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and labour to straighten out the sorry tangle as far as might be. And for the sake of his repentant efforts he should not be utterly crushed into ruin and despair.

The famous fifty-first psalm was assuredly not written by David, but it was not inappropriate for a later age to attribute it to him. For he was certainly a man sincere in his repentance, and he, for one, learnt the good news: 'A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou shalt not despise'; he could even lay hold upon the hope that 'Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.' There is an earlier psalm, the thirty-second, which some Biblical scholars have claimed to be a composition of David's. But it strikes a note of such cheerful escape from the sense of guilt that it is hard to imagine David writing it. 'I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.' Something of that blessedness David no doubt felt, even though he did not arrive, perhaps, at so complacent a sense that all was well as the psalmist expresses. He did acknowledge his sin; and such confession is the beginning of all happy absolution.

It is easy for us to assume righteous indignation at this story of David's crime, and pour out a sneering scorn upon those who speak of him as 'a man after God's own heart.' He might well be called so in his hour of promise, ay, and in his hour of remorse. It were better for us to remember our Lord's satiric thrust about the mote and the beam, lest we should be found the objects of some later Nathan's parable, and should stagger before the accusing finger and the thundering word, 'Thou art the man!'[1]

[1] L. Johnson, *The Legends of Israel*, 229.

From the Institutum Judaicum.

By the Reverend O. S. Rankin, D.Litt., Sorbie, Wigtownshire.

Of recent studies claiming attention from the student of the religious history and philosophy of Judaism, the publication, under the auspices of the *Institutum Judaicum* of Berlin, of 'Stages of Development of the Jewish Religion' (*Entwicklungsstufen der jüdischen Religion* — Töpelmann, Giessen, 1927) is of particular importance. With the exception of a preliminary article by the gifted scholar, the late Professor Gressmann, the book consists of lectures from adherents of Judaism itself. Each lecture is a useful introduction to its own department of study and investigation, while together they give a comprehensive view of the growth of Judaism in its various periods and aspects.

(1) Gressmann describes the Mosaic religion as having its roots in the historical event of the defeat of the Egyptians, as being a religion of covenant and choice (*Wahlreligion*) with the moral ideals of nomadic civilization. At this time there were no State, no taxes, no money, no proprietors of land. Worship was without temple or image. Priests and altars of Jahve were rare. The occasions on which the religion of the race found highest expression were the days of market and festival, when the House-father or war-leader sacrificed, and the people ate flesh.

Established in Canaan, Israel the Nomad became Israel the Peasant, and his God underwent a similar change. Jahve becomes the Baal who sends rain and fruitfulness, and possesses himself of the high places of the Baalim, with their holy stones and pillars and the rites associated therewith. Even such a practice as the offering of the first-born appears. Barriers in faith and practice, separating the people of Jahve from the people of the land, have fallen, except the tradition of the Mosaic past, its moral heritage, and of the rough purity of the custom and law of the desert experience.

Certain groups in Israel—Rechabites, Levites, Priests, and Prophets—opposed the gradual absorbing of the religion of Jahve by that of Baal, but only when their spiritual energy became embodied in the great literary prophets could opposition rise to victory. The spiritual significance of the teaching of these prophets is that, for them, God and goodness, morality and piety, are one. God is He beside whom there is no other. His purpose and thought embrace the destiny of the nations as of Israel. Isaiah even draws a picture of all the

nations pilgrimaging that they might bring law from Jerusalem. This prophetic idealism represents the rallying-point in Israel's history, and the literary prophets may be regarded as the phalanx which retrieved the fortunes of Jahvism in its severest conflicts. The successes of the Assyrian armies, indeed, made history repeat itself, restored the worship of Baal, spread the finer Assyrian modes and customs. King Manasseh was protagonist of these changes. Assyrian deities become guests in the House of the Lord, the cults of the 'host of heaven' and of Ishtar, 'the Queen of heaven,' penetrate to the masses. But Manasseh's reaction was inwardly doomed even when it flourished, for the prophetic message, especially that of Isaiah, had undermined its appeal. The reformation in the reign of Josiah (622 B.C.), which may well be compared with the Lutheran reformation, was the thought and faith of the prophets come to triumph. It was on this foundation Ezra built.

(2) *Ezra and the Post-Exilic Judaism* (Professor Elbogen) analyses the conditions and presents some chief results of Ezra's almost superhuman task of restoring the Jewish State. The destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians had profited Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Philistines, and Samaritans. The post-war condition of the defeated nation had enabled them to gain control in the commercial sphere and to establish a hold upon the lands of the expropriated, as well as upon the land of the small proprietor. Alien influence and wealth had thrust tentacles far and deep by the time Ezra and his seventeen hundred and fifty companions planned (460 B.C.) to set out for Jerusalem. Beside this foreign strangle-hold upon the nation's new life in material form, a more intimate bond had been created by intermarriage, in which the priests and nobility of Judah had set the example. To alter these racial and economic conditions, to dissolve these alliances and 'cleanse' the nation, was a work as harsh and cruel as it seemed imperative. The Book of Ruth, which glorifies the adoption by marriage into the holy race of a Moabitess, destined to be the ancestress of David, may be taken as conveying the appeal and protest of the times against Ezra's iron resolution. To appreciate the quality of Ezra's policy, we must contrast it with the large-heartedness of the thought of the period and the unceasing effort, as reflected in 2 Isaiah, to convert the nations. Ezra's success, indeed, meant that he was forced to retire from the political scene for half a generation, for his victory had lost him the support of his own people and the sympathy of the Persian officials.

The greater portion of Ezra's scheme had to wait till Nehemiah had prepared the ground. It is now that his great purpose, to make the Law of Moses the ruling spiritual element in the life of the people, finds fulfilment. In Ezra's day Judaism stands forth as a 'religion of the book.' The institution of the people's congresses was his creation, thereby strengthening the responsibility of the individual layman in matters of religion. These Congregations of the people, at first held on special days, soon thereafter regularly on the Sabbath, and finally on the two weekly market-days, were the nurseries of instruction in the Pentateuch and, later, in the Prophets. Above all, it was here that the first forms of the Jewish liturgy were shapen. It is this time which developed the powers of the hymn in worship, and the practice of public and family prayers. It is the period of the laicization of religion in the best sense of the term, when the holy writings became the possession and concern of the individual member of the race.

(3) Rabbi Dr. Juda Bergmann (*Judaism in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*) reviews the Judaism of the Diaspora in the age when Hellenism, blended with the cults of Oriental religion, was unifying the religious conceptions of the then world, and compares the success of this process among the Jews of Alexandria with the Judaism of Palestine. His thesis is that while the Diaspora opened the door to Hellenism, the Palestinians kept the door closed. Dr. Bergmann shows that what Judaism owed to Hellenism in Egypt was in great part due to the challenge which the latter provoked. The Septuagint, for example, appeared at the instance, not of Ptolemy II., but through the need of the Greek-speaking Jews for the Scripture in a tongue they understood. The Greek Bible was the best missionary agent of a proselytizing faith. Hatred of Jews, inspired by such fables of their history as were spread by Manetho and Apion, was countered by polemic and apologetic. Philo sought to reconcile Jewish religion with Greek philosophy, but, in doing so, allows the former to be pressed too far into the background—so much so, that the Jewish religious philosophers of the Middle Ages who attempted the same task, founded, not on the works of the Jew Philo, but on Arabian teachers. Dr. Bergmann makes the significant observation that Philo's allegoric exegesis of Scripture contained the germs of a criticism which destroyed that which it sought to purify and save.

His own statement concerning the seclusion of Palestinian Judaism, however, the author modifies considerably, acknowledging the expansion of

Hellenism even after the success of the Maccabæan revolt, pointing to the currency of Greek loan-words, the founding of synagogues of Diaspora Jews in the motherland, the evidence of appreciation of Greek poetry, laws, wisdom, and art. The writer's conclusion, that the opinion that Hellenistic influence was almost as strong in Palestine as in Alexandria does not tally with the facts, will be readily accepted, but perhaps his view of the exclusiveness of the Homeland Judaism loses true perspective by being restricted too much to the contrast between Rabbinism and the Hellenized philosophy of so unique a personality as Philo. Between the two extremes represented by Philo, and the Rabbis who probably had never read a Greek philosophic work, there was room for influence from the Hellenistic world upon religion in its more popular forms and for minds like that of St. Paul, whose thought shows as intimate contact with the world outside Judaism as he himself had with Palestine.

(4) Professor Guttmann's *On the Origin and Growth of the Talmud* can be regarded as a valuable, if brief, supplement of Professor Strack's *Introduction to the Talmud*. Completed at the end of the fifth century, at the time of the destruction of the old western Roman Empire, the Babylonian Talmud is the tradition and learning of thirty generations of teachers, representing a period of about a thousand years. Its purpose is to transmit the whole oral tradition explanatory of Jewish law and scripture. Besides religious teaching it contains secular elements, history, folklore, personal experiences, and tales—a varied miscellany. The Talmud is not composed without system. The teachings, opinions, and conversations display in their sequence an arrangement suitable to their being committed to memory, and in accord with their having been transmitted by memory. This explains the absence, after the traditions took written form, of literary character and style.

In helping us to realize the possibility of preserving such a voluminous oral tradition, Professor Guttmann writes some very interesting pages, regarding the memorizing of Rabbinic teaching in the Babylonian schools of the third to the fifth centuries. In these schools the students achieved the task of learning by heart whole Talmud tractates so that any considerable place of learning was a complete Talmud library, not of folios, but of living tractates. There *Sabbat* spoke to *Pesachim* and *Roshhashana*. At meal-times, at the tables of the rich or learned they compared notes. Thus we have some light upon the legend about the man, who had in his lifetime mastered *Chagiga*, being visited when on his death-bed by that tractate in person and mourned.

Dr. Guttmann deals with the frequent references in the Talmud to subjects and events that are taken to be well known to the first listeners, but are left unexplained to us; also with the contradictory opinions which are met with in its pages. Through a very relevant and informing example, illustrative of the controversy with the Christians as to who are the rightful possessors of the Old Testament (cf. Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, etc., 4th German ed., p. 73 f.), the writer shows that these contradictions are not due alone to the fact that in the Talmud more than two thousand dicta are found, but that, through the generations, opinion on the same questions (*e.g.* whether the study of the Jewish Scriptures by Gentiles should be encouraged) had to be revised in the light of experience.

(5) In an essay on *The Religious Motives in the Philosophy of Maimonides*, Professor Julius Guttmann discusses the Jewish philosophy in the Middle Ages as represented by the author of the 'Guide of the Perplexed,' a writing which assisted Thomas Aquinas over the difficulties of the Aristotelian system. 'Maimonides is the classic representative of Jewish Aristotelianism,' and the central figure in the conflict which raged in the thirteenth century, in Jewish communities, between the friends and foes of a philosophy which affected deeply religious faith. Philosophy, for Maimonides, is the direct and only means of appropriating the inner content of revelation. Apart from philosophy there is only the traditional faith, the acceptance of revelation's externalities. In his view religious belief is a form of knowledge, and true spirituality can be attained only through philosophic thought, which is the central element of religion itself.

The Aristotelianism which confronted the Judaism of the time was mingled with Neo-Platonic elements. It is the Neo-Platonic concept of deity as abstract unity which Maimonides adopts, for it is this sublimation of the idea of God which religion demands and even the ethical quality of deity, which man apprehends only from God's works, is subordinate to this concept of His nature. In criticism of the Aristotelian theory of the eternity of the world, Maimonides perceives that Judaism stands or falls with the thought of the sovereignty of God. The question, he asserts, is not whether the world is eternal or had beginning in time, but whether it originates in God from necessity or is His free creation. He concludes that the forces and laws of necessity are inherent in the world,

but are not valid for the relation of the world to God, whose will holds sway over the impersonal teleology of dynamic laws. From this standpoint, having, in contrast to his acceptance of the Neo-Platonic concept of deity, established the Biblical personalism of God, Maimonides is able to discuss such vital themes of religion as miracles, providence, prophecy, and revelation. But here he does not exhibit the freedom from Aristotle's teaching which we might expect. Miracles are a component part of the original world-order, not an intervention. Even prophecy is a natural phenomenon, only—for Maimonides makes this great exception—the prophecy of Moses is *sui generis* and springs from the supernatural working of God. Thus the revelation of Judaism is placed in a supreme and unique position.

In the sphere of the religious theory of values, Maimonides is essentially Aristotelian. The significance of moral perfection is only its usefulness for human society. If we think of man apart from that society, his moral perfection has lost its purpose. The true essence of man is his intellectual perfection. To man's chief end morality is only a means. Consequently, immortality is that of the knowing mind, or, expressed in religious terms, the knowledge which is gained in communion with God. In the last chapter of the 'Guide,' Maimonides appears conscious of not having done full justice to the moral element of the Jewish faith, but the contemplative character of religion abides as his chief conception. Unwilling, however, to create too wide a cleft between 'the knowing' and the masses, he regards the latter as not altogether excluded from acquiring the necessary religious truth. The minimum of knowledge—represented by Maimonides's 'thirteen articles of belief' incorporated in the Jewish Prayer-Book—to which each Jew has access, suffices to give all Israel part in eternal life.

(6) Rabbi Baeck (*Origin and Beginnings of Jewish Mysticism*) begins by stating that the age in which Mysticism was developed in Judaism was that period of several centuries when in Palestine literary composition was consciously eschewed. This discouragement of writing he ascribes to the zeal for the one book (the Bible) and to the desire to avoid the creation of sects. It is thus no special characteristic of Mysticism as such, that, in Judaism, it is older than its literary expression. Kabbala in the sense of mystic teaching had come to this significance by the way of the more general meaning of 'oral tradition.' Mysticism the writer defines as the attempt to establish, whether by piety or by speculation, an immediate union between man, as an immortal being, and the Eternal Being, in virtue of which bond man passes from the state of passing existence into that of Existence itself. It is the belief that the distance between God and man can be bridged. Moreover, the immediacy of this union is the mark of Mysticism; for, when sacramental means or rites are employed, we enter upon the sphere of the Mystery-religion.

Jewish Mysticism, in its endeavour to make the man of this earth a cosmic being and to give him access to creative Divine power, does not deny the ethical task of man's earthly life, or seek to free or redeem him from this life. All the forces of the cosmos are forces of will and of fulfilment of moral commandment. Nor is the personality of man sacrificed. There is no equation of God to the world. The world is not resolved into God, or God into the world. Jewish Mysticism is not pantheistic, but rather a teaching of pananthropism, an elevation of man and extension of his action into the realm of the infinite.

Dr. Baeck traces Jewish mystic thought to the first century and cites the Talmud passages, familiar to those who have studied the works of Franck (*La Kabbale*) and Abelson (*Jewish Mysticism*), which refer to the male-female principles, 'the work of Creation' (*Maase Bereshith*) and the 'Chariot' (*Maase Mercaba*). From the Talmud we perceive that, *c.* A.D. 70, the attitude on the part of the leaders of Judaism towards mystic thought was not unfriendly, but that later (*Chagiga*, ii. 1; *Jerus. Chag.* 77*b*) the danger of theosophic speculation to the purity of religious belief had been observed.

The oldest mystical writings, though connecting with the forms of Mysticism of which the Talmud gives report, are mostly accounts of visions, of the apocalyptic order, or they are of the ecstatic type represented by the *Hechaloth* (Heavenly Mansions) literature. Of about the same age as the last-named productions is the *Sepher Jezirah* (Book of Formation). This book is the first attempt to provide the philosophic terminology of Mysticism, and shows dependence upon Neo-Pythagorean Neo-Platonic philosophy. The fundamental idea of this book is that man can attain to a knowledge of the mystery of Creation. For, since all that is took form through the creative word, and as this word consists of its alphabetic letters, these letters are the elements of all that exists. He to whom God vouchsafes knowledge, obtained through a true faith, can, by arranging these letters, these con-

stituent elements of Creation, determine the laws of the cosmos and thus becomes a cosmic being. The *Hechaloth* writings and the *Sepher Jezirah* complete the first stages of Jewish Mysticism. The origin of this Mysticism which appears so alien to the spirit of Judaism, Dr. Baeck considers to be that complex of Greek and Oriental thought and mythology called Gnosticism. Franck emphasized the Iranian element in that complex. It is this conclusion of the essayist, however, which leads to the opinion that a study of the origin of Jewish Mysticism must review more carefully earlier stages of Judaism much prior to the period surveyed by this introduction.

Fatherhood, Human and Divine.

By the Reverend W. H. Stubbs, B.A., Manchester.

The most remarkable thing about Jesus was His awareness of the Divine Presence. We are not unmindful of the grace and beauty of His life, nor can we escape the pity of His deeds, nor do we cease to wonder at the magic of His revealing words, but the thing before which we stand in silent awe and reverence is His God-consciousness. He was so certain. He had captured the great reality. It rested in His soul, expressed itself in His character and radiated a mysterious aura about His personality. Others, like Wordsworth, have felt 'a presence that disturbs me with the joy of elevated thoughts,' but Jesus discovered a form to that Presence. To Him it was not a vague mysterious something which defied definition, and escaped capture in some articulate form. It was a grasped reality. He had pushed on in His spiritual adventure through the misty uncertainty which had enveloped the adventures of others, until the fleeting glimpse of the face of God became a permanent possession, and the transient pressure of the Divine upon His soul had become a grasp which never relaxed. He stood in the clear light of a great certainty which was also a great companionship.

Jesus made many painful discoveries in life, but it would seem that the most painful of all was the discovery that other men did not know God as He knew Him. Other men roamed in the twilight, where shadow and shape deceived them, and where reality escaped them. They heard a voice in the garden at cool of day, and sometimes they caught a glimpse of something which was not of earth in the shadows, but it eluded them, and with Job they cried, 'Oh that I knew where I might find him!' But Jesus lived in the light, and where other men groped, He walked confidently. His life throughout was a friendship with God and the cultivation of an intimacy. Only once, so it would seem, did that Presence escape Him, only once did His light become darkness and He called from the depths of the darkness, 'My God! My God! why hast thou forsaken me?' Apart from this strange experience, the meaning of which lies beyond our understanding, we find Him uniquely conscious of God, and standing alone on that solitary eminence to which He had climbed. Perhaps, as others have suggested, it was this painful discovery that He was different from other men that ultimately led Him to the realization of His high calling. As He explored His experience, He saw His destiny. When the last cloud had lifted from the mountain on which He walked, and as He neared the summit, He saw a cross! He was lonely at last because of His exceptional experience. He had a life apart from men. He walked in ways known to Himself alone. He lived in two worlds. Into that other world which He had opened out for Himself, He would retire to explore the riches of a Divine intimacy and to enlarge His contact with God.

But Jesus was too generously natured to keep this great experience to Himself. He wanted to communicate to others that revelation which He had received in His own soul. What words, what thought-forms should He use to convey the experience? Into what moulds should He pour this thing so uniquely His own? What moulds would hold it? What earthen vessels of human thought would serve to convey this new treasure which He had minted in the solitariness of His own experience? Were there any old terms which would hold it? Was it possible to put a new experience into an old language, or should he invent a new language, new words and new thought-forms to hold this so wonderful a thing? How could Jesus break up and convey to others this great experience