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never has seen it at all. Every vision is not only a call to action but a promise that, as we strive, we shall attain ; as we seek, we shall find.

But though we have no right to put away the conversion of to-day, because we think that to-morrow will do, yet Jacob stands here to bid us never lose hope for any man. It is false to say that no one is ever really changed after he is thirty. Right on into old age God is seeking for the souls He loves, the souls which Christ died to win for Himself. Here it is God with whom man's fight must be fought, not Apollyon, or sin, or temptation, or his evil self. For it is the final truth of

life that God is always following us ; the love of Christ is always waiting to comfort us, through some great call or some great sorrow, through the failure which wrecks our self-confidence, through sickness and the shadow of death, God may come face to face with any one of us. And when He comes, the whole question will be : Do we care enough ? Have we the will, in spite of all the careless years that have gone before, have we the will to rise and wrestle ? For, if we do that, we shall prevail ; and, when the morning comes, on our forehead too, however faintly, the new name will be written.

The Revised Edition of Sir George Adam Smith's Exposition of the Book of Isaiah.¹

BY PROFESSOR JOHN E. MCFADYEN, D.D., UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, GLASGOW.

IT is hardly too much to say that the publication of Sir George Adam Smith's *Isaiah* thirty-nine years ago marked the dawn of a new epoch in the exposition of prophecy. The fuel was already there, gathered by the patient toil of many a scholar, but it had not been kindled into light and heat. That is what those volumes did. Here was a writer who combined broad and delicate scholarship with an exquisite literary gift and who, besides, already stood in the front rank of British preachers. The volumes broke upon the English-speaking theological world with all the force of a revelation, and the preachers of that day felt like Keats' 'watcher of the skies, when a new planet swims into his ken.' The prophets, major and minor alike, had been to most preachers practically a *terra incognita* ; those volumes revealed the breadth and beauty and fertility of this unknown land. Praises were showered upon them by scholars and literary men, praises which have been gratefully endorsed by four decades of preachers on both sides of the Atlantic, who were not slow to recognize in them a supreme expository achievement.

It were superfluous to repeat the praises lavished upon those volumes on their first appearance ; suffice it to recall the tribute paid them by Mr. H. Jeffs in his *Art of Exposition* (James Clarke & Co.), after they had been in circulation for more than twenty years. 'The glory,' he says (p. 80), 'of

¹ Two volumes (Hodder & Stoughton ; 10s. 6d. net).

The Expositor's Bible series is Dr. George Adam Smith's two volumes on Isaiah and his two volumes on The Book of the Twelve Prophets. These approach as near to perfection in their combination of the fullest and finest scholarship, the vividly dramatic style, the penetrating psychology, the illuminating analogies between the social and spiritual conditions of the prophetic times and our own, and the intensely practical application to present-day problems, as we can reasonably hope anything to come. Dr. Smith has been the making of many a preacher, and dullard indeed would the man be who was not a better preacher, and a keener and more intelligent reader of the prophets, after he had revelled in Dr. Smith's books. Dr. Smith has wonderful intuition of the Oriental mind. The expository preacher who, while maintaining his own independence of thought and style, lives much with Dr. Smith, will be living with a supreme master of the craft, and cannot fail to catch something of the master's zest for the Bible, and through that zest he will be brought spirit to spirit with the great souls to whom the inspiration came which gave to us the Bible literature.'

When it became known that Principal Sir George Adam Smith was engaged in the revision of his work on prophecy, expectation and curiosity were immediately aroused as to the form which the revision would take. It was felt that the homiletic treatment, resting as it did upon

accurate and sympathetic exegesis, enriched with illustrations from the broad field of history, and clothed in perfect English, could not be bettered; there was about it a certain finality which was not likely to be seriously, if at all, modified, by the progress of critical or historical studies in the field of prophecy. And this is what we find. The more distinctively homiletic parts have been allowed to stand practically intact, and so those eloquent pages, charged with spiritual insight, which moved and inspired the preachers of nearly forty years ago, are again set free to continue their good work of moving and inspiring the preachers of our own and later days. As a specimen of spiritual exposition and literary craftsmanship, what would be nobler than the words in which Dr. Smith comments on the climax expressed in the couplet at the close of ch. 40, the force of which 'Duhm and others have blindly missed' and foolishly eliminated as an anti-climax? For the sake of younger preachers—if any such there be—who do not know those volumes, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting the passage in full:

'And so it must ever be. First the ideal, and the rush at it with passionate eyes, and then the daily trudge onward, when its splendour has faded from the view, but is all the more closely wrapped round the heart. For glorious as it is to rise to some great consummation on wings of dream and song, glorious as it is, also, to bend that impetus a little lower and take some practical crisis of life by storm, an even greater proof of our religion and of the help our God can give us is the lifelong tramp of earth's common surface, without fresh wings of dream, or the excitement of rivalry, or the attraction of reward, but with the head cool, and the face forward, and every footfall upon firm ground. Let hope rejoice in a promise, which does not go off into the air, but leaves us upon solid earth; and let us hold to a religion, which, while it exults in being the secret of enthusiasm and the inspiration of heroism, is daring and Divine enough to find its climax in the commonplace.' For sheer beauty, for the blend of music and imagination—to say nothing of its spiritual quality—there surely cannot be many things in the English language finer than that.

It is not therefore, speaking generally, in the homiletic treatment of the prophet that the 'alterations and omissions' to which the Principal alludes in his new Preface are to be found, but rather in his discussion of the textual and literary criticism of the book and of its historical background. If it be asked what these have to do with the preacher and with homiletics, he would answer,

'Much every way.' For more than most men he has taught us that the best homiletic rests on the soundest exegesis, and sound exegesis demands from the expositor, apart from the indispensable endowment of spiritual sympathy, as accurate a knowledge as is possible of the psychological and historical situation out of which the prophet speaks, and of the text in which he expresses himself; for you have no right to discuss what a writer meant until you have taken the necessary trouble to discover as precisely as possible what he said. If the modifications in the purely homiletical treatments are so few, it is because the exegetical foundations were so well and truly laid in the first edition. But it is characteristic of the patient integrity of Sir George Adam Smith's mind that he has re-examined those foundations in the light of the multitudinous labours of the historians and critics of the last forty years. In his own words: 'The textual and historical criticism of the Old Testament has wonderfully developed, our knowledge of the histories of Israel, Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt has been greatly increased, and in particular many fresh works have appeared on the Book of Isaiah itself. . . . In preparing this New and Revised Edition I have made careful use of all these.'

A careful comparison of the two editions shows that this is, as it claims to be, a real revision. Every syllable of the first edition has been scrupulously weighed, and the tiny and often almost imperceptible changes in style, which reveal the unabated fastidiousness of the literary artist, disclose almost more than the longer additions the conscientious thoroughness with which the revision has been carried through. In general the revision, so far as it affects the literary form, is in the direction of restraint; frequently, *e.g.* in paragraphs which began with *Now*, the *Now* is dropped (cf. ii. 185, 338, etc.). 'This great change' (from idolatry to monotheism) becomes simply 'this change' (ii. 38), and 'the great contrast' (between the idols and the living God) becomes simply 'the contrast.' To dissociate the solemn announcement of the birth of a Child from the current expectation of the coming of a glorious Prince seemed to Dr. Smith in the first edition 'quite impossible,' in the second 'next to impossible.' 'The idea that what Isaiah describes' in ch. 6 'is the temple in Jerusalem' (i. 61), is the 'mistaken' idea in the first edition. In the first edition we read, 'Isaiah's authorship of these prophecies'—*i.e.* chs. 13 f., 24-27, 34 f.—'is usually defended by appealing . . .'; the revision reads, 'has sometimes been defended' (i. 421). To the sentence in the first edition, 'For

all its mingling and recurrent style, the prophecy' (i.e. chs. 40-55) 'is a unity with a distinct, if somewhat involved, progress of thought,' is added the cautious footnote, 'That is, as it now lies before us, however true or baseless the different theories of various sources for it may be' (ii. 136). In the first edition, 'there were two branches of the Persian royal family'; in the revision, 'there appear to have been' (ii. 114). In the first edition, 'we have scarcely any contemporary evidence' about the personality of Cyrus; in the revision, 'we have little' (ii. 174). In the first edition, we read, 'As in the rest of the Hebrew poetry, so here' (in ch. 53) 'the measure is neither regular nor smooth'; in the revision, 'As in much of Hebrew poetry' (ii. 354). In the first edition, 'Nor is there any reason against attributing' the intercessory prayer of 63⁷-64 to the same author as chs. 40-55; in the revision, 'Nor is there final reason' (ii. 488). To the assurance of 14³² that Zion at least is secure for the people of Yahweh is added a caveat in brackets—'This then was the Interim-Answer (we think from Isaiah himself)' (i. 290); and again it is hinted that the proverb in 28²⁰ may not originally belong to its present context (i. 162).

On the field of historical and literary criticism this caution frequently reveals itself in the sphere of chronology. The date of 10⁵⁻³⁴ is given in the first edition as 721 B.C.; in the revision, as 'after 721 and probably after 717 B.C.' (i. 145, 151). To the date 709 for the oracle 21¹⁻¹⁰ he still adheres, but in a footnote he recognizes and states the difficulties which have led recent critics to assign it to a later date (i. 282). The second captivity, of 589, becomes 587-586 (ii. 59). Of the section 56¹⁻⁸, commonly supposed to begin the post-exilic Trito-Isaiah, he writes, 'I am not so sure as I was in 1890 that it belongs to the eve of the Return,' and he adds reasons for the later date which is 'not certain, but possible' (ii. 432). The upper limit of Deutero-Isaiah is perhaps 546 or 545 rather than 549 B.C. (ii. 12).

The steadiness with which Principal Smith, out of a wider knowledge and maturer judgment, still adheres to conclusions reached nearly forty years ago is remarkable evidence of the thoroughness with which his original work was done. While taking full account of all the relevant intervening literature, there is no question of vital importance on which he has had occasion to abandon his earlier conclusions. The words, 'Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow,' etc. (1¹⁸), he declines to regard with Wellhausen as interrogative, or with Duhm as ironical, though he admits

that the question is difficult and the answer uncertain (i. 13). To the much disputed question of the authorship of the Messianic passages 9²⁻⁷ and 11¹⁻⁵ he devotes three and a half pages, as 'it is right that, though I have not changed my belief, I should give some account of such criticism' (i. 142), but 'upon a careful survey of all the arguments, I see no reason now, any more than thirty-eight years ago, to doubt that the Messianic passages are Isaiah's' (i. 144). Similarly he retains 2²⁻⁴ for Isaiah, though 'quite possibly it is quoted from an earlier poet' (i. 12). Again 28^{5f.} are denied to Isaiah 'on, it seems to me, insufficient grounds' (i. 155). Moreover, he is inclined to re-assert against much recent criticism, the Isaianic authorship and the probable unity of 10⁵⁻³⁴ (i. 171), and the Isaianic authorship of 32⁹⁻²⁰ (i. 268), though v.¹⁹ is admitted to be 'probably an interpolation' (i. 275). In an additional page of introduction to ch. 65 he still inclines to a date for it during the Exile (ii. 497 f.). Of 66^{1f.}—verses which some scholars limit to a condemnation of a rival Temple—he writes: 'The verses surely imply that *no* house is indispensable to God or His true worshippers. . . . I still think this the natural interpretation of the verses.' On the difficult questions of the identity of the Servant in the four Servant Songs, and of the speakers in the fourth Song (ch. 53, at any rate as far as v.⁶), the discussions of the intervening years have not led him to modify his earlier judgment. The speakers he still thinks to be on the whole Israel rather than the heathen (ii. 364), while his view of the Servant of the Lord is summarily expressed in the following words: 'Our prophet identifies him at first with the whole nation, and then with some indefinite portion of the nation—indefinite in quantity, but most marked in character: this personification grows more and more difficult to distinguish from a person; and in ch. 52¹³⁻⁵³ there are very strong reasons, both in the text itself and in the analogy of other prophecy, to suppose that the portrait of an individual is intended' (ii. 292).

But though the broad conclusions of the older edition stand, there are numerous minor modifications. The older edition had stated that the king cursed by Tiglath-pileser as an arch-enemy was Uzziah of Judah; now a footnote tells us that 'there are strong grounds for believing that he was not Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah, but Azrija'u of Ja'udi, a state much nearer Assyria' (i. 96). Another footnote reckons with the possibility that in the Immanuel prophecy of ch. 7 the curds and honey (v.¹⁵) may be a symbol not of privation but

of abundance, and that vv.^{16f.} may therefore be not a threat but a promise (i. 115). The statement in the old edition (ii. 383) that the question whether the land of Sinim is the land of China 'is still an open one' is now dropped (ii. 399). The possibility is conceded of the author of ch. 33 being another than Isaiah himself (i. 317). There is now a slightly greater readiness to admit the possibility of interpolation: e.g. 17^{ff.} appear to be interpolations (i. 280), 18⁷ 'is now generally regarded as a later addition' (i. 281); again, 'surely grass is the people' (40⁷) is bracketed as a gloss (ii. 83), and it is admitted that the genuineness of 39^{ff.}, the only prediction of Israel's exile to Babylonia which is attributed to Isaiah, 'has been generally and very reasonably denied.' Perhaps the most important modification is in Sir George Adam Smith's view of ch. 48, which he no longer regards as a literary unit. The criticism of the last forty years has convinced him that, besides authentic lines in the chapter, there are others which are 'not consonant with Deutero-Isaiah's argument, style, or rhythm, but seem to be pious efforts to interline his teaching, in the circumstance and to the men of his own time, with exhortation and rebuke to Jews of a later period and a different character' (ii. 221).

The translation is modified in ways that are always interesting and often important. Sometimes the change is slight, as in 5¹⁶, where *justice* is substituted for *righteousness* (i. 9), or *impious* and *profane* for *hypocrite* in 9¹⁷ (i. 51, 78), or *disregarded* (the ordinance) for *changed* in 24⁵ (i. 441), or *gotten* for *received* in 40² (ii. 79), or *Abraham My friend* for *who loved me* in 41⁸ (ii. 131), or *summoner of the generations from the fountainhead* for *from aforehand* in 41⁴ (ii. 127). Once or twice there is a reversion to the familiar English translation, as in 42¹, which formerly read :

Lo, My Servant! I hold by him;
My Chosen! Well-pleased is My soul! (ii. 291),

and which now reads :

Behold My Servant, whom I uphold,
My Chosen in whom My Soul delighteth (ii. 307).

The old reference to Cyrus in 41², 'Who hath stirred up from the sunrise Righteousness, calleth it to his foot?' (ii. 117), gives place to the much superior :

Who was it stirred up from the sunrise
Him on whose footsteps victory waits? (ii. 120).

The difficult and obscure עוּל in 50⁴ is more cau-

tiously dealt with. 'To know how to succour the weary with words' (ii. 327) becomes :

To know how to answer (?) the weary
With a word that is . . . (?)—

to which translation is appended a valuable footnote. Some of the improvements rest on a careful exploitation of the LXX; e.g. 'Food shall they find on every (πάσαις) road,' 49^{9b} (ii. 399). So 'Who hath directed the spirit of Jehovah?' 40¹³ (ii. 94) becomes 'Who hath determined the mind of Yahweh?' (ii. 95)—a translation suggested by the Greek rendering of רוּחַ as *voûs*. And the beautiful passage, 'In all their affliction he was afflicted' (63^{8f.}), is corrected to :

(And so He became their Saviour)
From all their affliction.
No messenger was it (or angel,
But His presence that saved them) (ii. 490).

Two features distinguish the translation of the revised edition from that of the original: (i) there is considerably more of it, and (ii) the metrical quality of the verse is made more conspicuous to the eye and to the ear. (i) Sir George Adam Smith has acceded to the desire expressed by former reviewers for a complete translation of chs. 40–66. It greatly facilitates the reader's appreciation of the comment to have under his eye, in metrical form, the poem that is being commented upon. (ii) In the revised edition much that formerly appeared as prose (cf. 2²⁻⁵, and part of 5¹⁻⁷) is now printed as verse—a feature which has the effect of giving the reader a juster appreciation of the essentially poetic quality of prophecy in all the stages represented by the Book of Isaiah. The Principal's profound interest in the problems of Hebrew metre, already attested by his Schweich Lectures, and not less markedly in his 'Jeremiah,' is here reflected in many a page. To a footnote in p. 94 of vol. ii. repeated from the first edition, he adds an explanatory sentence on the metrical structure of 40¹²⁻³¹. The nature of the elegiac metre is now made plain by breaking up the long line of the older edition into two. Thus :

Comfort ye, comfort ye My people, saith your God,
Speak ye home to the heart of Jerusalem, and call
unto her, 40¹¹ (ii. 75).

becomes :

Comfort ye, comfort ye My people,
Sayeth your God.
Speak home to the heart of Jerusalem
And call to her (ii. 76).

The elegiac structure of 40⁹⁻¹¹ is now more distinctly

recognized. In the first edition the translation of v¹¹. ran :

As a shepherd His flock He shepherds ;
With His right arm gathers the lambs,
And in His bosom bears them,
Ewe-mothers He tenderly leads (ii. 84).

Now we read :

Like a shepherd His flock He tends,
With His arm He gathers,
The lambs in His bosom He bears,
And those that suckle He gently leads (ii. 85).

There are in these volumes protests not a few, for which his 'Jeremiah' had prepared us, against the illusion that the metre of Hebrew poetry is uniformly regular ; he does not 'suppose that the Hebrews were so anxious for a mechanical regularity as their modern editors are' (ii. 80), and so it is with hesitation that he transposes the familiar order of the sentences in 40⁴ to :

Every mountain and hill be brought low,
Every valley be lifted.

To readers interested in Hebrew one of the valuable features of the revision is the incidental textual comment which accompanies the translation, especially in the volume dealing with chs. 40-66. This feature, which already marked the first edition, has been greatly extended in the revision and is particularly conspicuous in the treatment of ch. 44 and the very difficult ch. 53. Such scrupulous attention to the text is a perpetual reminder of the stern linguistic discipline to which every honest exegete must be prepared to submit himself.

The revision is characterized by omissions as well as additions. The thing that no longer needs to be said is not said. Five sentences, e.g. in vol. i. p. 431, which argue that a book bearing Isaiah's name is not necessarily all from the prophet himself, are dropped (ii. 452). But naturally interest will largely centre in the additions, many of which are quite extensive. E.g. the introduction to the sections dealing with chs. 25-27 and with the story of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery in ch. 38 have been re-written. So also has the introduction to the story of Sennacherib's campaign(s) against Judah been re-written in the light of the discussion devoted to that difficult question in Dr. Smith's 'Jerusalem'; and his conclusion is that there seems to be 'sufficient material to justify the hypothesis that the two accounts' in chs. 36 f. 'are treating not of the same attempt on Jerusalem, but of two successive attempts by Sennacherib'

(ii. 315). An additional paragraph (ii. 17) suggests reasons for the anonymity of Deutero-Isaiah, and an additional page is devoted to the discussion of the unity of chs. 40-55 and the separableness of the Servant poems (ii. 18). The translation of and comment upon ch. 43 expands one page of the original edition to eight. The exposition of ch. 48, which is no longer regarded as a unity, has been largely re-written. Many minor additions show how closely the intervening literature has been surveyed. A footnote in i. 203 deals with Winckler's identification of Mišraim and Kush with two North Arabian provinces, and two additional sentences on ii. 110 summarize that scholar's views on the origin of the Medes. To the valuable note on *mishpat* (42¹) in the first edition is added, 'But like the Arabic *din*, religion is perhaps the best equivalent' (ii. 315).

The new edition reckons at certain points with criticisms passed upon the earlier one—e.g. with R. H. Hutton's comments on Dr. Smith's comparison of Isaiah to Mazzini (i. 85) and Cromwell (i. 165). A few minor corrections reveal the extreme care with which the revision has been executed : e.g. a footnote on ii. 79 corrects and expands an original 'Lev. xxvii.' to 'Lev. xxvi. 41, 43,' and an original 'vii.' (footnote on ii. 183) has been corrected to '11' (ii. 200). Rénan (i. 350 f.) is corrected to Renan (i. 364 ff.), and *ānī* (i. 433) to 'anī (i. 454). In γένοvs (ii. 308) a breathing has inadvertently slipped in ; in επ' άυρφ (ii. 357) one has been dropped and another misplaced (επ' άυρφ) ; while in footnote ¹ to ii. 155 'to' has slipped out after 'access.'

The former system of transliteration has been slightly modified, P being represented by *ḳ*, and *ṣ* by *s*, so that we have now Rabshakeh, Šion and Šedheḳ (instead of Seedheg)—also Yahweh for Jehovah of the first edition.

Principal Smith has resisted the temptation to illustrate the book extensively by experiences of the Great War, but the few allusions to it are significant. Commenting on 61¹, he adds to the instances of the vital and paramount influence in a nation's history of a piece of news, these two : 'the announcement in August 1914, that the British Government had decided to support, by force of arms, its pledge to defend the inviolableness of Belgium,' and 'the news, in 1917, that the United States, after long patience with the Germans, had, in their deliberation, decided that our decision was right, and resolved to join us' (ii. 476). On 40⁵ he comments thus : 'The glory of the Lord was revealed, and all flesh saw it together. One might say the same of the

unanimity with which Great Britain, on the strength of moral convictions, rose to the venture of war in 1914, and was ultimately vindicated' (ii. 82).

Any one who has ever attempted to revise his own or another man's work soon discovers how exacting and vexatious a task it is—more difficult in some ways than to re-write it *de novo*. An incidental but illuminating proof of the toil that lies behind work like this is the tiny change from *once* (ii. 43) to *often* in the sentence, 'Having read through the Book of Jeremiah often again since I wrote the above paragraph, I am more than ever impressed with the influence of his life upon Isa. 40-66' (ii. 44). But in bringing the literary and historical criticism of the book abreast of contemporary scholarship, Dr. Smith has recalled the expository preachers of to-day to the same high conception of Biblical science as he set before the preachers of forty years ago.

This is indeed a dangerous book, as all Dr. Smith's

expositions of prophecy are. The thing is here so ideally well done that the preacher who puts himself under the spell of it, only too conscious that nothing that he is ever likely to do will be remotely comparable to it, is tempted either boldly to reproduce it, or to despair of touching it himself to any similar purpose at all. But if used wisely and not slavishly, it may be to him a perpetual source of guidance and inspiration. We part from this revision with a deepened sense of the complexity of Biblical science, of the wide and varied range of knowledge of which one who aspires to be a true expositor must make himself master, and of the importance of imagination as well as of knowledge and scholarship in the task of exposition. If it be not an impertinence to congratulate one whose praise has for forty years been in all the churches, we extend our congratulations to Sir George Adam Smith on achieving a revision as complete and thorough as the original was admirable.

The Muhammadan Agrapha.

BY THE REVEREND R. DUNKERLEY, B.A., B.D., PH.D., CAMBRIDGE.

III.

WE now come to the fullest and most important study of this subject that has yet been made—that of Michael Asin y Palacios, entitled *Logia et Agrapha Domini Jesu apud Moslemicos Scriptores, asceticos præsertim, usitata*. Asin is the Professor of Arabic at Madrid University, and the writer of several other valuable books. This work appeared in two parts, the first in 1916, the second during last year.¹ Part I. consisted of a collection of one hundred and three passages from the aforementioned book by Al Ghazzali, in Arabic, with variant readings from parallel passages in other authors, and Latin introduction, translation, and notes. Part II. contains one hundred and twenty-two passages in Arabic and Latin, culled from other writers than Al Ghazzali, and similarly annotated, with eight other passages, of which the Arabic is not given. This makes a grand total of two hundred and thirty-three passages—by far the largest collection of such excerpts made up till now. Whether the store is exhausted remains to

be seen. It may be added that Asin gives three valuable indices at the end of his lengthy work.

The greater part of the material in Part I. was already familiar to us through Margoliouth's collection, practically all the sayings of which find a place here, though Asin gleaned them quite independently and had not read Margoliouth when he wrote. The residue does not consist entirely of agrapha—though there are several which Margoliouth missed—for Asin includes a number of apocryphal tales of the fantastic sort, and quite a group of sayings and stories connected with John the Baptist, Zachariah, and Mary—which do not really belong here at all. In Part II. we have almost entirely new matter, but here, too, the passages do not all contain sayings ascribed to Jesus, some being referred to these other characters; there is, also, as before, an element of legend, Christ raising a man, for example, who appears wearing red-hot shoes as a punishment for unbrotherly conduct.

A number of passages in both parts are evidently loose quotations from the Gospels; others show

¹ *Patrologia Orientalis*, xiii. 3; xix. 4.