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mystic, and would of itself raise the suspicion that his liberation had not been complete. The higher mystics are not troubled about their own madness or sanity; they are not thinking about themselves; they have lost their lives and found them in the life of that which has possessed them; they care about God and other people; they seek not to do their own will, but the will of Him that sent them; they are men utterly dedicated. They are creative; and their creations await our criticism: the tree can be judged by its fruits. Like Mr. Murry they seek wholeness, not goodness nor any lesser thing, but it is wholeness not in the integrated unity of their own personalities, but in the unity of the universal; and because they seek that which is outside themselves they achieve their own fulfilment on the way. Those who would escape the futilities of the self-involved, those who would develop their 'pure personality' to the uttermost, will not do so until they have ceased to be the centres of their own interest. 'Seek ye first God's kingdom and righteousness' is a higher precept than 'Accept thyself': it is also vastly more effective.

Of this high type of mystic Jesus is a unique example. By His own admission, by the evidence of His character, by the testimony of His followers, 'in Him was God.' None can question that His whole activity was dominated by the conviction of God's reality, of God's perfection, of God's love, and of God's accessibility. Few men have paid a finer tribute to His creative influence or human splendour than Mr. Murry; and, in addition, he admits that living in the first century Jesus could have given no other account of Himself or of the Universe than what He gave. If, as we believe, His life was even more consistent and majestic than our author will allow, if, as we have argued, His total consecration to the doing of the Father's will raises His character and His mystical union above the level of all others, and differentiates Him as God-centred from all who find their centre in self-acceptance, we cannot but maintain that those who saw in Him the image of the invisible God were justified. It was right and inevitable that He should be acknowledged as God incarnate. When, under the influence of other and perhaps irreconcilable concepts of deity, the Church went on to detach Him from the natural order and formulate a doctrine of His person in terms of an antithesis between natural and supernatural, it was, in fact, falling away from its own confession. Such an antithesis, though accepted by Catholic Orthodoxy and approved by Mr. Murry, is fundamentally opposed alike to the mystic experience, to the teaching of Jesus, and to belief in an incarnation. We cannot be true to both Jesus and to such a dualism. It is because he does not realize this that Mr. Murry's dilemma, either Catholicism and Jesus as divine, or the total denial of Christianity, is based upon a fallacy.

# National Contributions to Biblical Science.

## III. The Contribution of Germany to Old Testament Study.

By Professor A. R. Gordon, D.D., United Theological College, Montreal.

This contribution has been as wide as it is deep. It covers the whole range of study, from grammar and lexicography to the 'weightier matters' of faith and life. Instead, however, of splitting the subject into various sections, which would produce little more effect than that of a catalogue, I have thought it better to concentrate upon a few outstanding personalities, the beacon lights through whom the main lines of advance have been guided from one generation to another.

The decisive impulse to a genuine study of the Old Testament was given by Luther, when he brushed away the cobwebs of scholastic exegesis —its prevailing idea of the manifold sense of Scripture, and its extravagant and tasteless allegorizing—and insisted on 'one simple, appropriate, certain, literal sense,' understood in the light of the context, taking into account times, circumstances, and conditions, and having due regard to the 'proportion of faith,' that is, the place of the passage in the perspective of the revelation of God in Christ. These broad principles of interpretation, it will be seen, contain the germs of what was to develop into textual, historical, literary, and spiritual criticism.

The freedom thus won by Luther was soon lost

in a recrudescence of dry scholasticism, which treated the Scriptures no longer as the bread and water of life, but as a quarry of proof-texts for the buttressing of rival creeds, giving too good ground for Werenfels' epigram :

> This is a book in which each one seeks his own dogmas,
> And in which likewise each one finds his own dogmas.

Deliverance from the bondage of bibliolatry came from two very diverse quarters, evangelical piety and Biblical criticism. The two influences were most happily combined in the leading Biblical scholars of the eighteenth century: men like Spener, the father of Pietism, who prayed God to save men from 'interpreting Scripture according to creeds, and so erecting a veritable popedom in the midst of the Church'; Bengel, the author of the incomparable *Gnomon*, whose first principle of interpretation was 'Put nothing into the Scriptures, but draw the full meaning out of them, suffering nothing that is in them to remain hid'; and Ernesti, author of the standard *Elements of Interpretation*, who proceeded from the assumption, 'Of course the Scriptures are to be investigated by the same rules as other books.' No one, however, did more to open men's minds to the Divine beauty and truth of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, than Herder, the poet-preacher of Weimar. A man of unusual sensibility, he was from his earliest years fascinated by the poetry of the Bible, 'with its tenderness, its grave wisdom, and its solemnity.' His later variety of interests only intensified his love for the Bible, which for him remained the crown of all literature and the fountain of eternal life. But, he urged, 'The best way to read this Divine book is the human—taking that word in its broadest sense and its most vital significance. The more humanly you read the Word of God, the closer you come to the mind of its Author, who formed man in His image, and in all the deeds of power and grace in which He reveals Himself as our God works for us in human wise.' From this human standpoint Herder wrote two books which have had a far-reaching influence on Old Testament study: his charming *Songs of Love* (1778), a new version of the Song of Songs, arranged, with rare prescience of the trend of recent criticism, as forty-four independent love-songs, held together 'by no closer link than that of a bunch of fine pearls on one string,' and his classical work on *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* (1782), a kind of rhapsody on the poetry of the Old Testament—'the poetry of friendship between man and God'—which is still unequalled for insight into the heart and soul of that literature.

Herder's work was inspirational rather than scientific. It was necessary, therefore, that the intuitions of his genius should be supplemented by keen, penetrating criticism based on thorough knowledge of Hebrew and its cognate languages. This contribution was made in masterly fashion by his friend Eichhorn, whom Cheyne has justly described as 'the founder of modern Old Testament criticism.' Eichhorn was prepared for his task by a liberal course of studies in Classical and Oriental literature, while his general culture was stimulated by his friendship with Herder and Goethe. His great *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1780–1783) is a fine combination of critical acumen and literary feeling. It is in this book that the distinction is first drawn between Lower Criticism, which concerns itself with problems of the text, and Higher Criticism—'a new name to no humanist'—which deals with the more complex questions of authorship, composition, and date. Eichhorn's main contribution to Higher Criticism was his rediscovery of the key which Astruc had first applied to the solution of the problem of Genesis, viz. the alternation of the Divine names Jahweh and Elohim, though he saw that literary considerations were equally involved in the problem, and analysed the book in a far more constructive way than Astruc had done. He had also a clear perception of the later date of books like Deutero-Isaiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel. To this was added a warm appreciation of the qualities of the literature. This appreciation was, no doubt, more æsthetic than religious. All the more on that account did it appeal to the romantic tendencies of the age. Of Eichhorn, no less truly than of Herder, it might be said, in Dorner's words, that he 'reconquered, so to speak, the Old Testament for German literature.'

Eichhorn's work had the defects of its merit. Often a robe of rhetoric veiled a lack of thoroughness and accuracy. In these respects Eichhorn found his true counterpart in his illustrious pupil Gesenius. His nature was more rationalistic than poetic. He loved exactitude in detail rather than broad literary effects. Though he lectured on the whole field of Old Testament literature, his real interest was in linguistics. His contribution to this department of study was of fundamental importance. His *Hebrew Grammar* (first published in 1813), followed by his exhaustive *Syntax of the Hebrew Language* (1817), and especially his *Hebrew-*

*German Dictionary* (1812), which appeared in a new form as the *Manual Lexicon* (1833), and was finally expanded into the monumental *Thesaurus philologicus criticus* (1826–58), laid a solid basis for all future study of Hebrew, and in successive revisions are still standard works in all our Colleges.

Gesenius' sole contribution to exegesis was his *Commentary on Isaiah* (1820–21), a work of immense erudition, sane and balanced in judgment, with a sure grasp of the prophet's function as 'a herald and watchman of the theocracy and the theocratic faith,' though from his rationalistic standpoint he quite failed to do justice to the prophet's religious idealism.

The qualities so conspicuously wanting in Gesenius were richly supplied by Eichhorn's still more illustrious pupil, Heinrich Ewald, that erratic, arbitrary, dogmatic, but singularly arresting and inspiring figure. Ewald had a real gift of divination, and a dæmonic energy of purpose. As a youth he had caught from Herder and Eichhorn the spell of the East, and he felt called to be a prophet of the light that shone from the East. In preparation for his task he flung himself into philological studies of a wide variety of Oriental tongues, especially Arabic, which he rightly judged to be the necessary key to the understanding of Hebrew language and literature. Apart from his quixotic sally into the field of Hexateuchal criticism —an essay on the *Composition of Genesis*, which he published in 1823, at the early age of nineteen— his first contributions to scholarship were treatises on Arabic and Sanskrit metres, followed at a short interval by Hebrew and Arabic Grammars, which already showed his native genius. Gesenius had been content to set the forms of speech in clear, dry light; Ewald sought to reduce them all to their underlying principles. Thus even in dealing with the rudiments he breathed the breath of life into the dead bones.

With this equipment Ewald embarked on the true work of his life, the interpretation of the literature, history, and religion of the Bible. He began, significantly enough, with the poetical books of the Old Testament, on the ground that in them we are brought most directly to the fountain-heads of spiritual life in Israel. The series opened in 1826 with an exposition of the Song of Songs as a drama of true love tried and triumphant—a theory which is still supported, with modifications, in Driver's *Introduction* and Rothstein's article in the *Dictionary of the Bible*. This was followed in 1835 by the illuminating Commentary on Psalms; within another year the noble volume on Job appeared; and next year Proverbs and Ecclesiastes were added. In 1839 Ewald published his general reflections on Hebrew poetry, which broke new ground along various lines. From this point of vantage he passed on to a study of the loftier inspiration of the prophets. His *Commentary on the Prophetic Books* (1840–41) is unquestionably his exegetical masterpiece. The subject was congenial. Himself possessed of a real measure of the prophetic spirit, he loved to portray the prophets as men who spoke the truth of God as they felt it in their own hearts and lives. Ever intent on his purpose, he next entered the New Testament field, and wrote a series of books on the Synoptic Gospels, the Johannine literature, and the Epistles of St. Paul, in violent opposition to Strauss and Baur. Meanwhile he had been revising his first crude views on Hexateuchal criticism. Taking up the problem where Eichhorn left it, he carried his principles of analysis right through the Pentateuch and Joshua, assigning the contents of these books to the four sources now generally recognized by Old Testament scholars, though unhappily he insisted on treating the priestly element (P) as the *Urschrift* or 'original document,' belonging to the early years of Solomon's reign, and the more popular Elohistic and Jahwistic narratives (E and J) as mere 'supplements,' ranging from a date soon after Solomon to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century B.C. The pioneer attempt of Vatke in his *Biblical Theology* to relegate the priestly element to the Exile he dismissed with scant courtesy; and the later works of Graf and Kayser in support of this thesis he seems to have passed over in silence. On these foundations, then, Ewald built his imposing *History of Israel* (1843–59). This work is as vast in design as it is massive in structure. It covers, in seven large volumes, the whole period of the history, from its dim beginnings to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. It has, no doubt, obvious faults. Apart from the insecurity of its foundations, it suffers from a lack of proportion. It is also shot through with diatribes against his enemies, both personal and national. Notwithstanding these defects, it is the work of a great creative spirit. Ewald has an artist's eye for the personalities of the Bible; and he paints them with an artist's brush. Above all, he has a fine sense for the religious significance of the whole. To him the history of Israel is a revelation through men of the mind and will of God, a revelation broadening and deepening to the perfect revelation in Christ.

Of the many distinguished scholars trained in

Ewald's school. Julius Wellhausen was his true spiritual heir. Temperamentally, indeed, the two men were poles apart. Wellhausen was as sober and judicious as Ewald was hot-headed and wilful. The pupil, however, had much of the master's insight, and all of his reverence for the Scriptures as an oracle from the living God. Like Ewald, he prepared himself for his life's work by intensive studies in Arabic and other Semitic languages. He also dug deep in the field of textual criticism. His first important work was his treatise on *The Text of the Books of Samuel* (1869), where the principles of textual criticism were laid down by a firm, sure hand, and Old Testament scholarship was enriched by a series of what Driver calls 'most successful and happy emendations of the text.' Had Wellhausen continued along this line, he would have become our foremost textual critic. His main interest, however, was in the history and religion of Israel. For really constructive work in this sphere he felt he must lay surer foundations than Ewald had done. It was this impulse that led him to his epoch-making studies in Hexateuchal criticism. He was from the first profoundly dissatisfied with Ewald's arrangement of the documents. Learning through Ritschl that Graf placed the Law later than the Prophets, he was prepared to accept the hypothesis, 'almost without his reasons for it,' and boldly struck out in the direction thus suggested. The first-fruits of his labour appeared in the famous articles on *The Composition of the Hexateuch* (1876–77), in which he definitely committed himself to the Grafian 'heresy.' His reason for so doing he stated in succinct form in his revised edition of Bleek's *Introduction* (1878): 'The decision of the question rests on this, that JE knows nothing of unity of worship in Israel, Deuteronomy postulates it as a new institution that had not hitherto existed, while the Priestly Code presupposes it as having existed and been developed to its fullest consequences, as a matter of course, from the very beginning.' The *Prolegomena*, which appeared the same year, confirms this general statement by a broad survey of the literature of the Old Testament. On this basis rests the *History of Israel and Judah* (1894). The book is planned on quite a different scale from Ewald's *History*. While it covers the same range, it contains less than 400 pages. Unencumbered by critical details, it moves easily over the ground, tracing in vivid and often brilliant outlines the political, social, and religious developments of the history. Here, too, the stress is laid on the great spiritual movements and personalities. Among others, the sections on Amos and Jeremiah, Jewish piety, and the Gospel have become classical.

Apart from his translation of Psalms in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, and his brief but illuminating *Minor Prophets*, Wellhausen's later work was mainly in the field of Arabic history and religion. His most important contribution to this subject is his small volume entitled *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (1897), a collection and interpretation of the survivals of Arabian paganism, with penetrating applications to religious movements in Israel, the most suggestive part of the volume being his explanation of primitive sacrifice as a rite of 'communion with God'—the theory which is worked out with such a wealth of learning in Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*.

Wellhausen's influence has been profound and far-reaching. For a full generation he dominated the Old Testament scholarship of two continents. In his own land he inspired, more or less directly, the Hexateuchal criticism of Budde, Smend, Holzinger, and especially Eissfeldt, in his recent *Hexateuch-Synopse*; the leading commentaries of the period, such as those of Holzinger on Genesis and Exodus, Steuernagel on Deuteronomy, Budde on Judges and Samuel, Duhm on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Minor Prophets, Marti on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets, Cornill on Jeremiah, Kraetzschmar and Herrmann on Ezekiel, and Nowack on the Minor Prophets; the standard Introductions to the Old Testament of Steuernagel, König, and Cornill; the Histories of Israel by Stade and Guthe; the stimulating studies of the prophets by Duhm and Hölscher; and the constructive expositions of the Religion of Israel by Schultz, Smend, Stade, Bertholet, König, and Kautzsch.

In all Wellhausen's work there is a crystalline clearness and sharpness of edge. One is conscious, however, of a certain lack of atmosphere and background. He approaches his subject from the standpoint of the literary critic, and too often he fails to do justice to the life behind the literature. Moreover, while he has an open eye for the Arabian origin of much of the Israelite tradition, he has little appreciation of the streams of influence that flowed in from surrounding nations, as these are being so copiously revealed by the results of excavation in Palestine and other Oriental countries. In these two respects his work is fittingly complemented by that of the 'historical school.' The first sign of the times was Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1894), which traced the influence of the Babylonian myth of Tiamat all through the Bible. But the most influential pioneering work along the new lines was his great

*Commentary on Genesis*, the first edition of which was published in 1901. This Commentary is as keenly critical as Wellhausen's *Composition*. The main feature of the work, however, is the attempt to get beyond the literary sources to the popular traditions enshrined in them, and to relate these to the parallel Babylonian, Egyptian, and cognate traditions. The whole treatment, too, is suffused by a richness of colour like that of the dawn, and by a warmth of religious feeling which is as refreshing as it is rare in a critical commentary. The same qualities characterize the *Göttingen Bible*, a work of popular exposition by Gunkel and the leading members of his school. Gunkel's contribution to this series is confined to the exposition of Genesis and introductions to the Greater Prophets. Of recent years he has applied himself with special interest to the prophetic and poetical books of the Old Testament, his latest achievement being his *Commentary on the Psalms* (1926), which is still richer in spiritual sympathy than his *Genesis*. Here also his aim is to trace the literary products to their origin in the spoken and sung word, and to set the whole in the context of contemporary Oriental civilization. He is thus able to assign considerable portions of the prophetic literature, and many of the Psalms, to an earlier date than the literary critics had allowed.

The most brilliant of the younger members of the historical school was Hugo Gressmann, whose untimely death in 1927 was an irreparable loss to Old Testament scholarship. Gressmann established his literary fame at an early age by his *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905), a bold attempt to show that the prophets of Israel were dominated by eschatological conceptions drawn mainly from Babylonian and Egyptian mythology —a theory which enjoyed some vogue for a decade or two, but is now yielding before the advance of the psychological method of approach to the problem of prophecy. A work of more permanent value is the *Altorientalischen Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament* (1909), an exhaustive collection, edited by Gressmann, Ungnad, and Ranke, of Babylonian, Egyptian, and other literary and artistic parallels to the Old Testament. This was followed by *Mose und seine Zeit* (1913), a critical analysis and reconstruction, on the lines laid down by Gunkel, of the Biblical traditions of Moses' life and work. Gressmann also contributed to the *Göttingen Bible* the sections on the early history of Israel and the beginnings of prophecy, besides publishing a variety of *brochures* and articles in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* and elsewhere on problems of Old Testament history and religion in the light of archæological discoveries in the East. These *brochures* and articles show an amazing range of scholarship, combined with a no less amazing fertility in suggestion.

In researches of this nature there is necessarily a large subjective element. There is also the danger of obscuring the distinctive genius of the Bible. It was with pleasure, therefore, that one read in the Prospectus issued by Heinpel, on taking over from Gressmann the editorship of the *Z.A.T.W.*, his appeal for a more positive treatment of the religion of Israel. This appeal was, as it were, answered in advance by Eissfeldt's article in the Journal for 1926 on 'The History of the Religion of Israel and Judah, and Old Testament Theology.' In this article Eissfeldt, who is perhaps the most acute literary critic since Wellhausen, insists in the first place on the legitimacy of the historical method. Only through this method can we understand the progress of spiritual life in Israel. But knowledge of the historical movement can never lead us beyond the sphere of the 'relative and immanent.' To appreciate the 'absolute and transcendent' worth of the Bible, we must read it by the eyes of faith as a revelation of eternal truth and life. Knowledge and faith are complementary. Faith inspires knowledge; at the same time knowledge clarifies and enriches faith. For an adequate interpretation of the Bible, therefore, the two must go hand in hand. Though they may be like parallel planes, which meet only in the Infinite, yet they can be united in one person, and thus form a spiritual harmony in the finite.

The appearance of an article like this encourages one to hope that from among the younger Old Testament scholars in Germany there may arise a second Eichhorn, who shall point the way to the Highest Criticism—that of spirit and truth.