteen generations, and from David to the deportation to Babylon fourteen generations, and from the deportation to Babylon to the Messiah fourteen generations.” Matt. 1, 17.

The difficulties presented by the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke, whether examined separately or compared with each other, were early remarked, and the discussion of them is a voluminous chapter in Christian literature.³ The question why the generations are divided into three periods was raised by Chrysostom in a sermon on Matt. 1, 17 (*In Matt. Hom. iv*). The Jews, he says, had in these periods successively three different forms of government, aristocracy,

¹ It is an interesting speculation to ask why Clement did not hold this view. The answer is partly that he wished to save Peter's reputation at the expense of Cephas, who was only one of the Seventy, partly perhaps that he knew Greek a little better than most men and felt better the implication of Paul's words. But I wish we knew more about the text of the Fourth Gospel used by Clement.

² A consideration of the textual phenomena in the Epistle to the Galatians shows that this bad habit is not confined to modern commentators.

³ Friederich Spanheim (1600-1649), in his *Dubia Evangelica* (1639), deals with no less than twenty-six such problems in Matt. 1, 1-17, at a length of 215 solid and solidly learned pages.

monarchy, and oligarchy, and were as bad under the last as under the first; the captivity itself had failed to work amendment. It was every-way necessary that Christ should come.² Spanheim ingeniously recalls the parable in Luke 20, 9-18: after the failure of three missions, God at last sent his son.

Much more to the point than this insinuation of the incorrigibility of the Jews is an explanation which Spanheim adopts from Jansen:³ It was to indicate that at the time of Jesus' birth, fourteen generations after the beginning of the exile, a great change, a new order of things, was imminent, such as had happened at the end of each preceding period of fourteen generations — the establishment of the kingdom fourteen generations after Abraham; its fall fourteen generations after David. This next great change, according to common Jewish expectations, was the coming of the Messiah; and precisely at this critical moment in history was born, as the title of our genealogy emphasizes, "Jesus Christ (the Messiah), the son of David, the son of Abraham" (Matt. 1, 1). To this verse 17 returns: "From the deportation to Babylon to the Messiah, fourteen generations."

That this was the intention of the author seems clear. But why each of the three periods should be measured by *fourteen* generations is not thus explained. It is true that the fourteen generations from Abraham to David correspond to the genealogies in the Old Testament, and are enumerated in precisely the same way in Jewish lists which count fifteen to Solomon;⁴ while for the third period, from the point where the genealogy of Jesus branches off from the lists in Chronicles in the third generation after the exile (Abiud the son of

² Similarly Theophylact *in loc.*, quoted by Spanheim, *Dubium xv.* (Cur Matthaeus cap. 1. 17 partiatu Genealogiam Christi in certas tesseradecades, et quidem in tres: et cur eas per ἀνακεφαλαιώσιν peculiarem collectas Lectori proponat?)

³ Corn. Jansen, *Comm. in suam Concordiam*, etc., c. 6 (Louvain 1876, p. 49): "Ideo autem in tres quaterdenas Christi genealogiam Matthaeus dividit, ut ostendat sicut ab Abraham usque ad transmigrationem Babylonis bis mutatus est status Judaeorum, binis quaterdenis completis: ita et tertiam illam mutationem status Judaeorum, quae ab eis post transmigrationem expectabatur futura per Messiam convenienter factam post tertiam ab Abraham tesseradecadem, ipsumque Messiam tunc nasci debuisse, ac sic Jesum Mariae filium, qui finis est tertiae tesseradecadis, esse expectatum Messiam magis credibile faciat. Deinde ut ostenderet, sicut fuerunt quatuordecim generationes ab Abraham usque ad David, in quo coepit stabile et liberum Judaeorum regnum, et deinde rursum quatuordecim generationes a Davide usque ad deliquium regni, hoc est, exilium Babylonicum: ita ab hoc rursum tantae usque ad novam regni Davidis restorationem fuisse quatuordecim generationes. Ex quibus constat quare et Davidem regem vocat, et mentionem faciat transmigrationsis Babylonicae."

⁴ Pesikta (ed. Buber) f. 53a.

Zerubbabel), there is nothing to compare it with. But the fourteen generations of the kingdom are strikingly at variance with the record of succession in the Book of Kings — “Why did he skip three kings?” asks Chrysostom, and commentators and apologists have exercised themselves on the question ever since.

The omission of the three kings is by no means the only discrepancy between the genealogy in Matthew and its sources; but it has always been recognized as the gravest, for the kings thus passed over are not obscure or ephemeral rulers. Joash, Amaziah, and Azariah (Uzziah) are, on the contrary, very prominent figures in the history of Judah, the record of whose eventful reigns may be read at large in 2 Kings 11-15,⁵ and who, according to the chronology of the book, occupied the throne for 121 years (40 + 29 + 52). At the end of his list, again, he makes Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) the son of Josiah instead of his grandson, omitting Jehoiakim.⁶ By itself this might perhaps be ascribed to a confusion of the two names such as occurs in Greek manuscripts of the Old Testament and elsewhere; but taken in connection with the previous omission of the three kings, it is more probably to be attributed to the same intention, namely to make the period of the monarchy fall within exactly fourteen generations, like that which preceded it.^{6a}

Mere love of symmetry can hardly have been the sole motive for so violent a curtailment of the history; it is more likely that the number fourteen had an intrinsic significance for the author and a decisive importance for his purpose in compiling the genealogy. This purpose was not simply to trace the lineage of Jesus back to David in the royal line, showing that as a descendant of David he possessed one of the necessary qualifications of the Messiah according to prophecy and universal expectation — a qualification which he shared with many others who claimed descent from David. For this purpose it was superfluous to continue the line back to Abraham — that David was descended from Abraham required no genealogical demonstration — and the symmetrical periodization of the history would be meaningless. The symmetry of the genealogy was meant to prove, as Jansen saw, that the time for the advent of the Messiah

⁵ See also 2 Chron. 22, 10-26, 28.

⁶ 2 Kings 23, 34-24, 6; Jer. 36.

^{6a} A genealogy of the Messiah is given in Tanchuma, Toledoth c. 20, ed. Buber, f. 70 a-b. The royal line is followed from David through Zerubbabel. From that point on the genealogy in Chronicles is transcribed, leading to Anani (the cloud man, 1 Chron. 3, 24), who is the Messiah according to Dan. 7, 13.

had come, and that Jesus, who was born just at this point, was the Messiah.

It was the general belief of the Jews that in his plan for the history of his people and of the world God had determined not only the events in their succession, but the times at which they should come to pass; and especially that the great epochs in history, such as the end of their long subjection to the heathen powers and the coming of the promised golden age, were unalterably fixed. They believed also that God had revealed through the prophets certain signs which foreboded the approaching crisis; they made catalogues, so to speak, of these signs, and scanned the horizon of the times for their appearance. From the second century before our era, at least, they combined with such prognostications an attempt to ascertain the date more exactly by numerical calculations based on scripture, as in Daniel and Enoch, and thereafter in apocalypses almost universally.

Daniel, taking the seventy years of Jeremiah (25, 12 ff.; 29, 10 ff.) as seventy weeks of years (70×7), operates with a cycle of four hundred and ninety years, dividing the history into three unequal periods ($7 + 62 + 1$),⁷ upon the last of which the golden age was to follow. Enoch has the same cycle in the vision of the seventy shepherds (89,50-90,25), symmetrically divided ($12 + 23, 23 + 12$); here also the golden age, with the Messiah, immediately follows (90, 28-38).⁸ Both Daniel and Enoch take the beginning of the exile as the *terminus a quo* for their reckoning, and count from that point four hundred and ninety years to the end of the period in which they were living, an end which they believed to be imminent.

The motive of these calculations in the first instance was to prove that the end of the evil time in which the apocalypses were written was close at hand — the widespread apostasy, the cessation of sacrifice and desecration of the temple, the persecution for religion's sake. In less troubled days men turned to them for an answer to the question when the golden age — however they imagined it — was to begin. Christians had another interest in them; namely to prove that their Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, came precisely at the time fixed in prophecy for the beginning of a new era. The attempt to

⁷ Dan. 9, 24 ff.

⁸ In the so-called apocalypse of the ten weeks (Enoch 93; 91, 12-17), which divides the history of the world, past and future, from the creation to the last Judgment, into ten "weeks," the weeks are probably periods of 490 years. A golden age (the eighth week) follows the apostasy of the seventh (coming down to the Hellenistic age). The close of the tenth brings the great judgment. The three last (8-10) lie in the author's future.

demonstrate this from the seventy weeks of Daniel occupies a large space in the history of Christian apologetic.⁹

In the light of what has been observed above and of this apologetic motive, it is probable that the "fourteen generations" from the deportation to the birth of Christ are meant to cover exactly the four hundred and ninety years which according to Daniel and Enoch were to elapse between the beginning of the exile and the inauguration of the new era; and, assuming that the author took the length of a generation at thirty-five years, his fourteen generations give exactly the necessary number ($35 \times 14 = 490$).

The use of generations as the basis of a schematized chronology is common. Hecataeus of Miletus and other Greek logographers derived their chronology in this way from genealogies, reckoning forty years to a generation. Herodotus calculates how long it was from the first king of Egypt to Sethos (ca. 700 B.C.) from the statement of the priests that between the two there were three hundred and forty-one generations of high priests, and exactly as many of kings. He counts three generations to a century, and thus obtains 11,340 years for the duration of the period. The systematic chronology of the Old Testament historical books employs periods of four hundred and eighty years, or twelve generations of forty years each. Apart from this chronological scheme, which appears to have been imposed on the history in the sixth century, there is no evidence in the Old Testament that a generation was reckoned at forty years; and to infer from it that the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era counted thus is as unwarranted as it would be to make a similar generalization for the Greeks from the chronology of Hecataeus.

Herodotus counts, as we do, three generations to the century;¹⁰ but the century had no such significance for the Jews at any time as it had for the Greeks and their successors, and it is for this reason unlikely that the Jews fixed the length of a generation at a third of a century. It would be much more natural for them to divide the

⁹ The older interpretations in this sense — Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Eusebius — are quoted at length by Jerome in his commentary on Dan. 9. To these may be added Jerome himself, Chrysostom (*Adv. Judaeos* ii), and Aphraates (*Demonstratio* 23). A "futurist" interpretation seems to have been first proposed by Apollinarius of Laodicea (quoted by Jerome, *u. s.*).

¹⁰ Another estimate, thirty years, based on physiological considerations is ascribed by Plutarch to Heracitus, and later became common. The same reasons for it are set forth by Porphyry, *Quaest. Homer.* 14 (on *Iliad* i, 250), quoted by Wettstein on *Matt.* 1, 17.

seventy years of normal human life by two, giving a generation of thirty-five years, which is close enough to the average as far as common observation goes, and keeps the generation in its proper genealogical relation. An example in which a generation is reckoned at thirty-five years is Job 42, 16, where it is said that after his rehabilitation "Job lived a hundred and forty years, and saw his sons and his son's sons, four generations."¹¹ If Matthew meant his fourteen generations to fill four hundred and ninety years, he was reckoning in the same way. It is, therefore, not an objection to our hypothesis that it requires us to assume a generation of thirty-five years.

The fourteen generations in each of the two preceding periods, from Abraham to David and from David to the deportation, must be meant to give the same measure of time, four hundred and ninety years. The duration of the latter period agrees tolerably well with the chronology of the historical books, which gives four hundred and eighty years from the building of Solomon's temple to the return from the exile; from the accession of David to the beginning of the exile would be about the same.

To express this in terms of generations, however, the author is compelled to do such violence to the history as has been noted above. From Abraham to David he had the fourteen generations given him; but here he was compelled to ignore the biblical chronology, which allows four hundred and eighty years from the exodus to the building of Solomon's temple alone (1 Kings 6, 1), to say nothing of the time between Abraham and the exodus.¹²

The really important thing for the author are the four hundred and ninety years that end with the birth of Christ. By our chronology, based on the canon of Ptolemy, there is a discrepancy here of a whole century, for Jehoiachin was deported to Babylon in 597 B.C. Such a comparison is unreasonable; the Jews, who, until the Seleucid era came into use, had no fixed era, and no canon of Ptolemy, were widely at sea in the chronology of these centuries. There was no native succession of rulers before the Asmonaeans; the records of the priests were doubtless destroyed when Antiochus Epiphanes sacked the temple and converted it into a temple of Zeus. Their own historical books, with the exception of the brief episode of Ezra and

¹¹ A mediaeval Jewish interpreter, Isaac ibn Jasos, inferred that wherever a generation is spoken of in the Bible, it is to be taken as thirty-five years, for which hasty generalization he is castigated by Ibn Ezra.

¹² Exod. 12, 40 gives (in the present Hebrew text) 430 years to the sojourn in Egypt; Gen. 15, 25 as a round 400. Cf. Gal. 3, 17; Acts 7, 6.

Nehemiah, were a blank from the restoration of the temple¹³ to the time of Alexander, and there end. The "seventy weeks" of Daniel, to the predicted fall of Antiochus Epiphanes, whatever *terminus a quo* be taken for Dan. 9, 25, are from fifty to seventy years too long; for the Christian interpretation, which finds its *ad quem* at the birth or at the death of Christ,¹⁴ they are not long enough by a hundred years or more. The Talmudic chronology in Seder Olam Rabbah 28, which makes the seventy weeks stretch from the first destruction of the temple to the second¹⁵ (seventy years the temple lay in ruins, it stood after it was rebuilt four hundred and twenty years), is in the same case: its four hundred and ninety years are by our chronology a hundred and sixty-six years too short.¹⁶ Even if the Jews had had more accurate knowledge of dates in the Persian and Greek periods than they possessed, chronology could never be allowed to contradict the sure word of prophecy.

The fact that four hundred and ninety years bring us, according to our reckoning, only to 96 B.C. does not therefore militate against the intention of the genealogy to bring them down to the birth of Christ; and it can at least be said that in measuring them as a whole by fourteen generations the author did not involve himself in a whole series of intermediate conflicts with ascertained dates such as appear in the more detailed chronology of the Seder Olam.

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THE MEANING OF JOHN XVI, 8-11

Καὶ ἔθῶν ἐκείνος ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ περὶ κρίσεως· περὶ ἁμαρτίας μὲν, ὅτι οὐ πιστεύουσιν εἰς ἐμὲ· περὶ δικαιοσύνης δέ, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀγάγω καὶ οὐκέτι θεωρεῖτέ με· περὶ δὲ κρίσεως, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου κέκριται.

In all the English versions except the Rheims New Testament of 1582 *δικαιοσύνη* in this passage is translated 'righteousness.' The

¹³ In our chronology 516 B.C.

¹⁴ Or the destruction of Jerusalem, or even the war under Hadrian.

¹⁵ In our dates, 586 B.C. to 70 A.D.

¹⁶ In a later chapter (90) the Seder Olam specifies: for the duration of Persian rule after the restoration of the temple 84 years; for the dominion of the Greeks, 180; Assyrians 106; Herod and his successors 106, or 460 years in all; which with the 70 of the exile make 490.

Rheims translators, who based their work on the Vulgate, wrote 'justice' wherever they found *iustitia* in the Latin text before them;¹ and hence *δικαιοσύνη* in verses 8 and 10 is rendered 'justice.' Whichever way the word is translated, John 16, 8-10 probably conveys no definite meaning whatever to most readers of the English Bible.

The commentators agree in taking *δικαιοσύνη* in the sense of 'righteousness,' understanding it as the opposite of *ἀμαρτία*. The Paraclete will convict the world, i.e., all those who are alienated from God and opposed to Christ, concerning the three "cardinal elements in the determination of man's spiritual state."² Or, as a more recent commentator puts it, sin, righteousness, and judgment are among the things with which the Christians had chiefly to deal in the conflict with their opponents. In regard to these the Paraclete will deliver authoritative pronouncements and maintain the cause of the disciples against the world.³ What then is meant by righteousness here? Westcott understands it in the widest sense: "In Christ was the one absolute type of righteousness; from him a sinful man must obtain righteousness."⁴ Meyer, B. Weiss, and others refer it to the righteousness or moral perfection of Jesus.⁵ His departure from the earth and presence with the Father are the proof of his righteousness.⁶

The present writer believes that another and a better interpretation of John 16, 8-11 can be given. The office of the Paraclete, according to the Fourth Gospel, is the twofold one of convicting the world and of guiding the disciples into all the truth. In the verses quoted above the first part of the Paraclete's function is described, namely that of convicting the world. Ἐλέγχειν means properly to convince or bring home something to one; often, as in the present case, it signifies to confute or to convict. *Δικαιοσύνη* in the LXX and in the New Testament has two closely related meanings — 'righteousness' or

¹ The Vulgate renders *δικαιοσύνη* by *iustitia* everywhere except in Acts 17, 31 and Rom. 8, 10. In Rev. 22, 11, where the best manuscripts read *iustitiam faciat*, the text used by the Rheims translators, like the standard edition of the Vulgate (1592), had *iustificatur*.

² Westcott, *The Gospel according to St. John* (1900), p. 228. It should be noted that the Paraclete is not the disciples' comforter. He is God's advocate in the world on behalf of the truth, just as Christ is the believers' advocate in the presence of the Father (cf. 1 John 2, 1).

³ Walter Bauer in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum N. T.*, II, ii (1912), p. 149.

⁴ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁵ Cf. Meyer, *Commentary on the N. T., Gospel of John* (Eng. tr.) II (1881), p. 263; B. Weiss in Meyer's *Kommentar, Johannes-Evangelium*, 8th ed. (1893), pp. 523 f.

⁶ Euthymius Zigabenus says: *δικαιον γὰρ γινώσκοντα τὸ πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ συνεῖναι αὐτῷ.*

'moral excellence,' and 'justification' or 'acquittal.'⁷ The word occurs only here in the Fourth Gospel, and in view of the context it seems to be used in the forensic sense of justification or acquittal.⁸ *Kρίσις* takes its color from the context. It properly means 'judgment,' but sometimes, as in the passage before us, it denotes adverse judgment or condemnation.

The *ἔλεξις* which the Paraclete is to effect at his coming will be threefold (*περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ περὶ κρίσεως*), and in each case the world will be convicted. It will be brought to recognize three things by the power of the Paraclete: First, that it has sinned because it has not believed in Christ; second, that believers are justified or acquitted because Christ has gone to the Father to act as their advocate (*παράκλητος*);⁹ and third, that evil has been condemned because the ruler of this world (the devil) has been condemned. The whole context is forensic. *ἁμαρτία*, *δικαιοσύνη*, and *κρίσις* are contrasted with one another, as the particles *μὲν . . . δὲ . . . δὲ* show; but there is no special emphasis on the contrast between *ἁμαρτία* and *δικαιοσύνη*. The sin of the world in not believing in Christ, the justification, or acquittal, of believers through the advocacy of Christ in heaven, and the condemnation of evil in the person of the devil, are the three points of the contrast.

The justification, or acquittal, here mentioned is not justification by faith, as in the Epistles of Paul, though his use of *δικαιοσύνη* to denote the sinner's acquittal was no doubt familiar to the author of the Fourth Gospel. It is rather the Johannine form of the doctrine of justification, according to which the believer is justified, or acquitted of his sins, through the pleading of Christ as his advocate in the presence of the Father in heaven. The Fourth Evangelist, like the Apostle Paul, expresses by means of a forensic figure the Christian's experience of forgiveness.

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⁷ On the meaning of *δικαιοσύνη* see J. H. Ropes, "'Righteousness' and 'The Righteousness of God' in the Old Testament and in St. Paul," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxii (1903), pp. 211 ff.

⁸ *Δικαιοσύνη* occurs three times in the First Epistle of John (2, 29; 3, 7-10), and in each case with the verb *κατέλεγε* (עָלַם עָלַם or עָלַם עָלַם).

⁹ Cf. 1 John 2, 1. According to Rom. 8, 26f. the Spirit makes intercession in behalf of the saints.

THE MEDICAL LANGUAGE OF HIPPOCRATES

In my "Style and Literary Method of Luke" I have argued that the attempt to confirm by means of so-called technical medical terms the tradition that Luke and Acts were written by a physician has failed to establish the presence in these writings of words that were not used freely also by non-medical writers. Indeed, the attempt was bound to fail for the reason that unlike the present medical profession the ancient physician scarcely had a technical vocabulary at all. As Professor G. F. Moore there pointed out (pp. 53 f.), while modern medical terminology is largely made up of foreign words, the scientific words of the Greeks were native to the living language and congenial for ordinary use. To support this Galen's statement was quoted (p. 64, n. 91), that for the sake of clearness he preferred to employ, not unfamiliar terms, but those which the bulk of people are accustomed to use. I would now add that Galen makes the same claim for the linguistic practice of Hippocrates, his famous predecessor. In *Comm. Hipp. de Epidemiis* iii, 32 (ed. Kuhn XVII. i. 678) Galen says: *ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου υἱὸς Ἰπποκράτης . . . φαίνεται συνηθεστάτοις τε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σαφέσι τοῖς ὀνόμασι κεχρημένος, ἃ καλεῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς πολιτικά.*

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A DECADE OF LUTHER STUDY¹

PRESERVED SMITH
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

SINCE the last biographies of Luther in English appeared, nearly ten years ago, a vast amount of light has been shed on the subject by the discovery of new documents and by the intensive research of a great army of the learned. A special stimulus was supplied to their zeal by the celebration of the Reformation quadricentenary in 1917; and the fact that America was cut off from Germany for four years out of the last ten, and that the books of her production have only begun to reach us in large numbers, may add another reason, were it necessary, for offering an extensive review of the outstanding work in this field since the end of the year 1910. For the sake of convenience the more detailed studies will be taken up first, in the chronological order of events in Luther's life; the more general collections of works, bibliographies, biographies, and estimates, will follow after.

I. EARLY LIFE, 1483-1517

The German proverb,

Wer den Dichter will verstehen
Muss in des Dichters Heimat gehen,

is true of other great men besides poets. A good introduction to the beautiful scenery and historical relics of Eisenach and Mansfeld has been furnished by Kutzke² and, on a much less pretentious scale, by Helen Kendall Smith.³ In this region Hans Luther "the Big" lived with his large family, and here

¹ Presented at the meeting of the American Society of Church History, December 27, 1920.

² G. Kutzke, *Aus Luthern Heimat*, 1914.

³ 'Luther Byways,' *Lutheran Survey*, October 23, 1918.

also lived another Hans Luther "the Little," his own brother, if we may believe Otto Scheel, whose thorough research has put him at the head of the authorities for this period of Martin's life.⁴ The other Hans Luther, if indeed we can accept the distinction made very remarkable by the same name for the brothers, may have been the rough character to whom Wicel's well-known anecdote that Luther's father fled from Eisenach because he had committed a murder applies. That Martin was the oldest son seems now to be settled, though Köhler credits a saying in the Table Talk that he was the second.⁵ From the fact that Luther, when matriculating at Erfurt on May 2, 1501, paid the full fee of thirty groschen, it has been inferred that his father at this time was in fairly comfortable circumstances.⁶ Much new light on Luther's student life may be derived not only from the researches of Neubauer, Bernay,⁷ and Scheel, but from the recent discovery, by H. Degering, of an old letter-book containing letters of Luther and his friends to their former teachers and pastor in Eisenach.⁸

One of these epistles, from the schoolmaster of Eisenach, Trebonius, dated February 5, 1505, speaks of Martin's good health and success, and holds him up as a model to the addressee of the missive, Lewis Han. Three of the letters are attributed by Degering to Luther, one dated April 28, 1507, inviting a teacher to his first mass, and signed by his name, being almost universally accepted as genuine. Another letter, unsigned, dated February 23, 1503, modestly disclaims the praise bestowed upon the writer by his correspondent, asks to borrow a book of Lyra, and apologizes for having eaten and drunken too much. This letter, though defended by Paquier as a welcome proof of the Reformer's early intemperance, has

⁴ Otto Scheel, *Martin Luther: Vom Katholizismus zur Reformation*. 2 vols. 1917 (vol. i in 2d ed.). On the two Hans Luthers, see Scheel, i, 6; Buchwald, *Lutherkalender*, 1910, and *Luther's Correspondence*, i, 22, note 2.

⁵ 'Luther,' in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, iii (1912), col. 2412. Against this, Scheel, i, 3.

⁶ T. T. Neubauer, *Luthers Frühzeit*, 1917, p. 46 (*Jahrbücher d. k. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Erfurt*, N. F. xliii).

⁷ F. Bernay, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt und der Universität Erfurt am Ausgange des Mittelalters*, 1919.

⁸ Published in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxxiii, 1916.

been rejected by all other scholars, and in my opinion rightly.⁹ On the third letter, dated September 5, 1501, and signed "Martinus Viropolitanus" or "Martin of Mansfeld City," there is much difference of opinion. Neubauer, Böhmer and Scheel reject it; Kawerau and Flemming are undecided; but I concur with Freitag in regarding it as perfectly genuine and a valuable new light on the boy's student days. In order to enable English readers to judge for themselves I here translate it:¹⁰

*Luther to John Braun at Eisenach*¹¹

PORTA COELI, ERFURT, SEPTEMBER 5, 1501

Greeting. Kindest of men. Joyfully I received both your messenger and your salutations chosen for me, by which I learn that your kindness towards me has not only not diminished but has even increased. I quite rejoice; and for the special and familiar benevolence with which you visit me, although I am not able to return fitting thanks, yet I have great and immortal gratitude, for you sufficiently deserve this from me more than from any mortal.

Now, to satisfy your curiosity, know that fair fortune and good health are mine, and that, by the favor of the saints,¹² I am settled here as pleasantly as possible. Nor would I have you ignorant that I am serving under that teacher of liberal arts N.,¹³ my countryman, at the house of Porta Coeli.¹⁴

⁹ Paquier, *Luther et l'Allemagne*, 1918, p. 95; Köhler in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiii, 19; Kawerau in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1916, col. 331 f.; Freitag in *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxix, 247 f., and *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiii, 24. Freitag thinks the letter from Han to Trebonius.

¹⁰ Scheel, *op. cit.*, i (2d ed.), 140, and note on p. 293. The most thorough discussion is in Neubauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 ff. (1) He says Luther would not have been guilty of writing the hybrid word "Viropolitanus," and that it means "Manstedt," not Mansfeld, but I think it means the city as distinguished from the county of Mansfeld. (2) He thinks there is difficulty in identifying the teacher of whom Luther speaks as fellow-countryman, but this is not convincing. (3) He says that Luther's known teacher, J. Greffenstein (John Ansorg of Gräfenstein, on whom see *ibid.*, pp. 225 ff.), was not at Porta Caeli. (4) He says that Luther was at Bursa of St. George, not at Porta Caeli. But he might have changed. Cf. also Biereye, *Die Erfurter Lutherstätten nach ihrer geschichtlicher Begläubigung*, 1917; P. Flemming in *Luthers Briefwechsel*, xvii, 1920, p. 88; W. Köhler, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiii, 19. H. Böhmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*,⁶ 1918, p. 309 doubts the genuineness of all three letters.

¹¹ Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, xvii, 82; *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxxiii (1916), 78.

¹² *Diis faventibus*, "by favor of the gods," meant the same as the "favor of the saints" at this period.

¹³ According to Degering's note, *loc. cit.*, this teacher was John Greffenstein.

¹⁴ This was a foundation for the support of poor students: a full account of it in O. Scheel, *Luther*, i (2d ed., 1917), and A. Freitag in *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxix (1919), 247 ff.

This is due to the persuasion of my generous kinsmen when I visited my father's house. But this is nothing to you.

Finally I beg and beseech you to bear it patiently that so long a time has passed without my sending you a letter. Could I have done so I should have complied with your wishes thus, for indeed long ago I had two letters ready to be taken to you, but I could not find a messenger.

Last of all, as I close, please give my warm greetings to your neighbor.¹⁴ Farewell, most revered of men.

Martin of Mansfeld, your honorary umpire.¹⁵ To N., the soldier of the Lord.¹⁶

The problem of Luther's inner development from the day he took the vow to be a monk until the day when the message came to him, with such force that he believed it to be a revelation of the Holy Ghost, that man was justified by faith only, has attracted more attention than perhaps any other in this field. After Grisar's discoveries that the essence of the doctrine was pure passivity, and that the supposed revelation came to him as late as 1519 and in a most unpleasant place, a fresh attempt to solve the problem was made by the application of the psycho-analytical theories of Sigismund Freud.¹⁷ An early, indeed infantile, experience of bodily hardship and spiritual terror implanted in the boy's mind a desperate impression of the power and danger of concupiscence, and it was this, working out under manifold modification of later study and ascetic experience, that brought him, through a sense of his own weakness, to throw himself entirely on the merits of the Saviour. The attempt, though in line with previous researches by Braun, Hausrath, Köhler, and others, who had noticed the neurotic elements in Luther's strong character, was criticized by Scheel

¹⁴ Text *conterminam*, might be changed to *Catarinam*, meaning Braun's sister, but much more likely *conterminam*, 'neighbor,' referring to some lady Luther had known at Eisenach, perhaps to Ursula Cotta.

¹⁵ *Martinus viropolitanus arbiter tuus onerarius*. That *viropolitanus* means "from the town of Mansfeld" is quite certain, however meaningless the barbarous compound itself may be. The *arbiter tuus onerarius* was a jocular title given Luther by Braun, with allusion to Cicero, *Tusc.* v. 120, where Cicero says that in philosophical disputes on virtue and the good, Carneades would act *tanquam honorarius arbiter*.

¹⁶ That this letter is really to Braun is proved by the fact that the same title *divinus miles* is given to him in Letter 11.

¹⁷ Preserved Smith, 'Luther's Early Development in the Light of Psychoanalysis,' *American Journal of Psychology*, July, 1918; *Id.*, 'Luther's Development of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith Only,' *Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1913.

as derogatory to the Reformer's personality. Scheel not only idealizes Luther, but, as Köhler noticed in a review, makes him too normal; Scheel is always asking simply what the average student or friar would have experienced, and applying this to his subject. Thus he denies the value of some of Luther's own most explicit sayings, such as that he was forced to do the menial work of the cloister as a novice, and that he almost broke down through nervous terror when saying his first mass. But Scheel has no right to set aside testimony inconvenient to his thesis — as he does both in his large book and in a small selection of extracts from the Reformer's works, intended to illustrate the course of his development¹⁸ — and for this he has been severely and on the whole justly criticized by A. V. Müller.¹⁹ Müller accuses him not only of this tendency but of ignorance of "the Catholic psyche" and of medieval theology, in which field Müller's own reading is remarkably large.²⁰ His own thesis, doubtless carried too far, is that everything in Luther can be found in his predecessors, and that there is practically nothing original at all in the Reformer's thought. Ernst Troeltsch²¹ speaks of Luther's early days as an insoluble problem, full of nervous crises and melancholy.

The tendency, however, is now to emphasize the normality and cheerfulness of the boy's life as a student, and consequently to throw into stronger relief the suddenness of his vow to be a monk and the regret he felt for it afterwards.²² That it was influenced by the outbreak of plague in 1505 is denied by Scheel, but is again made probable by Neubauer. That he was ordained priest on April 3, 1507, is now considered likely.²³ Scheel denies the early influence of Staupitz, and Müller thinks that the spiritual director who helped him so much in the

¹⁸ O. Scheel, *Dokumente zu Luthers Entwicklung*, 1911.

¹⁹ A. V. Müller, *Luthers Werdegang bis zum Turmerlebnis*, 1920, and in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1917, pp. 496 ff.

²⁰ A. V. Müller, *Luthers theologische Quellen*, 1912.

²¹ 'Luther and der Protestantismus,' *Neue Rundschau*, xxviii (1917), p. 1312.

²² Scheel, i, 259; Neubauer, p. 99; Freitag in *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxix, 270 ff.; Biereye, pp. 180 ff.

²³ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxvii (1917), p. 216; Scheel, 'Luthers Primis,' in *Studien G. Kawerau dargebracht*, 1917, pp. 1 ff.

cloister was Usingen.²⁴ The importance of the doctorate has attracted the attention of Steinlein.²⁵

The exact course of Luther's development during these cloister years has been traced by a large number of scholars, and agreement on it seems far from reached. The date of the "conversion" has been put by Böhmer in 1505, by Scheel in the winter of 1512-13, by Müller in 1514, and by Grisar in 1519. My own opinion that it came when Luther had begun to lecture on Romans, in the late spring or early summer of 1515, has been confirmed by the subsequent researches of Bonwetsch.²⁶ Particularly thorough studies have been made of the influence of the mystics on the Reformer.²⁷

A new source of considerable importance for these years is the publication, for the first time, of Luther's earliest lectures on Galatians, given from October 27, 1516, to April 24, 1517.²⁸ While they contain no such treasures as the lectures on Romans, they offer many a welcome addition to our previous knowledge. For one thing they show the Erasmian influence at its maximum, not only by the many quotations from the editor of the Greek Testament, but by the preference of the author for Jerome against Augustine (pp. 18, 39). This is particularly interesting, as Humbert has derived the alienation of Erasmus

²⁴ *Werdegang*, p. 15.

²⁵ H. Steinlein, *Luthers Doktorat*, 1912. Cf. Enders, xvii, 86 f.; *Luther's Correspondence*, i, no. 4.

²⁶ *Harvard Theological Review*, 1913, p. 420, note; Scheel, ii, 318 f.; Müller, *Werdegang*, 130; Cf. *Tischreden*, Weimar, iii, no. 3232; *Luthers Werke*, Weimar, xxxv, 86. Cf. also O. Ritschl, 'Luthers seelische Kämpfe in seiner früheren Mönchtum,' *Internationale Wochenschrift*, January 21, 1911; F. Looft, 'Justitia dei passiva in Luthers Anfängen,' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1911, pp. 461-473; A. Humbert, *Les origines de la théologie moderne*, 1911; W. Köhler, 'Luther bis 1521,' *Im Morgenrot der Reformation*, ed. Pflugk-Harttung, 1912; E. Billing, *1517-1521: ett bidrag till frågan om Luthers religiösa och teologiska utvecklingsgång*, 1917; H. von Schubert, *Luthers Frühentwicklung bis 1517-19*, 1916; G. N. Bonwetsch, *Wie wurde Luther zum Reformator?*, 1917.

²⁷ A. V. Müller, *Luther und Tauler*, 1918; *Die Predigten Taulers*, hrsg. von F. Vetter, 1910; *Der Frankfurter (deutsche theologia)*, hrsg. von W. Uhl (*Kleine Texte*, no. 96); Hunsiger, 'Luther und die deutsche Mystik,' *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xix, 972-988; G. Siedel, *Die Mystik Taulers*, 1911; M. Windtösser, *Étude sur la 'Théologie germanique'*, 1912.

²⁸ *Luthers Vorlesung über den Galaterbrief 1516-17*, hrsg. von Hans von Schubert, 1918. On this, further, J. Ficker, *Luther, 1517*, 1918.

and Luther from the preference of the humanist for Jerome and of the friar for Augustine.²⁹ These lectures also show that Luther had fully arrived at his doctrine of justification by faith only, and that he was still exercised by the distinction between the law and the gospel which he later described as the crux of his early theology. The best commentary on Luther's early exegesis of Scripture is not found in the recent Protestant work of Schlatter,³⁰ or in the Catholic essay of Lagrange,³¹ but in a brilliant little book by Meissinger,³² pointing out the exact limitations as well as the strength of the Wittenberg professor. More light may be expected from the publication of the commentary on Hebrews, now in preparation. Extracts from it may be found in Grisar's first volume.

The journey to Rome has been carefully studied by Böhmer,³³ by whom the exact condition of the city at the time is well set forth. In this respect much may also be gathered from the sumptuous work of Rodocanachi.³⁴ The discovery by Kawerau of some notes of the Augustinian General, Aegidius Viterbo, has definitely settled the time of the trip as in the winter of 1510-1511.³⁵ That Luther was sent as a delegate of the convents protesting against Staupitz's attempt to force them all into the "Observants," and that while at Rome he changed sides and went over to Staupitz, thus making his transfer from Erfurt to Wittenberg necessary soon after his return, as asserted by Grisar, is probable, though it has been denied by Scheel. A new light on the famous story of the ascent of the Scala Santa interrupted by the thought, "Who knows whether the prayer said here avails?" has come from a sermon of 1545 recently discovered.³⁶ According to this Luther was performing the act in order to get the soul of a forbear out of purgatory, and

²⁹ Humbert, *op. cit.*, chap. 5: St. Jérôme contre St. Augustine.

³⁰ A. Schlatter, *Luthers Deutung des Römerbriefes*, 1917.

³¹ M. J. Lagrange, *Luther on the Eve of his Revolt*, translated by W. S. Reilly, 1918 (originally written 1914-16, on Luther's Commentary on Romans).

³² K. A. Meissinger, *Luthers Exegese in der Frühzeit*, 1911.

³³ H. Böhmer, *Luthers Romfahrt*, 1914.

³⁴ E. Rodocanachi, *Rome au Temps de Jules II et de Léon X*, 1912. Cf. what Luther says of seeing the Barigel at Rome (*Works*, Berlin, viii, 184) with Rodocanachi, p. 276.

³⁵ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxii, 604.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 607.

stopped because of doubt. Since then a plate has been found at Delft with a picture of the Scala Santa and the legend, "Who knows whether this is genuine?"³⁷ showing possibly that Luther's doubts were occasioned rather by suspicion of the genuineness of the relic than by the dawning thought of justification by faith. One of the most interesting new discoveries is that by Grisar that on his return journey, in order to avoid the wars in North Italy, Luther returned through France, saying mass at Nice probably on January 20, 1511, thence through Pernes near Avignon, where he was the guest of the Augustinian cloister, and then up the Rhone Valley and through Switzerland.³⁸

II. THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION, 1517-1521

A general review of this period is offered in convenient form in two works by Professor Dau.³⁹ On the theory and practice of indulgences something may be found scattered here and there in recent works,⁴⁰ notably in a study of contemporary documents by Göller. New studies of the Ninety-five Theses have exhibited their logical order,⁴¹ have shown that they were printed by Luther himself before they were posted on the castle church,⁴² and have discussed their theological postulates.⁴³

³⁷ *Theologische Rundschau*, xv (1912), 88 f.; Grisar, iii, 958. A. Eckhof, 'Luther en de Pilatus-Trap te Rome,' *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N. S., xii, 1 ff., 1916.

³⁸ H. Grisar, 'Lutheranalekten,' *Historisches Jahrbuch*, xxxix (1919), 487 ff.

³⁹ W. H. T. Dau, *The Leipzig Debate*, 1919; Id., *The Great Renunciation*, 1920.

⁴⁰ E.g. in H. de Jongh, *L'ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain*, 1911, pp. 92 ff.; C. W. Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare*, 1912, p. 51, on an English play on indulgences in 1518; G. Guinness, *Peru*, 1908, p. 372, showing that in South America indulgences for the dead are still profitable; E. Göller, *Der Ausbruch der Reformation und die spätmittelalterliche Ablasspraxis*, 1917.

⁴¹ T. Brieger, 'Die Gliederung der 95 Thesen,' *Lens-Festschrift*, 1910, pp. 1-37.

⁴² O. Clemen in *Luthers Werke*, Bonn, i, 1912, p. 1. They were probably printed at Wittenberg with types borrowed from Melchior Lotther of Leipzig, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxv, 164 f. A different conclusion is reached by O. Günther, 'Die Drucker von Luthers Ablassthesen 1517,' *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. ix, 259 ff., 1918. He thinks they were first printed by Jerome Hölzel of Nuremberg and John Thanner Herbipolensis of Leipzig.

⁴³ M. Rade, *Luthers Rechtfertigungsglaube und seine Bedeutung für die 95 Thesen und für uns*, 1917.

Paul Kalkoff, having mastered this period as has none other, has in many works illuminated the subject of the Roman process against Luther.⁴⁴ He shows that Cajetan's *Tractatus de Indulgentiis*, finished at Rome on December 8, 1517, was already directed against Luther, and that the same theologian drafted the bull *Cum postquam* condemning his position; he also shows that the influence of Miltitz has been recently exaggerated.

The influences that bore on Luther during these great years have also been carefully studied by Kalkoff, who would reduce to a minimum the part played by Hutten,⁴⁵ whom he thinks neither sincere nor able; and on the other hand would exalt the rôles of Elector Frederic⁴⁶ and of Erasmus. Professor D. S. Schaff's interesting study of "A Spurious Tract of John Huss" suggested to a Luther scholar the probability that the work was forged in the interest of the Reformer about 1521.⁴⁷ Recently a sixteenth-century manuscript containing Huss's Prophecy of Luther, has been discovered.⁴⁸

A fresh study of the Address to the German Nobility has discovered in it traces of the influence of Marsiglio of Padua and of Occam's politics.⁴⁹ New sources have been unearthed relating to the publication of the bull *Exsurge Domine* by Eck in Germany,⁵⁰ and to the battle against him waged by the

⁴⁴ P. Kalkoff, 'Forschungen zu Luthers römischen Prozess,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxii (1911), pp. 1 ff., 199 ff., 408 ff., 572 ff.; xxxiii (1912), 1 ff. *Id.*, 'Die von Cajetan verfasste Ablassdekretale und seine Verhandlungen mit dem Kurfürsten von Sachsen in Weimar, 28 und 29 Mai, 1519,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, ix (1912), 142 ff.; *Id.*, *Die Miltisiade*, 1911. Cf. also H. Barge, 'Das Vorgehen der Kurie gegen Luther 1518-21,' *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, xxvii (1911).

⁴⁵ On Hutten, cf. O. Harnack, 'Ulrich von Hutten,' in *Im Morgenrot der Reformation*, hrsg. von Pflugk-Harttung, 1912, pp. 451-554; P. Kalkoff, *Ulrich von Hutten und die Reformation*, 1920.

⁴⁶ P. Kalkoff, 'Friedrich der Weise,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiv (1917).

⁴⁷ Preserved Smith, 'Note to D. S. Schaff's Spurious Tract of John Huss,' *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1915. On Huss's influence on Luther, cf. *Werke*, Weimar, vol. I, p. 37.

⁴⁸ J. Truhlar, *Catalogus manu scriptorum Latinorum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Pragensis*, 1906, no. 2774, "Hussi de Luthero vaticinium."

⁴⁹ P. Imbart de la Tour, in *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, p. 607. On the influence of Hutten and Capito, Kalkoff, *Hutten*, 1920, p. 74.

⁵⁰ J. Greving, 'Zur Verkündigung der Bulle Exsurge Domine,' in *Briefmappe*, i, 1912, pp. 196 ff. Bibliography of early printed editions of the bull in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. ix, 197 ff., and x, 19, 1918-19.

University of Paris.⁵¹ The decisive importance of the burning of the Canon Law has been thus well stated by Workman: ⁵²

With his usual insight Luther saw that the overthrow of the ecclesiastical jurisprudence of the Middle Ages was a prime necessity if the Augustinian doctrine of grace was ever to receive its old place in the life of the church and the claims of the papacy to be overthrown. . . . In burning the Decretals Luther claimed more than his civil freedom; he asserted the need for a spiritual theology.

A flood of works ⁵³ on the Diet of Worms have laid bare the inner workings and the ecclesiastical-political log-rolling of that famous body. It now appears probable that Leo offered Frederic of Saxony his support in obtaining the imperial crown in return for the surrender of Luther, and it is certain that at the election of Charles, and in the capitulations drawn up by his agents at this time, Frederic stipulated that his subject should be heard, or at least should not be outlawed without a hearing. Thus were foiled Aleander's efforts to prevent Luther's appearance. Some discussion has been aroused by the assertion that Luther's promise to give an answer "without horns or teeth" referred to the student ceremony of "deposition" or hazing a freshman by pretending to extract his horrid horns and tusks.⁵⁴ Kalkoff has shown that the placard friendly to Luther, signed with the words "Buntschuch, Buntschuch, Buntschuch," was posted at Worms by Hermann van der Busche.⁵⁵ He has also demonstrated that the Edict of Worms was carried through the Diet by imperial pressure and intrigue, contrary to the

⁵¹ A. Clerval, *Régistres des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, i, 1917, pp. 278 f., 278 ff., 285; *Bulletin de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*, 1917, pp. 35 ff.

⁵² *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, 1911, p. 165.

⁵³ P. Kalkoff, *Das Wormser Edikt und die Erlasse des Reichsregiment und der einzelnen Reichsfürsten*, 1917; P. Kalkoff, *Luther und die Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation*, 1917; Kalkoff, *Die Entstehung des Wormser Edikts*, 1913; H. von Schubert, *Die Vorgeschichte der Berufung Luthers auf den Reichstag zu Worms*, 1912 (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, vi.); F. Boller, *Luthers Berufung nach Worms*, Giessen Dissertation, 1912. Documents in J. Kuhn, *Luther und der Wormser Reichstag*, 1913; Kalkoff, 'Zur Entstehung des Wormser Edikts,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiii (1916), pp. 241-276.

⁵⁴ H. Böhmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, 4th ed., 1917, p. 147; W. Köhler, *Die deutsche Reformation und die Studenten*, 1917, p. 21; T. T. Neubauer, 'Luthers Frühzeit,' *Erfurter Jahrbücher*, N. F. xliii (1917), p. 47.

⁵⁵ *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, viii (1911), pp. 341 ff.

wishes of the majority, and that it was practically a dead letter even in the Catholic states of Germany.

III. THE GROWTH OF A PROTESTANT PARTY

No sooner had Luther, after his brave deed at Worms, gone to the seclusion of the Wartburg,⁵⁶ than the struggle with radicalism, scarcely less hard or less important for the history of his church than the battle with Romanism, began. The old sources having been edited with more care,⁵⁷ and some new ones having been added,⁵⁸ Barge has defended, while other scholars have impugned,⁵⁹ the thesis that the true line of development in the direction of lay religion and of real Protestantism was found by Carlstadt and the other radicals, and was from this time forth rather hindered than helped by the intervention of Luther. In regard to the Zwickau prophets it is interesting to note that the town had long been a hotbed of Waldensian heresy.⁶⁰ Luther's sermons against them have been declared by the most recent criticism⁶¹ to be unreliably handed down to us; on the other hand new sayings revealing his really frightful hatred for the radicals have come to light.⁶²

⁵⁶ Fine historical description of the Wartburg by O. Schmiedel, *Address of Welcome to the Wartburg*, August 12, 1910, reprinted in *Congress of Free Christianity*, 1911, p. 675. One of the noted sights there is the inkspot on the wall, or rather the hole where it was said to have been. Interesting to note that Fynes Moryson saw at Wittenberg in 1591, "an aspersion of ink cast by the Divell when he tempted Luther upon the wall of St. Augustine's college." F. Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1907, i, 16.

⁵⁷ H. Barge, *Aktenstücke zur Wittenberger Bewegung*, 1912; H. Lietzmann, *Karlstadt's Abtassung der Bilder und die Wittenberger Beutelordnung (Kleine Texte, no. 74)*.

⁵⁸ Accounts of the doings at Wittenberg 1522 by H. Mühlplfort and J. Pfau, ed. by H. Böhmer, in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxv, 397 ff.

⁵⁹ H. Barge, 'Zur Genesis der Frühreformatorischen Vorgänge in Wittenberg,' *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xxv (1914), and article 'Karlstadt' in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, iii; M. von Tiling, 'Der Kampf gegen die *Missae privatae*,' *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xx.

⁶⁰ H. Böhmer, in *Schriften des Vereins für niedersächsische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, xxxvi (1915), pp. 1-58.

⁶¹ O. Clemen, *Luthers Werke*, Bonn, ii, 1913, p. 311.

⁶² "If Carlstadt believes there is any God in heaven or earth, may Christ never be gracious to me," said Luther. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xi (1914), 141. On Luther's battle with James Schenck, see P. Vetter in *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte*, xxx (1909), 76 ff.; xxxiii (1911), 23 ff.

The same years that saw the struggle with radicalism saw the controversy with Henry VIII and the much more important break with humanism in the person of Erasmus. Two studies⁶² of the former aim to probe the causes of the alternate enmity and rapprochement of the king and the Reformer and to exhibit the amazing number of opinions offered Henry by divines that bigamy would be a permissible solution of his matrimonial difficulties.

Well worn as is the attractive subject of the relations of Luther and Erasmus, new light may be expected, as it has to some extent been already shed, by the splendid edition of Erasmus's epistles by Mr. P. S. Allen.⁶⁴ Even if little new material on this subject has as yet been forthcoming, the proper arrangement of all the letters in order and with full notes is valuable. It is interesting, for example, to know that Erasmus sent the Ninety-five Theses to Colet and More, with favorable comment, on March 5, 1518,⁶⁵ and probably sent a greeting to Luther as early as January of that year.⁶⁶ Kalkoff has shown,⁶⁷ with success on the whole even though with some exaggeration, that Erasmus took a much more favorable view of Luther during his first years than he would himself later admit, and that he tried with great energy and even hardihood to secure him a fair hearing before an impartial court. Luther's completely Augustinian doctrine of the bondage of the will has been illuminated by A. V. Müller,⁶⁸ while a few new sources as to the prog-

⁶² Preserved Smith, 'Luther and Henry VIII,' *English Historical Review*, 1910; *Id.*, 'German Opinion of the Divorce of Henry VIII,' *ibid.*, 1912. A note on the play against Luther given at the English Court by the children of St. Paul's School is found in C. W. Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama*, 1912, pp. 66 ff.

⁶⁴ *Opus Epistolarum Erasmi*, iii, 1913, to June, 1519. Mr. Allen writes me that the fourth volume is now in press and the fifth and sixth ready in manuscript.

⁶⁵ Allen, Epp. 785, 786.

⁶⁶ Allen, Ep. 755, *saluta Eleutherium Audacem*. Allen does not make the identification with Luther, which, however, seems probable to me. "Eleutherius" was the form in which Luther then wrote his name and by which Erasmus first knew him.

⁶⁷ P. Kalkoff, *Erasmus, Luther, und Friedrich der Weise*, 1919.

⁶⁸ *Luthers theologischen Quellen*, 1912, pp. 209 f., and *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxv, 135 f. It seems that Luther's comparison of the will to a beast of burden is found in Raymund of Sabunde, and in Augustine, or perhaps Pseudo-Augustine, *Lib. iii Hypomnesticum*; see Seit, *Der authentische Text der Leipziger Disputation*, p. 28.

ress of the controversy have seen the light.⁶⁹ A scholarly, if somewhat diffuse, comparison of the Reformer and the humanist, has now come from the pen of Dr. R. H. Murray, of Dublin.⁷⁰

As the Lutheran church was losing the radicals and the humanists, it sustained another shock in the sacramentarian schism, begun indeed by Carlstadt, but carried to its most important lengths by Zwingli and Oecolampadius. New light on the course of the controversy has shone from the pages of the latest edition of Zwingli's works, now in course of publication though much delayed on account of the war,⁷¹ and from several special studies based in large part on this,⁷² and by a few new sources;⁷³ to which will presently be added Bullinger's correspondence, now in preparation for printing. The influence of Carlstadt and Hoen on Zwingli is now clear, as is his somewhat disingenuous tactic in spreading his views by means of an open letter nominally addressed to a Lutheran pastor, Matthew Alber, but in reality not sent to him or to anyone who could forward it to Wittenberg. Hans von Schubert⁷⁴ has shown, in a thorough and original work, that the basis of the discussion at Marburg was the symbol known as the Schwabach Articles, drawn up not, as hitherto believed, after, but in reality before, the meeting took place. The unhappy effects of the schism long after Zwingli's death were noted by his followers in Italy⁷⁵ and in Switzerland.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ Letters of M. Förster, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1911, 1 ff.

⁷⁰ *Luther and Erasmus: their Attitude towards Toleration*, 1920.

⁷¹ *Zwingli's Werke*, hrag. von E. Egli, G. Finsler, und W. Köhler, 1905 ff. Volumes 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 and parts of 4 and 9. The treatises now come to 1525, the correspondence to 1528. An English translation of *The Latin Works and Correspondence of H. Zwingli*, ed. S. M. Jackson, has begun. Vol. i, 1912.

⁷² W. Köhler, 'Zum Abendmahlstreite zwischen Luther und Zwingli,' *Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation*, 1917, pp. 114 ff.; J. A. Faulkner, 'Dies ist mein Leib: a Celebrated Debate,' *Baptist Theological Quarterly*, 1915, pp. 397 ff.

⁷³ Daniel Greser's Autobiography, in *Zwingliana*, ii (1920), 324; and W. Köhler: *ibid.*, pp. 356 ff., on the Marburg Conference.

⁷⁴ *Bündnis und Bekenntnis 1529-30*, 1910.

⁷⁵ Letter of Venetian Protestants to Luther, November 26, 1542; Enders, xv, 26.

⁷⁶ Bullinger to Vadian, May, 1544; *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, ed. Arbens und Wartmann, vi (1906), p. 321.

Perhaps this is the most convenient place to recall briefly the new sources and treatment of Luther's relations with Duke George of Saxony.⁷⁷

IV. CHURCH BUILDING

None of the numerous recent studies of Luther's Bible are quite so interesting as the protocol of the revisions of 1531 and 1539-41 now first published in the Weimar edition.⁷⁸ The immense care, the linguistic genius, and the practical interest of Luther stand out here as never before. Thus, during the sessions of the committee of revision, Luther is reported as saying: "I will sing Psalm 64 as a farewell to the papists and hope they will howl Amen to it" (p. 28); and again, on Genesis 1, "Aristotle says much of this chapter but proves little" (p. 169), and of Genesis 3, "No fable could be more fabulous" (p. 172). Errors are freely admitted in the sacred writings, as in the contradiction between Genesis 12 and Acts 7, 2 ff., or in the exaggerated numbers in 1 Kings 5, 15. Reichert has added to this an account of two new protocols of the revision of the New Testament,⁷⁹ and the first edition of the German Testament (September, 1522) has been accurately reproduced by the Furche-Verlag in Berlin, with good introductions by G. Kawerau and O. Reichert.

Various studies of the relation of Luther's translation to its predecessors have shown that it borrowed little;⁸⁰ and its immediate success in driving out all other versions, except to

⁷⁷ F. Gess, *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*. Band ii, 1524-27, 1917; O. A. Hecker, *Religion und Politik in den letzten Lebensjahren Herzog Georgs des Bärtigen von Sachsen*, 1912. *Bibliographie der sächsischen Geschichte*, hrsg. von R. Bemmman, i, 1918.

⁷⁸ *Luthers Werke*, Weimar, *Deutsche Bibel*, iii. Vol. v has also been published. Cf. also, Risch, 'Welche Aufgabe stellt die Lutherbibel der wissenschaftlichen Forschung?' *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1911.

⁷⁹ O. Reichert, 'Zwei neue Protokolle zur Revision des Neuen Testaments,' *Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation*, 1917, pp. 203 ff.

⁸⁰ W. W. Florer, *Luthers Use of the Pre-Lutheran Versions of the Bible*, 1918, maintains that he did; but on the other hand, see M. Burgdorf, *Johann Lange*. Rostock Dissertation, 1911, pp. 79 ff.; W. Walther, *Die ersten Konkurrenten des Bibelübersetzers Luther*, 1917; W. Walther, *Luthers Deutsche Bibel*, 1917; Weber, 'Zu Luthers September und December-Testament,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiii, 399.

some small extent the Swiss one by Leo Jud, has been demonstrated by Zerener.⁸¹ Other studies on the linguistic side aim to show that Luther had practically completed his version, in small bits, before he went to the Wartburg.⁸² It has now been proved by Reichert that the Bible of 1546 represents Luther's final revision, and not, as previously thought, the changes made by Rörer on his own initiative.⁸³

The problem of church government facing Luther has been best stated, perhaps, among recent contributions, by E. Förster,⁸⁴ and best answered by Professor Macmillan.⁸⁵ Of the two alternatives open to him, that of congregationalism and that of state rule, he would have preferred the former, but was driven by force of circumstances, particularly by the unruly radicals, to embrace the latter. New sources and fresh analyses of his order of divine service,⁸⁶ of his system of church visitation,⁸⁷ and of his political theory⁸⁸ have come forth. A new note is the attention now paid to economic questions and the capitalistic revolution of the sixteenth century.⁸⁹ Old, on the other hand, is the problem of Luther and toleration, now again

⁸¹ H. Zerener, *Studien über das beginnende Eindringen der lutherischen Bibelübersetzung in die deutsche Literatur*, 1911.

⁸² W. W. Florer, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxvi, 1911, and in a paper read at Modern Language Association, 1915; E. Giese, *Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis von Luthers Sprache zur Wittenberger Drucksprache*, 1915.

⁸³ *Lutherstudien*, u. s. w., 1917, p. 221; *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiv (1917), p. 227. On the subsequent life of the book, see J. P. Hents, *History of the Lutheran Version of the Bible*, 1910, and H. Guthe, *Luther und die Bibelforschung der Gegenwart*, 1917.

⁸⁴ In *Fifth International Congress of Free Christianity*, English, 1911, p. 225.

⁸⁵ K. D. Macmillan, *Protestantism in Germany*, 1917.

⁸⁶ P. Drews, *Studien zur Geschichte des Gottesdienstes und des gottesdienstlichen Lebens*, iv und v, 1910; K. Holl, 'Die Entstehung von Luthers Kirchenbegriff,' *Forschungen und Versuche zur Geschichte*. Festschrift Dietrich Schäfer dargebracht, 1915, pp. 410 ff.

⁸⁷ Berbig, 'Akten der Kursächsischen Visitationen,' *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, xxi (1912), pp. 386-429.

⁸⁸ K. Holl, 'Luther und die landesherrliche Kirchenregiment,' *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*. Ergänzungsheft, 1911; E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, 1912.

⁸⁹ J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and Economic Questions,' *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 2d series, ii, 1910; J. Schliter, 'Luther's Kampf gegen den Kapitalismus,' *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1917, pp. 126 ff.; A. Hilpert, *Die Sequestration der geistlichen Güter in Kursachsen, 1531-43*. Leipzig Dissertation, 1911.

approached with greater acumen and depth than ever.⁸⁰ It is clearer than ever that Luther was tolerant in his early years, but that with the triumph of his church, and under the pressure of men more impatient of dissent than himself, he came to justify persecution on the plea that he was putting down, not freedom of belief, but open blasphemy. It is also clear that, however much the Reformation may have temporarily overclouded the European sky with dark fanaticism, it eventually worked out the academic freedom of the Renaissance into a far broader religious liberty for the peoples as a whole.

Passing over, as not particularly important, what has recently been done on Luther's preaching,⁸¹ teaching,⁸² and hymns,⁸³ a word must be said as to the catechisms.⁸⁴ A source for the first part of the catechisms has now been found in a book on the Ten Commandments printed at Strassburg in 1516. Since that same year, at least, Luther had regularly preached on them; three cycles of sermons of the year 1528 furnishing him with the well-worked material digested into the Small and Large Catechisms. These were prepared together, the Small Catechism coming out in tabular form in January, 1529, and in book form in May, and the Large Catechism in

⁸⁰ N. Paulus, *Protestantismus und Toleranz*, 1911; K. Völker, *Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 1912; F. Ruffini, *Religious Liberty*, 1912; R. Lewin, *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden*, 1911; P. Wappler, *Die Stellung Kurhessens und Philipps von Hessen zur Taufbewegung*, 1910; G. L. Burr, 'Anent the Middle Ages,' *American Historical Review*, 1913, 710-726; K. Sell, 'Der Zusammenhang von Reformation und politischen Freiheit,' *Abhandlungen und Theologische Arbeiten aus dem rheinischen wissenschaftlichen Predigerverein*, N. F. xii, 1910; J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and Toleration,' *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 2d Series, iv (1914), pp. 129 ff.; Preserved Smith, *Life and Letters of Luther*, 2d ed., Preface, 1914.

⁸¹ L. Ihmels, *Das Dogma in der Predigt Luthers*, 1912; J. A. Singmaster, 'Luther the Preacher,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, July, 1917.

⁸² W. Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg*, 1917; W. Köhler, *Die Reformation und die Studenten*, 1917.

⁸³ J. F. Lauchert, *Luther's Hymns*, 1917; O. Albrecht, 'Das Lutherlied, Was fürchtet du Feind Herodes?' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1912, pp. 237 ff.; O. Brenner, 'Und keinen Dank dazu haben,' *Lutherstudien*, 1917, pp. 72 ff.; Böhmer (*Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, 4th ed., p. 145) now asserts that Luther composed the music to *Ein' feste Burg*. Grisar (iii, 290), dates this hymn in 1523, calling attention to the striking parallels in the Sermons on John (*Werke*, Weimar, xxviii).

⁸⁴ J. Adam, in *Evangelische Freiheit*, xii, 5; O. Albrecht, *Luthers Katechismen*, 1915.

April. As early as 1528 Melanchthon speaks⁹⁶ of a schoolbook, or primer, containing the alphabet, creed, Lord's Prayer, and other prayers. Luther's catechism was soon used in the same way; an example of an edition apparently unknown to the Weimar editors is in the library of Mr. G. A. Plimpton of New York.⁹⁶

Among the newer works on Luther's theology may be mentioned those of McGiffert, Gottschick, Seeberg, and Tschackert, and the slighter essays of Faulkner, Baranowski, Preuss, Pohlmann, Lagrange, and Stange.⁹⁷

V. LAST YEARS

Luther's private life continues to attract attention, especially as our chief source for knowing it, the wonderful Table Talk, is now coming out in the Weimar edition in fuller and better form than ever.⁹⁸ Various studies⁹⁹ of the reliability of

⁹⁶ *Luthers Werke*, Weimar, xxvi, 237.

⁹⁶ *Parvus catechismus pro pueris in Schola nuper auctus. . . . Ad ludum literarium Autor: Parvus puer, parvum tu ne contemne libellum, Continet hic summi Dogmata summa Dei.* Follows a woodcut of the crucifix. There is no date. It begins with letters, vowels, diphthongs and consonants in Latin. There is a picture illustrating each Commandment, one showing baptism by immersion and one showing the wafer put into the communicant's mouth. Mr. Plimpton also has a *Deutsche Catechismus Mar. Luther.* Gedruckt zu Nürnberg durch Friederichen Peypus aus verlegung des Ersamen mans Leonard zu der Aych Büchführer zu Nürnberg. MDXXXIX. Mr. Plimpton also possesses, *Parvus catechismus pro pueris in schola nuper auctus per Marti. Luth.* Witebergae. 1543. Preface by John Sauromannus to Hermann Crotus Rubeanus, dated September 29.

⁹⁷ A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant Thought before Kant*, 1911; J. Gottschick, *Luthers Theologie*, 1914; Tschackert, *Die Entstehung der lutherischen und der Reformierten Kirchenlehre*, 1910; J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and the Divinity of Christ,' *Methodist Review*, 1913, pp. 373 ff.; R. Seeberg, *Luthers Lehre*, (*Dogmengeschichte*, vol. 4), 1917; L. Ihmels, *Das Christentum Luthers in seiner Eigenart*, 1917; H. Preuss, *Luthers Frömmigkeit*, 1917; Pohlmann, *Die Grenze für die Bedeutung des religiösen Erlebnisses bei Luther*, 1920; J. M. Lagrange, *The Meaning of Christianity according to Luther and his Followers in Germany*, 1920; C. Stange, *Luther und das sittliche Ideal*, 1919.

⁹⁸ *Luthers Tischreden*, Weimar, 4 vols. 1912 ff.

⁹⁹ Kroker, in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, viii (1911), pp. 160 ff.; and in *Jahrbuch des Luther-Vereins zu Wittenberg*, i, 1919; A. Wahl, 'Beiträge zur Kritik der Überlieferung von Luthers Tischgesprächen der Frühzeit,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xvii (1920), pp. 11 ff.; F. Cohn, in *Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier*, 1917, pp. 159 ff.; L. Christiani, 'Les Propos de Table de Luther,' *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1911, pp. 470 ff.; 1912, pp. 101 ff., 436 ff.

this record agree that it is of inferior value to the written works, but nevertheless of considerable worth. An English translation of selections, practically all based on the new editions, has been published in Boston.¹⁰⁰

The treasures of the Luther house, now a museum, at Wittenberg, have been catalogued by J. von Pflugk-Harttung.¹⁰¹ Various short articles deal with the Reformer's life within that house and with his family.¹⁰² The old story that Catharine von Bora came to Amsdorf and offered to marry either him or Martin Luther has been traced to its source in an ungallant passage from the memoirs of Amsdorf, who added, untruly, that she was avaricious and took poor care of her husband.¹⁰³ It may interest Americans to know that the Reformer's wedding ring, or betrothal ring, has been brought to America by its owner, a German baroness born, now Mrs. Maximilian Pinkert.¹⁰⁴ A novel by J. Knudsen, translated into German by Mathilde Mann under the title *Angst*, turns on Luther's supposed love for a niece of Frau Cotta. A photo-play showed at Berlin in 1914 made Catharine von Bora follow her hero to the Diet of Worms.¹⁰⁵

A study of Luther's Early Portraits that appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*¹⁰⁶ traced to their origins several contemporary woodcuts, one of which, now in the London Record Office, was apparently sent to Henry VIII by his ambassador in Germany. Much fuller works¹⁰⁷ exhibit the early authentic likenesses of the man and the subsequently changing ideal of the Reformer

¹⁰⁰ *Conversations with Luther*, transl. and ed. by Preserved Smith and H. P. Gallinger, 1915.

¹⁰¹ 'Aus dem Lutherhause zu Wittenberg,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxx; E. Kroker, in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xvii (1920), 280 ff. On the looting of this museum by robbers recently, see the *New York Times*, January 4, 1919.

¹⁰² Preserved Smith, 'The Personal Side of Luther,' *Homiletic Review*, October, 1917.

¹⁰³ E. Kroker, 'Luthers Werbung von Katharina von Bora,' *Lutherstudien*, 1917, pp. 140 ff.

¹⁰⁴ *New York Times*, January 24, 1916. The ring was for some time on exhibition at the New York Historical Society.

¹⁰⁵ On this, H. von Schubert, *Luthers Frühentwicklung*, 1916, p. 7. The plot of *Angst* must resemble that of Mrs. Charles's *Schönberg-Cotta Family*.

¹⁰⁶ July, 1913, by Preserved Smith.

¹⁰⁷ H. Preuss, *Lutherbildnisse historisch-kultisch gesichtet und erläutert*, 1914; J. Ficker, *Die ältesten Bildnisse Luthers*, 1920.

throughout the centuries, to all of which he appeared in a different character, as the Man of God, the Prophet, the Pietist, the Rationalist, the Liberal, the Patriot, the Personality. It may be worth noting here that paintings of Luther and his wife were made, probably after Cranach, by Lorenzo Lotto in Venice in 1540.¹⁰⁸ Are these the ones now in the Milan Gallery? Other likenesses now and then turn up.¹⁰⁹ The death-mask is now known to be spurious.¹¹⁰

Various studies of several aspects of Luther's declining years have thrown into relief his relations with Philip of Hesse,¹¹¹ with Schwenckfeld,¹¹² and with Calvin.¹¹³ Three new accounts¹¹⁴ of his death have been discovered in America, the first, believed by Spaeth to be by John Albrecht, clerk of Mansfeld, has been criticized by Strieder in Germany; that published by Burr is a worthless account by an unknown writer; the third is a letter from Caspar Hedio to Count Philip of Hanau, dated March 16 and 19, 1546. A new form of the Catholic legend of Luther's death, to the effect that the devil carried him away as he was blaspheming the Virgin, has been discovered in France.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*. I. Roma. 1884, p. 123, "Libro dei conti di Lorenzo Lotto," entry in Lotto's hand: "1540, 17 ott. A Mario d'Armano, suo nipote, doi quadretti del retratto de Martin Luter et sua moier per donarli al Tristan." On the portrait of Luther seen by Bembo at Mantua in 1537, see V. Cian, in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, ix (1887), p. 131.

¹⁰⁹ See *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. iv, 221 ff., 1913, and ix, 173 ff., 1918.

¹¹⁰ Böhmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, 5th ed., 1918, p. 297.

¹¹¹ J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and the Bigamous Marriage of Philip of Hesse,' *American Journal of Theology*, 1913, pp. 206 ff.

¹¹² *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, ed Hartranft, vols. ii to iv, 1911 ff.; K. Ecke, *Schwenckfeld, Luther, und der Gedanke einer apostolischen Reformation*, 1911.

¹¹³ Nösgen in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxii (1911), 7 ff.; E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, ii, 562 ff.

¹¹⁴ G. L. Burr, 'A new Fragment on Luther's death,' *American Historical Review*, xvi (1911), 1 ff.; A. Spaeth, in *Lutheran Church Review*, xxix (1910), 313 ff. On this, denying its value, see J. Strieder, in *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xv (1912), 379 ff.; and *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1913, pp. 314 ff.; J. Strieder, *Authentische Berichte über Luthers letzte Lebensstunden* (Kleine Texte, no. 99); J. Heederschee, 'Luther's Laatste Levensdagen,' *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, li (1917), 5 ff.; C. Schubart, *Berichte über Luthers Tod und Begräbnis*, 1917; Preserved Smith, 'Some Old Unpublished Letters,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 1919, pp. 204 ff. Two letters on the subject were published by G. Kawerau in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1913, pp. 134 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Les Regrets et Complains des de Passé partout et Bruict qui court. . .* Par Fr. Picart, 1557; quoted by H. Hauser, *Études sur la Réforme française*, 1909, p. 273.

VI. WORKS, DOCUMENTS, BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The great Weimar edition of Luther's works is now, with sixty volumes, nearing completion.¹¹⁶ A number of German editions of selections and translations from the works have come out recently, the most important for scholars being that in five volumes by O. Clemen.¹¹⁷ Two volumes of an excellent English translation are due to the labors of American Lutherans; let us hope that the other eight volumes will follow as planned.¹¹⁸ A convenient list of the Reformer's works, complete, and with references to the best edition, has come from the pen of Professor Gustav Kawerau.¹¹⁹

Eleven volumes of Luther's letters were published by Enders before his death in July, 1907. The work was then taken up by Professor Gustav Kawerau, who brought out the next five volumes, and had almost completed reading the proof of the seventeenth when he died, December 1, 1918. Professor Paul Flemming completed the printing of the seventeenth volume, containing the letters of the year 1546 and supplements to the year 1536;¹²⁰ he writes me that another volume of supplements may be expected. An English version¹²¹ of copious selections from Luther's correspondence and of contemporary letters bearing on his career, furnishes also some new material and aims to correct Enders in the light of recent research. Numer-

¹¹⁶ *Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, u. s. w., Weimar, 1883 ff. On this, O. Albrecht in *Lutherstudien*, 1917, pp. 29 ff.; the same volume contains much else on Luther's manuscripts, and on their first printing.

¹¹⁷ *Luthers Werke in Auswahl*, hrsg. von O. Clemen, 1912 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Works of Martin Luther*. Philadelphia, Holman. 2 vols., 1915, 1916 (translations by C. M. Jacobs, W. A. Lambert, J. J. Schindel, A. T. W. Steinhäuser, and A. L. Steimle).

¹¹⁹ Kawerau, *Luthers Schriften nach der Reihenfolge der Jahren verzeichnet*, 1917.

¹²⁰ *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel*, bearbeitet von E. L. Enders, fortgesetzt von G. Kawerau, weitergeführt von P. Flemming. Vol. 17. 1920. Professor Flemming has most kindly sent me the proofs of part of volume 18, publication of which is delayed. Professor Kawerau's death was a personal sorrow to me, as I shall never forget the extraordinary kindness he showed to me, an utter stranger, during my student years in Berlin.

¹²¹ *Luther's Correspondence and other Contemporary Letters*, translated and edited by Preserved Smith. Vol. i, 1913. Vol. ii, in collaboration with C. M. Jacobs, 1918.

ous supplements to the letters may be found scattered throughout German magazines; and various studies of the subject should not pass without notice.¹²³ Among collections of pertinent documents that by Kidd¹²⁴ should be remembered, and among paleographical studies those by Clemen and Mentz.¹²⁴

At the head of recently published bibliographies stand the comprehensive work of Gustav Wolf,¹²⁵ and the eighth edition of Dahlmann-Waitz.¹²⁶ A less pretentious but well selected bibliography has been published in English by Kieffer, Rockwell, and Pannkoke.¹²⁷ New editions of Böhmer's *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*,¹²⁸ now translated into English, are as readable as ever but no more reliable than before. Thoroughly trustworthy estimates of recent research in this field may be found in the works of Reu¹²⁹ and of Köhler.¹³⁰ *The Lutheran Quarterly* has printed a complete list of English translations of Luther's works, numbering an even hundred titles.¹³¹

Of the many new biographies of Luther called forth by the quadricentenary or its approach, only the scientifically noteworthy can here be reviewed. By far the most important is

¹²³ T. Lockemann, *Technische Studien zu Luthers Briefen an Friedrich den Weisen*, 1913; P. Flemming, 'Die Lutherbriefe in der Rörersammlung,' in *Studien G. Kawerau dargebracht*, 1917, pp. 21 ff.; G. Kawerau, 'Die Bemühungen im 16, 17, und 18 Jahrhundert, Luthers Briefe zu sammeln und herauszugeben,' in *Lutherstudien*, 1917, 1 ff.

¹²⁴ B. J. Kidd, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, 1911.

¹²⁴ G. Mentz, *Handschriften aus der Reformationszeit*, 1912; O. Clemen, *Handschriftenproben aus der Reformationszeit*, 1911.

¹²⁵ *Quellenkunde der deutschen Reformation*, 2 vols., 1915, 1916; on Luther, ii, 167 ff. To this should be added A. Herte's dissertation, *Die Lutherbiographie des J. Cochlaeus*, 1915, and the bibliography in Preserved Smith, *Age of the Reformation*, 1920.

¹²⁶ *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*, 8th ed., 1912. Cf. also *Bibliographie der sächsischen Geschichte*, hrsg. von R. Bemmman, i, 1918.

¹²⁷ *List of References on the History of the Reformation in Germany*, by G. L. Kieffer, W. W. Rockwell, and O. H. Pannkoke, 1917.

¹²⁸ Fourth edition 1917, fifth 1918; English translation from third edition, 1916.

¹²⁹ J. M. Reu, *Thirty-five Years of Luther Research*, 1917.

¹³⁰ 'Der gegenwärtige Stand der Lutherforschung,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxvii (1918), pp. 1-60.

¹³¹ Preserved Smith, 'Complete List of Works of Luther in English,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, October, 1918. Cf. also F. Wiener, *Naogeorgus in English*, 1913.

the immense effort represented in Hartmann Grisar's 2500 lexicon-octavo pages, three stout volumes in the German now turned into six English ones.¹²² Disclaiming the intention of writing an "artistic biography," with which he thinks the market drugged, he purposes to judge Luther solely as a religious phenomenon. Thus he is enabled to pass lightly over such things as are well known or favorable to the Reformer, and to dwell at immense length on whatever makes for his hostile, albeit courteously expressed and temperate, verdict. The most original and permanently valuable portion of the work is the study of the early years, showing how the Reformer's life reacted on the development of his doctrine. It was his quarrel with the Observant friars that gave him his first idea of the worthlessness of good works; it was his own hopeless struggle against concupiscence that convinced him of man's impotence of will. Grisar's further criticisms of Luther's character and influence are in part justified; but had he been in really genial relations with his subject he would never have thought that what he objected to much mattered. But if the book be judged not by its bias or by the merits of the question, but by what can be learned from it, Grisar's immense erudition will give it high rank.

Other biographies, mostly of the popular sort, must be mentioned for special qualities—Elsie Singmaster's for its charming style;¹²³ Schubert's new edition of Hausrath for its combined brilliancy and insight;¹²⁴ the work of Schreckenbach and Neubert¹²⁵ for its astounding wealth of instructive illustration; those of Harnack, Lenz, and Köhler¹²⁶ for their thorough re-

¹²² H. Grisar, *Luther*, 3 vols. 1911, 1912; English translation by E. M. Lamond, 6 vols., 1913 ff. Among the many reviews of this work or replies to it, the most important Protestant criticism is G. Kawerau, *Luther in katholischer Beleuchtung*, 1911.

¹²³ E. Singmaster (Mrs. E. S. Lewis), *Life of Martin Luther*, 1917.

¹²⁴ A. Hausrath, *Luthers Leben*. Neue Auflage von H. von Schubert, 1914. Hausrath occasionally makes rash and unsupported statements, some of which were taken over from the first edition by A. C. McGiffert in his life of Luther, 1911.

¹²⁵ *Martin Luther. Mit 384 Bildungen*, von P. Schreckenbach und F. Neubert, 1916.

¹²⁶ A. von Harnack, *M. Luther und die Begründung der Reformation*, 1917; W. Köhler, *M. Luther und die deutsche Reformation*, 1916; Id., *M. Luther der deutsche Reformator*, 1917; M. Lenz, *Luther und der deutsche Geist*, 1917. Cf. also Etzsin, *M. Luther, sein Leben und sein Werk*, 1917; P. Severinsen, *M. Luthers Lie*, 1911.

liability and skilful compression; that of Christiani¹³⁷ for its worthlessness. The new volume of A. Berger's *M. Luther in kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung*¹³⁸ is notable for its careful analysis of the Reformer's influence on contemporary and subsequent art, literature, music, and philosophy. He reckons Luther's career as the first revelation of German inwardness in its world-transforming might, and he calls his discovery that the church was a purely spiritual entity the greatest that had ever come into the history of the church.

Perhaps a little study by Walther on Luther's character is best placed next to the biographies. Taking, as usual, the rôle of an attorney for the defence, Walther feels called upon to apologize for, or to praise, every single act and trait of his hero, though this is difficult, for the very brilliancy of the man's moral complexion makes the blotches on it stand out all the more distinctly.¹³⁹ An Italian, writing on the same subject, concludes that Luther was a paranoiac afflicted with morbid egotism as a monomania.¹⁴⁰

Of the general histories in which Luther plays a large part no more can be said than to mention by name those of Vedder, Walker, Hulme, Below, W. C. Abbott, G. F. Moore, Bauslin, Taylor, and Preserved Smith.¹⁴¹ But the monographs devoted to an explanation of his influence and place in thought call for

¹³⁷ L. Christiani: *Du Luthéranisme au Protestantisme 1517-48*, 1911.

¹³⁸ A. E. Berger, *Luther in kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung*. Zweiter Teil, zweite Hälfte, 1919.

¹³⁹ W. Walther, *Luthers Charakter*, 1917. See also N. Söderblom, *Humor och Melankoli och andra Lutherstudier*, Stockholm, 1919.

¹⁴⁰ Rivari, *La mente ed li caratteri di Martino Lutero*, 1914.

¹⁴¹ H. C. Vedder, *The Reformation in Germany*, 1913. Good summary, though too severe, of effects of Reformation, pp. 389-398; W. Walker, *History of the Christian Church*, 1918; E. M. Hulme, *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation*, 1914; G. von Below, *Die Ursachen der Reformation*, 1917; W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, 2 vols. 1918; G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, ii. *Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism*, 1919; D. H. Bauslin, *The Lutheran Movement of the Sixteenth Century*, 1919; H. O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. 1920; Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation*, 1920. One might add for the sake of completeness the worthless Catholic review by P. Bernard, 'Pour le quatrième centenaire de la Réformation,' *Études*, Tome 153, pp. 137 ff., 308 ff., 463 ff., 733 ff.; Tome 154, pp. 187 ff., 305 ff., 420 ff. (1917-1918). The famous *Outlines of History* by H. G. Wells has only a few conventional sentences on Luther.

a slightly more specific treatment. First of all, for the sake of convenience, one may put the anthologies, or studies tracing the changing opinion of the Reformer throughout the centuries. To the general reviews by Wentz and Harvey may be added the special studies of estimates of Luther in Germany by Eckart, in France by L. H. Humphrey, and in England by Preserved Smith.¹⁴²

Ernst Troeltsch¹⁴³ continues to defend and develop his view of Luther as a conservative force in religion, to emphasize the likeness of Old Protestantism and Catholicism and their common contrast with the New Protestantism which began in the Enlightenment. Luther's sole object, he urges, was the old one of attaining salvation, and as he sought to attain it in a new way he overemphasized the means at the expense of the end sought, thus finally making the tyranny of dogma unbearable. With Luther, Troeltsch writes:

The assurance of salvation must be based on a miracle in order to be certain; but this miracle must be one occurring in the inmost centre of the personal life, and must be clearly intelligible in its whole intellectual significance if it is a miracle which guarantees complete assurance. . . . The sensuous sacramental miracle is done away, and in its stead appears the miracle of thought, that man in his sin and weakness can grasp and confidently assent to such a thought. That is the end of priesthood and hierarchy, the sacramental communication of ethico-religious powers.

Walter Köhler, on the other hand, attributes a high value to the new thought brought in by Luther, finding in him the forerunner of transcendentalism; his greatness was that "he so completely penetrated the objective world of concepts that it lost, not indeed its existence, but its value, and instead of on

¹⁴² A. E. Harvey, 'Martin Luther in the Estimate of Modern Historians,' *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1918; A. R. Wentz, *Martin Luther in the Changing Light of Four Centuries*, 1916; R. Eckart, *Luther und die Reformation im Urteil bedeutender Männer*, 2d ed., 1917; L. H. Humphrey, 'French Estimates of Luther,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, April, 1918; Preserved Smith, 'English Opinion of Luther,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 1917. The last chapter of *The Age of the Reformation* by the same writer is devoted to a history of the historiography of the Reformation.

¹⁴³ E. Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress*, 1912, pp. 198, 192 f.; *Id.*, 'Luther und der Protestantismus,' *Neue Rundschau*, October, 1917; *Id.*, 'Protestantismus und Kultur,' *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1912. Troeltsch's view that Luther was medieval is exaggerated by R. Wolff, *Studien zu Luthers Weltanschauung*, 1920.

this the postulates by which we live became anchored on the ground of the subject and of its experience." ¹⁴⁴

A judicious and philosophical estimate of the problem of Luther's significance is given by P. Imbart de la Tour.¹⁴⁵ Calling attention to the fact that Luther revolted from the church only in the interests of a larger church, he argues that, though autonomy of religion and conscience would have been the logical result of some of his doctrines, nevertheless in fact, "his completely mystical doctrine of inner inspiration has no resemblance whatever to our subjectivism. The idea of a doctrinal truth and of a religious society always obsessed him." Imbart de la Tour finds it remarkable that Luther's pessimistic doctrine could succeed in the young, ardent society of the Renaissance, and thinks this success was due to his personality, which was his only true originality. He sums up adversely: "The classic spirit, free institutions, the democratic ideal, all these great forces by which we live are not the heritage of Luther."

Nietzsche's idea of the Reformation as a great reaction and nothing more is now held in many quarters. The extreme and amusing expression given to it by Anatole France may be quoted on account of its author's fame. After recounting the triumphs of the Renaissance, when men began to revive antiquity and to make discoveries, he continues: ¹⁴⁶

From that time the star of the God of the Christians paled and began to set. . . . Already the comely Graces and the Nymphs and Satyrs danced in merry choir; at last the earth rediscovered joy. But, oh horror! oh ill fortune! oh fatal event! A German friar, swollen with beer and theology, set himself against this renaescent paganism, threatened it, fulminated against it, prevailed alone against the princes of the church, and, rousing the people,

¹⁴⁴ 'Luther hat die objective Begriffswelt so völlig durchdrungen, das sie zwar nicht ihre Existenz, wohl aber ihren Wert verlor, und statt dessen der Anker der Lebensbehaftung auf den Boden des Subjects und seiner Erfahrung fiel.' *Luther und die deutsche Reformation*, 1916. Santayana would agree with Troeltsch in this statement, but would deplore instead of exulting in it. See his *Egotism in German Philosophy*, 1917, pp. 1 ff., 23.

¹⁴⁵ 'Luther,' in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1912, 6^{me} période, pp. 309 ff.; the same reprinted in *Les Origines de la Réforme*, iii, 1914, chap. 1; *Id.*, 'Pourquoi Luther n'a-t-il pas créé qu'un Christianisme allemand?' *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, pp. 575-612.

¹⁴⁶ A. France, *La Révolte des Anges*, 1914, pp. 237 ff.

led them to a reform which saved what was about to be destroyed. . . . This robust sailor repaired, caulked, and relaunched the derelict bark of the church. Jesus Christ owes it to this scamp of a friar that his shipwreck was put off for perhaps more than ten centuries. From this time things went from bad to worse. After the big fellow with the cowl, drunken and quarrelsome, came the long, dry doctor of Geneva, full of the spirit of the antique Jehovah, who tried to force the world back to the abominable times of Joshua and the Judges of Israel, a madman in his cold fury, a heretic burning heretics, the most savage enemy of the Graces.

From the opposite point of view the Catholic admits and laments the same facts. For Hilaire Belloc the Reformation was the turning back of the tide of culture and Christianity represented by the Catholic Church, and Luther was "one of those exuberant, sensual, rather inconsequential, characters," who did not know what he was doing, or what he wanted to do.¹⁴⁷

The same view of Luther as the great reactionary is set forth by Havelock Ellis, who speaks of him as "the gigantic peasant who, with too exuberant energy, battered the dying church into acute sensibility, kicked it into emotion, galvanized it into life, prolonged its existence a thousand years."¹⁴⁸ The subject of Luther's personality has drawn from his pen an original, if not quite exhaustive, study.¹⁴⁹ He calls him an "adept in the culture of his land and day, eagerly devoted to literature, a poet, a good musician, accomplished in the mechanical uses of his hands, the intimate friend of Cranach, a skilful dialectician," and "a true German in his close combination, alike in speech and act, of the abstract with the realistic, of the emotional with the material." Notwithstanding coarseness and "a spitefulness once termed feminine," there is in him "something homely, human, genial, almost lovable."

Among the popular writers to pay their respects to the Reformer the Irish novelist George Moore has taken his place. Having written an absurd drama on St. Paul and an obscene biography of Jesus, he at one time designed to construct a five-act play on Luther's career.¹⁵⁰ Mercifully, perhaps, he

¹⁴⁷ H. Belloc, *Europe and the Faith*, 1920, pp. 219 f.

¹⁴⁸ Havelock Ellis, *Impressions and Comments*, 1915.

¹⁴⁹ H. Ellis, *The Philosophy of Conflict*, second series, 1919, pp. 89-99.

¹⁵⁰ George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*, 1886, new ed. 1917, p. 161; on the drama see further, *Sales*, 1912, pp. 183, 191 ff.; *Vale*, 1914, p. 104.

got no further than the dedication, a French sonnet to Swinburne, worth quoting for its popular interest:

Accepte, tu verras la foi mêlée au crime
 Se souiller dans le sang sacré de la raison,
 Quand surgit, redempteur du vieux peuple saxon,
 Luther à Wittemberg comme Christ à Solime.

These interesting outbursts express in unbridled language the not uncommon conviction that the Reformation was essentially a reaction. Many voices¹⁵¹ have been raised on both sides of the hotly debated problem; it is amusing to notice another popular writer speaking of Luther in exactly opposite terms, as the restorer and not the destroyer of the antique paganism. Gilbert Keith Chesterton writes: "That great and human, but very pagan person, Martin Luther . . . was a sign of the break-up of Catholicism, but was not a builder of Protestantism. . . . He was an anarchist and therefore a dreamer."¹⁵²

Professor Arthur C. McGiffert, who once saw in Luther "the conservative and intolerant" man who "introduced a régime of religious bigotry for a long time as narrow and as blighting to intellectual growth as Roman Catholicism at its worst,"¹⁵³ and whose "ideals of liberty were not ours," now¹⁵⁴ asserts: "Not justification by faith is the central principle of the Protestant Reformation, but freedom for human service." Professor W. W. Rockwell's summary account of "Luther and the Catholic Church"¹⁵⁵ is well worth reading for its combined

¹⁵¹ A. von Harnack, 'Die Reformation,' *Internationale Monatschrift*, xi, 1918; M. Lens, 'Luthers Weltgeschichtliche Stellung,' *Preussische Jahrbücher*, clxx (1917), pp. 166 ff.; F. Heiler, *Luthers religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, 1918; *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, articles by C. A. Bernouilli, 'La Réforme de Luther et les problèmes de la culture présente'; E. Ehrhardt, 'Le sens de la révolution religieuse et morale accomplie par Luther'; J. Chevalier, 'Les deux Réformes: le Luthéranisme en Allemagne, le Calvinisme dans les pays de langue anglaise'; C. Andler, 'L'esprit conservateur et l'esprit révolutionnaire dans le Luthéranisme.'

¹⁵² G. K. Chesterton, *The Crimes of England*, 1918. Cf. also his *Irish Impressions*, 1920, p. 206.

¹⁵³ *Martin Luther: The Man and His Work*, 1911, p. 382.

¹⁵⁴ 'The Unfinished Reformation,' in *Bulletin of Union Theological Seminary*, October 31, 1917.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

judiciousness and brilliance of statement. My own estimate of Luther and the Reformation has often been given, and need not be repeated here.¹⁵⁶

The connection between the Reformation and the Great War has received attention in a large number of books, of which only a few can be mentioned here.¹⁵⁷ Paquier, the French Catholic, holds that Luther was largely responsible for the war by his teaching of blind obedience to the state, by his separation of inward justification from outward works, by his express approval of war, and by his brutality and chauvinism. Weiss, a French Protestant, asserts that the war is an apostasy from Luther's doctrine, though the actions of the Germans in it might have been foretold in his saying, "We Germans are and remain Germans, that is, swine and beasts without reason." Kawerau, a German Protestant, mobilizes Luther in favor of an active prosecution of the war and quotes his severe judgments of French, English, and Italians. Bishop Hensley Henson,¹⁵⁸ in a sermon preached on the quadricentenary festival of the Reformation, exonerates Luther from responsibility for the subsequent growth of German materialism and militarism. On the contrary, "his supreme and unassailable merit," Henson thinks, "lies in the fact that he led the way in a process of spiritual emancipation. . . . He was cast in a large mould and was never consciously false to his perception of truth."

Three special topics for which no convenient place has been found in the above summary, must perforce be put in the ap-

¹⁵⁶ *Life and Letters of Martin Luther*, 1911, and preface to second edition, 1914; 'Luther,' in *International Encyclopaedia*, 1918; 'Luther 1517-1917,' *Outlook*, October 31, 1917; 'The Reformation 1517-1917,' *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1918; 'The Reformation interpreted in the Light of its Achievements,' Paper read at American Historical Association, December, 1917, to be printed in *Papers of the American Society of Church History: The Age of the Reformation*, 1920.

¹⁵⁷ J. Paquier, *Luther et l'Allemagne*, 1918, with list of books on the subject, pp. viii ff.; N. Weiss, 'Pour le quatrième centenaire de la Réformation,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 1917, pp. 178 ff.; K. Kawerau, *Luthers Gedanken über den Krieg*, 1916; E. Vermeil, 'Les aspects religieux de la guerre,' *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, pp. 893-921; J. A. Faulkner: 'Luther and the Great War,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, October, 1920, pp. 448 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Sermons*, 1918, p. 274. Cf. Preserved Smith, 'Luther and the Hohenzollerns,' *Outlook*, April 23, 1919.

pendix to this report. Lauchert¹⁵⁹ has made an interesting and thorough study of the opposition to Luther in Italy; E. Wolff¹⁶⁰ has tried to prove that the Faust of the original German Faust Book was a parody of Luther, this Faust being a professor at Wittenberg, learned and fond of drinking, his marriage with Helena recalling the Catholic parody of the wedding of Catharine von Bora, and the appearance before the emperor that of his call to Worms; even his compact with the devil being such as an apostate might make. An American student¹⁶¹ has found the missing link between Luther and Shakespeare in the "mooncalf" adopted by the English poet apparently from a translation of the Reformer's work of that name.

¹⁵⁹ F. Lauchert, *Die italienischen literarischen Gegner Luthers*, 1912.

¹⁶⁰ E. Wolff, *Faust und Luther*, 1912. Luther is discussed in F. B. Busoni's new opera, *Doktor Faust*, 1920. The libretto is not from Goethe, but is original.

¹⁶¹ Preserved Smith, 'The Mooncalf,' *Modern Philology*, January, 1914.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF ACTS

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THE article 'Chronology of the New Testament' by C. H. Turner in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* marks an epoch in this important subject. Its astronomical and calendar data are indeed not unimpeachable, for the more recent studies of Fotheringham¹ make it highly probable that A.D. 30 should be taken as the year of the crucifixion, rather than Turner's date of A.D. 29. But Turner's careful survey of ancient sources proves that from a very early time "the year of the two Gemini" (A.D. 29) was fixed upon by tradition, and became the accepted starting-point for primitive reckonings in both directions. Convenience of adjustment to the paschal cycle had probably much to do with the adoption of this particular year, which facilitated harmonization; but at the very early period to which it can be carried back tradition is not likely to have varied more than a year or two from the correct date for so all-important an event. While, then, a slightly earlier or later absolute dating, such as A.D. 30, may obtain the preference of modern chronographers it seems not impossible that the traditional date of 29 A.D. for the crucifixion may go back to the period of Luke himself.²

A second contribution of value in the article referred to is Turner's observation (p. 421) that the picture of the Book of Acts "is cut up, as it were, into six panels, each labelled with a general summary of progress," the protagonist in the first three being St. Peter, in the last three St. Paul; so that "the two halves into which the book thus naturally falls make almost equal divisions at the middle of the whole period covered." It is no surprise to find this view of the structure of Acts adopted in so standard a work as Moffatt's *Introduction to the*

¹ *Journal of Philology*, xxix (1903), and *Journal of Theological Studies*, xii (1910), 45.

² The name "Luke" which tradition assigns to the author of the third Gospel and Book of Acts is employed in the present article without prejudice to the question of real authorship.

New Testament, for as to the division there can be no doubt, while the reader who carefully examines the recurrent rubric of Acts 6, 7; 9, 31; 12, 24; 16, 5, and 19, 20 will readily see from its relation to the context that the author really does employ it to subdivide his work according to subject matter. It seems the more surprising that in a chronological enquiry such as Turner's the critic should not first attempt to estimate the length of time required for the series of events related in each of the successive 'panels,' so as to do full justice to the Lukan chronology in and for itself, before introducing outside considerations such as the conveniences of travel, or the requirements of Paul or Josephus, in the attempt to reach an ultimate chronology. Right method would seem to suggest that we first get clearly the author's own idea before seeking to adjust it to others. Unfortunately Turner's subdivision of the story of Gentile evangelization in Acts 13-28 into periods of longer or shorter duration (p. 421b) is made almost without reference to the Lukan divisions at 12, 24; 16, 5; and 19, 20.

A recent article by Professor C. J. Cadoux in *The Journal of Theological Studies** entitled 'The Chronological Divisions of Acts' adduces some further considerations which should be taken into the account, if Turner's discovery is to have proper valuation. Here, too, unfortunately, we can give no sweeping endorsement.

It can hardly be conceded to Cadoux that the closing sentence of the book (Acts 28, 31) should be counted as one of the 'rubrics.' Its whole tenor and purpose are different, and there is little or no resemblance even in language. More could be said for including in the series Acts 2, 47b ("And the Lord added to their number daily those that were being saved"), though even here we are inclined to attribute the clause to the source only, and to explain the resemblance of its language to the five 'refrains' from the compiler's having taken the idea — and to some extent the language — of his summary from this passage. An almost exact parallel can be found in the rubric employed by the compiler of our first Gospel in Matt. 7, 28; 11, 1; 13, 53; 19, 1, and 26, 1 to divide his five 'books' of the

* Vol. xix (1917-18), pp. 333-341.

teaching of Jesus, prefaced each by its introductory narrative, from one another and from the epilogue. A comparison of Luke 7, 1 (β text) taking into consideration the peculiarities of the idiom will show that the refrain is not a creation of our first evangelist, but is merely adopted (like a whole series of similarly stereotyped phrases) from the source he is following. However, even Cadoux himself does not regard Acts 1, 1-2, 47 as a separate 'panel,' but as merely "introductory"; and since the other addition he would make is at the end, where a natural terminus is reached anyway, his scheme for the division of Acts into seven parts does not differ at all "chronologically" and but very little otherwise, from Turner's into six. Cadoux's really important contribution to the subject lies elsewhere. It is a suggested explanation of the principle on which the various stages of the story have been marked off by the 'refrain.'

Moffatt⁴ in adopting Turner's division had spoken of the refrain as summarizing each section "by a rubric of progress"; but he takes the word "progress" in the geographical sense. Cadoux rejects this on grounds which seem quite adequate, and reverts to the view of Turner that the stages marked off are chronological. We may venture to transcribe the extract which he makes from the well-known article:

It remains only to adjust, by the help of these points, the division into periods (see p. 421b), which is the single hint at a chronology supplied by St. Luke in the earlier part of his work. . . . That the chronology here adopted (i.e. Turner's) results in a more or less even division of periods — i. from A.D. 29; ii. from A.D. 35; iii. from A.D. 39-40; iv. from A.D. 45-46; v. from A.D. 50; vi. from A.D. 55 (to A.D. 61) — such as St. Luke seems to be contemplating, must be considered a slight step towards its verification (Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, i, p. 424).

It is also quite apparent that Turner's dates require readjustment by reference to the well-known inscription at Delphi, from which the pro-consulship of Gallio in Achaia can be dated in A.D. 51-52. This is now commonly regarded as furnishing our most reliable *point d'appui* for the chronology of Paul. It is true, as Cadoux observes, that Turner "makes no use of it"; but this is pardonable since the discovery was not made known until six years after the appearance of his article. It is, how-

⁴ *Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 284 f.

ever, a striking confirmation of Turner's results that his date for Paul's arrival in Corinth is less than a year later than that deduced by Deissmann from the inscription. A discussion of Pauline chronology by the present writer which appeared in the same year with Turner's came six months nearer still; but that is attributable to good luck rather than to good scholarship.⁵ Turner himself would probably concede a correction on this ground of perhaps a year in his later dates.

If we make the slight correction required by the Delphi inscription, and in addition identify the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem of Acts 11, 30 with that which Paul also records as his *second* in Gal. 2, 1-10, as many leading scholars now demand, Turner's chronology will be verified in even higher degree than its author claims — so Cadoux maintains — by comparison with the Lukan division. For since the first and last of the *seven* 'refrains' counted by Cadoux coincide with the beginning and end of the total period, extending from the crucifixion (A.D. 29-30) to the end of Paul's stay in Rome (A.D. 59-60) the whole will consist of some thirty years, as Turner's chronology requires. Acts, like the Gospel, will cover a period of 30-31 years. But in addition — and this is the important point — the intervening five 'refrains' will appear to be so distributed by the historian as to mark off his narrative into periods of approximately five years, of which three are given to the work of Peter and the Twelve in Palestine, while the remaining three are occupied by the Gentile missions of Paul, which start from Antioch. Starting from Passover A.D. 29 these five-year periods will be reckoned as follows:

Founding of the church to Martyrdom of Stephen (Acts 6, 7) . . . A.D.	29-34
Expansion in Palestine to Conversion of Paul (9, 31)	34-39
Beginnings of Gentile Evangelization to Death of Agrippa (12, 24)	39-44
Antiochian Missions to Distribution of Decrees (16, 5)	44-49
Greek Missions to Founding of Ephesian Church (19, 20)	49-54
Delegation to Jerusalem to Paul's Witness at Rome (end of Acts)	54-59 (60)

The end of the Lukan narrative leaves the terminus of Paul's activity somewhat vague. By what event it was marked does

⁵ See Bacon, *Introduction to New Testament*, 1900, p. 280, comparing the preliminary studies in *Expositor* V, lix, lx (November and December, 1899). The date arrived at, is "spring of 50." Deissmann's is "early in 50"; Turner's "fall of 50."

not appear; but the data of 28, 11-18 carry us on to only a month or two from the succeeding Passover, the beginning season of the series. Otherwise the summaries might be exact, and certainly coincide with principal divisions of the subject.⁶ Moreover the third refrain, brief as it is, surpasses all in the clearness with which it coincides with a strongly marked transition. The story here passes from the apostleship of Peter among the Circumcision to the apostleship of Paul among the Gentiles. There is further good fortune in the fact that in this case we can also positively control the datings. For the narrative of Josephus also implies the summer of A.D. 44 as the date for the death of Agrippa. On the other hand we have no means of controlling the other dates save, *first*, inference from the Pauline Epistles, *second*, the requirements of time implied in Paul and in the Lukan narrative itself. Cadoux's theory of "the chronological divisions of Acts" must stand the double test, *first*, of real consonance with the Lukan grouping of material, *second* of agreement with absolute chronology.

1. The placing of the refrain in Acts 6, 7 is somewhat peculiar, since we clearly have at 6, 1 a transition in subject matter, and (in the general judgment of those who at all admit distinctions of sources used by the compiler) transition to a new source as well. With Acts 6, 1 we enter a new environment, and meet presuppositions unexplained in the preceding narrative. We also proceed to wholly new interests and a new outlook. The source-critic will be disposed to look upon this opening paragraph (6, 1-6) as largely reconstructed by the editor in the effort to adapt his extract from the new source (Antiochian?) to the narrative already framed.⁷ The upshot of the editorial changes is that the seven Hellenistic leaders, who both by their actual work and by subsequent reference (Acts 21, 8) are really "evangelists," are transformed into subordinates to the Apostles. They relieve the twelve of the task of "serving

⁶ On the placing of refrains 1 and 4, see below. In both cases it is necessary to distinguish the compiler's point of view from that of the sources he employs.

⁷ See Bacon 'Stephen's Speech' in *Contributions by the Semitic and Biblical Faculty*, Yale Bicentennial Publications, 1901. The references in 6, 8 and 11, 18 suggest a special interest in Antioch.

tables," and become an order of "deacons"⁸ in the mother church, ranking below the Apostles but above "the widows," who also now appear for the first time, and quite unexpectedly. Considering this opening paragraph (Acts 6, 1-6) to be largely bridge-work of the editorial character described, the very object of which is to minimize the gap between disparate sources by assigning a place for the new dramatis personae in the existing framework, it is not surprising that the retrospective summary should be postponed until the editor has completed his account of the organization of the mother church. He can proceed more appropriately thereafter with his story of the dispersal by persecution. From the point of view, then, of the ultimate compiler the refrain of Acts 6, 7 stands just where it ought. It looks back over and sums up the story of the establishment of the mother church in Jerusalem, the "church of the Apostles and Elders." The position of the fourth refrain (16, 5) seems to be chosen with equal care on similar grounds. For this story of development five years is a very reasonable time.

Again the date A.D. 34 for the outbreak of "the persecution which arose about Stephen" (8, 1; 11, 19) is probable on external grounds if sufficient allowance be made for the Lukan tendency to transform a scene of mere uncontrolled mob violence into a formal trial and condemnation before the Sanhedrin. The outbreak against Stephen and the Hellenists (Acts 8, 1 explicitly excepts "the Apostles" from its effects) would be quite conceivable in the last years of Pilate, somewhat more so than under his immediate successors. On both internal and external evidence A.D. 29-34 seems, therefore, a reasonable conception of date to have been entertained by the compiler.

2. What, then, of the period of expansion described in Acts 6-8, during which in spite of persecution the gospel was carried both northward to Samaria and southward through Philistia to the border of Egypt?

Luke concludes his story of this development with a glowing account of the conversion of the persecutor and his early witness in Damascus and Jerusalem. If the account be properly interpreted by its own implications solely, without intrusive

⁸ The actual term appears only in the β text.

influence from Galatians upon our judgment of Luke's meaning, this early preaching will be understood as antedating but slightly the close of the period. Standing where it does it might possibly be regarded as falling in part within the limits of the next; for it is notoriously in Lukan style to introduce proleptically at the close of his sections material which really belongs later, but serves to carry on the thread of connection.⁹ Here, however, no such extreme assumption is required. The natural understanding will be that Paul's conversion, beginning of work in Jerusalem, and escape through Caesarea to Tarsus fell toward the close of this period, *i.e.*, in A.D. 37-39. In order to pass upon the question whether Luke really intends his second refrain summarizing the growth of the church "throughout all Judaea and Galilee and Samaria" (Acts 9, 31) to mark the year 39 A.D. we must here pause for some further enquiry as to the datings implied in the period of the Hellenistic persecution, in particular that of the conversion of Paul.

i. Considered in themselves, without reference to Galatians, the events related in Acts 6, 8-9, 31 would fall quite naturally and easily within the limits 34-39 A.D. This being so, we have no right to say that these were not the limits actually in the mind of Luke, even if they fail to agree with data derived from Galatians. For the wide divergence of Luke in just this portion of his work from the data of Galatians makes it quite supposable that he is here somewhat in error. On the other hand it is not wholly insupposable that current datings of Paul's conversion based on Gal. 2, 1 may be ten years out of the way, since a group of scholars are ready to adopt the conjecture of Grotius changing the reading of Gal. 2, 1 from "fourteen" to "four" years by the omission of a single *l*. The supposition, then, that Luke intends his second division to cover a period corresponding to the years 34-39 A.D. has nothing against it save the unwarranted assumption that he must agree with the date for Paul's conversion implied in Gal. 2, 1.

ii. Paul's escape from Damascus as related in Acts 9, 23-25 is referred to by himself in 2 Cor. 11, 32 as having taken place

⁹ So Luke 24, 44-53, with which compare Acts 1, 6-9. Acts 11, 30 is susceptible of similar interpretation.

while the city was being guarded by the ethnarch "under Aretas the king." Not one of the interpretations thus far proposed is wholly successful in removing the difficulty in understanding how this could be possible at any date earlier than 37-38 A.D., when Damascus probably did pass into the control of Aretas. Under Roman control, which can be traced with certainty from its coinage down to A.D. 33-34, and on other less cogent evidence down to the second summer of Caligula's reign (A.D. 38), Paul the Roman citizen would hardly have been forced to such ignominious means of egress. So far as the Epistles are concerned there is no need to connect this escape with Paul's stay in Damascus *immediately* following his conversion. It might equally well be assigned to the subsequent period of which he writes in Gal. 1, 17, "Again I returned to Damascus." But Acts connects it with the conversion. According to the exact sense of Acts 9, 23 it was only "some days" (*ἡμέραι ἱκαναί*) afterward. The time was in fact so short that when the fugitive reached Jerusalem the astounding news of his conversion to the faith he set out to persecute had not even then been conveyed to the brotherhood. Between this escape and the escape from Jerusalem, Luke inserts nothing but Paul's interrupted work to the Hellenists of that city. Is it not reasonable to suppose that he really means to date the conversion of Paul in A.D. 37-38, even if he did not know that Damascus was then "under Aretas the king"?

iii. Were we at liberty to alter the reading of Gal. 2, 1 from 'fourteen' to 'four' years the terminal dates of the Pauline chronology would easily fall in line with Acts, however wide the discrepancy as to the nature of the Apostle's work before coming to Antioch and as to the intervening date of his first visit to Jerusalem. As already suggested we must either throw out altogether the Lukan report of a 'famine-relief' visit, or identify it, as Paul's *second*, with that of Gal. 2, 1-10. For the idea (still maintained by Turner) that Paul could pass over such a visit unmentioned in Gal. 1, 18-24 is inadmissible. On this point even champions of Lukan infallibility are at last willing to concede something to Paul. The occasion referred to in Acts 11, 30 and Gal. 2, 1 must be the same; but what of the

difference as to agenda? An answer to this question will involve some discussion of Luke's relation to his sources.

Of all the sections of Acts the four verses here concerned (11, 27-30) are among the least reliable. From verse 22 we expect action of some sort on the question of the admission of Gentiles, for this was the object of Barnabas' mission to Antioch. Paul, in Gal. 2, 1-10, gives exactly what we should expect; but Luke gives something else. He defers the settlement of the pending question of the admission of uncircumcised Gentiles till after the First Missionary Journey (Acts 13-14), when Paul and Barnabas on an alleged *third* visit to Jerusalem can meet the objections raised by the Mosaists with an appeal like that of Peter in 11, 1-18 to "the signs and wonders God had wrought through them among the Gentiles." This first section (verses 1-11) of Luke's story of the Apostolic Council is in fact little else than a parallel in the compiler's own words to the story told by his source in 11, 1-18 (cf. β text). Acts 15, 1-11 could easily be reconciled with Paul if it stood in the place now occupied by 11, 27-30. The rest of the story of the Council tells of a settlement, by means of the four "decrees" adopted at the instance of James, of the further question on what basis believing "Jews which are among the Gentiles" are to 'eat and associate' with their Gentile brethren. All are to be protected from "the pollutions of idols" by certain rules of "abstinence." The difficulty of reconciling this with Paul's account of his controversy with Peter at Antioch, and with his uniform treatment of the issue at stake, is notorious. But one could hardly expect an Antiochian writer¹⁰ whose attitude toward Peter and James is that displayed in Acts to tell the story as Gal. 2, 11-21 reveals it. If, however, the whole question was to Luke's mind determined by the "decrees" proposed by James at the council of "the Apostles and Elders" at Jerusalem, it seems probable that he would assign another motive for the visit recorded in 11, 22 ff.

What then, of this story of famine-relief? Its chief actor is a

¹⁰ Very ancient tradition recorded in the Old Latin prologues, and referred to by Eusebius, makes the author a native of Antioch. The tradition is strongly corroborated by the internal evidence.

prophet named Agabus, who came down from Jerusalem to Antioch and predicted "a great famine over all the world (*οικουμένη*), which came to pass in the days of Claudius." Agabus is known to us from the most reliable of Luke's sources in 21, 10-12. But, here, in the Travel Document, where Agabus meets Paul at Caesarea with an entreaty not to imperil his life at Jerusalem, he appears as a previously unknown character. He must be introduced to the reader as "a certain prophet." Moreover there is no indication that he has ever met Paul before, or even visited Antioch. He "came down from Judaea." Equally unreliable is the story of church action which takes the place in Acts occupied in the Pauline Epistles by the great contribution of the Greek churches "for the poor among the saints that are at Jerusalem" (Rom. 15, 26). The Antioch church may possibly have followed the famous example of the royal convert Helena of Adiabene in 45-46, and may have made Barnabas and Saul bearers of its gift. But this was not the main occasion for the journey; nor was it *this* contribution, but that of the Pauline churches, which called for mention at the hands of an impartial historian.

Again we may assume, in order to meet the implications of Luke's order, that there was another famine in 40-41.^{10a} But it fails to appear in any other record, unless the *assiduae sterilitates* which according to Suetonius distinguished the reign of Claudius are called in to aid. *The* famine made memorable to all Jews as well by its severity as by the liberality of Helena began at least a year after the death of Agrippa, extending over the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander (46-47), after having started under his predecessor, Cuspius Fadus (45-46). Luke may have been misled by the Aramaic word ארעא ('land,' or 'earth') as Torrey conjectures, into regarding the famine as world-wide (*οικουμένη*); but he certainly misconceives its extent, since if it had not been limited to Palestine Antioch would have been no better off than Jerusalem, and (unless we take refuge in our ignorance by assuming some other famine) he is equally at sea regarding its date. For he takes pains to insert the mission of Paul and Barnabas to relieve it *before* his

^{10a} So Harnack.

account of the persecution and death of Agrippa, under the vague statement that it "came to pass in the days of Claudius," while the return of the envoys accompanied by Mark¹¹ is related immediately *after*. Luke seems thus to have a perfectly correct idea of the date of Agrippa's death, with which he interlocks very closely the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem; but he has a very vague idea of the date of the famine, as he indicates by introducing his digression to tell the fortunes of the mother church with the words "Now about that time" (*κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν*). Doubtless he knew the date of Agrippa's accession (41) "in the days of Claudius," but he does not seem to recognize the persecution as an *initial* policy. He thinks of the famine as occurring *ca.* A.D. 43-44, and therefore places the delegation from Antioch before the account of Agrippa's persecution and death. But by placing the return of the envoys *after* the royal demise he indicates his belief that this, at all events, was not earlier than the end of 44. Now if his refrain is really intended to divide the story chronologically into (approximate) pentads his date for the conversion of Paul will be, as we have seen, A.D. 37-38. His date for the visit to Jerusalem will be 44-45. It is certainly noteworthy that this should agree so closely with Gal. 2, 1 as emended. For if we read here 'four' instead of 'fourteen,' and count both termini (as the rule of antiquity requires) in the intervals named in Gal. 1, 18 and 2, 1, Paul also will be reckoning six years from his conversion to his visit with Barnabas to Jerusalem; and this on other grounds cannot be dated far from A.D. 44-45, where Luke seems to place it.

Finally the date of "fourteen years" in 2 Cor. 12, 2 will be found to fall in quite as smoothly with this Lukan scheme. The passage in question belongs to the last months of Paul's stay in Ephesus¹² or slightly later. By Turner's dating, corrected in conformity to the Delphi inscription, this would be *ca.* 54-55, bringing the vision referred to into the period of

¹¹ Mentioned in the source (12, 12) in the phrase Luke employs in 12, 25, "John whose surname was Mark."

¹² On the supposition that 2 Cor. 10, 1-13, 10 is a fragment of the painful letter of self-commendation referred to in 2 Cor. 2, 3-9; 3, 1.

Paul's stay in "Arabia" (Gal. 1, 17). It might even be brought into a certain correspondence with Luke's account of a vision in the temple (Acts 22, 17-21), since both would mark the beginning of Paul's ministry to the Gentiles. In all respects save the inconvenient 1 of Gal. 2, 1 the date A.D. 39 (in absolute reckoning 40) for the retrospective rubric Acts 9, 31 is unexceptionable.

It does *not* follow that we are at liberty to make the emendation. The business of the exegete is not to change his texts, but to interpret them. Moreover the Grotian emendation falls very far short of removing the discrepancies between Acts 9, 1-30 and Gal. 1, 11-24. On the one side we have a ministry to (Greek-speaking) Jews in Judaea (Jerusalem-Caesarea); on the other a ministry to the Gentiles in "Syria and Cilicia." On the one side a flight from Damascus, after "some days" witness for Christ in the synagogues, to the mother church in Jerusalem; on the other an express denial of "going up to Jerusalem to those that were Apostles before me," and a going away into Arabia, followed (one would infer shortly) by a "return to Damascus." On the one side a work of evangelization among the Greek-speaking Jews in Jerusalem in constant relation with the leaders of the mother church interrupted only by the outbreak (stereotyped in Luke) of Jewish jealousy in mob violence;¹³ on the other a work of evangelization in Damascus lasting for three years (minus the stay in Arabia), and terminated by a two-weeks' visit privately to Peter in Jerusalem. On the one side a flight from Jerusalem to Caesarea and a stay there under protection of the church until "the brethren" send the fugitive to his native city of Tarsus; on the other missionary activity "in Syria and Cilicia" in such complete independence of the churches of Christ in Judaea¹⁴ that the Apostle's very face was unknown to them. "They only heard by report, He that once persecuted us now preacheth the faith of which he once made havoc." As respects the nature and sphere of Paul's activity the disagreement could hardly be

¹³ Not to be reconciled with Acts 22, 17-21, where Paul's departure is occasioned by a vision in the temple forestalling the outbreak.

¹⁴ In Pauline usage "Judaea" includes Caesarea, the principal port, and metropolis of Samaria.

greater. The author of Acts is certainly not well informed on this part of Paul's career, and has exactly the opposite idea as to how his apostolic authority should be vindicated. It does not follow that Luke may not have conceived the conversion as having taken place in A.D. 37-38. If the Grotian emendation were admitted the interval assumed by Acts 11, 30; 12, 25 of six (?) years between the conversion and the second visit would be substantially correct. Looking back, then, over this 'panel' of Acts, its evidence must be held to confirm Cadoux's theory, that (whether correctly or not) the author employs his retrospective rubrics for the purpose of subdividing his story into periods of *five* years. His second period, that of the spread of the gospel throughout "Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee" in consequence of "the persecution that arose about Stephen," is brought to a signal close by the conversion of the arch-persecutor, and a brief season (one year?) of "peace." He may well have conceived it to end with the first decade from the crucifixion, in A.D. 39; for which we may substitute 40 if the crucifixion be dated in 30.

3. The next 'panel' (9, 32-12, 24), which closed, as we have seen, with the persecution and death of Agrippa, covers the beginnings of (sporadic) Gentile conversions under Peter, and includes the founding of the church in Antioch. So far as internal indications go it might well be taken to require about five years in the view of the narrator. Certainly the event which brings it to so dramatic an end must be dated, as we have seen, in the summer of 44. In reality Agrippa's death took place but fourteen years and some months after the crucifixion, if we are right in dating the latter in 30 A.D. But as Luke seems to date it in 29 he probably counts fifteen and a fraction for the whole period, and five for the present 'panel' as well as for each of the two preceding. As the ultimate terminus falls about February 1 according to Acts 28, 11, 30, the entire story covers more nearly 31 than 30 years; but if the author considers the fractional ten months, they are about equally divided between the two halves of the book, since the death of Agrippa occurred several months after the Passover, which was the starting point.

With the exception of the founding of the church in Antioch and the connected incident of the sending famine-relief to Jerusalem (11, 19-30), this whole section is devoted to two incidents in the story of Peter related with exceptional detail in most graphic style. They are, *first*, his inauguration of work for the conversion of the Gentiles (9, 32-11, 18), and, *second*, his miraculous deliverance from the sword of the persecutor (12, 1-24). These two elements appear to be both taken from the same source, a narrative whose hero is Peter, and whose author shows such minute acquaintance with conditions in the mother church that it is commonly designated the Jerusalem source. The intervening verses (11, 19-30) on the other hand may be attributed to a source whose interests centre at Antioch. But the two sections from the Jerusalem source would also seem to have been inverted in order by Luke. For Peter is clearly assumed to be in permanent residence at Jerusalem throughout chapter 12 down to the point where he takes leave of James and departs "to another place"; whereas in the story of 9, 32-11, 18, especially in the Western form of the text of 11, 1f.,¹⁵ he is no longer a permanent resident of Jerusalem, but is occupied in visitation of "the saints" in "all parts" including Lydda, where the church already had its guild of "widows," and whence the whole plain of Sharon is evangelized (9, 35). Joppa, where "Simon the tanner" is Peter's host, and doubtless that of the church also, became his headquarters for so long a time that he is able to take "six brethren" from their number as his supporters and witnesses for the momentous occasions at Caesarea and Jerusalem (11, 12). It is true that we have no external means of dating the conversion of the centurion of the "Italian Cohort" stationed at Caesarea, since (as Torrey ap-

¹⁵ The β text has: "And report came to the Apostles and to the brethren that were in Judaea that the Gentiles also had received the word of God. Now Peter for a considerable time had wished to journey to Jerusalem. So when he had called the brethren unto him and had established them, making a long discourse, he (went) through the districts teaching them. And when he was come up to Jerusalem," etc. Either the α text obtains a closer adjustment to the context by trimming off the protruding corner (printed in italic) which still remained to resist a smooth bedding of the section in its new situation, or the β text shows consciousness of the duplication by imitating the parallels. Cf. 15, 2-3; 20, 17 ff.

pears to have shown in opposition to the present writer) the difficulties in the way of conceiving Cornelius in the situation here represented while the country was still under the rule of a (nominally) independent *socius rex*—difficulties which lead Preuschen to declare that the statement “must rest on some misunderstanding”¹⁶—are not insuperable. But there is further internal evidence for the transposition, and this has no unimportant bearing on our present enquiry.

Peter’s vision at Joppa, with the subsequent account of the planting of the gospel at Caesarea, and vindication of Peter’s course to the satisfaction of the authorities at Jerusalem even as to the question of “eating with the Gentiles” (11, 8), carries us far beyond the point of development reached by the general Lukan narrative. It is already a serious discrepancy that the source of 8, 40 (Antiochian?) attributes the beginnings of the church in Caesarea to Philip the evangelist; and this is confirmed by 21, 8, where Philip’s house in Caesarea becomes Paul’s abiding place. But in addition the revelation to Peter in the Jerusalem source is certainly not intended by the original writer for the restricted application made of it by the compiler. Peter is divinely instructed as to two things: *first*, That “God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him”; *second*, that his Jewish scruples against eating “anything common or unclean” are of human, not divine origin (10, 13–15), and should be no barrier to his “joining himself or coming unto one of another nation” (10, 28; *cf.* 11, 3). In other words we have a complete settlement on a basis more than Pauline in its liberalism of the entire question covered in the succeeding context from 11, 19 to 15, 29; and the settlement concerns not its first phase only (freedom of Gentiles from the Mosaic ordinances), but its second also (conduct of “the Jews which are among the Gentiles”). Thus all the great questions to whose working out the remainder of Acts is devoted already receive their authoritative and final decision by Divine revelation endorsed by official action of the mother church in this single story of how Peter planted the gospel among Gentiles in Caesarea.

¹⁶ Commentary, *ad loc.* in the *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*.

The settlements implied in the teaching of the vision that distinctions of meats are a human convention without warrant in the sight of the Creator¹⁷ and in the vindication of Peter on the score of having gone in to men uncircumcised and eaten with them (11, 9) are certainly anticipations relatively to the story of Luke, as well as irreconcilable with the story of Gal. 2, 11-12. But in the relation in which they now stand to the persecution and death of Agrippa (12, 1-24) they are almost as flagrant anticipations in the Jerusalem source itself. It is only part of the truth to say that Peter in 9, 32-11, 18 has ceased to be domiciled at Jerusalem. Consideration of the extreme amplitude and detail with which Peter's call to preach the gospel to the Gentiles is here divinely sanctioned, and all objection silenced in a manner quite surpassing anything Paul could relate, makes it insupposable that the author continued by relating that after the Conclave¹⁸ Peter merely settled down in Jerusalem until driven out by the persecution of Agrippa. The inference drawn by the Conclave, "Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life," looks forward to something greater. It is no more natural to think of Peter after all this going back and subsiding in Jerusalem to wait until Paul needs his testimony than it is to conceive the Council of Acts 15 settling all these questions over again after the Conclave of Acts 11, 1-18 has already settled them no less authoritatively and on a much broader basis. If, then, we place ourselves sympathetically at the original writer's point of view we shall see that *in the source* Peter after the Conclave must have followed the career implied in the utterance Luke himself places in his mouth in 15, 7: "Brethren, ye know how that God made choice among you that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe." Peter must not only have removed entirely from Jerusalem, taking his wife with him for extended journeys, as

¹⁷ For the broad appeal to divine principles seen in nature as superior to the conventions of Mosaic law, such as the distinctions of meats, compare Mark 7, 1-23 and 10, 1-10. "What God hath cleansed make not *thou* common" is an utterance cast in the same mould as "Ye make the word of God of none effect that ye may keep your tradition," and "What God hath joined together let not *men* put asunder."

¹⁸ The assembly of Acts 11, 1-18 is here distinguished from that of Acts 15, 1-35 by designating the former the Apostolic Conclave, the latter the Apostolic Council.

Paul expressly informs us in 1 Cor. 9, 5, but must have carried the gospel to the Gentiles in some such work of evangelization as is related in *The Preaching of Peter*, or in such an Apostolic progress to Caesarea and Antioch as the *Clementina* describe.

But granting that the Jerusalem source thus transferred to Peter the work which Paul tells us was explicitly recognized as his and not Peter's (Gal. 2, 7-9), why should it be necessary for Luke in employing it to make the alleged transposition? Try the experiment and the reason leaps to the eye. Place the two sections of the Jerusalem source in the order which consistency of internal development requires and the contradiction with the Antiochian source becomes unbearable. On the one side we shall have Jerusalem and the plain of Sharon from Joppa to Caesarea as the scene of expansion; on the other, Antioch and the provinces of Cyprus and South Galatia. On the one side a revelation of the Spirit sending Peter to the conversion of Cornelius; on the other a similar revelation sending Barnabas and Saul "to the work whereunto I have called them," which begins with the conversion of Sergius Paulus. On the one side a vindication of the evangelization of Gentiles by Peter accompanied by the "six brethren" of his new foundations in the plain of Sharon before the Jerusalem Conclave; on the other a vindication of it by Paul and Barnabas accompanied by "certain other" of the Antioch church before the Jerusalem Council. On the one side a settlement of the question on what terms a Jewish believer may "eat and associate" with "one of another nation" by deed and word — action corresponding to Peter's when he "ate with the Gentiles" at Antioch disregarding 'distinctions of meats' as man-made, coupled with a sweeping declaration that "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him"; on the other a settlement of it on the basis of the four "decrees" of abstinence; which aim to protect the entire body, Jewish and Gentile, from the "pollutions of idols," and which imply the continued validity of the distinctions (*ἐπιβάσεις*). On all points save the last it is the Antioch source which is substantially in the right, and the Jerusalem source which by the inextinguishable witness of the Pauline Epistles is in the wrong.

But it is simply inconceivable that any compiler should attempt to place the rival accounts of the great transition side by side, heedless of their flagrant inconsistencies. Unaltered, the two sources were incompatible. For such a compiler as Luke the remedy was self-evident. The course of Peter as related in the Jerusalem source must be in the main admitted (*cf.* 1, 8), but restricted in its application and treated as a mere precedent, pigeon-holed (as it were) until required for the ultimate solution. In short it was simply unavoidable that the story of expansion to the Gentiles in Acts 9, 32-11, 18 should be transposed, in spite of all its surviving implications of later and larger application, to the earlier time and more limited significance of Peter's occasional excursions from Jerusalem. The joint official action of Antioch and Jerusalem in the Apostolic Council must be, to Luke, the supreme and final settlement.

This admission of the claims of the Jerusalem source to the extent of conceding to Peter precedence over Paul as *inaugurator* of Gentile evangelization, while the actual work is *carried out* by Paul, involved Luke in two assumptions, both of which are flatly contradicted by Paul, and are more or less inconsistent with Luke's extracts from the sources themselves. *First*, he was obliged to transfer to Peter that title which was to Paul the very heart of his commission "not from men but from God," the title and commission of "Apostle to the Gentiles." Luke puts in Peter's (!) mouth the words, "God made choice among you (the Twelve) that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe." Paul is for him only the great "vessel of the Spirit" destined (when the way has been opened and the time is ripe) to carry on the work in partnership with Barnabas as commissioned evangelist¹⁹ of the church in Antioch. *Second*, Luke was also obliged to deny to Paul any attempt to evangelize Gentiles until after Barnabas had brought him to Antioch, and the two had been officially "appointed to the work whereunto God had called them." Such admissions as he makes

¹⁹ The title "Apostles" is restricted in Acts to the Twelve, and its conditions are so defined in 1, 21, 22 as to exclude Paul. The only exceptions are two references in the Antioch Source (14, 4, 14); but here Barnabas shares it with Paul showing that the missionaries are so called only in the ordinary sense, as 'delegates' of the Antioch church.

of preaching to the Gentiles before this time (Peter's special authorization excepted) are at least treated as questionable and unauthorized, if not denied altogether.²⁰ As we shall see, he appears even to have altered the reading of the Antioch source in 11, 20 to reach this result; while his treatment of the Hellenistic missions in his second 'panel' (chapter 8) is such as to indicate a determination to exclude if possible any actual admission of "men uncircumcised." How completely this puts his story in contradiction with Paul's own account in Gal. 1, 11-24 and 2, 1-10 needs no reiteration here. But the readers for whom Luke wrote were not supposed to consult Galatians; and if moderns do, they are quite content for the most part to do so with a veil upon their understanding, which whensoever Luke is read remaineth unlifted. On the other hand if Luke had carried his concessions to the Jerusalem source to the extent of adopting unaltered its representation of how the gospel was actually carried to the Gentiles he might perhaps have avoided contradicting Paul on the question of the "decrees" as the basis of protection from the "pollutions of idols"; but he would have robbed him of all that remained of his title to be called the Apostle to the Uncircumcision, and would have deprived Antioch of its chief glory as being the mother church of Gentile Christianity. As a compiler of discrepant sources, both of which obviously commanded high respect, and without access (as it would appear) to the great Epistles, it is difficult to see how Luke could have performed his task with greater skill or greater loyalty to each of his two great heroes.

We have again been compelled to digress at considerable length to the question of Luke's relation to his sources. But the bearing of the preceding considerations upon the Chronological Scheme of Acts will be at once apparent. Acts 12, 1-24 considered for itself alone, without reference to the preceding paragraph 11, 19-30 taken from the Antiochian source, would naturally be understood to cover a period of something over three years, viz., from Claudius' bestowal upon Agrippa of the authority, title, and territory of his grandfather, Herod the Great, early in 41, to the death of Agrippa in the (late?) summer of 44.

²⁰ See below, p. 155.

This may be somewhat obscured by the paragraphing in our printed texts and the sixteenth-century division into verses; but ancient texts such as the Codex Laudianus at Oxford make the division into lessons fall in the middle of 12, 19, the twenty-ninth lesson ending with the words "commanded that they should be put to death," and the thirtieth beginning, "Now he went down from Judaea to Caesarea and tarried there." Manifestly it was fully appreciated in ancient times that the story (apart from the editorial setting) assumes an interval of some length between the account of the crime against God's people and the judgment which ultimately befell the wrong-doer. In narrative for purposes of edification much longer intervals than this may be passed over without record for the greater sharpening of the moral, as when Hegesippus makes the besieging of Jerusalem by Vespasian follow "immediately" upon the martyrdom of the other James. Those authorities who, with Harnack, have perceived that in 12, 1 ff. the (original) writer is describing (quite correctly) the initial policy of Agrippa on his accession to power in Jerusalem, viz., an obsequious attempt to win the favor of the Pharisees without incurring too much obloquy from other elements or provoking Roman intervention, are on safer ground than those who date the persecution at the very end of Agrippa's reign; whether to reduce the discrepancy with the mention of the famine in 11, 27-30, or because they can see no room for an interval after 12, 19a. But the compiler of Acts as it now stands, if he has arranged the story of Petrine activity in its first half to cover three periods of five years each, undoubtedly intends his third rubric (12, 24) to mark the fifteenth year from the date assumed for the crucifixion. His introduction of a paragraph (11, 19-30) on the beginnings of Christianity in northern Syria is doubtless due to his desire to include within this period of the spread of the gospel from Gaza to the Taurus the founding and early years of the great church of Antioch. But his suppression of all deliberately purposed undertakings of Gentile evangelization until Antioch sends forth Saul and Barnabas on the First Missionary Journey (Acts 13, 1 ff.) is more than a forced harmonic device for the adjustment of conflicting sources. It coincides with Luke's own heart-felt conviction emphatically ex-

pressed throughout his work, and wide-spread in many forms in ancient Christian apologetic, that opportunity must first be given to the Jews to hear the message and repent, before it was right to "turn to the Gentiles." Ancient tradition, traceable to a period contemporary with Acts if not older, even specifies the duration of this special *locus poenitentiae* accorded to Israel. In a fragment of the so-called *Preaching of Peter* quoted by Clement of Alexandria, Jesus after the resurrection commands the Twelve as he sends them forth: "If any man of Israel willeth to repent and put his trust in God through the efficacy of my name, his sins shall be forgiven. *After twelve years* go forth into the world, that no man may say (in excuse), We did not hear."²¹ Harnack is surely correct in maintaining that this tradition has not been without its influence upon the Lukan postponement of work among the Gentiles till the First Missionary Journey.

We need scarcely invite renewed attention to Luke's well-known inconsistency on this score with Paul. Galatians informs us with the greatest emphasis that from the moment of his conversion Paul had given himself systematically and exclusively to the conversion of the Gentiles. Acts describes all his work up to the time of his appointment by the church in Antioch as limited on principle to Greek-speaking *Jews*. It requires a special vision in the temple according to Acts 22, 17-21 to dissuade Paul from his attempt to labor in Jerusalem. According to Acts 9, 29, 30 he yielded only to mob violence when finally driven to take refuge first in Caesarea and thereafter in Tarsus. Even here nothing is said of work among Gentiles. Paul merely remains in hiding until summoned by Barnabas to Antioch. Luke goes so far, apparently, as to alter the reading of his source in 11, 20; for the context makes it quite obvious that the "men of Cyprus and Cyrene" who carried

²¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi, 5, 43. Von Dobschütz, who edits the fragments in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xi, 1 dates the work so early as 90 A.D. The embodied tradition is probably older. It appears in several diverse forms (see Harnack, *Chronologie*, i, 243 f., 472 f.). In Harnack's judgment 90 A.D. is too early for the *Preaching* (which, however, he would admit to be identical with the *Teaching* (*Doctrina*) of Peter quoted according to Origen by Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 3, 2), but the "twelve year" tradition, which is calculated to end in A.D. 41 or 42 (persecution of Agrippe) "may well be historical" (p. 244).

the gospel to Antioch in the "tribulation that arose about Stephen" did *not* confine themselves to evangelizing Greek-speaking Jews ('Ελληνοισται), but "spake to the Greeks ('Ελληνες) also." So clearly is this sense required by the context that all the later manuscripts, the ancient versions, and even modern translators adopt the reading "Greeks"; although the textual evidence is convincing that Luke actually wrote "Greek-speaking Jews" ('Ελληνοιστάς) as his theory requires.²² We may conclude, then, that he means the great transition to be marked by the persecution and death of Agrippa, both of which are related between the coming and going of Paul and Barnabas, and are immediately followed by the story of how they with Mark, whom they had brought with them from Jerusalem, were sent out on the First Missionary Journey. After this crisis in Jerusalem, Antioch, through these its commissioned agents, became the mother-church of Gentile Christianity. Luke's date for this turning point of Christian history, is, as we have seen, *fifteen* years from the crucifixion. That of his source was the traditional *twelve*. The difference arises from the fact that the Jerusalem source takes the persecution which resulted in the death of James, imprisonment of Peter, and affliction of others in the church, as marking the limit. As in the Antiochian source the martyrdom of Stephen and connected "afflictions" had spread the gospel abroad (8, 1, 4; 11, 19) so also in the Jerusalem source. The cup of Israel's obduracy is now made full and Peter is free to go "to another place" (12, 17).²³ Luke, on the other hand takes the death of the persecutor as his terminal point. The source, as Harnack has seen, contemplates a date shortly after the accession of Agrippa, early in 41, or, in other words "twelve years" after the crucifixion.²⁴ Luke knows, of

²² See B. B. Warfield, 'The Readings 'Ελληνες and 'Ελληνοιστάς in Acts 11, 20,' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, iii, 115-127.

²³ An exodus of members of the conservatively minded Jerusalem church after the death of James in 41-42 falls in very well with Paul's reference in Gal. 2, 4 to the incoming of "false brethren who came in privily to spy out the liberty in Christ Jesus" enjoyed by Gentile Christians in Syria and Cilicia, an invasion which soon led (in 45?) to his appeal to the Pillars and the resulting Compact (Gal. 2, 1-10; cf. 6, 12).

²⁴ The source probably counts from Passover to Passover (cf. 12, 4), and therefore aims at an exact fulfilment of the traditional "twelve years." It is possible, however,

course, that Agrippa's death took place in the summer of 44, and assumes that the persecution to which it was the wrathful answer of God was but shortly before. Both source and compiler probably make Passover 29 A.D. their point of departure.

There would seem thus to be no doubt of Luke's intention to take the year 44 as the terminus for his third 'panel'; nor have we adequate reason to think of either more or less than five years as his conception of its duration.

4. If the theory we are testing be correct, the period between Acts 12, 24 (third rubric) and 16, 5 (fourth rubric), covering the First Missionary Journey and Settlement of the Mosaic Controversy, is also a period of approximately five years in the intention of the author.²⁸ The reason for the placing of the fourth rubric after the visit of Paul and Silas to the churches of the First Missionary Journey, instead of immediately at the close of the Jerusalem Council, is, of course, that the author follows the model of 11, 1 ff. in making the Council take its origin from this missionary adventure, instead of from the differences at Antioch whose beginnings are referred to in 11, 22, and whose culmination is described by Paul in Gal. 2, 11-13. The episode is therefore not complete until Paul and Silas have distributed the Council's "decrees" to these churches "for to keep" (Acts 16, 4). The decrees themselves, which solve the whole question of Jewish-Christians eating and associating with Gentile-Christians not subject to the Mosaic ordinances, by protecting both parties from "the pollutions of idols," are limited in their address to "the brethren who are of the Gentiles in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia." They are *not*, therefore, intended for the distribution which Luke reports, and which is so notoriously difficult to reconcile with Paul's own settlement of the vexed question. The address calls for a slightly earlier date, before this important new province (South Galatia) had come into the foreground. We may reasonably suppose that they were drawn up at Jerusalem, at the instance of James, to meet the situation that the Passover of the persecution is intended to be that of Agrippa's *second* year (42), in which case we reach a date for the crucifixion (A.D. 30) in better accord with the data of astronomy and the Jewish calendar system.

²⁸ Turner (*op. cit.* p. 422a) makes it end ca. November 1, 48; Ramsay (*Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 65-78) in July 49.

created by the conduct of Peter at Antioch on the visit which Luke passes over in silence, but which Paul relates as occurring shortly after his compact with the 'Pillars' at Jerusalem. Of this visit we obtain a hint even in Acts; for Acts itself relates Mark's return to Jerusalem from Perga, midway of the First Missionary Journey, and mentions his renewed presence in Antioch just before the Second Journey (Acts 15, 37-38); but it fails to explain why, how, or with whom, he went from Jerusalem a second time to Antioch. We infer that it was with Peter.

At Antioch Peter adopted first the Pauline interpretation of the agreement with the 'Pillars,' that "the Jews which are among the Gentiles" shall be "as without the law," disregarding entirely the Mosaic distinctions, since the law as a whole is "done away in Christ." But the consequences of this example would be fatal to Jewish Christian 'purity' outside of Palestine itself. Wherever believing Jews found themselves "among the Gentiles" they would be "compelled" to Hellenize. Some sort of action at Jerusalem giving authoritative expression to the interpretation the Pillars put upon the Compact²⁶ was absolutely imperative if any hold whatever was to be retained upon "the Jews which are among the Gentiles." The Pillars' interpretation was entirely simple and intelligible: Gentiles are free from the law; Jews are bound. The natural — the unavoidable inference for men who did not appreciate or accept Paul's peculiar doctrine of "dying to the law"—was that some concession must be made by the "brethren which are of the Gentiles." Abstinence was "necessary" (*ἐκτάναγκες*) from at least the four²⁷ things which involve "the pollutions of idols." Peter's action at Antioch called forth a delegation "from James" so authoritative as to overawe even Peter (*φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς*), but who at the same time bore injunctions so plausible as to carry with them "even Barnabas" as well as "all the rest of the Jews" and (apparently) the entire Antioch church.

²⁶ We designate as the Compact the agreement described in Gal. 2, 6-10 as sealed by "right hands of fellowship."

²⁷ Three, if "things strangled" be a gloss.

We can find no other situation so perfectly adapted as this crisis of Peter's "eating with the Gentiles" at Antioch for the convening of the Jerusalem Council, which according to Acts 15, 12-35 makes final settlement of the entire question of the relations of Jews and Gentiles in the Church. It is true that neither Peter (whose conduct was in dispute), Paul, nor Barnabas can have been present; as indeed we cannot imagine Paul consenting to the compromise, or even recognizing the right of the Jerusalem leaders to "lay burdens," whether "greater" or smaller, upon his Gentile converts. Paul might well ignore the whole proceeding both in Galatians and later when minutely treating the whole subject for the Corinthians (1 Cor. 8-10), and less fully for the Romans (Rom. 14-15). On the other hand neither Peter, Barnabas, nor the church at Antioch would be likely to regard such action "from James" as *ultra vires*, since nothing more is intended than an application of the Compact as they must certainly have understood it ²⁸ to the specific case which had arisen through Peter's coming to Antioch. Least of all should we be surprised to find an Antiochian writer such as Luke, dependent upon Antiochian and Petrine sources, ignoring the unpleasantness which had taken place between his two principal heroes, and treating the Jerusalem Council as responsible for a complete settlement of the entire question, wholly satisfactory to all the parties concerned except the unauthorized advocates of circumcision who had "troubled (the Gentile believers) with words subverting their souls." As regards date, the Council falls toward the close of the fourth 'panel,' the distribution of the "decrees" in the cities of the First Missionary Journey being the last event narrated before the refrain of 16, 5. On the theory now in question this would correspond to the year 48 A.D. Such possible reference as may be found in Gal. 2, 12 to the same assembly presents no chronological obstacle. So far as the modern chronographer can judge, A.D. 44-49 appears to be unexceptionable as a date for this period, whether as regards the time needful for the incidents

²⁸ In the period of Augustine the understanding of the compact of Gal. 21, 1-10 is still correct: Gentiles qui in Christo credidissent legis onere liberos, eos autem qui ex Judæis crederent legi esse subjectos.

narrated as the author would be apt to view them, or absolutely, as fitting in with the course of events as otherwise known.²⁹

No other external data are available for the period save the famine, already considered.

5. In the fifth period, marked off by the rubrics of Acts 16, 5 and 19, 20, Luke is more generous than hitherto with indications of the lapse of time. It is the period of the founding of the Greek churches, with Corinth and Ephesus as the chief centres of Pauline evangelization. Acts 18, 11 informs us that "a year and six months" was the length of Paul's stay in the former centre, and Acts 19, 10 gives "two years" as the length of time for the evangelization of "all that dwelt in Asia" from the latter. In the speech of farewell to the Ephesian leaders at Miletus Paul sets "three years" as the period during which they had had opportunity to test his character. This doubtless is intended to include the "three months" of work in the synagogue before Paul "separated the disciples" (19, 8), and perhaps also the interval between his first coming (18, 19) and his return from a journey to Syria (18, 21-23). If we estimate at six months the time spent on the missionary journey through Macedonia and Achaia (Acts, 16, 6-17, 34), we shall probably do no injustice to Luke's intention. In Turner's reckoning the period covers almost exactly five years.³⁰ By absolute dating we should reach practically the same results starting from spring of 50 A.D. as the date for the Apostle's arrival at Corinth required by the Delphi inscription.

6. The starting point for the last period of Luke's story is Paul's departure from Ephesus for a final tour of confirmation of the Greek churches before the fatal journey to Jerusalem. If he really has a five-year division in mind it must extend, then, from A.D. 54 to A.D. 59. Now the journey to Macedonia and Achaia (19, 21), may be assumed to begin about Pentecost, as 1 Cor. 16, 8 shows to have been Paul's intention. It is followed the next winter by "three months" in Corinth (20, 3).

²⁹ The years 51 and 52 are not possible for the proconsulship of Sergius Paulus (Turner, *op. cit.*).

³⁰ From Passover A.D. 50 to the spring, A.D. 55, *op. cit.* p. 422a and b.

The earlier months of the next year (55 up to "Pentecost"; 20, 16) are spent on the journey to Jerusalem. They are followed by "two years" of captivity in Caesarea (24, 27) counting from "twelve days" after Pentecost A.D. 55 (Acts 24,11). The prison days in Caesarea extend till the coming of Festus in 57. As Luke speaks only of intervals of "days" ("three days," verse 1, "eight or ten days," verse 6, "certain days," verse 13, "many days," verse 14) after the coming of Festus it is natural, though perhaps not necessary, to assume that he understands the journey to Rome, which began shortly before "the Fast," *i.e.*, about October 1, to have been undertaken the same year (A.D. 57). In this case Paul's arrival in Rome would fall early in A.D. 58 (Acts 28, 11-13). After this we hear of a period of "two whole years" during which he is permitted to occupy his own hired house without molestation, but no special event is mentioned as its terminus, and the book ends without a repetition of the summarizing rubric. It is possible, therefore, that there was less care in this case to make the division fall just five years before the end. At all events the numerous data cannot easily be put together without reaching a total of thirty years and nine months, bringing the story down to a final absolute date about February 1, A.D. 60.

To all this, external synchronisms such as the recall of Felix²¹ (A.D. 55-56 Harnack, 57-58 Turner) offer no obstacle. But what must be our verdict upon the proposal of Cadoux to regard the summaries of Acts as intended to divide the story into periods of five years each?

The fact that the closing periods of the two halves of the book bring us to points some months later than the starting point should be a warning not to look for a mechanical and rigid framework. It would have been easy for a compiler who desired to bring his material into such a Procrustean bed to count back from his closing date in such a manner as to make Paul's departure from Corinth (Acts 20, 3) the dividing line, and thus obtain a more exact proportion. The fact that he

²¹ The reference in Acts 24, 10 to Felix, "many years as judge of this people," may well include the period before his sole procuratorship, when he shared its responsibilities with Cumanus.

chooses rather the Apostle's departure from Ephesus, including the journey of confirmation through Macedonia and Achaia in the last 'panel,' shows that he prefers to group his material with reference to contents; for the preceding 'panel,' which began with the setting forth of Paul and Silas from the territory evangelized on the First Missionary Journey, is occupied throughout with the story of the founding of the Greek churches on both sides of the Aegean. On the other hand the Jerusalem Council (48) would have been a more natural terminus had he not really wished to complete the pentad from 44. At the lower limit the refrain of 19, 20 is followed by a proleptic forecast of the remainder of the story in 19, 21, giving conclusive evidence that to Luke's mind the new phase of Paul's activity represented by the journeys first to "Macedonia and Achaia," then "to Jerusalem," finally to "Rome," begins at this point.

On the whole it can hardly be accidental that the main division at 12, 24 so nearly subdivides the work chronologically into two parts of approximately fifteen years each, while each of these halves falls into three equal parts through the refrains of 6, 7 and 9, 31; 16, 5 and 19, 20. In all these cases five years is a probable allowance of time for the events narrated, and in those which we can best control the dates are found almost exact. If with Turner we take A.D. 29 to be Luke's starting point he will probably have set the crucifixion one year too early; but his central date, terminating the work of Peter, will extend but a very few months beyond the total of fifteen years, while 34 and 39 A.D. will be entirely appropriate termini for the periods of the founding of the mother-church in Jerusalem and of the spread of the gospel through "Judaea, Galilee, and Samaria" respectively. For the duration of the work of Paul described in the second half of the book Turner thinks it possible to fix "a period of fourteen years, certainly not less, and apparently not more." For this, however, he takes as the starting point not the rubric itself of 12, 24, but the appointment of Paul and Barnabas to their work of Gentile evangelization in 13, 2, making at this point "a considerable interval" to allow for the 'famine-relief' visit, which had been placed too early by Luke, and must necessarily come after (according to

Turner two years after) the death of Agrippa. This "considerable interval" must therefore be added to the period "certainly not less and probably not more than fourteen years" which in Turner's judgment represents the duration of the three 'panels' of the second half.

But it is not our present problem to determine the correctness or incorrectness of Luke's order. Our primary question is only whether, taking the story as he relates it, the events of 12, 25-28, 31 would reasonably fall within the compass of fifteen years. Since no such allowance as the several years assigned by Turner, but at most a few months are required for the interval between 12, 24 and 13, 2, we may take fifteen years as a very close approximation, perhaps the closest possible, to the period of time the historian had actually in mind. In addition we have already seen that the story of the founding of the Greek churches, closed by the rubric of 19, 20, covers as nearly as possible five years, and that of the beginnings of missions to the Gentiles, closed by the rubric of 16, 5, approximately the same period. It is difficult to deny the probability that the compiler of the work has really intended these divisions to mark some such periods of time.

The further question whether the Lukan chronology agrees with the Pauline, and how the data on both sides are to be adjusted to external dates with reference to obtaining an absolute chronology, is matter for later consideration. The preliminary step is perhaps not ill-advised of determining the chronological structure of Acts, taken as the author himself would appear to have conceived it. From the point of view thus defined the datings of salient events would seem to be substantially as follows:

Crucifixion	A.D. 29
Death of Stephen	34
Conversion of Paul	38
Escape from Damascus	38
Famine	about 44
Death of Agrippa	44
Visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem	44-45
First Missionary Journey	45-47
Jerusalem Council	48
Second Missionary Journey	49-51

Paul's Arrival in Corinth.....	January-March	A.D. 50
Three years in 'Asia'.....		51-54
Winter in Corinth.....	January-March	55
Arrest in Jerusalem.....	May	55
Imprisonment in Caesarea.....		55-57
Recall of Felix.....		57
Departure for Rome.....	October	57
Arrival at Rome.....	January-February	58
End of "two years" of semi-liberty.....	February	60

THE RELIGIOUS AND MORAL SITUATION IN FRANCE

VICTOR MONOD¹

PARIS

IN reading various American periodicals I have noted the interest with which French affairs are followed on the other side of the ocean, but American observers seem to be somewhat uncertain in their opinions about contemporary France and particularly to be baffled by the internal policy of France. For this policy differs profoundly from that which was pursued before the war. The attitude of the French government in religious affairs has been considerably modified. It may therefore interest American readers to learn something about the great currents by which the religious and moral spirit of France are today borne along, and to try to divine their probable outcome.

I

The dominant fact beyond question is the political supremacy of the peasant class. The destinies of France have always been subject to the influence of two very different social elements, the population of the cities and the population of the country.

The rural population has always been numerically by far the more important; France is essentially a nation of peasants. But before the war the political and intellectual guidance of the country was in the hands of the urban population, notwithstanding its numerical inferiority.

The French peasants, very industrious but often very poor, were engrossed in hard labor in the fields. The working-men and the people of the middle class filled the whole political

¹ M. Victor Monod, who at the request of the editors of the Review has written this survey of the present religious and moral conditions in France, visited the United States in 1917-18 with a delegation representing the French Protestant Churches. He served during the war as a chaplain in the army; and is now the minister of a large church in one of the residential suburbs of Paris.

stage, and their ideas and prejudices were taken to be those of the whole French people.

Fifteen years ago, in most of the cities, these ideas were in general anticlerical and even antireligious. There were societies of free-thinkers whose members pledged to one another their word of honor never to set foot in a church and not to summon a priest at the hour of death. It seemed self-evident that an intelligent man could not believe in God. M. Poincaré, the future President of the Republic, speaking of Professor William James's book on the *Varieties of Religious Experience* said in the French Academy: "We hear these narratives with the same kind of interest with which men listen to the tales of travellers recounting strange journeys in the heart of Africa!"

The rural populations retained more respect for the Church and religious things, but they were unable or unwilling to oppose the separation of Church and State somewhat rudely effected in 1906, by which all the churches of France were left in a very precarious situation from a legal point of view and prevented from creating for themselves a solid financial organization.

Now all at once the war has brought the rural population of France into the primacy of influence. It has gained this rank in the first place by its immense sacrifices. It was the peasants far more than the industrial laborers who shed their blood. Of one million four hundred thousand dead, one million were peasants.

In the smallest rural communes of France are to be seen to-day memorial monuments, inscribed with the long lists of those who died for their country. "Passer-by, bow thy head," reads a beautiful funerary stone erected in a little village in the valley of the Garonne, "There were sixty-five men of this village who died for thy freedom." The village had fifteen hundred inhabitants. In another village of three hundred inhabitants, twenty-two were lost. Of another rural commune, the schoolmistress wrote as early as April, 1916, "Here the men between twenty and thirty have all been killed except two."

But while the war carried off a million French peasants it did not a little to develop and emancipate this whole social

class, which is the prop and stay of French society. In his furloughs the peasant travelled everywhere in France; he is acquainted with Paris and the large cities where he was treated in the hospitals. He learned to handle the most delicate and the most dangerous weapons in the trenches. He knows the value of words and the value of things. Henceforth he will not allow his vote to be captured by lawyers from the town; he has his own ideas and looks for men to represent them.

And above all the French peasant has today large material interests to protect, for he has gained prodigiously in wealth.

During the war it was among the manufacturers and laborers in the cities, among the ammunition makers, that most of the profiteers and *nouveaux riches* were found; but since the armistice French industries have slowly become involved in difficulties, and the wages of the working-men in cities have been somewhat reduced, while the peasant has seen the price of the products of the soil steadily rise.

To stimulate the production of wheat, the government promised to buy the harvest at a price fixed in advance, and in 1920 this price was one thousand francs the metric ton, which was four times the price before the war. The French peasant has also rapidly freed his land from the mortgages by which it was encumbered, and has in very many cases become a proprietor. In one poor arrondissement the peasants in 1919 bought land to the value of ten millions of francs, in another arrondissement nineteen millions, and it is not an extravagant estimate that peasants invested in land in the course of the first year after the armistice three milliards of francs.

Thus France in 1921 is very different from that of 1914. The peasant, grown rich, has become a landed proprietor and profoundly conservative. The Chamber of Deputies elected in 1919 is the most conservative that has been seen for more than twenty years, and has in it the largest number of millionaire deputies. The influence of the city agitators has been completely annihilated by the resolute determination of the peasant class to secure social stability. The socialist party in France has lost much of its power. The railway strike attempted in May, 1920, totally failed, and resulted in the dissolution by

law of the General Federation of Labor, which was proclaimed amid popular indifference. The industrial crisis came in to accelerate the downfall of the French socialist party, now much divided and numerically greatly weakened. The true dictator is today the producer of wheat, milk, meat — the peasant of France.

II

The new situation has favored the growth of the influence of the Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church has always seemed to many Frenchmen to be the bulwark of order and social discipline, and as soon as the results of the legislative elections of 1919 were known, all those who felt which way the wind blew said, "France is going to re-establish relations with Rome."

The first argument that was offered in favor of sending a representative of the French Republic to the Vatican was excellent.

Since the separation of Church and State France has always had to have a semi-official representative to treat with the papal authority on certain matters. In its colonial expansion, for instance, France came into the possession of territories in which the religious interests of Catholics had been committed by the Pope to foreign religious orders. This was the case particularly with Morocco, where the Vatican had conferred on the Spanish clergy the exclusive right to exercise the functions of the Catholic ministry. It was necessary to negotiate directly with the Pope to obtain for French Catholic priests the right to exercise their functions in that French territory. And above all the victory of 1918, which restored Alsace and Lorraine to France restored to it a territory in which the Concordat signed by Napoleon in 1802, that is to say an agreement between the Pope and the civil government, was still in force. It was impossible to apply the Law of Separation to Alsace and Lorraine immediately. But it was equally impossible to leave things as they were because the bishops of Strasbourg and Metz, the two heads of the Catholic Church in Alsace and Lorraine, were of German extraction. It was indispensable

that they should be replaced by French bishops. And this result could not be brought about without conference with the Vatican, the only power competent to nominate Catholic bishops and priests.

Immediately after the armistice, Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, was sent by the French government to Rome to negotiate for the replacement of the two bishops. In this mission he succeeded, and on the 24th of April, 1919, the *Journal Officiel* of the French Republic published a decree signed by M. Poincaré and M. Clemenceau, naming Mgr. Ruch and Mgr. Pelt bishops of Strasbourg and Metz respectively.

Practical considerations of this sort made an impression on a great many deputies, including even non-Catholics, and it seemed to them essential from the point of view of foreign affairs that France should be represented at the Vatican, not as heretofore in a semi-official and precarious fashion, but officially by an ambassador.

This matter played a considerable part in the election of M. Deschanel to the presidency of the Republic. A certain number of Catholic deputies were bent upon securing a resumption of official relations with the Vatican. M. Clemenceau showed little enthusiasm for this project, and had declared in the lobbies of the Chamber, "With *that* Pope, never!" M. Deschanel, on the contrary, showed himself favorable to the plan, and this attitude brought him some additional votes which assured his election. Immediately after the election of M. Deschanel, Pope Benedict XV sent to the new president a congratulatory telegram.

A few weeks later, on the 11th of March, 1920, the government of M. Millerand introduced into the Committee of the Chamber an appropriation bill for the re-establishment of the embassy to the Vatican.

The discussion of the proposed law was however delayed for several months, and at one time it seemed as though it would have great difficulty in going through.

But at its session in November, 1920, the Chamber of Deputies formally decided to discuss the business at once, and on November 30 the government's bill for the establishment of

an embassy at the Vatican passed by a vote of 397 to 209. The discussion which preceded the vote on the bill was extremely interesting. It was easy to see that some deputies were in favor of it solely for reasons of foreign policy, while others on the contrary saw in the bill a new orientation of the internal policy of France. The Abbé Lemire, in particular, showed that one of the first consequences of the resumption of official relations with the Vatican would be the necessity of giving a legal status to the Catholic Church in France, and of modifying or complementing the Law of Separation of Church and State.

The Law of Separation of December 10, 1905, was a unilateral act; the Vatican never officially received a denunciation of the Concordat on the part of the French government. After the passage of the law, the French government ceased to pay a stipend to Catholic bishops and priests, and theoretically took no interest in their appointment. The Catholic churches were left at the disposal of the faithful by mere toleration. But in a legal point of view these edifices are in a very uncertain situation, and the destruction wrought by the war, which makes necessary the rebuilding of hundreds of Catholic churches in the devastated regions, has emphasized the precarious character of this situation. Whose property will those churches be, when they are rebuilt by the gifts of the faithful?

It is easy to perceive the danger of considerations of this kind. If France should modify the Law of Separation of 1905, discussions and controversies without number will arise and the public peace runs the risk of being seriously compromised. The operation of the law of 1905, notwithstanding all its defects, has given France religious peace. What would a modification of that law bring? All sorts of extravagant demands are possible. Certain Catholic deputies have already spoken of the necessity of giving to the Church an indemnity for the money loss which it sustained in 1905. They revive a claim long asserted in the Catholic Church, namely that the payment to Catholic priests and bishops by the French State is a debt which it owes them in compensation for the surrender of ecclesiastical properties in 1789. In short, there have reap-

peared in these discussions some of the most extreme claims of the Catholic Church, and the discussion leaves the impression that this bill might be followed by others no less important.

The President of the Council, M. Georges Leygues, has declared that the laws of the Republic are not to be meddled with, and that so long as he was the head of the government nothing should be done to impair them; but he was not willing to commit himself definitely in regard to the consequences of sending an ambassador to the Vatican.

In the course of the discussion one of the arguments most frequently advanced by opponents of the plan was the outrageously neutral attitude — at times even an attitude favorable to the Germans — of Pope Benedict XV. Neither the entreaties of Cardinal Mercier of Belgium nor the presence of an English minister, Sir Henry Howard, who was secretly intrusted with the interests of France, were able to bring the Pope to pronounce an explicit condemnation of the way the Germans carried on the war and their deeds of violence in Belgium.

Why should victorious France re-establish relations with the Pope who had refused to do her justice in the hour of peril?

Curiously enough a Catholic deputy, M. Louis Guibal, took it into his head to justify the reserved and timid attitude of the Pope during the war by comparing it with that of the American nation. He recalled the fact that France had to wait a long time for American intervention; that it had for many months by repeated and numerous missions to strive to interest the American people in the justice of the Allied cause. He recalled that President Wilson is reported to have said in church in New York that it was not in the power of any wise man to pronounce a judgment, and that the part of neutrals was to bring the enemies together, rather than to aggravate their quarrels by taking the side of any one of those who are engaged in the struggle.

Words, says M. Guibal, whose wisdom was not at that time disputed by anyone, falling from the lips of the man whose moral leadership seemed for a moment about to replace even that of the occupant of the Vatican, and become universal — words uttered in perfect good-faith, words which even now I do not assume the right to criticise, still less to condemn. I conceive

that at the moment when that great citizen uttered these words they corresponded, it may be to the ignorance in which he still was about certain facts, or to the profound conviction that a power of a moral order, when it is, and is bound to remain, neutral, was bound to preserve an equal respect for those whom it was not competent to condemn, if it had not in its hands the evidence which would permit it to do so.

This attempt to justify the too cautious attitude of the Vatican will probably surprise Americans as much as it surprised Frenchmen. If it be true that President Wilson long hesitated to take sides during the war, it is also true that when the facts made the right clear to him, he did take sides with the utmost determination, and that when the decision was once made, the American nation followed its President with an incomparable energy and will to win the war. On the contrary, no word, no deed, no crime could shake Pope Benedict's resolve to maintain silence. Our American readers will understand after this quotation how strongly resolved the French Catholic deputies are today to restore the moral prestige of the Pope in the face of public opinion which was alienated from him during the war. They will understand also how greatly public opinion in France has changed since the day when President Wilson was acclaimed in Paris. At that moment the moral supremacy of America in France was uncontested, and it seemed as if the Protestant powers, the United States and England, were going to give to European nations their own moral ideal.

The disillusionment caused by the refusal of the American Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and become an active member of the League of Nations has led some minds to turn back to the Catholic Church, which on other grounds attracted all those who were alarmed by the spread of democratic ideas. The comparison drawn by M. Guibal has this much truth in it, that the moral leadership of Europe has already partially reverted from the American nation to the Roman Papacy.

There may be observed, in fact, a general campaign in Europe and in France, the object of which is to elevate the material position of the Papacy, and above all to give it political guarantees which at present it lacks. The dream of some would be to make use of the League of Nations to settle the territorial and political status of the Papacy. Thus, by an un-

expected turn, the League of Nations would serve to strengthen the position of the Vatican.

The following noteworthy declaration was issued in October, 1920, by the Catholic Press Bureau, which represents the most exalted aspirations of the French Catholic world:

The day may come when Italy would consent to have the status of the Papacy made the subject of discussions between the two parties, instead of being evolved by a Parliament, and when it was revised to have it receive the collective assent of all the Powers. The independence of the Pope would thus be guaranteed by the unanimous signature of all Christendom; it would assume the aspect, no longer of an Italian question, but of an international question. It would be one of those political realities in support of which the League of Nations would interpose with all the weight of its influence at any time when there was reason to apprehend that the territorial power installed in Rome might fail to keep its agreements. Political thinkers who have faith in the League of Nations are inclined to admit that under certain circumstances it might, in the name of certain principles of higher equity, limit the absoluteness of national sovereignty, and oppose the arbitrary exercise of such sovereign powers. A novel conception, certainly, and singularly contrary to the jealous claims of the old *Raison d'Etat*! But Italy would give a good example to the world by accepting this friendly coöperation of the League of Nations for the moral security of Christian opinion. A great step would then be made toward the establishment of the *Pax Romana*.

This *Pax Romana* encounters, it is true, vigorous resistance in France itself. The law providing for the sending of an ambassador to the Vatican filed in March, 1920, was not passed by the Chamber of Deputies until November 30. It still awaits ratification by the Senate, and it does not seem that the ministry of M. Briand is in any great haste to see it carried through. Most probably it will be enacted by a small majority; but the opposition of those who are against the resumption of official relations with the Vatican will deprive this result of much of the significance the proposal at first seemed to have. It will remain an act prompted by foreign policy, and will not mark a radical modification of the religious policy of France. It is extremely unlikely that France will ever adopt a Catholic policy, seeking to create in Europe a Catholic *bloc* by an alliance with the populations on the Rhine, Bavaria, and Austria, concluded under the auspices of the Vatican, as some have unwisely dreamed. France will continue as heretofore to make of its entente with England and the United States the basis of a

democratic and progressive policy. The republican form of government is above all attacks, and cannot hereafter be overthrown. The war has indeed taught the French Republic the importance of religious and moral factors in the world. The heads of the French government are today more regardful of the influence of the churches — the Protestant churches as well as the Roman Catholic Church — and are more polite in dealing with the powers of the churches. They will send an ambassador to the pope. But no one could dream today of extinguishing the proud spirit of intellectual independence and the liberal convictions of French citizens. France will remain the great democratic hearth-stone of Europe, the nation that best preserves its poise between autocracy on the right and demagogic anarchy on the left.

III

While social and political circumstances are thus in certain ways favorable to progress in the churches of France, it must not be forgotten that a grave difficulty threatens to paralyze their efforts, namely, the acute difficulty in the filling up the ranks of the clergy. Catholic churches and Protestant churches alike are today confronted by the same difficulty — heavy losses in men through the war, lamentably insufficient support for the ministry. In the country the recruiting of the clergy has almost completely stopped. While a peasant earns very large wages, the Catholic priest sometimes receives only six francs a day, and a Protestant pastor with a family to support, ten or twelve francs. Here also the war, by bringing the whole male population of France in contact with city life and disclosing to them all the gains of industrial callings, broke up the traditions of country life. The children of the soil no longer set their ambition on entering the ranks of the clergy. In certain rural dioceses the recruiting of the Catholic clergy has sunk almost to zero. Aged priests are serving two or three parishes; what will happen after their death? Cardinal Amette said, "Give us priests, churches, schools, but above all priests!"

The war, it is true, developed a mind for religious things in a great many men who lived for long months with the thought

of death daily present to them. This has led many grown men to the religious calling. The great Catholic Seminary of Paris has in 1921 about 360 students, a number which it had never before reached. And what is still more remarkable, among these 360 students there are 85 who had already made their start in another profession. We find among them a colonel of the general staff, fifty officers of the army, four naval officers, six engineers, manufacturers, tradesmen, etc. The resort of students has been so great that it has been found necessary to decline to admit forty foreign applicants of English speech and numerous Orientals. Thus the large cities are furnishing numerous candidates of every age to the priesthood, and if the recruiting of the Catholic clergy taken as a whole remains insufficient, it may be hoped that the lack of numbers may be compensated in a measure by the quality of the recruits.

The Protestant churches have had a similar experience. They also have difficulty in finding pastors for the country churches. But upon the benches of their seminaries also sit officers, men wearing the ribbon of the Legion of Honor, grown men laying aside a profession upon which they had already entered to serve the church. The number of theological seminaries has been raised since the armistice from two to three; Strasbourg having been added to Paris and Montpellier. And in addition to the seminaries, various theological schools have been opened especially for the training of evangelists, missionaries, young women, and the like. The number of students of Protestant theology in 1921 is materially larger than 1914, it reaches almost 150 — a high figure, when it is remembered that the number of active pastors is only 1100. But these recruits do not yet suffice to make good the losses of the war, nor the exodus of those who leave the ministry for lay professions that yield a less inadequate support. The rural population has not yet come to the point of making sufficient sacrifices to keep their churches alive and secure to their ministers a situation worthy of their calling.

By degrees priests and pastors slip toward the cities, while the country parishes are deserted, in part by reason of the

indifference and avarice of their inhabitants. In this there is a great danger for the future. If the country population of France should cease to be Christian, if the principles of justice and brotherly love should cease to be held in honor there, the moral equilibrium of France would be greatly imperilled; it would be ready for all sorts of revolutionary adventures.

This peril is perceived by very many, and the French Christian youth of today is far from being apathetic and indifferent. Students in the universities and the higher schools frequently feel themselves called to a sort of temporary apostolate. They take to posting bills, distributing tracts, holding lectures, writing for the press, in behalf of the good cause. In Protestant circles in Paris the movement, *La Cause*, gathers a steadily increasing number of enthusiastic students, men and women, who devote all their leisure to spreading evangelical principles. Parisian Catholic circles have devoted themselves to the *Œuvres de Midi*, or professional *Guildes*, which bring together in each quarter young women who leave their places of work between noon and two o'clock for their mid-day meal. These guilds include a lunch-room, besides rest-rooms and halls for lectures. They have a strictly confessional and Catholic character, and priests preach short sermons in them. There are at present the *Guilde St. Mathieu*, open to the employees of banks; the *Guilde Ste Marie de l'Aiguille* for dressmakers; the *Guilde Ste Madeleine* for the girls in perfumery shops; the *Guilde St. Honoré* for those who are employed in food shops. In all these groups there are zealous, faithful souls, ready to make all sacrifices for their associations.

Thus contemporary France has in the religious field the same difficulty as in all other fields of national activity — a lack of men for middling and obscure places. In the cities there is a blossoming out of enterprises, and an enthusiastic and zealous body of youth; but the great rural masses are as yet untouched by these movements. A considerable number of young people from the cities go, it is true, to find in the country remunerative positions, and they contribute to raise the intellectual level of the inhabitants of villages. The future will belong to

those who know how to elevate and direct the spirit of the French peasants. These peasants, more enlightened, better off, and with greater desire for knowledge, need intellectual and moral leaders of the first quality, filled with truly apostolic faith and zeal. When they shall have them, France will resume an eminent place, if not the foremost, in the intellectual and moral world.

The friends of France may be reassured. The country has almost recovered its mental equilibrium. The sound traditions of labor among its peasants have preserved it better than any other country in Europe from the social Utopias that frequently follow a great war. The Russian revolutionary propaganda has completely failed, and the moderate and conservative elements are much more powerful than before the war. There was even for a moment reason to apprehend that France might abandon its high liberal traditions to submit to the yoke of Rome. But that will not be. A prouder and a truer conception of the spiritual independence of the state and of the churches is already gaining ground. France will find a way to give to the Catholic Church, as to the Protestant churches, a legitimate place; not an unfavorable place as in recent years, and not a privileged place such as some have imagined. The spiritual forces, like material forces, of the nation are weakened, and in particular it will require years to train all the spiritual leaders of whom our youth has need. At no moment of the war was the moral quality of France seriously impaired. That collapse of all ideals which our enemies expected as the prelude of French defeat never came. Gratitude for this is due to all those who were the spiritual educators of the nation, and who kept its soul up to the level of the exigencies.

In the years which are to come, France, always eager for new inspirations, will be looking for guides in the world of thought and faith. May the influence of America, so enthusiastically exalted among us in 1918, and still so beloved, so potent in France, be among those which shall assist our country to form for itself high ideals of spiritual greatness! It is not to no purpose that France has recently sent one of its most famous

generals to render homage to the memory of the Pilgrims of the Mayflower. Wherever in the world moral greatness, liberty, and heroism are to be found, France desires to be present and to receive the lessons of history. The uniting of the spiritual patrimony of the two great republics may save the world of tomorrow just as the uniting of their material forces saved it yesterday.

NOTES

A PAPYRUS MANUSCRIPT OF THE MINOR PROPHETS

Among the parchment and papyrus manuscripts and fragments brought to this country by the University of Michigan Expedition under Professor Francis W. Kelsey, only one is of paramount interest to the Biblical scholar. There are indeed lectionaries and parts of lectionaries dating from the eleventh century and later, and even a single papyrus fragment of a Psalm, but the former are uninteresting textually, and the latter is too small to give much evidence.

The papyrus manuscript of the Minor Prophets formed a part of a previous purchase made in Egypt in 1916 for Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and Mr. Charles L. Freer. Transportation was too hazardous to permit of bringing the manuscripts to America at that time. They were packed in a tin case which was sealed by the American consul and placed in the vault of a bank in Cairo.

After the armistice no one interested in the manuscripts was able to visit Egypt until last year, when the work of the University of Michigan Expedition brought Professor Kelsey to Cairo. The case containing the manuscripts was received and opened by him. On account of their fragile nature all the manuscripts were taken by Professor Kelsey to Rome, where the material obtained for Mr. Morgan, chiefly Coptic, was delivered to Professor Hyvernat. The Greek papyrus was forwarded through the American Embassy to the Library of the University of Michigan, where it will remain until the editorial work has been finished. It will then be placed in the Freer Gallery in Washington, to which the Greek parchment manuscripts in the Freer Collection have already been transferred.

There remains of this manuscript 28 leaves, written on both sides, and rather numerous fragments. The size of the leaves is at present about 5 inches wide by 9 inches long. A little margin is preserved in places on each side and at the bottom, but at the top the margin and 9 or 10 lines are missing. As 38 or 39 lines are preserved on most pages, the original manuscript probably had 48 lines to the page. The length of the line is four and one-fourth inches, and it contains on the average about 30 letters. If we allow for an inch of margin all the way around, the original size of the leaf was about 6 by 12 inches.

The manuscript appeared at first sight to be in book form, but no traces of binding were found, nor had there been any in the period immediately preceding the burial or loss of the manuscript.

When I opened the manuscript the pages were photographed as the leaves were separated, being numbered 1, 1^r, etc. When the leaves thus numbered were compared with the Greek text, I found that two leaves, 14 and 15, had been turned over together without affecting the neighboring ones, and leaves 20 and 21 had been turned over separately so as to bring the backside of each first. At the time this happened it seems likely that there was no binding. In fact it may well be that there never was a binding, but that these long, narrow leaves were kept in a pile and perhaps numbered to keep them in order. The length of the sheets, the broad column of writing, the crowding of the writing, all point to a special effort to keep the manuscript, or rather the pile of sheets, as thin as possible. A manuscript of such a form may well have been kept and carried about in a box or wallet, as the Irish missionaries carried their Bibles.

I have made no attempt as yet to read and place the fragments. The entire leaves give the text from Amos 7, 9 to Malachi 2, 9, with the lacunae caused by the missing tops of the leaves. The manuscript has a small number of accents, all seemingly from a later hand. They are in general accurate, and are similar to those now in use. Punctuation is more frequent, both single and double dots occurring, and these likewise seem to be from a later hand. Iota adscript appears infrequently, as does the rough breathing in the half H and square forms, both from the hand of the original scribe as well as from a corrector. Dots over initial iota and upsilon and an apostrophe after proper nouns ending in a consonant are rare and from first hand. There are many corrections, some from a hand probably contemporary, others from one later. Both used good sources. Abbreviations are rather infrequent, only *κυριος*, *θεος*, *ανθρωπος*, *πνευμα*, and *ισραηλ* being regularly abbreviated.

The writing is a sloping uncial of the oval type, but more cursive than any literary manuscript of like size that I know except parts of Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. Papyrus publications of the past thirty years have furnished a wealth of examples of this sloping hand which was once called rare and late. It is fairly common from the first century to the seventh, and the so-called Slavonic uncial on parchment is its direct descendant. The types of this hand in use in the Roman period, *i.e.*, up to about 350 A.D., and in the Byzantine, are easily distinguishable. The exaggerated size of some letters, and

the cruder, heavier stroke, mark the later period. Our manuscript belongs in the Roman period, and not at its very end; though more cursive in character, it compares well in breadth of letter and in character of stroke with many third century examples. In the sloping hand of the second century the letters are somewhat broader.

The odd mixture of cursive and literary characters in a hand which is plainly trying to avoid cursive makes the hand hard to date exactly. A good document to compare is No. 72 of Vol. II of the Amherst Papyri, Plate xviii, from the year 246. Our manuscript does not use the cursive forms of most letters consistently, and it sometimes varies, offering other cursive forms not found in No. 72. Yet the general resemblance combined with characteristic forms of certain letters point to a third century date. Thus *omicron* is consistently small, sometimes appearing as a mere dot, and never equal in size to the other letters. The *sigma* regularly has a flat top which does not bend forward or droop. A form of *kappa* shaped like a small cursive U is of frequent occurrence. Also other cursive forms of less frequent use point to a third century date. A facsimile of one page of the manuscript has been given in the Michigan *Alumnus* for February, 1921. I am sure that the manuscript can not be placed later than 325 A.D., and I am at present inclined to date it in the second half of the third century.

One expects much from the oldest existing manuscript of any considerable portion of the Bible, and I believe we shall not be disappointed. Its value can be suggested by a few noteworthy readings drawn from different places in the text.

In Micah 1, 15, the reading is *η δοξα της θυγατρος Ισραηλ*, but *Ισραηλ* was carefully crossed out by the third hand, which has done much good correcting in the manuscript. The corrections by this hand do not seem to represent conjectures but manuscript authority. In this passage we might assume that *Ισραηλ* has been deleted because of a misplaced obelus belonging to *θυγατρος*, but there is, I think, a better explanation pointing to an older text. In the Aldine edition and some later manuscripts *Σιων* stands for *Ισραηλ*. It is a commonplace of textual criticism that such variations often point to an earlier omission, which we now find in this old papyrus manuscript. It is not necessary to assume that the omission was original in the Septuagint, though it may have been. The expression, "until the glory of the daughter shall come to Odollam," suggested the completion "daughter of Zion," if not "daughter of Israel." Any family of manuscripts omitting the word would naturally have it supplied by

conjecture, if there was no manuscript handy in which it could be found. Its deletion in our manuscript indicates a desire to keep to the simpler and so perhaps older form of text.

In Micah 4, 3, the Papyrus reads *τας ζιβνας* for *τα δορατα*. The manuscripts A, Q*, 26, 40, 49, etc. support this reading, as does also the Syro-Hexaplar. Likewise Justin Martyr cites this passage with *ζιβνας* in his text. The word *ζιβνη* with its parallel forms *σιβνη*, *σιγνη*, *συβνη*, etc. was common in Macedonian Greek. It means a hunting-spear or any light spear. It was a dialectical word, but one sure to be known throughout the empire of Alexander. It occurs in the Septuagint in three other passages, Isaiah 2, 4, and Jeremiah 6, 22, without variant, and in Judith 1, 15, where some manuscripts spell with a sigma. The common word *δορυ* is found over fifty times in the Septuagint, and so is apt to have been substituted for the rare *ζιβνη* by later scholars.

In Micah 7, 12, this manuscript has *Συριας, ημερα υδατος και θορυβου* for *και απο θαλασσης εως θαλασσης και απο ορους εως του ορους*. The Alexandrinus adds *Συριας* at this point and the rest of the substitute as an addition after *ορους*², being supported in the latter addition by many cursives; while Q* agrees with our manuscript in giving this reading as a substitute for the regular text, which has however been added in the margin by Q². The common reading agrees well with the Hebrew, from which this variant represents a decided departure. The fact that it omits the second and third parallels, "from sea to sea and from mountain to mountain," tends to show its primitive character. The first parallel in the Septuagint, "from Tyre to the river," does not match well with the others, for it seems to be individual while they are general. A double interpretation of the Hebrew was noted as possible by Hieronymus. If the second and third parallels are omitted, such an addition as *Συριας* seems necessary to make the sense complete. As regards the addition, "a day of rain and confusion," we can only say that it is Hebrew in style and fits in well with verses 11 and 12. The form in our manuscript and in Q* shows less inconsistency than that in the other manuscripts of the Septuagint, which may argue for its primitive character. In any case we see here a parallel to the standard Hebrew text and not a derivative from it. All manuscripts showing both expressions, as the Alexandrinus, are of a secondary character.

In Obadiah vs. 16, is found the addition *πιονται παντα τα εθνη ονον* before *πιονται*, as in N^a, A, and some later manuscripts, while Q and

others are reported for a different order. This addition conforms to the Massoretic text, makes the Greek more intelligible by adding the necessary subject for *πιωται*, and what is more important, forms a stronger verse. When we consider that we can explain the regular Septuagint text as an ordinary omission by homoeoteleuton, the jump from *πιωται*¹ to *πιωται*² causing the loss of 23 letters, or about a line of an ancient manuscript, it seems best to consider the longer form original in the Septuagint.

In Zephaniah 1, 3, after *θαλασσης* is the addition *και σκαβαλ[α συν ασεβειν]*, but the same hand or one of about the same time has deleted the phrase with a small dot over each letter. Hieronymus and cod. 86 mg. testify that this addition is from Symmachus. It is found also in the minuscules 36, 238, and 240. The fact that it was deleted in our manuscript, probably by the diorthotes, shows that it was recognized as an addition, perhaps marked as coming from Symmachus, and so was deleted.

In Zechariah 14, 17, the papyrus adds at the end, *και ουκ εσται εν αυτοις υερος*. It is supported here only by the Aldine edition, codd. 36, 51, and a few others. We know from Hieronymus that this is approximately the true translation of the Hebrew as given by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Aquila seems to have had *ουβρος* for *υερος*. Again we may have the rendering of Symmachus or an independent adaptation to the Hebrew appearing in our manuscript, but this time it is conflate and not deleted.

In Zephaniah 3, 10, our manuscript reads *δομενοι μου εν [τοις δ]ισκορπισμενοις* for *προσδεξομαι εν δισπαρμενοις μου*, but the addition was deleted by dots over most of the letters. The manuscripts A, Q, 26, 49, etc. omit from *προσδεξομαι το μου*, which is marked by an asterisk in the Syro-Hexaplar. It is from Theodotion. Symmachus as quoted by Theodoret is quite different. Aquila is not preserved for this verse. The form in our manuscript is so good, and agrees so well with the Massoretic text, that it seems best again to assume that a gloss drawn from another translation of the Hebrew has crept into the text. The fact that this also is deleted tends to confirm the surmise that the glosses were so marked that the diorthotes detected them. Perhaps a phrase from the translation by Aquila has been preserved here.

In Habakkuk 3, 1, we find *υπερ των αγρωων* added after *ωδης*. This is a translation of the Hebrew, as we see from Hieronymus, who quotes Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Yet *αγρωων* is not

found there, the nearest approach being *αγρονηματων* found in two of the translations. Either some unknown translation or the original Hebrew has influenced our manuscript at this point.

In Zechariah 1, 3, this manuscript omits the first *λεγει Κυριος των δυναμεων* and *των δυναμεων* of the second. The first of these expressions is omitted elsewhere only in the Holmes and Parsons cursives 36, 40, 49, etc., and the second in 190, 239, 311. κ* has the first *λεγει Κυριος* with *παντοκρατωρ* for *των δυναμεων*, but all were deleted by the second hand and *παντοκρατωρ* deleted a second time by the third hand. Also for the second *των δυναμεων* we find *παντοκρατωρ* in A, Q, 26, 40, etc. Yet the Syro-Hexaplar marks both with an asterisk as derived from Theodotion. Our manuscript alone preserves the original Septuagint in both cases, though it is supported by the second hand of κ for the first omission.

In Zechariah 11, 13, this manuscript adds *κη* (for *και*) *καθηκα* before *και εφεβαλον*. It is supported only by codd. 61, 62, 86, and some others. This is considered a case of repetition or double interpretation, but in fact the meanings are hardly similar enough to warrant this conclusion. Neither do Aquila nor Symmachus have this verb, though both are preserved. I have so far found no case where this manuscript reproduces a reading from Theodotion. As given here the whole sentence may be interpreted: "And I took the thirty pieces of silver and sent them down (or, went down) and cast them into the house of the Lord into the smelting furnace." If we assume that this represents, not a double interpretation, but an older form of the Hebrew text, it is not hard to understand why the Massoretic and the later translations should have succeeded in eliminating the phrase from the Septuagint manuscripts, especially when assisted by such a corrupt form as appears in this old papyrus.

In Zechariah 13, 1, this manuscript, supported by Q and four cursives, omits the whole phrase, *και τοις κατοικουσιν το χωρισμον*. B*, κ¹, 86, 22, 23, 238, mark it with asterisks or similar signs. As the Syro-Hexaplar also marks it as an insertion from Theodotion, there can be no question that our manuscript preserves the correct text, though with little support.

In conclusion I may add what has been hinted by the above discussed readings. The new manuscript almost never goes with B¹ when it is opposed by the other old uncials. Its nearest relative is Q, though it lacks much of Q's later material. At times it goes with the later cursives only. The first scribe made a good many mistakes which were later corrected; both forms will be instructive. Thus far the

manuscript seems free from the influence of Theodotion, Origen, and the later editions. On the other hand it is going to give us a clearer insight into the amount and kind of corruption which preceded Origen.

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CEPHAS AND PETER IN THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

In his note 'Simon, Cephas, Peter' in this *Review* (January, 1921, pp. 95-97), Professor Kirsopp Lake, calling attention to the existence of early evidence that in some quarters Cephas was thought to be a different person from Peter, wonders why "Christian tradition has so completely lost sight of these doubts, which were clearly present in various forms to Clement of Alexandria and to the still earlier writer of the *Epistola Apostolorum*."

As a matter of fact Christian tradition never lost sight completely of these doubts. This was due primarily to controversial reasons which led the expositors of the New Testament to attempt edifying explanations of the quarrel of Cephas and Paul at Antioch related in the Epistle to the Galatians. It seems that very early dissenters from the great church made the most of that episode to belittle the value of the unity and consistency of the Apostolic tradition boasted by the *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*. Of the Marcionites, for instance, Tertullian says: "Proponunt ergo ad suggillandum ignorantiam aliquam apostolorum, quod Petrus et qui cum eo reprehensi sunt a Paulo . . ." etc. (*De praescr. haeret.* 23), and again: "Ipsum Petrum caeterosque columnas apostolatus a Paulo reprehensos opponunt, quod non recto pede incederent ad Evangelii veritatem" (*Adv. Marcionem*, i, 20; iv, 3; v, 3). It seems that Porphyry also made caustic comments on the apostolic quarrel: "Porphyrio . . . blasphemanti, qui Pauli arguit procacitatem, quod principem Apostolorum Petrum ausus est reprehendere et arguere in faciem . . ." (Jerome, Ep. cxii, 6, ad Augustinum); and finally the emperor Julian accused Peter of hypocrisy: *κατασκώπτει δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων ἐκκριτον Πέτρον ὁ γεννάδας καὶ ὑποκριτὴν εἶναι φησι, καὶ ἐληλέγχθαι διὰ τοῦ Παύλου, ὡς ποτε μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων ἔθεσι διαζῆν σκουδάζοντα, ποτὲ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων, ἡρνητικῶς εἰσάπαν τὴν ἐν γε τοῦτοις εὐτεχνεστάτην οἰκονομίαν* (Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum*, lib. ix. P. G. lxxvi, 1000-01).

The passage of Clement's *Hypotyposeon* quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 12, 2) states that the Cephas who was rebuked by Paul in Antioch was not Peter, but one of the Seventy Disciples. It seems therefore that Clement was following a different tradition from that represented by the *Epistola Apostolorum* and by the so-called Kirchen-Ordnung, both of which make Cephas one of the Twelve, but other than Peter.¹ We must not forget, however, that Eusebius's quotation from the *Hypotyposeon* is not beyond doubt, in view of the fact that according to Rufinus (*Apol. pro Origene*) and Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 109, p. 9, P.G. ciii, 383) this book had been interpolated by heretics of all kinds. This doubt is strengthened by the fact that Origen, who belongs to the same circle with Clement, ignores the tradition that counted Cephas as an independent member of the Twelve, and identifies him with Peter (*Comm. in Joann.* xxxii, 5. P. G. xiv, 753). According to Jerome, Origen was the first to propound the theory that the dispute of Peter and Paul in Antioch was *κατὰ πρόσωπον*—it was an "*honesta dispensatio*," that is to say a preconcerted plot between the two Apostles in order to give a forceful lesson to the Judaizers of Antioch: "Hanc explanationem primus Origenes in decimo Stromatum libro ubi Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas interpretatur et caeteri deinceps interpretes sunt secuti" (*Ep.* cxii. 5). Among those who followed Origen, Jerome expressly mentions "Didymum videntem meum,² et Laodicensem de ecclesia nuper expressum (Apollinaris) et Alexandrum veterem haereticum, Eusebium quoque Emisenum, et Theodorum Heracleotem" (*Ep.* cxii, 4). But the most famous of all those who adopted Origen's view was John Chrysostom, who in a sermon on the passage *κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντίστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν* (Gal. 2, 11) mentions that there were some who taught that the man rebuked by Paul was not Peter, the first of the Apostles, but somebody else: *Οὐκ ἦν οὗτος Πέτρος, φησὶν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρῶτος, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τὰ πρόβατα πιστευθείς, ἀλλ' ἕτερός τις εὐτέλης*

¹ The list of the Apostles given in the *Epistola Apostolorum* and in the Kirchen-Ordnung is certainly curious. It is fair to say, however, that almost all the traditional lists found in various periods and various places present very strange combinations. The main tendency was to preserve the number Twelve, but at the same time to include in the Twelve Paul and the Evangelists. In the iconographic tradition of the sixth century (Theodoricus' Mausoleum) the list is as follows: Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Mark, Luke, Thomas, Simeon, and the same list although in different order appears in the *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῶν Ζωγράφων* which was for centuries the source book of painters and artists. See G. de Jerphanion, *Quels sont les douze Apôtres dans l'Iconographie chrétienne?* in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, Sept.-Dec., 1920, pp. 358-367.

² A play on "Didymus the Blind."

καὶ ἀπεβημμένος, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς (P. G. li, 380). As for himself Chrysostom rejects this opinion and affirms the identity of Cephas and Peter.

It is worthy of remark in this passage from Chrysostom that, according to the theologians whose opinion he criticizes, Cephas was a despicable person; the disparaging words *εὐτελής καὶ ἀπεβημμένος, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς* could hardly be applied to one of the Seventy. Had Chrysostom a different source from Eusebius? Neither Chrysostom nor Jerome mentions the names of those who, following Clement's view, denied the identity of Cephas and Peter; but from Jerome's words it is clear that at least one of those who had written extensive replies to Porphyry adopted this opinion: "Ad extremum si propter Porphyrii blasphemiam alius nobis fingendus est Cephas, ne Petrus putetur errasse, infinita de scripturis erunt radenda divinis, quae ille qui non intelligit criminatur" (*Comm. in Gal.*, P. L. xxvi, 341). Was he aiming at Methodius of Olympus or at Eusebius of Caesarea, both of whom are known to have written treatises against Porphyry? This question cannot be settled, because both those works are completely lost.

In the pre-Nicene Christian literature of the West there is no hint of the slightest doubt about the identity of Peter with the man who quarreled with Paul in Antioch. The fact that in the current Latin versions of the New Testament the name Cephas was always translated by Peter prevented any question on this point. As a matter of fact, Tertullian (in the passage quoted above) and Cyprian never name Cephas, and explain Peter's conduct as a remarkable example of concord and patience given to the hierarchy: "Petrus . . . documentum nobis concordiae et patientiae tribuens. . . ." (*Ep.* lxxi, ed. Hartel III, ii, 773). Origen's bold exegesis of the *κατὰ πρόσωπον* was unknown in the West. Hilary of Poitiers (*in Ep. ad Gal.*, *Pitra, Spicilegium* i, 58-59) and Ambrose (*in Ep. ad Corinthios* i, 5, 4 and *in Ep. ad Gal.* ii, 11, P. L. xvii, 229, 350) follow Cyprian's line of thought. Jerome was the first who tried to introduce the interpretation of the "*honesta dispensatio*" in the West, but Augustine emphatically opposed an exegesis which made of the dispute of the apostles a little pious comedy for the instruction of the Judaisers of Antioch. This question led to an exchange of somewhat sharp letters between Jerome and Augustine, written not without *rancore stomachi*, as the former himself says. Augustine's view eventually prevailed, and Jerome later on recanted (*Adv. Rufinum*, 3, 1. See Möhler, *Gesammelte Schriften* i, 1 ff.).

Augustine does not mention Cephias, but he confesses that his sources of information about the dispute of the Apostles were limited, "haud plures de hoc argumento legi et audivi Patres quam Ambrosium et Cyprianum." Jerome as we have already noticed was acquainted with the opinion that Cephias was not Peter: "Sunt qui Cephiam cui hic in faciem Paulus restitisse se scribit, non putant apostolum Petrum, sed alium de septuaginta discipulis isto vocabulo nuncupari. . . . Quibus respondendum, alterius nescio cuius Cephiae nescire nos nomen, nisi eius qui et in Evangelio et in aliis Pauli epistulis et in hac quoque ipsa, modo Cephias modo Petrus scribitur" (*Comm. ad Gal.*, P. L. xxvi, 341).

Two centuries later, Gregory the Great in his Commentary on Ezekiel repeats the same statement: "Sunt vero nonnulli qui non Petrum Apostolorum principem, sed quondam alium eo nomine qui a Paulo sit reprehensus accipiunt, qui si Pauli studiosius verba legisent, ista non dicerent" (*In Ezech.* Lib. ii, Hom. vi, 10, P. L. lxxvi, 1003). We have no evidence that in Gregory's times there were Western expositors who held such an opinion; it is probable therefore that Gregory was simply repeating what he read in Jerome. In the East, on the contrary, it seems that about that time the Clementine-Eusebian view was very much in favor; it is explicitly stated in the so-called *Chronica Alexandrina*, or *Chronicon Paschale*, a compilation made under the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) by putting together old lists and documents of various origin. According to the *Chronica*, the Cephias rebuked by Paul was one of the Seventy Disciples: Κηφᾶς δμῶννος Πέτρον ᾧ καὶ ἐμαχήσατο Παῦλος κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ (P. G. xcii, 521). The same statement is made in the famous *Σύγγραμμα ἐκκλησιαστικόν*, a forgery of the eighth century published under the name of a Dorotheus, supposed bishop of Tyre and martyr of an early persecution, a mythical personage who never existed. The purpose of the forgery, which purported to be an account of the careers of the Apostles and of the disciples of Jesus, was to give an historical color to the legend of the apostolic foundation of the See of Constantinople, with the apostle Andrew as first bishop. This choice seems to have been suggested by the fact that Andrew was called by Jesus to the apostleship earlier than his brother Peter. In the distribution of churches made by the *Σύγγραμμα*, Cephias also got a bishopric: Κηφᾶς ὃν ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἤλεγξεν ὅτι καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Κορίνθιας ἐγένετο (P. G. xcii, 1065).

In the tenth century we find again a commentator on the Epistle to the Galatians, Oecumenius bishop of Trikka (Thessaly), who agrees

with this tradition and quotes Eusebius in support of his opinion (P. G. cxviii, 1112).³ The same tradition has the adhesion of Salomon Chalatenis, Bishop of Bassara (Syria), in a treatise, "De praedicatione Apostolorum et de loco uniuscuiusque eorum, deque eorum morte," written about 1222 (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, iii, 319). Finally it found its way into the Greek Menologia, and acquired right of citizenship in the eastern ecclesiastical tradition.⁴

In the West, as it is easy to imagine, Augustine's teaching prevailed, and was constantly followed down to the fifteenth century. It is only occasionally that the opinion that Cephias and Peter were different persons is mentioned, and then only to be rejected. Such is the case with a commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians written by Hervé, abbot of Bourgdieu (Herverus Burdigalensis, 1100-1150), who repeats *ad verbum*, although without quoting the author's name, Gregory in *Ezechielem*: "Sunt vero nonnulli qui non Petrum," etc. (P. L. clxxxi, 1145).

Hugo of St. Victor (*Exegetica*. i. In S. Scrip. Quaestiones in Ep. Pauli in Ep. ad Gal. Quaestio vi.) and after him Aquinas (*Comm. in Ep. ad Galatas*. Opera, ed. Parma, xiii, 396-397) and all the great Scholastics had no doubt of the identity of Cephias and Peter, although they were acquainted through Jerome with the opposite opinion. They discussed at a great length "an (reprehensio haec) fuerit vera, an dispensatoria, et an peccaverit Petrus et vere reprehensibilis fuerit," adding to it a series of considerations "de tempore quo licuit legalia observare et de observatione legalium quantum ad Apostolos," and a detailed exposition of the controversy between Jerome and Augustine, with a conclusion in favor of the latter: "Salva reverentia secretorum, Beati Augustini sententiam preferimus" (Hugo of St. Victor, P. L. clxxv, 556).

During the controversies provoked by the Reformation the dispute at Antioch acquired a new importance in relation to the question of the primacy of Peter.⁵ Some Catholic theologians, like those

³ The writings which go under the name of Oecumenius have rather the character of an anthology compiled in a casual form.

⁴ In the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* the commemoration of Cephias is assigned to December 8 together with other disciples (Propylaeum ad Acta SS. Novembrii Synax. Eocl. Cplitanæ, opera et studio H. Delehaye. Bruxellæ, 1902, col. 290). In the *Menaæa* edited in Venice in 1592, the commemoration is found March 30 (*Ib.* col. 574).

⁵ On the importance given by the early Protestants to the incident of Antioch, see K. Holl, 'Der Streit zwischen Petrus und Paulus zu Antiochien in seiner Bedeutung für Luthers innere Entwicklung,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxviii (1919), pp. 28-40.

of the fourth century of whom Jerome speaks, thought that the best way to dispose of the question for good and all was to exhume the old opinion of Clement and Eusebius: Cephas was not Peter, but one of the Seventy. (A. Pighe, *Hierarchiae Ecclesiasticae Assertio*. Coloniae 1538. Lib. iii, Cap. 11, f. 100. "Quae ex Paulo objiciuntur, dissolvere." Hardouin, *Commentarius in Novo Testamento*, Amsterdam, 1741, Appendix: Petrus et Joannes vindicati. i. Cepham a Paulo reprehensum Petrum non esse, pp. 785-799).⁶ Suarez (Lib. ix, *De lege Divina*, c. 20. Opera, vi, 530-542) and Bellarmine however, remain faithful to the Augustinian view (*De Rom. Pont.* i, cap. xvi. Op. i, 347).

Most theologians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries followed Pighe and Hardouin, and tried to strengthen their assumption not only by making appeal to the old tradition, but also by a long series of historical and theological arguments. (Vallarsi, Notes in his edition of the Opera S. Hieronymi, Venice 1766-72, vii, 408 seq. reprinted in P. L. xxviii, 340; Zaccaria, *Dissertatione su Cefa ripreso da S. Paolo*: Diss. varie. I, 195; Roma 1780; M. Molkenbuhr, *Quod Cephas Gal. II, 11, non sit Petrus*. Apud Monast., 1803; A. F. James, *Dissertations ou il est irréfragablement prouvé que St. Pierre seul décida la question de foi soumise au Concile de Jérusalem et que Cephas repris par St. Paul à Antioche n'est pas le même que le prince des Apôtres*, Paris 1846; A. Vincenzi, *Lucubrationes biblicae*, Pars ii, 87, et seq.; I. Neubauer S. J., 'De Legibus,' in *Theologia Wirceburgensis*, Tom. v, 258-265.)

The most important of these arguments was furnished by chronol-

⁶ Jean Hardouin, Jesuit, was the editor of the "Conciliorum Collectio Regia Maxima" (Paris, 1715-25). His "Commentarius in Novum Testamentum" was published after his death. The appendix "Petrus Vindicatus" is divided into 20 chapters, dealing with the exegetical and the historical sides of the question. The fifth chapter assumes that if we grant that Cephas was Peter, we must conclude that Peter was guilty of heresy: "Immunem ab hereseos labe Petrum non fuisse, si reprehensus ipse a Paulo est." The sixth goes even so far as to affirm that all faith in Scripture would be upset if we admit the identity of Cephas and Peter: "Periclitari ac mutare ipsam sacrorum literarum fidem videri si Petrum a Paulo fuisse reprehensus damus." This excess of zeal led to the condemnation of the *Commentarius*, which was put on the Index. Hardouin was incensed by the fact that not only Protestant historians (like the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*) but also Jansenist writers (like P. Quesnel, *La Discipline de l'Eglise* i, 224-229) put great stress on the incident of Antioch as giving evidence that Peter's (and therefore the Pope's) decisions were far from being unimpeachable. He shows no less irritation against the Greek editions of the New Testament, which like that published in Holland in 1638, for the reading Κεφας in Gal. 2, 11-14, substituted Πέτρος, which reading, he says, "habetur a Graecis (schismaticis) pro authentica."

ogy and had been already sketched by Hardouin. Starting from the theory of the twenty-five years of Roman episcopate of Peter, these theologians concluded that Peter must have been in Rome not later than the year 42 A.D.; on the other hand it was only in the year 44 that Paul went to Jerusalem and there met for the first time Cephas, with whom *junxit dexteram*. This Cephas could not be Peter, who at that time was in Rome. But there is no doubt that the Cephas who five years later in Antioch was rebuked by Paul was the same man that Paul had met in Jerusalem, therefore he cannot be identified with Peter, although about that time Peter returned to Jerusalem, to preside over the council of the year 50.

The Vatican Council of 1870 and the discussions about the infallibility of the Pope gave a new interest to the question. But modern Catholic theologians, realizing how weak is the chronological argument based on legendary data, have abandoned Cephas to his fate, and have gone back to Augustine and the old tradition of the western Fathers. (Palmieri, D., *De Romano Pontifice*, Prati, 1902, pp. 372-73. Mazzella, C., *De Religione et Ecclesia*, Prati, 1905, pp. 692-693. Straub, *De Ecclesia Christi*, i, 135. Innsbruck, 1912.) They accepted the identity of Cephas and Peter, but found in the episode of Antioch a new argument in favor of the infallibility of the Pope: "Huiusmodi facto evidentiter se prodit Petri primatus. Quamvis enim Paulus verbis doceret non esse opus iudaizare, Petrus autem solo conversationis exemplo videretur docere esse iudaizandum, hic tamen ceteros ipsumque Barnabam *cogebat*, non tantum alliciebat iudaizare. Unde tanta efficacia exempli taciti Petri, ut praevaleret doctrinae praedicantis Pauli, nisi ex eo quod ab omnibus Petrus potior Paulo habebatur eiusque auctoritas suprema esse in Ecclesia credebatur?" (Palmieri, *op. cit.* p. 374.)

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A SYRIAC PARALLEL TO THE GOLDEN RULE

Numerous parallels to the Golden Rule of Matt. 7, 12 and Luke 6, 31 have been found in various writers.¹ Most of these are Jewish or Christian, but some of them are far remote in time and place from

¹ Cf. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum*, i, pp. 341 f.; A. Resch, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, x (1897), 3, pp. 80 f.; G. Resch, *ibid.*, xxviii (1905), 3, pp. 132 ff.; Heinrici, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, iii (1906), pp. 85 ff.; and Proost, *De Bergrede* (1914), pp. 153 f. To the passages cited in these works may be added the following: *Mahabharata*, xii, 259, 20: Quod quispiam non vult sibi ab aliis

Judaism and Christianity. Sometimes the precept is put in the positive form and sometimes in the negative, more frequently in the latter. A Syriac parallel, particularly interesting because it combines the two forms, seems to have been hitherto overlooked. It occurs in the philosophical dialogue entitled *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*, and is as follows: "For there are two commandments set before us, which are meet and right for free-will: one, that we should depart from everything that is evil and we hate to have done to ourselves; and the other, that we should do whatever is good and we love, and are pleased to have it done so also to ourselves."²

The *Book of the Laws of the Countries* is traditionally ascribed to Bardesanes, but is really the work of one of his disciples, who probably wrote in the early part of the third century after Christ. The author may have read, in Syriac or in Greek, a text of Acts 15, 20 or 29 having the Golden Rule in the negative form after the prohibitions, and combined this with the positive form found in Matt. 7, 12 and Luke 6, 31. Ephrem's commentary on Acts 15, 29 is based on a text similar to that attested by D 25 29 etc., *sah, syr. hl.*, Iren. int., Cyp. Bardesanes may have thought of the positive and negative forms of the Golden Rule as constituting "the perfect law of freedom" mentioned in James 1, 25.

Christian scholars are wont to dwell upon the superiority of the positive form, whilst Jewish writers either prefer the latter³ or regard the two as substantially equivalent. Thus Montefiore has "a feeling that Hillel and Jesus meant pretty much the same thing."⁴ Elbogen thinks that Jesus derived the saying from Hillel through tradition, and he finds no special merit in the positive form of statement.⁵ The truth is that both forms of the precept are based on love to our fellowmen (Lev. 19, 18), which according to Akiba as well as to Jesus is the fundamental principle of conduct. On the negative side love "worketh

fieri ne ipse aliis faciat, quia scit quid odiosum sit. Thales (Diog. Laert. i, 36): Ἐρωτηθεὶς . . . πῶς ἂν ἀριστα καὶ δικαίωτα βιώσασαιεν [ἔφη] ἐὰν ἂ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν, αὐτοὶ μὴ θρώμεν. *Ep. Arist.* § 168 (ed. Wendland): Ὁ δὲ νόμος ἡμῶν κελεύει, μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ μηδὲνα κακοποιεῖν. Aphraates, *Demonstratio*, xxiii, 62 (*Patrologia Syriaca*, I, ii, 129, ll. 14 f.): "What you dialike when done to you do not do to your fellow." This is word for word the way in which Hillel is said to have summarized the Law (Sabb. 31a); cf. the Palestinian Targum on Lev. 19, 18; and Akiba in Aboth de R. Nathan, c. 26 (ed. Schechter, Recension B, p. 27).

² Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 5; *Patrologia Syriaca*, I, ii, 551, ll. 11 ff.

³ Cf. e.g. Hirsch in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vi, p. 22.

⁴ Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, ii (1909), p. 550.

⁵ Elbogen, *Die Religionsanschauungen der Pharisäer* (1904), p. 76.

not evil to the neighbour," and hence it is the "fulfilment of the Law."⁶ On the positive side, as in Jesus' parable of the Good Samaritan, love manifests itself in generosity and helpfulness to others. The negative form of the commandment teaches men to be just, whereas the positive bids them to be generous.⁷ The difference between justice and generosity is well expressed by Wettstein: "Iustus est, qui reddit quod debet, quodque etiam ab invito per iudicem extorqueri poterat: bonus sive beneficus, qui liberaliter dat, quod non debet."⁸

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"STRAIN OUT A GNAT AND ADORN A CAMEL"

In the late Professor Camden Cobern's useful book entitled *The New Archaeological Discoveries and their Bearing upon the New Testament* a section is devoted to Tatian's Harmony of the Gospels, and on pages 205-207 a list of its remarkable readings is given, according to the Arabic text published by Ciasca. The list is misleading, for many of the supposed examples of variation from the standard text are not such in reality. Hamlyn Hill's English translation, on which Cobern relied, is not always correct, and the Arabic translator himself was sometimes unfortunate in his rendering of an ambiguous Syriac word or phrase.

The singular reading quoted above, however, which is one of those given in the list, is not to be laid to the charge of Professor Cobern or of either translator, but is due to an extraordinary combination of two transcriptional or typographical errors, which so far as I am aware has not been observed by any one. Ciasca's Latin rendering of Matt. 23, 24 (p. 71) has indeed "*camelum ornantes*." His Arabic text of the passage (p. 153) has the word *yazdarūna*, which means neither 'they adorn' nor anything else which could possibly be used here. It is at once plain that the true reading was *yasaradūna*, 'they swallow.' (I see that Rendel Harris, cited in Hill's translation, had noted this, and doubtless other scholars have made the observation.) Ciasca, however, must have read the word correctly, for his '*ornantes*'

⁶ Rom. 13, 10.

⁷ So also Bruce in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, 7th ed., i, p. 132.

⁸ Wettstein, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 46.

can only be a miswriting, or misprint, of the word *vorantes*, 'swallowing.' This coincidence of two typographical slips, the one in the text and the other in the rendering of the same word, could not easily be paralleled.

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FROM ABRAHAM TO DAVID, FOURTEEN GENERATIONS

In a note on Matt. 1, 17 in the January number of this Review, I remarked that to squeeze the fourteen generations from Abraham to David into a period of four hundred and ninety years it was necessary to ignore the biblical chronology, which demands nearly twice as long. Professor Louis Ginzberg has suggested another possible explanation. In Yebamot 64b, Rabbah (b. Abuha), a Babylonian teacher of the third century, observes that it was in the days of David that the years of a man's life were first reduced to seventy (Psalm 90, 10). This inference from the Psalm might have been drawn at any time; and if it was current in the circle from which the genealogy of Jesus in Matthew comes, the author may not have applied his thirty-five year scheme to the generations before David.

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JULY, 1921

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CHRISTIAN WRITERS ON JUDAISM

GEORGE FOOT MOORE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

I. TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY *

CHRISTIAN interest in Jewish literature has always been apologetic or polemic rather than historical. The writers of the New Testament set themselves to demonstrate from the Scriptures that Jesus was the expected Messiah by showing that his nativity, his teaching and miracles, the rejection of him by his people, his death, resurrection, and ascension, were minutely foretold in prophecy, the exact fulfilment of which in so many particulars was conclusive proof of the truth of his claims, and left no room to doubt that his own prediction would be fulfilled in the speedy coming of the Son of Man to judgment, as Daniel had seen him in his vision. In the Pauline Epistles and Hebrews and in the Gospel according to John the aim is not so much to prove that Jesus was the Messiah of Jewish expectation as that the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom Christians believed that they had salvation from their sins and the assurance of a blessed immortality, was a divine being, the Son of God, the Word of God incarnate; and this higher faith also sought its evidence in the Scriptures. The apologetic of the following centuries, especially that which addresses itself to Jewish objections, has the same chief topics: Jesus was the Christ (Messiah), and Christ is a divine being. Others, which also have their antecedents in the New Testament, are accessory to these,

* The following pages are not meant to be a history of the literature or even an introduction to it. The author's aim has been to show the influences which have determined its character in successive periods and to illustrate these stages by certain outstanding works, laying thus the foundation for a critical examination of modern representations of Judaism to which the second part of this study is devoted.

particularly the emancipation of Christians from the Mosaic law, or the annulment of the dispensation of law altogether, or the substitution of the new law of Christ; the repudiation of the Jewish people by God for their rejection of Christ, and the succession of the church, the true Israel, the people of God, to all the prerogatives and promises once given to the Jews.

The volume of anti-Judaic apology still extant or known to us through titles and quotations is considerable.¹ The earliest, a discussion between Jason, a Jewish Christian, and an Alexandrian Jew called Papiscus, written probably not long after the Jewish revolt under Hadrian and attributed to Ariston of Pella, is lost. Not much later comes the best known of the Greek apologies of this type, Justin Martyr's Dialogue with the Jew Trypho. The literary form of dialogue was chosen because it enabled the writers to combat Jewish objections as well as to develop their own argument in the way best adapted to their purpose. No doubt there was abundance of real controversy between Jews and Christians, through which the apologists were acquainted with the points of their opponents' argument, but in the apologies the Jewish disputant is a man of straw, who raises his difficulties and makes objections only to give the Christian opportunity to show how easily they are resolved or refuted, while in the end the Jew is made to admit himself vanquished. This of itself shows that the authors did not write to convert Jews but to edify Christians, possibly also to convince Gentiles wavering between the rival propaganda of the synagogue and the church. The argument for the divinity of Christ turns largely upon the theophanies of the Old Testament and the appearances of the Angel of the Lord, in which Philo had already recognized the manifestation of a divine being, the Logos, distinct from the transcendent Supreme God. Of Latin apologies the most noteworthy is Tertullian's *Adversus Judaeos*. The occasion of the work, the author tells us, was a protracted discussion between a Christian and a convert to

¹ The most recent conspectus of this branch of Christian apologetic down to the fifth century, with the modern literature, will be found in Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain* (1914), i, 53-76. For a general survey of the whole field reference may be made to L. Blau, 'Polemics and Polemical Literature,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, x, 102-109.

Judaism; but the argument is not conducted in the form of disputation.³

All the early apologies have much in common both in the topics and in the scriptures adduced. Later authors undoubtedly made free use of their predecessors, and collections of *loci probantia* from the Old Testament were made expressly for the use of controversialists. The argument is purely biblical; the interpretation, in large part symbolical or allegorical, is fixed in a tradition and repeated by one after another. There is more reality in the homilies of Aphraates directed against the Jews and in Chrysostom's sermons *Adversus Judaeos*. In the former we see that an aggressive Jewish polemic in the Persian Empire made necessary a vigorous defense, and in the latter that many Christians in Antioch were so strongly attracted by Jewish festivals and other ceremonies, especially by the great fast of the Day of Atonement, as to arouse apprehension that their Judaizing predispositions might carry them farther than the spectacular. The last important representative of the older species of apologetic is Isidore of Seville, *De fide catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento contra Judaeos*. The first book sets forth the catholic doctrine of the Person of Christ, the Son of God begotten of the Father *ante saecula ineffabiliter*; Christ *deus et dominus*; the Trinity; the incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension. In the second book the author deals with the rejection of the Jews and the passing of the gospel to the Gentiles, the abrogation of the Old Testament with all its institutions, and the establishment of the New with its sacraments. Isidore thus sums up and systematizes the Latin apologetic which he transmits to the early Middle Age, fundamentally doctrinal and still strictly biblical.

Of early Jewish apologetic and polemic we have hardly any knowledge except what is narrated in the Talmud of Palestinian Rabbis, chiefly of the third and early fourth centuries, who engaged in discussion with Catholic Christians about points of

³ Joseph Scaliger's estimate of these apologies is not unfair: *Judaei hodie cum disputant, sunt subtiles. Justinus Martyr quam misere contra Tryphonem scripsit, et Tertullianus! Debet esse valde peritus Judaismi, qui Judaeos volet reprehendere et refutare.* (Quoted by Wagenseil, p. 89.)

interpretation, or controverted the doctrines of the church, particularly about the person of Christ.³ The objections which are hereditary in the Christian apologies bear no mark of derivation from Jewish writings. That there were such in the second century is intrinsically probable, and it is possible that Celsus drew upon them in his True Account. More than this cannot safely be said; of a Jewish literature in Greek or Latin there is from that time on no trace. After Christianity became the established religion of the Empire and the conversion of Christians to Judaism was made a high crime, writings directed against the church and its doctrines or intended to make propaganda for Judaism are not likely to have been numerous. The situation was different in the Persian Empire, as we have seen in the case of Aphraates, and after the Arab conquest in the countries under Moslem rule, where Jews and Christians were upon an equal footing and some of the Caliphs were entertained at court by discussions of the merits of the three religions; but there Christian apologetic had a more urgent task in defense against attacks from the Moslem side.

In the Oriental revival of learning, in which the Jews had an active part, scholars arose among them who were well acquainted with the New Testament and the intricacies of Christian doctrine. The controversies of the tenth century between Rabbanite and Karaite Jews presently led both to include Christianity and Islam in their apologetic. Saadia (d. 942), the protagonist of the orthodox and the first to undertake a systematic exposition and defense of Jewish theology, disputes not only the Christian arguments to prove that Jesus was the Messiah, particularly that drawn from Daniel 9, 24-27, but the doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of Christ, on the last of which topics he specifies four distinct theories, including the most recent. His contemporary, the Karaite Kirkisani, sets the belief and teaching of the immediate disciples of Jesus in contrast to the doctrines of the church; according to him it was Paul who was the author of the doctrine

³ Some illustrations are given by Blau in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, x, 108; see also Bacher, *Die Agada der Palästinenischen Amoräer*, i, 555 f. (Simlai); ii, 115-118 (Abahu); and the indexes under 'Christen, Christenthum.'

of the Trinity and the divine Sonship. In general it may be said that the Jewish apologists of the following centuries not only endeavor to refute the Christian arguments drawn from the Old Testament, but carry the controversy over into their opponents' territory by criticism of both the New Testament and the dogmas of the church.

In the following period the intellectual hegemony of the Moslem world passed to the West, where learning and science were eagerly cultivated, and philosophy engaged some of the best minds. The Jews participated in this movement, and in all spheres some of them stood in the front rank. There was much discussion among the adherents of the three religions which divided among them the mixed populations of the Iberian peninsula concerning the foundations of their respective faiths and the truth of their doctrines. When Christians entered into such controversy with Jews they were in a very different position from their apologetic predecessors. They had to deal, not with fictitious opponents, but with real antagonists who stoutly defended themselves and struck back hard. Moreover, the defenders of Judaism now compelled their adversaries to meet them in the biblical argument on the ground of the Hebrew Scriptures, not of a disputable Greek or Latin version. They had not only a traditional knowledge of the language but, following in the footsteps of the Arab philologists, had made serviceable Hebrew grammars and dictionaries; they possessed commentaries on the Old Testament in which the text was interpreted on a sound philological method and frequently with historical and critical insight, and they distinguished clearly between the literal sense and homiletic improvements. They were learned also in the traditions of Judaism preserved in Talmud and Midrash; and in its normative teaching and practice. They defined and systematized its beliefs and doctrinal tenets, harmonized them with Scripture and philosophy, and undertook to prove them both by authority and reason.

Christian controversialists, if they were not henceforth to beat the air, were thus put under the necessity of knowing Jewish literature, ancient as well as modern. It did them no good to *assert* their interpretation of their Old Testament

proof-texts; they had to *demonstrate* it. One of the most effective ways to do this was to show that their interpretation, though denied by contemporary opponents, had the support of ancient tradition — Targum, Talmud, Midrash — whose authority the Jews could not dispute, or that it was conceded by more recent Jewish exegetes of high repute. Thus to array the ancients against the moderns, is, as we shall see, a favorite piece of tactics in this new style of apologetic. Whatever its value otherwise, it had at least one good result — it led to a much more zealous and assiduous study of Judaism than any purely scientific interest would have inspired. Converted Jews naturally made themselves serviceable in this new apologetic; they brought the knowledge with them, and in defending their new faith or assailing the old they were excusing their own apostasy and giving proof of a sincerity which was often suspected by both sides.

The earliest of this type which has been preserved is the Dialogue of Petrus Alfonsi (died 1110), physician to King Alfonso VI of Castile, who stood sponsor at his baptism (1106) — hence the name, “Alfonso’s Peter.” In his new character of Peter the Christian, the author confutes and eventually converts himself in his former quality of Moses the Jew. The argument is chiefly philosophical and biblical; Jewish lore is brought in principally by way of exposing to ridicule the absurdities of the Haggada, particularly its anthropomorphisms. Only rarely (e.g. on Gen. 49, 10) is Jewish interpretation alleged in confirmation of Christian.

Converts became more numerous in the thirteenth century.⁴ As the Christian kingdoms grew stronger and more secure, the policy of the government became more consistently unfavorable to the Jews, and the Church promoted these measures. At the same time the missionary efforts of the Dominican friars, whom Gregory IX (1227–1241) had particularly charged with this work, were prosecuted with persistent and well-directed zeal. Raymund de Pennaforte (died January, 1275), the general of the order, sought to win Moslems and Jews to the catholic faith by conviction rather than to force them into

⁴ See below, note 21.

the church by persecution, and to this end established a college in which promising members of the order selected for the task studied the Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic languages, the Moslem and Jewish Scriptures, and their philosophical and theological literature. Among these students was Raimundus Martini, whose *Pugio Fidei* is the great monument of this endeavor. Of his life, a large part of which was passed in a convent of his order in Barcelona, little is chronicled. In 1264, in the sequel of the disputation at Barcelona in the preceding year before King James I of Aragon between the convert Pablo Christiani and Rabbi Moses ben Nahman,⁵ Martini was one of a commission appointed by the King to examine Jewish books, with instructions to expunge passages injurious to Christ or the Virgin Mary. He had thus the best imaginable opportunity to become acquainted with Jewish literature of all periods down to his own day, and to acquire copies. For the rest, we know that in 1278 he was in the midst of the second of the three parts into which his work is divided (II. x. 2, p. 316),⁶ and that he was still living in 1284.

The first of the three parts of the *Pugio* is a refutation of the errors of the philosophers, that is chiefly the Arab Aristotelians, whose three fundamental errors are that the world is eternal, that God's knowledge does not embrace particulars, and that there will never be a resurrection of the body. In these chapters he shows himself familiar with the Moslem authors and Arabic translations of the Greeks. Averroes, as might be supposed, is the most obnoxious of the philosophers; Algazel a welcome ally.

The second and third parts have to do with the Jews. In the former the proofs that the Messiah is already come are marshalled, and the contrary arguments of the Jews are combatted. The third part has three subdivisions (*distinctiones*). The first

⁵ An account of this discussion, written by R. Moses ben Nahman, may be found in Wagenseil, *Tela ignea Satanae*. The three subjects appointed to be debated were: Whether the Messiah has already appeared; Whether the Messiah of the prophets was divine or human; Whether Judaism or Christianity is the true religion. In the report we have, the controversy ends with the Trinity.

⁶ The year 1278 is often given inexactly as the year of the completion of the whole work.

deals with the unity of God and the distinction of persons in the Godhead; the second with man, the fall and its consequences; the third may be denominated Christology, closing with chapters on the rejection of the Jews and the ultimate conversion of the remnant. In the argument addressed to the Jews, Martini meets them on the ground of the Hebrew Bible, and quotes extensively from Jewish authorities. His quotations are given at large in the original, with exact references according to the method in use in his time, accompanied by a Latin translation and interpretation. The range of his learning is very wide; he quotes the Targums, both Talmuds, the Seder Olam, the various Midrashim which are commonly called Rabbath, the Midrash on Psalms, the Mekilta on Exodus, and others. Of commentators he uses Rashi (d. 1105), Ibn Ezra (d. 1167), David Kimchi (d. 1235), and his own contemporary R. Moses ben Nahman, and frequently cites the Moreh Nebukim of Maimonides (d. 1204). Some of the works from which he drew have perished and are known only through his excerpts; one such from which he frequently quotes was the Bereshith Rabbah attributed to R. Moses ha-Darshan, who flourished in Narbonne in the middle of the eleventh century.⁷ Mention may be made further of extracts from Josippon, and the Toledoth Yeshua. It is important to observe, on the other hand, that the Pugio contains no quotations from the Zohar or other cabalistic works. The Cabala had, in fact, made little headway in Spain against the current of Aristotelianism when Martini wrote, though Azriel, who is regarded as the founder of the speculative Cabala, belonged to the generation before him and Moses ben Nahman, who is said to have been inducted into the Cabala by Azriel, was his contemporary.

The Pugio is a controversial work, and the manners of serious theological controversy, one observes, are seldom perfectly

⁷ The texts as Martini quotes them sometimes differ materially from the manuscripts and printed editions in our hands, and his good faith has consequently been called in question. Where the text has really been tampered with in Christian interest, it is more likely that the copies he used had been interpolated by Jewish converts than that he falsified them himself. The judgment of recent Jewish critics is in general favorable to his honesty.

urbane; but it was composed for the purpose of converting Jews, not of vilifying them, and compared with much more recent anti-Judaic polemic it might almost be called gentlemanly, notwithstanding the suggestion of the assassin in the title. But its proper praise is that it is a genuine work of learning. In an order like the Dominicans, which counted among its members numerous Jewish converts, some of them men of rabbinical education, there were great possibilities of coöperative scholarship, and it is probable that Martini availed himself of them; but whatever assistance he may have had in gathering his material, it is evident that he had made it completely his own. The *Pugio* is not merely remarkable as a first enterprise; it still remains within its scope an admirable monument of erudition. A large part of what today constitutes the common stock of references in this field derives ultimately from Martini, though the source has long been forgotten, and not infrequently the references have got wrong in the long chain of borrowers borrowing from borrowers. Some characteristic examples of this will be given further on. In recent books the *Pugio* has a traditional place in the bibliography, but of first hand knowledge of it there is seldom any evidence.

Martini's work, in three great volumes, was in another sense *too* monumental. Copies of it are not, and probably never were, numerous. References to it in the following centuries are infrequent. Very early, however, a good deal of its contents was transferred to the pages of a handier book, the *Victoria* of Porchetus de Salvaticis, completed in 1303. The author, a Carthusian, native of Genoa, explains in the introduction that he names his work *Victoria, eo quod per eum Judaei facile convincuntur, ac eorum conscientiae non modicum penetrantur*. He acknowledges his obligation to Raymund Martini, *a quo sumpsi hujus libelli materiam in plerisque compilandi*. The long extracts from the rabbinical sources in the original Hebrew are omitted, and much besides which Porchetus evidently did not regard as essential to his purpose. On the other hand, Porchetus not infrequently introduces *de suo* matter not found in the *Pugio*, for example, a discussion of the pronunciation of the

Tetragrammaton (*Johouah*).⁸ Porchetus's *Victoria* was printed in Paris in 1520 under the editorial direction of A. Giustiniani, the first professor of Hebrew and Arabic in the university of Paris.⁹ It evidently had considerable circulation in its day; it is quoted, for example, by Luther, who in fact translated from it passages of some length in his pamphlet, *Vom Schem Hamephoras und vom Geschlecht Christi*, appended in the collective editions to his *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* (both of the year 1543).

Two years before Giustiniani printed the *Victoria*, Petrus Galatinus, a Franciscan, with the encouragement of Pope Leo X and the Emperor Maximilian, published a folio volume under the title, *De arcanis catholicae veritatis*,¹⁰ the immediate motive of which was to support Reuchlin in his strife with the Dominicans about the books of the Jews¹¹ by showing that the distinctive doctrines of Christianity can be proved from these same books. The argument is conducted in the form of a discussion in which Reuchlin (Capnio), Hoogstraaten (Prior of the Dominicans in Cologne), and Galatinus himself take part; Galatinus being the chief speaker, Reuchlin the interrogator, who humbly sits at the feet of Galatinus, Hoogstraaten an occasional objector.

The resemblances between Galatinus and Porchetus were early remarked in a sense uncomplimentary to the former,¹² but it was left for Joseph Scaliger to discover that the *De Arcanis* was an enormous plagiarism from the *Pugio*, a manuscript of

⁸ On the pronunciation *Johouah* in Porchetus, see my Notes in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, xxviii (October 1912), pp. 55-57, and on Luther's use of Porchetus, *ibid.*, pp. 60 f.

⁹ See Appendix, p. 254.

¹⁰ See Appendix, p. 254.

¹¹ The Dominicans, instigated by a baptized Jew named Pfefferkorn, had got from the emperor in 1508 an edict that the Jews should deliver all their books to be examined, and that such as contained things injurious to the Christian religion should be burned. The emperor was induced to reconsider this action, and called upon Reuchlin for an expert opinion as a Hebraist and a jurist. In his report Reuchlin distinguished seven classes of Jewish books, of which at the outside only one, such scandalous writings as the *Toledoth Jeshua*, and direct attacks on Christianity like the *Nissahon*, merited destruction. Thereupon he himself became the object of a venomous attack.

¹² E.g. by Jean Morin, *Exercitationes Biblicae*, lib. i, exerc. 1, c. 1 (p. 9 f.), 1660.

which he had seen twenty years before in a library in Toulouse.¹³ In fact, though the plan and disposition are different, most of the learning in the *Arcana* was conveyed direct from Martini. The critical comparison made by the Dominican editors of the *Pugio* a half century later gave an exhaustive demonstration of the Franciscan's fraud; the long annals of literary theft record no more egregious case. The numerous material additions in Galatinus are chiefly cabalistic, derived from the *Zohar* and other supposititious writings of Simeon ben Yohai. He also quotes frequently from a work called *Gale Raxaia* (Revealer of Mysteries) which professed to have for its author no less a person than R. Judah ha-Kadosh. Though more than one book bearing the same title (from Dan. 2, 29) is recorded by bibliographers, Galatinus's is none of them, and it has even been suspected that the alleged quotations from it were a pure fabrication of Galatinus himself, who was presumably as capable of inventing fictitious sources as of concealing real ones.¹⁴ The suspicion does him no injustice, though it perhaps overrates his creative imagination, but in this case it is erroneous. The real author was Pablo de Heredia (d. 1486), a Spanish Jew, who signalized his conversion to Christianity by a series of impudent forgeries.¹⁵

Large as was Galatinus's surreptitious conveyance of learning from the *Pugio*, the purpose and plan of the *Arcana* are very different. The primary object of Galatinus, as has been already remarked, was to uphold the cause of Reuchlin against the Dominicans; Hoogstraaten is throughout the opponent whose attack on the whole Jewish literature is to be repelled. Galatinus does not, however, confine himself to that task. When he takes upon him to prove in long discussion (Book vii) the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary against Hoogstraaten and Hoogstraaten's authority, Aquinas, he is prosecuting the long-standing controversy of his order with the Do-

¹³ In letters to Casaubon, August, 1603, May, 1604; see Carpzov's edition of the *Pugio*, pp. 106 f. Scaliger erroneously supposed that the author was Raymundus Sebon.

¹⁴ Morin broadly hints as much; and a half century earlier the elder Buxtorf wrote: Galatino saepissime hic liber laudatus et citatus, de cujus fide multi dubitant.

¹⁵ A note on Heredia's fabrications will appear in another number of the Review.

minicans, and his occasional quotations from (spurious) Jewish writings hardly suffice for a pretext. In the two centuries and more between Martini and Galatinus both Christian theology and Jewish polemic had brought new points into prominence, as may be seen in the chapters on the Mother of the Messiah. The *Arcana* is adapted to a new situation.

Galatinus's *Arcana* was several times reprinted (Basel 1591, Frankfurt 1603, 1612, 1672), and many who came after him derived much of their learning directly or indirectly from it.

The *Pugio* itself was first printed in 1651.¹⁶ It had waited long, but had the good fortune at last to fall into hands worthy of the task. The names of those who in different ways encouraged or furthered the enterprise are recorded on the title-page, and their respective parts in it defined in the ample prefatory matter. The principal editor, Joseph Voisin,¹⁷ not only collated four manuscripts for the text, but appended to the several chapters of the second and third parts *Observationes* containing additional quotations from the sources employed by Martini and from later authors, including some from the *Zohar* and cabalistic commentators such as Behai, notes on differences between the text of the Talmud and other books as adduced in the *Pugio* and the current printed editions — differences in part accounted for by the subsequent activities of the censorship — and the like. To Martini's *Proemium* Voisin attached, at a length of nearly a hundred and fifty folios, prolegomena, treating first of the *Lex non scripta* and the whole subject of Jewish tradition, including a complete analysis of the Mishna; the thirteen norms of halakic deduction; on the Talmuds, Midrashim, and commentators, with a short chapter on the Cabala, etc.; then of the *Lex scripta* and its contents; the commandments, positive and negative; the divisions of the Pentateuch; the rules for copying the Scriptures and the defects which render a copy unfit for use; the disputed question of the age of the vowel points; the canon, and the authorship of the several books according to Jewish tradition; on Hebrew poetry; the lections from the Prophets and the

¹⁶⁻¹⁷ See Appendix, p. 254.

divisions (*sedarim*) of the prophetic books; the translations of the Old Testament, etc. Particular note may be made of an extensive collection of quotations from the Old Testament (arranged in the order of their occurrence in the New) which were interpreted by the Jews in a way similar to the interpretation and application given them in the New Testament, and rabbinical parallels to New Testament ideas and expressions — a precursor, in a limited field, of the *Horae Hebraicae* of succeeding scholars.

Voisin's account of Jewish teaching and opinion is compiled, with large quotations in Hebrew and translation, from the best reputed authors, including Maimonides (*Mishneh Torah* and *Moreh*), Joseph Albo (*Ikkarim*), Azariah de Rossi (*Meor Enayim*). The whole is a work of admirable learning, and a most useful introduction to Martini. The greater part of it might still be studied with profit by many who profess to write on the subject in the light of "the attainment of modern research"; incidentally they might learn how a genuine scholar does his work. Voisin's edition of the *Pugio* was reprinted in Germany in 1687 under the direction of Johann Benedict Carpzov (the second of the name; died 1699), Professor in Leipzig, who prefixed to it a long *Introductio in Theologiam Judaicam et lectionem Raimundi, aliorumque id genus autorum*. The author's attitude toward his subject is illustrated by the title of one of his subdivisions: *Theologiae Judaicae modernae Autor principalis, Satanas; Ministerialis, Rabbini*. Nevertheless — probably by some oversight of Satan — even in it, he admits, there are vestiges of the true doctrine of the Old Testament which may be turned against the Jews; such were collected in the *Pugio*, whose author, *refutandam sibi caeteroqui proposuit theologiam Judaicam modernorum, apostatarum, reprobatorum, excoecatorum*, etc. It is this edition that is commonly in the hands of scholars; Voisin's is seldom found.

New and welcome sources were opened to Christian apologists in the Cabala, which purported to be an esoteric tradition of immemorial antiquity.¹⁸ The eccentric genius Raymond Lull (died 1315) was the first Christian scholar whose

¹⁸ See L. Ginsberg, 'Cabala,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ii, 456-479.

writings give evidence of acquaintance with the Cabala, but he employed his knowledge chiefly in his great scheme for a new science. It was two centuries later before the vogue of the Cabala in Christian circles began. Pico della Mirandola (died 1494) took it up with enthusiasm. He found in it a philosophy which he easily identified with his own Neoplatonic ideas, coming with the authority of revelation; it contained all the distinctive doctrines of Christianity: "The mystery of the Trinity, the incarnation of the Word, the divinity of the Messiah, original sin and its expiation through Christ, the heavenly Jerusalem, the fall of demons, the orders of angels, purgatory, and the punishment of hell." And all this in an esoteric tradition which, preserved among the Jews for many centuries orally, was reduced to writing by Ezra! It thus not only offered confirmation of the Christian faith, but enabled its defenders to confound the cavils of the Jews by the authority of their own books: "There is hardly a point in controversy between us and the Jews on which they cannot be so refuted out of the books of the cabalists that there will not be a corner left for them to hide in."¹⁹ Reuchlin (died 1522), whose interest in cabalistic studies had been awakened by Pico during a temporary residence in Florence in 1490, entertained a similar estimate of the Cabala, both the speculative and the practical branches of which, in his view, centered in the doctrine of the Messiah. Of Galatinus, what is necessary has been said above.

From this time on the Cabala has a prominent place in Christian apologetic and anti-Judaic polemic, taking its place beside, or before, the testimonies from the Targum, Talmud and Midrash, and Jewish commentators and philosophers, such as Raymund Martini had adduced. The first introduction of Christian scholars to cabalistic literature was through recent authors like Recanati (flor. ca. 1300), whose commentary on the Pentateuch Pico della Mirandola translated into Latin, and Bahya ben Asher (Behai; died 1340); but students soon found their way to the Zohar, which passed for the highest authority in this sphere. The Zohar, in form a Midrash on the Pentateuch, professed to be the secret instruction imparted by R. Simeon

¹⁹ *De hominis dignitate* (ed. Basel 1592), pp. 329 f.

ben Yohai to a select circle of disciples, Simeon himself having received the doctrine by revelation. Whatever reservations Christian scholars may have made on the point of Simeon's inspiration, they did not doubt the age or the authenticity of the Zohar; nor that in substance it perpetuated a tradition much more ancient than the time of its reputed author, the middle of the second century of our era. Indeed, the great antiquity of the cabalistic tradition has been maintained by some orthodox Protestant theologians as late as the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁰ What could be accomplished in the way of proving Christian dogmas from the Zohar is well exemplified by G. C. Sommer, *Specimen Theologiae Sohariae cum Christiana amice convenientis, exhibens articulorum fidei fundamentalium probationes, e Sohare, . . . petitas*, etc. (1734), in which a complete system of orthodox Protestant doctrine, formulated in twenty 'theses,' is established, article by article, by *loca probantia* from the Zohar instead of the Bible, the extracts being duly exhibited in the original and translation, with explanatory and illustrative commentary.

The exchange of polemics between Jews and Christians increased in volume and violence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, not alone in Spain, where converted Jews demonstrated their zeal for their new faith by the vehemence with which they impugned the old, and provoked equally vehement replies, but in France and Germany.²¹ The replies did not restrict themselves to the defense of Judaism against its assailants, or to a refutation by exegetical and historical arguments of the Christian interpretation and application of the Old Testament, or to disputing the doctrines of the church on rational or philosophical grounds, but directed their criticism against the Gospels and other books of the New Testament, with which the authors show themselves well acquainted. An indication of the temper in which some of them were written is given by the title *Niṣṣahon*, 'Triumph,' which more than

²⁰ Notably Tholuck and Hengstenberg.

²¹ The most prominent of the Spanish converts were Abner of Burgos (Alfonso of Valladolid, or of Burgos), died ca. 1360; Solomon ha-Levi of Burgos (Paul de Santa Maria, or Paul of Burgos), died 1345; Joshua ben Joseph ha-Lorki (Geronimo de Santa Fe), body physician of Pope Benedict XIII.

one of them bears, precisely as Porchetus had named his book 'Victoria.'

One of these Triumphs, the work of an unknown author who appears to have lived in the Rhineland, perhaps at Speier, in the thirteenth century,²² gives considerable space to an examination in detail of passages from the Gospels, beginning with the genealogy of Jesus in Matt. 1, and its conflict with the genealogy in Luke. The writer is familiar with the Vulgate, whose words he frequently quotes in Latin (done into Hebrew letters) and sometimes criticizes its renderings of the Old Testament. Another work under the same title was written by R. Lipmann-Mühlhausen, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Its author, who also was well acquainted with the Latin Bible, offers a detailed refutation of Christianity, divided into paragraphs, three hundred and forty-eight in number, each of which begins with a passage from the Old Testament. A compendious answer in poetical form to the Christian contentions and a summary of Jewish polemic is prefixed. In the *Hizzuk Emunah* of the Karaite Isaac Troki (died 1594),²³ the argument ranges over the whole of the New Testament, from Matthew to Revelation, and is always on the offensive. The polemic is of a completely modern type, and the change of the times is evident also in the fact that the book was not only widely circulated in the original Hebrew but was translated into modern languages. The growing aggressiveness of the Jewish controversialists was met in a like spirit by those who hastened to defend Christianity and repel the calumnies of the Jews. To expose these 'calumnies' they printed the Jewish polemic treatises with Latin translations, comments, and refutations, thus ensuring their preservation and wider publicity, in the act of exciting prejudice against the Jews.

Wagenseil, who published a thick volume of such texts (including the *Toledoth Jeshua*) and replies, gave it the significant title *Tela ignea Satanae*, The Fiery Darts of the Evil One (1681). Wagenseil's principal 'Confutatio' is annexed to the

²² Commonly cited as *Nizzachon Vetus*, to distinguish it from the work of Lipmann-Mühlhausen. Printed in Wagenseil.

²³ Troki's work is also in Wagenseil.

little Carmen Memoriale prefixed to Lipmann's Nissahon. The poem itself, if printed solid, would hardly fill more than a page or two; the reply occupies 413 pages in quarto. The author takes up Lipmann's twelve issues of controversy — chiefly Messianic — article by article and almost word by word, going into detailed discussion especially of Messianic prophecies, such as Gen. 49, 10 (63 pages), Isaiah 7, 14 (47 pages), etc., and incorporates long extracts from other authors, e.g. Amyraldus on the proof of the Trinity from the Old Testament, Chrysostom on the vain attempts of the Jews to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, a catalogue of false Messiahs from the *Shalshleth ha-Kabbala*, several specimens of Jewish synagogue sermons (in German), an epistolary altercation in Hebrew between Rittangel (d. 1652) and a Jew, Jewish computations of the time of the future advent of the Messiah, and the like (also from the *Shalshleth ha-Kabbala*). The Toledoth Jeshua is also honored with a lengthy refutation; and the volume closes with a Mantissa on the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, directed against the recent interpretation of the English scholar, John Marsham. Nor should the hundred pages of formidably learned preliminaries be ignored.

Still more violent against the Jews and everything Jewish is Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* (1700, 2 vols.).²⁴ It is a malignant book, if ever there was one, but it is doubtful whether any man ever gave himself so much pains to gratify his malignancy. The book describes itself, in a title-page as long as a modern preface, as a "thorough and truthful account of the way in which the hardened Jews horribly blaspheme and dishonor the most holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, defame the holy Mother of Christ, jeer and scoff at the New Testament, the Evangelists and Apostles, the Christian religion, and utterly despise and curse all Christian people," etc. The author promises to expose, besides, the gross errors of Jewish

²⁴ On the complaint of the Jews, this first edition of Eisenmenger's book was suppressed by the emperor as prejudicial to public order (see Wolf, ii, 1024). It was reprinted under the auspices of Frederick I, King of Prussia, and published in 1711, at Königsberg (or Berlin; see Wolf as above), in two volumes quarto, together nearly 2200 pages. A facsimile of the title page and other information about the work will be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, v, 80 f.

religion and theology, together with its ridiculous fables and other absurdities — all this by extracts in their own words from their own books, of which he had read through a great many, “mit grosser Mühe und unverdrossenem Fleiss.” To give him his due, he had read prodigiously. The annotated bibliography of Hebrew books from which his quotations are taken, prefixed to the first volume, fills more than fifteen quarto pages, besides a page about writings in Jewish-German; it enumerates substantially all the works of any consequence that might have been registered in a catalogue of *Rabbinica et Judaica* at the end of the seventeenth century, and the extracts in the two volumes prove that the bibliography is not a parade. His quotations are given in Hebrew with a German translation and exact references. Some of the chapters, especially in the second volume, in which he undertakes to set forth the beliefs of the Jews on such subjects as paradise, hell, angels, devils, the Messiah, the duration of his reign and what comes after it, the resurrection and judgment, though never losing sight of the polemic intent, are more constructive presentations of Jewish teaching, and contain a vast mass of quotations from literature of all ages. For reference on particular topics the volumes are furnished with ample and excellent analytical indexes.

The author shared with the scholars of his age, Jewish and Christian, the belief in the antiquity and authority of the Cabala, and quotes it extensively, especially in the writings of its later representatives, including not only Luria and Cordovero but the *Yalkut Rubeni* of his own contemporary Reuben Hoshke (d. 1673). Eisenmenger is the notorious source of almost every thing that has been written since his time in defamation of the Talmud or in derision of Jewish superstitions, and abounds in accusation of all kinds of misdeeds perpetrated against Christians, including the murder of children to use their blood in unholy rites.²⁵ What modern writers retail about the irreverence or childishness of the Jewish imagination of God — for example, God as a Rabbi, studying and teaching the law — comes ultimately from Eisenmenger, who fills sixty pages with the like edifying matter. It is not so frequently

²⁵ Vol. ii, pp. 220 ff.

recognized how deeply his successors have been indebted to the less strident parts of his work; and, with all his prejudice, what he adduces from the rabbinical sources is much more trustworthy than the books on which recent scholars have chiefly depended.

The Reformation gave a motive of its own to rabbinical studies. Hitherto scholars had maintained the doctrines of the Catholic Church against the Jews, or tried to convert Jews to them, and in so doing strove to confirm the Christian interpretation and application of the Old Testament by arraying on their side the most highly reputed Jewish authorities against the modern Jews. Protestants, on the other hand, in rejecting the authority of the Church and its traditions, took upon themselves to build up the entire edifice of Christian doctrine upon a purely scriptural basis. They were thus under the necessity of treating constructively various topics which had long been issues in controversy with the Jews, and of correlating them to other parts of the system. A great deal of the old material that had come down through centuries of polemics was ready to their hand, but for the new use it had to be put together in a new way; and when it came to be thus put together gaps were disclosed which had to be filled up. There was, moreover, at many points a distinctively Protestant position to be maintained against the Catholic interpretation and dogma.

To meet this need a multitude of monographs were written which may be regarded as materials for Protestant dogmatics. Like the Catholic works of the same period they illustrate the progress that has been made since the close of the fifteenth century in biblical philology, and the authors of many of them, whether Lutheran or Reformed, were largely learned at first hand in Jewish literature, both rabbinical and cabalistic. Their use of this material is, from our point of view, uncritical, but the collections are in some cases almost exhaustive so far as the sources were at hand, and no one who today undertakes a study of the subjects they treated can afford to ignore them, or can employ them without mingling admiration with gratitude.

Nor should we do justice to the literature of that age if we failed to recognize in much of it, along with the dogmatic and

polemical motive, the scholar's love of learning for its own sake, above all its uses. This is still more conspicuous in the works that deal not strictly with doctrine, but with religious and civil institutions in Bible times and later; with the temple, priesthood, cultus; the synagogue and its worship; with proselytes to Judaism; or with civil government, the laws, courts, and administration of justice; with marriage and divorce, education, and many subjects beside, in most of which Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* with its commentaries served them admirably for an introduction. The same spirit is manifest in works on the topography of Palestine, on the zoölogy and botany of the Bible, on its chronology, and the like, in all of which fields the permanent monographs come from this period. A perennial monument of the learning of that age is Surenhusius' edition of the *Mishna* (1698-1703), in six folio volumes, with Latin translation of the text and the most approved Jewish commentaries, together with additional comments and notes by Christian scholars, and extensive indexes, enabling the student to acquaint himself directly with this primary legal authority. Translations were also made of numerous treatises of the *Talmud*, and of the ancient juristic *Midrash*. Many of these were published, together with reprints of most of the seventeenth century works on Jewish antiquities, in the enormous collection of Blaisio Ugolino, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, 34 volumes in folio, 1744-1769.

Rabbinical learning was put to a different use when it was employed to elucidate or illustrate the New Testament. This was often done sporadically in continuous commentaries, e.g. by Grotius, and by Drusius in his *Praeterita*. Subsequently works were composed which might be described as rabbinical glosses on the New Testament, in which, generally without any other commentary, single passages were annotated with pertinent quotations from rabbinical sources. One of the earliest of these was the *Mellificium Hebraicum* (1649) of Christopher Cartwright,²⁶ which glosses in this way not only the New Testa-

²⁶ Christopher Cartwright (1602-1658) is the author also of *Electa Thargumico-Rabbinica, sive Annotationes in Exodum ex triplici Thargum seu Chaldaica paraphrasi*, 1658. The *Mellificium Hebraicum, seu Observationes Diversimodae ex Hebraeorum*,

ment but the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, besides two books (iv and v) of more miscellaneous adversaria. The second and third books, on the New Testament, quote with especial frequency parallels from the exegetical and homiletic Midrashim, particularly the Rabboth.

To the compilers of such glosses, as indeed to all who worked in this field then or since, the elder Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, published by his son in 1640, was of inestimable value. Based on the *Aruk* of R. Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome (died 1106), but with much additional matter, especially for the language of the Targums, in which he had a predecessor in Elias Levita (*Meturgeman*, 1541), and the Hebrew of mediaeval authors and commentators; the *Zohar* also is frequently cited. Some of the articles are virtual concordances; he quotes, for example, all the occurrences of the word 'Messiah' in the Targums. In view of the ingratitude of most of the learned to the dictionaries which supply them with so much of their learning, it enhances our respect for Cartwright that he so often gives credit to Buxtorf, even when he supplements the dictionary references or corrects them. The *Mellificium*, which seems to be quite unknown to modern writers, is a useful complement to Lightfoot and Schoettgen, because its parallels are so largely drawn from the Palestinian Midrashim in which the author had evidently read extensively. When it is added that it covers not only the Gospels, but the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, sufficient reason has perhaps been given for reviving the memory of the learned Christopher Cartwright.

The best known work of this class is the *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* of John Lightfoot. Only the parts on the Gospels and First Corinthians were published by the author;²⁷ Acts is posthumous, and Romans a fragment from Lightfoot's notes. To each of the Gospels is prefixed a discussion of regions and

praesertim antiquiorum, monumentis desumptae, unde plurima cum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti loca vel explicantur, vel illustrantur etc., was printed in the *Critici Sacri*, (London, 1660), ix, cols. 2943-3128.

²⁷ The parts of Lightfoot's *Horae* were published separately, Matthew 1668, Mark 1668, 1 Corinthians 1664, John 1671, Luke 1674, Acts and Romans, posthumously, 1678, by Richard Kidder.

places named in the Gospel, particularly in the light of descriptions or references in the Talmud, and these chorographic studies fill a considerable part of the volume — a partial precursor of the great work of Adrian Reland, *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (1714). Unlike Cartwright, Lightfoot's chief sources are the two Talmuds, with which he frequently quotes Rashi and the Tosaphoth. Maimonides also is often cited, and the commentators on the Old Testament; his lexical authority is the Aruk. On points of especial interest the glossarial method gives place to an excursus, sometimes of considerable length, for example, on Jewish baptism, the sects, synagogues, Sanhedrin, the Passover ritual, and the like. Numerous obscurities in the Greek are cleared up by comparison with Hebrew or Aramaic idiom; a good example is the wholly unintelligible *ὄψι δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκουσῇ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, ἦλθε Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ, κ.τ.λ.* (Matt. 28.1). Some modern commentators and critics might have made sense out of the verse and understood its relation to the parallels (Mark 16, 1; Luke 24, 1) if the horizon of their learning had been wide enough to take in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁸

The *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in universum Novum Testamentum* of Christian Schoettgen (1733), is described on the title page and in the preface as a supplement to Lightfoot on the Gospels, and for the rest of the New Testament a continuation of that scholar's unfinished work. Appended to the volume are seven short dissertations on various topics, such as the Kingdom of Heaven,²⁹ the celestial Jerusalem in Jewish

²⁸ See Schmiedel, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iv, col. 4041 f., cf. 4072; and on the passage, Moore in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxvi (1906), 323-329.

²⁹ A slip of Schoettgen's in the first paragraph of the *Dissertatio de Regno Coelorum* (i, 1147) is probably the origin of a misstatement which runs through a whole procession of New Testament lexicons and commentaries, namely that *ἡ βασιλεὶα τῶν οὐρανῶν* in Matthew corresponds to *מַלְכוּת הַשָּׁמַיִם* in rabbinical Hebrew. Schoettgen expressly says so; but if the scholars who took his word for it had looked at the examples he quotes in the following pages and elsewhere (on Matt. 11, 19, p. 115 f.), or at those collected by Lightfoot on Matt. 3, 2, they would have discovered that the rabbinical phrase is always *מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם*, which Lightfoot correctly explained as by metonymy for God. The solitary instance of *מַלְכוּת הַשָּׁמַיִם* in Schoettgen (p. 116), 'Mekilta in Yalkut Rubeni fol. 176, 4,' is an error either in Yalkut Rubeni (1660) or more probably in Schoettgen himself; the Mekilta (Jethro, Par. 5, init. on Exod. 20, 2) has correctly *מַלְכוּת*.

representation, and on Christ the greatest of Rabbis. One of them entitled 'De Exergasia Sacra,' observations on parallelism in Hebrew style, is an interesting anticipation of Lowth's theory of Hebrew poetry, published twenty years later. Schoettgen's reading, according to his preface and a *Conspectus Autorum* appended to it, was more extensive than Lightfoot's. He includes the Zohar (through Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata*), and several cabalistic works, from Behai (Bahya ben Asher) down to the Yalkut Rubeni. In 1742 Schoettgen published a second volume, also under the title *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, but with the more specific description, 'in Theologiam Judaeorum dogmaticam antiquam et orthodoxam de Messia.' This portly monograph of more than 700 pages in quarto, with a pair of dissertations added, and an appendix on rabbinical literature and other things, bringing the whole up to a round thousand pages, is not, as the uninitiated reader would gather from the title page, and as the author doubtless in good faith believed, an exposition of the *locus de Messia* in the 'ancient and orthodox dogmatic theology of the Jews' — something that never existed — but an attempt to prove that the whole orthodox dogmatic Christology of the church was held by the Jews at the beginning of our era and taught in their ancient and authoritative books, exoteric as well as esoteric.

As in all similar demonstrations, the Cabala has to furnish the evidence; and Schoettgen is so fully convinced of the Christianity of the Zohar that he sets himself seriously to prove that its supposed author, R. Simeon ben Yohai, was himself a Christian (pp. 901-917). This thesis was controverted by Justus Glaesener (himself the author of a *Theologia Soharica*) in a Diatribe reprinted in Schoettgen (pp. 918-935), to which Schoettgen replies in defense his theory (*ibid.* pp. 935-949). What did more lasting mischief than all this cabalistic Christianity in Schoettgen and others was the fact that upon its presumptions the genuine rabbinical sources were interpreted by the Cabala, with which they were assumed to be in complete accord — only, as was natural in esoteric writings, intimating its sublime doctrines more obscurely, and in language the full meaning of which was comprehended only by those who

had the cabalistic key. Since the middle of the last century the Cabala has ceased to be quoted as an exponent of Jewish teaching at the beginning of our era, but in more modern expositions of this teaching — on the nature and office of the so-called intermediaries in Jewish theology, for example — the rabbinical texts in Targums, Talmud, and Midrash are still interpreted in unconscious dependence on a cabalistic tradition.

One more volume, nearly contemporaneous with Schoettgen's *Horae*, demands a brief mention, namely, Joh. Gerhard Meuschen, *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude et antiquitatibus Hebraeorum illustratum* (1736). This is a collection of writings, partly *inedita*, by several authors, Meuschen's own contributions being only the preface and a diatribe on the Nasi, or Director of the great Sanhedrin. The first place in the volume (pp. 1-232) is taken by Balthasar Scheid, *Praeterita Praetertorum*, illustrations of select passages in the New Testament, chiefly from the Babylonian Talmud, somewhat resembling Lightfoot, but with fewer mere glosses, and in general with fuller comment on the texts under consideration. At the beginning, Scheid collects and remarks briefly on the Talmudic passages in which there is mention of Jesus and his disciples, an anticipation of which recent writers on the subject seem not to be aware. Nearly 800 pages are occupied by dissertations, programmes, etc., by Johann Andreas Danz (died 1727). Danz was one of the foremost Hebraists of his age, and these writings, when occasion requires, show him widely read also in classical and patristic literature. Whatever subjects he takes up are discussed with exhaustive thoroughness, whether it be proselyte baptism in relation to the baptism of John, or the law of *talio*, or Jewish excommunication (to illustrate Matt. 18, 18), or the idea of redemption (1 Pet. 1, 18 f.). Particular attention may be called to the series of programmes on the Shekinah (on John 14, 23). Among the other contents of the volume may be noted the controversy between Rhenferd and Witsius on the phrase 'the World to Come' in the Jewish literature and the New Testament, the particular point at issue being whether עולם הבא is equivalent to the 'Days of the Messiah,' which Rhenferd disproves.

Wettstein, in his edition of the New Testament (1751, 1752, 2 vols. fol.), subjoined to the text and critical apparatus a *commentarius plenior*, illustrating *ex scriptoribus veteribus Hebraeis, Graecis et Latinis historiam et vim verborum*. For the illustrations from Greek and Latin authors, besides his own reading, Wettstein availed himself of the ample accumulations of such matter in commentators like Drusius, Grotius, and others; those from the Talmud and other rabbinical sources are derived chiefly from the works which have been described above, especially from those in glossarial form such as Lightfoot and Schoettgen. It was chiefly in Wettstein's convenient *delectus*, that these parallels and illustrations were used by subsequent commentators and theologians, and passed into a secondary tradition which in the course of repetition has forgotten its origins.

II. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIME

The seventeenth century was the great age of Hebrew learning among Christian scholars; it lasted on till toward the middle of the eighteenth and then abruptly ended. The works of that period embody the results of earlier researches in Jewish literature from Raymund Martini down, with large additions accumulated by the labors of later generations, both in rabbinic and cabalistic sources. To the apparatus then collected little has been added since. When, after a long interruption, a few scholars in the nineteenth century took up again the study of Judaism it was with a different end and with a correspondingly different method. These later authors would have described their aim as historical — to exhibit the beliefs and teachings of Judaism in New Testament times or in the early centuries of the Christian era. For this purpose they employed chiefly the material that came down from their predecessors, without giving sufficient consideration to the fact that it had been gathered for every conceivable motive except to serve as material for the historian.

The apologetic selections were confined to certain topics of Christian doctrine; a *delectus* of quotations made for a polemic purpose is the last kind of a source to which a historian would

go to get a just notion of what a religion really was to its adherents. Moreover, apologetic and polemic are addressed to contemporaries, and draw their proofs indifferently from past and present; if they appeal to the past against the present, it is the authority of antiquity they seek, not the history of doctrine. It may be possible to order their selections from the sources chronologically, and then to assign them to their proper age, but not to supply from such collections those sides of the religion which they ignore. The more constructive works, particularly of the seventeenth century, are contributions to Christian — specifically Protestant — theology, to which the exposition of Jewish teaching is incidental. The rabbinical glosses to the New Testament, finally, were never intended to represent the Judaism of New Testament times, but to illustrate passages in the Gospels and other books by parallels from Jewish literature, in the same way in which Grotius and others illustrate the same books and often the same passages by a redundancy of quotations from Greek and Latin authors. Least of all did Cartwright or Lightfoot and the rest dream that their illustrations would be used by moderns to explain the *origin* of New Testament ideas. A striking example of such misuse of their collections is given by a whole succession of commentaries on 1 Cor. 15, 45, where it is said that the identification of the 'second Adam' with the Messiah was commonly made by the Rabbis in Paul's time, from whom he had doubtless learned it. This probably got into the exegetical tradition through Schoettgen, who gives (after Edzard) the reference '*Neve Schalom* fol. 160 a.' The author of the book cited died in 1492, and no older reference has been adduced. It may be presumed that Schoettgen was aware of the age of the work; those who quote him seem to imagine that a book with a Hebrew title must be as old as Paul.³⁰

The modern period in Christian studies of Judaism begins with August Friedrich Gfroerer,³¹ *Geschichte des Urchristen-*

³⁰ See my note in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xvi (1897), 158-161; Fr. Schiele, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* xlii (1899), 20 ff.

³¹ August Friedrich Gfroerer (1808-1861) studied theology in Tübingen, 1821-1825, and was Repetent there in 1823. In 1830 he became librarian in Stuttgart, and from 1846 was professor of history in the university of Freiburg in Baden.

thums, the first part of which, under the title, *Philo und die alexandrinische Theosophie, oder vom Einflusse der jüdisch-ägyptischen Schule auf die Lehre des Neuen Testaments* (2 vols.), appeared in 1831. This was followed by *Das Jahrhundert des Heils* (2 vols. 1838); *Die heilige Sage* (on the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, 2 vols); and *Das Heiligthum und die Wahrheit* (on the Gospel of John; all in 1838). The sub-title of his Philo propounds the thesis of the whole work. The first volume is an exposition of the philosophy and theology, or as Gfroerer prefers to call it, 'theosophy,' of Philo, which is of independent and permanent worth; in the second he undertakes to demonstrate, chiefly from the Apocrypha, that the principal features of Philo's theology are much older than his time and had long been current among the Alexandrian Jews, and to show how this theosophy was transplanted to Palestine through the Therapeutae, Essenes, and other sects. The two volumes of the *Jahrhundert des Heils* (together nearly 900 pages) might more descriptively be entitled *The Theology of the Palestinian Jews at the Beginning of the Christian Era*. As we have already seen, the author holds that this theology — or at least what, in distinction from popular notions, may be called the *higher* theology — was nothing else than the Alexandrian 'theosophy,' which, early introduced in Palestine, had taken firm root there and flourished greatly. The Cabala is a product of the mystical philosophy of the Palestinian schools; but Gfroerer was convinced that the same philosophy is represented in the Targums, and many passages in the Talmud and Midrash.

In the preface Gfroerer acknowledges his indebtedness to earlier scholars from Raymund Martini down, naming among others Surenhusius, Rhenferd, Voisin, and Eisenmenger, and for the Cabala, Knorr von Rosenroth. Where translations of Talmudic texts were accessible, he availed himself of them and often quotes them in Latin. In his own reading in the Talmud and Zohar he had the help of Jewish scholars, who served him also in the collection of passages. Thus, without any pretence of great rabbinical learning, Gfroerer was respectably equipped for the task he set himself.

In the first chapter he gives a sufficient account of the rabbinical sources, discussing the age of the Talmud, and for the dates of the rest following the then recent critical work of Zunz.³² It should be remarked that, notwithstanding his prepossessions about the antiquity of the cabalistic theosophy, Gfroerer assigns the Zohar itself to the end of the thirteenth century. He believed, however, that the theosophy of the Zohar was far older than the book, which was only the literary precipitate of a secular tradition; and when he found the same ideas in Jewish writings from the first four centuries of our era, he felt warranted in quoting the Zohar as a representative of the ancient mystical doctrine of the Jews. It is a notable step in advance that Gfroerer includes among the sources for Palestinian Judaism in this period the writings collected by Fabricius in the *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (1713), among which are the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Psalms of Solomon, and gives especial attention to the Apocalypses, the Ethiopic Enoch and the Ascension of Isaiah, which had recently been brought to light,³³ and Fourth Esdras, the origin and age of all of which he submits to a critical discussion. In the heresies of Simon Magus and Elxai, and in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, which he calls a Greek Zohar, he finds further sources for the history of Jewish theology, and cites many passages from the Fathers in attestation.

One of the results of this widening of the scope of the inquiry is the discrimination of different types of Jewish doctrine concerning the Messiah and the last things. One of these, drawn from the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, he calls the common prophetic type; the second is the Danielic type — we should say the apocalyptic — the Messiah the Son of Man who comes from heaven; the third is named the Mosaic type, because the Messiah is conceived as the prophet like unto Moses

³² Leopold Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt*. 1832.

³³ The Ethiopic text of the Ascension was edited, with Latin and English translations, by Richard Laurence in 1819; the Latin translation was reprinted by Gfroerer in *Prophetæ veteres pseudepigraphi*, 1840; Enoch in English translation by Laurence in 1821; the Ethiopic text in 1838.

of Deut. 18, 15; and finally, 'the mystical Mosaic type.'²⁴ The sharp distinction between the prophetic and apocalyptic forms of Messianic expectation, with the corresponding differences in the whole Jewish eschatology, put all these problems in a new light, and this chapter of Gfroerer's work had considerable influence on the further study of the subject.

Gfroerer had been a student at Tübingen under Ferdinand Christian Baur, to whom his *Philo* was dedicated. What he proposed was a history of primitive Christianity, and he addressed himself to the task with the spirit and method of a historian. The investigation of Alexandrian Judaism in the *Philo* and of Palestinian Judaism in the *Jahrhundert des Heils* was necessary, because only through a knowledge of contemporary Judaism can the beginnings of Christianity be historically understood. The author knew, however, that to have its full value for this ulterior purpose the investigation must be pursued without reference to it, and consequently *Das Jahrhundert des Heils* taken by itself is a history of Palestinian Judaism in New Testament times. It was the first time that the attempt had been made to portray Judaism as it was, from its own literature, without apologetic, polemic, or dogmatic prepossessions or intentions; and however greatly the Alexandrian influence in Palestinian theology is exaggerated, and whatever its shortcomings in other respects, this fact alone is enough to make the work memorable.

Gfroerer does not try to run Jewish teaching into the mould of any system of Christian theology, but adopts a disposition natural to the matter. After the chapter on the sources of which mention has already been made, and one on education and the learned class, he discusses the Jewish doctrine of revelation; the idea of God; the divine powers; the intermediaries between God and the world (Shekinah, Memra); angels and demons; creation, the world and its parts; man, the soul, immortality, freedom and destiny, sin, the fall; the means and ways by which man gains the favor of God or averts his wrath; God's purpose with the Jewish people, providence; this world and that to come; the time of the Messiah's advent; and

²⁴ *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, ii, 239-444.

finally the chapter on the Messiah and the Last Things of which we have spoken above. The author's Alexandrinism — to label his theory thus — is particularly evident when he is dealing with the idea of God and the intermediaries, a subject to which we shall return presently. Elsewhere he gives in general a satisfactory account of Palestinian teaching, so far as his sources and his somewhat indiscriminate use of them permit.

Eminently good is the exposition of the ways by which the favor of God is gained, a chapter which comprehends in brief the whole of practical religion. The author is dealing here with matters on which Jewish teaching is abundant, clear, consistent, and always the same; but no one before him had undertaken to bring it together and set it forth for Christian readers; indeed the subject had been almost completely ignored by his predecessors — a striking example of the insufficiency for historical purposes not only of the polemic and dogmatic methods, but of the vast accumulation of material made in a polemic or dogmatic interest. For the question, What must men do to be well-pleasing to God? goes to the heart of the matter. The answer to it tells us more than anything else what a religion really is. Gfroerer not only recognized the significance of this question, but lets the Jews themselves answer it in their own way and mainly in their own words. The chapter has not merely the merit of a first exploration in a neglected field; it is to this day the most adequate presentation of the subject from the hand of a Christian scholar, and its excellence is the more conspicuous by comparison with the treatment of the matter by more recent writers, particularly Ferdinand Weber and those who get their notions of Judaism from him.

Gfroerer distinguishes among the Palestinian Jews two widely different ideas of God. The great majority, as in all religions and in all times, conceived of God after the analogy of human personality, only immeasurably greater and better, creator, sustainer, and moral governor of the world, as he is represented in the Scriptures. A smaller number embraced the Alexandrian speculations which allowed the name God in its proper sense only to the pure Being of its ontology (*ὁ ὢν, τὸ ὄν*), an Absolute, of which, as it is in itself, nothing can be known, no

name given to it, no predicates applied, no attributes ascribed. Between this transcendent God and the world they posited an intermediary corresponding in nature and function to the Logos in Philo. The chief evidence that Gfroerer adduces to prove that a transcendent idea of God was entertained by influential Palestinian teachers is, in fact, the existence in the Targums³⁵ and Midrash of such figures as the Shekinah, Memra, Metatron, which he conceives to be explicable only as the intermediaries made necessary by a metaphysical idea of God that excludes him by definition from immediate transactions in nature or revelation. In this interpretation he was in accord with the long-standing traditions of Christian apologetics and dogmatics, proceeding from the same metaphysical idea of God.

Gfroerer is thus a precursor of the modern school which attributes to Palestinian Judaism as a fundamental dogma an idea of God which isolates him from the world in his infinite being and unapproachable holiness — the term transcendent is often used to define it. But he does not, like them, regard this as the general and dominant rabbinical conception; he confines it to the theosophic mystical circles who derived their theology from Alexandria and in which the Cabala was cultivated. And, so far from regarding it as something distinctively bad in Judaism by contrast with Christianity, he finds the same ideas in the Gospel of John, which he exalts above the others in a volume bearing the significant title, *Das Heiligthum und die Wahrheit*.³⁶ His theory of the origin and nature of the Shekinah and Memra is erroneous, and the inference from it invalid; but his discrimination saves him from the gross misrepresentation of the prevailing Jewish conception of God into which his successors fall. Gfroerer is now seldom quoted, in part perhaps because he did not provide his volumes with indexes to make it easy to quote without reading. Nor is the

³⁵ The Targums on the Pentateuch and the Historical Books, which (with the exception of the so-called Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch) he makes older than the destruction of Jerusalem, are among his chief witnesses to the early prevalence of Alexandrian mystical theology in Palestine.

³⁶ Recall also the subtitle of his Philo (above, p. 225), 'vom Einflusse der jüdisch-ägyptischen Schule auf die Lehre des Neuen Testaments.'

book, with its wilderness of quotations in Latin and German easy reading, but one who is willing to undergo the labor may still learn much from it.

The book that has for forty years been the chief resource of Christian writers who have dealt *ex professo* or incidentally with Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era is Ferdinand Weber's *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie* (1880).²⁷ For a just estimate of this work it is necessary to premise somewhat about its origin. The author grew up in a pietistic atmosphere; he studied at Erlangen, then one of the strongholds of the new-fashioned Lutheranism, under Johann Christian Hofmann and Franz Delitzsch, and is redolent of the 'heilsgeschichtliche Theologie.' There he imbibed the anti-critical and unhistorical spirit of the school. His first publication was outlines of Introduction of the Old and New Testament, for teachers in higher schools and educated readers of the Bible (1863), of one of the later editions of which Heinrich Holtzmann said that the only thing it showed was how a man could write on these subjects without taking any note of what was going on about him. No less significant of his whole attitude was a series of articles in the *Allgemeine evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, entitled, *System des jüdischen Pharisäismus und des römischen Katholicismus* (1890).

Probably under Delitzsch's influence Weber conceived the idea of becoming a missionary to the Jews, and with this end in view began rabbinical studies under J. H. Biesenthal, a very competent scholar, himself a convert from Judaism and a missionary to the Jews, who like so many before him brought as a baptismal offering proofs of the Trinity and other Christian doctrines from the Cabala. Weber never succeeded in getting into the missionary calling, but the 'System' on which he spent the last years of his life was the outcome of studies undertaken to that end.

²⁷ Edited and published after the author's death by Franz Delitzsch and Georg Schnedermann; reissued with an extra title-page, 'Die Lehren des Talmuds' (1886), and in a second, 'improved' edition by Schnedermann under a third title, 'Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandte Schriften,' 1897. The improvements consist in an (incomplete) verification of the references by J. J. Kahan and occasional slight revision by the editor, not always for the better. (See, for example, the absurd Metatron-Crown Prince, 2d ed., p. 178.)

Now Jewish law, ritual, and observance, were ordered and codified in the Mishna and kindred works; but the Jews did nothing of the kind for the religious and moral teaching of the school and synagogue. No one even thought of extracting a theology from the utterances of the Rabbis in Midrash and Haggada, to say nothing of organizing the theology in a system; nor was the need of any connected presentation of Jewish doctrine felt until the controversies of the tenth century prompted Saadia to write the *Emunoth we-Deoth* after the example of Moslem Mutakallimin and upon the same philosophical principles. The fundamental criticism to be made of Weber's 'System' is precisely that it *is* a system of theology, and not an ancient Jewish system but a modern German system. This is far more than a mere matter of disposition, the ordering of the materials under certain heads taken from Christian dogmatics; the system brings its logic with it and imposes it upon the materials.

After the pattern of the 'material principle' and 'formal principle' of Lutheran dogmatics, Weber begins with *Das Materialprincip des Nomismus* and *Das Formalprincip des Nomismus*, each in several chapters. The 'material principle' is concisely formulated in the title of chapter 3: *Gesetzlichkeit das Wesen der Religion* — legalism is the sum and substance of religion, and is, in Jewish apprehension, the only form of religion for all ages. This 'nomism' is reflected in the idea of God (chap. 11): Where legalism is the essence of religion, religion is the right behavior of man before God, whereas 'we say,'²⁸ Religion is communion with God. God will admit man to his communion because he is not only holiness but love. In Judaism, on the contrary, where his holiness is exclusively emphasized, God remains absolutely exalted above the world and man, separated from them, abiding unchangeable in himself.

After a few sentences on the names of God, the remoteness of God in his supramundane exaltation becomes metaphysical:

²⁸ In the second edition Schnedermann transforms this opposition in the points of view ('wir sagen') into an antithesis in the proposition itself. The Jewish idea is that, 'Religion das rechte Verhalten des Menschen vor Gott ist, nicht aber Gemeinschaft des Menschen mit Gott.'

"From this fundamental conception of God as the Absolute, Jewish theology deduces two further (in reality antithetic) elements, which must be regarded as characteristic of the Jewish idea of God; namely, abstract monotheism and abstract transcendentism. The former was developed and fixed in opposition to the trinitarian unfolding (Erschliessung) of the one Godhead in three persons, the latter in opposition to the personal indwelling of God in the human race."³⁹ Subsequent writers who use Weber as evidence of the Jewish idea of God in New Testament times in order to contrast with it Jesus' conception have overlooked this most significant passage. It is necessary, therefore to emphasize his express assertion that the antithetic conceptions of 'abstract monotheism' (or 'monism'!) and the 'abstract transcendentism' in Jewish theology were 'developed and fixed' in opposition to the Trinitarianism and Christology of the church, and are therefore posterior to the development of those Christian doctrines.

It is equally important to remark that the 'fundamental conception' of an inaccessible God, whom, without perceiving the difference, he converts in the next breath into an Absolute God,⁴⁰ is derived from the principle that legalism is the essence of religion, from which, according to Weber, it follows by logical necessity. About this he deceives himself; the necessity is purely apologetic. The motive and method of the volume are in fact apologetic throughout; the author, like so many of his predecessors, sets himself to prove the superiority of Christianity to Judaism. In view of what is known of his life, it may perhaps without injustice be described more specifically as missionary apologetic: he would convince Jews how much better Christianity is than Judaism. This aim would explain the comparative absence of the polemic element which mingles so strongly with the ordinary apology.

A peculiar character is given to Weber's work also by his own religious and theological prepossessions. It is not catholic doctrine which is the explicit or implicit antithesis of Judaism,

³⁹ System, u. s. w., p. 145.

⁴⁰ As with equal obtuseness to the meaning of words he makes 'monism' equivalent to 'abstract monotheism.'

but Lutheranism of a peculiar modernized type of which Hofmann was the chief representative. The arbitrary contradiction created between the two conceptions of the essence of religion, conformity to the will of God and communion with God, with its consequences for the idea of God, and the singular theory of the Trinity to which we have already adverted are of this origin. A conspicuous example is to be found also in the treatment of 'Die Gerechtigkeit vor Gott und das Verdienst' (chap. 19), in which antipathy to the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works and merit transfers itself to Judaism.

In an introduction of thirty-four pages the rabbinical sources are described after Zunz and other Jewish authors, and in general with Zunz's dates, and the editions from which the author ordinarily quotes are specified — an unusual thoughtfulness for which those who verify their quotations would be more grateful if he had applied it to his references to the Rabboth. The Cabala and the Pseudepigrapha are excluded; Hellenistic Judaism is outside the author's plan. The omission of the liturgy of the synagogue and forms of private prayer in the survey of the sources is, however, an error of grave consequence. Incidentally it shows with how little independence Weber planned and performed his task — his predecessors had not concerned themselves with this material. The principles on which the sources are to be employed are briefly stated; they are sounder than his application of them in practice. Finally, there is a survey of the older literature down to Wagenseil and Bodenschatz, on which somewhat sweeping unfavorable judgment is passed. No mention is any where made of Gfroerer, and the omission is hardly accidental; a pupil of Baur and a convert to Catholicism was anathema in Weber's circle on both counts.

No intimation is given of the nature and extent of Weber's indebtedness to the predecessors who in the course of centuries had collected for one purpose or another a vast mass of quotations and references. Perhaps if he had lived to publish the volume himself, he might have acknowledged his obligations in a preface, though the Introduction would have been the

natural place for them. As it is one might get the impression that Weber meant to give the appearance of having gone at the Targum, Talmuds, and Midrashim as though nobody had been there before him, and collected all his materials for himself; and in fact Christian scholars unfamiliar with the older literature have generally taken him at this estimate and attributed to him a measure of learning much beyond the reality.⁴¹ There is no question that he had read industriously and had the assistance of converted Jews; but that he built on other men's foundations and largely with their materials is easily demonstrable. Most of his quotations come out of the common stock which had been accumulated by the labors of many generations, not all of them even verified. Confiding successors have appropriated these errors, and not always given Weber the credit of them.

The passages which Weber adduces from the sources (in German translation) are copious and in general relevant to his proposition. It must be emphasized, however, that in detaching them from their original associations and using them as *dicta probantia* for the *loci* of a systematic theology whose 'system' is the antithesis of Judaism to Christianity, they are methodically misused. To much of this material—to the exegetical ingenuities and homiletical conceits of the Midrash and the playful imaginations of the Haggada, for example—the Jews attached no theological character or authority. Weber on 'Die Judaisirung des Gottesbegriffes' (pp. 153–157) is a salient instance of such misuse of the sources. Incidentally also of his use of his predecessors. If any one will take the trouble to compare this section with Eisenmenger's chapter, 'Was vor ungeziemende und theils lästerliche Dinge die verstockten Juden von Gott dem Vater lehren und schreiben'

⁴¹ It does not inspire confidence in the author's rabbinical erudition to read (p. xx) that according to Sanhedrin 86a the anonymous utterances in Sifra are to be taken as sayings of R. Judah the Holy, 'from which it follows that the Talmud regards R. Judah the Holy as the author of Sifra.' The Talmud says R. Judah, by which name not 'Judah the Holy,' but Judah ben Ilai (in the preceding generation) is regularly designated. In the second edition 'the Holy' disappears; but with the consequence that in the sequel Rab is said to have been a disciple in the school of Judah, which would seem to give Rab an extraordinarily long life.

(i, 1 ff., esp. pp. 1-54), will find Weber's references sometimes for a page together in the same order. It is curious that he should have made such use of a work of which, with others of the kind, he says that they are "weit mehr Sammlungen aller möglichen Absurditäten und Frivolitäten, als religionsgeschichtliche Darstellungen," and of a chapter in which Eisenmenger outdoes himself in that vein. Eisenmenger, however, got together this material (and much more) only to hold up the Jews to derision and contempt; Weber seriously derives from it a 'Judaized' idea of God, and has a serious theory to explain how an idea so incongruous with their 'transcendentism' ever came to be entertained—it was the growing dominance of 'the principle of nomocracy' which transformed God into 'a God of the Torah.'

Weber's original contribution to the misunderstanding of Judaism was what he calls 'transcendentism,' the inaccessibility of God, wherein he finds the characteristic difference of the Jewish idea of God, and its immense inferiority to the Christian idea. That this was the Jewish idea, is proved for him, as has been already noted, by the intermediaries which, according to him, Judaism interposed between God and the world: if God himself were not transcendent, there would be no use for them. The older apologetic, better instructed in Christian theology, had consistently labored to prove that these intermediaries corresponded exactly to their own Logos, the Son, Christ, discovering in them no difference between the Jewish idea of God and the Christian — the identity is, indeed, always assumed. The Christology of the church and its Trinitarian dogma are in fact based upon a metaphysical doctrine of the Absolute; and from their first acquaintance with it Christian scholars recognized their own philosophy of religion in the transcendental Neoplatonism of the speculative Cabala, which they regarded as the ancient esoteric doctrine of Judaism. Weber's antithesis between the transcendent God of Jewish theology and the contrary in Christian theology⁴² shows how little he knew about either the history or the content of Christian dogma. What

⁴² The contrary of a transcendent God, is not, as historically and logically it should be, an *immanent* God, but what may be called a sociable God.

has led recent scholars of other schools and of greatly superior theological learning to adopt Weber's interpretation and judgment of Judaism and to put the Jewish idea of God in a new antithesis to Christianity is a question to which we shall revert later.

Besides the causes of misunderstanding that have been remarked above, particular misinterpretations are not infrequent, and are sometimes of far-reaching consequence. A striking instance of this kind may be found on page 174 f., where Weber discovers in the *dibbūr* of *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* fol. 3 a (Sulzbach; ed. Wilna, 1884, fol. 4 b) 'the basis for the understanding of the Memra of Jehovah in the Targums,' "des aus dem Munde Gottes hervorgegangenen Wortes, welches als göttliche Potenz innerhalb der Heilsgeschichte wirkend sich in der Anschauung des Judentums zur Person verdichtet hat und als mittlere Hypostase zwischen Gott und seinem Volke steht." As Weber paraphrases: "At the proclamation of the Ten Commandments, the *dibbūr* proceeded out of the mouth of God, and then went to each Israelite in the camp and asked him whether he would accept it, setting before him at the same time all the obligations as well as the reward involved in the acceptance. As soon as an Israelite had answered in the affirmative and accepted the Word, the Dibbur kissed him on the mouth."

The passage on which such large dogmatic conclusions are based is a peculiarly far-fetched homiletic conceit on Cant. 1, 2, 'Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth.' R. Johanan said that at the lawgiving at Sinai, "An angel brought out the word (*dibbūr*) from the presence of God, each word separately,"⁴⁸ and took it around to every individual Israelite, saying to him, Do you take upon you this word?" He explained all that was implied in the commandment as well as what was explicitly required, the penalties of transgression, and the reward of obedience. "If the Israelite said, Yes, the angel further asked, Do you take upon you the Godhead of the

⁴⁸ *Dibbūr* is 'speech, utterance'; specifically one of the Ten Utterances (*debarim*, rabbinical, *debaroth*), which the Greek version (Exod. 34, 28) and Philo call *δέκα λόγους*, and we after them the Decalogue.

Holy One? If he answered, Yes, Yes, the angel kissed him on the mouth — this is what is said (in Deut. 4, 35): ‘Thou wast made to see, to know’ (by the hand of a messenger).”⁴⁴ The majority, however, gave a slightly different turn to the conceit — and here we come to Weber’s quotation: The several commandments were not carried about one by one by an angel, but each *dibbūr* (‘commandment’) itself went about on the same errand, made the same explanations, and, being accepted, kissed the man on his mouth, etc.

The difference between R. Johanan and the majority is not over the impersonality or personality of the word: a more plausible suggestion is offered by a commentator steeped in the mind of the Midrash, that it has its origin in a different interpretation of ‘the great host’ in Psalm 68, 12, one taking it of the angels, the others of the Israelites. But whatever remoter conceits may have been in the homilists imaginations, Weber’s partial quotation needs only to be completed from its context to prove his interpretation and application false. And, even if not misinterpreted and misapplied, what kind of a basis for the ‘hypostatic Word of God’ are such curiosities of ingenuity as are displayed in asking and answering the question who is the kisser and who the kissed in Cant. 1, 2, and when, and where, and what for? I have dwelt on this case at some length, as a warning against that implicit confidence in Weber which prevails among those who are not able to bring him to book. Before I leave the subject I am going to give one illustration of how Weber at second-hand is worse than himself. Oesterley and Box, with the remark that it ‘illustrates the underlying conception of the *Memra*,’ reproduce as follows the passage from Weber quoted above: “The passage is dealing with the account of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, and it is explained that the ‘Word’ (*Memra*) came forth from the mouth of God when the Ten Commandments were pronounced, and went forth to each Israelite, asking each if he would accept these commandments,” etc. “As soon as an Israelite signified

⁴⁴ The quotation of these catch-words must be understood to call to mind the sequel, ‘that the Lord, he is God; there is none beside him. Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice that he might instruct thee,’ etc.

his willingness to become obedient to the Law, the 'Word' kissed him on his lips." ⁴⁶

Numerous equally striking examples of Weber at second hand may be found by those who are in search of such entertainment in the article 'Shekinah' in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, by J. T. Marshall. I can make room here for only one of them. In a paragraph on the activity of the Shekinah not only on earth but in Sheol (p. 489 A) we read: "But in Bereshith Rabba to Gn. 44, 8 the Shekinah is the deliverer. It affirms that the wicked Jews now 'bound in Gehinnom' will ascend out of hell, *with the Shekinah at their head.*" For this, reference is made with a certain superfluity to both editions of Weber. In abridging Weber, Marshall has eliminated the association with Micah 2, 13 ('and their King shall pass over before them and the Lord at their head') which alone makes the Midrash intelligible. This by the way. The point of the story is in the reference to 'Bereshith Rabba to Gn. 44, 8.' A reader whose skepticism was properly aroused by this altogether unusual method of citing the Midrash, and who undertook to find the place, would find nothing but a justification of his skepticism. The quotation, in fact, is not from the Midrash Bereshith Rabbah at all. It is derived from the Pugio Fidei (p. 685), where it is attributed to the Bereshith Rabba of Rabbi Moses ha-Darshan, that is to say to a lost work by a French Rabbi at the close of the eleventh century. But the end is not yet. In Carpzov's edition of the Pugio which Weber used the reference 'Gen. 44. v. 8' is a misprint, as the first words of the quotation וינש אליו יהודה — the *incipit* of the Parasha וינש, Gen. 44, 18 — would betray at a glance to any reader who paid attention to what he was about. The case incidentally demonstrates that neither Weber nor Marshall had ever tried to verify the reference. In the second edition of Weber, Kahan has put a (?) after the reference, showing that he had looked for it but not been able to find it in Bereshith Rabbah, which might at least have served as a danger signal to Marshall.

⁴⁶ Religion and Worship of the Synagogue, p. 182 f.

Finally, it is to be observed that in treating of the intermediaries (Shekinah, Memra, Metatron), although Weber abjures the testimony of the Cabala, he takes over the conceptions and associations which his predecessors had derived from the Cabala, and interprets in accordance with them the testimony of the Targums and Midrash — a fallacy of method in which he has many fellows. A bad example of such contamination occurs in the section on the Metatron (p. 174), where, having by way of the mediaeval Gematria, $\text{מטטרון} = 314 = \text{שרי}$, discovered that Metatron is a 'representative of the Almighty,' he continues: "In this sense he bears in Hullin 69 a and Yebamoth 16 b the name שר העולם , Prince of the World; he represents God's sovereignty (*Herrscherstellung*) in the world." The Talmud neither in the places cited nor anywhere else calls Metatron *sar ha-'ōlam*. To judge from a comparison of the contexts, Weber had his references from Levy (*Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, II, 31), where, however, the identification is not attributed to the Talmud, but (incorrectly) to the Tosaphoth, or supplementary glosses (supplementary, that is, to Rashi), chiefly from the French schools of the thirteenth century. In the Tosaphoth themselves the identity is discussed, a propos of the apparently conflicting use of the title in certain mediaeval hymns, but is *not* affirmed. Eisenmenger (II, 397), and so far as I know every one who touched the subject before Weber, stated the matter correctly.

Six years before Weber, appeared another work which was destined more than any other in its time to influence Christian notions of Judaism, namely, Emil Schürer, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte* (1874). The name, which came into vogue in the sixth and seventh decades of the last century, did not mean a history of New Testament times, but designated a part of what in earlier days would have been comprehended under Introduction to the New Testament. Its practical purpose was to put the student in the way of acquiring a variety of knowledges which are necessary to the understanding of the New Testament and the beginnings of Christianity. Schneckenburger (1862) had included the Gentile world of the time, but Schürer limits the scope of his *Lehrbuch*

to the Jewish side. After an introduction on the sources he devotes half the volume to the political history of Palestine from 175 B.C. to 70 A.D. The second part has the subtitle, 'Das innere Leben des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Christi,' and deals with the country and its populations, Jewish institutions, the sects, the scribes and their learning, schools and synagogues, life under the Law; then (on a much larger scale), the apocalyptic literature, and the Messianic expectation. The volume concludes with chapters on Judaism in the dispersion, and on Philo.

Subsequent editions, greatly enlarged, appeared under the title, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, but without any considerable change in the character or plan of the work. Schürer's volumes are an indispensable repertory for all sorts of things about the Jews — history, archaeology, geography, chronology, institutions, cultus, sects and parties, literature, etc. — treated as distinct subjects of investigation and presentation. The work has an external unity in serviceability for a practical purpose, but lacks the historical bond which alone could give it an inner unity. This observation is not an adverse criticism on the work; Schürer did what he set out to do, and made an immeasurably useful handbook. But the reader must take it and use it for what it is, not for what its author, notwithstanding the title, never intended it to be — history. Least of all did he propose to write a history of the Jewish religion in the period he covers, or a description of it as it was at the beginning of our era. He treats at large the Messianic expectation — under which he included the whole eschatology — twice, first in its development and then again systematically. The only other subject in the sphere of religion which is given a place of its own is 'Life under the Law.' The selection of these two subjects and no others is explained by their signal importance for the understanding of the beginnings of Christianity — the different forms of Messianic expectation among the Jews in relation to correspondingly varied forms of belief among Christians about Jesus the Messiah, and Life under the Law as explaining and justifying Jesus' criticism of the Scribes and Pharisees.

The consequence of the isolation of these subjects from their place in Jewish religion as a whole is to give the erroneous impression that the Law and the Messianic expectation are not only, as Schürer puts it, the two poles of Judaism, but that they are the sum and substance of it. This impression is greatly strengthened by the contents of the section on Life under the Law. To Schürer, notwithstanding his very different theological standpoint, as much as to Weber, Judaism was synonymous with 'legalism,' and 'legalism' was his most cherished religious antipathy. The motive of the legalized religiousness of the Jews was retribution, reward and punishment here and hereafter, in the exact measure of the merit or demerit of particular acts of transgression or omission — retribution for the individual and the people. As this motive is essentially external, the result was an incredible externalizing of the religious and moral life, the whole of which is drawn down into the 'juristic' sphere. The evil consequences that necessarily follow are developed at large; the upshot of it is that life becomes a service of the letter for the letter's sake. The outward correctness of the action is the thing, not the inward end and motive. "And all this trivial and perverted zeal professes to be the true and right religion. The more pains men took, the more they believed that they gained the favor of God." ⁴⁶

Schürer goes on to illustrate the errors into which this 'zeal for God not according to knowledge' (Rom. 10, 2) led, and the heavy burdens it laid on the Israelite, by describing in detail, chiefly after the Mishna, the regulations for Sabbath observance, the rules of clean and unclean, the prescriptions about the wearing of fringes, phylacteries, prayer-shawls; the formalizing of prayer, fasting, and the like. Even the occasional fine sayings of individual Rabbis are for him only streaks of light which make blacker the shadows they can not illumine. In conclusion, Schürer pronounces judgment on the Jewish religion in terms of solemn condemnation. It is significant that, while almost everything else in the work was revised and rewritten in the successive editions, this chapter remains nearly

⁴⁶ Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, § 27; especially pp. 483 f., 510 f.; Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes, u. s. w., § 28; 3d edit. ii, 464 ff., 469, 495, etc.

verbatim to the last; even the original vehemence of expression is unsoftened by years.

It is to be taken into account in estimating his depreciatory judgment that Schürer was never widely read in the literature of the school and the synagogue, and that he paid the least attention to precisely those parts of it from which most may be learned about religious feeling and the inwardness of Jewish piety. It may be added that Schürer himself was temperamentally lacking in the sympathetic imagination which recreates other times, other men, other manners, alien ways of thinking and feeling, philosophies and religions remote from our own, in the endeavor to realize what they meant in their own time and place. But after all allowance is made the final word must be that 'Life under the Law' was conceived, not as a chapter of the history of Judaism but as a topic of Christian apologetic; it was written to prove by the highest Jewish authority that the strictures on Judaism in the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles are fully justified. It is greatly to be regretted that Schürer's eminent merits in everything external should have led New Testament scholars generally to attach equal authority to his representation and judgment of the Jewish religion.

In another respect Schürer's work marks a change in the point of view. His predecessors, generally speaking, compare and contrast Judaism and Christianity as wholes, and from the point of view of their own time; Weber compares the Palestinian Judaism of the first five centuries of our era with his own variety of nineteenth century Protestantism, unhistorically imagined to be Christianity itself. Schürer's purpose to furnish the necessary knowledge for the understanding of the beginnings of Christianity confines the comparison to narrower limits. The Messianic expectations of the contemporary Jews are reflected in Christian conceptions; the opposition to legalism is a primitive factor in the gospel. The problem of the origin of Christianity historically conceived demands, however, an investigation of every other phase of Judaism at the beginning of our era, and the endeavor to define what Christianity took over from Judaism as well as what was new in it. For such

a purpose a critical history of Judaism in that age, say from the beginning of the second century B.C. to the end of the second century A.D., both Palestinian and Hellenistic, became indispensable.

This is what the title of Bousset's *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (1903; 2d ed. 1906) promises. The author is conscious that in undertaking a comprehensive presentation of what he strangely calls 'die Religion des Spätjudentums' he is assuming a task which no one since Gfroerer had set his hand to, and, while pointing out the limitations of Gfroerer's work, he has a juster appreciation of its merits than those of his predecessors who have anything to say about it: "Der ganze Wurf ist gross und kühn gedacht. Man wird von ihm immer aufs neue lernen müssen."

Bousset was, like Schürer, a New Testament scholar, and his interest in Judaism also was not for its own sake, but for the light it might throw on the beginnings of Christianity. One of his first published writings was, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Vergleich* (1892). In it the author seeks to prove that the character and teaching of Jesus can be explained, not as having their roots in Judaism, but only as the antithesis to Judaism in every essential point. The book is closely associated with Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit* (1888), and Johann Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (1890),⁴¹ and like them endeavors to solve its problems by bringing the teaching of Jesus into connection with the religion in which he had been brought up. The idea was not as new as some of the advertisements of the 'religionsgeschichtliche Methode' might lead one to think — no philologist would ever have admitted that there was any other method — but it was at least potentially more fruitful than a prosecution *in infinitum* of the internal criticism and exegesis of the

⁴¹ It is not without significance that all these authors — Schürer, Baldensperger, Weiss, Bousset — were New Testament scholars, the oldest of them scarcely past thirty years old. Schürer was the only one who thought it necessary to know anything about the rabbinical sources, and he found in Surenhusius' Mishna just the right material for the demonstration of 'legalism.' Beyond this he never went; the others did not go so far.

Gospels. Whether it should bear good fruit or evil depended, however, on the knowledge of Judaism the investigators brought to bear on their subject. In Bousset's case, as with Baldensperger and Weiss, this knowledge was a negligible quantity. It could not have been otherwise: a Privatdozent of twenty-seven, only getting fairly started with his courses on the New Testament, would be a prodigy if he had, of his own, anything properly to be called knowledge in so diverse and difficult a field. What Bousset lacked in knowledge, he made up, however, in the positiveness and confidence of his opinions, and for the failure to present evidence, by an effective use of what psychologists call suggestion — unsupported assertion coming by force of sheer reiteration to appear to the reader self-evident or something he had always known.

The fundamental contrast between Jesus and Judaism, as Bousset asserts it, is in the idea of God and the feeling toward him. The God of Judaism in that age was withdrawn from the world, supramundane, extramundane, transcendent. "The prophetic preaching of the exaltation and uniqueness of Jehovah became the dogma of an abstract, transcendent monotheism." So it is reiterated page after page. "God is no more in the world, the world no more in God." For the evidence, the reader is habitually referred to Baldensperger, and by Baldensperger chiefly to the apocalyptic literature. In contrast to this, "What is most completely original and truly creative in the preaching of Jesus comes out most strongly and purely when he proclaims God the heavenly Father." "The later Judaism (i.e. that of Jesus' time) had neither in name nor in fact the faith of the Father-God; it could not possibly rise to it." And as the whole 'Gesetzesfrömmigkeit' of Judaism is based upon its increasingly transcendent conception of God, so the new conception introduced by Jesus is the ground of a wholly new type of piety.

The symptomatic thing in this book is the implication that the specific difference between Christianity and Judaism is to be sought in the teaching of Jesus. Christian theology had always found it in the doctrine of the person and work of Christ, and, so far as the teaching of Jesus was concerned, in what he

said about his personal relation to God and his mission in the world, not in what he thought and taught about God nor in the form of his personal piety and its supposed perpetuation in Christianity. The historian can only characterize the notion that the fatherhood of God is the cardinal doctrine of Christianity and its cardinal difference from Judaism as a misrepresentation of historical Christianity no less than of Judaism. I have given more space to this little volume than its intrinsic importance would warrant because it exhibits the presumptions which underlie Bousset's later and larger work in which he sets himself to portray the Judaism of that age as a whole.

The censure which Jewish scholars have unanimously passed on *Die Religion des Judentums* is that the author uses as his primary sources almost exclusively the writings commonly called Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, with an especial penchant for the apocalypses; and only secondarily, and almost casually, the writings which represent the acknowledged and authoritative teachings of the school and the more popular instruction of the synagogue. This is much as if one should describe early Christianity using indiscriminately for his principal sources the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts, the Apocalypses of John and Peter, and the Clementine literature.⁴⁸ Bousset defends his procedure on two grounds; *First*, he thus methodically confines himself to the evidence of writings which were approximately contemporaneous with the New Testament, whereas the oldest of the books in which the rabbinical teaching is preserved date from the close of the second century of our era, being separated from the time of Christ not only by several generations but by two great crises in Judaism, the destruction of Jerusalem and the war under Hadrian, while the bulk of the literature consists of compilations made some centuries later. The only criterion by which it can be determined what of all their voluminous contents was really taught

⁴⁸ This parallel must often have occurred to critics. Perles (*Boussets Religion des Judentums*, p. 23) quotes Chwolson, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi* (1892), p. 71: So wenig man das Wesen des Christenthums aus der Apokalypse Johannis oder aus apokryphischen Evangelien kennen lernen kann, ebensowenig kann man das Judenthum zur Zeit Christi aus dem Buche Enoch, dem Buche der Jubiläen und ähnlichen Schriften erforschen.

in the time of Christ is the New Testament itself and the Jewish apocryphal writings to which he gives the preference. *Second*, his aim is not to present what the scribes taught in the schools (*Schriftgelehrtentum*) but the religious conceptions and sentiments of the people (*Volksfrömmigkeit*), and this he assumes to be expressed in the popular literature, particularly in the apocalypses.

This is not the place to discuss the propriety of these limitations from the point of view of historical method, or the validity of the contrast drawn between the teaching of the Rabbis and the piety of the people; but it is clear that the author ought not to have called his book *Die Religion des Judentums*, for the sources from which his representation is drawn are those to which, so far as we know, Judaism never conceded any authority, while he discredits and largely ignores those which it has always regarded as normative. That the critical use of the latter is difficult is indisputable, though Bousset exaggerates the difficulty into an impossibility; but the critical problems which the former present, while of a different kind, are no less difficult, though Bousset blinks the most serious of them. How wide, for example, was the currency of these writings? Do they represent a certain common type of 'Volksfrömmigkeit,' or did they circulate in circles with peculiar notions and tendencies of their own? How far do they come from sects regarded by the mass of their countrymen as heretical? So far as concerns the influence of the ideas found in such sources on the Messianic conceptions and beliefs of the disciples of Jesus or of Jesus himself, these questions are of comparatively little consequence; the connection itself is the thing to be established. They become of the highest consequence, however, when it comes to using this literature as a principal source for the history of Judaism, and especially to giving it precedence over the teaching of the school and synagogue represented in the rabbinical sources.

The relative age of the writings is of much less importance than their relation to the main line of development which can be followed from the canonical Scriptures through many of the postcanonic writings, including the Synoptic Gospels and the

liturgy of the synagogue, to the Midrash and Halakah of the second century. No account of Judaism would be complete which ignored the apocalypses and the kindred literature, but such incompleteness would not fundamentally misrepresent its subject as does an account based chiefly on them. The criterion is exactly the same which the historian applies to the history of Christianity, say in the first two centuries. Anonymous writings like the recently discovered *Epistola Apostolorum*, which fall into the line of development that we reconstruct or postulate between the New Testament and Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, belong to the history of catholic Christianity, and may be important additions to our sources for it. Writings that lie, on the whole, to one side or the other of this line, may contain much that by this criterion is the common Christianity of the age, and so far these also may be used, with proper caution, as adjunct sources. On the other hand, what in them, individually or as classes, is not thus verified by the common tradition, whatever currency it may have had at the time in certain circles or sects, is a source only for variations of Christianity which it eventually repudiated. To ignore, or deliberately reject, this self-evident principle of historical criticism in dealing with Judaism is to disqualify oneself at the outset.

In truth, Bousset never conceived his task as a historian; it was not Judaism as a religion, but Judaism as the background, environment, source, and foil of nascent Christianity that he had in mind, with a strong secondary interest in the 'das religionsgeschichtliche Problem,' the relation of Judaism to the Babylonian religion, and especially to Zoroastrianism. Since for both purposes he found the most convenient material in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, particularly the apocalyptic literature, he made them his chief authorities. There was another reason for his neglect of the rabbinical sources: he had only second-hand acquaintance with them, and that of the most superficial character. It is only necessary to read the half-dozen pages he devotes to 'Die spätere Litteratur' in his chapter, 'Die Quellen,' to recognize that even what he knew *about* them was negligently and unintelligently compiled from

bibliographical descriptions. The single foot-note (2) on page 43 (repeated in the second edition, p. 47 f., with the correction of a minor error which had been signaled by Perles), is a testimonial of incompetence in this field, the more significant because he had Schürer in his hands. It is not surprising that Jewish scholars criticized the work harshly. They found it easy to convict the author of portentous blunders in his incidental adventures into Hebrew; as when (following Schlatter — the blind leading the blind into the ditch — see Perles, 'Boussets Religion des Judentums,' p. 15) he renders בְּרָאָה ('trustworthy,' in matters of tithes and the like, M. Demai, ii, 2) by 'gläubig,' ('believing'), and introduces it into a discussion of Faith; nor is it strange that Perles and others made themselves disagreeable over Bousset's rabbinical erudition.⁴⁹ The temper of Bousset's *oratio pro domo sua* is not more urbane, and, as often happens with apologias, he only made a bad case worse by arguing it.

Bousset, nevertheless, frequently cites the utterances of the Rabbis, especially when they coincide with his primary sources, supplementing the inevitable Weber from Bacher's *Agada der Tannaiten* and from Wünsche's translations, and, within a limited range, from Dalman's *Worte Jesu*. In not a few instances the interpretation he gives to them and the use he makes of them show how perilous the quotation of quotations is, and emphasize the observation that the ways of the Midrash are not to be understood by any one who has not habituated himself to them by voluminous reading of the original texts in their continuity and acquiring something of a midrashic mind. The whole point, meaning, and reason of its interpretations are often impossible to reproduce in translation, or to explain to the uninitiated in notes, which give the appearance of absurdity to what in the Midrashic exegesis is self-evident.

Of Bousset's general attitude toward Judaism and his judgment of it enough has already been said; it is only necessary

⁴⁹ He thinks, for example, that the language of the Talmuds is Aramaic. Even in Biblical Hebrew he was ill-grounded, as is convincingly shown by the remark: 'Die alttestamentliche Sprache hat noch kein Wort für Schöpfer, und muss den Mangel durch Partizipialkonstruktionen ersetzen' (p. 412).

to add that in the later and larger book, they remain essentially unchanged, still dominated by the antithesis to the teaching of Jesus. The second edition (1906) is in many ways an improvement on the first. The original plan, which put in the forefront 'Die Entwicklung der jüdischen Frömmigkeit zur Kirche,' evoked protest from Christians, to whom this seemed to make the development into a church a retrogression from the religion of the Old Testament; and though the author maintained the correctness of his point of view, he abandoned this highly artificial disposition because he found that he could not bring under this head all that he wanted to put in this part of the volume. There are other changes for the better in the arrangement of the book, and some important additions, notably a chapter on prayer, the absence of which in the first edition was eloquent. Corrections in detail are also numerous, though far from numerous enough. One instructive example may be noted. In his earlier work he asserted that the later Judaism had neither the name nor the faith of the Father-God; it could not rise to it. In the first edition of *Die Religion des Judentums*, he wrote: "Sehr charakteristisch ist es, wie selten . . . die Bezeichnung Gottes als des Vaters im Spätjudentum vorkommt." In the second edition this is replaced by, "Hervorzuheben ist . . . dass auch die Bezeichnung Gottes als des Vaters der Einzelnen Frommen im späteren Judentum entschieden häufiger ist."⁵⁰ But even then he makes all possible subtraction from the significance of the concession. The chapter on monotheism, with the following on angelology, demonology, and 'die Hypostasen-Spekulation,' repeat the familiar theses which need not again be recited.

One remark, however, may properly be made: Whoever derives the Jewish idea of God chiefly from apocalypses will get the picture of a God enthroned in the highest heaven, remote from the world, a mighty monarch surrounded by a celestial court, with ministers of various ranks, of whom only the highest have immediate access to the presence of the sovereign, unapproachable even by angels of less exalted station, to say

⁵⁰ Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum* (1892), p. 43; *Religion des Judentums* (1903), p. 355; 2d edition (1906), pp. 432 f.

nothing of mere mortals; and this not because theological reflection has elevated him to transcendence, but because the entire imaginative representation is conditioned by the visionary form. If the prophet has a vision of the throne-room of God's palace, as in Isaiah 6, or the seer is conducted by an angel through one heaven after another to the very threshold of the adytum, what other kind of representation is possible? To extract a dogma from such visions is to misunderstand the origin and nature of the whole apocalyptic literature. It is the same thing with the so-called 'pre-existent Messiah' in these writings: when once vision takes the place of prediction, the Messiah has to be there in order to be seen; it is not a doctrine, but a simple condition of visionary representation. The creation of the *name* of the Messiah before the world in rabbinic sources is something totally different.

If Bousset's book be taken for what it is, it is a serviceable hand-book. The accumulation of references to terms and phrases in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha upon the several topics is often almost exhaustive, but they have not always been made from the original texts. Aristeas § 37 appears (ed. 2, p. 257) among the places where *ὑψιστος* occurs, because the translator in Kautzsch's Pseudepigrapha happened to render τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ by 'dem Höchsten.' German idiom has played the author other tricks. On the preceding page, speaking of *יהוה* as a surrogate or circumlocution for God, he writes: 'Die Prädikate der höchste Gott, der Höchste, versetzen uns ja eigentlich auf den Boden polytheistischen Empfindens. Vom höchsten Gott kann streng genommen nur da die Rede sein, wo es mehrere Götter für den Glauben gibt.' It is quite true that the German superlative 'der Höchste,' may imply that there are others not so high; but it is also true that the superlative and its implications are not in the Hebrew.

A word may be said in conclusion about a recent popular book in English, Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue. An Introduction to the Study of Judaism from the New Testament Period* (1907). The part with which alone we are here concerned, 'Dogmatic Judaism,' is based entirely on modern authors — among whom Jewish scholars are more

frequently allowed the word than in most similar books — not at all on immediate knowledge of the sources. The latter are, indeed, abundantly cited in a way that makes it look as if they had been consulted, but it is evident in many cases that the authors did not even verify their references. The chapter on ‘Intermediate Agencies between God and Man’ is one long proof of this. One or two striking examples have been incidentally mentioned above.⁵¹ Here I will name but one or two at random: “In *Bemidbar rabbah*, c. 12, the term ‘Mediator’ is directly applied to *Metatron*, and, what is still more significant, he is represented as the reconciler between God and the Chosen People” (p. 175). To begin with, this part of *Bemidbar Rabbah* is mediaeval (perhaps 12th century), dependent on late Midrashim and cabalistic sources; its testimony would be worthless if it gave any. In the second place, there is no word in the text or context that remotely suggests ‘Mediator,’ to say nothing of being directly applied to *Metatron*; in the third place, what is said about *Metatron* is that he offers (on the heavenly altar) ‘the souls of the righteous to atone for Israel in the days of their exile,’ an office elsewhere performed by *Michael*. Again: “In a number of passages in the *Old Testament* the expression the ‘Word,’ in reference to *Jehovah*, is used in a way which, one can easily understand, appeared to Jewish thinkers of a later age to indicate that the ‘Word’ meant something more than a mere abstraction” (p. 179). Among other passages of this kind they quote Deut. 5, 5: “I stood between the Lord and you at that time to show you the word of the Lord.” That is the Authorized English version; the Hebrew has “to report to you (להגיד לכם) the word of the Lord, because ye were afraid of the fire,” etc. The authors apparently took the English ‘show’ in the sense of ‘exhibit.’ In this whole string of passages the English version is the beginning and end of knowledge. Thus, in *Wisdom* 9, 1: “O God of my fathers, and Lord of mercy, Who hast made all things with thy word,” they understand *with* as ‘in association with, with the assistance of.’ The Greek is *ἐν* (‘by’) not *σύν*. One of the most amusing is the quotation of 2 (4) *Esdras* 6, 38 for

⁵¹ See above, pp. 235 f.

which they give: "Thy word was (i.e., *made*) a perfect work." This is the Authorized Version from the corrupt text in the appendix to the standard Latin Bible: In the beginning of the creation God said, 'Fiat caelum et terra, et tuum verbum opus perfectum.' The true reading, as has been established for a half-century, is *opus perfecit*, 'Thy word brought the work to pass.' Mr. Box himself has since reprinted the Latin text of 4 Esdras from Fritzsche (1871), where the correct reading might have been found in 1907 as easily as in 1912, not to mention Hilgenfeld (1869) or Bensly-James (1895). If this reading, instead of being that of the manuscripts, were unsupported by a single codex, it would infallibly be restored by conjecture. To create doctrine for the Jews at the beginning of our era out of a misunderstanding of the authorized English version of 1611, or from the translation in the same version of a nonsensical reading in a Latin Apocryphon, is, to say the least, not in accordance with the best practice among scholars.

It may not be unprofitable, here in conclusion, to review briefly the course of this long history. Beginning with an early Christian apologetic, in which the controversial points were the interpretation and application of passages in the Old Testament, the fulfilment of prophecies of the Messiah in the nativity of Jesus, his life and death, resurrection, and ascension, the identification of Christ with the manifest God, or Angel of the Lord, in the Old Testament, the discussion in the Middle Ages took a wider range and assumed a more learned character in the endeavor to demonstrate that Christian doctrines were supported by the authentic Jewish tradition — Targum, Talmud, Midrash — or by the most highly reputed Jewish interpreters. In the progress of the controversy polemic prevailed over apologetic on both sides, the champions of each seeking out for attack the most vulnerable points in the cause of their opponents. The direct outcome of this conflict was the war waged upon the Talmud itself and the effort to procure the destruction of obnoxious Jewish literature as a whole.

The Christian scholars who resisted this obscurantist programme in the sixteenth century argued on the other hand that

these books should be preserved because from them, above all from the Cabala, all the doctrines of Christianity — the Trinity, the Deity of Christ and the rest — could be proved to be the ancient esoteric theology of the Jews themselves.

The Reformation put upon Protestants the task of building up upon the Scriptures alone a complete system of doctrine, and they endeavored not only to show that the ancient Jewish doctrine was in essential accord with the common Christian dogma, but that on the issues in debate between Protestants and Catholics the Jews were on the Protestant side. Thus a strong dogmatic interest took its place beside the older apologetic and polemic. A broader interest in learning for its own sake as well as its uses prevailed largely in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and led, as has been sufficiently remarked, to the creation of a great body of learned literature in every branch of Hebrew antiquities.

The early Protestant exegesis of the Old Testament was almost wholly dependent on Jewish commentaries and apparatus, and the illustration of many passages in the Old Testament from later Jewish law and custom also began early. The same thing was done for the New Testament, particularly the Gospels, not only in commentaries but in a succession of notably learned works specifically devoted to this end, the *Horae Hebraicae* and whatever else they may be called; and, directly or through Wettstein, these illustrations from Talmud and Midrash became part of the perpetual tradition of New Testament commentaries.

In all this time no attempt had been made by Christian scholars to present Judaism in the age which concerned them most — say from the time of Alexander to that of the Antonines — as a whole and as it was in and for itself. Nor did those who came after them address themselves to this neglected task. When in the nineteenth century the study of Judaism was in some measure revived, the actuating motive was to find in it the milieu of early Christianity. Gfroerer conceived this problem historically, and, as we have seen, actually included his description of the Judaism of that period in his *Critical History of Primitive Christianity*. Weber set himself to ex-

hibit the system of Palestinian Jewish theology in the first three or four centuries of our era as the antithesis of Christian theology and religion as they were taught in certain contemporary German schools. Since Weber the subject has been dealt with only by New Testament scholars, either with reference to certain special problems or to a more general understanding of nascent Christianity. Bousset's *Religion des Judentums*, which by its title and scope (including some four centuries), gives promise of a historical treatment, is in fact — and in the author's intention — a piece of apparatus for the student of the New Testament.

The characterization of Judaism in Weber and his followers is strikingly different from the older apologetic and polemic. None of the learned adversaries of Judaism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though they knew the literature immeasurably better than their modern successors, ever suspected that the Rabbis entertained an 'abstract monotheism' — whatever that may be — or a 'transcendent' idea of God as the Absolute, or, to use the language of men, that in the extravagance of their 'fear of the Lord' they had magnified and exalted him out of his world, which, like an absentee proprietor, he administered henceforth by agents. Eisenmenger, who collected with inordinate zeal what he called the foolish and blasphemous things that the Jews said about God, never laid this to their charge. Nowhere, so far as I know, is a suggestion made that in this respect the Jewish idea of God differed from the Christian. So it is also with the 'legalism' which for the last fifty years has become the very definition and the all-sufficient condemnation of Judaism. It is not a topic of the older polemic; indeed, I do not recall a place where it is even mentioned. Concretely, Jewish observances are censured or ridiculed, but 'legalism' as a system of religion, not to say as the essence of Judaism, no one seems to have discovered. This is the more remarkable because this line of attack might seem to have been indicated by Paul, and because the earlier Protestant, and particularly Lutheran controversialists, were peculiarly keen on the point by reason of their conflict with the Catholic Church over works and merit.

What then brought legalism to the front in the new apologetic? Not a fresh and more thorough study of Judaism at the beginning of our era, but a new apologetic motive, consequent on a different apprehension of Christianity on the part of the New Testament theologians who now took up the task. The 'essence' of Christianity, and therefore its specific difference from Judaism, was for the first time sought in the religion of Jesus — his teaching and his personal piety. The title of Bousset's first work, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*, is the programme of the younger school. Jesus' conflict with the Scribes and Pharisees prescribed for this apologetic the issue of legalism; the 'Father in heaven,' the piety assumed to be distinctive of Jesus and of his teaching, demanded an antithesis in Judaism, an inaccessible God, which Weber from his different starting point was supposed to have demonstrated.

In conclusion there is one thing more to be said: Where the subject of investigation is the relation of primitive Christianity to its contemporary Judaism, whether the motive be a historical understanding of nascent Christianity or an apologetic exhibition of the superiority of the religion of Jesus to that of the Scribes and Pharisees, the critical ordering and evaluation of the Jewish sources is of much greater importance than when a general comparison of Judaism and Christianity is proposed, or even when, as in Weber, the comparison is restricted to the Palestinian Judaism of three or four centuries following the Christian era. Upon this critical task, Jewish scholars, with exhaustive knowledge of the material and through philological and historical training, have in the last thirty or forty years done fundamental work. The investigation of the composition and sources of the Tannaite Midrash, for example, which is here of primary importance, has a significance comparable to the criticism of the Synoptic Gospels; and, it may perhaps be added, its results are established on a more secure basis, external and internal evidence corroborating each other. For recent Christian writers, however, all this criticism is non-existent. Even the writings themselves are known only by name. Bousset writes: "Die ältesten wesentlich palachischen

Midrasche sind Mechilta (Exodus), Siphra (Levit.), Siphre (Numeri, Deuteron.) lat. Übersetzung bei Ugolini, Thesaurus XIV-XV). Auf diese folgen die vorwiegend haggadischen, daher für uns wertvolleren Rabboth." Although Perles had made sarcastic comment on it as it stood in the first edition, this note remains unchanged in the second, perhaps because Bousset did not see the point of the sarcasm.

After so much criticism it is a welcome change to close this article with commendation of a book which, proposing only to explain and illustrate the most important conceptions and phrases in the Gospels, gives more than it promises, and shows how much light may be thrown upon the subject from Rabbinical sources by a competent scholar, I mean Gustav Dalman's *Die Worte Jesu, mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache* (1898).

APPENDIX

Inasmuch as some of these books are rare, the titles may be given here in full:

Porchetus:

The full title in Giustiniani's edition is: Victoria Porcheti adversus impios Hebraeos, in qua tum ex sacris libris tum ex dictis Talmud ac Caballistarum et aliorum omnium quos Hebraei recipiunt monstratur veritas catholicae fidei. Ex recensione R. P. Aug. Iustiniani ordinis Praedicatorii, episcopi Nebiensis. François Regnault. Paris 1520. It is a folio volume of f. xciii (188 pp.). The author begins (f. ii A): In nomine domini. Amen. Incipit liber Victoriae a Porcheto de Saluaticis Genuensi divina fauente gratia compilatus ad Judaicam perfidiam subvertendam et ut praestantius veritas fulgeat fidei christianae. The work is now very rare. I used a copy in Munich some years ago; one has recently been acquired by the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York.

Galatinus:

Opus toti christianae Reipublicae maxime utile, de arcanis catholicae veritatis, contra obstinatissimam Iudaeorum nostrae tempestatis perfidiam: ex Talmud, aliisque hebraicis libris nuper excerptum et quadriplaci linguarum eleganter congestum. The title page bears no date, but at the end (f. cccc A), we read: Impressum vero Orthonae maris, summa cum diligentia per Hieronymum Suncinum: Anno christianae natiuitatis M.D.XVIII. quintodecimo kalendas martias. On an imaginary edition of Bari 1516 see the article cited in note 8.

Raimundus Martini:

Pugio Fidei Raimundi Martini Ordinis Praedicatorum adversus Mauros et Judaeos; nunc primum in lucem editus. . . . Ope et Opera Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi D. Episcopi Lovensis [Franciscus Bosquet], Illustrissimi Praesidis D. de Maussac Comitiss Consistoriani. Cum observationibus Domini Josepho de Voisin Presbyteri, ex-Senatoris Burdegalensis. Paris, 1651.

THE ETHICS AND ESCHATOLOGY OF METHODIUS OF OLYMPUS

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AMONG the many problems which confront the historian of Christian thought and life in the early centuries one of the most complex and difficult is that of the relations, practical as well as theoretical, between Christianity and asceticism. Since the age of the Reformation there has been incessant controversy over the question whether the anthropological assumptions which underlie ascetic morals — the dualistic conception of the constitution of human nature and the conviction that there is an irreconcilable opposition between body and spirit — are really identical with the principles of Christian anthropology so that there can be no experience of the gospel message apart from a radically pessimistic estimate of the possibilities of good inherent in human nature, and without the acceptance of a scale of ethical values based upon the progressive stages of an ascetic discipline.

After centuries of acrimonious theological controversy fomented by prejudices on both sides, we are now perhaps for the first time in a position to consider objectively the historical relations between the development of ascetic ideas and the propagation of the Christian piety, and consequently to solve satisfactorily the problem of the interaction between asceticism and Christianity.

At the outset we may remark that all recent investigations, from the epoch-making work of Weingarten to the more recent studies of Strathmann, Bickel, and Reitzenstein,¹ have proved conclusively that, whether as an individual or an associated

¹ Weingarten, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*. Gotha, 1877. — Strathmann, *Geschichte der frühchristlichen Askese bis zur Entstehung des Mönchtums*. I. Die Askese in der Umgebung des werdenden Christentums. Leipzig, 1914. — Bickel, 'Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus und Augustin,' *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 1916. — Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca*. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums und der frühchristlichen Begriffe Gnostiker und Pneumatiker. Göttingen, 1916.

enterprise, asceticism, aiming to nullify the impulses of sense in the endeavor to achieve the absolute and uncontested supremacy of spirit over matter and a complete imperturbability, had a long history before Christianity and outside of Christianity; that it was common to various philosophical schools (Neopythagorean, Stoic, Neoplatonist) and to certain religious movements (the *κατοχοί* of the Serapeum in Memphis, the Essenes and Therapeutae) which have nothing in common with Christianity. It has also been shown that the ideas and language of asceticism made their way rather slowly into the thought and life of Christian society, which at the outset moved upon a moral plane entirely different from that upon which men strove by a progressive spiritual training to effect the annihilation of the energies which give its dramatic character and charm to life. It is possible also to prove that Christianity became saturated with ascetic prepossessions in the precise measure in which the mystical fervor and charismatic enthusiasm that inspired it in the heroic period of its origins gradually declined.

In thus affirming that between asceticism and primitive Christianity there was no decisive affinity, ideal or practical, that the two movements proceeded from contradictory theoretical presuppositions and tended to entirely different ends, it is not meant to deny that the message of Christian salvation implies a renunciation of lower modes of life and a reversal of ideas of value far more profound and effective than those actuated by ascetic ideals. Moreover, while the Christian renunciation springs from a sudden inner metamorphosis, a radical *μετάνοια*, through which the individual, transfigured by the experience of his calling and of his spiritual transformation, immersed in the spirit, becomes incapable of any more fulfilling or consenting to the desires and inclinations of the flesh, the painful ascetic training, not sustained by warm mystical fervor nor guided by an eager messianic-eschatological expectation, makes the impression rather of being the doubtful result of a strenuous rational effort and of an aristocratic refinement of temper which never succeeded in communicating itself to the masses or of becoming a factor in great social

changes. The Christian renunciation is larger and more complete than the ascetic renunciation; but while the former has its origin in an intense charismatic commotion and its consummation in the joy of a psychical transfiguration, the latter has its roots in a profoundly pessimistic estimation of life and its destiny, and by its endeavor after *ἀπάθεια* condemns itself to barrenness.

The historical process lasting several centuries through which, for the original values of *πίστις*, *μετάνοια* and *χαρά*, Christian apologetic eventually substituted those of *γνώσις*, *ἀσκησις* and *ἐγκράτεια* was only the ethical reflection of a much larger process through which the Christian movement, originally a movement of a small minority dreaming of a cosmic palingenesis, was transformed into an official religion professed by the whole population, in which the heroic ideals came to be specially reserved for individuals who aspired to attain for themselves that *τελείωσις* which at the outset was the peremptory obligation of all the *ἀγιοι*.

Outside of the New Testament literature and that of the post-apostolic age, the author from whose writings we can gather most clearly at once the affinities and the differences between the ascetic attitude and the specifically Christian aspirations and experiences is Methodius of Olympus, the Anatolian martyr of the Maximinian persecution, who on the eve of Constantine's reform seems to reproduce in his mystical writings the most vivid and enthusiastic traits of the primitive eschatological expectation. Bonwetsch's recent excellent edition² of all the extant works of this exceptional author of the beginning of the fourth century enables us to study in its entirety, we may say, his ethical thought, and the profound and original way in which he integrated it with his hopes and with his historical and social ideas.

² Bonwetsch, Methodius. Leipzig, 1917. Bonwetsch devoted many years while teaching at the University of Dorpat to the works of Methodius. In 1891 he published a German translation of the Paleoslavlic Corpus Methodianum, and subsequently published a study on Methodius's theology (*Die Theologie des Methodius*. Berlin, 1903) in which the problem examined in the present article received somewhat scant attention. See also Bonwetsch's article on Methodius in the *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. Third edition, s. v.

At first sight the fate of Methodius in the literary history of the fourth century is surprising. Though an elegant and skilful writer, with a rich and deep religious experience, wearing the halo of martyrdom, he nevertheless did not receive from his contemporaries and immediate successors the recognition and appreciation which his literary productiveness and his heroic place in the history of the Church would have abundantly deserved. Adamantius reproduces large extracts from Methodius *περὶ τοῦ ἀβρεξουσίου* and from his *περὶ ἀναστάσεως*, but takes good care not to name their author. Eusebius also quotes a considerable passage from the former of these two writings, but attributes it to Maximus (*De Praeparatione Evangelica* vii. 22); in Eusebius's historical works the name of Methodius never occurs. Only from Jerome do we learn that in the sixth book of his Apology for Origen, Eusebius leveled at Methodius the same reproach which Rufinus addressed to Jerome himself: "Quomodo ausus est Methodius nunc contra Origenem scribere, qui haec et haec de Origenis locutus est dogmatibus" (*Contra Rufinum* i. 11). And it is only in Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* (83), in a paragraph which is evidently not taken like the rest from Eusebius, that we find the single notice — distorted and anachronistic, at that — which we possess about the bishop of Olympus: "Methodius, Olympi Lyciae et postea Tyri episcopus, nitidi compositique sermonis adversus Porphyrium confecit libros et Symposium decem Virginum, de Resurrectione opus egregium contra Origenem, et adversus eundem de Pythonissa, et de *ἀβρεξουσία*, in Genesim quoque et in Cantica Canticorum commentarios, et multa alia quae vulgo lectitantur. Et ad extremum novissimae persecutionis, sive ut alii affirmant sub Decio et Valeriano, in Chalchide Graeciae martyrio coronatus est."

When we recall, however, the sharply anti-Origenistic attitude of the martyr bishop, and on the other hand the deeply rooted Origenistic sympathies which characterized the productions of the most eminent representatives of ecclesiastical culture in Syria and Anatolia in the Constantinian epoch, and above all of Eusebius of Caesarea, we can easily understand how the posthumous fame of Methodius was eclipsed, and as

easily recognize the reasons why he enjoyed especial favor with Epiphanius, who praises him highly and quotes him copiously in his *Panarion*. This gives all the more reason to inquire how it came that the great ideals of renunciation which Origen had extolled and practised and Methodius had taken up to exalt with characteristic fervor appealed in the case of the two men to anthropological presuppositions and eschatological visions so diverse and contradictory.

Among the various forms and manifold elements of renunciation, virginal continence is intuitive, and naturally holds the first place. The principal dialogue of Methodius, the *Symposium*, or *περὶ ἀγγελίας*, conceived and written after Platonic patterns, is a formal panegyric of virginity. Methodius imagines how Gregorium, 'the vigilant,' repeats to him the eulogies which were pronounced by ten virgins in the garden of Arete, extolling the virtue of immaculate chastity. The palm in this pious competition is bestowed on Thecla, who at the close of the *Symposium* sings a hymn to Christ the bridegroom, in which the author evidently intended to summarize in a series of stanzas³ the way in which he himself regarded virginity in the cluster of Christian virtues and in the general scheme of Christian development in the life of this world. The hymn has a recurring refrain:

I consecrate myself to thee, O Bridegroom, and holding lamps⁴ that give light I go to meet thee.

There are stanzas in this hymn from which it is manifest that Methodius was fully aware that his teaching concerning Christian perfection represented something new and unfamiliar in the Christian practice of his time, and something which is authorized only by a revived fervor of messianic expectation.

From above, O Virgins, comes the sound of a cry, the sound that raises the dead, saying, 'Go forth, all of you, to meet the bridegrooms in white robes and with your lamps, to the rising of the sun. Arise before the King comes to enter within the gates.'

³ The rhythm of this poem has been analyzed by W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen sur mittellatein*. Rhythmik. ii (1906).

⁴ The reference is, of course, to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins whose lamps did or did not give light. — Ed.

I flee from the happiness of mortals with all its sorrow, from the voluptuousness of life and from the sweets of love,⁵ and I long to be held in thy life-giving arms and forever to see thy beauty, O Blessed One.

For thee, O King, have I left the mortal couch of marriage and my golden home and have come in spotless garments that I too may come with thee to enter into thy blessed chambers.

I have escaped the myriad enchanting wiles of the serpent and I have endured the flame of fire and the manslaying onslaughts of wild beasts, and I wait for thee from heaven.

I have forgotten my country, O Logos, and I long for thy grace: I have forgotten also the company of the Virgins that are my fellows,⁶ the pride of my mother and my race, for thou, O Christ, art all things to me.

Giver of life art thou, O Christ, hail to thy light that knows no evening time. Do thou receive this cry: the company of Virgins entreats thee, O Flower of Perfection, Love, Joy, Prudence, Wisdom, Logos.

The hymn to Christ runs on for several stanzas more and then turns to the bride, the Church. Methodius is conscious that he is employing language strange to the community of the faithful and expressing forgotten conceptions and ideals. His song takes on a more fervid and elevated tone.

In hymns, O Blessed bride of God, we, thy attendants of the bride-chamber, honor thee now, O undefiled Virgin, Church with snow-white body, with dark hair, chaste, spotless, lovely.

Corruption has fled away and the tearful labors of disease. Death has been taken away and all folly has perished. Grief that wastes men's minds has perished and the joy of God has suddenly shone on mortals.

Paradise is no longer bereft of mortals, for again, as formerly, by divine decree there inhabits it he who fell by the manifold wiles of the serpent, incorruptible, without fear, blessed.

Singing the new song⁷ the company of Virgins brings thee to heaven, O Queen; thou art full of light, and they are crowned with the white flowers of lilies and bear in their hands the flames that give light.

O Blessed One, who inhabitest the undefiled seats of heaven, thou who art without beginning, who governest all things by eternal power, receive within the gates of life us, too, O Father, with thy Son, for we are come.⁸

On the surface the eulogy lavished by Methodius upon virginity, of which this hymn is only the loftiest expression, may seem not to differ greatly from the ascetic theories which about a century before had been so clearly formulated by the two great Alexandrian Christian writers, Clement and Origen.

⁵ Accepting Meyer's emendation. — Ed.

⁶ The imagery here changes to that of Psalm 45, 11 ff. — Ed.

⁷ The reference is to Rev. 5, 9 and Psalm 45. — Ed.

⁸ Symposium xi. ed Bonwetsch, pp. 131-133, 136.

But when the mystical doctrines set forth by Methodius in the *περὶ ἀγγελίας* are brought into connection with the anthropological and eschatological views defended in the *περὶ ἀναστάσεως*,⁹ we immediately perceive the radical difference in the points of view from which spring on one side the asceticism of Origen and on the other the mystical enthusiasm of the Anatolian bishop.¹⁰ The *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* is a polemical treatise directed against the Origenists. Methodius imagines that at Patara, in the house of a physician, Aglaophones, the question is discussed whether the flesh really participates in the joys of the resurrection and of immortality. Two of the interlocutors, the host Aglaophones and Proclus, agree with Origen in denying to the human body, such as has lived here on earth, any capacity to share with the spirit the blessed life. Methodius on the contrary, contends that the same human body which has passed from the world to the triumph of incorruptibility will joyfully participate in that life. With an eschatological outlook which reminds us of that of the first Christian generations, Methodius maintains that the sensible universe is not so radically corrupted as not to be able to enter as an integral element into the palingenesis through which the glory of the

⁹ Of the *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* we have only the excerpts of the original Greek text in Epiphanius and Adamantius, but we possess the whole dialogue in a Paleoslavonic version, a German translation of which was published by Bonwetsch in his edition of Methodius's Works, pp. 217-424.

¹⁰ In the Symposium, Methodius' eschatological doctrine is less prominent because the argument itself, that is to say the over-valuation of virginity, did not permit emphasis on an optimistic view of the bodily nature of man. This may explain why, besides its literary excellence, the Symposium was the only work of Methodius which became very popular and exerted a wide influence on Christian literature. It has been remarked (G. La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni sacre nella letteratura Bizantina*. Rome, 1912, pp. 167 f.) that the whole Christian literary tradition (poetical, homiletical and theological) dealing with the theories and the practice of Christian virginity in general, and with the Virgin Mary as the typical example of this exalted state, has borrowed from Methodius not only a great deal of its content and of its biblical exegesis on this virtue, but even of its terminology. In a large number of sermons to which La Piana gave the title of Dramatic Homilies, under which they are now classified in the history of Christian literature, the influence of Methodius's Symposium is evident almost in every line; cf. the Hymn to Virginity reconstructed by La Piana from the *Ἐγκύκλιος εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον* attributed to Proclus of Constantinople, which is merely a poetical summary of the ten speeches of the virgins in Methodius's Symposium. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 236-241 and 166-169.)

triumphant Christ is revealed, and that in it man with his corporeal nature is not the expression of evil and perversion, but represents a work of the divine artist which only needs to be slightly retouched to be fit to enjoy without limit the blessing and the joy of the Father.

For when he saw man, his fairest work, corrupted by malignant plots of envy, he could not endure to leave him thus, such was his love of man, that man might not endure blame forever or his fault remain immortal, but he dissolved him into matter once more that all the faults which were in him might perish and disappear when he was formed afresh.¹¹

In the eyes of Methodius, therefore, death is not as it was in Origen's conception the destruction of this foul bodily prison in which the soul is confined in expiation of an original sinful will to be embodied; it is rather the open passageway towards a providential restitution of the organism, which is called to a loftier destiny. In opposition to the pessimistic abhorrence of matter in which the asceticism of the Alexandrians delighted, Methodius vindicates the fundamental goodness of corporeal nature. Replying directly to an argument of Origen, he reasons that if, as Origen maintains, everything that is generated is diseased because it has needs and appetites, while only that is sound which experiences neither, and consequently man, who is generated, cannot be free from affections and immortal, it follows that angels and souls, which also are originated, are in the same case and will therefore perish. But neither angels nor souls perish, for they are immortal and indestructible as their Creator meant them to be. Therefore man also is immortal.¹²

By this acute *argumentum ad hominem* Methodius aims to demonstrate how fallacious and wholly contradictory Origen's attitude is in his estimate of the part assigned to matter in the plan of salvation.

He does not stop, however, with the negative side of his demonstration but, starting from one of the most typical features of Pauline eschatology, he rises to a grandiose vision of the intimate participation of all sensible nature in the joy of the messianic restitution.

¹¹ De Resurrections i, 43, 3; Bonwetsch, p. 201.

¹² Ibid., i, 47, 1-2.

Nor is the statement satisfactory that everything will be utterly destroyed, and that earth, air, and heaven will no longer exist. The whole world will, indeed, be deluged with descending fire and be burnt out for purification and renewal, but it will not come to complete destruction and ruin. For if it were better for the world not to be rather than to be, why did God make the inferior choice in creating the world? No! God made nothing vainly or badly. Therefore God ordered the creation to exist and to remain, as Wisdom also confirms saying, 'For God created all things to have their being and the generations of the world were healthful and there is no poison of destruction in them.' Paul also clearly testifies to this saying, 'For the earnest expectation of creation waiteth for the revelation of the sons of God. For the creation was subject to vanity not willingly but by reason of him who subjected it in hope, that the creation itself may be set free from the bondage of corruption to the freedom of the glory of the children of God.' For, he says, the creation was subjected to vanity but is waiting to be set free from such bondage, and thus indicates that by the creation he means this world. For it is not the things which are not seen that are in bondage to corruption but these visible things. So then the creation will remain¹³ at the resurrection, renewed to a better and more beautiful state, glad and rejoicing over the children for whom it now groans and travails and is itself waiting for our redemption from the corruption of the body, that when we have been raised up and have shaken off the mortality of the flesh according to that which is written, 'Shake off the dust and rise and sit, O Jerusalem,' and when we have been set free from sin, the creation itself shall be set free from corruption, no longer in bondage to vanity but to righteousness.¹⁴

The Christian chiliasts of the second century, of whom Papias and Irenaeus are the most explicit and authoritative representatives, had concentrated their mystical religious expectations in a scheme of cosmic palingenesis which should bring to the elect a blessedness embracing their whole being, gladdened by the rejuvenation and the exuberant fruitfulness of material nature. This serene vision had given them courage to sustain the struggle with the pagan world. Now, at the dawn of the fourth century, after the ingenuous idealism of primitive Christianity had been followed by the deadening constructions of the Gnostics and of Alexandrian speculation, Methodius revived the joyous idea of the millenium, and by reflex effect his own Christian experience became more profound, more heroic, more conscious that it could not be reduced to the values and perspectives of the world. In all his argumentation Methodius pursues the spiritualizing eschatology of

¹³ It seems more probable that the text should be *μωρεῖ* rather than *μύρεα*. — Ed.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 47, 3-6; Bonwetsch, pp. 297-299.

Origen for the purpose of confuting and dispelling it. 'How then, our opponents say, if the universe is not destroyed, did Christ say that heaven and earth shall pass away, and the prophet that the heaven shall be dissolved like smoke and the earth grow old like a garment?' Methodius' acute reply is: 'It is the manner of scripture to use the word destruction (*ἀπώλεια*) for the transformation (*μεταβολή*) of the present constitution of the world into something better and more glorious, the previous form perishing in the change of all things into a more splendid state."¹⁵ Thus, according to Methodius, when we read in the scriptures of a ruin of the material universe we are to think of a providential palingenesis, wherein the animate and inanimate creation shall be raised in a state of existence which, while not abolishing the fundamental characteristics of the present world, exalts and ameliorates them in the highest degree. Methodius triumphantly concludes his argument against Origen by declaring confidently that, inasmuch as all things were essentially good when they proceeded from the creative hand of God, man also, such as he is, made up of soul and body, constitutes a nature in itself good, which shall participate in the joy of the immortal life with all the elements of its composite being, excluding none.¹⁶

These eloquent extracts from the two principal writings of Methodius may suffice to show the importance of the author in the development of ethical and metaphysical ideas at the dawn of the fourth century. They also give additional evidence of the profound interaction between ethics and eschatology. Morality is the more elevated and the more heroic, the more closely it is linked to an intense expectation of an impending providential revolution which shall give a new direction to the course of events and make a final end of the injustices and defects which exist, by its very constitution, in every social organization. In the midst of the portentous effort which Christian society was making in the fourth century to reduce the gospel proclamation to the formulas of a shallow and conservative religion, capable of adapting itself to circumstances and making

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 48, 1-2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 50.

compromises with them, the position of Methodius seems like the last anachronistic survival of that call to heroism which had been common in primitive Christianity and had been nurtured and supported by the great chiliastic dream. And whereas at the close of the fourth century, with Epiphanius and Jerome, ascetic practice and the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh appear as the definitive reconciliation of an extra-Christian asceticism with a form of eschatology which is a substitute for primitive chiliasm, in the age of Diocletian and of Maximin the bishop of Olympus, candidate for martyrdom, delivers to Christian society the last challenge to the perfect renunciation under the simple stimulus of an enthusiastic faith in the restoration of the universe in the joy and freedom of the sons of God.

In place of this, only a few years later than Methodius, shortly after the victory of Licinius over Maximin, Eusebius of Caesarea established among Christians a dichotomy, which, while destined to have a clamant success in the subsequent evolution of Christian society, unquestionably represented the radical rejection of that programme of perfection which, according to the majority of Christian authors before Constantine, should have been the irremovable goal of every believer, who by definition and vocation was *τέλειος*. In the *Demonstratio Evangelica* Eusebius wrote:

. . . 'So that even for the Church of Christ rules have been laid down for two ways of life. The one is above nature and beyond ordinary human life; it admits neither marriage nor the begetting of children nor the acquirement or retention of property; it changes the ordinary and accustomed behavior of all men from beginning to end and makes them live for the service of God alone in the strength of heavenly love. Those who change over to this way seem to be dead to the life of mortals, and do but carry their body on earth for their soul has been translated in spirit to heaven. Like dwellers in heaven they look at the life of men, consecrated for the whole race to the God who is over all . . . not by animal sacrifices and blood nor by libations and sweet savor of offerings . . . but by sound doctrines of true piety and the disposition of a purified soul, and further by virtuous deeds and words. In this way, propitiating the divinity, they perform a priestly office in their own behalf and in behalf of others.' Such is the perfect way of Christian life. There is, however, Eusebius continues, another way, more within ordinary human capacity, which does not demand the abandonment of the rights and duties that belong to the political and social life of mankind. To contract marriage, have children, attend to business, faithfully obey the laws of the state, and in all spheres fulfil the tasks of a normal citizen — these are all things per-

fectly compatible with the Christian profession, provided with them be joined the strenuous purpose to maintain piety and devotion to the Lord. Christianity accepts as wholly praiseworthy this second rule of life also, in order that no class of men and no group of peoples may imagine themselves deprived of the eminent benefits of the 'saving manifestation' of Christ.¹⁷

Thus Eusebius, the future counsellor of Constantine, formulated that distinction between precepts and counsels in which the ethics of collective Christianity were ever thereafter to find their basis. Origen, also, had distinguished among Christians *πρακτικοί* from *θεωρητικοί*, but to the former had assigned as the proper place for them only the forecourt of the temple, while to the temple itself he granted access only to the pure. Eusebius, now, having regard to the pressing exigencies of a Christianity which by the very fact that it now aspired to be the religion of the majority was constrained to mitigate its primitive moral programme, combines in the same Christian profession the two categories of believers. It is easy to understand how in his eyes the exalted mysticism of Methodius and his attempt to reanimate the enthusiasm of the Christian renunciation by reviving the fervor of chiliastic expectation must have seemed like the vain self-deception of a man hopelessly behind the times. The historian who had described the ancient Papias of Hieropolis as a man 'scant of brains' could not have looked with complacency upon his successor in the fourth century. Methodius had to wait long decades before he found in Epiphanius an adequate appreciation of his doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, although even in the Panarion the bishop of Salamis takes pains to purge his anti-Origenistic thought of the suspicion of chiliasm.

Christian society after Constantine found it most convenient to adopt the sharp distinction Eusebius made between the two different ways in which it is possible to live according to the gospel. But in the course of the centuries every revival of the religious spirit finds itself carried back to the mystical conception of the earliest Christian generations for which the message of Christ could be taken in only one possible way, in that, namely, which demands renunciation of the world in the expectation of perfect righteousness.

¹⁷ *Demonstratio Evangelica*, i, 8.

AMERICAN THEISTS

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THE problem of the existence and nature of God, remote and oppressive though it is to some minds, to others is of all questions the most urgent and engaging. It has had its fascination for the mind of America, as for that of all intelligent peoples.

Among the outstanding names in American theism one of the first to attract the student is that of Theodore Parker (1810–1860), transcendentalist and theist.¹ His is a theological rather than a philosophical theism. Indeed for him theism meant *theology*, a reasonable theology as over against the rigid orthodoxy which he combats. He dwelt in that cosmically dim hour before the dawn of evolution, and argued for a minutely fore-known universe, of which God “knew perfectly all the actions, movements and history, at the moment of creation as well as today,”² and by his “infinite engineering brought them to pass without infringing upon freedom.” In his roseate theodicy God created man and nature “from a perfect motive, of perfect material, for a perfect purpose, and as perfect means to achieve that purpose.” He expunges the stigma of imperfection and evil from the present order by positing a future of unending bliss for every creature as well as for every man. Such assumptions mark the preacher rather than the philosopher. And yet there is in his *Sermons on Theism* (1853) a tide of conviction, a largeness of outlook, and a sense of ultimate values, which cannot be dismissed as mere sentiment. It is true that some of his arguments fall upon the modern mind with an undeniable antiquity of accent. They are as the idle wind which it respects not. But the sweep of his faith in a “Father-Mother” God, the breadth of his sympathy, the glow of his imagination, the strength of his conviction, still speak from his

¹ Professor Caldecott terms him “the most confident intuitionist I can find since Herbert.” *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 99.

² *Views of Religion*, p. 100.

highly-colored pages, as they did from his famous pulpit, with the power of permanent worth.

The year 1881 witnessed the publication of two volumes of exceptional character in the field of Theism, Diman's *The Theistic Argument* and Mulford's *The Republic of God*.

J. Lewis Diman, the author of *The Theistic Argument* was from 1864 until his death in 1881 Professor of History and Political Economy in Brown University. Before that time he had been in the Christian ministry, having spent two years in Germany, mainly engaged in the study of Kant. His interest in philosophy was life-long, and when in 1880 he was invited to deliver a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute on its foundation of Natural Religion, he found himself drawn to the subject of Theism.

The course opened with a discussion of the relativity of knowledge, in which the author concludes that "while we conceive that the Absolute cannot be known as the product of any inductive or deductive reasoning from the phenomena presented to the senses, we affirm that it is and can be known as the correlate which must be necessarily assumed to explain and account for those phenomena."³ He then presents in free and compact form the several classic arguments for the existence of God, throwing the whole burden of proof upon none of them, but treating them all as "but stages in a single rational process and parts of one comprehensive proof."⁴ The knowledge of God, he holds, grows with us as we grow. Nor is God a distant Being. "We know him simply and naturally as we know our fellow men."⁵

The part which intuition plays in this growing knowledge of God is described thus:

While we had no hesitation in rejecting intuition as an exclusive and immediate source of our belief in the divine existence, we recognize intuition as essential to the completeness of the theistic argument . . . as a part of cognition, as the final and legitimate step to which the intellectual process leads.⁶

The question arises whether intuition, as a cognitive act of the whole personality, does not also *initiate* the knowledge of God

³ *The Theistic Argument*, p. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

ratiocination serving to ratify and confirm that which intuition seizes.

Professor Diman's theism was supplemented and surpassed — at least in the extent of its influence — by the well-known author of *The Nation*, Elisha Mulford, in *The Republic of God*.⁷ He was the author of but two volumes, but these, the fruit of long study and reflection, gave him a deep and lasting influence upon American thought. *The Nation* (1870) — rewritten, Mr. H. E. Scudder states, seven times, beside subsequent alterations in correcting the proof — ⁸ has taken rank as one of the major treatises on the American theory of the state.

The Republic of God (1881) has an atmosphere of its own in American theological literature. After the tumult and shouting of the polemic period of theology it came with the elemental calm and persuasiveness of pure, rational conviction. It does not strive nor cry, neither does it argue nor dogmatize. Its stately and mature affirmations carry the weight of sincere and ripe reflection. It is the Fourth Gospel among American theologies. It grounds theism in consciousness, whence it cannot be dislodged.

The being of God is the precedent and the postulate of the thought of God. It is the ground in man of his conscious life. From the beginning, and with the growth of the human consciousness, there is the consciousness of the being of God, and of a relation to God.⁹

The chapter, "The Personality of God," did much to lift the conception of personality to its true level. "There is in personality," wrote Dr. Mulford, "the highest that is within the knowledge of man. It is the steepest summit toward which we move in our attainment. . . . The personality of God does not involve limitation. The only limitation is self-limitation — the limit which it sets in its own self-determination."¹⁰ Such

⁷ Elisha Mulford was born in Montrose, Pa., in 1833, and died in Cambridge, Mass. in 1886. Like Diman he was a student of philosophy. He graduated at Yale College, studied at Union and Andover Seminaries, and at Halle and Heidelberg Universities, was ordained as an Episcopal minister and served several parishes. In 1881 he removed to Cambridge and delivered courses of lectures on theology at the Episcopal Divinity School.

⁸ See his article on Elisha Mulford in the *Atlantic Monthly*, lvii, 362.

⁹ *Republic of God*, p. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23 (first edition).

words have become familiar to us in the present century. But at the time, and in the fullness of the realization of their import in which they were written, they meant much. The discussion of the divine attributes also shows how far this emancipated thinker had risen above the conventional scholasticism of Protestant theology.

The impression which Mulford made upon American theology is comparable in some respects, though less in degree, to that of Maurice in England, by whom he was greatly influenced. One may readily detect the impact of Coleridge upon his thought and style. And yet there is nothing whatever of imitation, for upon every page one can discern freedom and originality of thought and expression.¹¹

Both Diman and Mulford wrote in the philosophic temper, and made contributions of value to theism, but neither presented what could be called an exhaustive treatment of the subject. This remained to be done by Professor Samuel Harris, whose sterling volume, *The Philosophical Basis of Theism* (1883), takes rank, as on the whole the leading American work on this subject. It is to be hoped that Yale University, mother of theologians, will sometime see that there is an adequate biography of this comprehensive and independent thinker, eminent among her great teachers, and regarded with admiration and gratitude by his students.¹²

The *Philosophical Basis of Theism* bears evidence of years of toil and reflection. It shows a thoroughly comprehensive and well-digested knowledge of the literature of philosophy, as well as a wide acquaintance with general literature. It is clear

¹¹ A biographical sketch of Dr. Mulford and his work, by Dr. T. T. Munger, may be found in *The Century Magazine*, xiii, 888.

¹² Samuel Harris came of a Maine family, and was born in East Machias, June 14, 1814. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1833 and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1838. He was a Congregational pastor until 1855, when he became professor of Systematic Theology in Bangor Theological Seminary. In 1867 he was called to the presidency of Bowdoin College, and in 1871 became Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in the Yale Divinity School, continuing in this office until he was made professor emeritus in 1896. His death occurred in 1899. His portrait, together with those of Dr. C. C. Everett, H. B. Smith, and other Maine theologians, may be found in an article by W. I. Cole, 'Maine in Literature,' *New England Magazine*, August 1890.

as well as profound in thought, and is written with an ease and a strength of sustained interest which are too rare in such treatises.

Starting with the assumption that if theism is to stand the test of rational criticism it must be grounded on a broad philosophical basis, Professor Harris introduces his work with a careful study of the nature and reality of knowledge. He bases the reliability of knowledge upon its self-evidencing character. Although admitting that "in human intelligence there is a nucleus of knowledge surrounded by a zone of probability, opinion and doubt,"¹³ he regards this nucleus as having the character of genuine knowledge, and hence as wholly trustworthy. In common with practically all apologetic writers of that period, he directs his criticism of Agnosticism against Herbert Spencer, its arch-proponent, who has served innumerable philosophers and theologians as a *pièce de résistance* by means of whom a new sense of confidence in the reliability of spiritual knowledge was gained.

Harris divides the acts and processes of knowing into three classes: Intuition, Representation, and Reflection. Intuition is immediate and self-evident knowledge. It exists in two forms Perception, or Presentative Intuition, and Rational Intuition. The former includes sense-perception and self-consciousness. It gives us the objects or particular realities about which we think. Rational Intuition is the immediate and self-evident knowledge of universal truths or principles. Representation is knowledge of a reality originally presented in intuition and now *re-presented* in a mental image or concept. Reflection or Thought is the reflex action of the intellect attending to the reality known in presentative intuition, and apprehending, differentiating, and integrating it (thesis, antithesis, synthesis) under the regulation of the principles known in rational intuitions, and concluding in a judgment.

On the surface this looks not a little like the Intuitionism of the Scotch school, supplemented by Hegelianism. But closer scrutiny reveals the difference. In his *Intuitions of the Mind*, McCosh wrote:

¹³ *Philosophical Basis of Theism*, p. 22.

Our intuitive convictions are thus not ideas, notions, judgments, formed apart from objects, but are in effect discoveries of something in objects or relating to them. . . . Intuitively the mind contemplates an event happening in time, and then by a further process arrives at the notion of time. The mind has not intuitively an idea of cause or causation in the abstract, but discovering a given effect, it looks for a specific cause.¹⁴

This is evidently far removed from Harris's epistemology. Indeed we have here all the difference between Idealism and Realism.

In his treatment of Rational Intuition, by which comes the knowledge of God, Professor Harris seeks first of all to establish the validity of Reason. He meets the objection that Reason breaks down in self-contradictions by showing that Kant's antinomies, rightly understood, are not contradictions, but opposite poles of bi-polar truth.¹⁵ They became contradictions for Kant "because of his phenomenalism; his antithesis of phenomenon and noumenon is so complete that they are reciprocally exclusive and therefore contradictory."¹⁶

Rational Intuition reveals five unchanging forms, under which (since the Universe is grounded in Reason) all existences may be subsumed: the True, the contrary of which is the Absurd; the Right, the contrary of which is the Wrong; the Perfect, the contrary of which is the Imperfect; the Good, the contrary of which is the Unworthy or Evil; the Absolute (or Unconditioned), the contrary of which is the Finite (or Conditioned). The first four are the norms or standards of Reason. The fifth, as the Unconditioned and All-conditioning, stands by itself and is the basis of Theology.¹⁷

Rational Intuition does not give the knowledge of Being but only of its unchanging forms. Knowledge of Being is given by Presentative Intuition:

The intuition that Absolute Being must exist presupposes the knowledge of beings. Beings are already known to exist; thus Reason sees that a Being that is absolute and unconditioned must exist.¹⁸ . . . The idea of God has content in consciousness through five ultimate ideas of the reason, and not as Kant holds, through the Practical Reason alone.¹⁹

This account of the forms of Rational Intuition is manifestly

¹⁴ Part I, Book i, Section iv.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

open to criticism. The Good and the Perfect are too closely akin to admit of clear demarcation; the Perfect and the Absolute have too much in common to warrant separate classification. The present-day psychologist would doubtless belittle the whole attempt as having been rendered irrelevant by psychology. But the last word on that subject has not been spoken.

A discussion of Personality ensues upon the foregoing. Professor Harris defines personality thus: "A Person is a being conscious of self, subsisting in individuality and identity, and endowed with intuitive reason, rational sensibility and free-will."²⁰ The will is the person's power of self-determination. The determinations of the will are of two kinds, Choice and Volition. Man is *self-conditioning*. God alone is *self-existent* and independent, unconditioned and all-conditioning.

After an extended refutation of materialistic objections to the existence of personal beings (Chapter xvii), the author introduces a chapter on "The Two Systems of Nature and Personality," thus aligning himself with James Marsh and the Coleridgeans. His final emphasis is upon the existence of God as necessary to the trustworthiness of the human reason, the community of human knowledge, and the completeness of human thought, since it combines knowledge of all particulars in the unity of an all-comprehending system.²¹

The somewhat abstract character of this discussion was supplemented by Harris's companion volume, *The Self-Revelation of God* (1886), in which emphasis is laid upon the *experiential* nature of the knowledge of God. Revelation is here treated, not according to the older idea of an external *datum*, but as self-disclosure, such as Personality naturally makes of itself to others. In the case of the Supreme Person, revelation makes use of the structure and course of nature, the constitution and history of man, and redemption through Christ. The idea of God as Absolute Being is retained, but the predominant conception is that of Personal Spirit.

These two volumes, with a third, *God, the Creator and Lord of All* (1896), form an institute of Theism rarely equalled in

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 560, 561.

scope, balance, and sustained strength, and in the harmonizing of philosophical and theological thought.

In marked contrast with the voluminous Philosophical Theism of Professor Harris is the succinct and dramatic Cosmic Theism of John Fiske, who approached the subject from the angle of the scientist rather than that of the theologian or philosopher. The inclusion of John Fiske among the leading American theists may seem to be a case of a scientific Saul among the theological prophets. Whether his rôle were such or not, there can be little doubt that at a time when — owing to the materialistic interpretation of evolution — Christian theism in America was threatened with abandonment by a host of thoughtful minds, it was he more than any other writer, who turned back the tide.

An instructive experience, singularly characteristic of his time, fitted Mr. Fiske for this task. It may be traced with clearness in the pages of his biography.²² Branded as an infidel and skeptic by his minister, and virtually excommunicated as a boy from the orthodox church of Middletown, Conn., for having in his library volumes by Voltaire, Comte, Strauss, and John Stuart Mill; regarded for a time at Harvard College as a dangerous radical; his volume *Cosmic Evolution* greeted by the religious press as the work of an enemy of religion, Mr. Fiske knew what it meant to feel the full force of the *odium theologium*. And yet he was neither embittered by it nor deflected from his course. Having become an admirer and apostle of Herbert Spencer in his student days, and continuing such after mature study and reflection, he became the leading exponent of the Spencerian philosophy in this country. Yet at one most vital point he found Spencer lacking, and so freely and frankly expressed his divergence as practically to repudiate the Spencerian Agnosticism. Spencer's religious attitude did not at all satisfy him. It is quite evident from several of Spencer's letters to Fiske published in Mr. Clark's volumes that Spencer had little or no interest in the religious aspects of evolution. In his acknowledgments of Fiske's writings and in his comments upon his utterances he habitually avoids the subject of religion;

²² John Fiske: *Life and Letters*. By John Spencer Clark. 2 vols. (1917).

but on one occasion, at the farewell dinner given him in New York on November 9, 1882, after Mr. Fiske's speech in response to the toast "The Doctrine of Evolution and Religion," he expressed himself as much pleased, and afterwards, wrote, "I wanted to say how successful and how important I thought was your presentation of the dual aspect, theological and ethical, of the Evolution doctrine."²³ Aside from this single indication of approval, Spencer apparently did not sympathize with Fiske's disposition to find religious significance in the evolution theory. Yet Fiske pursued his purpose. At a period when pretty much all of the theological, and most of the philosophical, world resounded with criticism and often with denunciation of Herbert Spencer and his agnosticism — a large part of it well directed — it was a signal achievement for Fiske, while supporting Spencer, to turn the findings of the evolution theory away from Agnosticism toward a theistic interpretation of the cosmos.

The chief deliverance of Mr. Fiske on the relation of evolution to religion is contained in two lectures given before the Concord School of Philosophy, *The Destiny of Man* (1884), and *The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge* (1885). If the Concord School had done nothing more than to call forth these two lectures its existence would have been more than justified.

The theism outlined in "The Idea of God" is very different from the "Anthropomorphic Theism" which Fiske criticized in his *Cosmic Philosophy*, and against which, under the caption of "Finite Theology," Theodore Parker had hurled his thunderbolts. And yet Fiske advanced a very definite and positive teleology, which recognizes that "there is a reasonableness in the universe such as to indicate that the Infinite Power of which it is the multiform manifestation is psychical."²⁴ Remaining loyal to Spencer and averring that his characterization of God as "Unknowable" presents "only one aspect of Deity,"²⁵ Fiske managed to transform the dreaded shadow of evolution into an angel of light.

²³ *Op. cit.*, ii, 264.

²⁴ *The Idea of God*, Preface, p. xxix.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxx.

The argument for the existence of God which he advances is the design argument, reconstructed upon the lines of the evolutionary hypothesis:

The events of the universe are not the work of chance, neither are they the outcome of blind necessity. Practically there is a purpose in the world whereof it is our highest duty to learn the lesson, however well or ill we may fail in rendering a scientific account of it. When from the dawn of life we see all things working together toward the evolution of the highest spiritual attributes of Man, we know, however the words may stumble in which we try to say it, that God is in the deepest sense a Moral Being. The everlasting source of phenomena is none other than the infinite Power that makes for righteousness.²⁶

The presentation is impaired by a tone of assurance, not to say dogmatism, as of one speaking from a new seat of authority. Its somewhat dramatic form admits also some rather sweeping doctrinal generalizations, as Professor George Harris indicated in his review of the volume in the *Andover Review*.²⁷ Moreover, as the same critic also pointed out, its sole reliance upon teleology affords a quite inadequate basis for a sufficient theism. And yet, with all its assumptions and omissions, this skilful etching of "a well-marked dramatic tendency toward the *dé-nouement* of which everyone of the myriad little acts of life and death during the entire series of geologic aeons was assisting"²⁸ constituted a unique and brilliant contribution to American thought. Without it our theistic literature would be not only far duller but far less advanced.

Mr. Fiske was not a profound thinker nor a man of marked religious sentiment, but he had an exceptionally sane, reverent, and forceful mind, and the fact that as the leading exponent of evolution in America he threw his judgment unhesitatingly on the side of theism carried a great deal of weight at a time when there was much mental confusion and disturbance. The *Idea of God* has gone through fifteen editions, and will not cease to be read for many years to come.

It is worthy of note that in his *Interpretation of Nature* (1893) Professor N. S. Shaler took an attitude toward evolution similar to that of Fiske. In a recent volume, *The Order of Nature*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 107.

²⁷ *The Idea of God*, p. 161.

²⁸ Vol. v, pp. 99-102.

(1917), Professor Lawrence J. Henderson also finds indications in nature of an evolutionary teleology, though with a far greater reserve than either Fiske or Shaler. He writes as follows:

Nothing more remains than to admit that the riddle surpasses us and to conclude that the contrast of mechanism with teleology is the very foundation of the order of nature, which must ever be regarded from two complementary points of view, as a vast assemblage of changing systems, and as an harmonious unity of changeless laws and qualities working together in the process of evolution.²⁹

We meet with a similar faith in the theistic implications of the developmental theory, but with a contrasted point of view and method, in the theist whose work we are next to consider, Charles Carroll Everett, the publication of whose theological lectures under the title *Theism and the Christian Faith* (1909) added a contribution of large and permanent value to the literature of Theism.³⁰

Doctor Everett's long and fruitful term of service as professor of Theology in the Harvard Divinity School (1869-1900) ran parallel with that of Samuel Harris at Yale.³¹ The two teachers were alike in their philosophic vision, wide knowledge of philosophy and literature, penetration of mind, and skill and charm of expression. They were alike also in their faith in intuition and in idealism. Yet they differed in their types of idealism. Harris was more the Kantian, Everett the Hegelian, although neither of them was in any sense a camp-follower, but each an independent thinker.

If anyone imagines that it is impossible to find a course of lectures in theology that is at once free, profound, and engaging, he may be disillusioned by looking into Professor Everett's course as reported and edited by the Reverend Edward Hale.

²⁹ Page 209.

³⁰ Dean W. W. Fenn of the Harvard Divinity Faculty has made a valuable summary and evaluation of Professor Everett's theology in *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. iii, 1-23.

³¹ Charles Carroll Everett was born in Brunswick, Me., June 19, 1829. He graduated from Bowdoin College, and studied at Berlin University, Germany. He was librarian of Bowdoin College Library for five years, and professor of Modern Languages, 1855-57. In 1869 he joined the faculty of Harvard Divinity School and from 1879 until his death in 1900 was Dean of the School.

Here is no dry-as-dust dogmatism, but life, movement, literature. Dr. Everett was accustomed to begin his course of lectures with the following definition of religion, to be found in his volume, *The Psychological Elements of Religious Faith* (1902): "Religion is a feeling toward a Supernatural Presence manifesting itself in Truth, Goodness and Beauty." This definition he traced through six phases of development, beginning with the simple "feeling" of primitive religion and culminating in "feeling toward a spiritual presence, manifesting itself in Truth, Goodness and Beauty, especially as illustrated in the life and teaching of Jesus and as experienced in every soul that is open to its influence."²² These three — Truth (or Unity), Goodness, and Beauty — in harmony with Plato, he presents as the three Ideas of Reason and the guides to the knowledge of God. Unity he finds existent in three forms: Unity in time, or Eternity; Unity in space, or Omnipresence; and Dynamic Unity, or Omnipotence. Thus we have, in place of Harris' *five* forms of Reason, Everett's *three* forms, with a somewhat differing content, although there is a fundamental agreement between them.

In making Truth coincident with Unity, Dr. Everett adopts a norm which in spite of its inclusiveness limits him. Unity is a fundamental quality of truth, but when made supreme it forces into the background that which has become the chief quest of contemporary philosophy, Reality. With so exclusive an emphasis upon Unity he naturally became enmeshed in the web of Hegelianism. It is true that he rejected an abstract unity as applied to God in favor of a "concrete unity in which the parts are not done away with but taken up into the whole";²³ and yet there is wanting a certain sense of personality which is not to be had when Unity is made the supreme category. The supremacy of the category of Unity tends to subordinate goodness, or moral truth, to theoretical truth. Along with this goes also the disposition to minimize evil which the Hegelian finds it so hard to avoid. It does not remedy the situation to make sin a factor in the "negative

²² See W. W. Fenn, *l. c.*, p. 20.

²³ *Theism and the Christian Faith*, p. 51.

movement" by which man is brought into conflict with his environment, as Everett does. This offers too negative an account of sin. It is not enough to define sin as "a state of inertia, the resting in some lower plane of life, where it is possible to rise to a higher."²⁴ It is that — and more.

Christianity is truly presented by Everett as the religion of reconciliation; yet Christianity is not so much concerned to reconcile good and evil as to reconcile the *Author* of good and the *sinner*. In other words, persons, rather than their products, are the true objects of reconciliation.

Especial emphasis is laid by Everett upon the idea of Beauty in theism, which he rightly contends, "has been too much left out of account by many theologians." Beauty is defined as "the manifestation of the glory of God";²⁵ which glory is "the self-manifestation of the divine nature regarded as the sum of all ideals." Such self-manifestation, he points out, necessarily excludes abstract unity and all forms of pantheism. "When the divine nature is conceived merely as abstract unity there can be, of course, no self-manifestation, no outpouring of the divine nature, no glory of God."²⁶ Man glorifies God by self-fulfilment, by means of which he fills his place in the universe. His description of the Divine Glory and Blessedness as consisting in Active Love²⁷ reminds the reader of Jonathan Edwards. Here, at least, the Berkeleyan Calvinist and the Hegelian Unitarian are in striking harmony, both in spirit and in idea.

While the emphasis upon Divine Personality is less marked in the theism of Everett than in that of Harris, the ruling idea of God is the same, that of Spiritual Presence; and that means Personality. At the same time Divine Personality, in Everett's thought, is more or less shadowed by the conception of the Absolute. In elevating Idea above Reality, Hegelianism — even in such a modification of it as this — inevitably veils the realization of God behind the thought of God. If knowledge is confined to *ideas*, the idea of God, as Everett recognizes at the outset of his discussion, is necessarily a rep-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. vii.

resentation, a *Vorstellung*, but if knowledge is *not* confined to ideas, if it is recognized as deeper and fuller than ideas, using them only as its instruments, then it is possible to have a knowledge of God that is far more than a *Vorstellung*. The knowledge by personal beings of one another can hardly be confined to representation. Whatever its ultimate nature, it would seem to be primarily presentative and only secondarily representative. In relating itself to other aspects of knowledge and other forms of reality, the knowledge of God is doubtless representative, indirect, mediate; but in itself is it not more direct and experiential than Professor Everett conceived it to be?

A number of other noteworthy books on theism by American authors have appeared, among which may be mentioned: *A Theodicy* (1859), by Albert Taylor Bledsoe, at that time Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the University of Missouri; *The Theistic Conception of God* (1875), by B. F. Cocker, professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Michigan; Borden P. Bowne's *Philosophy of Theism* (1888);³⁸ George P. Fisher's *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief* (1902); Josiah Royce's and George H. Howison's *The Conception of God* (1897);³⁹ William N. Clarke's *The Christian Doctrine of God* (1909); Richard Wilde Micou's *Basic Ideas in Religion* (1916); George A. Gordon's *Aspects of the Infinite Mystery* (1916).⁴⁰

A contribution to the literature of theism of marked value appeared in the year 1890 entitled *Belief in God* (Winkley Lectures at Andover Theological Seminary), by President Jacob Gould Schurman, at that time Sage professor of Philosophy at Cornell University. As a condensed and succinct statement of the grounds of theism it is in many respects unrivalled. President Schurman entitles his Theism *anthropocosmic*, since it is based on the double facts of the cosmos and human nature. From a study of the implications underlying the totality of

³⁸ See *The Personalist*, vol. i, No. 1, pp. 27 ff. Professor Borden P. Bowne's *Theism and Personalism* have been omitted from this discussion for the reason that I hope to discuss them at length in a volume upon *American Philosophy*.

³⁹ See *The Harvard Theological Review*, viii (1915), 219-237.

⁴⁰ See *Progressive Religious Life in America*, chap. iii.

phenomena he reaches the conclusion that "the ground or immanent cause of the universe must be an Infinite Spirit." This Spirit, interpreted through personality, is Love. It would be difficult to find a finer interpretation of Christianity as it is seen in the light of a rational philosophy than President Schurman presents in his closing chapter, "Belief in God as Father of Spirits," from which the following passage is taken:

Nothing requires us then to modify the conclusion already reached that love is the complete expression of the moral character of God. This also is the burden of the revelation through Christ as it is the one imperishable idea of every form of the Christian faith. I believe, therefore, that it is to the religion of Christ, as the absolute religion, that we shall find ourselves approximating, the deeper our soundings in the soul of man and of nature. But that religion is not to be confounded with any rigid and unprogressive creed that claims, in a formidable array of ancient articles, a monopoly of Christian truth. Not merely do we need, what Locke so earnestly demanded, a broadening of the bottom of religion; we need also a recognition of its constant progressiveness. For our knowledge of God must continue to grow with our knowledge of humanity and nature through which alone he reveals himself. The endless problem of religious thought will therefore be the re-setting of the religion of Christ in the framework of contemporary knowledge.⁴¹

In connection with this volume should be mentioned Professor Arthur Kenyon Rogers' ⁴² *The Religious Conception of God* (1907), in which the author defends "a view of the world which is frankly religious and theistic."⁴³ Professor Rogers deliberately adopts this view in preference to "the attitude of disinterested spectator" in which the philosopher "assumes a position outside the world's life and makes it simply a subject on which to exercise one's skill in dialectic."⁴⁴

It is impossible to glance over even so limited a sector of the history of Theism without realizing that it is in its very nature a progressive science. The idea of God, as well as the experience of God, develops and deepens and expands with the growing mind of man. Such has been the case in American thought.

⁴¹ *Belief in God*, pp. 260, 261.

⁴² At the time this volume was published, Doctor Rogers was professor of Philosophy in Butler College. Since 1918 he has been professor of Philosophy in Yale University.

⁴³ Page 1.

⁴⁴ Page 3.

It is true that many minds refuse with no little heat to accept this alternative; the idea of God for them is a fixed and unchangeable *datum*. It is easy to fall into the assumption that here knowledge has reached the limit of its possibilities. What more can be learned of God than the fundamental truths of his "nature and government" as disclosed in the laws of the mind itself, in nature, and in "revelation"? So it seemed to the scholasticism of the Middle Ages and again to the divines of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. But this proved a misconception. *Stability* in the idea of God does not mean fixity. There is no fixity of idea in such a realm as this, representing as it does the highest and widest of our concepts. It is, to be sure, difficult to see in what direction so ultimate an idea as that of God can farther expand. No age can see how the next can possibly advance further; but the advance comes, taking up into itself the best that has gone before, and carrying enlarged experience on into enlarging idea.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN.** (International Critical Commentary.) *By R. H. Charles.* Charles Scribners' Sons. 1920. 2 volumes. Pp. cxcii, 373 and viii, 497. \$9.00 net.
- A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.** (International Critical Commentary.) *By Ernest De Witt Burton.* Charles Scribners' Sons. 1920. Pp. lxxxix, 541. \$4.50 net.
- LUKE THE HISTORIAN IN THE LIGHT OF RESEARCH.** *By A. T. Robertson.* Charles Scribners' Sons. 1920. Pp. ix, 257. \$4.50 net.
- THE SOLUTION OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.** *By Robinson Smith.* London: Watts & Co. 1920. Pp. viii, 286. 10s. net.
- HANDBOOK OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN FATHERS.** *By Ernest Leigh-Bennett.* London: Williams and Norgate. 1920. Pp. xii, 340. 21s. net.
- A PEOPLE'S LIFE OF CHRIST.** *By J. Paterson-Smyth.* Fleming H. Revell Co. 1920. Pp. 505.
- A NEW MIND FOR THE NEW AGE.** *By Henry Churchill King.* Fleming H. Revell Co. 1920. Pp. 192.
- MOÏSE ET LA GENÈSE D'APRÈS LES TRAVAUX DE . . . ÉDOUARD NAVILLE.** *Par E. Doumergue.* Paris: Foi et Vie. 1920. Pp. xv, 121.
- DIE GRIECHISCHEN UND LATEINISCHEN NACHRICHTEN ÜBER DIE PERSISCHE RELIGION.** *Von Carl Clemen.* Giessen: Töpelmann. 1920. Pp. 232.

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THE
HARVARD
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OCTOBER, 1921

LITERATURE ON CHURCH HISTORY, 1914-1920.

I. EARLY CHURCH HISTORY *Gustav Krüger* 287

NOTES. — A CONJECTURE ON MATTHEW 11, 12, *J. Hugh Michael*. — THE TEXT OF LUKE 2, 22, *W. H. P. Hatch*.



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LITERATURE ON CHURCH HISTORY

IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND THE
SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, 1914-1920

GUSTAV KRÜGER

PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY IN GIESSEN, GERMANY

I. EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen.
AAB	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
AGPh	Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AGW	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
AMM	Abhandlungen aus Missionskunde und Missionsgeschichte.
BFTb	Beiträge zur Förderung der christlichen Theologie.
BGPhM	Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters.
BGThPrPred	Beiträge zur Geschichte, Theorie und Praxis der Predigt.
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter.
BphW	Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
DTh	Divus Thomas. Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie. Seit 1914.
FLDG	Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte.
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments.
FrThSt	Freiburger Theologische Studien.
GChrSchr	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller.
HJG	Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft.
HPBl	Historisch-politische Blätter.
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift.
KÅ	Kyrkohistorisk Årskrift.
Kath	Der Katholik.
KYT	Kleine Texte, hrag. von H. Lietzmann.
LF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen.
LQ	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen.
LZBl	Literarisches Zentralblatt.
NA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen.
NADG	Neues Archiv für die ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.
NAKG	Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis.
NGW	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
NJkIA	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
NkZ	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NTtT	Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift.
Ochr	Oriens Christianus.
RhM	Rheinisches Museum.
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift.
SAB	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Berlin.
SAH	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Heidelberg.
SAW	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Wien.
SchrGesStr	Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft zu Strassburg.
StGKA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums.
StMB	Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden.
StML	Stimmen aus Maria Laach. Seit 1915 durch StZ ersetzt.

StZ	Stimmen der Zeit.
ThGl	Theologie und Glaube.
ThLBl	Theologisches Literaturblatt.
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift.
ThR	Theologische Rundschau.
ThRev	Theological Review.
ThSt	Theologische Studien.
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen.
VKSM	Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar München.
VRSg	Veröffentlichungen der Sektion für Rechts- und Sozialwissenschaft der Görres-Gesellschaft.
WSt	Wiener Studien.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZkTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.
ZMW	Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZwTh	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie (1914 eingegangen).

In the preparation of the following survey two methods were possible. I might select for fuller notice certain of the most important productions and by means of them illustrate the progress in this branch of historical science during the period of the war, or I might endeavor to give as complete an account of the literature as possible, including notices of less significant but nevertheless useful publications. I decided upon the second course, partly because the mass of production seemed to me too large and varied to be satisfactorily exhibited by the more or less arbitrary selection of a few works, partly because it often happens that a seemingly unimportant note may be of worth to some scholar who happens to be pursuing research in that particular field—something which in the many years during which I edited the *Theologische Jahresbericht* I have often found true in my own experience and that of others. Unfortunately the *Jahresbericht*, which seemed to us indispensable, as well as the *Theologische Rundschau*, edited by Bouasset, whose untimely death we mourn, have both succumbed to the unfavorable conditions of the times. All the more necessary does it seem to create at least a partial substitute for them, and I embraced the opportunity offered me by the editors of this

Review the more gladly because in my own country it will for the present be quite impossible to publish such a survey.¹

Manifestly in such an undertaking exhaustive completeness is not to be achieved or even aimed at. Having regard to the readers of this Review, it is clear that, of writings on the history of the church in individual countries, only those should find a place in our survey which may claim a general interest; to say nothing of the fact that it is beyond the power of a single reviewer, even with the friendly assistance of others, to record, much less to read, everything. But here again a distinction is necessary. The history of the ancient church is a peculiarly international field, and accordingly it is desirable here to include as far as possible everything which by its scientific character is adapted to advance learning, even if only in a single minor point. To achieve a certain degree of completeness for this period was in itself an attractive task, and one which I took upon me the more gladly because in fulfilling it I should be acquitting myself of a debt of honor. In the field of early church history German scholarship has from the beginning taken the lead. That it is not disposed to relinquish this leadership was proved during the war, and is still being shown in the distressful years that have followed. It was not without a feeling of pride that I took up the January number of this Review bearing witness to this, as it does, by the prominent place occupied in it by German scholarship; and I cannot think without bitterness of the political servitude and the internal derangement of my own country which, unless conditions soon change for the better, must lead to the decline of this prestige also.

In regard to the limits of the period covered by this survey, I would remark that the history of primitive Christianity does not fall within its scope. This subject can be advantageously treated only in connection with the literature on the New Testament, which Professor Windisch, of Leiden, has undertaken. Gnosticism also belongs in his field. The external ar-

¹ For a comprehensive survey of important publications on Antenicene church history, see Hans von Soden, *Die Erforschung der vornikäischen Kirchengeschichte seit 1914*, in *ZKG* 29, 1921, 140-166.

rangement of the *Jahresbericht*, which experience has proved practical, has been retained, with such changes as the contracted space dictate. The abbreviations in the bibliography are those employed in the *Jahresbericht* with the addition of a few new ones. As readers cannot be expected to understand these symbols without explanation, an alphabetical list of those which occur in this first article is prefixed. All these periodicals, reports of the sessions of Academies, and similar publications, are having a hard struggle for existence, and many of the symbols in our list will shortly disappear.

Of the literature which has appeared in the German language I have seen almost everything, for which I am in part indebted to the kind coöperation of the publishers. The prices noted are the original ones; beyond which considerable excess charges must be reckoned with. In ordering a book it would be advisable to refer to my report, or to use my services by ordering the book through me. Of the literature in other languages only the smallest part has come under my eyes. I am the more grateful for the generous assistance of scholars who in response to my request have aided me by furnishing notices of such publications — Professor Karl Völker, of Vienna, for Austria; Professor O. Ammundsen, of Copenhagen, and Professor Sigmund Mowinckel, of Christiania, for Denmark and Norway; the Rev. Bakhuizen van den Brink, Theol. Doct., of Nieuw Dortrecht, for Holland; Professor Hjalmar Holmqvist, of Lund, for Sweden. The names of these scholars are attached to the notes contributed by them.

I. GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Aulén, Gösta, Dogmhistoria. 362 pp. Stockholm, Norsted, 1917. kr. 12.
 — *Bess, Bernhard*, Unsere religiösen Erzieher. 2. Aufl. 2 Bände. xi, 385; iii, 344 pp. Mit Bildnissen. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1917. Geb. M. 14.
 — *Bonwetsch, G. Nathanael*, Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte. 2. Aufl. iv, 219 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1919. M. 12; geb. M. 14. — *Brandrud, A.*, Den kristne kirkes historie. 410 pp. Kristiania, Aschehoug, 1915. — *Ehrengabe* deutscher Wissenschaft, dargeboten von katholischen Gelehrten, dem Prinzen *Johann Georg von Sachsen* zum 50. Geburtstag gewidmet. xx, 858 pp., mit 34 Bildern und 7 Tafeln. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. Geb. M. 250. — *Ehrhard, Albert*, Die Stellung der Slawen in der Geschichte des Christentums. 46 pp. Strassburg, Heitz, 1918. — *Festgabe, Alois Knöpfler*

- sur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres gewidmet. viii, 415 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 30. — *Festschrift*, Theologische, für G. Nathanael Bonwetsch zu seinem 70. Geburtstag. iii, 147 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1918. M. 5. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Dogmengeschichte. (Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften 4). 5. Aufl. xii, 472 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1914. M. 7; geb. M. 8. — *Hergenröther, Josef*, Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte. (Theologische Bibliothek). Neu bearbeitet von Johann Peter Kirsch. 5. Aufl. 3. und 4. Band. xiv, 864 pp. mit einer Karte; x, 798 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1915 und 1917. M. 13, 60 und M. 14; geb. M. 15, 40 und M. 16. — *Heussi, Karl*, Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte. 4. Aufl. xv, 637 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. M. 12; geb. M. 15. — *Heussi, Karl*, und *Hermann Mulert*, Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte. 66 Karten auf 12 Blättern. 2. Aufl. 18 pp. Text. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. kart. M. 7. — *Knöpfler, Alois*, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. 6. Aufl. xxv, 862 pp. mit einer Karte. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. M. 30; geb. M. 36. — *Lübeck, Konrad*, Georgien und die katholische Kirche (AMM 6). 119 pp. Aachen, Xaverius-Verlag, 1918. M. 8, 50. — *Müller, Karl*, Kirchengeschichte. (Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften 4, 2). 2. Band. 2. Hälfte. xxiii, 788 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. M. 18; geb. M. 21. — *Pijper, F.*, Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Christelijke Kunst. Mit 125 afbeeldingen. 191 pp. 's Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1918. fl. 7; geb. fl. 8, 50. — *Schubert, Hans von*, Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte. 6. Aufl. xi, 344 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. M. 6, 75; geb. M. 9. — *Seeberg, Reinhold*, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte. (Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher). 2. und 3. durchweg neu ausgearbeitete Auflage. 4. Band in 2 Abteilungen. xii, xvi, 896 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1917 und 1920. M. 10, 50 und M. 54. — *Studien, geschichtliche, Albert Hauck* zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht. xii, 352 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. M. 13, 50; geb. M. 15.

No new treatise covering the whole of church history has appeared within our period. The books whose titles are given above are for the most part good old acquaintances, and the circle of their readers will doubtless be enlarged through the new editions, which have in all cases been supplemented and brought up to the present stage of knowledge. *Müller* has continued his admirable work, which has been widely praised without as well as within the lands of German speech as a landmark in ecclesiastical historiography, from the Reformation to the end of the seventeenth century. At this point, unfortunately, he proposes to lay down his pen, so that a critical account of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries — a thing that does not exist in any language — is likely long to remain a desideratum. The latest volume, like its predecessors, is distinguished by thoroughness of investigation and independence of judgment. Especially noteworthy is the skill with which the

author has apprehended and presented the connections, including those that belong to the general history of civilization. Besides this there are many new observations in particulars. Thus, to take a single example, Müller is the first adequately to appreciate the great importance for Holland, England, and Germany of Jacobus Acontius, a notable champion of religious toleration whose very name has hitherto not found a place in our church histories.³ Protestantism and Catholicism are treated by Müller with equal thoroughness, and within the sphere of Protestantism he has given the same attention to the non-German churches as to the German. I cannot doubt that the sections on England and Scotland will be found instructive by English and American theologians and historians also.

Seeberg's work is bibliographically described as the second edition of the *Lehrbuch* issued in two volumes in 1895 and 1898. In reality it is an entirely new work, of which the first three volumes appeared in 1908-1913, and with the fourth volume noted above is now complete. The first part of this volume treats of the formation of Protestant doctrine, with a specially detailed estimate of Luther's teachings; the second part, of the further development of the doctrines of the Reformation and of the Counter-Reformation. For Catholicism he takes the Vatican Council (1870) as the terminus, for Lutheranism the Formula of Concord (1580), for Calvinism the Synod of Dordrecht (1619). The lines of development which connect this history with the present the author has traced in an instructive and readable concluding chapter on the several confessional types as the ultimate outcome of the evolution of dogma. *Seeberg's* work has an importance of its own by the side of *Harnack's* great *History of Dogma*, since for the recent period *Harnack* gives no more than a sketch. *Seeberg* has endeavored throughout to give due importance to the connection between the development of religious ideas and the general history of thought. The reader who is acquainted with

³ On Acontius see now Gaston Sortais, S. J., *La philosophie moderne depuis Bacon jusqu'à Leibniz*, Tome I. Paris, 1920, pp. 41-53. See also Adolf Matthaei, *Jacob Acontius, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Gedanken über Toleranz*, NKZ 36, 1919, 290-308.

Troeltsch's 'Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen' (Tübingen, Mohr, 1912) — a brilliant work, but often provoking contradiction — will follow with special interest Seeberg's acute and well-considered discussion. It is gratifying also to find that this Lutheran scholar has so fine a sense for the distinctive features of the Calvinistic type of doctrine, which expresses itself in well-considered judgments. Seeberg could not make up his mind to assign to modern Protestantism a place in the history of dogma as a distinct type of religious life. At this point workers in the field will have to address themselves to the problem with greater energy than heretofore. — The History of Dogma by *Aulén* is praised by Professor Holmqvist as a remarkably clear outline. — Professor Ammundsen describes *Brandrud's* short general sketch as interestingly written, without bibliographical references, but with good illustrations.

Pijper's volume, according to information furnished by Dr. Bakhuizen van den Brink, deals with the whole development of Christian art, paying special attention to ancient art. The reader is made acquainted with the scientific investigation of the catacombs, and the well-known thesis of Strzygowski, 'Orient or Rome,' is discussed, the author endeavoring to steer a middle course. The merits of the book lie on the one hand in the clear, concise, and progressive presentation, on the other in the selection of material with an eye particularly to Dutch readers, and therefore giving especial though not one-sided attention to Dutch art.

Pursuant to a graceful custom, which has been kept up even in our present trying situation, when a noted scholar has completed an epoch in his life, grateful pupils, colleagues, and friends have in several cases contributed to a volume of scientific papers in his honor. Such collections are recorded above in the bibliography. So far as these essays are of general interest for church history they will be specially noted below in their proper place. For more detailed information about the contents the following notices may be consulted: for Bonwetsch, *Schuster*, ThLZ 44 (1919), 49; for Hauck, *Köhler*, ThLZ 41 (1916), 247; for Knöpfler, *Seppelt*, ThRev 17 (1918), 447.

II. THE ANCIENT CHURCH

I. GENERAL

Arnold, Carl Franklin, Die Geschichte der alten Kirche bis auf Karl den Grossen im Zusammenhang mit den Weltbegebenheiten kurz dargestellt. (Evangelisch-theologische Bibliothek, hrsgg. von Bernhard Bess). xvi, 284 pp. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1919. M. 7; geb. M. 8. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Aus der Friedens- und Kriegsarbeit. viii, 373 pp. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1916. M. 8; geb. M. 10. — *Heckel, Andreas*, Die Kirche von Aegypten. Ihre Anfänge, ihre Organisation und ihre Entwicklung bis zur Zeit des Nicaenums. (Diss.) vii, 85 pp. Strassburg, Heitz, 1918. M. 2. — *Schrijnen, Josef*, Uit het leven der oude kerk. vii, 300 pp. Bussum, Brand; Utrecht, Dekker en van der Vogt, 1919. fl. 7; geb. fl. 8, 50. — *Seeck, Otto*, Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr. 2 Halbbände. 200 und xi, 487 pp. Stuttgart, Metzler, 1918 und 1919. M. 100; geb. M. 140 (no excess charge); Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt. 6. Band. 380 pp. Ebd., 1920. M. 32; geb. M. 42. — *Soden, Hans Freiherr von*, Die Entstehung der christlichen Kirche. Vom Urchristentum zum Katholizismus. 2 Bände. (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt. Nr. 690 und 691). 138 und 180 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1919. Je M. 2, 80; geb. M. 3, 50. — *Troeltsch, Ernst*, Die alte Kirche. (Logos 6, 1916-17, 265-314).

'A study in the philosophy of civilization,' is the characterization *Troeltsch* gives of his article on the nature and significance of the ancient church. The fundamental idea is that Christianity as a supernatural institute of salvation found its classical form in the ancient, that is to say, the catholic church. The church is the last great creation of the ancient world, and as such the source of power for the beginning of a new civilization, the mother's womb from which the Occidental world was born. It is therefore a great and weighty question how this church arose out of the whole situation of the ancient world, and wherein its significance in particulars consists. The church itself, under the influence of its belief in its immediate divine origin, has, consciously or unconsciously, refused to recognize the traces of its own origin, effaced them, or even destroyed them. *Troeltsch* traces the lines of development which are nevertheless recognizable in two directions. One points back to Hebraism, and makes the church appear as the conquering power of the prophets and of the gospel. The other leads to Hellenism, and shows us in the church the means by which the ancient world in a time of grave distress and in a complete intellectual overturning brought to fulfilment the most char-

acteristic tendencies of its life, and found the satisfaction of its needs. How this came about in particular cases, Troeltsch has developed in a stimulating way. He thus sums up the conclusions: 'Die Bedeutung der alten Kirche liegt in der Zusammenschweissung der christlich-religiösen Ideenwelt der Schöpfung, der Freiheit, der Gnade, der Wesensumkehr, der Gottes- und Bruderliebe, mit der antiken, wesentlich von den Hellenen geprägten Kultur der allgemeinbegrifflichen gesetzlichen Wissenschaft der rationalen Staats-, Gesellschafts- und Rechtsgestaltung, der humanitären Vernunftethik, der ästhetischen Immanenz der Form in Stoffe.' These are fundamental contrasts; yet, as Troeltsch believes, they have since become so closely bound together that they can not be separated from each other. No one who wishes to go to the bottom of these questions should neglect this study, which, it must be confessed, makes great demands upon the reader. An English translation would be all the more desirable since the essay appeared as an article in a periodical, and can not be obtained separately through the booksellers. (Compare also the note on Troeltsch's 'Augustin,' below, p. 327.) An article on 'de dogmenhistorische theorieën van Ernst Troeltsch' was published by J. Lindebloom in *ThT* 53 (1919), 181-223.

Arnold's book is intended primarily for students; but even professional scholars will be surprised to find how much valuable information has been compacted in small space yet in readable form by a skilful use of small print. The author has not only the advantage of his many years' experience as a teacher of church history (he is professor in Breslau), but possesses a happy gift of portraying the spirit of an age by means of skilfully selected details. The book has thus a personal note which distinguishes it from other manuals. — *Von Soden's* little volumes are made up of lectures which the author (now professor in Breslau) delivered as chaplain in war-university courses on the western front. His aim was to make one of the most important epochs in intellectual and political history intelligible to educated readers with no special knowledge of the subject. It is not an ordinary case of popularization, however; a high scientific level is maintained throughout, and the

many extracts from the sources interspersed through the volume add to its value. — It is to be regretted that conditions have permitted the printing of only the first chapter of *Heckel's* work. In it the author, bringing to the task an excellent methodical training, examines the lists of Alexandrian bishops, which he finds to be untrustworthy, and the tradition that Mark the Evangelist was the founder of the Alexandrian Church, which he rejects as legendary. To this he subjoins some observations on the planting and spread of Christianity in Alexandria and Egypt. — *Iselin's* work is commended by H. Jordan ThLBl 39 (1918), 481 as a careful critical summary of results hitherto attained.

Seeck's 'Regesten' is one of those books which every one concerned with investigations in that field must find completely indispensable. The work is intended as a supplement to Mommson's famous edition of the Codex Theodosianus, and at the same time as a preliminary study for a Prosopographia of the period of the Christian empire which was among the projects of the Berlin Academy. The framework is furnished by those laws in the Theodosian Code (completed in 488) the dates of which can be determined. Seeck did not, however, confine himself by this limit, but brought his work down to 476. For this continuation the imperial laws offer no material for the western half of the empire and very little for the eastern. Consequently it was necessary to have recourse to the chronicles and the letters of the popes, which had already been employed in criticism of the data of the Theodosianus and as supplementary to it. In this way the Regesta eventually grew into chronological tables, from which, however, everything is excluded that can be dated only in a given year, but not to the month or at least the season.

After a long interval — the fifth volume appeared in 1913 — Seeck has brought to completion his 'Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt.' The concluding volume deals with the period from the death of Alaric to the end of the Western Roman Empire (476.)* The ecclesiastico-political movements

* More recently the notes to vol. 6 have appeared (1921), as pp. 385-504 of that volume. They contain the references to the sources and some chronological discussions. The author died June 29, 1921.

of the time receive ample attention. The author's extreme subjectivity, which characterizes the whole work, appears again in full force in this volume. The plainest proof of this is given by the chapter on Augustine. To use a familiar German expression for which we have no equally drastic English equivalent, Seeck "lässt an Augustin kein gutes Haar." To read him one would think that in Augustine one had to do not with a genius but with an intellectually and morally inferior individual. "He never had a single new idea of his own, except that of investing his autobiography with the form of a confession — an idea of extremely dubious value." "His City of God is as untrue and full of mental reservations as his Confessions." "The question may well be raised how a book so shallow and of so little originality (viz. *De Civitate Dei!*) could exert so profound an influence on the whole of the Middle Ages, and even to a later time." Such quotations might be multiplied. Fortunately not all parts of the work are so saturated with antipathy; and, at any rate, the gifted author everywhere captivates us by his original way of viewing the subject. Even by his unjust judgment upon Augustine the reader may review his own. We must remind ourselves that it is the same Seeck who wrote the 'Regesten,' noticed above, and therein gave conclusive proof that he has in the most thorough-going way made his own the materials contained in the sources. Since Gibbon's immortal work, it would be hard to name another which brings before us in such enthralling presentment persons and conditions in the decadent empire. (In ordering the volume it must be noted that the publisher, who for the earlier volumes was Siemenroth in Berlin, has been changed.)

In the collection of *Harnack's* addresses and essays the following studies bearing on the history of the ancient church are reprinted: pp. 21-44, *Die älteste Kircheninschrift u. die älteste Kirchenbibliothekinschrift*; pp. 45-65, *Griechische und christliche Frömmigkeit am Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts* (*Hibbert Journal* 1911); 67-99, *Die Höhepunkte in Augustins Konfessionen* (*Die Christliche Welt* 1912, 1913); 101-140, *Der Geist der morgenländischen Kirche im Unterschied von der abend-*

ländischen (SAB 1913); 141-161, Die Askese (*infra*, p. 367); 163-172, Bericht über die Ausgabe der Griechischen Kirchenväter der drei ersten Jahrhunderte (SAB 1916). — *Schrijnen's* volume also is a collection of studies on life in early Christian society, in which a Catholic apologetic tendency is combined with a serious scientific aim. A few papers by other authors are included. The subjects treated are: The Cult of the Saints; The Tombs of Peter and Paul in Rome; Sunday in the Early Church; The Virgins' Wreath; Women and Propaganda; Cremation or Burial; The Civilizing Work of the Early Christians and the Edict of Milan; The Form of Christian Communities in Roman Law (W. Pompe); Antimilitarism and the Duties of the Citizen; Ecclesiastical Latin; Commodian (H. B. Vroom; *vide infra* Commodian); Slavery; Clement of Alexandria and Trade (O. van der Hagen; inadequate); Apologetics; Church Penance (*infra*, p. 364); The 'Salvatore Olandese.' This last essay has for its subject a fresco of Christ discovered in 1912 by two Hollanders in the crypt of St. Cecilia in Rome. The author dates it about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century; Christ is still represented without a halo. A good reproduction adorns the book. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

2. CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM

a. General Relations

Birt, Theodor, Charakterbilder Spätroms und die Entstehung des modernen Europa. vi, 492 pp. mit 6 Bildern. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1919. Geb. M. 16. — *Geffcken, Johannes*, Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums. (Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek, hrsg. von Wilhelm Streitberg 6). viii, 347 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1920. M. 20; geb. M. 25; Stimmungen im untergehenden Altertum (NJkA 28, 1920, 256-269); Kaiser Julianus. (Das Erbe der Alten, hrsg. von Otto Crusius u. A. 8). x, 174 pp. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1914. M. 4; geb. M. 5. — *Harnack, Adolfson*, Porphyrius "Gegen die Christen," 15 Bücher. Zeugnisse, Fragmente und Referate. (AAB 1916, 1). 115 p. 4°. Berlin, Reimer, 1916. M. 5, 50. — *Hartman, J. J.*, Honderd jaar geestelijk leven in den Romeinischen keizertijd. 555 pp. Leiden, van Doesburgh, 1918. fl. 17, 50. — *Kurfess, A.*, Platos Timaeus in Kaiser Konstantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung (ZNW 19, 1920, 72-81). — Lucianus, de dood van Peregrinus, van inleiding en aantekeningen voorzien door *D. Plooijen J. C. Koopman*. (Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores graeci et romani adnotationibus instructi curantibus

P. J. Enk en D. Plooi). 114 pp. Utrecht, Ruys, 1915. fl. 2. — *Meyer, Eduard*, Apollonios von Tyana und die Biographie des Philostratos (Hermes 52, 1917, 371-424). — *Plooi, D.*, De schoolstrijd onder Keizer Julianus. (Stemmen des tijds 4, 1914-15, 162-180). — *Schepelern, V.*, Montanismen og de phrygiske kultur. 212 pp. Kopenhagen, Pio, 1920.

The end of Greek and Roman paganism is a subject which has at all times particularly attracted historians of civilization and of the church, but it had not been comprehensively treated since the much-used books of Victor Schultze and Gaston Boissier. *Geffcken*, professor of classical philology in Rostock, has attacked the subject in a new way. It is his aim to seize upon the chief traits of the history of religions in the Roman empire from the second century of our era. He accordingly shows what cults are concerned, when and through what influence they declined and disappeared, the attitude of the several emperors toward the religions of their time, the significance of philosophy, and the reflex influence of the conflict upon belles lettres, in order in the end to throw light upon the outcome of these centuries of religious agitation, namely the gradual accommodation between pagans and Christians. All this is based on an amazing wealth of material gathered from literary sources, inscriptions, papyri, and coins, and worked up by the hand of a master. The inscriptions, in particular, have never before been used in such completeness. Besides all this, *Geffcken* has given his work a well-rounded, artistically satisfying form, both in his reproduction of the general milieu and in remarkably successful portraits of leading figures, such for instance, as those of the Neoplatonists Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Proclus, and Synesius, and of the emperor Julian. To the last he has devoted a separate monograph, and in spite of all the Neoplatonic rubbish that surrounds that remarkable figure, esteems him as a genuinely religious nature. Indeed it is a great merit in *Geffcken* that he everywhere shows true comprehension for religious feeling and experience. Thus his book is of importance alike for theologians, philologists, historians, and philosophers; educated laymen also will derive great profit from it.—The 'Charakterköpfe,' also, by *Birt*, the Marburg philologist, is a brilliant — perhaps rather too brilliant

— book, and the pictures which he draws of the emperors after Septimius Severus, including their relations to Christianity, and the sharply defined characterization of men like Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, make charming reading. — *Hartman*, professor in Leiden, calls his book a *causerie*; it is, however, the fruit of scientific investigations. He treats of the nature of heathenism, of sophists and philosophers, of Lucian, Dio Chrysostom, and Seneca; and, in a special division of the work, of the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan about the Christians, which he shows to be genuine. A translation of the whole correspondence is appended. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

In the first part of the collection entitled 'Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores graeci et romani,' *Plooij* and *Koopman* have edited Lucian's 'De morte Peregrini.' As the basis of his text *Koopman*, after a critical examination, took the edition of *Levi* (Berlin 1892). The ample commentary is instructive and valuable. The introduction by *Plooij* offers a clear view of the religious conditions of Lucian's environment, particularly of the cynics, at whom the story of the death of Peregrinus was aimed. The facts from the life of Peregrinus which Lucian relates are regarded by *Plooij* as trustworthy; Lucian's exaggerations are pointed out. The relations that have been thought to exist between the treatise and the letters of Ignatius are considered by *Plooij* of small consequence. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.] — In an excellent study, the Berlin historian *Meyer* has shown that for the purposes of his philosophical romance *Philostratus* completely transformed the portrait that tradition gave of the wonder-worker Apollonius.

Since *Lardner* in his 'Credibility of the Gospel History' (1727-1757) brought together the fragments of Porphyry's book against the Christians, much has been written about the work, and many attempts have been made to reconstruct it; but no critical edition has been produced. *Harnack* has now collected all the material, which has been considerably enlarged since *Lardner's* time, and rearranged it. He has included also the extracts from a writing by an unknown author preserved in *Macarius Magnes*, believing that the results of his earlier investigations (TU 37, 4, 1911) warrant him in reclaiming them

for Porphyry. — *Kurfess* defends the genuineness of the 'Oratio ad sanctorum coetum,' attributed to the emperor Constantine, and decides for a Latin original. The objection that Plato's *Timaeus* is used in the speech, he thinks may be met by supposing that the emperor read Plato's work in Cicero's translation. To the reviewer this does not seem very plausible. — *Plooi* treats the conflict about schools under Julian as the first historical emergence of the fundamental question whether instruction without relation to religion is possible. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.] — *Schepelern* arrives at the conclusion that although Montanism was originally a Christian phenomenon, it later became an orgiastic religion resembling the Phrygian cults, which are described at large. [Professor Ammundsen.]

b. *The Emperors and Christianity*

Bihlmeyer, Karl, Die "syrischen" Kaiser zu Rom und das Christentum. vii, 166 pp. Rottenburg, Bader, 1916. M. 3; Das angebliche Toleranzedikt Konstantins von 312 (ThQ 96, 1914, 65-100, 198-224). — *Eberlein, Helmut*, Kaiser Mark Aurel und die Christen. (Diss.) 64 pp. Breslau, Genossenschaftsdruckerei, 1914. — *Faulhaber, Ludwig*, Die Libelli in der Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Decius (ZkTh 43, 1919, 439-468, 617-656). — *Linderholm, Emanuel*, Om den kristna statskyrkans uppkomst. 135 pp. Uppsala, Almqvist och Wicksell, 1914. — *Linsenmayer, Anton*, Eine christliche Kaiserin in der vorkonstantinischen Zeit (HPBl 164, 1919, 721-729). — *Schroers, Heinrich*, Die Bekehrung Konstantins des Grossen in der Ueberlieferung (ZkTh 40, 1916, 238-257); Zur Kreuzerscheinung Konstantins des Grossen (ebda. 485-523). — *Sild, Olaf*, Das altchristliche Martyrium in Berücksichtigung der rechtlichen Grundlage der Christenverfolgung. 184 pp. Dorpat, Bergmann; Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920. M. 35.

In view of the many investigations that, since the appearance of Mommsen's famous 'Religionsfrevel nach römischem Recht' (1890), have been devoted to the problem of the legal grounds of the persecution of Christians, a new one may seem almost superfluous. The reviewer would find it difficult, moreover, to attempt to state in a few words, precisely wherein the new element in *Sild's* investigation lies. He must be content therefore to say that scholars will find in the book an independent discussion of the sources and literature, and one which prompts to reflection, although its effect is unfortunately impaired by a clumsy treatment. What the author says about

the difference in legal doctrine and practice between the East and the West in regard to the persecution and condemnation of Christians deserves attention, though it will hardly bear the test of closer examination. Sild draws too large conclusions from the fact that the cult of the emperors had not as much importance in the West as in the East. — The church historian *Bihlmeyer*, of Tübingen, has addressed himself with great thoroughness to the critical problems presented by the literary tradition about the so-called Syrian emperors, Caracalla, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander. Bihlmeyer's contribution to the criticism of the 'Scriptores Historiae Augustae,' particularly of Lampridius's *Vita* of Severus Alexander is worthy of notice. The statements of Lampridius about the religious attitude of the emperor which have so often been utilized will hereafter have to be employed with greater caution. In the articles in the *Quartalschrift* named above Bihlmeyer rightly denies that any special imperial edict in favor of the Christians is to be interposed between the Edict of Galerius in 311 and the Constitution of Milan in 313. — *Eberlein* gives, among other things, a well-considered criticism of the legend of the miraculous downpour of rain (Thundering Legion). Unfortunately his work is printed only in part. — *Faulhaber* comes to the conclusion that the Egyptian *Libelli* should be regarded as certificates that the holder had offered sacrifice, issued, not to Christians who had not really done so, but to pagans and to so-called *Sacrificati*. This, he thinks, is proved by the edict of Decius ordering sacrifice universally, and by the contents of the *Libelli*, especially that of Aurelia Ammonus, priestess of Petesuchos. Only in this way can it be explained that the issuing of *Libelli* for the whole empire was directed from one central office. — The empress whom *Linsenmayer* claims as a Christian because she is represented on bronze coins as 'Augusta in Pace' is the wife of Gallienus, Cornelia Salonina. — *Linderholm*, professor in Upsala, gives a good survey of the development of the relations between church and state down to 380. [Professor Holmqvist.]

c. *Martyrology and Hagiography*

THE MEANING OF "MARTYR." *Corssen, Peter*, Begriff und Wesen des Märtyrers in der alten Kirche. (NJkA 34, 1915, 481-501); *Márvros* und *Ψευδομάrvros*. (ebd. 35, 1916, 424-426); Ueber Bildung und Bedeutung der Komposition *Ψευδοπροφήτης, ψευδομάρτυς, ψευδομάρτυρ*. (Sokrates 6, 1918, 106-114). — *Doergens, Heinrich*, Zur Geschichte des Begriffs "Martyr." (Kath. 98, 1, 1918, 205-208). — *Holl, Karl*, Die Vorstellung vom Märtyrer und die Märtyrerakte in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. (NJkA 33, 1914, 521-556); Der ursprüngliche Sinn des Namens Märtyrer. (ebd. 35, 1916, 253-259); *Ψευδομάρτυς*. (Hermes 52, 1917, 301-307). — *Krüger, Gustav*, Zur Frage nach der Entstehung des Märtyrertitels (ZNW 17, 1916, 264-269). — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Bemerkungen zur Martyrienliteratur. i. Die Bezeichnung Märtyrer. (NGW 1916, 417-467). — *Schlatter, Adolf*, Der Märtyrer in den Anfängen der Kirche. (BFTb 19, 3). 86 p. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1915. M. 3, 50. — *Strathmann, Hermann*, Der Märtyrer. (ThLBl 37, 1916, 337-343. 353-357).

ACTS AND LEGENDS OF MARTYRS. *Allgeier, Artur*, Untersuchungen zur syrischen Ueberlieferung der Siebenschläferlegende (Ochr 4, 1914, 279-297; 5, 1915, 10-59; 263-270); Die älteste Gestalt der Siebenschläferlegende herausgegeben und übersetzt (ebd. 6, 1916, 1-43; 7, 1918, 33-87). — *Anrich, Gustav*, Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und Untersuchungen. 2 Bände. xvi, 464 und xii, 592 pp. Leipzig, Teubner 1913 und 1917. M. 18 und M. 24. — *Bruck, W.*, Das Martyrium der heiligen Apollonia und seine Darstellung in der bildenden Kunst. xi, 152 pp. Mit 100 Abbildungen. Berlin, Meuser, 1915. M. 12. — *Corssen, Peter*, Das Martyrium des Bischofs Cyprian (ZNW 15, 1914, 221-233, 285-316; 16, 1915, 54-92, 198-230; 17, 1916, 189-206; 18, 1917/18, 118-139, 202-223); Der Schauplatz der Passion des römischen Bischofs Sixtus II (ebd. 16, 1915, 147-166). — *Gerhardt, Rudolf*, Ueber die Akten des hl. Anthimus und des hl. Sebastianus. (Diss.) 50 pp. Jena, Frommann, 1916. — *Grohmann, Adolf*, Studien zu den Cyprianusgebeten (WZKM 30, 1917, 121-150). — *Kirsch, Johann Peter*, Die Passio der heiligen "Vier Gekrönten" in Rom (HJG 38, 1917, 72-97); Die Märtyrer der Katakombe "ad duos lauros." (Ehrengabe für Johann Georg von Sachsen [vide supra, p. 287] 577-602). — *Miedema, R.*, Menas en Men (ThT 48, 1914, 390-404); De wonderverhalen van den heiligen Menas (NAKG 14, 1918, 210-245). — *Niedermeyer, Hans*, Ueber antike Protokoll-Literatur. (Diss.) 91 pp. Göttingen, Dieterich, 1918. — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Bemerkungen zur Martyrienliteratur. ii. Nachträge zu den Akten Cyprians (NGW 1919, 177-219); Cyprian der Magier (ebd. 1917, 38-79). — *Reuning, Wilhelm*, Zur Erklärung des Polykarp-Martyriums. (Diss. Giessen.) ix, 49 pp. Darmstadt, Winter, 1917. M. 1, 60. — *Srapian, Moses*, Das Martyrium des heiligen Pionius aus dem Altarmenischen uebersetzt (WZKM 23, 1914, 376-405). — *Waal, Anton de, Sant' Eutichio Martire* (RQ 29, 1915, 271-275).

THE MEANING OF "MARTYR." A vigorous and instructive debate has been evoked by *Holl's* study of the idea of a martyr and of the Acts of the Martyrs in their historical development.

In 2 Cor. 15, 14, Holl finds warrant for maintaining that even in the primitive Christian communities the apostles were given the title *μάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ* because they were regarded as witnesses of the resurrection of Christ. This title was transferred to those who witnessed in their blood, because they too were deemed to be witnesses of the resurrection. For according to the conviction of the early Christians, to one who thus bore testimony by his death, it was granted, in the decisive hour, to behold with the eyes of the spirit the world above and the Lord whom he confessed. Here the connection with the late Jewish conception of the necessary death of the prophet, who was looked upon as *μάρτυς τοῦ θεοῦ*, is unmistakable (on this point see also *Schlatter*). Thus the Spiritism of the primitive age of Christianity was kept peculiarly alive in the conception of martyrs; and herein the conditions were given for the representation of the conflict of the martyrs in a special form of literature, the Acts of the Martyrs. Holl traces the development of this kind of literature in its two types, narration in a letter (Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Martyrs of Lyons, etc.), and the records of trials (*Acta Justini*, *Acta Scilitanorum*, etc.), as they were influenced by Jewish prototypes (2 Maccabees), and by Hellenistic models. Convincing as his treatment of the Acts of the Martyrs is, the attempt to explain the origin of the title martyr has not commanded corresponding assent. *Reitzenstein*, in particular, has pointed out that it is not the confession alone that makes the martyr, but above all the joyful endurance of the suffering (the *ἔργον μαρτυρεῖν*), and that the conception of martyrdom is thus intimately connected with Hellenistic ideas of the *ἀσκητής*, *ἀθλήτης*, *ἀγωνιστής*, *στρατιώτης*. This connection does not, however, sufficiently explain the Christian use of the title, in which the testimony rendered in blood is the essential factor. For this the idea that the martyrs are *μαθηταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου* is decisive. Our best source of information on these points is the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the inestimable value of which as a classical document has again been made most evident by this new discussion. (See also p. 369 f. *Reitzenstein*.) The attention of scholars should be earnestly directed to the whole controversy.

ACTS AND LEGENDS. *Niedermeyer* shows the relations between the Acts of Christian martyrs and the pagan judicial Acta. He finds that for the evaluation of an account a definite date is of decisive importance. Acts that bear no date, or only a general indication of time, were composed independently of the protocols and the official records, and therefore fall into the category of stories with a purpose. Among the most important of the martyr stories from the point of view of the history of literature are the letters from the Church in Smyrna about the death of Polycarp, and the different versions of the Martyrdom of Cyprian, which are ultimately derived from a judicial document. The former has been subjected by *Reuning* to a fresh investigation, in which he has laid special emphasis on a comprehensive interpretation of Polycarp's prayer. *Reitzenstein* had already put the accounts of the death of Cyprian in a new light in 1913 by a very important paper in the SAH. He has continued his work and made a complete investigation of the different versions of the Martyrdom in the mediaeval Passionals and in the manuscripts of Cyprian, to the list of which he was able to add. Contrary to Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri (*Studi Romani, Rivista di archeologia e storia* 2 (1914), 189), he believes that the version found in the manuscripts can be proved to be the original. The articles by *Corssen*, which include in their purview not only the Acts of Cyprian but also the Life of Cyprian by Pontius, would be more effective if they were less diffuse and circumstantial. (See also below, p. 332, 'Cyprian.') — It is known that in the legend the bishop of Carthage is confused with another Cyprian, the scene of whose martyrdom is laid in Antioch. The legend of this other Cyprian has been newly examined by *Reitzenstein*, and its antecedents clearly traced through successive stages back to the classical form given it by the empress Eudokia about 450. Beside the legend, prayers by this Cyprian have been handed down, the original Greek text of which was first published by Scherman in OChr 1903. *Grohmann* now publishes a German translation of them from the Ethiopic.

Allgeier, on the basis of a minute investigation of the tradition, shows that the oldest form of the Syriac version of the

legend about the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus is preserved in the Cod. Sachau 321 and Cod. Par. 235. This version he publishes, with a German translation. — The Acts of Anthimus and of Sebastian are the production of an unknown writer of legends of the fifth century, whose narrative bears the marks of free invention, but is nevertheless instructive from the point of view of the history of civilization. *Gerhard* has treated these Acts comprehensively. — *Kirsch* thinks that the solution of the much discussed problem of the Quatuor Coronati is to be found in the following way: 1. The four saints buried on the Via Labicana are not Pannonian, but Roman martyrs. 2. These alone constitute the group which was venerated under the designation Quatuor Coronati. 3. The author of the legend, without any historical warrant, shifted the scene of their martyrdom to Pannonia, and endeavors in his last chapter to explain how they came to be venerated at Rome. 4. Thus the Pannonian martyrs also are legendary. — *Strapian* has published from the Cod. Mechitar. 224, anno 1428, an Armenian text of the Acts of Pionius (Greek in von Gebhardt, *Martyrerakten*, 2d ed., p. 56) with a German translation. At this point attention may be called to the fact that Karl Schmidt in his edition of what he calls the *Epistula Apostolorum* (see the article by Professor Lake in the *Harvard Theological Review*, January, 1921, p. 15 ff.) has again emphatically controverted the theory of Corssen and Schwartz that the martyr Pionius was the author of the *Life of Polycarp*. He sees in that *Life* the work of a Syrian author of the second half of the fourth century. — Saint Eutychius, on whom *de Waal* writes, seems not to have suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, as has been generally supposed, but under Decius.

The most conspicuous achievement in the field of hagiography that we have to record is beyond doubt the work of *Anrich* (at the time of his writing professor in Strassburg; now teaching in Bonn). The first volume contains the *Vitae*, *Encomia*, and *Thaumata*, the literary precipitate of the legends of Nicolaus, edited on the basis of a very extensive manuscript apparatus. The second volume, besides the prolegomena to these texts, contains wide-ranging and profound investigations

concerning the two heroes of the legend, the Archimandrite Nicolaus of Sion and the Bishop Nicolaus of Myra, whose two figures are so strangely intertwined. A chapter is added on the geography and topography of Lycia. Of the rich contents of these researches a brief notice like this can give no adequate idea, but any scholar who works through these two volumes thoroughly will be well rewarded for his pains, for they touch upon subjects of the most varied interest — the history of tradition and of language, archaeology and folk-lore, the history of literature and of civilization. Anrich writes in a captivating style, disposing his matter admirably, and masters the details so that even the most ungrateful material becomes attractive in his hands. — Continuing his work on St. Menas, begun in his Leiden dissertation on Menas (Rotterdam 1918), *Miedema* discusses the connection between the Menas cult in Egypt and the worship of Men in Phrygia. He agrees with Delehaye in believing that the Menas cult originated in Egypt, whence it soon found its way into Phrygia. The legend then transformed the originally Egyptian saint into a native Phrygian one. In Miedema's opinion a relation between the names of the two saints is possible, but not between their respective characters and history. To illustrate the character of the Menas legend Miedema has edited ten miracle stories from the Codd. Vatic. gr. 866 and 797. The legends bear distinctively Egyptian earmarks. Like Horus, Menas appears as the avenger of wrong, and on horseback. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

d. *The Spread of Christianity*

Allgeier, Artur, Untersuchungen zur ältesten Kirchengeschichte in Persien (Kath. 98, 2, 1918, 224-241, 289-300). — *Aufhäuser, Johann Baptist*, Armeniens Missionierung bis zur Gründung der armenischen Nationalkirche (ZMW 8, 1918, 73-87). — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. 3. Aufl. 2 Bände. xvi, 483 und 387 pp. Mit elf Karten. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915. M. 15; geb. M. 21. — *Lübeck, Konrad*, Die altpersische Missionskirche (AMM 15). 131 pp. und 1 Karte. Aachen, Xaveriusverlag, 1919. M. 8, 50. — *Sachau, Eduard*, Die Chronik von Arbela (AAB 1915, 6). 94 pp. Berlin, Reimer, 1915. M. 4; Vom Christentum in der Persis (SAB 1916, xxxix, 958-980). Ebd. 1916. M. 1; Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien (AAB 1919, 1). 80 pp. Ebd. 1919. M. 6.

Harnack has dedicated the third edition of his famous book to Thomas Cuming Hall, 'investigator and teacher, the energetic and faithful friend of Germany.' The new edition is a considerable enlargement upon the second, so that even those who possess the latter should find the new edition indispensable. — The works of *Sachau* and *Allgeier* have substantially enriched our knowledge of the spread of the earliest Christianity in Asia. The chronicle of Arbela in Adiabene (Assyria) has proved in this respect a valuable source, since for the earliest period the Greek and Latin writers fail us. The traditions which connect the mission with the names Bartholemew and Thomas have gained in importance. It may with much confidence be assumed that the mission in Persis was already in existence in the first century. *Sachau's* latest work is occupied with the expansion of the Nestorian Church, and gives valuable information about the several dioceses and their bishoprics. — *Lübeck* has given a readable sketch of the development of Christianity in the region under the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon down to the time when the countries comprised in it were conquered by the Arabs.

3. LIFE, WRITINGS, AND DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERS

a. Editions, in Alphabetical Order

AMBROSIUS. Sancti Ambrosii Opera. Pars vi: Explanatio Psalmorum XII. Rec. *M. Petschenig* (CSEL 64). v, 474 pp. Wien, Tempaky; Leipzig, Freytag, 1920. M. 70. APOLOGISTS. *Goodspeed, Edgar J.*, Die ältesten Apologeten. xi, 380 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1915. M. 7, 40. — *Krüger, Gustav*, Die Apologien Justins des Märtyrers. 4. Aufl. (SQ 1). xii, 91 pp. Tübingen, Mohr 1914. M. 1,25; geb. M. 1,75. ATHANASIUS. *Fromen, Heinz*, Athanasii historia acephala. (Diss. Jena.) 86 pp. Münster i. W., Bredt, 1914. AUGUSTINUS. Sancti Aureli Augustini Tractatus sive Sermones inediti ex Codice Guelferbytano 4096. Detexit adiectisque commentariis criticis primus edidit *Germanus Morin*, O. S. B. Accedunt SS Optati Milevitani, Quodvultdei Carthaginensis Episcoporum aliorumque ex Augustini schola Tractatus novem. xxxiii, 250 pp. Kempten und München, Kösel, 1917. M. 15; geb. M. 21. DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA. *Zoeplf, Friedrich*, Didymi Alexandrini in epistulas canonicas brevis enarratio. (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, hrg. von M. Meinertz 4, 1). viii, 48* and 148 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1914. M. 5, 70. EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS. Epiphanius, hrg. von *Karl Holl*. 1. Band. Ancoratus und Panarion Haereses 1-83. (GChrSchr 25). x, 464 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915. M. 18; geb. M. 20, 50. GELASIUS OF CYZIKUS. G. 's Kirchengeschichte,

hrsg. von *Gerhard Loeschke*(†) durch *Margarete Heinemann*. (GChr Schr 28). xl, 263 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918. M. 13, 50; geb. M. 18, 50. **HIERONYMUS**. Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae. Pars iii: Epp. cxxi-cliv. Rec. *Isidorus Hilberg*. (CSEL 56). viii, 368 pp. Wien, Tempaky, und Leipzig, Freytag, 1918. M. 24. **HILARIUS OF POTTERS**. S. Hilarii Episcopi Pictaviensis Opera. Pars iv: Tractatus Mysteriorum. Collectanea Antiariana Parisina (Fragmenta historica) cum appendice (Liber I ad Constantium). Liber ad Constantium imperatorem (Liber II ad Constantium). Hymni. Fragmenta minora. Spuria. Rec. *Alfredus Feder S. J.* (CSEL 65). lxxxviii, 324 pp. Wien, Tempaky, und Leipzig, Freytag, 1916. M. 16, 80. **HIPPOLYTUS**. Hippolytus Werke. 3. Band. Refutatio omnium haeresium. Hrg. von *Paul Wendland*. (GChrSchr. 26). xxiv, 337 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. M. 16; geb. M. 19. **IRENÆUS**. S. Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Demonstratio Apostolicae Praedicationis (Εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος). Ex armeno vertit, prolegomenis illustravit, notis locupletavit *Simon Weber*. viii, 124 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 3. **METHODIUS OF OLYMPUS**. Methodius. Hrg. von *G. Nathanael Bonwetsch*. (GChrSchr 27). xlii, 578 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1917. M. 27; geb. M. 20. **ORIGENES**. Origenes Werke. 6. Band. Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Uebersetzung. Hrg. von *W. A. Baehrens*. Erster Teil. Die Homilien zu Genesis, Exodus und Leviticus. (GChrSchr. 29). xxxvii, 507 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920. M. 31, 25; geb. M. 47, 25. Dazu vgl. *Baehrens, W. A.*, Ueberlieferung und Textgeschichte der lateinisch erhaltenen Origenes-Homilien zum Alten Testament. (TU 42, 1). viii, 257 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. M. 9, 50. **PSEUDO-CYPRIAN**. See Tertullian. **TERTULLIAN**. *Rauschen, Gerhard*, Florilegium patristicum 10: Tertulliani de paenitentia et de pudicitia recensio nova. iv, 104 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1915. M. 2. — Ibid. 11: Tertulliani de baptismo et Ps.-Cypriani de rebaptismate recensio nova. iv, 77 pp. Ebenda 1916. M. 12; Emendationes et adnotationes ad Tertulliani apologeticum. 58 pp. Ebenda 1919. M. 1, 20. **VICTORINUS OF PETAU**. Victorini Episcopi Petavionensis Opera ex recensione *Johannis Haussleiter*. (CSEL 49). lxxiv, 194 pp. Wien, Tempaky, und Leipzig, Freytag, 1916. M. 15.

The large number of exemplary editions of the works of the Church Fathers which have appeared during and since the war is surely one of the best proofs of the eagerness and the success with which work has been carried on in Germany in these sorry times. In particular, the two collections which we are accustomed to call the Vienna Corpus (CSEL) and the Berlin Corpus (GChrSchr) have been enlarged by a number of valuable volumes, and still others are in prospect. We shall take up the new editions severally in alphabetical order. Of *Petschenig's* edition of **AMBROSE'S** Explanation of the Psalms the second volume has appeared. This contains the Enarrationes in duodecim psalmos Davidicos (Psalms 1, 35-40, 43, 45,

47, 48, 61), which were composed at different times. The not very numerous extant manuscripts fall into two classes, whose archetypes must have been written in the early Middle Ages. The codices of the first class (Paris 1733, Ambros. (without numeral), Trecensis 933), from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, have the greater value; nevertheless the leading manuscripts of the second class (Paris 1739, 14465, 16398) from the twelfth century are not to be neglected. Codex Parisinus 1733 must be regarded as the true basis for the text.

The lack of a handy complete edition of the Greek APOLOGISTS of the second century has long been felt, and this has now been supplied by *Goodspeed*. Theophilus of Antioch alone is not included, an omission which is explicable in view of the great length of his Apology, but is nevertheless to be regretted. The Syriac Aristides is presented in Latin translation; the Greek fragments are introduced essentially in the form in which the text was given by Geffcken (*Zwei griechische Apologeten*, Leipzig 1907). For Justin the Codex Parisinus was freshly collated, and the text of the manuscript is followed substantially throughout, with rather excessive conservatism. In the case of Tatian, too, a more conservative attitude toward the manuscript tradition is maintained than was held by Schwartz in his edition (TU 4, 1888). For Athenagoras a photograph of the Arethas manuscript was employed for comparison with the editions of Schwartz (TU 4, 1891) and Geffcken (see above). The brief introductions to the several authors are written in German. That Goodspeed's edition does not satisfy all requirements may be seen, for example, from *Geffcken's* review of it in ThLZ 40 (1915), 368.

Fromen has brought out a critical edition with historical explanations of the 'Historia Acephala,' which is an important source for the history of ATHANASIUS. As the time of its composition he leaves the years from 373 to 380 open, whereas hitherto a date between 385-402 had been accepted. — A very welcome discovery has been made by the indefatigable *Morin*. In a Wolfenbüttel manuscript which must have been written in the ninth century in northern Germany, he discovered ninety-five (ninety-six) sermons, of which seventy-two can with

certainty be ascribed to AUGUSTINE, including thirty-three which were previously wholly or in part unknown. Morin has published these thirty-three, and in an appendix nine other sermons, one of which he attributes to Optatus of Mileve, and four to Quodvultdeus of Carthage, to whom Augustine addressed his treatise 'De haeresibus.' The authors of the four others he is unable to determine. The gem of the collection is sermon 32, 'de ordinatione episcopi,' an extensive discourse which Augustine must have delivered soon after the *Collatio cum Donatistis* (411). The edition has been prepared with that circumspection and painstaking care which were to be expected of Morin. The external form of the volume may fairly be called magnificent, worthy of the great subject, and a treasure for book-lovers. A full descriptive account of the several pieces in the collection is given by *Carl Weyman*, HJG 39 (1919), 117. The Greek text of the commentary on the Catholic Epistles by DIDYMUS THE BLIND is lost, but for insignificant fragments. The Latin translation made by Epiphanius Scholasticus, the friend of Cassiodorus, has to serve instead of the original. Of this translation *Zöpfl* has furnished a critical edition, taking as a basis, in addition to the manuscripts (*Codd. Laonensis, Berolinensis, Vaticanus*), the *editio princeps* of 1531, which rests on a manuscript basis of its own.

A critical edition of the writings of EPIPHANIUS of Salamis has long been felt to be one of the pressing needs of learned studies in this field, since neither Dindorf nor Oehler based his text on adequate material, or was able to form any clear idea of the manuscript tradition. This lack has now been supplied by *Holl*. As far back as 1910, in a monograph in TU 36, 2, he had laid the foundations for a text which should satisfy all demands, and such a text he has given us in this edition. Unfortunately, though some of the manuscripts are old (*Cod. Vatic.* goes back without intermediary to a complete edition of the works current in the ninth century), the tradition is poor and the editor is constrained at every turn to resort to conjectural emendation. In this procedure, *Holl* has shown the skill of a master, and has presented us a text that is not arbitrarily made to conform to preconceived notions, but rests on sober

and trustworthy considerations. A special merit of this edition is the apparatus, which gives not only references to all Biblical passages and parallels in other authors — of itself an extremely laborious undertaking — but also abundant references to the modern literature and many observations of the editor's own. The whole work has deservedly been called a philological masterpiece of the first order. — A substantial addition to the tools of our learned craft is an edition of GELASIUS's Church History, prepared by the church historian *Loeschke*, who unfortunately died prematurely before the war. We had previously no complete edition of this history, but had to depend for books 1 and 2 on Balforeus's edition of 1599 and reprints of it, and for book 3 on Ceriani's edition of 1861. The chief manuscripts have proved to be Codd. Ambros. 534, Vatic. 1142, and Hierosol. 111. None of these manuscripts is free from errors, and it was the task of the editor to construct by means of internal criticism a text which should correspond as closely as possible to the original text of Gelasius. In this, by general consent, *Loeschke* was most successful, and, unless new material should come to light, his edition may be considered definitive.

Of *Hilberg's* edition of the Letters of HIERONYMUS the third and last volume of the text has appeared. The Prolegomena and the Indices are still lacking; the manuscript of these, according to the editor, has been handed in to the Academy, but has not yet been printed. — *Feder* had already done preliminary work for his edition of the minor writings of Hilarius in his 'Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers,' which appeared in 1910–12 in SAW, and for the Prolegomena he could refer to this work. The chief interest of scholars has always centred upon the polemic-historical writings, and above all upon the so-called 'Fragmenta Historica.' These *Feder* proposes to designate as 'Collectanea (not collectio) antiariana Parisina,' in view of the contents and tradition an appropriate title. Happily he has resisted the temptation to arrange the fragments according to his personal surmises. If *Feder* is right, Hilarius wrote in 356, before he went into exile, a work probably bearing the title 'Opus historicum adversus Valentem et Ursacium.'

To this the first two fragments belong, and probably the third also, as well as the 'Liber I ad Constantium.' After Seleucia and Rimini, probably in December 359, he wrote in Constantinople a book with the same title, and as 'Liber II ad Constantium,' to which fragments 4-10 may be ascribed. The remaining fragments may belong to a Liber III, which appeared shortly before the death of Hilarius (367), or shortly after. The excerpts from the work which led to the present collection were made before 400. In the new edition of the 'Tractatus Mysteriorum' many errors of the first editor, Gamurrini (1887), were to be corrected as a result of a fresh examination of the Codex Aretinus. Besides the undoubtedly genuine hymns, those that are doubtful, or are certainly not genuine, are also printed. Feder offers supplementary notes in *WSt* 41 (1920), 51-60, 167-181.

The edition of HIPPOLYTUS' *Refutatio* by *Wendland* is designed to replace the Göttingen edition by Duncker and Schneidewin, the Oxford edition by Miller, and the Paris edition by Cruice. This end has been fully attained. The volume cannot, however, be taken up without sadness, for *Wendland* died (1915) before he had finished his work. A short preface signed by Hermann Diels and Karl Holl informs us that *Wendland* was able to supervise the printing of the text and to prepare the indexes; but for the introduction, which was to deal not only with the history of the tradition, but also with material problems, he had got no farther than a sketch, only a few parts of which had been completely worked out. No attempt has been made to make a whole out of these fragments. The only addition to the author's work is the account of the manuscripts and printed editions which was indispensable to the use of the edition. One excellence of this new edition, as in *Holl's* *Epiphanius*, are the references beneath the text to cognate ideas in other authors. The short tractate of IRENAEUS, preserved only in Armenian, in proof of the Apostolic preaching, was translated into German by *Weber* 1912 for the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*. He has now published it in Latin translation. Scholars who know Armenian, like *Allgeier* (*ThRev* 17, 1918, 258) and *Preuschen* (*ThLZ* 44, 1919, 77), praise the trust-

worthiness of this literal translation. In 1891 *Bonwetsch* made accessible to us a collection of the works of *METHODIUS* by a Slavic translator which greatly enlarged our knowledge of the literary production of the Bishop of Olympus. The new edition of his work unites in one volume all the remains of the writings of *Methodius*. A comparison of the introduction to this volume with the *Prolegomena* of the edition of 1891 shows at every point that in the meantime *Bonwetsch* has not been idle. In view of the completeness with which all the attainable material has been brought together and the thoroughly reliable way in which it has been edited, the edition may well be called definitive. The volume begins with the *συμπόσιον ἢ περὶ ἀγγελίας* (this is the correct title), for which *Bonwetsch* has had recourse to the direct tradition. This is followed by the other writings in the order in which they stand in the *Slavic Corpus*; and at the end are the fragments from *περὶ τῶν γενητῶν* (*Photius*), *κατὰ Πορφύριον*, on *Job*, *περὶ μαρτύρων* (*Theodoret*, *Parallela Sacra*), and some fragments which it is impossible to assign definitely. The copious index of passages makes it easy to get an insight into *Methodius's* sources and cognate material.

After the death of *Franz Skutsch* the edition of the *Homilies of ORIGEN* on *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Joshua* and *Judges*, was entrusted to *Baehrens*, who in a study published in 1916 in the *TU* made clear the relations of the textual tradition. For the history of the text it is an important fact that, as *Baehrens* proved, the five archetypes of the Latin translation preserved to us come from *Cassiodorus's* library at *Vivarium*, whither they had probably been brought from the library of *Eugippius* in *Castellum Lucullanum*. There was no other tradition of the text than that which goes back to these archetypes. The Greek fragments are included in the edition under a rule. It adds to the usefulness of the edition that the parallels found in *Philo*, *Procopius*, *Ambrose*, and especially in *Origen* himself, are included in the literary apparatus. An important aid is thus provided for the study of the *Alexandrian* interpretation of the Bible, since the large dependence of *Origen* upon *Philo* is nowhere more demonstrable than in these *Homilies*.

Rauschen's editions of two writings of TERTULLIAN, designed primarily for seminary exercises, have text-critical value. Professor Esser in Bonn, one of the most competent judges in the matter, has described the edition of 'De paenitentia' and 'De pudicitia' as the best that we possess. In many places the correct reading has been restored, and the text is accompanied by an ample apparatus of valuable notes. On these editions cf. further, *G. Esser*, *ThRev* 15 (1916), 65 and 16 (1917), 256. — On the edition of the Pseudo-Cyprianic treatise 'De rebaptismate' cf. the additional critical remarks of *Ernst*, *ZkTh* 41 (1917), 726-741. For the work of VICTORINUS no editor better qualified by his knowledge of the subject could well have been found than *Haussleiter*. He has been occupied with preparations for a complete edition of this author for the Vienna Corpus ever since 1886. He discovered that in Cod. Ottobon. 3288A the commentary on the Apocalypse by the bishop of Pettau was preserved in its original form, not disfigured by Jerome's alterations, as in all the printed editions. His efforts to discover other witnesses to this text were unfortunately vain, and the Ottobonianus remains our only source. Facing the genuine Victorinus laboriously recovered from that manuscript, *Haussleiter* sets on the opposite page the bastard text of Jerome, distinguishing in it the later recensions by means of an easily intelligible system of brackets. Those who use the edition can hardly realize what a wearisome task this presentation of the text involved. The edition of the Commentary is preceded by the little treatise 'De fabrica mundi.' For the text of this also there is only a single witness, the Lambeth Codex 414.

b. *Translations*

Bibliothek der Kirchenväter. Eine Auswahl patristischer Werke in deutscher Uebersetzung. Hrg. von *Otto Bardenheuer*, *Theodor Schermann*, *Carl Weyman*. 16-37. Band. Kempten und München, Kösel, 1914-1920. Jeder Band geb. M. 4, 50. — *Herling*, *Georg Graf von*, *Die Bekenntnisse des hl. Augustinus*. 8.-15. Aufl. x, 520 pp. Titelbild. 12°. Freiburg, Herder, 1915-'19. M. 5; geb. M. 6, 50. — *Oud-Christelijke Schrijvers in Nederlandsche Vertaling*, onder Redactie van *H. U. Meyboom*. Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff. Each Part, fl. 1, 50. — *Zettersteen K. V.*, *En anonym biograf i öfver biskop Rabbula i Edessa*. Öfversatt från syriska (KÅ 16, 1915,

1-40). — *Zurhellen-Pfleiderer, Elae, Augustins Bekenntnisse. Gekürzt und verdeutscht. 3. Auflage. 159 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1920. M. 2, 50.*

That important undertaking, the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, the first volumes of which appeared in 1911, has made active progress. The translations are in all cases careful; the introductions, frequently dealing minutely with the subject, are based upon thorough acquaintance with the literature, and may be consulted with advantage even for questions of critical detail. The following volumes have appeared in the period covered by our survey; volumes 17, 21, and 32, Ambrosius, Hexameron, Lukaskommentar, Ethische Schriften (*J. E. Niederhuber*); 35, Apostolische Väter (*F. Zeiler*); 31, Athanasius, Reden gegen die Arianer (*A. Stegmann*); Leben des Antonius, and (as an appendix) Leben des Pachomius (*H. Mertel*); 16, 18, 19, 28, 29, 30, Augustinus, Gottesstaat (*A. Schröder*); Johannes-evangelium (*Th. Specht*); Bekenntnisse und Briefe (*A. Hoffmann*); 20, Regel Benedicts von Nursia (*P. Bihlmeyer*); 23, 25, 26, 27, Chrysostomus, Matthäuskommentar (*J. Chr. Bauer*); Vom Priestertum (*A. Naegle*); 34, Cyprian, Traktate (*J. Baer*); 37, Ephraem der Syrer, Reden und Hymnen (*O. Bardenhewer*); 33, Justin, Dialog und Mahnrede (*Ph. Häuser*); 36, Laktantius (*A. Hartl*); 20, Sulpicius Severus, Martinschriften (*P. Bihlmeyer*); 24, Tertullian II (*G. Esser*); 20, Vincenz von Lerinum (*G. Rauschen*); 22, Persische Märtyrer (*O. Braun*).

In the collection of Dutch translations under the direction of *Meyboom*, the works of Clement of Alexandria (11 parts), and Irenaeus's "Weerleging en Afwending der valschelijk dusgenaamde Wetenschap" (4 parts), both by *Meyboom*, have appeared. In the judgment of *Bakuizen van den Brink* the translation is faithful and readable.

c. General Works on Patristics

Bardenhewer, Otto, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur. 2. Band. Vom Ende des 2. bis zum Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts. 2. Aufl. xiv, 729 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1914. M. 14; geb. M. 16, 60. — *Marz, J.*, Abriss der Patrologie. 2. Aufl. viii, 201 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1919. M. 6. — *Schöns,*

Martin, Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian. 4. Teil: 1. Hälfte: Die Litteratur des vierten Jahrhunderts. 2. Aufl. xv, 572 pp. München, Beck, 1914. M. 17, 50; geb. M. 33, 50. 2. Hälfte: Die Litteratur des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts. Von *Martin Schanz* (†), *Carl Hosius* und *Gustav Krüger*. xviii, 681 pp. Ebenda 1920. M. 50; geb. M. 72.

The second edition of the second volume of *Bardenhewer's* Litteraturgeschichte everywhere gives evidence of careful revision. The formal side of the writings, in particular, receives more attention, and the sections on the development of the literature in general have been thoroughly recast. It may be remarked here that the concluding volume of *Bardenhewer's* work has not yet appeared. On the other hand, *Schanz's* Römische Literaturgeschichte has been brought to completion, and in it a work of reference created such as in similar comprehensiveness we have hitherto not had either in German or in any other language. After *Schanz's* death (1914) the task was taken up by *Hosius*, professor of classical philology in Würzburg, and *Krüger*, professor of theology in Giessen, the author of the present review. While in the part of the work which he undertook *Hosius* was able to avail himself of preparatory studies by *Schanz* which were already well advanced, *Krüger* had to break up completely new ground, so that the part published by him is entirely his own production. Especial pains have been taken in the characterization of the several writers, the assembling of the whole scientific apparatus, and the exposition of the learned controversies. That the author was enabled to include the most recent literature in English he owes to the active assistance of Professor Alexander Souter in Cambridge. Inasmuch as in a work of this kind the personality of the author is completely in the background, it will not be regarded as an exhibition of vanity on his part if in this place he says of his own work that it will be an indispensable aid for all learned studies in the history of the literature of its period.³

³ It may be noted here that the third part of *Schanz*, comprising the literature from *Minucius Felix* to *Lactantius*, which is at present out of print, will be ready in a new edition, completely revised by the present writer, in the autumn of this year.

d. *Monographs and Critical Investigations*

1. GENERAL.

Baur L., Untersuchungen über die Vergöttlichungslehre in der Theologie der griechischen Väter (ThQ 98, 1916, 467-491; 99, 1917/18, 225-252; 100, 1919, 426-444). — *Boussset, Wilhelm*, Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom. (FRLANT, Neue Folge, 6). viii, 319. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1915. M. 12. — *Emmel, Karl*, Das Fortleben der antiken Lehren von der Beseelung bei den Kirchenvätern. (Diss. Giessen.) v, 107. Borna-Leipzig, Noske.* — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Der "Eros" in der alten christlichen Literatur. (SAB 1918, v, 81-94). Berlin, Reimer, 1918. M. 1. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche. (TU 42, 3, 97-148). Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918. M. 13, 20 [see below, under Origen]. — *Holshey, Karl*, Das Bild der Erde bei den Kirchenvätern. (Festgabe Knöpfler [supra p. 287], 177-187). — *Huebner, Margarete*, Untersuchungen über das Naturrecht in der altchristlichen Literatur, besonders des Abendlandes, vom Ausgang des 2. Jahrhunderts bis Augustin. (Diss.) xi, 82. Bonn, Georgi, 1918. — *Kneller, C. A.*, Joh. 19, 26-27 bei den Kirchenvätern (ZNTh 40, 1916, 597-612). — *Krüger, Gustav*, Die Bibeldichtung zu Ausgang des Altertums. Mit einem Anhang: Des Avitus von Vienna Sang vom Paradiese, zweites Buch, im Versmass der Urschrift übertragen. 32. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1919. M. 2. — *Loofs, Friedrich*, Die Christologie der Macedonianer. (Studien für Hauck [supra p. 288], 64-76); Zwei macedonianische Dialoge. (SAB 1914, xix, 526-551). Berlin, Reimer, 1914. M. 1. — *Meyer, Hans*, Geschichte der Lehre von den Keimkräften von der Stos bis zum Ausgang der Patristik. v, 227. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 4, 50. — *Nelz, R.*, Die theologischen Schulen der morgenländischen Kirchen während der sieben ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte in ihrer Bedeutung für die Ausbildung des Klerus. iii, 112. Bonn, Hanstein, 1916. M. 1, 50. — *Schilling, Otto*, Naturrecht und Staat nach der Lehre der alten Kirche. (VRSG 24). viii, 247. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M. 7. — *Schulte, Eleasar*, O. F. M., Die Entwicklung der Lehre vom menschlichen Wissen Christi. (FLDG 12, 2). vii, 147. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M. 4, 50. — *Walther, Georg*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Vaterunser-Exegese. (TU 40, 3). viii, 123. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914. M. 4, 50. — *Zahn, Theodor*, Ein Kompendium der biblischen Prophetie aus der afrikanischen Kirche um 305-325. (Studien Hauck [supra p. 288], 52-63). — *Haase, Felix*, Christlich-orientalische Handschriftenkataloge (Ehrengabe [vide supra, p. 287], 1-15).

GENERAL. The variety of subjects brought together under this heading is so great that the reviewer is constrained to abandon any attempt at a methodical grouping and to fall back upon the simple alphabetical order. *Bauer's* investigation has to do with the question how the doctrine of *θεωσις* was

* *Haase*, see below (after Zahn).

worked out into the comprehensive, speculative, fundamental concept of the dogmatics of the church, so that it was not only made fruitful for the theoretical comprehension of Christian doctrine, but the moral demands and the content of the sacramental liturgy were linked with it, and thus the glow of Christian mysticism could be kindled from it and inflamed to the highest pitch. Bauer endeavors to make this clear to begin with in the writers of the first two centuries. The articles are not yet concluded: Irenaeus and Clement are still lacking.

The theme which *Bousset* treats is equally significant for philologists and theologians. In a study of the writings of Philo and Clement of Alexandria he came upon the problem how to separate what was original in the two men from what they had received through a school tradition. Investigation showed that Philo built up his exegetical work on an older foundation which is almost everywhere clearly recognizable. The sources which he thus used stand much nearer to the spirit of Hellenistic culture and philosophy than Philo himself. This material came to him from Jewish exegetical schools in Alexandria. Similarly Clement in large parts of the *Excerpts* and *Eclogae*, apparently also in his *Hypotyposes*, drew largely from an extraneous source characterized by peculiar ideas which Bousset designates as in the broader sense of the word gnostic; as the author he is inclined to conjecture Pantaenus. In the *Paedagogus* and the first five books of the *Stromata*, Clement is more independent; while the last books show that after he left Alexandria he fell back upon his earlier note books. Thus, as we find the products of Jewish exegetical schools behind the literary productions of Philo, so there emerges behind those of Clement the teaching of the Alexandrian catechetical school. Bousset thinks that the work of very different minds is clearly to be discerned in it—antiquarians whose learning commanded Clement's highest respect, and theosophists who influenced his whole thinking, although his personal interest did not fasten upon their perilous fantastic notions, but was throughout dominated by the great idea of a reconciliation of Christianity with Greek philosophy. With the key to the understanding of Philo and Clement which he has thus discovered, Bousset endeavors in

the last section of his book to explain certain phenomena in the Christian literature of the second century, and to gain an insight into the nature of the ancient Christian *διδάσκαλος* and his method of instruction. The work in all its parts is unusually stimulating, and will keep its charm under critical examination and in further development. That its author was taken away by an untimely death (March 8, 1920) ⁴ is a great loss to international scholarship. — *Emmel's* dissertation deserves attention both on account of its subject and of the copious material which the author has collected. Emmel shows how the controversy about the origin of animal life in the foetus which had its rise in Greek philosophy was taken up in Christianity, and particularly the form and application which the Church Fathers gave it in order to create a theoretical substructure capable of supporting the doctrine of original sin.

Haase gives a catalogue of the Syrian, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic, Aethiopic, and Abyssinian manuscripts of Christian origin. They offer much material for the textual criticism of the Old and New Testaments, for liturgics, hagiography, the history of theological literature, and heresiology. Through the numerous Apocrypha preserved in them, they are also an inexhaustible mine for folk-lore and for piety.

Harnack aims to exhibit the development through which the conception of *ἔρως* as sensual love, which was current among Christian writers (Ignat. ad Rom. 7), was transformed into the lofty appraisal of it that is found in Origen and still more in Dionysius the Areopagite: *θεϊότερον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ὄνομα τοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης*. In the essay named in the second place above Harnack gives a wide extension to the idea of 'regeneration'; almost everything is discussed which stands in any relation to the Christian 'renewal' (*ἀνακαίνωσις*). The article is not merely a collection of materials, but makes contributions to methodology. Harnack is especially concerned to oppose the — in his opinion erroneous — method of the historians of religion, who think that they throw light upon the Christian religion by ascertaining where particular opinions, ideas, and images origi-

⁴ Not March 15, as was stated by mistake in the January number of this Review, p. 20, n. 4.

nated, and what their original meaning was. — *Holzkey* has treated an interesting theme with much intelligence. He shows how the doctrine of the spherical form of the earth, which was entirely familiar to Greek science, fell into discredit with the Fathers in their endeavour to rescue the Mosaic account of creation and especially the biblical idea of the *σφαιρόμα*, and eventually so completely disappeared that it had to be rediscovered at the end of the Middle Ages. — *Kneller* shows that the Fathers interpreted the words of Jesus on the cross to his mother and to John as a testimony to the birth from the Virgin, and to give support to the custom of *virgines subintroductae*. — *Krüger's* endeavour is chiefly to rescue the poetical paraphrase of Scripture by Avitus of Vienna from unmerited oblivion. He sees in it the climax of epic composition in the ancient church, reminiscences of which may be discovered even in Milton. — *Loofs* supplements his numerous studies on the history of the Arian controversy by an admirable account of the homoiousian party, for the purpose of illumining the Christology of the Macedonians, who developed out of that party under homoian influence. In the second of the articles noted he has investigated the Macedonian quotations in Didymus of Alexandria, and with them collected the other scanty identifiable remains of Macedonian writings. — Especially to be commended is the admirable study of *Meyer* on the doctrine of the *λόγοι σπερματικοί* in Greek philosophy and in the Church Fathers. It would be hard to find an equally thorough philosophical investigation which deals with difficult problems in so readable and suggestive a fashion. Augustine is treated with especial thoroughness.

Schilling's work is occasioned by Troeltsch's celebrated book on the 'Soziallehren.' He is not convinced that Troeltsch is right in his contention that the state and its institutions appeared to the early ecclesiastical writers to be founded upon 'Urfreveln der Menschheit,' and that consequently these writers contradict their own fundamental principle when—since they could not simply reject the state—they took up and adapted the Stoic *lex naturae* to give a justification to it. In Schilling's view no such contradiction exists. The truth is rather that in

regarding the state from the point of view of the law of nature, these writers were not adapting kindred, but non-Christian, forces and ideas; the law of nature is, on the contrary, from the very beginning rooted and grounded in the Christian idea as it is set forth by Jesus (Matt. 7, 12) and by Paul. To prove this Schilling treats first the classical doctrine of the law of nature in the Stoa and the doctrine of the Roman jurists, and then traces the development of the Christian doctrine of the law of nature in the individual Fathers down to Isidore of Seville. The addition and expansion which Schilling thus gives to Troeltsch's presentation of the subject are recognized by Troeltsch himself as valuable (ThLZ 40, 1915, 485, and HZ 115, 1915, 99-109). — In her re-examination of the problem Fräulein *Huebner* comes to the result that the Fathers, notwithstanding all their agreement with the Stoic theory, did not find their way to a recognition of the state. The historical state appeared to them, in spite of everything, as a result of sin; and they gave hardly any serious consideration to the possibility of a development of it on the good side. According to Fräulein *Huebner* therefore Troeltsch's conclusion must be regarded as substantially established.

The problem of the human knowledge of Christ ever afresh occupies theologians, most recently Bishop Gore (*The Problem of the Consciousness of our Lord in his Mortal Life*, 1917). *Schulte* gives a résumé of the history of the problem from Origen to the Carolingian theologians. Unfortunately, as F. Diekamp in ThRev 14 (1915), 101-108 has shown by numerous examples, the work lacks critical acumen and accuracy in details. — *Walther* investigates the question whether the Greek patristic interpreters of the Lord's Prayer were influenced by one another in their understanding of it, and if so to what extent. The Fathers examined are Clement, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Maximus Confessor, and Peter of Laodicea. It turns out that they hardly ever get beyond the questions which Origen had raised. Cyril of Jerusalem influenced especially Gregory and Chrysostom. The influence of the latter Fathers is not easy to estimate, but that of Chrysostom is evident in Peter. Val-

uable critical additions are made by G. Wohlenberg, ThLBl 35 (1915), 82-86. — *Zahn* reprints, after a fresh collation, the 'Prophetiae ex omnibus libris,' which Amelli published in the *Miscellanea Casinense* from Cod. Sangall. 133. *Zahn* considers it to be a handbook of biblical prophecy for readers who had small acquaintance with the Scriptures. Compare the review by G. Wohlenberg, ThLBl 36 (1916), 65-69.

2. THE FATHERS, IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

AMBROSIASTER. *Mundt, Wilhelm*, Die Exegese der paulinischen Briefe im Kommentar des Ambrosiaster. Diss. 95 pp. Marburg i. H., Chr. Schaaf.

AMBROSIUS. *Friedrich, Philipp*, St. Ambrosius von Mailand über die Jungfräulichkeit Marias vor der Geburt (Kath. 97, 2, 1917, 145-169, 232-258, 319-333; St. Ambrosius von Mailand über die Jungfraugeburt Marias. (Festgabe Knöpfler [supra p. 287], 89-109). **AMMONIUS.** *Zahn, Theodor*, Der Exeget Ambrosius (ZKG 38, 1920, 1-22, 311-336). **APOLOGISTS.** *Andres, Friedrich*, Die Engellehre der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts und ihr Verhältnis zur griechisch-römischen Dämonologie (FLDG 12, 3). xx, 183 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M 6. — *Casel, Odo*, Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Justinus Martyr (Kath. 94, 1, 1914, 153-176, 243-263, 331-355, 414-436). — *Friedrich, Philipp*, Studien zum Lehrbegriff des frühchristlichen Apologeten Marcianus Aristides (ZkTh 43, 1919, 31-77). — *Haase, Felix*, Der Adressat der Aristides-Apologie (ThQ 99, 1918, 422-429). — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Rhodon und Apelles. (Studien Hauck [see p. 288], 39-51). — *Preuschen, Erwin*, Die Echtheit von Justins Dialog gegen Trypho (ZNW 19, 1920, 102-127). — *Waibel, Alfons*, Die natürliche Gotteseckentnis in der apologetischen Litteratur des zweiten Jahrhunderts. (Diss. Breslau.) ii, 140 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1916. **ASTERIUS OF AMASEA.** *Bretz, Adolf*, Studien und Texte zu Asterios von A. (TU 40, 1). iv, 124 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914. M. 4. **ATHANASIUS.** *Hugger, V.*, Des heiligen Athanasius Traktat in Matth. 11, 27 (ZkTh 42, 1918, 437-441). — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Des Athanasius Werk über das Leben des heiligen Antonius. (SAH 1914, 8). [See below under Monasticism, p. 369 f.] — *Stegmann, Anton*, Die pseudoathanasianische ivte Rede gegen die Arianer als κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν λόγος ein Apollinarisgut. 214 pp. Rottenburg, Baader, 1917. M. 4, 50; Zur Datierung der drei Reden des hl. Athanasius gegen die Arianer (ThQ 96, 1914, 423-450; cp. 98, 1916, 227-231). — *Weigl, Eduard*, Untersuchungen zur Christologie des heiligen Athanasius. (FLDG 12, 4). viii, 190 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M. 16. — *Woldendorp, Johannes Jacob*, De incarnatione. Een Geschrift van Athanasius. (Diss.) 72 pp. Groningen, Wolters, 1919. **AUGUSTINUS.** *Aalders, W. J.*, A. 's bekeerling (Stemmen des tijds 4, 1915, 1-28. 123-155). — *Adam, Karl*, Die kirchliche Sündenvergebung nach dem heiligen Augustinus. (FLDG 14, 1). x, 167 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1917. M. 6. — *Boehmer, Heinrich*, Die Lobpreisungen des Augustinus (NkZ 26, 1915, 419-438, 487-512). — *Draeske, Johannes*, Zur Frage nach den Quellen von Augustins Kenntnis der griechischen Philosophie (ThStKr 89, 1916, 541-562). — *Eisenhofer, Lud-*

wig, A. in den Evangelien Homilien Gregors des Grossen. (Festgabe Knüpf-ler [supra p. 287], 56-66). — *Haitjema, Th. L., A'*. Wetenschapsidee. 247 pp. Utrecht, van Druten, 1917. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Die Höhepunkte in Augustins Konfessionen. (Aus der Friedens- und Kriegsarbeit [supra p. 204 f.], 67-99). — *Hessen, Johannes*, Die Begründung der Erkenntnis nach dem heiligen Augustinus. (BGPhM 19, 2). xii, 118 p. Münster i. W., Aschen-dorff, 1916. M. 4, 20; Die unmittelbare Gotteserkenntnis nach dem hl. Augustinus. 60 pp. Paderborn, Schoeningh, 1919. M. 4, 50. — *Hünner-mann, Friedrich*, Die Busslehre des heil. Augustinus. (FLDG 12, 1). xii, 157 pp. Paderborn, Schoeningh, 1914. M. 4. — *Jülicher, Adolf*, Augustinus und die Topik der Aretalogie (Hermes 54, 1919, 94-103). — *Karsten, H. T.*, Een Commentaar op Augustinus de civitate dei. [H. Scholz 1911] (NThT 3, 1914, 64-74). — *Kratsch*, Die Frage nach dem Seelendualismus bei Augustinus (AGPh 21, 1915, 310-336, 369-395). — *Lindau, Hans*, Augustin und das Daemonische (ZKG 36, 1916, 99-106). — *Mager, Alois*, Die Staatslehre des Augustinus. 15 p. München, Lentner, 1920. — *Noerre-gard, J.*, Augustins religiöse Gennembrud [Conversion]. (Diss.) 343 pp. Kopenhagen, Pio, 1920. — *Offergelt, Franz*, Die Staatslehre des heil. A. nach seinen sämtlichen Werken. viii, 86 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 1, 50. — *Ohl*, Augustins Lehre über die Tugenden der Heiden (NkZ 25, 1914, 413-449). — *Peters, J.*, Die Ehe nach der Lehre des heil. A. (VRSG 32). viii, 77 pp. Paderborn, Schoeningh, 1918. M. 3, 60. — *Poschmann, Bern-hard*, Hat A. die Privatbusse eingeführt? 34 pp. Braunsberg, Bender, 1920. M. 3, 20. — *Rolfes, E.*, Hat Augustin Plato nicht gelesen? (DTh 5, 1918, 17-39). — *Rütting, W.*, Untersuchungen über Augustins Quaestiones und Locu-tiones in Heptateuchum. (FLDG 13, 3. 4). x, 390 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1916. M. 15. — *Troeltsch, Ernst*, Augustin, die christliche Antike und das Mittelalter. (Historische Bibliothek 36). xii, 173 pp. München, Olden-bourg, 1915. M. 11. CASSIANUS. *Schwartz, Eduard*, Konzilstudien. 1. Cassian und Nestorius. (SchrGesStr 20, 1-17). Strassburg, Trübner, 1914, M. 3, 60. — *Wrzol, L.*, Die Psychologie des Johannes Cassianus. (DTh 5, 1918, 181-213, 425-456). CHRYSOSTOMUS. *Naegle, August*, Zeit und Ver-anlassung des Abfassung des Chrysost.-Dialogs de sacerdotio. (HJG 37, 1916, 1-48). — *Schiewietz, Stephan*, Die Eschatologie des heiligen Chrysost. und ihr Verhältnis zu der origenistischen (Kath 94, 1, 1914, 271-281, 370-379, 436-448). — *Stiglmayr, Josef*, Die historische Grundlage der Schrift des heiligen Chrysost. über das Priestertum (ZkTh 41, 1917, 413-449). CLAU-DIANUS MAMERTUS. *Zimmermann, F.*, Des Cl. M. Schrift De statu animae libri tres (DTh 1, 1914, 332-368, 470-495). CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA *Eibl, H.*, Die Stellung des Clemens v. Alex. zur griechischen Bildung (ZPhKr 164, 1917, 33-59). COMMODIANUS. *Martin, Josef*, Commodiana. Text-kritische Beiträge zur Ueberlieferung, Verstechnik und Sprache der Gedichte Commodians. (SAW 181, 6). 118 p. Wien, Hoelder, 1917; Spuren einer alten Weiheformel bei Commodian. (ZNW 16, 1915, 231-233). — *Vroom, H. B.*, De Commodiani metro et syntaxi annotationes. (Diss.) Utrecht. 1917. CYPRIAN. *Dessau, Hermann*, Pontius, der Biograph Cyprians (Hermes 51, 1916, 65-92). — *Kneller, Karl Alois*, Der heilige Cyprian und das Kenn-zeichen der Kirche (115. Ergänzungsheft zu den StML). iv, 72 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1914, M. 1, 80; [vide infra Pesch, Nestorius]; Sacramentum Uni-

tatis. Zu Cyprians Schrift an Donatus (ZkTh 40, 1916, 676-706). — *Mengis, Karl*, Ein donatistisches Corpus cyprianischer Briefe. (Diss.) 76 pp. Freiburg, Caritasdruckerei, 1916. [cp. ZNW 15, 1914, 274-279]. — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Ein donatistisches Corpus cyprianischer Schriften. (NGW 1914, 85-92). — Cp. Pseudo-Cyprian. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA. *Tyskiewicz, Stanislaus*, Der heil. Petrus in den Schriften Cyrills von Alexandrien (ZkTh 43, 1919, 543-550). DIONYSIUS ARBOPAGEITA. *Müller, H. F.*, Dionysios, Proklos, Plotinos. (BGPhM 20, 3. 4). viii, 111 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1918. M. 5. — *Sassen, Ferdinand*, Pseudo-D. de Areopagiet (De Beiaard 1919, 221-243). — *Weerts, H.*, Die Gotteslehre des sogenannten Dionys. Areop. (ThGl 6, 1914, 812-831). EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS. *Gressmann, Hugo*, Jüdisch-aramaisches bei Epiphanius (ZNW 16, 1915, 193-197). — *Holl, Karl*, Die Schriften des Epiphanius gegen die Bilderverehrung. (SAB 1916, xxxv, 823-868). Berlin, Reimer, 1916. M. 2. — *Wilpert, Josef*, Drei unbekannte bilderfeindliche Schriften des Epiphanius. (HJG 38, 1917, 532-535). EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA. *Doergens, Heinrich*, Eusebius von Caesarea als Darsteller der phoenicischen Religion. (FLDG 12, 5). xi, 103 pp. Paderborn, Schoeningh, 1915. M. 3, 60. — *Zahn, Theodor*, Eusebius von Casarea ein geborener Sklave (NkZ 29, 1918, 59-82). FIRMICUS MATERNUS. *Groll, F.*, De syntaxi Firmiciana. (Diss.) viii, 66 pp. Breslau, Favorke, 1918. — *Morin, Germain*, Ein zweites christliches Werk des Firmicus Maternus: "Die Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii." (HJG 37, 1916, 229-266). — *Reatz, August*, Das theologische System der Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii mit Berücksichtigung ihrer angeblichen Beziehung zu Firmicus Maternus. (FrThSt 25). viii, 153 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. M. 12 (cp. Kath. 98, 2, 1918, 300-314). GELASIUS OF CAESAREA. *Glas, Anton*, Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasius von Kaisarea die Vorlage für die beiden letzten Bücher der Kirchengeschichte Rufins. (Byzantinisches Archiv 6). vi, 90 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1914. M. 4, 80. HIERONYMUS. *Kunst, Carl*, De S. Hieronymi studiis Ciceronianis. (Dissertationes philologicae Vindobonenses 12, 109-219). 111 pp. Wien und Leipzig, Deuticke, 1918. — *Lammert, F.* Die Angaben des Kirchenvaters Hieronymus über vulgäres Latein (Philologus 76, 1919, 395-413). — *Wutz, Franz*, Onomastica Sacra. Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum des hl. Hieronymus. 2 Vols. (TU 41, 1. 2). xxxii, 1200 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915. M. 40.* HIPPOLYTUS. *Baumstark, Anton*, Hippolytos und die ausserkanonische Evangelienquelle des ägyptischen Galiläa-Testaments (ZNW 15, 1914, 332-335). — *Preysing, Konrad Graf*, Der Leserkreis der Philosophumena H.s (ZkTh 38, 1914, 421-445); Hippolytos Ausscheiden aus der Kirche (ebd. 42, 1918, 177-186). IRENAEUS. *Hoh, Johannes*, Die Lehre des hl. Irenäus über das Neue Testament. (NA 7, 4. 5). xiii, 208 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1919. M. 11, 20. — *Lüdike, W.*, Bemerkungen zu Irenäus (ZNW 15, 1914, 268-273). ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM. *Bayer, Leo*, Isidors von P. klassische Bildung. (FLDG 13, 2). xi, 102 p. Paderborn, Schönigh, 1915. M. 4, 20. JOVINIANUS. *Bakel, H. J. van*, De "Protestant" Jovinian (NThT 7, 1918, 51-71). JULIAN VON ABLANUM. *Stiglmayr, Josef*, Der Job-kommentar von Monte Cassino

* HILARIUS, see below (after Vincentius of Lerinum).

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AMBROSIASTER. The importance of the Ambrosiaster in the history of exegesis justifies the detailed discussion which *Mundle* devotes to his commentary on the Pauline epistles. As a result it appears that Ambrosiaster did not do full justice to the peculiar formulation of Paul's ideas. He was too sober and rationalistic to do so, and very little genuine religious feeling is to be discovered in him; but the fact that he is unaffected by the allegorical method of the Alexandrians, the comparative

absence of bias in his exegesis, and its acuteness, give him a right to an honorable place in the history of interpretation. On the question who the author was, Mundle also is unable to say anything certain. He does not accept any of the hypotheses thus far advanced, including Morin's last, which identifies him with Evagrius of Antioch, translator of the *Vita Antonii*. — **AMBROSIUS.** *Friedrich* gives a painstaking account of the numerous utterances of Ambrose about the Virgin Mary, in connection with that Fathers's general attitude to the idea of flight from the world and of virginity. The author's Catholic standpoint exempts him from the necessity of a critical treatment. — **AMMONIUS.** *Zahn* believes himself warranted in claiming, among the numerous Ammoniuses, as the only possible author of the Scholia to the Gospel of John and to the Acts, and the other fragments which with more or less confidence are attributed to an Ammonius, one of the four so-called 'Tall Brothers' (*οἱ μακροί*), who played a considerable part in Egypt about 400 in the history of the Origenistic controversy. In his exegesis also Ammonius is true to his decisive rejection of the crude notions of the anthropomorphists. — **APOLOGISTS.** *Andres* sets forth the angelology and demonology of the Greek Apologists, followed by a presentation of contemporary Greek and Roman demonology, and inquires into the mutual relations of the Hellenic and Christian views. He emphasizes the endeavour of the Apologists, in spite of their unmistakable borrowings from the Greeks, to set up an independent doctrine of spirits over against heathen beliefs. The work is trustworthy, and based upon comprehensive material. An exhaustive bibliography, enumerating something like two hundred books and articles, is appended. — *Haase* comes out very positively for the tradition, attested by Eusebius but rejected by most modern investigators, that Aristides presented his apology to the emperor Hadrian, not to Antoninus Pius. The present reviewer is inclined to agree with him. — In connection with the well known story in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* v. 13 about a conversation between the Apologist Rhodon and the Marcionite Apelles, *Harnack* contrasts the two theologians in a brilliant characterization. — The doubts which

have been occasionally expressed about the genuineness of Justin's Dialogue with Trypho have been materially strengthened by *Preuschen's* thorough investigation. His opinion is that, if the Dialogue be not wholly spurious and composed later than Irenaeus and Tertullian with the use of their writings, it must at least have been interpolated in the third century; the Dialogue cannot have attained its present form earlier than 249 A.D. Whether this contention will stand the test of re-examination remains to be seen. Unfortunately the author, who died May 25, 1920, was not able to bring his study to entire completion. — *Waibel's* painstaking dissertation gives a good insight into the philosophical thinking of the Apologists, but does not bring out anything new. — ASTERIUS OF AMASEA. *Bretz* re-examines and carries farther the works of Max Schmid and Michael Bauer which appeared in 1911. Contrary to Bauer he regards the Encomium on St. Basil as not genuine; but believes himself to have demonstrated the genuineness of the three discourses attested by Photius (on Stephen, Concerning Penitence, and the Fast-day Sermon). In a concluding section he treats of Asterius's relation to Greek rhetoric and on the features of the diatribe recognizable in his diction and style.

ATHANASIUS. Against Loofs and Stülcken, who would date the discourses against the Arians as early as about 338, *Stegmann*, relying upon external testimonies and internal criteria, adheres to the traditional date of about 357. In a careful examination Stegmann has again proved the spuriousness of the fourth discourse against the Arians, of which scholars familiar with the subject have long been convinced. The present reviewer doubts whether he is right in recognizing in this discourse a writing of Apollinaris of Laodicea. Stegmann has done a useful service in editing the text critically upon the basis of the entire manuscript tradition, though material deviations from the text of the current editions do not result. — *Weigl's* presentation of the Athanasian Christology, though otherwise well done, suffers from the fact that the author employs as trustworthy sources such contested writings as the fourth discourse against the Arians, the books against Apollinaris, and 'De incarnatione Verbi.' — In a Berlin dissertation

of 1918 Tr. Kehrhahn endeavored to prove that in the treatise on the incarnation of the Logos attributed to the youthful Athanasius, Eusebius's Theophania was used, which would exclude the possibility of its being a work of the Alexandrian Father. *Woldendorp* holds that this thesis is not established, and attempts to prove that Athanasius is the author by a elaborate comparison of the theology of the 'De incarnatione' with that of his later writings. On the other hand H. Windisch in the Museum, 1920, has corroborated Kehrhahn's observations by the comparison of a whole series of new passages, so that the question about the genuineness of the youthful production has again become a burning one.

AUGUSTINE. Of works upon Augustine *Troeltsch's* is by far the most important. In it he endeavors to prove that the idea that Augustine was the intellectual pioneer of the Middle Ages, which has become current especially through modern works on the history of doctrine, is erroneous. Augustine is rather to be regarded as the consummator of Christianized antiquity. It is needless to say that Troeltsch has no intention of denying or minimizing the actual influence of Augustine's thinking on the Middle Ages. In this, however, he sees, not a development of genuine Augustinianism, but an entirely different spirit and meaning, the explanation of which is to be found in the completely changed character of mediaeval culture in contrast to the ancient world. Accordingly, in 'De Civitate Dei,' which he makes the starting point of his discussion, he sees, not the product of reflection on the philosophy of history by which directives for the future are projected, but only the final outcome of ancient Christian apologetic, the last great attempt to justify the church against the old charge that it was responsible for the dissolution of Roman society. The positive significance of Augustine's attempt lies, according to Troeltsch, in the creation of the first great 'Kulturethik,' an ethic which, however, is wholly oriented to ancient conditions. For my part, I am of the opinion that this thesis is one-sided, and in particular that however fully we may recognize the apologetic intention of 'De Civitate Dei,' the work has every right to be described as a philosophy of history, and the first work that deserves that

name. However that may be, Troeltsch has developed his thesis in a masterly way, in regard both to the development of Augustine as an ethical thinker and to the particular features of his ethics. Troeltsch lays particular emphasis upon the erroneousness of the widely current notion that Augustine defined his two *Civitates* empirically simply as State and Church. For Augustine there are here only relations, not equations. His subject throughout is Christian salvation and heathen corruption, nowhere State and Church as such. The Middle Ages approached the latter far-reaching problem from its own presuppositions, and in doing so was able to claim Augustine for its theory of the relation of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. An English translation of Troeltsch's book is to be desired, in order that the discussion he has started may have as wide a response as possible. He himself gratefully acknowledges his obligation to previous works of others, for instance to the brothers Carlyle (*History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*), Mausbach (*Die Ethik des heiligen Augustinus*), Schilling (*Die Staats- und Soziallehre des hl. Augustin*), Scholz (*Glaube und Unglaube in der Weltgeschichte*), and others. A very good critical summary of Troeltsch's position is given by H. Lindau, *ZKG* 37 (1918), 406-432. His excellent remarks on the demonic should not be overlooked. — *Offergelt's* discussions of the doctrine of the state in Augustine are in the same general line with Troeltsch's. He too gives warning against imputing to Augustine a modern idea of the state, and like Troeltsch points out that one of the principal sources of erroneous interpretation is the habit of translating *civitas terrena*, which expresses a metaphysical or religious-ethical conception, by the word 'state,' thus making of it an empirical magnitude. He does not however question the fact that Augustine's teaching contains materials for the construction of a theocratic legal system. — *Boehmer* in a finely elaborated study shows that Augustine's life-long repentance is one-sidedly judged when it is viewed exclusively from the standpoint of the Confessions, forgetting that the predominating note in it is praise to God who had so graciously led him. — *Draeseke* with good reason doubts that Augustine had read Plato in any other way than through a

translation, and refers the quotations from the *Timaeus* in *De Civitate Dei* to Cicero's version of that dialogue. *Rolfes'* arguments to the contrary are not convincing. — *Haitjema's* characterization of Augustine's idea of science is in effect as follows: The theism of the Christian creed alone is capable of explaining the world, and no development of science is thinkable that Christianity is not capable of becoming master of. In the Neoplatonic idealism Augustine found a great deal of material which he could use upon his theistic basis. But science, morals, and religion are for him one thing. He is therefore not the 'modern man' that he is often called. He still did not see science as a unity in the light of universal divine grace. The several sciences, as fruits of civilization, are, however, gifts of the grace of God, and Christians should employ them to the glorifying of God. Christian science as such is the same with the *Civitas Dei*, and thus loses its independent worth. In particulars, there are good remarks upon Augustine's conversion, our conception of which should not be based exclusively either upon the *Confessions* or on the *Dialogues*. *Haitjema*, also, thinks that the thing of greatest moment in the conversion was the transformation of Augustine's moral life. — *Hessen* sums up the result of his investigation of Augustine's theory of the grounds of knowledge in the following theses: 1. By the side of the sphere of a priori intelligence (*sapientia*) Augustine recognized a realm of inferior knowledge (*scientia*), in which we are able to arrive at knowledge by induction and abstraction. 2. The so-called cosmological proof for the existence of God is not formally developed by Augustine, but is substantially present in his thought. 3. The specifically Augustinian proof of the existence of God is not the argument from causality, but rests upon a Platonic evaluation of the *veritates* and *rationes aeternae*. 4. The true meaning of his theory of divine illumination lies between the two extremes of the ontological and the Thomist doctrine. — *Hünermann* sees in Augustine an unexceptionable witness to the current Catholic doctrine of penance. This view, as *Adam* has correctly observed, is erroneous; it overlooks the decisive influence of Augustine's conception of the saving power of the particular gracious will of God on his

estimate of the sacraments, and of penance in particular. Ecclesiastical penance is for him not primarily what it was for Tertullian and Cyprian, an inducement to the utmost possible reparation of the fault; and not *excommunicatio* but *communio* is for him the true way of life in a real penitential discipline. This led him to advocate and to introduce in his diocese the form of penitence which was accomplished within the communion of the church and in the presence of the minister alone. Adam thus regards Augustine as the speculative founder of private penance in the Western Church. *Poschmann* takes the opposite side, and Scheel (*ThLZ* 45, 1920, 294 f.) gravely questions the thesis. At any rate it is very energetically propounded. — *Jülicher* shows that the Curma anecdote narrated by Augustine in his 'De cura pro mortuis gerenda' rests on an actual occurrence, and is therefore not a travel-tale to be relegated to the domain of Aretalogy. — In the judgment of Professor Ammüdsen, *Noerregaard's* work is the best investigation we possess of the history of Augustine's conversion. In the discussion started particularly by Wilhelm Thimme (1910) about the value of the Confessions as a source for this history, Noerregaard takes a tolerably conservative position: the philosophical writings from the time when Augustine was living in Cassiciacum are more Christian than Thimme allows, and in the Confessions themselves Augustine's subsequent reflections are easily distinguished from his memory of the events. The author is master of the whole German, English and French literature on the subject. Alfarc's extensive work on Augustine's development, in which a somewhat different view is taken of the relative value of our sources, appeared too late for Noerregaard to avail himself of it, but he has treated independently and thoroughly Augustine's relations to Manichaeism and Neoplatonism. — *Aalders's* chief endeavor is to bring out clearly the continuity in Augustine's intellectual life before, in, and after his conversion. He bases his presentation on the Confessions and the philosophical Tractates: in the Confessions it is the catechumen and the future that speak, in the Tractates the rhetor and the past. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

CASSIAN. The chief importance of *Schwartz's* study lies in the new proof it gives of the preservation of fragments of Nestorius in the Massilian author, a more complete demonstration than that of Loofs in his *Nestoriana* (1905). — **CHRYSOSTOM.** *Naegle* (see, in addition to the essay named above, the extensive introduction to his translation of 'De sacerdotio' in *BKV*, *supra* p. 312) adopts the opinion most recently propounded by Colombo in the *Didaskaleion* (1912) that the dialogue form of the writing is purely a literary device, and supports this view with noteworthy arguments. *Stiglmayr*, on the contrary, abides by the opinion that Chrysostom's own account of the occasion of the composition (endeavor to escape the election to the bishopric) has a historical foundation. He accordingly dates the writing before 374, while *Naegle* with more probability assigns it to the years of Chrysostom's presbyterate, between 386 and 390. — **COMMODIAN.** *Martin's* essay is devoted to showing that *Dombart's* text of *Commodian's* poems in *CSEL* is in many places exposed to criticism. In the forefront stands the false estimate of the value of the two manuscripts in Leiden and Paris respectively, which *Dombart* treated as independent witnesses to the text, whereas in reality they are both derived from the *Codex Berolinensis 167* (formerly in the *Cheltenham Library*). A fresh comparison of this manuscript led *Martin* to discover many errors in earlier collations which seriously impair the recension of the text. In the second of the articles named above, *Martin* makes it probable that in the composition of *Instr. ii, 26 (lectoribus)* *Commodian* was influenced by the ancient formula of consecration of which there is an echo also in *Const. Apost. viii. 22, 2*. See further below on *Tertullian* (*Holl*). — **CYPRIAN.** In a *Würzburg* manuscript *Reitzenstein* has found a small collection of genuine and spurious writings of *Cyprian*, of the major part of which account is given below under *Pseudo-Cyprian*. Internal evidence makes it certain that the collection comes from *Donatist* circles. The four *Epistles* contained in the collections (*Epp. 67. 6. 4. 10*, *Hartel*), besides other variations, exhibit a biblical text frequently different from that represented in the printed editions of the letters. *Mengis*, in an excellent dissertation, has care-

fully edited the Epistles and discussed the text of the quotations. — *Dessau* would identify Pontius, the author of the life of Cyprian, with a resident of Curubis who is proved by an inscription to have lived about the middle of the third century. If this is true we should have documentary evidence that the biographer was a contemporary of the bishop, which *Reitzenstein* (SHA 1913) had contested.

DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA. In the studies which *Koch*, *Stiglmayr*, and others devoted to the Areopagite his dependence upon *Proclus* was proved. *Müller*, accepting this demonstration, has investigated the indications that lead to the conclusion that the Areopagite was directly acquainted with *Plotinus* also. He makes it probable that the *Hierotheos*, whom, along with *Paulus*, *Dionysius* names as his teacher, was no other than *Plotinus* himself. He discusses *Dionysius'* doctrine of the good and beautiful, of *Eros*, of the origin of evil, his doctrine of God and the ways to the knowledge of God, and finally of union with God. Copious extracts from the text both of *Plotinus* and of the Areopagite present the evidence to the eye of the reader. — *Sassen's* article offers nothing new to those who are acquainted with the subject. — *Gressmann* treats: 1. the formula of *Elxai* (*Epiphanius*, *Haer.* 19, 4, 3); 2. the first formula of the *Marcosians* (*Haer.* 34, 20, 2 ff.); 3. the second formula of the *Marcosians* (*ibid.*); 4. the names of the planets among the *Pharisees* (*Haer.* 16, 2 ff.). — *Holl* draws the attention of scholars to the fragments of three writings of *Epiphanius* against the worship of images which are transmitted in *Nicephorus* (about 815); namely, a fragment of a pamphlet, one of a letter to the emperor *Theodosius I*, and one of a testament of *Epiphanius* to his churches. The genuineness of these pieces is established by *Holl* on convincing grounds. Apropos of this luminous essay, *Wilpert* shows that in the face of such opinions as are propounded by *Epiphanius*, religious monumental art in the East could make but slow progress. See also below, p. 350 (*Koch*). — **EUSEBIUS.** *Doergens* has re-examined the notices about the *Phoenician* religion in the *Præparatio Evangelica*, with unfavorable results. There is no trace whatever of actual acquaintance with the subject on the

part of the bishop of Caesarea; borrowed material is exclusively used. — *Zahn* brings weighty arguments to prove that the words δ τοῦ Παμφίλου appended to the name of Eusebius should be interpreted as 'the slave of Pamphilus.' Even as late a writer as Photius seems to have understood them so. *Zahn* would account for certain weaknesses in the ecclesiastical, political, and theological attitude of the bishop by his humble origin; and in this also has the support of the Byzantine author.

FIRMICUS MATERNUS. In the twentieth volume of Migne's *Patrologia*, under the title 'Consultationum Zacchaei Christiani et Apollonii philosophi libri tres,' is a dialogue in the course of which the heathen philosopher's pride of knowledge yields to the simple grandeur of the Christian confession. *Morin* has no doubt that the writing is to be dated about the middle of the fourth century, and, on the ground of numerous parallels in language, attributes it to Firmicus Maternus, the author of the 'Mathesis,' and of the Christian writing, 'De errore profanarum religionum.' *Reatz* has tested this thesis and does not regard the authorship of Maternus as established. But he also confidently maintains that the writing originated not long after the middle of the fourth century. The emphatic rejection of Sabellianism and Photinianism, as well as the positive theology of the author, which bears throughout the stamp of the pre-Augustinian theology, seems clearly to point to this period. In regard to the importance of the writing, *Reatz* agrees with *Morin*, who recognizes in it not only a luminous presentation of the Christian faith and a model of apologetic composure and tactical skill, but also a precious monument of Christian Latinity in its early formative period. — **GELASIUS.** Gelasius, metropolitan of Caesarea, a nephew of Cyril of Alexandria, wrote a church history which, as *Glas* has proved, is the source of the last two books of Rufinus's Church History, where he is beyond the limits of Eusebius. Here also Rufinus was merely a translator.

HIERONYMUS. *Kunst* examines the Epistles of Jerome, particularly Ep. 60, 'De consolatione Heliodori,' for traces of that Father's reading in Cicero. The work is valuable. — The name *Onomastica Sacra* is given to ancient Christian collec-

tions of proper names from the Old and New Testaments, with etymological interpretations, a species of literature which the Alexandrians had taken over from Philo, and which Jerome had made accessible to the Western Church also in a trustworthy translation. *Wutz* has investigated the sources and system of these collections with marvellous industry. Above all he has reprinted the texts of these Onomastica, a work which *Lagarde* (1870, 2d ed. 1887) had already done for the Greek and Latin texts, but which *Wutz* has now materially enlarged by the edition of the Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Slavic collections. Exhaustive indexes are appended. That even in so carefully elaborated a work not everything is achieved that might be desired may be seen from the review by *Erich Klostermann* in *LZBl* 66 (1915), 137, and 68 (1917), 497. But for what has been accomplished the small circle of scholars who have an interest in the matter will be unanimous in their gratitude. — **HIPPOLYTUS.** *Baumstark* shows that in Hippolytus's commentary on the Song of Solomon there are traces of the extracanonical gospel used in the Ethiopic 'Testamentum domini nostri Jesu Christi,' in which he would recognize the Gospel according to the Egyptians (cf. his article in *ZNW* 14, 1913, 232-247). — In opposition to the assumption that Hippolytus was put out of the Church when his enemy Callistus ascended the episcopal throne, *Preysing* tries to prove that he remained in the communion of the Church for a time after the election of Callistus, and allowed himself to be elected as rival bishop only after Callistus had excommunicated him on the ground of ditheism. The antagonism between the two was partly due to the social separation of the adherents of Hippolytus, who according to *Preysing* belonged to the upper classes of Roman society.

IRENÆUS. The merit of *Hoh's* work on the teaching of Irenæus concerning the New Testament lies chiefly in the complete and conveniently arranged collection of the material. The author has, however, also contributed independent observations to the discussion both of the history of the canon and of the history of doctrine. — *Lüdtke* offers text-critical notes on a sermon on the sons of Zebedee attributed to Irenæus which was published by *Jordan* in 1913 from the Ethiopic, to-

gether with notices of Slavic and Ethiopic fragments, and finally an allusion to Irenaeus in Maximus Confessor. — ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM. The breadth and depth of Isidore's classical education has never before been investigated; consequently, insignificant as the subject is in itself, *Bayer's* industrious study fills a vacant place. It appears that Isidore's culture had narrow limits; he nowhere betrays any independent philosophical or historical interest. — JULIAN OF ABCLANUM. In the third volume of the *Spicilegium Casinense*, Amelli published in 1897 a commentary on Job which in the tradition is designated as the work of the presbyter Philip, a disciple of Jerome. Vaccari in 1915 attributed this commentary to Julian. *Stiglmayr* has subjected this theory to a thorough examination, and on the ground of the formal and material differences which he has established thinks that it must be rejected. — LACTANTIUS. In support of the attribution of the 'Mortes' to Lactantius, *Koch* refers to *Div. Inst.* ii. 4, 16 and ii. 4, 7, where obvious points of contact with topics developed in the *Mortes* are found. In his second note *Koch* contends that the *templum dei* in *Inst. div.* 5, 2, 2 is to be understood figuratively, and not to be referred to the destruction of the church in Nicomedia, Feb. 23, 203; so that the passage does not fix the date of the *Institutiones*. — *Stangl* offers material contributions to the criticism of the text of all the writings of Lactantius. Notwithstanding the recognized merits of Brandt's edition in the CSEL, numerous improvements are possible and necessary. — LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH. *Loofs* proves that by the so-called 'Dedication Formula' (*ἐν τοῖς ἐγκαινίοις*) of the Synod of Antioch in 341 is meant the second Antiochian formula (*Hahn* § 154), and that in this formula, taken together with *Sozomen Hist. Eccl.* iii. 5, 9, the confession of the martyr Lucian is to be recognized.

MINUCIUS FELIX. The discussion of the literary character of the *Dialogue of Minucius Felix* and the circumstances of its composition shows no signs of coming to an end. While *Bachrens* again takes sides for a date of composition earlier than Tertullian, *Buizer* with great positiveness decides for the reign of Severus Alexander (225-230). In his view *Minucius Felix* does not belong at all to the Apologists of the type of

Tertullian. His book is a literary effort by which Christians are to be confirmed in their faith, and heathen incited to follow the example of Caecilius and connect themselves with the church. The model he has in mind is not so much Cicero's 'De natura deorum' as Paul's speech on the Areopagus. — *Plooij* also puts Minucius Felix before Tertullian. His article is directed against J. van Wageningen in *ThT* 96 (1912), 217. On the question whether Minucius Felix was a modernist he takes the negative side. — NOVATIAN. *Koch* adduces noteworthy reasons for not regarding Novatian's authorship of 'De spectaculis' and 'De bono pudicitiae.' as securely established. — ORIGEN. The exegetical works of ecclesiastical writers have hitherto contributed almost nothing to church history, because nobody has taken the trouble to go through them systematically in quest of significant historical notices. The recognition of this fact has led *Harnack* to make a beginning in this untouched field, and to work through the homilies and commentaries of Origen from the historical point of view. *Harnack's* keen observation and his great gift for extracting rich gains from seemingly unimportant matter are brilliantly evidenced in this self-denying investigation. — The chronology of the years 395-402 has been securely established by the studies of *Holl* and *Jülicher*, both of which exhibit complete mastery of the sources. The minor differences in their results are negligible. The Catena codex Vaticanus 754 (cf. *Karo-Lietzmann*, p. 41) contains sixteen prologues, five of which can be proved to Origen. Of these *Rietz* gives a critical text with explanatory notes.

PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS. *Peters* and *Böhmer* have simultaneously devoted two excellent pieces of work to the archbishop Peter of Ravenna, whose pulpit eloquence gained him the honorific name Chrysologus. Both endeavor to give an exhaustive account of the contents of the sermons. *Böhmer* has in addition directed special attention to the stylistic side, and in an extensive appendix has treated at length the technic of the close of sentences (the so-called *cursus*). — PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE. To this opponent of Nestorius, *Bauer*, with a good knowledge of the sources, has devoted a monograph which

may well be described as a valuable contribution to the knowledge of a period of church history which scientific research has by no means exhausted. — *Schwartz* gives more than the title of his treatise indicates, namely an admirably written sketch of the situation about the year 435, unquestionably the best that we have on the subject, and in the reviewer's opinion a little gem of historical presentation. Cf. also the article by *Schwartz* noticed on p. 359. — PSEUDO-CYPRIAN. From the collection of Cyprianic writings noted above under Cyprian, *Reitzenstein* has published a hitherto unknown writing, which may with certainty be described as a sermon, although the beginning is lost. The three parts preserved treat of the three manner of fruits of the Christian life (Matt. 13, 3 ff.). The hundredfold gain (*centesima*) is assigned to the martyr, the sixtyfold (*sexagesima*) to the ascetic (*agonistes*), the thirtyfold (*tricesima*) to the ordinary Christian (*iustus*). Cyprian cannot be the author. The plainly recognizable affinity between his writings and this sermon, *Reitzenstein* would explain on the assumption of the priority of the preacher. That would make the discovery of great importance, for a Latin sermon from the age before Cyprian would be an event. Further investigation, however, in which *Harnack* (ThLZ 39, 1914, 220-223), *De Bruyne*, *Heer*, *Seeberg*, *Wohlenberg* (ThBl 36, 1915, 65-69), and others have taken part, has apparently put it beyond question that our preacher is dependent upon Cyprian. On the other hand it is not to be denied that many of his peculiarities, e.g. his Christology, have an archaic stamp. *Reitzenstein*, and still more positively *De Bruyne*, contend that the author was a Gnostic; while the other investigators emphasize on the contrary his correct churchly position. The resemblance between the biblical text employed by the preacher and the quotations from the Gospels in Justin has led *Heer* to the bold surmise that, not indeed the sermon in its present form, but its basis may be a Sunday sermon from the age of Justin. The text of the sermon, however, gives no occasion to assume that it is the revamping of an older composition. For the present it is not possible to say where and when the sermon was delivered. Africa and Spain are the most natural conjectures, and

as to the time, the whole period between about 260 and 370 is open. *De Bruyne* expresses himself the most definitely: 'Rien n'empêche qu'il y ait en quelque part en Afrique une petite église dissidente avec une Bible délibérément corrompue et des dogmes manifestement gnostiques.' For the date he would not go beyond the end of the third century. Notwithstanding the objections of his fellow investigators, *Reitzenstein* continues to hold that the writing originated either about the end of the second century, or was composed not very long after Cyprian, with the use of an older work (cf. his *Vita Antonii*, infra p. 369, 24 n. 1). — *Rauschen* takes the ground that the 'De rebaptismate' originated in the fourth century, to which period its peculiar doctrine of baptism, in particular, assigns it; while *Ernst* sees in it a document from the time of the controversy over heretical baptism in the middle of the third century.

PSEUDO-CLEMENTINA. Attention has often been called to similarities between the introductory chapter of the Clementine romance and Lucian's *Nekyomanteia*. *Boll* has now discovered similar and still plainer resemblances to an astrological writing by a certain Harpokration, a contemporary of Lucian of Samosata. The three texts are, however, independent of one another, and their resemblances are accounted for by the existence of a type of religious novel, evidently widely distributed, which Harpokration and the author of the Clementine romance appropriated, while Lucian parodied it. — It is impossible to give a survey in brief of the very complicated problems of sources which *Heintze*, carrying further the work of *Waitz* (*TU* 25, 4, 1904), endeavors to solve. In addition to the common source which *Waitz* recognizes as underlying the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions*, *Heintze* would assume another common source, the Jewish disputations with Apion, which he dates about 200. He is in all probability right in the opinion that the principal source had its origin in the third century in Syria. The evidence he adduces that the *Recognitions* had also a source used by Cicero deserves attention, as do also his remarks on the connections between the Christian romance and the Greek romance literature. On this point *Bousset's* work should be compared, though its main purpose is an investigation of the

much discussed Placidus legend, which does not here further concern us. On Heintze see the review by Hans Waitz, *LZBl* 66 (1915), 1025-1028. — QUODVULTDEUS. Morin has directed attention to bishop Quodvultdeus of Carthage (ca. 453) as a preacher in an article in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1914, and in his edition of recently discovered sermons of Augustine (see above p. 307 f.), attributing to him a number of pseudo-Augustinian sermons. *Franses* has re-examined these attributions, and been able to confirm almost all of them. To his presentation of the evidence he adds detailed proofs of the importance of these sermons for biblical learning, the history of doctrine, and liturgics. — SEVERIAN OF GABALA. The exploration of the exegetical remains of Severian has hitherto been greatly neglected. *Durks's* first endeavor is to determine the extent of these literary remains, which have come down to us in part under other names, especially Chrysostom's. In conclusion he gives a comprehensive survey of all Severian's homilies, after separating the spurious from the genuine. *Zellinger* has undertaken the detailed criticism with great circumspection. He first tests the tradition of the homilies on Genesis, with the result that all of them, including the two which Savile put among the *Dubia*, are to be ascribed to Severian, and then proceeds to give a critical view of their contents. It becomes manifest that Severian's commentary fills a gap in the exegesis of the *Hexaemeron*, inasmuch as we discover in him an Antiochian of the strictest school, whose sources have in large part been lost.

TERTULLIAN. The question of the importance of the lost *Codex Fuldensis* for the textual tradition of the 'Apologeticum' has provoked much discussion. In general it is agreed that its value is very high, and that, although not free from errors, the *Fuldensis* is throughout to be made the basis of a recension of the text. The contrary opinion of *Schrörs*, that the *Vulgata* is a revision by the author himself of a first draft represented by the *Fuldensis*, has been almost universally controverted. Nevertheless *Thörnell*, *Wohleb*, and *Löfstedt* (the latter at least in his second work) hold that the *Vulgata* deserves consideration by the side of the *Fuldensis*; while *Rauschen* in his

Emendationes has adopted the readings of the *Fuldensis* in much larger measure than he did in the second issue of his well known edition of the *Apologeticum* (Bonn, 1912). On this problem, besides the works named above, Esser's translation in the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* (see above p. 313) should be compared. Esser is here in full accord with Rauschen. It may be added here that the Belgian scholar, Waltzing, has expressed himself on the matter in his *Étude sur le cod. Fuldensis de l'Apologétique de Tertullien* (Liège-Paris 1914), and more recently in an edition of the *Apologeticum* (1920) has likewise made large use of the *Fuldensis*. — *Harnack* collects all the references in the works of Tertullian to Jewish and Christian writings used by that author, from which it appears that the number of those with which he was acquainted is very considerable, both in itself and in comparison with what was then extant. Unfortunately the wealth of Greek Christian learning and of Greek Christian books which he had at his command were after him as good as unknown in the Latin Church down to the time of Hilary and Jerome. — In an article characterized by admirable method, *Holl* has proved conclusively that the five poetical books against Marcion, erroneously attributed to Tertullian, originated in Gaul in the last quarter of the fifth century, or but little later. The dependence of the poet upon *Commodian* which had been observed by earlier investigators is confirmed by *Holl*. With *Brewer* he puts *Commodian*, however, in the fifth century, a thesis which I also regard as correct (see my remarks in *Schanz* [above p. 314], p. 397). — *Ackerman* has, in the opinion of the reviewer, finally settled a much discussed problem, proving by a thorough philological investigation that the second half of the book 'Adversus Judaeos' is not genuine. That I replied at length in *GGA* 1905, 31 ff. to *Harnack's* contrary opinion escaped *Ackerman's* notice, but his demonstration has not suffered from this oversight. He might, however, have noted in addition that in chap. 13, *Daniel* is quoted in the version of *Theodotion*, but in chap. 14 (= *Adv. Marc.* 3, 7) from the *Septuagint*. With a notice of this excellent work by a Swedish scholar the patristic part of our survey may close.

4. CHURCH LIFE

a. *The Creed*

Harnack, Adolf von, Zur Abhandlung des Hr. Holl "Zur Auslegung" u. s. w. [vide Holl]. (SAB 1919, vii, 112-116). — *Haussleiter, Johannes*, Trinitarischer Glaube und Christusbekenntnis in der alten Kirche (BFTb 25, 4). 124 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1920. M. 17, 50. — *Holl, Karl*, Zur Auslegung des 2. Artikels des sogenannten apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses. (SAB 1919, I, 1-11). — *Lietzmann, Hans*, Die Urform des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses. (SAB 1919, xii, 269-274). — *Peitz, Wilhelm M., S. J.*, Das Glaubensbekenntnis der Apostel (StZ 94, 1918, 553-566). — *Thieme, Karl*, Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis. (Wissenschaft und Bildung 129). 144 pp. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1914. M. 1, 25.

Our knowledge of the conditions under which the creed of the ancient church was formed has been materially advanced by a number of excellent works. Among these *Haussleiter's* book is to be named in the first place, and it is the welcome duty of the reviewer to direct the special attention of scholars to it. The methodical fault of previous investigation, as *Haussleiter* points out, was the ever recurring attempt to derive the whole great body of baptismal symbols from one single primitive formula. In fact two types must be distinguished. The older type, which originally prevailed in Rome as well as elsewhere, is characterized by its division into two distinct parts: a very brief trinitarian confession derived from the command to baptize converts (Matt. 28, 19), and a longer confession of faith having its source in the Kerygma about Christ, which was taken as the basis of the second article. The younger type grew out of the older by the introduction of the extended confession of Christ into the trinitarian scheme. In this way the old Roman Symbol and its derivative formulas, as well as the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed, the Textus Receptus of the Apostles' Creed, etc., arose. The older type, however, did not cease to maintain itself and to develop new forms. Its influence is visible in the structure of the Athanasian Symbol, and in a long series of Oriental baptismal confessions and private creeds. *Haussleiter* finds the point of departure for his demonstration in the detached position of the trinitarian formula and the confession of Christ in certain formulas of the *Liber Diurnus*, that is, in the official book of the Papal chancellery, which, follow-

ing *Peitz* (see below p. 363 f.), he dates considerably earlier than experts have hitherto done. The choice of this starting-point may seem to be somewhat incautious, inasmuch as the question about the *Liber Diurnus* can by no means be regarded as definitively settled; but in any event *Hausleiter's* other evidence for the origin and wide distribution of the older type in the earliest age of the church is very noteworthy. Thus the peculiarity of what seems to be the first union of the separate parts in *Irenaeus* also appears in its true significance. Strikingly novel is the theory, intimated by *Peitz* and carefully built up by *Hausleiter*, that the fixed formulation of the old Roman Symbol came about in the course of the Monarchian controversies under the Roman bishop *Zephyrinus* (199-217). All this naturally demands re-examination, a task which is made easier by *Hausleiter's* lucid, methodical exposition.

In a study which has attracted much attention *Holl* endeavors to find a key to the construction of the second article. He sees in it an artistic structure. The two titles (*τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ* and *τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν*) are followed by two clauses corresponding respectively to the two titles. In support of this view he makes connection with *Luke* 1, 35 and *Phil.* 2, 6 ff., and points to the *διό* in both passages, which in the one introduces the argument for the divine sonship, in the other that for Christ's lordship (*κυριότης*). *Harnack* supplements this observation by showing that it can be naturally applied to the other articles and constructs the following scheme:

<i>Πιστεῶ</i>	<i>eis</i>	(1) <i>Θεὸν</i>	=	(2) <i>Πατέρα</i>	=	(3) <i>Παντοκράτορα</i>
<i>καὶ eis</i>	(4) <i>χριστὸν</i>	}	=	(5) <i>τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ</i>	}	(6) <i>τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν</i>
	<i>Ἰησοῦν</i>					
<i>καὶ eis</i>	(7) <i>πνεῦμα</i>	}	=	(8) <i>ἀγίαν</i>	}	(9) <i>ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν</i>
	<i>ἅγιον</i>					

He tries to bring these members into relation with one another not only horizontally but vertically. This may all seem to be a kind of play, but the observations which underlie it have wide scope and are perhaps not without weight. For the evidence of this *Harnack's* article itself must be consulted. The lack of symmetry in the bifurcation of article nine is obvious at first

sight. *Lietzmann* somewhat relieves this difficulty by pointing out that the creed which is preserved as a part of the Egyptian liturgy in the papyrus from Dêr-Balyzeh (see *Puniet* in *RB* 26, 1909, 34, and *Schermann*, *TU* 36, 1b, 1910) has in fact a nine-fold division, the *ἀπεὸς ἀμαρτιῶν* is lacking. — *Thieme* came too soon to make use in his résumé of the works above described, but anyone who desires to inform himself about the stage which the investigation had reached in 1914, and to follow the history of the Apostles' Creed down to the present time under the guidance of an expert will learn much from his well-considered and unprejudiced presentation.

b. Liturgical Problems

Bousset, Wilhelm, Eine jüdische Gebetssammlung im siebenten Buch der apostolischen Konstitutionen. (NGW 1915, 435-489); Zur Deprecatio Gelasii. (NGW 1916, 135-168). — *Dölger, Franz Joseph*, Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze. (LF 2). xii, 150 pp. mit einer Tafel. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1918. M. 8; Sol Salutis. Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum. (LF 4. 5). xii, 342 pp. Ebd., 1920. M. 25. — *Dold, Alban*, Ein vorhadrianisches Gregorianisches Palimpsest-Sakramentar in Gold-Uncialschrift. (Texte und Arbeiten 1, 5). viii, 79 pp. mit einem Lichtdruck. Nebst Zugabe einer unbekanntenen Homilie über das kanaänische Weib. Beuron, Kunstverlag der Erzabtei, 1919. M. 5. — *Koch, Hugo*, Zur Agapenfrage (ZNW 16, 1915, 139-146). — *Lietzmann, Hans*, Die liturgischen Angaben des Plinius. (Studien für Hauck [vide supra p. 288], 34-38; cf. also *RhM* 71, 1916, 281-282). — *Mohlberg, Kunibert*, Ziele und Aufgaben der liturgischen Forschung. (LF 1). viii, 52 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1919. M. 4, 20; Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Ueberlieferung (LQ 1. 2). civ, 292 pp. mit zwei Tafeln. Ebd., 1918. M. 15. — *Plum, N. M.*, Forsagelsen ved Daaben. 316 pp. Kopenhagen, Gad, 1920. — *Rauschen, Gerhard*, Florilegium patristicum. vii. Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima. Edit. 2, iv, 181 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 3, 80. — *Schermann, Theodor*, Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und altkirchliche Ueberlieferung. (StGKA, 3. Ergänzungsband). 3 Teile. viii, x, viii, und 750 pp. 1. Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung des zweiten Jahrhunderts. viii, 186 pp. 2. Frühchristliche Liturgien. xii, 438 pp. 3. Die kirchliche Ueberlieferung. viii, 176 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914-1916. M. 6, 18 und 8, 40; Frühchristliche Vorbereitungsgebete zur Taufe (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung, hrsg. von Leopold Wenger 3). vi, 32 pp. München, Beck, 1917. M. 1, 60.

Under this head we have in the first place to direct attention to a new undertaking which seems to be destined substantially to widen and deepen our knowledge of the ancient liturgy of

the Church. The Benedictine abbeys of Beuron, Emaus-Prague, St. Joseph-Coesfeld, Maria Laach, and Seckau, have joined forces for the publication of *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen* and *Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen*, the editing of which has been committed to three well-known scholars, Professors Dölger in Münster, Rütcker in Breslau, and Father Mohlberg of the abbey of Maria Laach. The two series are to constitute an 'Archiv der liturgiegeschichtlichen Forschung,' and by detailed investigations on the broadest basis are meant to subserve a progressive definition of the lines of development of Christian worship and the texts connected with it. Minor contributions are to be brought together in a *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, which is also to furnish critical accounts of discoveries and new publications in the field of liturgical science. In the first number of the 'Forschungen,' Mohlberg defines the aims and tasks of this science clearly and with abundant bibliographical references.

The investigations are admirably inaugurated by the two works of Dölger, whose name is widely known through his writings on Exorcism, on Sphragis, and on Ichthys. In the course of his studies he has come to recognize more and more fully the immense importance of the religious conflict in the fourth century which is expressed in the words, Solar religion and Christianity. In this way he was brought to confront the problem of orientation (facing eastward) both in the plan of the basilica and in the attitude of prayer; and subsidiary to this, the westward position in the renunciation of the devil ('the black one') and the eastward position in the addiction to Christ ('the Sun of Righteousness, Sun of Salvation'). It is impossible in a brief notice like this to give any adequate notion of the brilliant light, both from the general history of civilization and from the history of religion, into which Dölger has brought his problem. An extended critical review by a specialist would be most appropriate, and could count with certainty upon the interest of a large circle of readers. Dölger describes the work whose title stands first above as a 'Studie zum Taufgelöbnis,' and is particularly occupied with the symbolism of the rites connected with baptism. With this he discusses also

the idea of a compact with the devil and of the oath of fidelity (*sacramentum*) to Christ taken in baptism. On this point Dölger is inclined to refer to the baptismal rites the allusions to the ritual in Pliny's letter to Trajan, as *Lietzmann* also does; but, unlike *Lietzmann*, he understands by the *carmen* not the baptismal symbol alone, but, in accordance with ancient linguistic use (*Livy* x, 38), the whole oath of fidelity to Christ. The eastward position in prayer gives him occasion for very profitable remarks on important constituents of the liturgical prayers, such for example as the *Kyrie Eleison*. The studies already published do not exhaust the subject. They are to be completed on the archaeological side by a discussion of the orientation of ancient basilicas, and on the side of the history of religion and of the liturgy by studies of the vigil of Easter in its relation to ancient pagan Pannychis.

The series of 'Quellen' is opened by *Mohlberg* with an excellent edition of the Frankish Sacramentarium Gelasianum from Codex Sangallensis 348. The introduction exhibits the history of the textual grouping of manuscripts of the Roman sacramentaries, in particular the Frankish recension of the Gelasianum. The original sacramentary of Codex 348 is dated by him about 800. Corrections in the text and marginal notes indicate that the manuscript is a transitional form between the Gregorian Gelasianum and the reform of Alcuin. — It would be a point of importance if *Dold* were right in his contention that a palimpsest fragment from Mainz, which he has published, contained a pre-Hadrianic sacramentary, for which he claims an English origin. Against so early a date, *Mohlberg*, in *ThR* 18 (1919), 210–213 (cf. 328 f.), has raised emphatic and, as it appears, well-grounded objection; but he does not dispute the fact that the new text has an especial value as a remnant of one of the finest and best Gregoriana of the Carolingian period. It may be further noted here that *Lietzmann* expects to publish in the current year (1921) in *LQ*, Codex 164 (159) from Cambrai, that is to say, the principal witness to the Carolingian Sacramentarium Gregorianum, from a photographic reproduction made during the war and turned over to the University of Jena.

As the titles of the several parts given above show, the extensive work of *Schermann* might with equal propriety have been included in the literature of ecclesiastical law. It is noticed here, however, because the parts which deal with the history of the liturgy seem on the whole to be of the greater importance. In the first part *Schermann* gives critical editions of the 'Apostolische Kirchenordnung' and of the so-called 'Aegyptische Kirchenordnung,' in which two documents he would recognize the book of Church Order generally accepted at as early a time as the second century. Indeed he asserts, and in the third part endeavors to prove, that this Church Order, in the production and redaction of which Rome had the principal part, originated at the beginning of the second century, if not even in the first. The relation long ago observed between the Apostolic Church Order and the Epistle of Barnabas he explains by the fact that they had the same author, or perhaps that the Church Order was in the hands of the author of the Epistle (!). Furthermore, he regards the postulated general Church Order as the middle section of a *παράδοσις ἐκκλησιαστικὴ* or *κήρυγμα ἐκκλησιαστικόν*, which had already been fixed in writing at the beginning of the second century; a work which served as a normative basis both for the early catechetical instruction of the church and for its theological literature. Besides this middle section, it contained, as the first part, a series of events from the life of Jesus connected with words of the Lord, and, as its third part, that compendium of the Christian faith which is called by ecclesiastical writers *κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας* or *πίστεως*, in Latin *regula fidei*. That would certainly be a surprisingly simple solution of the difficulties over which the learned have repeatedly wearied themselves. Unfortunately the thesis, in spite of all the industry expended upon it and the author's comprehensive knowledge of the sources and of the literature, rests upon a wholly unstable foundation; for the existence, in writing, of such a tradition of the primitive church as early as the age immediately following the Apostles, is in the end only assumed, without any serious proof whatever. The real value of *Schermann's* work lies in bringing together the whole material, with constant reference to the critical con-

troversy. This is especially true of the second part, which treats in five sections of Church Organization, Baptism, Penitence, the Eucharistic Liturgy, and the Ministry of the Word of God. Excellent indexes increase the usefulness of the book, which notwithstanding all objections which may be raised to the principal thesis, will be found by the critical reader a welcome addition to his apparatus. — In his smaller work *Schermann* has reprinted the prayers, first published in the 'Neutestamentliche Studien' für Heinrici (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914), from the Berlin papyrus 13415; and has furnished them with ample parallels from early Christian literature. He thinks that they are to be regarded as prayers preparatory to baptism, and in this he is perhaps right; but his attempt to assign them to the second century is unsuccessful, for precisely those turns of expression which are characteristic of them seem to point to a later time.

Bousset believes himself to have proved that the whole collection of prayers in the Apostolic Constitutions vii. 33–38 are borrowed from the synagogue, and present a Jewish collection only slightly modified by Christian hands. In the eighth book, also, he believes it demonstrable that Jewish prayers and formulas of prayer have been worked in. In the so-called 'Deprecatio Papae Gelasii' in Cod. Paris. 1153 (cf. W. Meyer, NGW 1912, 87), he sees a collection of general intercessions and evening and morning petitions such as the Constitutions prescribe for the daily services, and inquires further by what route these prescriptions for prayer may have migrated into the West. — *Plum* makes a careful investigation of the whole history of the Abrenuntiatio. He is of the opinion that in the original conception (Tertullian) the renunciation meant only a rejection of idolatry, and accordingly belonged to baptism within the church; he observes, however, also that already in Cyprian another conception is present, namely the assumption of moral obligation. [Professor Ammundsen.]

c. *Fasts and Fasts*

Corssen, Peter, Das Osterfest (NJkA 39, 1917, 170-189). — *Fischer, Ludwig*, Die kirchlichen Quatember (VKSM 4, 3). xii, 278 pp. München, Lentner, 1914. M. 6, 20. — *Holl, Karl*, Der Ursprung des Epiphaniensfestes. (SAB 1917, xxix, 402-433). Berlin, Reimer, 1918. M. 2. — *Koch, Hugo*, Pascha in der ältesten Kirche (ZwTh 55, 1914, 289-313). — *Nils-son, Martin P.*, Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes (AR 19, 1917, 50-150).

Before proceeding to the review of the works named above, attention may be directed to the comprehensive investigation which Karl Schmidt, in one of the excursions to his edition of the *Epistula Apostolorum* (see the article by Professor Lake in the January number of this Review, pp. 15-29) has devoted to the Paschal controversies of the second century. The occasion for this investigation was the fact that the *Epistola* is a new witness to what is known as the Quartodeciman Paschal festival, because it was held on the 14th of Nisan in commemoration of the death of Jesus. This testimony retains its importance even if Schmidt's opinion that the *Epistle* originated in circles of Quartodeciman observance in Asia Minor should not prevail. For it is definitely established by the *Epistola* that the festival was kept in commemoration of the *death* of Jesus, and a controversial issue which was perpetually renewed among scholars seems therewith to be finally disposed of. *Koch's* discussion, so far as it has to do with this particular question, is antiquated by this new evidence; but what he has to say about Easter and Pentecost in Tertullian retains its value. — *Corssen* directs attention not so much to the Paschal controversies as to the origin of the festival of the Roman Church, the Easter festival, in contrast to the Paschal festival. He is of the opinion that the former was created by a deliberate action of the church, probably in Rome, and very likely in the sequel of the negotiations between Anicetus and Polycarp, which brought to maturity the decision on the part of the Romans to signalize in an especial manner the first Sunday after the Jewish Passover as a festival Sunday. He is struck by certain parallels between the Christian celebration and the Attis festival, which had before this time grown into a popular festi-

val, and in which the lamentation for the death of the god changed into the rejoicing of the Hilaria on the twenty-fifth of March. If Corssen means to infer from this that the festival of the Roman Church was introduced to compete with a heathen festival, he may not find it easy to adduce evidence, however strongly the analogy of both Christmas and Epiphany may seem to suggest it.

For Epiphany, *Holl*, in a model investigation, has made it at least highly probable that this festival was a Christian substitute for a festival kept in Egypt on the 6th of January in honor of a god Aion, more particularly of his birth from a virgin. With this festival was connected a ceremonial drawing of water from the Nile; and a further belief that the Nile water changed into wine is attested. In this way an explanation would be found of the fact that the church, following the lead of the Basilidians, before the setting off of the Christmas festival, celebrated on the sixth of January, along with the birth of the Son of God, the hallowing of the water by his baptism, and the miraculous transformation of the elements at the marriage in Cana. In the Greek church the baptism of Jesus later completely crowded out the other motives. In the West, Pope Liberius (352) still kept Epiphany as the festival of the birth of Christ, and at the same time of the marriage in Cana, and of the miraculous feeding of the multitudes. The detachment of Christmas as a festival of Jesus' birth signified at the same time opposition to taking the sixth of January as the commemoration of his baptism. In its stead, the adoration of the Magi became dominant. On *Holl's* article cf. *O. Weinreich AR 19 (1918), 174-190* and *F. Boll, ibid., 190 f.* — *Nilsson*, in the first part of his study gives a sketch of the development of the Roman festival of the Kalends of January, and in the second part, in opposition to the works of *Tille* and *Bilfinger*, discusses the question whether Christmas customs were influenced on the one side by the Roman New Year's customs, and on the other by the nordic Yule festival.

Against *Morin*, who sees in the introduction of the four Ember Days a substitute for the pagan *feriae messis, vindemiales*, and *sementinae*, *Fischer* would explain their origin

from the ancient Christian conception of fasting as a *statio*, i.e. as a means to combat the *saeculum*; an explanation which seems to be favored by the great rôle which vigils play in the Quatember liturgy. Fischer regards as trustworthy the notice in the *Liber Pontificalis* that Pope Callistus introduced the Ember days. The idea of festivals of thanksgiving for the harvest was, he thinks, first connected with them after the time of Leo the Great. The major part of this useful work is devoted to the liturgy of the Ember Days, to the legal character of these days, and to their significance from religious and moral, civil and social, and mythological points of view.

d. *Archaeology and Art*

Achelis, Hans, *Altchristliche Kunst* (ZNW 16, 1915, 1-23. 17, 1916, 81-107). — *Achelis, Hans*, *Der Entwicklungsgang der altchristlichen Kunst*. 47 pp. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1919. M. 2. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, *Die älteste griechische Kircheninschrift*. (SAB 1915, xliii, 746-766). Berlin, Reimer, 1915. M. 1. — *Kaufmann, Carl Maria*, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*. xvi, 514 pp. mit 254 Abbildungen sowie 10 schriftvergleichenden Tafeln. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 18; geb. M. 20. — *Kaufmann, Carl Maria*, *Die heilige Stadt der Wüste. Unsere Entdeckungen, Grabungen und Funde in der altchristlichen Menasstadt*. ix, 218 pp. mit 190 Abbildungen. Kempten, Kösel, 1919. M. 15; geb. M. 18. — *Koch, Hugo*, *Die altchristliche Bilderfrage nach den literarischen Quellen*. (FRLANT, Neue Folge, 10). iv, 105 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1917. M. 4, 80. — *Lietzmann, Hans*, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Liturgische und archaeologische Studien*. xii, 189 pp. mit 6 Plänen. Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1915. M. 6, 80. — *Pfeilschifter, Georg*, *Oxyrhynchos. Seine Kirchen und Kloster auf Grund der Papyrusfunde*. (Festgabe Knöpfler [vide supra p. 287], 248-264). — *Schrijnen, Josef*, *De ontwikkeling der boetetucht in het licht der oud-christelijke kunst* (De Beiaard 1916, 253-259; 1917, 201-210; [vide supra p. 295]). — *Schultze, Viktor*, *Grundriss der christlichen Archaeologie*. viii, 159 pp. mit Titelbild. München, Beck, 1919. M. 5. — *Smit, E. L.*, *De Oud-Christelijke Monumenten van Spanje. Met 2 Kaarten en 11 afbeeldingen*. (Diss. Leiden). 158 pp. 's Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1916. fl. 4, 75. — *Stuhlfauth, Georg*, *Die "ältesten Porträts" Christi und der Apostel*. 26 pp. mit zwei Abbildungen. Berlin, Huttenverlag, 1918. M. 1. 90. — *Sybel, Ludwig von*, *Auferstehungshoffnung in der frühchristlichen Kunst?* (ZNW 15, 1914, 254-267). — *Sybel, Ludwig von*, *Frühchristliche Kunst*. iv, 55 pp. mit Titelbild. München, Beck, 1920. M. 4, 50. — *Waal, Anton de*, *Die jüngsten Ausgrabungen in der Basilika des hl. Sebastian zu Rom* (Kath. 95, 1, 1915, 395-411).

Kaufmann; who is most favorably known by his 'Handbuch der Christlichen Archäologie,' and by the excavation of

the city of Menas conducted under his direction, has now given us the first handbook of early Christian epigraphy worthy of the name. The labor involved may be judged from the fact that the number of monumental inscriptions now known exceeds 4900. Of these Kaufmann has employed for his text 2000, and has reproduced 700 by cuts or in type facsimile. He has not confined himself to the Roman and Occidental sources which hitherto have been almost exclusively utilized, but has drawn also upon inscriptions from regions of Greek speech and from the Near East. After introductory paragraphs on the conception and task of such a work, the sources and literature, the author treats of the external phenomena, the alphabets, language, and the dating of the inscriptions. This is followed by: 1. Sepulchral inscriptions, selected texts illustrating secular and social life, doctrinal texts, inscriptions bearing on the history of the church and hierarchy; 2. the graffitti; 3. documentary inscriptions; 4. inscriptions referring to the erection of buildings. In special sections are treated the inscriptions of Pope Damasus, and the later historical inscriptions (eulogies of martyrs, titles of buildings from the Roman catacombs, titles of basilicas). An appendix contains an ample apparatus of tables (forms of the inscriptional characters for purposes of comparison, the Julian calendar, chronological tables). Exhaustive indexes facilitate the use of the well-arranged and well-written book. With such an abundance of material, and in a first attempt, all sorts of errors are inevitable. Searching critical reviews (e.g. J. Wittig, *ThRev* 17, 1918, 389-392; W. Larfeld, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1, 1920, 208 ff.; R. Herzog, *HZ* 122, 1920, 301-304) have indeed convicted the author of many sins of omission that might easily have been avoided, and have even charged him with being lacking in the necessary accuracy. These shortcomings should not cast into the shade the good features of a handbook which in the opinion of the reviewer is — until we have a better one — indispensable.

Inasmuch as there are in English no comprehensive treatises on Christian archaeology of any scientific value, *Schultze's* outline should be able to count on a favorable reception, and it would be well deserved, for the little volume is both in form

and contents simply admirable. What Schultze here offers is the well-pondered result of forty years of scientific occupation with the subject; and scholars who are acquainted with the field will not fail to observe that upon almost all important points he has endeavored to carry research deeper or farther afield. But the layman in the subject will also find his account in it, since Schultze has had in mind especially the use of the book by his student hearers. Great attention has also been given to externals, especially in the references to the literature. A translation into English would be well worth while. — The somewhat more advanced student will read *von Sybel's* 'Leitfaden' also with profit. Few scholars have promoted investigation in this field by independent work in a degree comparable to von Sybel, and in this volume he writes, as in a survey from some mountain peak, the history of the development of early Christian art from its beginning under the Flavian emperors down to Theodosius. The epochs of this history as he maps them out are: the period before Hadrian, from the Antonines to Valerian, from Gallienus to Constantine, from Constantine to Theodosius. The treatment is very concise, and everywhere shows the hand of the master who has his material in complete command. The article in ZNW is devoted to the establishment by detailed proof of a thesis for which von Sybel contended in his well-known work, 'Die christliche Antike,' namely that early Christian art, and especially the paintings in the catacombs, are not, as Victor Schultze and after him Hans Achelis maintain, inspired by the thought of a future resurrection of the flesh, but are to be understood in the light of the idea of the present blessedness of the dead in paradise.

In an investigation that is a model of method, *Smit* has collected and turned to historical account the archaeological material for Christianity in Spain. To the 426 inscriptions previously known he adds seven hitherto unpublished. Besides the inscriptions, the sarcophagi, which range from the fourth (third?) to the seventh century, are discussed. The inscriptions are chiefly from the Visigothic period; twenty-two are of the fourth century or earlier. *Smit* seeks the origin of Spanish Christianity in Rome, though North Africa may have been the

intermediate station. In any case, Christianity had a very independent development on Spanish soil. The general designation of Christians on the Spanish monuments is *Famulus Dei*. Not as much as one per cent of the Christian inscriptions are from soldiers, against six per cent among the non-Christian inscriptions. The inscriptions yield valuable testimony in regard to Christology, penance, and the like. The formulas warning off violators of tombs, Smit derives from the primitive belief in the resurrection of the flesh. In the consciousness of these Christians the material burial *ad sanctos* and the spiritual eternal life with the saints in Paradise are still undistinguished. Bakhuizen van den Brink, to whom the above notice is due, describes the volume as a very valuable contribution to Christian archaeology.

In ZNW *Achelis* has brought to completion the series of articles which he began in 1911–1913. The leading ideas are repeated in the admirable address delivered by him when he entered upon his professorship of church history in Leipzig. The prominent thing in it is the development of the cycle of early Christian pictures, in which he gives more consideration than archaeologists are in the habit of doing to points of view taken from the history of the church. Thus, for example, he brings a group of pictures in which the idea of the forgiveness of sins seems to be manifest (Good Shepherd, Peter's denial) into connection with the controversies in the Roman Church about repentance. Here it may be questioned whether he has not allowed himself to construe too freely (see also below, p. 354, Schrijnen). Again, in making the epoch of Constantine, which is so important in church history, a main division in the development of Christian art also, and in consequence sharply separating the period of the catacomb paintings from that of the sarcophagi and mosaics, Achelis will hardly be followed by the archaeologists. See the adverse criticism on this point by G. Stuhlfauth, ThLZ 45 (1920), 248–250. — Since Ludwig von Sybel defined early Christian art as ancient art, archaeologists have frequently repeated that what is Christian in this art lies solely in the subjects, not in the artistic technic or style — in the content, that is, not in the form. *Jordan* doubts the

correctness of this proposition, and contends that early Christian art, compared with the antique, contains new stylistic elements also.

In other respects also the theories of the archaeologists seem to church historians to demand reconsideration. Above all, when it is a question of dating or making use of the monuments of Christian art, the historian notes that insufficient attention is given to the literary sources. Thus, the rich discoveries of decorative painting in the catacombs have obscured the fact that the patristic writers of the first centuries unanimously testify that the Christians rejected art on principle. *Kock* proves this by an examination of the witnesses from Tertullian to Epiphanius (see above p. 332, under Holl). He also reminds us that Spanish (Council of Elvira), African, or Oriental deliverances are not to be interpreted out of the way and disposed of by a glance at the Roman catacombs. The Roman Church seems to have been the least conservative of all, and more ready than any other to adapt itself to new conditions and to respond to the currents of the times.—*Schrijnen*, like Achelis (see above), brings the picture of the Good Shepherd into connection with the controversy over the stricter or laxer penitential practice. The Good Shepherd brings the soul upon his shoulders into the communion of the saints. Down to the time of Callistus, however (see below p. 365f., under Esser, and Koch), the saints were always the true believers who had kept unstained the garments of baptismal grace. The picture is therefore not to be referred exclusively to the other life, but also to the church on earth. Consequently it signifies either a last appeal to the mercy of God after death, or a protest against the Montanistic contention that the church has no power to remove sin in a second repentance. *Schrijnen* hardly pays any attention to the natural objection, supported by the dates assigned by the archaeologists to these paintings, that the oldest frescos of the Good Shepherd carry us back to the second century, that is to a time antecedent to the controversies about repentance. On the other side it is naturally not to be questioned that during these controversies the picture actually served to express the hope of the *lapsi*. The article contains

many other interesting combinations and may therefore be commended to the attention of archaeologists and church historians. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

George La Piana has dealt at length in this review (January 1921, p. 53-94) with *Lietsmann's* valuable studies on the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and has cited the rest of the literature (p. 87). I have therefore only to refer here to *de Waal's* article. — In the course of excavations at Antioch in Syria in 1910 a silver chalice was found with representations of Christ and the Apostles, which is now in New York. Gustavus A. Eisen asserted (1916) that the chalice dates from the first century, and that it is to be assumed that it gives us portrait likenesses of the persons represented. *Stuhlfauth* refutes this rash assertion, and shows that the chalice is to be assigned to the fifth century at the earliest. — In Volume 11 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1915) a papyrus was published which contains a list of *συνάξεις*, i.e. gatherings for worship, which, like the Roman-Latin *Stationes*, were held annually at fixed times (Saints Days) in certain churches, the bishop being present. It is thus a kind of calendar, which is unfortunately preserved for only about half a year. It was drawn up about the year 535. *Pfeilschifter* makes use of it only to determine the number of church buildings in Oxyrhynchus. The list for the half-year shows 26 churches (possibly 28), so that a total of 40 would not seem to be too high. This would indicate that the needs of the church were well supplied, and that there was an active religious life in the Egyptian cities. In the course of his study *Pfeilschifter* adduces from the papyri other material referring to the churches and monasteries named in the list. — *Harnack* examines from all sides the inscription (Le Bas et Waddington 3, 1 No. 2558; 3, 2 p. 582) of the year 318-319 found in Deir-Ali near Damascus, which once adorned a *συναγωγή Μαρκωνιστῶν*.

In a handsome publication intended for general readers *Kaufmann* presents the results of his excavations in the year 1905. He was fortunate enough at that time to bring to light the famous, but till then wholly lost, sanctuary of St. Menas, in the Lybian desert south of Alexandria, an extensive monument

of civilization in the fifth century. His scientific reports on the excavations from the years 1906-1908, and his great publication on the principal basilica (1910), are well known to scholars. The new popular presentation gives a survey of the whole, in which the reader is skilfully and entertainingly made acquainted with the ruins. An introduction on the legend of Menas and the history of the sanctuary is prefixed. The volume is adorned by an abundance of photographic views excellently reproduced. (This notice follows a review by H. Lietzmann, *ThLZ* 45, 1920, 150.) The volume is at present out of print; the appearance of a new edition, which the publisher promises, is not likely to be in the immediate future.

e. Organisation

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COUNCILS. Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, iussu atque mandato Societatis scientiarum Argentoratensis edidit *Eduardus Schwartz*. Tomus III: Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum sub Justiniano habitum. Vol. II: Johannis Maxentii libelli. Collectio codicis Novariensis XXX. Collectio codicis Parisini 1682. Procli tomus ad Armenios. Johannis papae II epistula ad viros illustres. 6, xxxii, 210 pp. 4°. Strassburg, Trübner, 1914. M. 30. — Neue Aktenstücke zum ephesinischen Konzil von 431, herausgegeben von Eduard Schwartz. (AAM 30, 8). 121 pp. München, Franz, 1920. M. 20. — *Flemming, Johannes*, Akten der ephesinischen Synode von 449. Syrisch mit Georg Hoffmanns deutscher Uebersetzung und seinen Anmerkungen herausgeben. (AGW 15, 1). vii, 188 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1917. M. 18. — *Haase, Felix*, Die koptischen Quellen zum Konzil von Nicaea. (StGKA 10, 4). vii, 124 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1920. M. 14. — *Hockrodt, Ella*, Die Kanones von Sardika aus der Kirchengeschichte erläutert. (Diss. Jena.) x, 128 pp. Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1917. M. 3. — *Koch, Hugo*, Die Zeit des Konzils von Elvira (*ZNW* 17, 1916, 61-67). — *Schwartz, Eduard*, Zur Vorgeschichte des ephesinischen Konzils (*HZ* 114, 1914, 257-263).

THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE PAPACY. *Bruining, A.*, De Roomsche kerk en Augustinus (NThT 4, 1915, 97-122). — *Esser, Gerhard*, Das Irenaeuszeugnis für den Primat der römischen Kirche (Kath. 97, 1, 1917, 289-315; 2, 16-34). — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der inneren Organisation der stadtrömischen Kirche. (SAB 1918, xliii, 954-967). Berlin,

Reimer, 1918. M. 2. — *Kirsch, Johann Peter*, Die römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum (StGKA 9, 1, 2). x, 224 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1918. M. 10. — *Koch, Hugo*, Zum Lebensgange Kallists (ZNW 17, 1916, 211 sq.); Petrus und Paulus im zweiten Osterfeststreit? (ZNW 19, 1919/20, 174–179). — *Peitz, Wilhelm M.*, Aus dem Geheimarchiv der Weltkirche (StZ 94, 1917, 280–290); Das Register Gregors I (Ergänzungshefte zu den StZ 2, 2). xvi, 222 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 11; Liber Diurnus, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der ältesten päpstlichen Kanzlei vor Gregor dem Grossen. I. Ueberlieferung des Kanzleibuches und sein vorgregorianischer Ursprung. (SAW 185, 1918, 4). 144 pp. Wien, Hölder, 1918; Neue Aufschlüsse über den Liber Diurnus, das Vorlagenbuch der mittelalterlichen Papstkanzlei (StZ 94, 1918, 486–496); Martin I und Maximus Confessor. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Monotheletenstreites in den Jahren 645–668 (HJG 38, 1917, 213–236). — *Preysing, Konrad Graf*, Zwei offizielle Entscheidungen des römischen Stuhles um die Wende des 2. Jahrhunderts (ZkTh 41, 1917, 595–597). — *Rauschen, Gerhard*, Florilegium patristicum ix: Textus antenicaeni ad primatum romanum spectantes. vi, 60 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 1, 40; kart. M. 1, 60. — *Silva-Tarouca, Karl*, Beiträge zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der Papstbriefe des 4.–6. Jahrhunderts (ZkTh 43, 1919, 469–481, 657–692). — *Tangl, Michael*, Gregor-Register und Liber Diurnus (NADG 41, 1919, 741–752).

GENERAL. *Metzner* vindicates the Catholic conception of the primitive Christian organization. To this end he takes up Harnack's writings and endeavors to refute them. He has certainly done his work with industry and care, and in incidental particulars he may merit a hearing. As a whole, however, his book is only a new proof that dogma and history are in contradiction. — In connection with the statement of Epiphanius, Haer. 68, 7, that, unlike other cities, Alexandria never had two bishops, *Koch* calls attention to several well-authenticated instances of an episcopal duumvirate during the third century. — *Moe* is of the opinion that the Christians in the East were organized as *θλασσι* under a *προστάτης*, whereas in the West they chose a prominent member of the congregation to be their 'patron.' [Professor Ammundsen.]

COUNCILS. In 1909 the Strassburger Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft resolved to undertake the publication of a critical edition of the acts of the oecumenical councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople 553, Constantinople 680–681, Nicaea 787, Constantinople 869, and Constantinople 879, and intrusted the task to Eduard *Schwartz*. Properly recognizing that more was involved than merely the acts in the narrow sense, that is the

transactions of the councils themselves, which are already easily accessible in the current collections, Schwartz directed his first efforts to those compilations which, like the *Synodicon Casinense* or the *Codex Encyclius*, afford glimpses of the antecedent proceedings of the synods and of the diplomatic negotiations that accompanied or followed them. The first volume to appear in this great enterprise contains a number of such documents which are important for the understanding of the history of the council of 553, relating in part to the Theopaschite controversy, in part to that of the Three Chapters, and in part to the actual proceedings of the council. The volume begins with the writings of Johannes Maxentius, once edited by Cochlaeus from a manuscript which later found its way to Oxford, and has been identified for the first time by Schwartz in *Cod. Bodl. 580*. These are followed by the sections concerning the Theopaschite controversy in the so-called *Collectio Novariensis*, that is, the documents preserved in *Cod. Nov. 30* and published by Amelli in the first volume of the *Spicilegium Casinense*. The third group consists of the texts of the *Collectio Codicis Parisini 1682*, largely papal letters, together with the account of Innocentius of Maronea concerning the so-called *Collatio cum Severianis* (*Mansi viii, 817-834*), which Schwartz assigns, as the present writer had already done, but partly on the basis of fresh considerations, to the year 533 instead of 531. An appendix supplies the encyclical addressed by Proclus of Constantinople to the Armenians in the year 485 (*Mansi v, 421-437*) with the Latin translation of Dionysius Exiguus, besides a letter from Pope John II to certain senators (*Mansi viii, 803-806*). The prolegomena deal in the main with questions regarding the history of the tradition, touching upon material problems only where intelligibility requires. But once does the author allow himself to discuss such a subject on a more extensive scale: the much-debated history of the Scythian monks is reviewed in the masterly manner which Schwartz has accustomed us to associate with his work. Complementary to this publication are the studies in the history of the councils noticed above on p. 331 (*Cassianus*) and p. 337 (*Proclus*).

The war and its consequences have unhappily greatly lessened the hope of being able to carry through without change this largely planned undertaking, but Schwartz has not given it up. In the meantime he has presented us in the *Abhandlungen* of the Munich Academy with a valuable *parergon*. In a manuscript in the library of the Society of Christian Archaeology in Athens he found a rich collection of documents for the history of the Council of Ephesus in 431. Of the one hundred and seventy-seven pieces in this collection he now prints those that were unknown, or had hitherto been published only in Latin translations. Among them are letters from Cyril of Alexandria, John of Antioch, Popes Celestine and Sixtus III, Theodoret of Cyrus, and others. The transactions concerning the right of the Patriarch of Antioch to consecrate bishops on the island of Cyprus, which are of such great importance for the interpretation of the sixth canon of Nicaea are now accessible in their Greek text. To the reproduction of these documents Schwartz had added an investigation of the relations of this '*Collectio Atheniensis*' to those which have been transmitted to us in the libraries of the West (*Collectio Segueriana* and *Collectio Vaticana*). In the concluding section, Schwartz turns his attention to the Latin translations which were made upon the basis of these Greek collections, particularly to that which is known under the misleading designation '*Synodicon Casinense*.' He shows that the *Collectio Casinensis* is an amplification of the *Collectio Turonensis* preserved in Cod. Paris. 1572. The Roman deacon Rusticus, nephew of Pope Vigilius, is to be regarded as the author of this work. We possess from his hand a Latin redaction of the Acts of Chalcedon, which belongs together with the amplification of the *Collectio Turonensis* and its continuation in the so-called *Synodicon Casinense*. To the whole Schwartz gives the title '*Synodicon of Rusticus*.' The next task which Schwartz has set himself is to publish the first two parts of this *Synodicon*. The manuscript is already complete, and the type-setting is said to have begun; but if it is to be completed, large support by early subscription is necessary. Schwartz justly writes: "I think I have sufficiently shown by this Memoir that the undertaking

is necessary; and that it will contribute to science an abundance of new material, or material made for the first time usable by new editions, sufficient to engage the labor of generations. I sincerely hope that, after all my toil, it may not be brought to a halt." This hope I would most urgently second.

The account of the last day's session of the Ephesian synod of 449, the 'Robber Synod,' has come down to us only in Syriac (Cod. Mus. Brit. Add. 14530 Syr. 905), and the edition of that text by S. G. F. Perry (Oxford 1875) has unfortunately remained practically unknown. Even acquaintance with the German translation by Georg Hoffmann (1873), the French by P. Martin (1874), and the English by Perry (1875), has been limited to the narrow circle of a very few investigators. It is to be hoped that the new edition now offered by *Flemming* will meet with a better fate. Facing the Syriac text *Flemming* prints the translation of Hoffmann, whose instructive notes are added, substantially unaltered, at the end of the volume. — On the subject of one or other of the individual councils there are a number of valuable contributions. In opposition to Duchesne, whose assignment of the council of Elvira to the period about 300 (that is, before the Diocletian persecution) has been accepted by many scholars, *Koch* advocates, on very respectable grounds, the period between 306 and 312, with a preference for the earliest possible date within these limits. — The Coptic sources on the Council of Nicaea, which Eugène Revillout published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1873-75, have never been thoroughly investigated. A study of them has now been made by *Haase*, who comes to the conclusion that they are not official 'Acts,' but rather a gradually accumulated private corpus of documents of various origin. The creed, catalogue of bishops, and canons — the latter only partially preserved — are fairly good translations of Greek prototypes whose text was in parts better and more original than the Greek texts which have come down to us. The doctrinal sections cannot have been composed before Apollinaris of Laodicea and the earliest controversies on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The corpus comprises the *ἐκθεσις πίστεως* printed among the works of Athanasius, with the *σύνταγμα διδασκαλίας*

πρὸς μονάζοντας which is appended to it, besides a valuable collection of apophthegms. In addition to these studies, Haase supplies a German translation of all the texts. — Fräulein *Heckrodt* attempts to show that the canons of Sardica may without violence be fitted into the ecclesiastical movements of the fourth century, so that there should be no suspicion of forgery. The Greek text is the original. The authoress expounds this text with great diligence. She has brought together and worked over a vast amount of material which hitherto had to be laboriously sought in widely scattered sources. Even such much-discussed questions as that of the position of the Roman bishop in the third and fourth centuries she manages to treat with a certain degree of originality. — *Schwartz* offers a section of an unpublished work on the ecclesiastical policy of the Eastern Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries. He succeeds in shedding light, sometimes new and always interesting, on questions both of the history of doctrine and of church polity. This study can be read with pleasure as well as profit, for the author has a rare faculty for presenting valuable material in attractive form. One matter of detail may be mentioned. The opinion which as the result of Hort's researches (*Two Dissertations*, 1882) has become universal among scholars, that the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed was not adopted at the synod of 381, but originated later, is rejected by *Schwartz*.

ROMAN CHURCH. Professor *Kirsch* of Freiburg, Switzerland, has undertaken a comprehensive study of the group of so-called title-churches (*Tituli*), which have an important bearing on the church life of Rome in antiquity. He aims to determine the character of these *Tituli*, to ascertain their origin and historical development, and to define the position they occupied in the ecclesiastical organization of the Roman church in early times. There were twenty-five such churches, of which all but two (*Titulus S. Cyriaci* and *Titulus S. Matthaei*) survive as cardinal churches to this day. Their origin is to be traced to the third century. Eighteen of them were already in existence before the great persecution. Most of the *Tituli* were originally private houses, with the name of the owner indicated by means

of an inscription over the entrance. In the middle of the fourth century these houses, which up to that time had not been much altered began to be replaced by basilicas. Only in the sixth century was the historical development of the Tituli completed. As may be imagined, our sources for a knowledge of their place in the ecclesiastical organization are scanty; but the author makes them yield valuable information nevertheless. — A welcome supplement to the researches of Kirsch is furnished by *Harnack*. The latter's principal concern, however, is with the origin of the Roman 'regions' and with the related subject of the diaconal and presbyterial organization of the Roman church in the third century. That Rome had a permanent central church and episcopal residence before the time of Constantine, he believes must be denied; though he thinks the bishop did maintain, in the vicinity of his church, an extensive chancellery with the requisite apartments.

Bruining breaks a lance for the Augustinianism of the Catholic Church. At the synod of Orange in 529 she accepted genuine Augustinianism, and held firmly to that position ever after, properly rejecting such extreme views as those of the monk Gottschalk and of the Jansenists. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.] — The much-discussed passage in Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. iii. 3, 1, has been subjected to renewed study by *Esser*, who comes to the conclusion that the principle 'what is Roman is catholic,' and indirectly also the theory of the infallibility of the Roman church, are already discoverable in Irenaeus. Against this daring conclusion there has appeared meanwhile a convincing article by *Koch*, ThStKr 94 (1921), 54-72; who admits, however, that *Esser's* translation of the celebrated passage is entirely correct linguistically. — *Koch* attacks the received view that the reference by Polycrates of Ephesus to the *μεγάλα στοιχία* which remain in Asia, in his letter to Victor of Rome (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. v. 24, 2), was occasioned by Victor's appeal to Peter and Paul and the presence of their graves in Rome. In a second note, *Koch* maintains that the statement of Hippolytus (Philos. ix. 12, 4) concerning Calixtus can only be interpreted in the sense that Zephyrinus admitted Calixtus into the clergy and intrusted him with the management of the

κοιμητήριον. — Graf *Preysing* sees in the 'edicts' of Zephyrinus and Calixtus reported by Hippolytus (Ref. ix. 11, 12) two official utterances which indicate that even at that time the offices of the Roman see employed a distinctive court style.

In recent years the Jesuit scholar, *Peitz*, has attracted the attention of scholars by his attempts to overturn apparently well-established results in the field of documentary criticism. The importance of the positions he attacks makes watchfulness on the part of critics especially necessary, the more so that *Peitz* puts forward his assertions not only with much learning but also with great self-assurance, and that there is a tendency among his associates to hail him as a veritable reformer of the science of diplomatics and 'a star of the first magnitude in the historical heavens.' His first point of attack is furnished by the well-known researches of Paul Ewald in the NADG for 1879, which formed the basis of the edition of the letters of Gregory the Great in the *Monumenta Germaniae*. According to Ewald the foundation of our tradition is supplied by three manuscript collections, compiled at various times from the Lateran official register: 1. the Hadrianic register, that is, the collection of 686 (685) letters compiled at the behest of Pope Hadrian I; 2. the collection of 200 letters in the Cod. Colon. 92, saec. viii and other manuscripts; and 3. the so-called *Collectio Pauli* (probably *Diaconus*). These three series of selections formed the basis of his edition. *Peitz* now strives to maintain that the first named collection is a true and complete copy of the original register; from which it would follow that that collection alone should have been made the basis of Ewald's edition, and that the latter is therefore fundamentally defective. But this assumption of *Peitz* breaks down completely when confronted with the unequivocal testimony of the tradition, as has been convincingly shown by *Tangl*, one of our foremost authorities on diplomatics. Still bolder are *Peitz's* conclusions regarding the *Liber Diurnus*, or Papal chancellery-book. In opposition to its editor, Sickel, who, while distinguishing between an older strand and later additions, places the compilation of the formularies not earlier than the eighth century, *Peitz* not only claims for all the formulae a pre-Gregorian origin, but would push

them back into early Christian times, even into the second century. What the predication of so early a date involves, may be seen from the fact that Peitz thinks he can recognize in the earlier stratum of the bishop's confession of faith, contained in *Liber Diurnus* No. 73, the original form of the Apostles' Creed. (See above, p. 341 f., on Haussleiter.) Peitz also believes he can demonstrate the authenticity of the papal documents for Lorch-Passau and for the archbishopric of Hamburg. We shall have occasion to return to this subject in our survey of the literature on the history of the church in the Middle Ages. It is to be expected that many other pens will be set in motion by the revolutionary theses of Peitz. Nor should his 'Beitrag zur Geschichte des Monotheletenstreits' be overlooked, in which, while discussing the views of the present writer and other investigators, he seeks to settle more than one disputed point by a new method of approach.

Rauschen has brought together the most important passages bearing upon the earliest development of the idea of primacy in the episcopate. Those who possess Mirbt's 'Quellen' will find nothing new in this publication. — *Silva-Tarouca*, whose articles are not yet concluded, deals first with the editions of Coustant, the brothers Ballerini, and Thiel, and then with the earliest collections of the decretals. He concludes that the decretals of the popes from Siricius to Coelestinus, which have come down to us in the collections of canons, go back to selective compilations which were pretty certainly complete about the middle of the fifth century. We must suppose them to have been copied from transcripts of the original decretals which were sent to the various ecclesiastical provinces by the addressees.

f. Discipline

Adam, Karl, Das sogenannte Bussedikt des Papstes Kallist. (VKSM 4, 5). 64 pp. München, Lentner, 1917. M. 1, 60. — *Boehmer, Heinrich*, Die Entstehung des Zoelibates. (Studien Hauck [vide supra p. 288], 6-24. — *Brander V.*, "Binden und Loesen" in der altsyrischen Kirche (Kath 95, 1, 1916, 220-232, 287-304). — *Companus, F. Ferr.*, O. F. M., De biecht in de eerste eeuwen der kerk. (Geloof en wetenschap 11, 5). 63 pp. Nijmegen, Malmberg, 1916. — *Esser, Gerhard*, Der Adressat der Schrift Tertullians "de pudicitia" und der Verfasser des römischen Bussedikts. 46 pp. Bonn,

Hanstein, 1914. M. 1; Die Behandlung der Haeresie in der Bussdisziplin der alten Kirche (ThGl 8, 1916, 472-483). — *Kemper, J. W.*, Biecht en boete in de drie eerste eeuwen, naar aanleiding van een nieuw boek [d' Alès, L' édit de Calliste, Par. 1914]. (Studien 46, 1914, 49-69). — *Koch, Hugo*, Kallist und Tertullian. (SAH 1919, 22). ii, 98 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1920. M. 5, 40. — *Preysing, Konrad Graf*, Existenz und Inhalt des Bussedikts Kallists (ZkTh 43, 1919, 358-362).

There are some problems to which scholars constantly recur. One such is that which relates to the growth of the system of penance in the first centuries, and in particular to the evaluation of Tertullian's writings 'De paenitentia' and 'De pudicitia,' as well as to the alleged edict (*edictum peremptorium*) which is the object of attack in the latter treatise. These questions have been the subject of renewed and lively discussion in the period covered by the present survey. Professor *Esser* of Bonn, who by reason of his life-long studies in Tertullian (see above, p. 312, under BKV) has won the right to a most respectful hearing, holds that the 'De pudicitia' was addressed, not to the bishop of Rome, but to the catholic church of Carthage or else to its bishop. The bishop of Rome was, it is true, the author of the 'edict,' but he was not responsible for the controversy at Carthage; he merely took a hand in it after his aid had been invoked by the bishop of that church. The bishop of Rome in question, moreover, was not Calixtus, as has been generally assumed on the basis of the familiar passage in the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, but his predecessor Zephyrinus. In support of this view *Esser* seeks to show (as does also *Graf Preysing*) that the statement of Hippolytus to the effect that Calixtus was the first to deal leniently with sins against chastity does not refer to a special decree on the subject of penance. Also he thinks the 'De pudicitia' must be dated much earlier than is usual, that is, in the year 213; in which case of course it could not refer to Calixtus. These conclusions of *Esser* have secured the assent of so highly esteemed a co-worker as *F. Diekamp*, *ThRev.* 13, 454-456. *Adam* goes further. He believes that even the 'edict' originated with the bishop of Carthage; so that the connection with Rome must be wholly eliminated. As regards the 'edict' itself, both *Esser* and *Adam* are of the opinion that the toleration there expressed

towards sins of the flesh was not an innovation, but merely a confirmation of the common practice of the church in opposition to the strict requirements of the Montanists.

All these assertions are controverted by *Koch* in an essay which exhibits at their best the merits of that excellent scholar's critical method. He recognizes, of course, as have all previous investigators, that the 'De penitentia' contains expressions which seem to favor the idea that it was the custom of the church even then to rehabilitate the most serious offenders on performance of due penance. But he shows that those passages must be controlled by others which unmistakably prove the opposite. And he points in this connection to some little-noticed passages in the 'De baptismo' (c. 5) and the 'Apologeticum' (c. 39), from which it appears plain that certain sins were punished with permanent exclusion from the fellowship of worship and the sacraments. So that the procedure of the bishop who uttered the 'edict' was in fact an innovation. He goes on to re-establish the connection between the Hippolytus passage and the statements of Tertullian, which is disputed by Esser and Adam; disposes of the objection drawn from the chronology of the 'De pudicitia,' by showing that the latter must have been written before the 'De monogamia' and the 'De ieiunio adversus psychicos,' hence necessarily during the episcopate of Calixtus, and so brings back into honor the view that Calixtus was the author of the 'edict.' Moreover, the opponent addressed in the 'De pudicitia' can hardly be any other than the bishop of Rome, to whom alone the derisive designations 'pontifex maximus' and 'episcopus episcoporum' (the latter misinterpreted by Adam) could apply. To be sure, Tertullian extends his condemnation to every other bishop who follows the example of the bishop of Rome, as well as to all 'psychics' who are of the same mind, against which latter, as its title indicates, his treatise is directed. Koch devotes a final section to the confutation of the efforts to employ this writing of Tertullian (as Esser in particular attempts to do) in support of the thesis that the legal primacy of the Roman bishops was already recognized at that time. I may note in this connection that German scholars were already acquainted with the

book of D'Alès, *L'édit de Calliste*, Paris 1914. — By means of a judicious combination of old and new materials, *Boehmer* aims to determine the motive which led the ancient church to require of those who ministered at its altars, not indeed celibacy, but continence in the marriage relation. The *officium coniugale* does not comport with service at the altar. Accordingly, where the eucharist was celebrated daily, as was already the case in the West before 300, there was a strong tendency toward continued continence. It was otherwise in the East, where the celebration took place only several times a week, and hence temporary abstention on the day preceding the offering was deemed sufficient. The ancient church had as yet not the least idea of introducing the celibacy of the priesthood; that was reserved for the Middle Ages. — The works of *Companus* and *Kemper* contain, as I am informed by *Bakhuizen van den Brink*, nothing of scientific interest.

g. Asceticism and Monasticism

TEXTS.

Crum, W. E. Der Papyrus codex saec. VI-VII der Phillippsbibliothek zu Cheltenham. Koptische theologische Schriften herausgegeben und übersetzt. Mit einem Beitrag von *Albert Ehrhard*. (Schr Ges Str 18). xviii, 171 pp. Mit zwei Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Strassburg, Trübner, 1915. M. 15. — *Hesseling, D. C.*, Bloemlesing uit het Pratum Spirituale van Johannes Moschus van inleiding en aantekeningen voorzien. (Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores graeci et romani adnotationibus instructi curantibus P. J. Enk en D. Plooi.) Utrecht, Ruys, 1916. fl. 2.

INVESTIGATIONS.

Albers, Bruno, Der Geist des hl. Benediktus. viii, 112 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 1, 20. — *Bickel, Ernst*, Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus und Augustinus. 88 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1916. M. 1, 50. — *Bousset, Wilhelm*, Komposition und Charakter der Historia Lausiaca (NGW 1917, 173-217). — *Casel, Odo*, Zur Vision des heil. Benedikt (StMB 33, 1917, 345-348). — *Degenhart, Friedrich*, Der heilige Nilus Sinaita. Sein Leben und seine Lehre vom Mönchtum. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 6.) xii, 188 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1915. M. 5; geb. M. 6, 50; Neue Beiträge zur Nilusforschung. v, 50 pp. Ebd., 1918. M. 1, 50. — *Herwegen, Ildefons*, Der heilige Benedikt. 2. Aufl. xii, 170 pp. Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1917. M. 7. — *Heussi, Karl*, Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen. (TU 42, 2). iv, 172 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1917. M. 6, 50; Nilus der Asket und der Ueberfall der Moenche am Sinai (NJkIA 35, 1916, 107-221). — *Krüger, Gustav*, Asketika (ThR 20, 1917, 63-83). — *Müller, Engelbert*, Studien zu den

Biographien des Styliten Symeon des Jüngeren. (Diss. München.) 66 pp. Aschaffenburg, Werlrun, 1914. — *Reitsenstein, Richard*, Des Athanasius Werk über das Leben des Antonius. (SAH 1914, 8). 68 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1914. M. 2, 40; *Historia monachorum und Historia Lausiaca*. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums und der frühchristlichen Begriffe Gnostiker und Pneumatiker. (FRLANT, Neue Folge, 7). vi, 266 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1919. M. 10, 40. — *Salonius, A. H.*, Vitae Patrum. Kritische Untersuchungen über Text, Syntax und Wortschatz der spätlateinischen Vitae Patrum (Buch iii, v, vi, vii). (Skrifter utgivna av humanistiiska vetenskapssamfundet; Lund. Acta Societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis. II). xi, 456 pp. Lund., C. W. K. Gleerup, 1920. M. 120.

TEXTS. The Philipps Library papyrus codex dating from the sixth or seventh century, now in the possession of Mr. T. Fitzroy Fenwick of Cheltenham, contains several interesting Coptic writings of a theological character which are best discussed at this point, since they originated in the circles of Pachomian monachism. They have been edited by *Crum* with his usual care, and he has also supplied a German translation. To *Ehrhard* we are indebted for an excellent historico-critical introduction to the texts. In the main they group themselves about four persons, three of whom, the archbishops Theophilus and Cyril of Alexandria, and Horsiesius, third abbot-general of the Pachomian monasteries in the southern Thebais, are well known from the ecclesiastical and monastical history of Egypt, while the fourth, Bishop Agathonicus of Tarsus, appears here for the first time. The popular character of these texts makes them especially valuable; they afford a more direct and vivid insight into the religious life of the Pachomian monks than can be had from the learned theological literature. They fall into three parts: 1. the account of a journey of Horsiesius to Alexandria, an interesting episode from the life of this second successor of Pachomius, concerning whom our information is otherwise quite meagre; 2. the 'Questions and Answers,' in which Cyril of Alexandria plays the chief rôle, and which, according to *Ehrhard*, do not belong to the class of *ἑρωταποκρίσεις*, but grew out of an actual colloquy between the patriarch and his two deacons, Anthimus and Stephanus; and 3. a group of pseudepigrapha, put into the mouth of an otherwise unknown Bishop Agathonicus of Tarsus by a Pachomian monk, who

made use of a pseudonym for the discussion of several disputed points of doctrine. Crum leaves the question open whether the texts were originally composed in Coptic or are translations from the Greek, while Ehrhard confidently decides in favor of the first alternative. — Professor *Hesseling* is known as one of the foremost investigators in the field of the Koine. The edition of extracts from the 'Pratum Spirituale' of Johannes Moschus which he has prepared for students of philology and theology, with its summary of the history of the Koine and brief grammatical notes, fully sustains his reputation. The introduction deals with the life of Johannes, and emphasizes the value of his book for a knowledge of the state of religion at the end of the sixth century. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

STUDIES. In his 'Hellenistische Wundererzählungen,' published in 1906, *Reitzenstein* had already attacked the literary problem of the oldest monastical histories. In 1912 appeared Holl's important study, 'Die schriftstellerische Form der Heiligenlegende' (NJkA 29, 1912, 406-427). In that study Holl showed that the *Vita Antonii* of Athanasius was the prototype of the Greek lives of the saints, and found the characteristic difference between the Christian narratives and classical biography to consist in the fact that in the former the biographical element serves only as a means for the representation of the ideal. At the same time he pointed out that the model for the *Vita Antonii* must have been furnished by a lost *βίος Πυθαγόρου*. *Reitzenstein* has extended these observations. Upon further study, the astonishing fact was disclosed that not only were parts of the narrative in the *Vita* extracted quite mechanically and unintelligently from a life of Pythagoras, but even its ideal of the Christian ascetic was formed under the immediate influence of the Neopythagorean ideal of human perfection. The very conception of asceticism reflects that ideal, since asceticism aims not at the destruction of the body, but merely at its subjection to the spirit, and the restoration of man to his original state, his true nature. Thus Athanasius transferred to Christianity the philosophical ideal of the perfect wise man, standing above all earthly things. In so doing, *Reitzenstein* supposes he sought to portray an ideal that should contrast

with another conception of the value and dignity of the ascetic life already widely prevalent in the monastic life of his time (about the middle of the fourth century), namely, the conception of the monk as a Pneumatic or Gnostic, a superhuman being. The question then arises, how nearly we can get at this other conception. A thorough examination of certain technical terms, particularly of the word *μονάζειν*, showed that while monasticism as an historical institution was influenced by Neopythagoreanism, its fundamental ideas must have been formed in the main under the influence of Gnosticism. To confirm these observations, however, it seemed necessary to make a comprehensive study of the older monastical narratives, especially the *Historia Monachorum* and the *Historia Lausiaca*; to inquire into their literary character, determine the historical value of their statements, and to set forth the ideas and conceptions of their authors. But even then the circle of the sources to be investigated would have been too narrowly drawn. The monastical writers on ethics — an Evagrius Ponticus and a Diodochus of Photice — had also to be examined, with the correct recognition of the fact that for the proper evaluation of the monastical novel the ascetic-gnostic didactic writings must necessarily be taken into consideration. In this way a new book has been produced, concerning which one cannot help regretting that its readableness is in inverse proportion to its importance. Reitzenstein is fond of studying *coram publico*. He conducts his readers all along the path he himself has travelled, with all the detours which were unavoidable for him, to be sure, but which they might well have been spared.

The course of Reitzenstein's investigation may be summarized as follows: Unlike Lucius in his well-known book, 'Die Anfänge des Heiligenkultes,' he thinks of the 'legend' only as a literary product (chap. 1-4). Not the person, but the purpose, determines the plan of the narrative. The two great collections, the 'Historia Monachorum' and the 'Historia Lausiaca,' derive their value, not from the description of events, nor yet from their representation of the attendant circumstances, the milieu, but from the views of the authors which there find expression — the views of Rufinus (Reitzenstein

holds, with Preuschen, that the Latin form of the *Historia Monachorum* is the original) and of an unknown author (after the name of Palladius as author of the *Historia Lausiaca*, Reitzenstein puts a question mark); or, to be more exact, the views of those circles in which the narratives committed to writing by these authors arose as a kind of popular literature in the form of separate stories. Next (chap. 5) he examines the idea of the ascetic as superman, with regard to its origins and various ramifications. He shows the connection between the stories of monks and those of martyrs, and takes occasion to investigate anew the origin and significance of the title of 'martyr' (see above p. 300 f.), as well as the position and law of the Christian Pneumatics. The language of asceticism in the Stoics, Neopythagoreans, Philo, and Porphyry (with especial emphasis on the often neglected writing 'Ad Marcellam') is inquired into, and the 'decisive fact that most of the terminology of monasticism is borrowed from heathen philosophy' is placed in its proper light. In this way he shows that the influence of Pythagoreanism upon nascent monasticism was supplemented by that of the Hellenistic mysteries and of early Christian Gnosticism. The sixth chapter is devoted to Evagrius and Diadochus. Here especial attention is paid, on the one hand, to the examination of the conception of Gnosis in its double aspect as the higher and the lower Gnosis, and on the other, to the gradual rejection of the ascetics' claim to belong to a supramundane order of beings. The seventh and eighth chapters are occupied with the *Historia Lausiaca* (analysis of sources, question of revision); the ninth with the opposition between the episcopacy and the ascetic class (Massaliani, Encratites). His closing chapter the author devotes to a fresh and exhaustive discussion of the original significance of the early Christian terms 'Gnostic' and 'Pneumatic,' which, as our review has shown, are of prime importance for the whole investigation. The extremely polemical tone of this discussion will be regretted. In opposition to Harnack, Reitzenstein defends the definition of Gnosis which has been reached by recent researches of philologists and students of the history of religion. For further information on this subject the reader is referred

to the present writer's (*Krüger*) above-mentioned notice in the *ThR*, or better still to the publications of Reitzenstein and Harnack on the formula 'Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung'; the latter belong in the department of the New Testament and early Christianity, and hence cannot be reviewed in this place.

Reitzenstein, who teaches at Göttingen, dedicated his book to Wilhelm Bousset on the occasion of the latter's departure from Göttingen to take a chair at Giessen. *Bousset* himself had given a good deal of attention to the older monastic literature. His essay on the composition and character of the *Historia Lausiaca* starts with the observations of Reitzenstein, in particular with the fact, so significant for the literary criticism of the *Historia*, that the terms *γνώσις*, *γνωστικός*, *πνευματικός* are found exclusively in certain sections of the work, that is to say, in the second half and in the first four chapters of the first half. This signifies that those expressions are to be found only where there is reason to believe that we are dealing with the compiler of the *Historia Lausiaca* himself, and not with one of his written sources. Bousset strives to identify those earlier sources. He thinks he can recognize as such: 1. a collection of stories about the monks of the desert of Scete; 2. matter from the traditions concerning Pachomius; 3. a catalogue of Syrian saints, with brief characterizations; and 4. (perhaps) a collection of 'lives' of holy women. I venture to add, in this connection, that among the papers left by Professor Bousset there is a manuscript work, completely ready for the printer, on the history of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.⁵ Its publication would be a real gain for science, but no publisher could undertake it without very considerable contributions towards meeting the cost of printing. As Germany alone is unable to supply the necessary funds at the present time, it is perhaps permissible to draw the attention of non-German scholars to this unquestionable 'good work.' — In his sketch *Bickel* tries to show how the three currents of evangelical, monastic-gnostic, and philosophical asceticism are united in the ascetic ideal of the

⁵ In the "Festgabe" commemorating Harnack's seventieth birthday (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921) Bousset gives a brief summary (pp. 102-106) of the results of this extensive work.

three great theologians of the western church. To retrace the sources of this ideal he goes back, beyond the Alexandrians Clement and Origen, to Posidonius and the Socratic philosophy. At the same time he attempts to do justice to the literary individuality of each of the three theologians. For so short a treatise this is quite too large a task. But the skilful author manages to awaken lively interest in his subject nevertheless.

In his painstaking monograph on Nilus Sinaita, *Degenhart* did not attempt any critical treatment of the literary tradition, in which the true and the false are palpably intermingled. *Heussi* has undertaken to make good that omission. Unless he is mistaken, the fascinating story of the attack on the monks of Sinai, upon which the traditional life-story of Nilus has been built up, cannot hereafter be employed as an historical source, though it does not thereby lose its value as a picture of contemporary life. For our knowledge of Nilus we must therefore depend upon his own writings, especially on the collection of his letters. The investigation of that collection forms the kernel of Heussi's work. As in the case of Isidore of Pelusium, the collection consists of real letters, not rhetorical exercises in style or mere excerpts from the Church Fathers. Because of their impersonal character, which will surprise no one who is familiar with the literature of asceticism, the letters throw very little light on the conditions under which the author lived. But references to Sinai are entirely lacking, and Heussi believes the author must be sought rather in northwestern Asia Minor. The circle of his readers embraced the whole of Byzantine society from emperor to slave — monks, clergy, and laymen. In his second study, *Degenhart* seeks to maintain the historicity of the Sinai story with old and new arguments. We may expect a rejoinder from Heussi.⁶

Simeon the younger, the celebrated Stylite (521-596), had three biographers: Arcadius, archbishop of Constantia in Cyprus (died after 626), Johannes Petrinus (tenth century), and Nicephorus, surnamed *ὁ Ὀρθωτής* (about 1000). *Müller* furnishes first a critical text of the *Vita* by Petrinus from the

⁶ This has just been published. See Karl Heussi, *Das Nilusproblem*. 32 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1921. M. G. Heussi, as might be expected, declares himself unconvinced.

Munich manuscript, which had previously been only partially edited, and then proceeds to examine the mutual relation of the several biographies. He reaches the conclusion that the earliest biography by Arcadius has not been preserved, but that all three extant ones were derived from it. — Among the works relating to Saint Benedict, that of *Herwegen*, abbot of Maria Laach, deserves especial notice as a delicate and carefully drawn character-sketch, which, with all due reverence for tradition, is not devoid of critical method. With Benedict, however, we have reached the threshold of the Middle Ages, and so our survey must be suspended at this point, to be resumed in another place.

In the paucity of works on the history of late Latin, the thorough investigation which *Salonius* has devoted to the so-called *Vitae Patrum* (reprinted in Migne, Vols. 73 and 74, after Rosweyd) must be characterized as very useful. Of the ten books of the *Vitae*, Salonius has selected Books 3, 5, 6, and 7, because they stand in closer relation to one another both in content and in language. Salonius proves at large that Book 3 passes erroneously under the name of Rufinus of Aquileia, while there is no reason to doubt that the author of Book 5 was the Roman deacon and later Pope Pelagius I (555–560); of Book 6, the subdeacon John, later Pope John III (560–568); and of Book 7, the Spanish monk, Paschasius, about the middle of the sixth century. The Lives are in all cases translations from the Greek, and the discovery of the Greek originals would be of great importance for the reconstruction of the Latin text. As the matter now stands, it can often not be decided whether an error is to be attributed to the editors, the copyists, or the translator. In this respect Salonius is very cautious. The especial attention of students of the language may be called to the rich material which he offers them.

NOTES

A CONJECTURE ON MATTHEW XI, 12

The very multiplicity of the attempts which have been made to solve the exegetical problem presented by the difficult Logion of St. Matthew 11, 12 is in itself a strong indication that no one of the proffered interpretations can claim for itself a pre-eminent position; and inasmuch as all the thought that has been expended upon the Saying has not succeeded in discovering in it a meaning that by its inherent probability compels us to accept it as the true interpretation, it is inevitable that we should wonder whether some error can have crept into the text.

The manuscripts and versions, it is true, are singularly unanimous in their support of the traditional text; nevertheless I venture to submit a conjecture which has, as I think, the merit of giving to the Logion a much more intelligible meaning than any that has hitherto been proposed.

The evidence of the papyri and kindred sources agrees with the testimony of the literary sources in showing that it is permissible to take *βιάζεται* either as middle or as passive. Whichever voice is adopted the clause in which the word occurs plainly speaks of violent opposition between the Kingdom and some opposing force, and the second clause, *καὶ βιασταὶ ἀπείρουν αὐτήν*, taken in conjunction with the preceding words, can scarcely bear any other meaning than that the Kingdom is being worsted in the conflict. Herein lies the real difficulty of the Logion, and most of the current interpretations are attempts to expound the words without looking this obvious difficulty in the face. We cannot of course think that Jesus would speak of the Kingdom of Heaven as being worsted in any encounter, and the purpose of this Note is to suggest that the kingdom spoken of in the Logion as being hard pressed is not the Kingdom of Heaven at all.

The Gospel records leave us in no doubt that our Lord shared the conception current among His contemporaries that over against the Kingdom of God, in constant and violent opposition to it, stood a Kingdom of Evil. In the Beelzeboul discourse he speaks of it as the Kingdom of Satan: *καὶ εἰ ὁ Σατανᾶς τὸν Σατανᾶν ἐβάλλει, ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερισθῆναι πῶς οὖν σταθῆσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;* (Matt. 12, 28).

Now is it possible that in the Logion which we are discussing Jesus is speaking of the Kingdom of Satan? If we could substitute τοῦ

Σατανᾶ for τῶν οὐρανῶν all the obscurity would at once disappear; we could then take βιάζεται as passive and find in the Logion the statement that ever since the days of John's ministry the Kingdom of Satan was being hard pressed, and that those who were storming it were getting the upper hand. But why and how did τῶν οὐρανῶν replace τοῦ Σατανᾶ? Is it possible to suggest any reasonable explanation of the substitution of the one for the other? It seems hopeless to discover any reason why in the Greek the words τῶν οὐρανῶν should have supplanted a more original τοῦ Σατανᾶ. But could the substitution have been effected before the words of our Lord had been translated into Greek — while they were still being reported and written in their original Aramaic? In Aramaic the Kingdom of Heaven would be מלכותא דשמייא, while the expression corresponding to the Kingdom of Satan would be מלכותא דשטנא; and the two expressions are sufficiently alike graphically to make confusion easily possible.

That the initial letter of the Hebrew word for kingdom is *shin* while that of the word for Satan is *sin* is no proof that in Aramaic the former would be spelt with ש and the latter invariably with ס. It is true that the Hebrew ש is more usually represented in Aramaic by ס, but in every period of Aramaic the interchange of ש and ס is common. In the particular case of the word Satan the Targums and Talmudic literature show both forms שטנא and סטנא in common use. The latter is rather more frequently used, but the former is quite usual.¹

It will be noticed that in modern Square Hebrew the letters which are *not* identical in the two words which, as we suggest, were confused (namely the letters ש and ס) are not very dissimilar; but the possibility has to be borne in mind that they may not have been so much alike, and that consequently confusion would be less probable, in the script employed when our Lord's sayings were first written in Aramaic. Our knowledge, however, of the precise form in which the Logia were current in his day and later is so meagre that it is not safe to be dogmatic. It is highly probable that the old Square Hebrew (see Column v, page 71 of Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I) was in use in the lifetime of Jesus,² and in that script it was by no means impossible for the error suggested in this Note to have arisen.

As to the Aramaic underlying the words βιάζεται and βιασταί, it would not be difficult to suggest expressions which would be in har-

¹ For some of these facts I am indebted to my friend and colleague, Professor S. H. Hooke.

² See Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 74a (Taylor), and Vol. IV, p. 940a (Kenyon).

mony with what we conceive to have been the original meaning of the Logion. For example, Dalman's rendering of the two words, which makes DX its starting-point, would suit our emendation of the text quite as well as it suits Dalman's own interpretation.²

When we remind ourselves of the frequency with which the phrase 'the Kingdom of Heaven' occurred in the reports of the Master's discourses, we realize how easy it would be for some early scribe to mistake a chance occurrence of words in some measure similar for just another instance of the great phrase that so frequently recurred.

It is significant, as affording some corroboration of our hypothesis, that in Matt. 12, 29 Jesus uses the verb $\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega$ of plundering the goods of the Strong Man — the very verb employed in our Logion, as we interpret it, to describe the successful onset of the new forces of righteousness upon the Kingdom of Satan.

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THE TEXT OF LUKE II, 22

This verse contains a textual problem which has perplexed editors of the New Testament since the days of Erasmus and the Complutensian edition. The question is, What pronoun should be read after $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$? — $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$, or $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, or $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$?

$\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$ is attested by $\text{MABLW}\Gamma\Delta\Pi$ etc., by nearly all the minuscules, by the Peshitta, the Harclean, and the Palestinian Syriac, and by three minor ancient versions (Ethiopic, Armenian, and Gothic). The Arabic Diatessaron also has the plural pronoun, agreeing with the Peshitta at this point. Origen found $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$ in his text of the Gospel, and, so far as is known, he was acquainted with no other reading in this place. He quotes Luke 2, 22 in his Fourteenth Homily on Luke, which deals with the Circumcision and Purification, and he discusses the difficulty involved in the plural $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$ without mentioning any variant reading. If he had known of such, he would certainly have made some reference to it. The Homiliae in Lucam were written at Caesarea, after Origen's withdrawal to that city from Alexandria in the year 231. We may therefore assume that $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$ formed part of Luke 2, 22 in the text current at Caesarea and Alexandria in the early

² *The Words of Jesus* (English Translation), pp. 141, 142.

part of the third century, and that there were no rival claimants for the place. It was also the Antiochian, or 'Syrian,' reading, as its predominance in the minuscule manuscripts proves.

ἀβρῶν is sometimes explained as referring to the Jews.^{1*} But this is contextually objectionable, because the subject understood of *ἀβρῶν* is the parents of Jesus. Moreover, this interpretation becomes much more difficult, not to say impossible, if one believes, as the present writer does, that the first two chapters of Luke (except the preface) are based on a Semitic original. Some think the plural pronoun is used of Mary and Jesus;² whilst others, with much better reason in view of the context, refer *ἀβρῶν* to Joseph and Mary.³ But both of these explanations are fraught with the difficulty that the Mosaic Law prescribed purification only for the mother after child-birth. No ceremonial impurity attached to the father or to the child.

The feminine pronoun *ἀβρῆς* is found in no Greek manuscript of the New Testament.⁴ Its attestation is not only of inferior quality; it is also extremely scanty, being limited to a citation in a work wrongly ascribed to Athanasius,⁵ to a catena on the Gospel,⁶ and to Erpenius's edition of the Arabic published in 1616.⁷ *ἀβρῆς* is obviously a learned correction either of the reading *ἀβρῶν* or of the variant *ἀβροῦ*, which is discussed below. It was made by some one who knew that the woman only according to the Jewish Law needed purification after the birth of a child.

On the other hand Codex Bezae and at least eight minuscules have *ἀβροῦ* after *καθαρισμοῦ*.⁸ The Sahidic version and the Amsterdam edition of the Armenian also have 'his cleansing' here.⁹ *Eius* of the Old Latin¹⁰ and the Vulgate, as well as the pronominal suffix in the Sinaitic Syriac,¹¹ are ambiguous; they may be interpreted either as masculine or as feminine. But inasmuch as *ἀβροῦ* is an early 'Western' reading, being found in Codex Bezae and the Sahidic version, whereas *ἀβρῆς* is very slightly attested and is doubtless only a learned correction of *ἀβρῶν* or *ἀβροῦ*, it seems altogether probable that *ἀβροῦ* rather than *ἀβρῆς* underlies the Old Latin and the Sinaitic Syriac. For the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions were made from manuscripts of the 'Western' type. Moreover, there is no evidence that the reading *ἀβρῆς* was in existence when either of these versions was made. It is quite possible, however, that many readers of the Old Latin and Sinaitic Syriac understood the mother of Christ to be meant. *ἀβροῦ* can only refer to Jesus, whose circumcision and naming are recounted in verse 21. But from the point of view of the Mosaic

* See notes at the end of the article.

Law it is erroneous to speak of the purification of the child. Nevertheless, Griesbach regarded *αἵτου* as a *speciosa lectio*, and Zahn thinks that it may be the right reading in Luke 2, 22.¹³

A few authorities have no pronoun at all after *καθαρισμοῦ*.¹⁴ The omission undoubtedly arose from a feeling that the Evangelist could not have written either *αἵτων* or *αἵτου* in this place. This reading, however, has no more claim to be regarded as correct than the feminine pronoun *αἵτης*.

The Complutensian editors,¹⁴ followed by Beza and the Elzevir editions, adopted *αἵτης*;¹⁵ but Erasmus and Stephanus printed *αἵτων* in their New Testaments.¹⁶ The Antwerp and Paris Polyglots adhere to the Elzevir tradition, whereas the London Polyglot reproduces the text of Stephanus. *αἵτων* is read by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Baljon, and von Soden. No editor has ever adopted *αἵτου*, and none since Alter has printed *αἵτης*.

The present writer believes that the first two chapters of Luke (except the preface) are based on a Semitic source. The Greek variants in Luke 2, 22 can be readily explained if one assumes, with Bousset, Gressmann, Plummer, and Moffatt, that the underlying document was written in Aramaic; and this assumption seems reasonable at least so far as the narrative parts of the chapters are concerned.¹⁷

The source in Luke 2, 22, like the Targum of Onkelos on Lev. 12, 4 and 6, probably had *יומי דכוחה*. The suffix in *דכוחה* was intended to be read as feminine, meaning 'her purification.' Luke, or whoever translated the source into Greek, having read in the preceding verse about the circumcision and naming of Jesus, took it as masculine, 'his purification,' and translated it by *καθαρισμοῦ αἵτου*. This was the original text of Luke 2, 22. But before the time of Origen it was perceived that *αἵτου* could not be right, and it was changed to *αἵτων*, which was suggested by the verb *ἁγιάζων* and seemed to improve the sense. In course of time *αἵτων* became the dominant reading, though *αἵτου* survived in texts which preserved the 'Western' tradition. But neither *αἵτου* nor *αἵτων* was universally satisfactory, since the Mosaic Law demanded purification of the woman after childbirth and of her only. Accordingly *αἵτης* appeared as a learned correction, but its range was extremely limited until the appearance of the Complutensian edition in 1522. The adoption of *αἵτης* into the text of several early printed editions of the New Testament is due in part to the Vulgate *eius*, which was understood as a feminine pronoun.

NOTES

1. So Mill (*Novum Testamentum*, ed. Kuster, Prol. §§ 676 and 1438); van Hengel (Annotations, p. 199); Ederheim (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 8th ed., i, p. 195, n. 1).

2. So Origen; de Wette; Winer (Grammar, tr. Thayer, p. 147); Hahn.

3. So Meyer, Godet, Alford, Bernhard Weiss, Schanz, Plummer, E. Klostermann.

4. Codex 76, a Vienna manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century, is commonly cited as a witness for *αβρῆς*. This, however, is an error; for Gregory, who examined the codex in 1887, reports that it reads *αβρωβ* in Luke 2, 22 (cf. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, III, 484). Codex 76 is one of the manuscripts consulted by Alter. He printed *αβρῆς* in Luke 2, 22 without recording the reading of this codex. Griesbach inferred from Alter's silence that *αβρῆς* was found in 76, and in order to indicate that the citation was based on inference he enclosed the number 76 in parentheses. It has been pointed out above that this manuscript really has *αβρωβ*; and Alter failed to indicate this fact through carelessness. His edition is substantially a reprint of 218, a thirteenth century codex in the Imperial Library in Vienna. Professor Karl Beth, of Vienna, has kindly informed me that it reads *αβρωβ* in Luke 2, 22. Alter, a Roman Catholic scholar, no doubt adopted *αβρῆς* from the Complutensian-Elzevir tradition, or possibly from the Vulgate *eius*. Scholz, with characteristic inaccuracy, omitted Griesbach's parentheses about 76, and thenceforth *αβρῆς* passed into the critical tradition as the true reading of the manuscript.

5. Athanasius (Benedictine ed., Paris, 1696), ii, 418 f.

6. Cf. Cramer, *Catena*, ii, p. 22. Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, ii, 17 is cited by Tischendorf as an authority for *eius*. The passage runs thus: *dies purgationis matris eius* (Benedictine ed., Paris, 1679-1701, iii, col. 38).

7. The Roman edition of the Arabic has no pronoun at this point.

8. Codd. 21, 47, 56, 61, 118, 209, 220, 254.

9. Two Sahidic manuscripts, however, read 'their,' in agreement with MAB etc. The Amsterdam edition of the Armenian version (1666) is in some places conformed to the Latin Vulgate (cf. Conybeare in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, i, 154). Accordingly 'his cleansing' in Luke 2, 22 may be due to *purgationis eius* of the Vulgate. Zohrab's critical edition of the New Testament (1789) has 'their cleansing.'

10. The only Latin authorities known to read *eorum* are q and δ.

11. The Curetonian Syriac is defective at this point.

12. Cf. Zahn, *Kommentar*, p. 151, note.

13. Cod. 435, Scrivener's x and y, Amphilochius (Migne P. G. XXXIX, 48), the Latin translation of Irenaeus (Migne P. G. VII, 877 f.), the Bohairic version (though six manuscripts have 'their'), and the Roman edition of the Arabic.

14. What manuscripts the Complutensian editors used in preparing their edition of the New Testament is not known. It is, however, altogether improbable that they had any Greek authority for *αβρῆς* in Luke 2, 22. They doubtless introduced the word into their text on the strength of the Vulgate *eius* (understood as a feminine pronoun), just as they adopted 1 John 5, 7

and 8 from the current Latin version. In support of *ἀβήης* Mill cites the *Lectiones Valesianae*. On these readings, which were really not Greek but Latin, see Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum*, I, pp. 59 ff.

15. 'Her purification' of the A. V. represents this tradition. The R. V. on the other hand reads 'their purification' in accordance with the great uncial manuscripts. Luther wrote 'ihrer Reinigung,' which is ambiguous; but Gerbelius's edition of the New Testament (1521, an Erasmus text), which Luther is said to have used, has *ἀβῶν*. A similar ambiguity is found in the West Saxon and Northumbrian versions.

16. According to Mill, Erasmus was acquainted with one manuscript that read *ἀβῶν*.

17. The hymns on the other hand are Hebraic in character, and may have been composed in Hebrew. Cf. Torrey, in *Studies in the History of Religions*, presented to C. H. Toy, pp. 293 f. Professor Torrey thinks that the prose setting as well as the hymns themselves were written in Hebrew, and in support of this view he cites the awkward phrase *ἐς πόλιν Ἰούδα* in Luke 1, 39. This he regards as an attempt to translate the Hebrew *אך מדינת יהודה* into Greek. "For the Aramaic *מדינת יהוד* would hardly have been rendered by *ἐς πόλιν Ἰούδα*. The word *יהוד* could not well have been misunderstood; moreover, it does not look like the name of a town, nor would it have been transliterated by *Iouda*" (*op. cit.*, p. 292). *יהוד* is found in the Aramaic sections of Ezra and Daniel, but *יהודה* occurs a number of times in the Targum on the Prophets as the name of the Southern Kingdom. *ἐς πόλιν Ἰούδα* may therefore represent the Aramaic *למדינת יהודה* or *למדינתא די יהודה*. Similarly, Torrey thinks that *προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν* in Luke 1, 7 is a translation of *באִים בַּיּוֹמֵיהֶם*. But the original may quite as well have been *עלֵלָן בַּיּוֹמֵיהֶם הוּוּ*. On a *a priori* grounds it is more likely that a prose writing which circulated among the Jewish Christians of Palestine should be written in the vernacular Aramaic than in the sacred Hebrew, which was to most of them a *lingua ignota*. Certainly the first part of Acts is based on Aramaic, not Hebrew, sources. Cf. Torrey, *The Date and Composition of Acts*, *passim*.

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The Survey of publications in the field of early Church History, by Professor Gustav Krüger, which was announced for this number of the Review, is unavoidably postponed to October. The article is in type, but the transmission and return of the proofs take so much time that it could not be published in the present number without unduly delaying its appearance.

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