THE HEREAFTER IN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN THOUGHT
To

MY UNCLE AND GODFATHER

HENRY VENN WOOD ELLIOTT
Vice-Admiral

IN GRATEFUL MEMORY
PREFACE

I have called the subject of these Lectures ‘The Hereafter in Jewish and Christian Thought, with Special Reference to the Doctrine of Resurrection’.

One of the paragraphs stating the conditions of the Moorhouse Lectureship enjoins that the subject chosen for the Lectures shall be ‘on the defence and confirmation of the Christian Faith in the Apostles’ and Nicene Creeds’. I need hardly point out that the Hereafter is mentioned in certain clauses of the Creeds, thus becoming a legitimate theme for a Moorhouse Lecturer. Bishop Moorhouse himself was interested in Eschatology, and wrote a work dealing with one aspect of that study.

In order to make Jewish Thought on the subject intelligible I have sometimes dealt with Ethnic Thought, which, by way of relationship or contrast, throws light upon the thought of the Hebrew people. In dealing with the Doctrine of Resurrection, which I have treated with special fulness, I have devoted a whole Lecture to the Resurrection in Ethnic Thought.

The Jewish Literature, other than the Old Testament, with which we are concerned is divided into two branches—the Apocalyptic and the Rabbinic. The former has been for some time familiar to scholars—largely through the work of the late Archdeacon
Charles of Westminster. His *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* is indispensable to any worker in this field. The Rabbinic Literature, on the other hand, is less well known to the majority of readers. It has, however, in part, recently been made available for those who are not themselves experts in Rabbinic lore through the translation into English of the Mishnah by Professor Danby of Oxford—the translation being printed by the Oxford University Press. The great work of the two German scholars, Strack and Billerbeck—*Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*—has made available all the passages in the Talmudic Literature which in any way throw light upon the New Testament. My debt to these two scholars is great and obvious. I am also indebted to the book by the late Professor George Foot Moore of Harvard, *Judaism*, which treats admirably of the Apocalyptic Literature and of the Rabbinic Literature of the first two centuries after Christ.

Those who desire to study further the mind of the Rabbis will probably find books by Edersheim, Montefiore, Abrahams, Herford and Klausner accessible.

I have not thought it necessary to print a list of the various works comprised in the Rabbinic Literature. I would refer my readers to such easily accessible articles as the article by Schechter in Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible, vol. 5, and the article by Dr. Oesterley in Hastings’ One Volume Dictionary of the Bible; both articles are printed under the title ‘Talmud.’ I would refer, also, to the book written by Dr. Oesterley, in collaboration with Dr. Box, called
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A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism (S.P.C.K.).

I have found it difficult to determine whether to document fully or not the portions of the Lectures which deal with the Rabbinic Literature. Normally a writer should document. But in this particular case it is safe to infer that few of my readers will have access to the Talmudical Literature, while elaborate documentation increases the cost of a book. I have, therefore, decided only to document some of the more important passages, and to refer my readers for full documentation to the relative portions of Strack-Billerbeck. These will be found listed on the page following the Table of Contents.

I have generally taken such references as I have given to passages in the Rabbinic Writings from Strack-Billerbeck. As a rule, I have preserved the German transliteration of the Hebrew. Thus I have spelt 'Pesachim' rather than 'Pesahim.'

I am venturing to reprint, by permission, as an Appendix, an article of mine which appeared in the Canadian Journal of Religious Thought in the year 1924 (vol. i, No. 6). The article deals with, and contains a translation of, an interesting Icelandic Mediaeval Poem, which gives a description of Life after Death according to the conceptions of the Christian Middle Ages, but with a distinctively Norse colouring.

Where poems or translations of poems are not assigned to any particular author they are by the present writer.
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Workers in Australasia who deal with such subjects as those of the present Lectures find their distance from the great libraries of Europe and America a disadvantage. This difficulty has been somewhat lessened for me by the kindness of Rabbi Falk of the Great Synagogue of Sydney, who gave me the freedom of his library. To him I express my gratitude. I am also grateful to my friends, the Archbishop of Brisbane, the Most Reverend J. W. C. Wand, D.D., and the Archbishop of Melbourne, the Most Reverend F. W. Head, B.D., M.C.—to the one for his kindness in reading the Lectures in their first typed form, and for valuable suggestions; to the other for inviting me on behalf of the Trustees to deliver the Lectures.

I have been interested to discover that many of my conclusions are largely similar to those of the Commission on Doctrine appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. I have ventured to place quotations from *Doctrine in the Church of England* at the head of each Lecture, in order to demonstrate this general agreement, or at least similarity of attitude.

The quotations from Dr. Charles' version of the Book of Enoch, and from his *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, both published by the Oxford University Press, are made by the kind permission of the Clarendon Press. So is also the quotation from *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*.

CHARLES VENN PILCHER

S. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL,
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*S.B.* = Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*.


*D.A.C.* = Hastings' Dictionary of the Apostolic Church.

*E.R.E.* = Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

*S.B.E.* = Sacred Books of the East.

*I.C.C.* = International Critical Commentary.


For full references to the Rabbinic Literature see for


Lecture V: *S.B.*, vol. i. pp. 888-897.
LECTURE I

THE MESSIAH
Inasmuch as eschatological beliefs and doctrines are concerned, of necessity, with matters in respect of which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard", these beliefs are inevitably expressed in symbolical language. Often the different pictorial images employed will be inconsistent with one another. Their pictorial character having been once clearly grasped, there is no need to attempt to combine them into one picture. Moreover, the several pictures often represent tendencies of thought which are not, as they stand, compatible; we may seek to reconcile the elements of spiritual value found in these, but we must not expect to achieve this perfectly until we have that knowledge of the world to come which is only to be gained by entrance into it.

*Doctrine in the Church of England*, p. 203.
(The Report of the Commission on Christian Doctrine appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1922.)

I cannot tell how He will win the nations,
How He will claim His earthly heritage,
How satisfy the needs and aspirations
Of East and West, of sinner and of sage.
But this I know, all flesh shall see His glory,
And He shall reap the harvest He has sown,
And some glad day His sun shall shine in splendour
When He, the Saviour of the world, is known.

W. Y. FULLERTON
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INTRODUCTION

I am to speak to you on 'The Hereafter in Jewish and Christian Thought'.

The Hereafter must ever be a subject of deep interest to the human mind because man cannot help asking, "What is to be the future of the Race? What is to be the future of the Individual?"

To find an answer to these questions Christians have turned to the pages of Holy Scripture, and have endeavoured to fit together into one coherent scheme the varied thoughts which they found there. But these thoughts are essentially Jewish, and are expressed in Jewish symbolism. They can therefore only be understood in the light of that Jewish thought-world which forms their background. Again, Jewish thought can only be understood in the light of the thought-world of the Ancient East—notably that of Babylonia and of Persia. It is therefore only through comparative study that we can form a judgement as to what is the husk, what is the kernel of the teaching of Scripture; or, in other words, what is to be attributed merely to the form of expression and what is of the essence of the faith.

THE RELEVANT JEWISH LITERATURE

The Jewish Literature with which we are concerned—besides, of course, the Old Testament itself—is that which was composed or written in the centuries
immediately before and immediately following the time of Christ.

Two main sections of that literature are of special importance in connection with our investigation: the Apocalyptic and the Rabbinic—the one the product of apocalyptic Pharisaism; the other the product of legalistic Pharisaism. Both have their origin in those Jewish circles of which we read so much in the Gospel pages—the Scribes and Pharisees.

The Apocalyptic Literature

The title Apocalypse is given to certain books of clearly marked characteristics, which were written during the two centuries preceding and the century following the birth of Christ. The later Rabbinic Apocalypses do not fall within our purview. Apocalypse means 'unveiling' or 'revelation'. The books so named purport to describe unveilings of the secrets of the spiritual world and of the future, revealed in vision to worthies of old, such as Enoch or Daniel or Baruch or Ezra. These visions are characterized by a broad portraiture of history, past and future, painted under symbolic forms of stupendous and weird grandeur. Strange beasts and angels and demonic forces and cosmic catastrophes are splashed upon the canvas. Certain sections of the old Hebrew prophecy are of somewhat the same colourful and vivid character. The Apocalyptic writers, probably under the influence of Persian ideas, worked out the suggestions of prophecy into a new and bewildering phantasmagoria. These books are, as a rule, pseudepigraphic—that is to say, the authors do not write under their own names, but under the names of great men of the past. Only so, when the Law was dominant in Judaism, was it possible to obtain a hearing for a new message. This
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new message the writers felt burdened to give, for the Apocalypses were "tracts for bad times", and were written to hearten men to endurance under national oppression by telling of the swiftly approaching intervention of God on behalf of His people. One of these apocalyptic books has been included within the Old Testament Canon—the Book of Daniel; another, the so-called Fourth Ezra, may be read in the Apocrypha; yet another is the well-known Revelation of S. John which closes the New Testament.

The light which these books throw upon the origin of Christian Eschatology has only become clear during recent times. The greater number of the Apocalypses were discovered or printed during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The monumental work, edited by the late Archdeacon R. H. Charles of Westminster in the year 1913, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, has placed the once scattered material within easy access of scholars. Much use has been made of this Apocalyptic Literature in recent criticism of the Gospels. In fact, we shall, in this part of our investigation, be travelling over fairly familiar ground.

The Rabbinic Literature

The Rabbinic Literature, on the other hand, is less well known to Christian students. It is of vast bulk and can scarcely be called attractive to the normal Western mind. The main portion of this literature is included in the Talmud. To give a rough description of the Talmud will be our next task.

From the time of Ezra the Law, or Torah, in its narrower sense, the Pentateuch, became supreme in Judaism. In order to make sure of the correct observance of its precepts it was necessary that the Rabbis should give expositions of the Law and of the remaining
books of Scripture. Such explanations were known as Midrashim, the plural form of the noun Midrash, from a root meaning to 'search out', and so 'to explain'. These Midrashim were passed down orally from Rabbi to Rabbi, and were enlarged and multiplied in the process. About the time of Christ we meet with two very important Rabbis, Shammai and Hillel—Shammai representing the rigorist and Hillel the humanist interpretation of the Law. From the days of Shammai and Hillel to about the end of the second century of our era, a series of Rabbis studied and taught and passed on to their successors the traditional material. The Rabbis of this period were known as the Tannaim, or the Repeaters. At length a Rabbi known as Judah Hannasi, Judah the Prince, A.D. 160 to 210, codified and committed to writing the main part of the legal matter which had been handed down orally to his day. The result of his work was the so-called Mishnah or Repetition. The language of the Mishnah is New Hebrew—a form of Hebrew based on the language of the Old Testament, but modified and adapted for new uses.

The Mishnah was followed by a period lasting about three centuries during which the Rabbis were known as the Amoraim or Speakers. These Rabbis commented on the Mishnah and carried the tradition forward a further stage. Their comments were written down in the Gemara or Supplement, the language of this latter being Aramaic. Mishnah and Gemara together make up the Talmud. This vast work was completed in two forms—the Jerusalem Talmud about the end of the fourth century and the Babylonian Talmud about a century later.

Beside the Talmud, a considerable amount of legal material is extant which never found inclusion in the greater collection, though sometimes printed with it.
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Also many important Midrashic works, commentaries on Scripture, not of a legal and ritual, but of a homiletic and exegetical character, are in existence. Some of the most important of these date from the third and fourth centuries.

The Work of Strack-Billerbeck

The parts of this Rabbinic Literature which throw light on the New Testament and its background have recently been made available through the exhaustive and painstaking work of two German scholars, Dr. Hermann L. Strack and Dr. Paul Billerbeck. The first volume of their great work, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, was printed by Oskar Beck of Munich in the year 1922. The second volume appeared in 1924. But already, in the year of the appearance of the first volume, Professor Strack had been called to his reward. The subsequent volumes were brought out under the care of Dr. Billerbeck—the final and fourth volume appearing in two parts just ten years ago.

At this point the lecturer desires to pay his tribute of gratitude and admiration to the work of these and other German Biblical scholars. Professors Strack and Billerbeck in the preface to their first volume tell how the vast expense of printing such a book was lightened by subscriptions coming from abroad—two of them from England. "A happy token", they add, "that here and there the conviction is forming that for the honour of the Church and of scientific study a tragically divided Christendom must be brought together."

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It may at first sight seem strange that we begin our discussion of the Hereafter with "The Messiah." But
it must be remembered that the Messiah to the Jews is the agent of the eschatological deliverance, while Christians expect the Second Advent of the Messiah in order that He may complete His work.

The Name Messiah

Our English word, 'Messiah', is from the Greek 'Messias'; a Graecized form of the Aramaic 'M'shiha', an equivalent of the Hebrew 'Mashiah'-anointed. The Greek 'Christos' is a translation of the Hebrew or Aramaic word for 'Messiah'. Hebrew kings, like our own, underwent the solemn ceremony of anointing—it being believed that with the oil the strength of the God, in whose name the ceremony was performed, entered into the new monarch. The Messiah is thus the 'Anointed King'. The term, however, is used in the New Testament, as in the Rabbinic Literature, of the expected King of the Latter Days, who is to usher in the period of salvation for Israel. The term is always, in fact, eschatological. When Jesus claimed to be the Messiah or the Christ, He claimed to come as the King of Israel, foretold by the Prophets, who was to bring in the redemption-era for His people.

The use of the term is based on certain Old Testament passages, notably Psalm 2:2, "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed"; Psalm 18:50, "Great deliverance giveth he to his king, and sheweth lovingkindness to his anointed"; Psalm 20:6, "Now know I that the Lord saveth his anointed"; Psalm 89:51, "They have reproached the footsteps of thine anointed"; Psalm 132:17, "There will I make the horn of David to bud: I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed"; 1 Samuel 2:10, "The Lord shall judge the ends of the earth; and he
shall give strength unto his king, and exalt the horn of his anointed."

There was also another name for the King of the Future Age which at one time almost came to rival the name Messiah. This was the name Scion, that is to say, scion or descendant of David. This name will be found in Isaiah 11:1; Jeremiah 23:5, 33:15; Zechariah 3:8, 6:12. In all these verses, except in Isaiah 11:1, the Hebrew word used is ‘Tsemach’. In Isaiah 11:1 it is ‘Netser’.

This word ‘Netser’ probably gives us the key of the well-known and difficult verse, S. Matthew 2:23, "And came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, that he should be called a Nazarene". Now you may search the Old Testament through and you will discover no such prophecy. How then came the Evangelist to write, "Which was spoken by the prophets"? The answer to this question is discovered in a strange hermeneutical device of the Rabbis, which the Evangelist is evidently here using. The Rabbis would frequently alter the vowels of an Old Testament word, or even change the order of its consonants, and say, "Read not such and such a word, but read thus". So the Evangelist fastens on the Isaianic word ‘Netser’. Alter the vowels and you get ‘Nots’ri’—the Hebrew for a Nazarene. This method of dealing with the prophetic text will seem less startling when we realize that the Evangelist interpreted the prophecy that the Messiah should grow out of the root of Jesse as meaning that his origin would be obscure. Now Nazareth was an obscure place. Hence the arbitrary shifting of the vowels at least indicated an inference from the Prophet's words. We must realize that Rabbinic methods of interpretation are not ours. The scientific study of the
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Biblical text by the historical method, the effort to discover what the words meant to the writer in his situation and with his categories of thought, is a product of quite modern times.

ETHNIC CONCEPTIONS OF A DELIVERER

It is interesting to note that Israel was not the only nation who believed in deliverance to be wrought by a god or by a king who claimed the divine functions. Such thoughts were found in Babylon, Egypt, Persia. We confine ourselves to the first of these three. In the Euphrates valley, beginning with early Sumerian times, we find the conception of two Saviour-gods—of one who dies and rises again, who is identified with Tammuz; and of a second who fights and conquers and who is identified with Marduk. But the main point for our study is to notice that court-poets transferred supernatural characteristics to the Saviour-king. Thus Hammurabi (made famous by his legal code, now to be seen in the Louvre at Paris; and by some identified with the Amraphel against whom Abraham fought) is described as a child of the Sun-god from his birth. He is spoken of as one who would bring right to acceptance in the land, and who would extirpate evil. On a statue which represents him are inscribed the words: "How long wilt thou tarry?" Men seem also to have expected his return after death. So, too, Asshurbanipal, the last great king of Assyria, is spoken of as having possessed a god for his father and the goddess Ishtar for his mother. With his appearing "The time is fulfilled". A Messianic springtime awakes the earth to fruitfulness: "Since the gods in their good pleasure had seated me on the throne of my fathers, Adad sent his rain, Ea opened his
fountains, the ears of wheat were five ells high, the fields were always green, cattle were fruitful” (Alfred Jeremias, *H.A.G.*, p. 320). We discover also Messianic traits in these words of Sargon of Akkad: “I was born upon the mountains which no man knoweth. ... Then hast thou, Ishtar, awful queen among the gods, chosen me with the glance of thine eyes, and longed after my lordship; thou hast brought me from the mountains, thou hast called me to be the shepherd of men, thou hast lent me a righteous sceptre.” Another Messianic activity is to “gather together the scattered”. Thus Hammurabi tells us that he was called from his mother’s womb to save the weak and miserable and to “gather together the scattered”. The darkening of sun and moon in Babylonian thought betokens the death of a great king.

Hermann Gunkel in his delightful book, *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (Select Psalms) has shown that Hebrew poets adopted the same manner as the Babylonians in speaking of their king. Psalm 2 was in all probability composed by the court poet upon the occasion of the coronation of a young Hebrew king, whose foreign subjects had seized the opportunity of his inexperience to revolt. The same is true of Psalm 110. Both Hebrew and Babylonian Laureates speak of the divine birth of the monarch. As Ishtar is the divine mother of Asshurbanipal or of Sargon, so Jehovah or Yahweh is the father of the Israelitish king. This is perfectly plain, in the case of Psalm 2, from the words “This day have I begotten thee”. In the case of Psalm 110 it is not so plain to the reader who knows the English Versions or the Hebrew of the Massoretic text only. But the Septuagint suggests what must have been the true text. The end of verse 3 reads in this old Greek Version, made perhaps in the third century before
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Christ: "From the womb before the morning star did I beget thee". Working on the basis of this translation it is easy to infer that the original Hebrew text must have read: "Upon the holy mountains from the womb of the dawn did I beget thee" (reading הָל־ו for הָל־וָם). The similarity to the Babylonian terms is obvious. As these terms had a close connection with eschatology, so the Hebrew terms may have possessed an eschatological flavour, and could naturally be taken as referring to the Messianic King of the Future Age of Salvation.

THE MESSIAH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Among the chief Messianic passages in the Old Testament may be noted, beside the Psalms already mentioned with their apparently Babylonian colouring, Psalms 72 and 89; Isaiah 9: 6, 7;—verses occurring in the well-known Lesson for Christmas Day—Isaiah 11, 32:1-6, 33:17; Jeremiah 23:5-8, 33:14-26; Zechariah 3:8-10, 6:12-14, 9:9, 10. It will be noticed that these passages refer to the coming of a human king of the seed of David, who is to sit upon the throne of his great ancestor and, filled with the Holy Spirit, rule over Israel in the glorious future age of freedom and prosperity and peace and righteousness. It was upon such passages as these that the Rabbis grounded their doctrine of a human Messiah, a descendant of David, ruling over an earthly kingdom.

1 ἵκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐωσφόρου ἐγένετο σέ.
2 The words rendered 'Mighty God' in Isaiah 9: 6 do not necessarily imply the deity of the Messiah. See the Commentaries, ad loc. Thus Schultz, in his Old Testament Theology, vol. 2, p. 404, writes: 'Divine Hero, i.e., a warrior going forth in the strength of God'. The Hebrew word for God, 'El,' is used of men in Ezekiel 31:11 and 32:21. Gressmann would take the phrase as traditional and based upon mythology. See Gray in 'Isaiah,' in I.C.C., p. 173.
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THE MESSIAH AS MAN IN JEWISH THOUGHT

The Rabbis admitted the Messiah to be Son of God only in a metaphorical sense. Trypho, the Jew who argued with Justin Martyr in such a courteous manner, was expressing the views of his people when he stated that they awaited a Messiah who was merely human. In fact, a Rabbi of the name of Hillel, who probably lived about the year A.D. 300, believed that King Hezekiah was the Messiah and that Israel could expect no other. Others believed that David or Jehoshaphat or Josiah would return from the other world as Israel's Messiah. Similar tendencies of thought led to the belief in Denmark that Holger the Dane would return in the hour of his nation's need. Readers of German poetry will recall the famous lyric of Friedrich Rückert beginning "Der alte Barbarossa, der Kaiser Friedrich". We may even come nearer home and remember Sir Henry Newbolt's poem, "Drake's Drum". The old Elizabethan Admiral will be there in the hour of future need to lead the English fleet to victory:

Call him on the deep sea, call him up the Sound,
Call him when ye sail to meet the foe;
Where the old trade's plyin' an' the old flag flyin'
They shall find him ware an' wakin', as they found him long ago!

As an illustration of the Jewish idea of the Messiah as a human king, it may be worth while to quote a passage from one of the Psalms of Solomon, written by a Pharisee soon after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. This psalm admirably brings before us the popular conception of the Messiah and his work as held in Our Lord's day:

"Behold, Lord, and raise up for them their king, the son of David, at the time, O God, which thou didst see,
for him to reign over thy servant Israel. Gird him with strength to shatter unrighteous rulers; (Cleanse Jerusalem from the Gentiles who trample her down with destruction) in wisdom, in righteousness to thrust out sinners from the inheritance. . . . And he will gather together a holy people whom he will rule in righteousness, and he will judge the tribes of the people sanctified by the Lord his God, and he will not suffer injustice to camp any more in their midst . . . and a stranger and an alien shall no more sojourn among them.” (Psalm 17:23-31).

The general view of the Apocalyptic writers, with one notable exception to be considered later, is similar.

*The Virgin Birth*

The idea of the Virgin Birth of the Messiah was not held among the Rabbis. It is true that in the well-known passage, Isaiah 7:14, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel”, the Septuagint rendered the Hebrew word ‘Almah’ by παρθένοις (virgin); but Aquila, in his later version, as a protest against the Christian use of the passage, translated ‘Almah’ by νεανίς (young woman). It is quite possible, however, that the Septuagint translators preserved an older tradition. Hugo Gressmann and Burney, quoting Jeremias (Buchanan Gray in ‘Isaiah’ in I.C.C. (p. 125 f.) does not take this view), have pointed out that the use of ‘Almah’ may be connected with the idea of the Saviour-king as the son of the primaeval All-Mother virgin goddess. In other words, the old mythical phraseology may have been used by the prophet in his reference to the reigning queen, just as the court poets were in the habit of using the Babylonian mythical phraseology in their references.
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to the reigning king. The Seventy, if this be the case, were right in translating ‘Almah’ by παρθένος in view of the mythological reference. The Rabbinical translator was also right in translating the word by νεῶν, because the prophecy was actually spoken of Ahaz’s queen. That the Rabbis were correct in their view as to who the young woman was is clearly shown by the two verses which follow in the Isaianic passage. Before the child Immanuel has reached years of discretion Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Syria will no longer reign as kings. The prophecy must, therefore, in its original intent, have been of immediate application. Even if mythological language were used and the queen described as ‘virgin’, she actually was a married woman. The Rabbis had a good case against the Christian exegesis. It is interesting to notice that even S. Jerome, commenting on this passage in Isaiah, writes: “porro Alma apud eos verbum ambiguum est” (the word ‘Almah’ is ambiguous in Hebrew). In short, the Hebrew word does not necessarily mean ‘virgin’; it could be applied to any young woman.

Strack-Billerbeck are authorities for the existence of a strange Rabbinic tradition that the Messiah’s father would be of the tribe of Judah, his mother of the tribe of Dan (S.B., vol. iv. p. 1248).

The Pre-existence of the Messiah

Nor did the Rabbis think of the Messiah as pre-existent. It is true that certain Rabbis thought of the Messiah as pre-existent in the mind of God. “Seven things”, we read, “were created before the creation of the world, namely, the Law, Repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple and the Name of the Messiah” (Pesachim 54a Bar-aitha). The precise meaning of these words is made
clearer by another quotation: "Six things preceded the Creation. Some of these were actually created; others were conceived in the mind of God. The Law and the Throne of Glory were actually created; the Patriarchs, Israel, the Temple and the Name of the Messiah were conceived in the mind of God with a view to their creation" (Genesis Rabba 1 (2b)). In other words, they formed a part of the unalterable plan and purpose of God.

Other Rabbis, as we have already noted, believed in the pre-existence of the Messiah in the sense that he would be one of the dead come to earth again—David, or Jehoshaphat, or Hezekiah. Thus it is told of a certain Rabbi, Johanan ben Zakkai, who died about A.D. 80, that as he felt death approaching he ordered, "Clear the court and... make a throne ready for Hezekiah, the King of Judah" (Palestinian Sota 24c, 26).

Again, it was believed that the Messiah during the earlier part of his lifetime would remain hid, and then appear publicly to do his work. Some believed that the Messiah would be hidden in Rome, on the ground that as Moses came forth from the midst of that very Egyptian people who were oppressing Israel, so in the latter days the Messiah would issue forth from the tyrant city of Rome.

There was, further, the belief in certain circles that as all human souls existed before birth, so also the soul of the Messiah. The Alexandrian School of Philo had accepted this doctrine under the influence of Platonism. In Judaism pre-existence of souls was believed by the Essenes. In the Rabbinic Literature we first come across the idea soon after the middle of the third century before Christ (S.B., vol. ii. p. 342).

In a word, some Rabbis held the belief in the pre-
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existence of the Messiah in the same sense in which pre-existence might be attributed to the soul of any man. They did not believe that the Messiah pre-existed as God.

THE MESSIAH AS KING

The very name Messiah implies Kingship. Sometimes in the prophetic writings God is the agent of Israel's great deliverance. The Messiah reigns when the victory has already been won. But there are other passages which speak of the Messiah as God's agent in the deliverance. He is not merely a king ruling in righteousness over a people already delivered; he is the victorious king who effects the deliverance. He is to break the heads of the heathen and fill the valleys with the dead bodies (Psalm 110:6). This idea is taken up, as we have already seen, in the Psalms of Solomon (17). It is also found in the Sibylline Oracles: "And then from the sunrise shall God send a king, who shall give every land relief from the ban of war: some he shall slay, and with some he shall make firm treaties" (3:652-654). From the Gospels it is plain that the idea of the Messiah as a conquering king, who would free the people of Israel from the domination of Rome, was prevalent among the masses.

THE MESSIAH AS SUFFERER

We must now consider the idea of the Messiah as Sufferer. It was only after the time of Christ that some of the Rabbis began to speak of a suffering and a dying Messiah—not as a result of the influence of the Christian Church, with whom they had no relations but those of hostility, but as a result of their meditation upon
such prophetic passages as Isaiah 53 and Zechariah 12:10. At the time of Christ, as the Apocalyptic writers show, the Messiah was expected to usher in the ultimate age of bliss for Israel, and therefore could not be regarded as a sufferer. When, however, the idea of suffering and of death began to be connected with the Messiah, we discover that suffering was assigned to one Messiah and death to another. In fact, the Rabbis began to speak of two Messiahs—Messiah the King, the son of David, who was to suffer, and Messiah the Warrior, the son of Joseph, who was to die. (The earliest reference seems to be Sukkah, 52a, b.) This latter idea suddenly came into the Rabbinic mind about A.D. 150. But when and how did the Rabbis believe that the Davidic Messiah was destined to suffer? Some believed that he would suffer in the heavenly world before his birth; others thought that he would suffer during the period of his concealment before his entrance on his mission—his concealment being imagined as taking place in Rome or in the Garden of Eden, that is, Paradise. Others again thought of suffering as being incurred in the early days of his mission. These sufferings were regarded as being caused either by the attacks of spiritual powers of evil, or through the postponement of the time of the Messianic deliverance, or through the sickness of leprosy, or through imprisonment and the mockery of his foes. The purpose of these sufferings was believed to be atonement for the sins of Israel. He suffered vicariously for his people. He was not thought of as suffering for the sins of the world. He suffered, but did not die, for he was to reign.

The Messiah, the son of Joseph, or, as he is sometimes called, the son of Ephraim, was to fight a war to make the reign of the son of David possible, and in that
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war he was to be killed. The thought of the two Messiahs was probably based on the belief that Israel's final deliverance would resemble Israel's redemption from Egypt. As in those early days Moses was supported by an Aaron or a Joshua, so would it be in the latter days. A Messiah ben Joseph would stand at the side of the Messiah ben David. The Biblical text on which this theory was based is found in Deuteronomy 33:16, 17: "Let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph, and upon the crown of the head of him that was separate from his brethren. The firstling of his bullock, majesty is his; and his horns are the horns of the wild-ox: with them he shall push the peoples all of them, even the ends of the earth: and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim." It was against Rome that the Messiah ben Ephraim would wage war. It may be interesting to recount in some detail, as illustrating the strange Rabbinic dreamland, one of the forecasts of the activities of the two Messiahs. After birth the two Messiahs were taken back to Paradise to await the hour of their mission. The Messiah ben Joseph then appears in Upper Galilee. There his troops gather round him and he fights his victorious way towards Jerusalem. When he has rebuilt the Temple he lives for forty years in peace. Then he is attacked by Gog and killed. The people lift up their voices in great lamentation and flee to the wilderness. After a period of testing lasting forty-five days, the Messiah ben David appears in Rome and annihilates the Roman Empire. The date of this Rabbinic conception is about A.D. 300. No atoning power is attributed to the death of this Messiah ben Joseph, nor is he in any way connected with Isaiah 53. (For references to passages in the Rabbinic writings see Strack-Billerbeck, vol. ii. pp. 273-299.)
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THE MESSIAH AS SON OF MAN

There is, however, as is well known, a notable exception to the view of the Messiah as a man. The writer of that section of the composite Book of Enoch, known as the Parables or Similitudes, speaks of the Messiah under the title of the 'Son of Man'. Taking the 'Son of Man' passage in Daniel 7:13, 14 as his basis, he transmutes the idea of the earlier writer. To the author of Daniel the Son of Man was a symbol of Israel, receiving the gift of rule from the hands of God, the Everlasting, in succession to the bestial world-empires of naked force (Daniel 7:18). To the author of the Parables, writing in all probability early in the last century before Christ, the Son of Man is a pre-existent and supernatural being, neither God nor man, who comes from the heavenly presence of God to do his work upon earth, as judge of the world, revealer of truth, champion of the righteous. He sits on God's throne and possesses universal dominion. He is given such titles as the Elect One, the Righteous One, and ushers in the hour of the resurrection of the dead. The human Messiah of the earlier writers is transmuted by a strange supernatural eschatology. A quotation from the Book of Enoch will make the writer's views of the Son of Man more plain. I quote from Archdeacon R. H. Charles' edition of Enoch:

Enoch 46:

1. And there I saw One who had a head of days,
   And His head was white like wool,
   And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,
   And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

2. And I asked the Angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that
3. Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days? And he answered and said unto me:
This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness,
And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,
Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,
And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.

4. And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats,
(And the strong from their thrones)
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
And break the teeth of the sinners.

5. (And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms)
Because they do not extol and praise Him,
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.

6. And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,
And shall fill them with shame.
And darkness shall be their dwelling,
And worms shall be their bed,
And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.

7. And these are they who judge the stars of heaven,
(And raise their hands against the Most High),
And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it.
And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness,
And their power rests upon their riches,
And their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits.

8. And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.

Enoch 47:

1. And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous,
And the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.

2. In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens
Shall unite with one voice
And supplicate and pray (and praise,
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And give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits
On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed,
And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before
the Lord of Spirits,
That judgement may be done unto them,
And that they may not have to suffer for ever.

3. In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself
upon the throne of His glory,
And the books of the living were opened before Him:
And all His host which is in heaven above and His counsellors
stood before Him,
4. And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy;
Because the number of the righteous had been offered,
And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord
of Spirits.

Enoch 48:

1. And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness
Which was inexhaustible:
And around it were many fountains of wisdom:
And all the thirsty drank of them,
And were filled with wisdom,
And their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and
elect.
2. And at that hour that Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the Head of Days.
3. Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,
Before the stars of the heaven were made,
His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.
4. He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves
and not fall,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.
5. All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him
And will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of
Spirits.
6. And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him
Before the creation of the world and for evermore.
7. And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to
the holy and righteous:
For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous,
Because they have hated and despised this world of un-
righteousness,
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And have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits:
For in his name they are saved,
And according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.

8. In these days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become,
And the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands,
For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not (be able to) save themselves.

9. And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect:
As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy:
As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous,
And no trace of them shall any more be found.

10. And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth,
And before them they shall fall and not rise again:
And there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them:
For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed.

Enoch 49:

1. For wisdom is poured out like water,
And glory faileth not before him for evermore.

2. And he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness,
And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow,
And have no continuance;
Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,
And his glory is for ever and ever,
And his might unto all generations.

3. And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom,
And the spirit which gives insight,
And the spirit of understanding and of might,
And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness,

4. And he shall judge the secret things,
And none shall be able to utter a lying word before him;
For he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.

The similarity of much of this language to passages in the New Testament will be immediately evident.
In fact, certain scholars have considered these parts of the Book of Enoch to have come from a Christian pen.
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This, however, seems unlikely, as no mention is made in the Parables of Enoch of the crucifixion or resurrection of the Messiah.

It may be that we should use these passages with caution, but if the Epistle of S. Jude is by a brother of the Lord we seem to have an indication that the Book of Enoch was known in the home at Nazareth, and so may have been read by the Lord Himself. He may thus have been influenced not only by Daniel, but also by Enoch, in His use of the term 'Son of Man'. The term, however, was not widely known among the people, where the title 'Son of David', with all that it implied, held the field. This is probably true, although, as we shall see, the term 'Son of Man', or its idea, is not unknown in later writings.

In fact, the idea of the pre-existent Son of Man as Messiah is also to be found in 4 Ezra 13 in the vision of the Man from the Sea, who overthrows the wicked and saves the righteous. Commenting on this passage, Box makes an interesting suggestion as to the possible origin of the idea: "The term 'the Man' (or 'One like unto a Son of Man' in Daniel 7) apparently denoted, in the earlier stages of the tradition, an angelic being who was invested with attributes, proper only to Jehovah Himself, and ultimately developed into the heavenly Messiah. In the earliest stage of all this 'Man' was the Cosmic Man—the 'Urmensch'—who, endowed with supernatural gifts, fights and overcomes the monster of chaos" (Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of Old Testament, vol. 2, p. 616). So too the writer of the Sibylline Oracles (5:414) expects the Messiah to come from heaven. We shall probably be justified in believing that much of the Apocalyptic material is traditional and goes back to Babylonian thought.

The Rabbis also in several passages use the title Son
of Man of the Messiah. The most remarkable are the following:—In Sanhedrin 98 we read: “Rabbi Alexander (about A.D. 270) has said: Rabbi Joshua ben Levi (about A.D. 250) placed together the two passages, ‘Behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man’ (Daniel 7:13) and ‘Lowly and riding upon an ass’ (Zechariah 9:9). If Israel be worthy, the Messiah comes with the clouds of heaven; if unworthy, he comes lowly and riding upon an ass.” In view of the Gospel story we might reverse the Rabbi’s saying. The Messiah comes upon the clouds to judgement because Israel unworthily rejected Him when He came in lowly guise. The Targum on 1 Chronicles 3:24 is also extraordinarily interesting: “Anani, that is the King, the Messiah, who will be revealed”. The name of the man Anani is thus interpreted according to the meaning of the Hebrew word ‘Anan’, a cloud. Anani thus means ‘The Cloud Man’ or ‘He that cometh with clouds’—that is, the Messiah.

The Son of Man is thus the Messiah coming from God in power to judgement (Enoch 48).

Our Lord’s Conception of Himself as Messiah

We have thus found among the Jews three main ideas of the Messiah: first, as King; second (though in later times), as Sufferer; third, as Son of Man. The first of these ideas Christ modified; the second He accepted and deepened; the third He accepted, relating it to His Second Advent. We shall now elaborate these three statements.

The King

The voice which Our Lord heard at His Baptism is compounded of two passages of Scripture, Psalm 2:7.
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and Isaiah 44:2, the former referring to the Messianic King, the second to the Suffering Servant. Our Lord had evidently meditated deeply upon the Old Testament, and the conviction was borne in upon Him that He was to be a King indeed, but that He must reign from the Cross. The Temptation which followed the Baptism is best explained as a spiritual battle in which He was tempted to refuse the way of suffering and to take an easier road to His crown. This is obvious in the case of the second temptation, following S. Luke’s order—He refuses to take the devil’s way of force to win His Kingdom. This, as we have seen, was precisely the people’s expectation as to their King-Messiah. He was to be a conqueror. In the case of the first temptation this is less obvious. It becomes plain, however, when we remember that the Messiah was supposed to repeat the works of Moses, and so, amongst other things, to become a supplier of Manna. This is clear from the Midrash Qoheleth, commenting on Ecclesiastes 1:9: “Rabbi Berekhja (about A.D. 340) said in the name of Rabbi Isaac (about A.D. 300) ‘as the first Redeemer, so the last Redeemer. . . .’ As the first Redeemer let the Manna fall (Exodus 16:4), so will also the last Redeemer let the Manna fall.” Our Lord was tempted to supply food miraculously, as Moses did, and as the populace expected their Messiah to do. Jesus refused to take this easy way to His kingly rule. So, too, it was expected that the Messiah would appear on the roof of the Temple. Thus we read in Pesiqtha Rabbathi 36 (162a): “Our teachers have taught: ‘In the hour in which the King, the Messiah, will reveal himself, he will come and stand on the roof of the Temple.’” This easy way to gain the national acclaim also Our Lord refused to take, for His Kingdom is not of this world. He must reign from the Cross. When, how-
ever, the danger from a popular misunderstanding of His claim to kingship was past, Our Lord deliberately offered Himself to Israel at the moment of the Triumphant Entry as Messianic King, but in lowly guise and as Prince of Peace, riding upon an ass (Zechariah 9:9). Finally, the title on the Cross proclaimed Him King of the Jews. This was His throne, from which He was to rule the hearts of men.

The Sufferer

Our Lord also identified Himself with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53. This is implied by the Heavenly Voice both at the Baptism and the Transfiguration, as well as by the quotation from Isaiah 53 in S. Luke 22:37. Our Lord claims for Himself the full sense of Isaiah 53; He is the sin-bearer (S. Mark 14:24). Following upon His Death and Ascension, the Spirit which He sends will clothe His followers with power (S. Luke 24:49). He thus fulfils the prophecy of Jeremiah 31:33. This conception of the Messiah’s work is deeper than that of the Rabbis.

In contrast to Our Lord’s conception of His work as Sufferer it is worth noting that neither the Apocalyptic writers nor the Rabbis regarded the Messiah as directly saving his people from their sins. Those who believed that the Messiah would usher in the age of final bliss believed, of course, that Israel would be sinless, but this result would be effected by the Messiah’s victory over Israel’s enemies, by his removal of sinners from among Israel’s holy remnant, and by the destruction of the demonic spirits of temptation. The rule of the Messiah would be a righteous rule, and God would pour out His Spirit and write His laws on men’s hearts. The removal of the evil impulse from Israel was even referred to as the work of the Archangel Michael or of
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the High Priest of the latter days. On the other hand, the later Rabbis, who regarded the Days of the Messiah as only preliminary to the final age of bliss, believed that Israel would remain sinful in the days of the Messiah. The only difference in that case between this present age and the Messianic Age would be that in the latter Israel's foes were conquered. (For references see S.B., vol. i. pp. 70-73.)

The Son of Man

Our Lord further identified Himself with the Son of Man of Daniel 7:13, taking the words to refer not nationally to Israel, but personally to the Messiah. He seems, also, to have been influenced by the more advanced and supernatural ideas of the Parables of Enoch. He probably chose this title for Himself because it was at once less known to the populace, and because it implied a kingship given by God from above, not won by force of arms from below. It thus completed the idea of the Suffering Servant. The Christ must indeed die. But this was not the end. He would come again in divine power, as the supreme arbiter of history, to introduce the Kingdom of God. This was the inner conviction of His mind, which He expressed in the current apocalyptic terms. This 'Coming' is apparently divided into several acts. The famous apocalyptic chapter, S. Mark 13, whatever its nature and whatever the elements in its composition may be, clearly refers, in the traditional apocalyptic phraseology, to the Coming of Christ to judgement in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. There are writers who believe that the whole chapter refers to this particular Coming. Others believe that behind this Coming looms the final coming of all. Our Lord's words to the High Priest (S. Mark 14:62), which combine Daniel
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7:13 and Psalm 110:1, especially when read as recorded by S. Matthew and S. Luke (S. Matthew 26:64, S. Luke 22:69), imply a progressive coming down the years of history. And yet Christ certainly looked forward to a final Coming which would usher in the Kingdom of God. It is difficult otherwise to account for the conviction of the Early Church, unless it be argued that their Jewish presuppositions blinded them to the real meaning of the Master. What, then, does this apocalyptic language of the Lord mean to us? Different minds will answer this question in different ways. We give three examples.

First we quote the judicious words of M’Hardy, written in his article on ‘Coming Again’ in Hastings’ Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, vol. 1, p. 343: “Probably in the consciousness of Jesus all His future comings were wrapped up, as in a seed, in the thought of His spiritual coming, His coming in the fulness of His spiritual life and power, as an effective and abiding force on the side of God, to act on the hearts and lives of His faithful followers, and also on the general life of the world. This view makes His several comings fall into line as phases or stages of a continuous process, in which, sometimes through the quickened vitality of His Church, sometimes through the catastrophic action of the moral laws and forces which lie behind the movements of human society, His invincible operation should be revealed, until the final consummation is reached in the sovereign manifestation of His authority and glory at the end of the age.”

Dr. Stanley Jones has given me permission to quote his words in his book Christ and Present World Issues, pp. 51, 52: “But there is also the apocalyptic, a sudden setting up of the Kingdom in its full phases: the coming as a thief in the night, the nobleman who went
to receive a Kingdom and to return. Both gradualism and the apocalyptic are there. Then why not take both? The gradualism gives me a task—I can help bring it in now, dedicating all my powers to this end. I can rejoice in every sign of the coming of that Kingdom through changed individual lives, through reforms, through the discoveries of a better and more efficient way to live, through the application of science to life, through the working of the moral facts of the universe in behalf of better human living. While the gradualism gives me my task, the apocalyptic gives me my hope. God may complete this whole process when I least expect it. The final word in human affairs is to be spoken by God. And it may be spoken suddenly. Jesus came once into our world, I do not see why He shouldn’t come again, not only in His present pervasive spirit, but in a more open and obvious victory. The whole story of history has not been told, and it might have many surprises in it. Among them this one. The gradualism keeps the Christian bent over the world’s pain and problems, and the apocalyptic also keeps him on the tiptoe of expectancy.”

As a third example we give the words of Dr. Robert Law in his admirable commentary on the First Epistle of S. John, *The Tests of Life*, pp. 328, 329: “The Parousia will no more than the Incarnation be the advent of a strange Presence in the world. Expectant souls will behold its dawning,

Like some watcher of the skies  
When a new planet swims into his ken.

It will be, as on the Mount of Transfiguration, the outshining of a latent glory, not the arrival of One Who is absent, but the Self-Revealing of One Who is present. . . . It is the consummation of all Divine purpose that
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has governed human existence; the final crisis in the history of the Church, of the World, and of every man.”

CONCLUSION

There is one final point to notice. The Rabbis, as we have seen, regarded the Messiah as a man. This makes all the more remarkable the fact that the Apostles came so soon to see in Jesus of Nazareth none other than the Incarnation of the Son of God. The effect made upon them by the Person and the work of Jesus Christ was such that they came to this amazing conclusion. With all their passionate Jewish monotheism, such was the only conception, such the only language which they felt to be adequate to describe Him Whom they had known. So they passed on to the Christian Church a revelation in Jesus Christ of the character of God and of His love which was unknown to the Rabbis. In Jesus, suffering, dying, rising again, men beheld the glory and the love of God. "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me.” The human heart was conquered, and being conquered was renewed, and being renewed was lifted on the wings of a mighty hope.
LECTURE II
THE KINGDOM OF GOD
OR THE
ESCHATOLOGY OF SOCIETY
From the point of view of a person looking before and after, neither a beginning nor an end of Time can be imagined, and yet the time-process can only be exhibited as significant in so far as it is imaginatively presented as a drama, with both beginning and end. But it appears vital to maintain that the time-process has a more than merely temporal significance, and that God achieves something through it. The world-outlook of Scripture, which sees in the process of events in time the working out of a divine purpose, appropriately sets at the beginning of things a parable of Creation, and at their end a parable of the End of the World.

_Doctrine in the Church of England_, pp. 203, 204.

We greet the day of splendour
That ends the night of years,
When God at length shall render
The oil of joy for tears,
When war-drum throbs no longer,
Nor Strife nor Anger reigns,
When Love than Hate proves stronger,
When Right the victory gains.

We greet the man beholding
Far off that radiant day,
Who waits not Time's unfolding
Nor trifles life away;
But, each low aim forsaking,
Yields up himself to do
What Love commands—so making
Earth's fairest dream come true.

We greet the race, the nation
That lives to serve mankind;
The Church, whose high elation
Holds brothers' hearts combined.
Ye Peoples, march victorious
Where Love's strong feet have trod,
Till down to earth all-glorious
Descends the Reign of God!

C. V. P.
We cannot read far in the Gospels before we meet a phrase pregnant with eschatological significance—the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven. These two phrases are strictly synonymous. They mean exactly the same thing. The Jews were unwilling to use the divine name, and so used substitutes. Thus in the phrases the ‘Name of Heaven’, the ‘Fear of Heaven’, the ‘Glory of Heaven’, the ‘Hand of Heaven’, ‘Heaven’ stands invariably for God. Only expositors unacquainted with Rabbinic usage could ever have suggested that Kingdom of Heaven and Kingdom of God had different meanings.

The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament

The Kingdom of God is represented in the Old Testament as the good time coming when God will be King over His repentant people of Israel, ruling them through His vicegerent, the Messiah. Sometimes God's own rule is emphasized, as in Isaiah 24:23, 33:22. In other passages, as we have already seen, the emphasis is on the Messianic Son of David. In this Kingdom men will be renewed by the Spirit of God (Jeremiah 31:33; Ezekiel 36:25-28; Joel 2:28-32), and all nations will come up to worship at Jerusalem (Isaiah 2:2-4). The scene of this Kingdom will be a glorified and renewed Holy Land (Isaiah 60, 62 and 65:17-25).
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THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN RABBINIC LITERATURE

(a) The Kingdom as Present

A large number of the Rabbis, following the Old Testament, looked forward to this glorious earthly Kingdom, but they also spoke of it in certain germinant stages. To the Rabbis God was, and is, as Creator, King of the world. But man by his sin had refused the rule or sovereignty of God. (We use 'rule' or 'sovereignty', for such is the primary meaning of the Hebrew word 'Malcuth'. It is true that 'Malcuth' is used in later Biblical Hebrew to mean 'Kingdom', but in the phrase translated 'Kingdom of Heaven' the word means 'rule', 'effective government', rather than a geographical area, a 'Kingdom'; although, of course, 'effective government' must be localized; it must operate in a place. When once this fact is realized it is unnecessary to discard the traditional phrase—the 'Kingdom' of God.) The Kingdom began again to become effective among mankind when Abraham obeyed God. A further stage was reached when Israel at Sinai took upon themselves the duty of obedience to the Law. The Kingdom was manifested visibly to the world in the glory of Solomon's reign. As Israel sinned, the Kingdom was taken from them and given to the Nations. Yet individuals may take upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom. This is done when a man acknowledges the One God and the Law. So it could be said that every Jew, as he recited the Shema, "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord" (Deuteronomy 6:4), took upon himself the Kingdom. In fact, 'to take upon oneself the Kingdom' came to mean 'to recite the Shema'. The Kingdom comes when a man deliberately surrenders himself to do the will of God.

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(b) The Kingdom as a Growing Organism

The Rabbis also looked upon the Kingdom as a growing organism. We know from the Gospels (S. Matthew 23:15), as well as from the Acts and Classical Literature, of the Jewish eagerness to make proselytes. In this way the number of those who took upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom grew. Israel was increased by these new adherents.

(c) The Kingdom as Future

Yet there existed a strange anomaly. The very nation, Israel, which had taken upon itself the yoke of the Kingdom, was in subjection to the nations which refused the Kingdom. At times the contrast was painful. The great Rabbi Aqiba was actually martyred by the Romans as he recited the Shema. But this state of things could not last. The Prophets, as we have seen, had promised a glorious future to Israel, when God should indeed be King and when the Gentiles should serve the Jews. The hour would come when these predictions would be fulfilled. Israel would be the foremost nation, and God would reign over the whole earth. Thus the phrase 'The Kingdom of Heaven' has an eschatological meaning. Often, because the Messiah is spoken of as the agent through whom God would realize this Kingdom, 'The Days of the Messiah' tend to be identified with the Age of the Kingdom. The 'Kingdom of Heaven' and the 'Kingdom of the Messiah' are the same thing.

This connection of the Messiah with the Kingdom will be made clear by a quotation from a prayer of the Synagogue, the Qaddish, which contains the words:
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"May His great name be glorified and hallowed in the world, which He hath created according to His good pleasure. And may He set up His Kingdom and let spring forth His salvation and bring hither His Messiah and redeem His people during your life and in your days and during the life of the whole House of Israel in speed and hastily." Note the juxtaposition of the prayer for the Kingdom and for the coming of the Messiah. God orders His Kingdom through His vicegerent, the Messiah. And this Kingdom or Sovereignty is plainly, as to its locality, an earthly Kingdom with Jerusalem as its capital city.

OUR LORD'S TEACHING AS TO THE KINGDOM OF GOD

It is extremely interesting and important to notice that, while Our Lord deepened the conception of the Kingdom, His thought moved upon Rabbinic lines. That is to say, He, too, looked upon the Kingdom as coming in three stages. First, there is the individual stage in which a man discovers, or is suddenly, without any seeking of his own, brought face to face with the supreme gift of the Sovereignty of God in his own life. This individual aspect of the Kingdom is strikingly set forth in such Parables as that of the Merchant seeking Goodly Pearls and that of the Hid Treasure (S. Matthew 13:44-46). Second, Our Lord speaks of the Kingdom as a growing society, with an increasing influence, in such Parables as those of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven (S. Matthew 13:31-33). But Our Lord also looked for a final stage of the Kingdom, when it would be established in power (S. Matthew 13:37-43).
The question as to the character and location of the Kingdom in the mind of Jewish writers is an extremely complicated one. There is no uniformity of outlook. In fact, the matter is not so simple as the preceding general sketch might lead one to infer. Sometimes the Kingdom appears as earthly, sometimes as heavenly, sometimes as a blend of the two. It may be materialistic or spiritual, temporal or eternal. Our survey of the various views will of necessity be somewhat lengthy, but it is necessary if we are to comprehend the strange tangle of conceptions. We shall follow the method of Strack and Billerbeck, who discuss the matter in an excursus with the title 'This World, the Days of the Messiah, and the World to come'. Every possible permutation and combination of these three ideas is made in Jewish thought.

'The Place' of the Kingdom in the Apocalyptic Literature

(1) The Kingdom as Earthly

The general viewpoint of the earlier Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is, as we might expect, based upon the prophecies of the Old Testament as to the glorious future of Israel, when at last, in the providence of God, the great era of redemption breaks upon the people. See especially Isaiah 11 and 60-66. So the earlier Apocalyptic view hopes for the destruction of Israel's enemies, the gathering together to Jerusalem of the dispersed members of the nation, the rebuilding of city and temple. Then follows the resurrection of the
righteous, while the earth and mankind are granted an enhanced fruit-bearing capacity. Trouble and sorrow flee away. The Tree of Life is planted in Jerusalem. Even the heathen repent and come to worship in Jerusalem. Such is the picture which may be gathered from the early part of Enoch, Jubilees, the Psalms of Solomon, and other sources. The Kingdom is an earthly Kingdom. In illustration we quote Enoch 10:17, 11:1-2, and Jubilee 23:26-31.

Enoch 10:
17. And then shall all the righteous escape,
   And shall live till they beget thousands of children,
   And all the days of their youth and their old age
   Shall they complete in peace.

Enoch 11:
1. And in those days I will open the store chambers
2. of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send them down upon the earth over the work and labour of the children of men. And truth and peace shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations of men.

Jubilees 23:
26. And in those days the children shall begin to study the laws,
   And to seek the commandments,
   And to return to the path of righteousness.
27. And the days shall begin to grow many and increase amongst those children of men.
   Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,
   And to a greater number of years than (before) was the number of the days.
28. And there shall be no old man
   Nor one who is (not) satisfied with his days,
   For all shall be (as) children and youths.
29. And all their days they shall complete and live in peace and in joy
   And there shall be no Satan nor any evil destroyer;
   For all their days shall be days of blessing and healing.
30. And at that time the Lord will heal His servants
   And they shall rise up and see great peace,
   And drive out their adversaries.
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And the righteous shall see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And shall see all their judgments and all their curses on their enemies.

31. And their bones shall rest in the earth,
And their spirits shall have much joy,
And they shall know that it is the Lord who executes judgment,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all that love Him.

(2) The Kingdom on a Renewed Earth

We consider next the picture of the Kingdom given in the Parables or Similitudes of Enoch (Enoch 37-70), which probably date, as we have seen, from the early part of the last century before Christ. The earthly Kingdom is here transmuted by a strange supernatural colouring. We notice, also, the influence of the Greek doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The souls of the righteous immediately enter heaven at death, where they remain until the Resurrection (Enoch 39:4-7). The Messiah also, we recall, as Son of Man, a supernatural figure, is awaiting in heaven the hour of his appearance. As this hour strikes, the Messiah appears on earth accompanied by the armies of the saints. The enemies of Israel are overthrown, the righteous enjoy their glorification and victory, and the Resurrection takes place. The judgement on the wicked follows. Heaven and earth are changed and strangely united. "I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light, and I will transform the earth and make it a blessing" (Enoch 45:4-5). The gates of Paradise are opened to the righteous. In fact, it was to be expected that the righteous, after their abode in heaven during the intermediate period, would scarcely be satisfied with earth alone. And so indeed we read. They rise from the earth and are clothed with garments of glory—that is to say, with their spiritual bodies.
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(Enoch 62:13-16). Thus the Kingdom, in spite of its nationalistic elements, possesses a supernatural colouring. In opposition to ‘This world’ it might be spoken of as ‘The World-to-Come’, although it is a blending of the earthly and the heavenly.

(3) The Kingdom in Heaven

But thought did not come to rest at this point. If the souls of the righteous might be looked upon as entering heaven at death, what was the purpose of their waiting for some final Kingdom of a more or less earthly kind? In fact, was this earth, after all, a fit place to be the stage of the final scene of blessedness? So a circle arose about the time of Christ who advanced one stage further in the direction of the Greek idea of immortality and one stage further away from the older earthly and nationalistic hope of Judaism. They no longer looked for an earthly Messianic Kingdom. The contrast for them ceased to be between a painful present and a radiant future in this world. For them the contrast rather lay between this present material world, with all its sorrow, and a new world and age, which seems at least to approximate to the heavenly life of the beyond, though described in terms of earthly imagery. Into this quasi-spiritual world the righteous passed at death. The thought of this circle may be made clearer by quotations from the Slavonic Book of Enoch, written probably in Egypt under Alexandrian influence about the time of Christ:

The Secrets of Enoch 8:
1. And those men took me thence, and led me up on to the third heaven, and placed me there; and I looked downwards, and saw the produce of these places, such as has never been known
2. for goodness. And I saw all the sweet-flowering trees and beheld their fruits, which were sweet smelling, and all the foods borne by them bubbling with fragrant exhalation.
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3. And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place whereon the Lord rests, when he goes up into paradise; and this tree is of ineffable goodness and fragrance, and adorned more than every existing thing; and on all sides it is in form gold-looking and vermilion and fire-like and covers all, and it has produce from all fruits. Its root is in the garden at the earth's end. And paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts, and go round with quiet course, and go down into the paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And thence they go forth along the earth, and have a revolution to their circle even as other elements. And here there is no unfruitful tree, and every place is blessed. And there are three hundred angels very bright, who keep the garden, and with incessant sweet singing and never-silent voices serve the Lord throughout all days and hours. And I said: "How very sweet is this place," and those men said to me:

The Secrets of Enoch 9:

1. This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who endure all manner of offence from those that exasperate their souls, who avert their eyes from iniquity, and make righteous judgement, and give bread to the hungering, and cover the naked with clothing, and raise up the fallen, and help injured orphans, and who walk without fault before the face of the Lord, and serve him alone, and for them is prepared this place for eternal inheritance.

In a somewhat similar world they live after the final Judgement. "When all creation visible and invisible, as the Lord created it, shall end, then every man goes to the great judgement, and then all time shall perish, and the years, and thence forward there will be neither months nor days nor hours. . . . There will be one aeon, and all the righteous who shall escape the Lord's great judgement shall be collected in the great aeon . . . and they will live eternally, and then too there will be amongst them neither labour, nor sickness, nor humiliation, nor anxiety, nor need, nor violence, nor night, nor darkness, but great light. And they shall have a
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great indestructible wall, and a paradise bright and incorruptible, for all corruptible things shall pass away, and there will be eternal life” (Slavonic Enoch 65:6-10). “I know all things, how in the great time to come are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good and bad for the bad” (Slavonic Enoch 61:2). The phrases ‘eternal life’ and ‘many mansions’ are singularly reminiscent of S. John’s Gospel. The expectation of an earthly Kingdom has been given up. The future that is looked for lies in the spiritual world—not on this earth, but in the beyond—though, as we have seen, described in earthly imagery.

A Temporary Kingdom on Earth, the Eternal State in Heaven.

It might be imagined that all the alternatives had now been tried—an earthly Kingdom, a Kingdom that is a blend of earth and heaven, and a heavenly Kingdom. But such was not the case. Various compromises came to be made, for the earthly nationalistic ideas of the Kingdom were too strongly rooted in Judaism. The first of such compromises is found in the Syriac Book of Baruch.

Baruch once more takes up the idea of the earthly Messianic Kingdom. The influence of the Old Testament was too strong. We are brought back from heaven to the world, but a world of enhanced felicity. It is in this Apocalypse that we find the idea so strangely recorded by Papias as received by tradition from the Lord, of the amazing fruitfulness of the Days of the Messiah. “The earth also shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold, and on each vine there shall be a thousand branches and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster produce a thousand grapes, and each grape produce a cor of wine” (Baruch 60
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29 : 5-6). A cor equals about 120 gallons. At the end of this period of earthly reign the Messiah apparently returns to heaven and the Resurrection takes place. Baruch expresses the strange idea that the dead are raised exactly as they were in their earthly life for purposes of recognition, and are then transformed into the splendour of the angels. They then dwell in heaven. “For in the heights of that world shall they dwell, and they shall be made like unto the angels, and be made equal to the stars, and they shall be changed into every form they desire, from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory” (Baruch 51 : 10).

We thus get the scheme—This World, the Days of the Messiah or the Kingdom on earth, the World-to-Come in heaven. We notice how similar this scheme is to that suggested by S. Paul in I Corinthians 15, where he speaks of Christ reigning “till He hath put all enemies under His feet”; but then yielding up His power to the Father. We mark also the compromise effected with the old nationalistic eschatology. The earthly kingdom is again introduced as a kind of millennium, but it is now merely a temporary antecedent of the eternal and spiritual world, the World-to-Come in the complete sense of the term.

A Temporary Kingdom on Earth, the Eternal State on a Renewed Earth

The interesting Apocalypse known as 4 Ezra offers a slightly different scheme. Written under Domitian, it presents certain striking similarities to the Apocalypse of S. John, which may have been written about the same period. When the hour comes the Messiah will be revealed from heaven. He is apparently regarded as pre-existent (4 Ezra 13 : 1-4), like the Enochic Son of Man, although, with strange inconsist-
encycy, he is said later to die (4 Ezra 7:26-30). The Messiah will bring in the Kingdom, with all its usual accompaniments, including the destruction of Rome (4 Ezra 12:31-33). This Kingdom will last for 400 years (4 Ezra 7:28). The figure is obtained by a combination of Genesis 15:13 and Psalm 90:15. The days of Messianic prosperity will last as long as the oppression of Israel in Egypt lasted. The millennium of the Revelation of S. John is probably based on the idea that world-history would last for a week of seven days—each day being a thousand years. The seventh of these thousand-year days would then be the sabbath of history. But to return to 4 Ezra. Upon the expiration of the 400 years the Messiah dies. "And it shall be, after these years, that my Son the Messiah shall die, and all in whom there is human breath. Then shall the world be turned into the primeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left" (4 Ezra 7:28-29). Upon this follows the Resurrection and the Judgement and the final age of the World-to-Come. And what is the scene of the Final Age? Our Apocalypse is not quite explicit on this point. The language is vague and cloudy. It is difficult to be definite as to its meaning. But apparently a renewed earth is the stage for final bliss and torment; for the Garden of Eden and Gehenna appear together, and the position of the latter is in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. So we get the scheme—This World, the Days of the Messiah and the World-to-Come—this last being not, as in 2 Baruch, in heaven, but on a renewed earth. The Days of the Messiah, however, lying before the break of the seven days' silence, are rather connected with This World than with the World-to-Come. Compare with the scheme of 4 Ezra that of the Apocalypse of S. John. The
two Apocalypses manifest much the same eschatological conceptions.

To sum up—we discover five ideas of the nature of the future. According to such writers as the authors of the Psalms of Solomon and of Jubilees, the Messianic Kingdom is an earthly Kingdom and endures for ever. According to the Similitudes of Enoch, the Kingdom is a blending of earth and heaven. According to the Slavonic Enoch, the future is to be looked upon as lived in the heavenly world. Baruch believes in a Kingdom more or less earthly, followed by a heavenly Age. Ezra believes in a temporary Messianic Kingdom followed by the Final Age upon a renewed earth. Such is the strange complexity of ideas in the Apocalyptic writers. We next turn to consider the ideas of the Rabbinic Literature.

THE RABBINIC LITERATURE AND VIEWS OF THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM

In the Rabbinic Literature the present world is known as 'Olam ha-zeh'; the Days of the Messiah are called 'Y'moth ha-Mashiach'; and the World-to-Come is 'Olam ha-ba'. Now the views of the Rabbis of the first two centuries after Christ agree in a broad way with the views of 4 Ezra. The Days of the Messiah or the Kingdom are not in themselves a part of the World-to-Come. This latter is introduced, after the Days of the Messiah, by the Resurrection and the general Judgement. The scene of the Final Age is this earth renewed, the righteous dwelling in the Garden of Eden or Paradise, which is looked upon as being situated in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Some Rabbis of this period even regarded the Messianic Days as full of conflict and trouble and as being exceedingly brief in duration. Thus the great Rabbi Aqiba (about
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A.D. 135) thought of the Days of the Messiah as lasting for only forty years. As the forty years’ wandering in the wilderness were full of trouble, yet brought the Israelites to the Promised Land, so the forty years of the Messiah would be a period of storm and stress which would yet usher in the Final Age in which God’s promises to Israel would find their fulfilment. But the majority of the Rabbis of the period of the Tannaim thought more highly of the Messianic Age. It had a definite position of its own. The three periods, in fact, are held as quite distinct: This World or Age, the Days of the Messiah, and the World-to-Come.

This scheme of ideas seems well defined, and one would have imagined that it would have continued. But very soon irruptions came to be made into its simpicity from two quarters. Early in the period of the Amoraim the famous Babylonian Rabbi Samuel (A.D. 254) insisted that the only difference between the present Age and the Age of the Messiah was found in the fact that in the Messianic Age Israel was no longer a subject people. The result of this depreciation of the Messianic Age was to place the fulfilment of the Old Testament promises to Israel in the ‘Olam ha-ba’. Thus the ‘Olam ha-ba’ takes on the characteristics of the ‘Y’moth ha-Mashiach’, the Days of the Messiah. On the other hand, Rabbi Johanan (A.D. 279) taught that all the prophetical promises referred to the Days of the Messiah, and that therefore the Resurrection must take place in that period (Isaiah 26 : 19, Daniel 12 : 2). This doctrine was in direct conflict with the other view which held that the Resurrection followed the Messianic Age and ushered in the World-to-Come. In this way it came about that Rabbis spoke of the World-to-Come, but meant the Days of the Messiah. Hence arose great possibilities of confusion.

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We discover, however, even further changes in the meaning of the terminology. ‘Olam ha-ba’ comes to be used to express the spiritual dwelling-place of souls after death—the World of the Beyond. In fact, men came to think of the ‘Olam ha-ba’ as having two phases. First, it is the intermediate heavenly dwelling-place of souls after death; secondly, it is the period of full salvation upon the earth. It blends the conceptions of immortality and an earthly kingdom. The thoughts of Greece and of Judaea meet in one phrase. (For full references see S.B., vol. iv. pp. 816-844.)

THE LOCALITY OF THE KINGDOM IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The writers of the New Testament, like the Apocalypticists and the Rabbis, hold varying views with regard to the locality and character of the Kingdom. In fact, when we turn to the Gospels we seem to discover there, too, the existence of different viewpoints side by side. Thus our Lord’s words in S. Luke 13:35—“Ye shall not see me, until the time come when ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord”—seem to imply a coming to an earthly Kingdom. The same is also the most natural interpretation of S. Mark 14:25: “Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the Kingdom of God.” Note also S. Matthew 19:28.

But other passages in the Synoptics imply a view more akin to that of the Parables of Enoch than to the view of Jubilees. A supernatural colouring has come over the scene (S. Mark 8:38). The risen righteous are likewise as angels (S. Mark 12:25). The Kingdom is a strange blend of earth and heaven. Then, again, such Johannine passages as those in S. John 14:2 and 17:24 seem to imply a heavenly Kingdom. The
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"many mansions" which Our Lord goes to prepare are apparently heavenly; and the prayer—"Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory" points to a reward in heaven. Westcott, commenting on the passage, writes: "Presence with Christ, as involving personal fellowship with Him in the sphere of His glorified being, is more than a union effected by His presence with the Church. And the contemplation of His glory, in its whole extent, by those lifted beyond the limits of time, is more than the possession of that glory according to the measure of present human powers." The Synoptic viewpoint and the Johannine appear to be different. If the Synoptics represent Our Lord as agreeing with the Parables of Enoch in His view of the Kingdom, the Johannine representation in the passages just quoted, seems more close to that of the Slavonic Enoch. The Kingdom is in heaven.

S. Paul's views of the Kingdom likewise appear to be a combination of various ideas. His description of the glorified earth in Romans 8:18-23 implies the kind of view that we have discovered in the Parables of Enoch (45:4, 5). But his teaching as to the spiritual bodies of the risen in 1 Corinthians 15 and his words about the "house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens" (2 Corinthians 5:1) are more consonant with the view of a heavenly Kingdom. This phrase, 'heavenly Kingdom,' is actually used by him in 2 Timothy 4:18—if that Epistle be Pauline.

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as we should expect from one so obviously Alexandrian in his thought, seems to incline towards the view of the heavenly Kingdom (Hebrews 11:10, 12:18-27).

The Revelation of S. John, on the other hand, represents the view of 4 Ezra—a temporary earthly Messianic
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Kingdom and a Final State that is a blend of earth and heaven.

VARIOUS RABBINIC EXPECTATIONS AS TO THE DAYS OF THE MESSIAH

It may be worth while to note some of the expectations connected with the Days of the Messiah. The coming of the Messiah is prepared for by Elijah (Malachi 4:5). Of course, the empire of the world returns to Israel. The boundaries of the Land at length include all the territory promised to Abraham—it will stretch from the border of Egypt to the Euphrates. Every Israelite will possess his own landed-property. The dispersed of Israel will return, summoned by the sound of the great trumpet. The Messiah will reign in their midst in peace. The evil impulse will be removed from the hearts of men. The devil is put out of the way, power is taken from evil spirits, while the Holy Spirit is poured out upon all flesh. The Messiah studies and teaches the Torah and gives a new exposition of it. (This is interesting in view of Our Lord’s deepening of the Torah in the Sermon on the Mount. He was exercising a Messianic function.) The nations come to worship at Jerusalem (so the earlier writings).

Jerusalem is, of course, the capital of the Kingdom, built by the Messiah in glory. The walls are of sapphire, while the streets are adorned with beryl and carbuncle. The city spreads west to the Mediterranean and extends upwards to the throne of the divine glory. Clouds offer themselves to convey Israelites up and down. Each gate is a pearl. But the main glory of the city is that God will dwell there. All will behold God, and before they call He will answer. No uncircumcised can walk there, only those who are called of God.
These feast upon the Messianic Banquet, which consists of the flesh of Behemoth and Leviathan (Job 40, 41). An enormous bird called Ziz is also served up to the righteous, and wine is supplied in abundance (Sanhedrin 99a, and compare S. Mark 14:25 and S. Luke 22:18). For shade, God spreads the skin of Leviathan over the city. The Temple will be rebuilt in greater glory by God or by the Messiah. Tabor and Carmel join themselves to Mount Zion to be its site. God returns and takes up His abode for ever there. The Tree of Life is transplanted from Eden into the holy place and its fruit gives life to the elect. The river of the water of life breaks out from the Temple. Every Sabbath the Israelites arrive at the Temple to worship God, riding upon clouds. As there is no more sin, only thank-offerings are offered. All the riches of Rome fall into the possession of Israel. There may be famines in the rest of the world, but the harvests of Palestine are ever abundant. Six things lost by the sin of man are restored in the Days of the Messiah: the glory of the face of man, the length of his days, his stature, the fruitfulness of the earth, the fruitfulness of trees, the brightness of the heavenly bodies. As to length of days, the thought varied between long life and immortality. As to size, some thought that men would be as tall as cedars. The fruitfulness of the land included the fruitfulness of mankind. Women would bear children without pain, and, according to one Rabbi, daily. The Book of Enoch speaks of the righteous having a thousand children each. The Garden of Eden would return to earth. According to earlier writers, as we have seen, the Days of the Messiah were to be eternal. Later writers looked upon them as a kind of millennium, which might vary in length, according to the view of the particular Rabbi, from 40
to 365,000 years. The period was closed by the great attack of Gog and Magog (Ezekiel 38). With this the patience of God is exhausted and the World Judgement introduces the World-to-Come. (For full references see S.B., vol. iv. pp. 880-968.)

Calculations of the Date of the Coming of the Messianic Kingdom

In view of the frequent and persistent attempts of Christians to calculate the time of the End—in spite of Our Lord’s warning that “It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in His own power” (Acts 1:7)—it will be worth while to say something of the Jewish attempts to do the same thing, of the methods used by the calculators and of their continuous failure.

One sign of the approach of the Messianic Age was believed to be an increase of sorrows, known as the “Woes of the Messiah”. War and rebellion and famine and pestilence and growing godlessness were to precede the great deliverance. The Messiah was to come in Israel’s hour of deepest need. Happy the man who lived not to see those days! We are inevitably reminded of Our Lord’s words regarding the destruction of Jerusalem as recorded in S. Mark 13:17-20. These views were held both by Apocalyptists and Rabbis.

But men were not content with general signs. They endeavoured to calculate the actual year. They did this in three different manners. Some worked upon the basis of the division of world-history into periods, an idea probably derived from Persia. Others manipulated the ‘seventy years’ of Israel’s exile as foretold by Jeremiah. (“These nations shall serve the King of Babylon seventy years”, Jeremiah 25:11; “For thus
saith the Lord, After seventy years be accomplished for Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place”, Jeremiah 29:10). Others again calculated the end through forced interpretations of passages which they found in the Old Testament.

To take first the method of the division of human history into periods. 4 Ezra divides it into twelve periods. The same number is also adopted by 2 Baruch. The relevant passages are 4 Ezra 14:11 and 2 Baruch 53-72. Others divided history into ten periods, as for instance the writer of the Sibylline Oracles (Or. Sib., 4:47 ff.). Others again divided it into seven periods of thousand-year days. One of these systems is particularly interesting. The idea was that the first 2000 years from the Creation were without the Law; the next 2000 years were the Age of the Torah; the third 2000 years were the Days of the Messiah. The seventh thousand was the World-Sabbath, on which followed the ‘Olam ha-ba’. This scheme seems neat and compact. But there was one serious difficulty. The trouble was that according to Jewish chronology the Torah was given to Moses not 2000 years after the creation but 2448 years afterwards. But the ingenuity of harmonists is unconquerable. The exegetes rose to the occasion. Abraham lived 2000 years after the Creation, and Abraham must be considered as having kept the Law. So the system was saved, and the Messiah must come 4000 years after Creation and 2000 years after Abraham. This placed the End, according to Rabbinic reckonings, in the year A.D. 240. Many in Israel looked for the Messiah at this date. His non-appearance at that time was attributed to Israel’s sins.

Another scheme divided world-history into two periods. The Assumption of Moses regarded Moses
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as the centre of history. History from the time of the Creation led up to him as its culminating point. History after his days declined for an equal length of time to its end. So we have the scheme—from the Creation to Moses 2500 years. From Moses to the End 2500 years. Then the Age of Redemption breaks upon the world.

We next consider the manipulation of Jeremiah’s 70 years of the Exile. The most famous example of this is afforded by the writer of the Book of Daniel. This author believed that if the 70 years of the Exile were considered as 70 weeks of years, that is to say, 490 years, they would indicate the time of Israel’s subjection to foreign conquerors. Upon their conclusion the Messianic Deliverance would immediately follow. The relevant passages are as follows:

“I Daniel understood by the books the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, for the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem, even seventy years” (Daniel 9:2).

“Seventy weeks are decreed upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy. Know therefore and discern, that from the going forth of the word [Hebrew, ‘Dabhar’] to restore and build Jerusalem unto the anointed one, the prince, shall be seven weeks; and threescore and two weeks, it shall be built again, with street and moat, even in troublous times. And after the threescore and two weeks shall an anointed one be cut off, and shall have nothing: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and his end shall
be with a flood, and even unto the end shall be war; desolations are determined. And he shall make a firm covenant with many for one week; and for the half of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and upon the wing of abominations shall come one that maketh desolate; and even unto the consummation, and that determined, shall wrath be poured out upon the desolator” (Daniel 9:24-27).

Certain parts of these verses may contain corrupt readings, but the general meaning is fairly clear. The whole period of seventy weeks is divided into three periods, of seven weeks, of sixty-two weeks, and of one week, that is to say, 49 years, 434 years and 7 years, or 490 years in all. The first period of 49 years begins with Jeremiah’s prophecy of the return from exile, which is considered as coinciding with the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in August 588 or 586 B.C. Cyrus (whom the Second Isaiah speaks of as Anointed or Messiah) conquered Babylon in 538 B.C., and the return of Israel began soon after—making the period of exile approximately 49 years or ‘seven weeks’. The other anointed one who is cut off at the end of the sixty-two weeks in which Jerusalem is rebuilt is the High Priest Onias III, who was murdered in the year 171 B.C. Then follows the one week or seven years in which Antiochus Epiphanes destroys Jerusalem, and during the latter half of the week causes the Temple worship to cease and defiles the sanctuary. At the end of this period, 164 B.C., our writer looked for the breaking in of the Messianic Age. What actually happened was a great deliverance. Judas Maccabaeus, after his victories over the generals of Antiochus, rededicated the Temple in December 164. The Jews still remember this great day in the feast of Hanukkah. The interpretation here given is, in the main, that of both
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Archdeacon Charles and of Strack-Billerbeck, who differ only in minor points. There is, however, one difficulty. The period from 538 B.C. to 171 B.C. is not 434 years but 367. The apocalyptist has allowed 67 years too many. The explanation of this is probably to be found in the fact that no Jew of the period had adequate information to enable him to estimate exactly the years passed under the Persian Empire before the beginning of the Seleucid era in 312 B.C. In fact, the Jewish historian, Demetrius, who lived before 200 B.C., gives almost the same excess of years to the period as the writer of Daniel.

But Daniel himself was to be re-interpreted by the writer of 4 Ezra, who believes the seventy weeks to end with the conquest of Rome (4 Ezra 12:10-36)—the fourth world-empire according to this view. Thus the time as well as the locality of the Kingdom were alike uncertain.

This continual re-interpretation, as hope after hope was dashed to the ground, contains a deeply tragic aspect. The cruelty of Roman Governors led many to believe that they were living at the time of the terrors told of by Daniel which should precede the end. Josephus writes: "What particularly urged them to war was a dubious oracle, contained in their Holy Scriptures, which predicted that at that time out of their land should come one who should gain world-power." The reference apparently is to the famous Son of Man passage in Daniel 7:13. The more defeat and disaster pressed upon them, the more they believed that they were living in the last half of the final Daniel 'week' which was to usher in the great deliverance. The hour of the coming of Messiah was set for the ninth day of the month of Ab in the year A.D. 70. Jerusalem had been destroyed on that day by Nebu-
chadnezzar, and so on that day the prophetic period had begun, and would end. A false prophet proclaimed that God commanded that all who would witness the tokens of salvation should assemble in the Temple. Six thousand men with women and children answered the call and perished in the flames of the burning building.

But even this horror failed to extinguish the hope. Some said that Israel's sins had prevented Messiah's appearance. Others said that the "time, times and a half" of Daniel 7:25 must be added to the Daniel seventy-week period, and that only then could the end be expected. Others dated, as we have seen, the end 4000 years after the Creation and fixed their hopes on the year A.D. 240. Little wonder that there arose a passionate reaction against these false predictions. One Rabbi declared that anyone who tried to calculate the date of the End would have no part in the life of the World-to-Come.

CONCLUSION

We have now considered the Jewish views as to the Eschatology of the Nation. One conviction has forced itself upon our minds—the extraordinary variety of eschatological conception. This may seem at first sight to detract from the value of these conceptions, but further reflection may lead us to modify our judgement. For this very confusion of ideas is based upon a mighty postulate of faith—that God is working out a high moral purpose for this world. We cannot deny this belief in divine purpose without repudiating our faith in God. All the various ideas as to the Kingdom and the World-to-Come are based upon the conviction that history moves under the guidance and judgement of
God. Laws of psychology make it inevitable that men should picture forth this great conviction in imaginative symbols. These symbols may be diverse and even contradictory in details. But the fundamental faith, the basic conviction of which they are the more or less suitable expression, lives on. If we believe that God by mercy and by judgement is guiding history to its goal, we must hold that some day the Kingdom of God will be revealed in triumph.

This hope of the ultimate coming of the Kingdom of God upon this planet has seldom been expressed more beautifully than by the German poet, Gottfried Keller, in his poem called ‘Frühlingsglaube’, or ‘The Promise of the Spring’.

Es wandert eine schöne Sage
Wie Veilchenduft auf Erden um,
Wie sehndend eine Liebesklage
Geht sie bei Tag und Nacht herum.

Das ist das Lied vom Völkerfrieden
Und von der Menschheit letztem Glück,
Von goldner Zeit, die einst hienieden,
Der Traum als Wahrheit, kehrt zurück.

Wo einig alle Völker beten
Zum einen König, Gott und Hirt:
Von jenem Tag, wo den Propheten
Ihr leuchtend Recht gesprochen wird.

Dann wird’s nur eine Schmach noch geben,
Nur eine Sünde in der Welt:
Des Eigen-Neides Widerstreben,
Der es für Traum und Wahnsinn hält.

Wer jene Hoffnung gab verloren
Und böschlich sie verloren gab,
Der wäre besser ungeboren:
Denn lebend wohnt er schon im Grab.

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THE KINGDOM OF GOD

These verses might be thus rendered in English:

A wondrous song round earth is winging
    O'er flowers of spring its fragrant way;
Like some lone lover's passionate singing,
    Its notes are heard by night and day.

It chants the brotherhood of nations,
    The golden age that is to be,
The dream, beyond the years' vexations,
    Fulfilled as deed and verity;

The day when all mankind, united,
    Owning one Father, God and King,
Shall to the prophets, spurned and slighted,
    Their shining vindication bring.

One shame there is—to scorn the vision;
    One crime—to mock the song's fair theme;
One crowning sin—in cold derision
    To call the thing a madman's dream.

Who such a hope would thwart and fetter,
    Basely content to choose the gloom—
That he had ne'er been born were better;
    Living, he dwells within the tomb.

Such is the hope for the coming of the Kingdom to earth. The mind of the Christian, however, looks also for the completion of the Kingdom in the spiritual world. This hope has found its classical expression in the words of Bernard of Cluny written in the twelfth century:

Urbs Syon aurea, patria lactea, cive decora,
omne cor obruis, omnibus obstrius et cor et ora.
nescio, nescio quae jubilatio, lux tibi qualis,
quam socialia gaudia, gloria quam specialis. . .
sunt Syon atria conjubilantia, martyre plena,
cive micantia, principe stantia, luce serena.
sunt ibi pascua mitibus afflua, praestita sanctis;
regis ibi thronus, agminis et sonus est epulantis.
gens duce spendida, concio candida vestibus albis;
sunt sine fletibus in Syon aedibus, aedibus almis . . .
The translation by Dr. Mason Neale is well known:

Jerusalem the golden,
    With milk and honey blest,
Beneath thy contemplation
    Sink heart and voice opprest.
I know not, O I know not,
    What social joys are there,
What radiancy of glory,
    What light beyond compare.

They stand, those halls of Sion,
    Conjubilant with song,
And bright with many an angel,
    And all the martyr throng;
The Prince is ever in them;
    The daylight is serene;
The pastures of the blessed
    Are decked in glorious sheen.

There is the throne of David,
    And there, from care released,
The song of them that triumph,
    The shout of them that feast;
And they who, with their Leader,
    Have conquered in the fight,
For ever and for ever
    Are clad in robes of white.
LECTURE III

HADES, HELL, PARADISE, JUDGEMENT

OR THE

ESCHATOLOGY OF THE INDIVIDUAL
Moreover, on any view, human history on this planet must have an end; upon its course as then completed, as upon every separate episode, the judgment of God must be "made manifest" (Rev. xv. 4). It is the ultimate judgment of God upon human affairs, as thus conceived, which gives to human history as a whole its meaning as the sphere of the accomplishment of the divine purpose; and it is of this truth that the traditional imagery of the Last Judgment is the pictorial symbol.

_Doctrine in the Church of England_, pp. 205, 206.

The doctrine of Judgment pervades the whole of Scripture, alike in the Old Testament and in the New. We have already discussed the relations between the Divine Judgment and human history in its totality. We are here concerned with the Judgment upon the individual. That man is ever subject to the Judgment of God is both the clear teaching of the Bible and a necessary part of true Theism. There is great peril in the easy-going sentimentality of some modern Christianity, which supposes all who have departed this life to be forthwith "in joy and felicity"—a perversion of the Evangelical view mentioned above. Such a view is inconsistent with the solemn warnings of Scripture and especially the Gospels themselves, and converts the hope of immortality from a moral stimulus to a moral narcotic.

As the essence of Hell is exclusion from the fellowship of God, so the essence of Heaven is that fellowship. It is not a selfish happiness offered in reward for self-suppression at an earlier time; it is fellowship with God who is Love.

Heaven is also a fellowship of finite spirits. It has been pointed out that though the life of Heaven is often described in musical terms, it is always as a chorus or an orchestra, never as a solo.


Upon the cross the robber prayed;
The Son of God swift answer made:
"Yea, thou shall rest, I truly say, With Me in Paradise to-day."

When comes at length mine hour of death, Thy voice shall soothe my latest breath; This all my heart's desire suffice— "To-day, with Me, in Paradise."

_(Translated from the Icelandic of Hallgrim Petursson.)_
In considering the subject of the Kingdom, we have been dealing with the Eschatology of Society. We now turn to consider the Eschatology of the Individual. We shall take in order the places to which it was imagined that the soul of the individual passed at death—Hades, Hell, Paradise—all terms familiar to us from our reading of the New Testament.

**Hades**

The Septuagint translators rendered the Hebrew word, 'Sheol', by Hades. We must therefore begin our investigation of the meaning of Hades by considering its Old Testament original, Sheol. This word apparently means 'abyss'. The present lecturer feels that the suggested derivation of the word from necromancy and a root meaning 'to inquire' is less likely to be correct. Sheol, to early Israel as to Babylonian thinkers, was the subterranean hollow which received all the dead equally. Isaiah (5:14) describes its voracious appetite: "Therefore Sheol hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it." The writer of the Book of Job paints its gloom: "Before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death; a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any
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order, and where the light is as darkness” (Job 10:21-22). Two vivid and dramatic presentations of the lot of the great ones of the earth in Sheol are given in Isaiah 14 and in Ezekiel 32. To Sheol all alike go. There they flit about as shadows and forget God. No man can praise Him in Sheol (Psalm 6:5). In the Apocalyptic Literature, however, the meaning of Sheol or Hades begins to change. Under the influence of the newer doctrines of the Resurrection and of Immortality, Hades ceases to be the endless dwelling-place of good and bad alike. It becomes a dwelling-place for the righteous during the Intermediate State where they await in peace the Resurrection Day. For the wicked it becomes a place where, during the Intermediate State, they are tormented. In other words, Hades, as in the Parable of Dives and Lazarus, consists of two departments—one for the good and one for the bad. As a description of the departments of Hades we shall quote from Enoch 22:9-11: “Such a division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. And such has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in the great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever, and retribution for their spirits. There he shall bind them for ever.” Note the reference to the water in the place of the righteous. Was it into this that Lazarus was asked to dip his finger? Mark, too, the reference to the burial of the sinners, as, in the Parable, Dives is said to have been buried. Other writers, such as the Slavonic Enoch, disconnect the righteous from Hades entirely. These enter Heaven immediately on death. Finally, Sheol or Hades came to be looked on no longer
Hades, Hell, Paradise, Judgement

as the place of the Intermediate State, but as the place of damnation for the lost.

**Gehenna**

Another eschatological conception now falls to be considered—that of Gehenna or Hell. South of Jerusalem lay the valley described as the Valley of the Son of Hinnom, or as the Valley of the Sons of Hinnom, or simply as the Valley of Hinnom. Here, in the days of King Ahaz and Manasseh, children were burnt in sacrifice to Moloch. This name is probably Melech, the 'King-god', vocalized with the vowels of 'bosheth', a Hebrew word meaning 'shame'. The god in question may have been the Tyrian Baal. In later days the valley with these grim memories became the place where the garbage of Jerusalem was burnt. The spot seems to have become to the writer of Isaiah 66:24 a place of punishment for the dead: "And they shall go forth [from Jerusalem], and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh." It was this place which became in certain Jewish Apocalyptic passages at once the site of the Final Judgement and the Final Damnation. Gehenna had become Hell.

One would have thought that the terms, Hades as the place of the Intermediate State and Gehenna as the place of Final Damnation, were so useful as to be allowed to maintain these meanings. But the strange fact is that Gehenna came to be used to indicate not only the final prison-house of the bad, but also the place of their intermediate detention. Thus the distinction between Hades and Gehenna was done away with, and the words were used interchangeably.

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Gehenna as Purgatory

But the idea of Gehenna as an Intermediate State developed a religious significance. Gehenna became Purgatory. Thus the School of Shammai quoted the words of Zechariah 13:9: “And I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried: they shall call on my name, and I will hear them. I will say, It is my people; and they shall say, The Lord is my God” (Rosh Hashana 16b, 34 Baraitha). These words were applied to the cleansing and refining power of the fires of Gehenna in the case of those whose good and evil deeds were equal. From the beginning of the second century after Christ, Rabbis spoke of the purgatorial aspect of Gehenna, considered as a place for the Intermediate State. Here the expiating and cleansing power of the flames made it possible for souls to escape the doom of Gehenna and be transferred to the Heavenly Paradise. Of course the penitence of the tortured souls helped towards this end. But it is profoundly instructive to note that quite soon the idea began to enter Rabbinic circles that the souls in Purgatory were helped by the prayers and alms of their surviving friends. The Rabbis, in short, were influenced by the same tendencies of the human mind which later led to the formulation of the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, with its machinery by which surviving loved ones might assist those who had preceded them into the unseen world. It may be worth while to quote one quaint Rabbinic saying: “It might be supposed that when a man has gone down to Gehenna no escape is possible for him. But if someone prays for mercy on his soul, he shoots him out of Gehenna as an arrow from the bow.”
The Inmates of Gehenna

The famous Rabbi Aqiba (A.D. 135) had very mild views on the subject of future punishment. He even dated its duration in many cases as only twelve months. He said: “The punishment of the generation of the Flood lasted twelve months; Job’s punishment lasted twelve months; the punishment of the Egyptians lasted twelve months; the future punishment of Gog and Magog will last twelve months, and the punishment of the godless in Gehenna lasts twelve months; for it is written: ‘And it shall come to pass, when the month (in which a man dies) returns again (after a year) shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord’.” (So the Midrash on the passage.) This quotation will give some idea of the fantastic exegesis of the Rabbis.

But Rabbi Aqiba also considered certain sins as having no forgiveness. They were sins unto death. It is interesting and at the same time mournful to see what these sins were. One might have expected murder and cruelty to be among the number. But the religious mind often makes peculiar judgements, and we discover that Rabbi Aqiba’s sins unto death, which had no forgiveness in the World-to-Come, were denial of the Resurrection, denial of the divine origin of the Torah, and a devotion to free thought. Heretics were of course excluded. But the Rabbi makes another astounding exclusion: “Who, in singing the Song of Songs at a wedding, sings it to an air of secular type, will have no part in the World-to-Come.” The reason for this judgement lay in the feeling of Rabbi Aqiba that such a tune profaned Holy Scripture. It was a sort of blasphemy. It is strange to remember that Bach’s ‘Passion Chorale’ was adapted from a German
love-song. Would the Rabbi have condemned the great composer to perdition? Rabbi Meir invented another deadly sin—to have a theological college (for the study of the Torah) in your city and not attend it! On the other hand, Rabbi Eleazar ben Pedath said: “Over theological students the fire of Gehenna has no power.”

Rabbi Chanina (A.D. 225) would exclude three classes of sinners from salvation: “All who go down to Gehenna return with the exception of three, who go down and do not return—the adulterer, the man who puts his neighbour to an open shame, and the man who calls another by a hateful name.” So, too, Our Lord condemned to a mild judgement the man who called another “Raca”, but to Gehenna a man who said “Thou fool”—‘Raca’ meaning ‘intellectually inferior’, ‘Thou fool’ meaning ‘spiritually wicked’.

Rabbi Aqiba consigned to eternal damnation those who read non-canonical books. We are reminded by this that he, too, had his ‘Index Expurgatorius’.

There were, however, more compassionate voices raised, at least on behalf of fellow-Israelites. Thus Rabbi Resh Laqish (A.D. 250) insisted that the fire of the Gehenna of the Intermediate State had no power over godless Israelites. That is to say, to them it was merely purgatorial.

The view of the purgatorial efficacy of Gehenna found general acceptance. The inference from it, that “all Israel has part in the world to come”, was too fascinating. In spite of some protesting voices, the common view saw in the Gehenna of the Intermediate State a guarantee of ultimate salvation even for the godless. It was a comfortable doctrine.
**Good Works and Bad Works in relation to the Intermediate Gehenna**

The good works which would save the Israelite from the pains of Gehenna were naturally, to the Rabbinic mind, certain religious obligations—using the word 'religious' in the narrower sense. The study of the Torah, the recitation of the Shema and of the Hallel (Psalms 113-118)—the Psalms which Our Lord and the disciples sang before they went out from the Upper Room to the Garden of Gethsemane—had a most salutary effect. To these, amongst others, might be added good works, the following of the 'good impulse', visitation of the sick, a ready bearing of poverty, and a preference for the house of sorrow rather than for the house of feasting. On the other hand, let the Israelite avoid the sin of denying the divine origin of the Torah; let him refuse to be dominated by the 'evil impulse'; let him shun pride and anger and scorn. Filthy talk and sins of unchastity inevitably incurred the doom of Gehenna. In their attitude towards the relation between man and woman the Rabbis revealed a distinctly Oriental mode of thought. A few quotations will make this plain. One Rabbi (A.D. 247) said: "The man who walks in the counsel of his wife falls into Gehenna." Rabbi Joseph ben Johanan used to say: "Do not talk much with the woman." "He meant with a man's own wife, how much more with the wife of another. Therefore have the learned said, 'If a man talks much with his wife, he causes himself harm, leaves the words of the Torah and finally wins for himself Gehenna'."

Another injunction ran as follows: "The man who puts money from his hand into the hand of a woman, or takes money from her hand into his own, in order to have an opportunity of looking at her, though he
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were like our teacher Moses who received the Law on Sinai, yet would he not be acquitted from the judgement of Gehenna." Another injunction forbade a man to walk behind a woman in the street. The following Rabbinical saying is of great interest in view of Our Lord's injunction to pluck out the offending eye. Rabbi Ajebu (A.D. 320) said: "Let the eyes of the godless be darkened, that they see not. For the sight of the eyes of the godless plunges them into Gehenna."

The Rabbi had in mind the passage in Genesis (Genesis 6:2) which speaks of the sons of God seeing the daughters of men that they were fair, and so falling into sin. (The sons of God in the Genesis passage were, of course, angelic beings.)

The Punishment of Gehenna

The original punishment of Sheol was darkness, that of Gehenna was fire. These two punishments, darkness and fire, are combined in later pictures of Gehenna. The torture of snow followed the torture of fire. We read also of smoke and sulphurous fumes, and parching thirst and unpleasant beasts. We hear of prisons and chains. Gloomy is the record of the tortures which the morbid mind of man has imagined a supposed God of Love to inflict upon human beings. Virgil, in the Sixth Book of the Aeneid, recounts in majestic language the traditional picture of the underworld. The picture is repellent enough and deserved Lucretius' splendid previous protest, but it is comparatively mild compared with the picture painted by Rabbis and described by Christian pens.

The words of the early Church with regard to Judas that "he might go to his own place" (Acts 1:25) are more reticent and more impressive than all the horrors of Dante's Inferno.

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The Location of Gehenna

The location of Gehenna was considered to be an enormous subterranean cavern stretching under the whole earth—the solid ground being poised above the burning mass as the lid of a kettle over boiling water. The entrance to this abode of pain was narrow and was to be found in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. There Abraham sat and allowed no circumcised man to enter. Isaac, too, would take up his position there at the beginning of the Messianic Age, in order to free his descendants from the doom of Gehenna. Other ideas also were held—that Gehenna was in the North or the West. This last notion was combined with an awesome belief as to the cause of the redness of the setting sun—it reflected the glare of Gehenna!—a view somewhat fatal, one would imagine, to a proper enjoyment of the beauties of a sunset.

Paradise

The Septuagint translators rendered the Hebrew, 'Gan Eden', the Garden of Eden, by 'Paradeisos', the Greek form of the Persian 'Pairi-daeza', meaning 'circumvallation', that is, an enclosed piece of land, or park or garden. The word Paradise or Gan Eden or Garden of Eden is used in the Jewish writings in three senses: (a) the Paradise of Adam, (b) the Heavenly Paradise of Souls, (c) the Final Paradise of the World-to-Come.

The Paradise of Adam was considered as having been created on the third day of Creation's week, or as having existed in the mind of God before Creation. It was the holiest part of the earth. It was enclosed by a wall with several gates—one being in the neighbourhood of
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Jerusalem. It was girt with water as with a moat. In it grew the Tree of Life to a stupendous size. The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil was considered by many to have been a fig-tree. When the first human pair were driven from Paradise for their sin, the water of the surrounding moat froze—thus giving them egress. Adam then went back to Mount Moriah (Jerusalem), where it was supposed that he had lived before being placed by God in Paradise. Paradise was then withdrawn and hidden somewhere on the earth—either in the North or the West or the East. According to another tradition, it was placed on a high mountain, pictured as a lofty tower. Adam and Eve and Abel were accounted worthy to be buried there—the first two by the angels Michael and Ariel.

The Heavenly Paradise

Some of the Apocalyptic writers gave the name Paradise to the heavenly dwelling-place of the righteous. The same idea became common among the Rabbis in the period of the Amoraim. We may read of it as being located on the right side of the throne of the Divine Glory, or as being situated in the Third Heaven. This last idea may be compared with S. Paul's words in 2 Corinthians 12, where the Apostle speaks in one verse of having been caught up to the Third Heaven, and in another as having been caught up to Paradise. Apparently by him Paradise is regarded as being located in the Third Heaven. Sometimes it is thought of as being poised above the Earthly Paradise. It is divided into seven departments. Each of the righteous has his place assigned to him according to his merit. The strange thought was actually put forward that, owing to this division, the righteous are unable to see each other. We naturally contrast with this the Christian thought
of the future life as social. In spite of these differences of honour there would be no jealousy among the righteous. The doors are watched by three hundred angels who sing praises to God. The happy abode is flooded by the primeval light of Creation’s first day. The Tree of Life, of course, is there, spreading its branches over the dining-table of each of the saved. Streams of balsam flow through the garden, yielding delicious odours. The righteous sit with crowns of gold on their heads, or lie under the Tree of Life resting on cushions and protected by canopies. God Himself walks in their midst and opens to them the treasures of heavenly wealth. Thus the mind of man pictures to itself even the Heavenly Paradise under very earthly symbols. Our Lord used the word Paradise in His promise to the dying robber, because the man would have immediately understood it to mean a place of rest and refreshment in the Beyond.

The Final Paradise

The Final Paradise brings us, strangely enough, back to earth. To the Rabbis this Paradise is the restored Paradise of Adam which had been hidden from sight because of the sin of man. This is not the universal, but may be considered as the common view. The Paradise of the World-to-Come was situated near to Jerusalem, close to the entrance to Gehenna. This proximity afforded the righteous the pleasure of being able to watch the torments of the damned, who were regarded as tossing in their pain like the pieces of boiling meat in a cauldron. God even showed the righteous the places in Gehenna prepared for their reception had they not behaved themselves. They then praised God for all the tribulations which had kept them on the narrow way. They feasted on the Tree of Life and
studied the Torah. For the Garden of Eden became a kind of theological college. God Himself sat among the students expounding the Torah. God took away from the righteous all nervousness in His presence, and even led off the dance at their head to reassure them (S.B., vol. iv. p. 1146). The righteous feasted upon the flesh of the monsters Leviathan and Behemoth—King David saying the grace from a throne opposite the throne of God—a future prospect which seems scarcely alluring. The mind of man has always found it more easy to picture the pains of the damned than the joys of the saved. As an example of this characteristic, we print in an Appendix an extraordinarily interesting mediaeval poem from Iceland, describing the lot of the dead.

We consider first the Judgement of individuals immediately after death. Thus Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai (about A.D. 80) spoke on his death-bed of the King of Kings before whom, in his hour of death, he would have to appear, and upon whose attitude to himself his destiny depended (Berakoth 28b, 23). This judgement following on death was given in accordance with a man’s deeds. Position, riches, family connections, were of no avail. All a man’s works were recorded in the heavenly books. If a man’s good deeds exceeded his evil deeds he was acquitted. (Compare this with S. James’ (2 : 10) view that if a man is guilty of breaking the least commandment he is guilty of all). If a man’s good and evil deeds balanced exactly, God was merciful and let the good deeds have the greater weight. The movements and appearance of the dying man were supposed to indicate the way in which the
judgement would go. Thus, if a man died laughing, it was a good sign; if crying, it was a bad sign. If his face was turned upwards, it was a good sign; if downwards, it was a bad sign. If he died looking towards the friends around his bed, it was a good sign; if he was looking towards the wall, it was a bad sign. If his face was a greenish-yellow, it was a bad sign; if ruddy, a good sign. If he died on the Sabbath, it was a good sign; if on the following day, a bad sign. If he died of abdominal pains, it was a good sign, because most righteous men died from some abdominal infection (Kethubhoth 1036, 30).

The Final Judgement in the Apocalyptic Literature

The earlier Apocalypses identify the Days of the Messiah with the final Age of Blessedness. To these writers, therefore, the Messianic Judgement on the nations and the Final Judgement are identical. The later Apocalyptists (4 Ezra and 2 Baruch), who separate the Messianic Days from the Final Age, look upon the Final Judgement as immediately preceding the Final Age. This Final Judgement they view frequently as catastrophic, not forensic, effected by fire and sword. When the Judgement is forensic, God or the Messiah is regarded as the judge. Sometimes the righteous sit by as assessors. S. Paul seems to have had a similar thought. The damnation of the godless is everlasting, though it is difficult to be certain whether continuous punishment or annihilation is meant. The godless dead come before the Judgement seat, as far as they have had their part in the Resurrection. After the Judgement they return to the place of punishment, from which they were raised, to undergo greater torment.
The Judgement in the Rabbinic Literature

To the Rabbis the Judgement is seldom the catastrophic judgement on the nations. Since this belongs to the Days of the Messiah, the Final Judgement becomes in the main, with the exception of the judgement on Gog and Magog, a judgement on individuals conceived in the forensic manner. Strangely enough, God, not the Messiah, is looked upon as the Judge, the Days of the Messiah being over with the beginning of the World-to-Come. Was this S. Paul’s thought when he spoke in I Corinthians 15 of the Son delivering up the Kingdom to the Father? The pains of the final Gehenna are the same as those of the intermediate Gehenna. A new thought is that the east wind blows up the flames and so the torment begins again every morning. The Rabbis often speak of the praise which rises to God from Gehenna, even more than from Paradise. The older writers believed that in spite of this praise, the punishment of the damned was eternal. Later writers took the view that because the damned now recognized the divine justice, they were reprieved. We give at length a quaint Rabbinic passage which describes this release. We translate the passage as given in German by Strack-Billerbeck (vol. iv. p. 1117) from Pesiqtha, Beth ha-Midrash 6, 63, 11:

“It is written, open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in (Isaiah 26:2). Read not ‘Amunim’ (truth) but ‘Amenim’ (who answer, Amen). And because of the Amen which the wicked will answer they will rise from Gehenna. How then? God will sit in Paradise and lecture, and all the righteous will sit before him, while the whole family of heaven (the angels) stand at his feet—the sun and signs of the zodiac to his right and the moon and
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signs of the zodiac to his left. And God will lecture to them on the ground of the new Torah, which he will give to the Israelites through the Messiah. Then Zerubbabel will stand on his feet and recite the Qaddish, and his voice will sound from one end of the world to the other and all the world will come and answer, Amen. Even the wicked Israelites, and the righteous from the nations of the world, who are still left in Gehenna, answer Amen out of Gehenna, until the whole world shakes and their words are heard before God. Then God will ask, What is that sound of shaking which I have heard? The ministering angels answer and say,—Lord of the World, all is open and known to thee. That is the godless Israelites and the righteous from the nations of the world, who are still left in Gehenna and out of Gehenna answer, Amen. Then God is moved to pity and takes the key of Gehenna in his hand, and gives it to Gabriel and Michael and says to them—Go and open the doors of Gehenna and let them come up out of Gehenna, as it is written: Open ye the gates that the righteous nation which answers Amen may enter in. Immediately Michael and Gabriel go to open the gates of Gehenna and let them come up as a man would let another climb out of a pit, as it is written,—He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay (Psalm 40:2). And Michael and Gabriel will stand by them and bathe them and anoint them and heal them from the wounds of the flames of Gehenna and clothe them in beautiful and rich garments, and they will take them by the hand and bring them before God and all the righteous, as it is written, Thy priests shall be clothed with righteousness (Psalm 132:9)—Thy priests, that is the righteous from among the nations, who served God as priests in this world, such as the Caesar
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Antoninus, son of Severus, and his companions. ‘And thy saints shall rejoice’, that is the godless among the Israelites, who shall be called saints, as it is written, Gather my saints unto me (Psalm 50:5). When they come to the gates of Paradise, Gabriel and Michael will first enter and will speak to God, and he will say to them: Let them enter, that they may see my glory. When they enter they will fall on their faces and pray and praise the name of God. And the justified righteous who sit before God will give God thanks and praise, as it is written, Surely the righteous shall give thanks unto thy name. And they will be received as fully righteous, who from that time no longer sin, because they have broken their hearts in contrition, as it is said, The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart (Psalm 34:18).”

This long passage is of interest as affording a glimpse into the strange ways of Rabbinic exegesis. It is of yet greater interest as showing that while the idea of eternal punishment was common in Our Lord’s time, the severe view was later in some respects modified.

It may be of interest to add certain passages which seem to show similarities of thought to the great Parable of the Last Judgement in S. Matthew 25. We give first a passage from the Parables of Enoch:

Enoch 62: (1-16)

And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said:

Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One.

And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory, And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him, And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners, And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.
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And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,
And the exalted and those who hold the earth,
And they shall see and recognize
How he sits on the throne of his glory,
And righteousness is judged before him,
And no lying word is spoken before him.

Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail,
(And she has pain in bringing forth)
When her child enters the mouth of the womb,
And she has pain in bringing forth.

And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified
And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of his glory.

And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth
shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all,
who was hidden.

For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,
And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might,
And revealed him to the elect.

And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown,
And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.

And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those
who rule the earth
Shall fall down before him on their faces,
And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man,
And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.

Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them
That they shall hastily go forth from His presence,
And their faces shall be filled with shame,
And the darkness grow deeper on their faces.

And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed
His children and His elect.

And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect;
They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them,
And His sword is drunk with their blood.

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And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day,
And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners
and unrighteous.

And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever,

And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.

And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,
And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of
Spirits:
And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

Cyril Emmet in Streeter’s Immortality, p. 197, lists
other passages from the Apocalyptic Literature which
throw light on this great Parable. Thus in Enoch 90
the righteous are spoken of as sheep. The Testament
of Benjamin (10 : 6) speaks of Enoch, Noah, Shem,
Abraham, Israel and Jacob rising on the right hand.
The Book of the Secrets of Enoch (9) gives a list of the
good deeds that are rewarded: “This place, O Enoch,
is prepared for the righteous, who endure all manner
of offence from those that exasperate their souls, who
avert their eyes from iniquity, and make righteous
judgement, and give bread to the hungering, and cover
the naked with clothing, and raise up the fallen, and
help injured orphans, and who walk without fault
before the face of the Lord, and serve him alone, and
for them is prepared this place for eternal inheritance.”
The Testament of Joseph 1 : 5, 6 gives an interesting
sequence:

I was sold into slavery, and the Lord of all made me free;
I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succoured me.
I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me.
I was alone, and God comforted me:
I was sick and the Lord visited me:
I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me;  
In bonds, and He released me.

There is also a Rabbinic passage worth quoting, which speaks, however, of the judgement which immediately follows death. It is a Midrash on Psalm 118:19, “Open to me the gates of righteousness: I will go into them and I will praise the Lord”:

“In the World-to-Come it will be said to a man, What has thy work been? If he answers, ‘I have fed the hungry’, it will be said to him, That is the gate of the Lord; thou hast fed the hungry; enter thyself in. If he answers, ‘I have given drink to the thirsty’, it will be said to him, That is the gate of the Lord; thou hast given drink to the thirsty; enter thyself in. ‘I have clothed the naked’, it will be said to him, That is the gate of the Lord; thou hast clothed the naked; enter thyself in. And so he who has brought up orphan children, and given alms, and done works of love. And David said, I have done all, all shall be opened to me. Therefore it is written, Open to me the gates of righteousness; I will go into them and I will praise the Lord.”

These passages show beyond a doubt that the scenery and form of the Parable was borrowed by Our Lord from contemporary thought. The special teaching is of its essence—namely, the thought that the Judgement is determined by sins of omission in the realm of ordinary kindness.

It is worth remarking that the idea of the endless punishment of bad angels found in S. Matthew 25:41 is identical with the thought of Enoch 10 and similar passages. The thought that the pains of punishment were purgatorial, or that there might be a release from Gehenna, is, as we have seen, later than the time of Our Lord.
CONCLUSION

We have now considered the Jewish view as to the Eschatology of the Individual as well as that as to the Eschatology of the Nation. Our study must have made clear to us that all the New Testament eschatological terms are taken straight from Jewish sources. The one outstanding difference is found in the fact that in Christian writings Jesus Christ holds the centre of the stage. But the eschatological vocabulary is identical. This, after all, is what we might have expected, for Our Lord after the flesh and His Disciples were Jews—brought up on the traditional material of their nation.

We notice, again, the variety of conception. Here, too, however, that very variety is based upon a postulate of faith. All the sometimes strange thoughts of Hell, Paradise, Judgement are rooted in the conviction that “In the great hand of God we stand”, and that His care for men and women is based on ethical principles. It matters immensely, in other words, how we act during the brief space of our earthly days, for this life is not the end. *Quisque suos patimur manis.*
LECTURE IV
CONCEPTIONS OF RESURRECTION IN PRIMITIVE RELIGION
AND IN THE RELIGIONS OF EGYPT, BABYLONIA AND PERSIA
Yet the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body stands for an important group of truths:

(a) It excludes the notion that the future life is impoverished and ghostly. On the contrary, that life is as full as, and fuller than, the life here. We expect to be not “unclothed”, but “clothed upon” (2 Corinthians v. 4).

(b) It excludes the notion that our treatment and use of our bodies is spiritually irrelevant. The exclusion of this idea was of vital importance in the primitive Church, and is still important in many parts of the world. If it sometimes seems unimportant to ourselves, this is only because the truth emphasised by the doctrine is at present accepted among us. If the doctrine were abandoned, this truth might be jeopardised.

(c) It safeguards the conviction that we shall have the means of recognising each other in the future life.

(d) It expresses with serviceable brevity a truth which ought to be expressed, even though naïve interpretation of it may carry suggestions which ought to be discarded. While, in the judgment of the Commission, we ought to reject quite frankly the literalistic belief in a future resuscitation of the actual physical frame which is laid in the tomb, it is to be affirmed, none the less, that in the life of the world to come the soul or spirit will still have its appropriate organ of expression and activity, which is one with the body of earthly life in the sense that it bears the same relation to the same spiritual entity. What is important, when we are speaking of the identity of any person’s “body”, is not its physico-chemical constitution, but its relation to that person.

(e) There is a further point still. The doctrine of the Resurrection coheres with the conception of real continuity between the body of the earthly life and the resurrection body. What happens here upon earth is in some sense taken up into the life of Heaven, so that the character of earthly and bodily life is of eternal significance.

CONCEPTIONS OF RESURRECTION IN PRIMITIVE RELIGION AND IN THE RELIGIONS OF EGYPT, BABYLONIA AND PERSIA

PRIMITIVE CONCEPTIONS OF RESURRECTION

Crude ideas of Resurrection are extremely common among peoples in a primitive stage of development. These conceptions appear to take their origin from the following facts:

(1) The difficulty which the savage mind, arguing possibly from the analogy of sleeping and waking, or from appearances of the dead in dreams, finds in believing that anything or any person who has once lived has passed away irrevocably.

(2) The analogy suggested by the daily setting and rising again of the sun, or by the decay and revival into new life of vegetation in those non-tropical countries where spring and autumn are well marked.

(3) The disappearance, and reappearance after three days, of the moon.

We shall consider primitive conceptions of resurrection under these heads.

(1) The savage hunter found it difficult to believe that animals which he had killed were gone for ever. Perhaps the wish was father to the thought that game killed in hunting would return in a body to be killed
and eaten a second time. Frazer in *The Golden Bough* quotes a well-known missionary of the Church Missionary Society to the Aino of Japan. “The Aino”, writes Mr. Batchelor, “are firmly convinced that the spirits of birds and animals killed in hunting or offered in sacrifice come and live again upon the earth clothed in a body.” At the time of sacrifice, in fact, prayers are actually offered requesting them to come again and furnish viands for another feast. A similar faith to this of the Aino is held by savage hunters in many parts of the world. The Lapps believe in the resurrection of such animals underground, the North American Indians in this world. A like faith is held by the Eskimo of Baffin Land. The bones of game are often preserved in the belief that they will again be clothed with flesh and resurrected.

In this connection it is interesting to notice the belief that the preservation of the bones intact and unbroken is necessary. In other words, the rest of the body could be restored, but a broken or damaged bone remained damaged. Readers of Snorri’s Edda will remember the well-known story of Thor on his journey to Jötunheim. One morning Thor killed the two goats which drew his chariot, skinned and boiled them. He invited to the supper a farmer of the district and his family. Thor arranged the two goatskins by the fire and told his guests, as they ate, to throw the bones into the skins. Thjálfi, however, the farmer’s son, split a thigh-bone to get at the marrow. In the night, before dawn, Thor got up, and hallowed the remains of the goats with his mysterious hammer. They at once leapt up alive, but one limped. To atone for his mistake Thjálfi and his sister were compelled to become servants of Thor.

Is it possible that the injunction not to break any of
the bones of the Paschal Lamb may have had some connection with a similar resurrection belief?

A like idea is certainly met with in Greek mythology. The murdered Pelops, when restored to life, must have his shoulder, which had been eaten by Demeter, replaced with one of ivory.

We pass on naturally to consider the resurrection of men. Among the Mexicans, bones of men were deposited in baskets and hung up on trees, in order that the spirits of their former owners might not have to grub for them at the resurrection. Tylor in his Primitive Culture tells of the pathetic hope of the Australian native—“Black fellow tumble down; jump up white man”.

(2) The relation of resurrection beliefs to the sun and to vegetation will be shown plainly when we come to consider the religion of Egypt. The resurrection gods of Western Asia, Attis, Adonis, Tammuz, Marduk, Melcart, Eshmun, Sandan and Osiris of Egypt, were all vegetation or astral deities. They were gods who died and came to life again. Even in modern Europe ceremonies of rejoicing have been observed at the resurrection of some deity of the Spring. Thus in Little Russia it used to be the custom at Eastertide to celebrate the funeral of a being called Kostrubonko, the deity of the Spring. A circle was formed of singers who moved slowly around a girl who lay on the ground as if dead, and as they went they sang:

Dead, dead is our Kostrubonko!
Dead, dead is our dear one!

until the girl suddenly sprang up, on which the chorus joyfully exclaimed:

Come to life, come to life has our Kostrubonko,
Come to life, come to life has our dear one!
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(Quoted by Frazer in The Dying God, p. 261, from W. R. S. Ralston’s Songs of the Russian People.)

(3) The most interesting feature of primitive beliefs in resurrection are connected with the moon and its invisible period of three days. The lunar character of Osiris, in addition to his character as a solar and vegetation deity, is proved not only by the twenty-eight years of his life and the fourteen parts of his body—both lunar numbers—but by an inscription of Ramses IV, “Thou art the moon which is in heaven, thou renewest thy youth at will, thou comestest young at thy pleasure, thou appearest in order to drive away the darkness.”

The relation of the moon to man’s resurrection is expressed more picturesquely in a folk-tale from the Antipodes. “The Arunta of Central Australia relate that before there was any moon in the sky, a man died and was buried. Shortly afterwards he rose from the grave in the form of a boy. When the people ran away for fear, he followed them shouting that if they fled they would die altogether, while he would die but rise again in the sky. He failed to induce them to return. When he died he reappeared as the moon, periodically dying and coming to life again; but the people who ran away died altogether. And the Wotjobaluk story runs that, when people died, the moon used to say, ‘You up again’; but an old man said, ‘Let them remain dead’, and since then none has ever come to life again except the moon” (Hastings, E.R.E., vol. iv. p. 412).

We notice two facts in connection with this story: (1) the connection of the fate of men with that of the moon; (2) in the event, the dissimilarity of that fate. The first of these facts is the more important, but the tragedy of the second is brought out by folk-tale after

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folk-tale. Thus Frazer tells us of a Hottentot story that the moon charged the hare to go to men and say, “As I die and rise to life again, so shall you die and rise to life again.” But the hare reversed the message out of forgetfulness or malice, with obvious and disastrous results to the human race (The Belief in Immortality, vol. i. p. 65). Similar stories are told by the Masai of Africa and the islanders of Fiji. The Caroline islanders say that once men revived like the moon after a short sleep, but an evil spirit contrived to effect the reversal of this.

It is instructive to notice, creeping into the stories, the primitive feeling that some malignant power or some sin of man prevented the resurrection of the dead. Thus there is a Masai tale which recounts how a Masai man was told by a god to throw away the body of a child and say, “Man, die and come back again; moon, die and remain away.” But the child was not the man’s own son and he reversed the saying. When his own son died, he tried the same spell, but the god replied, “It is of no use now, for you spoilt matters with the other child.”

The conscience of Central Australia expressed itself in the story that long ago all men arose from the dead after three days, but once a man kicked the corpse of a member of an enemy tribe into the sea. He could not rise from there, and so no more men ever rose from the dead. The vital succession was fatally broken.

Efforts to Prevent Resurrection

It is strange to discover that deliberate efforts have been made among primitive men to prevent resurrection. The motive in this case was fear of the returning dead—a motive at least superior to the hatred of those who persecuted the Christians at Lyons and Vienne
in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and who tried so to
dispose of the bodies that resurrection might be
rendered impossible. In Australia the Blanch-water
tribe tried to prevent the resurrection of their dead
by tying the toes of the corpse together and his
thumbs behind his back. In this way it was hoped
to make ineffectual his efforts to get up and run
after them!

Symbolical Acts of Resurrection connected with Initiation
Ceremonies

Belief in resurrection was so closely bound up with
the lives of some tribes that a dramatized revival to life
became a part of their initiation ceremonies. Frazer
describes at length the manner in which these were held
among the Yabim, a Papuan tribe of New Guinea. On
the day set for the beginning of the ritual the young
candidates for initiation and the elder male members
of the tribe formed into procession and passed, amidst
the lamentations of the women, from the village
towards the depths of the forest. In these dark re-
cesses the youths were terrified to behold a grim
monster with gaping mouth and glaring eyes, who
roared at them as they approached and who obviously
desired to eat them up. Of course the 'Monster' was
merely a huge hut built in suggestive shape; his eyes
were painted, and his growl was produced by men
who waited inside him and vigorously worked their
'bull-roarers'—pieces of peculiarly formed wood at-
tached to a string, which, when whirled round, pro-
duced a low booming sound. The lads, however, were
duly frightened, and indeed had a perfect right to be,
for on entering the 'Monster' each had to undergo the
painful operation of circumcision. If any boy died as
a result, it was announced in the village that the
‘Monster’ had eaten him and refused to disgorge. He was, however, on the whole an obliging Monster, and although the surgery was not aseptic, he was willing to surrender the majority of his victims. When the happy day at length arrived, the painted lads marched in procession back to the village. Here they paraded and were addressed with the command, “O circumcised one, sit down.” The lads made no movement. “O circumcised one, open your eyes.” Then they awoke, as out of sleep, resurrected. For circumcision denoted to the Papuan mind a death and a resurrection—as Christian Baptism represented, on a higher plane, the same great experience to the Apostle Paul.

A still more striking dramatization of resurrection took place at the periodical initiation of young men in the sacred Nanga or stone-enclosure of Viti Levu in the Fijian group. On the fifth day of the festival the candidates moved together towards the outer compartment of the Holy Place. All was wrapped in an awe-inspiring stillness. Suddenly the screams of parrots broke forth and a dread booming pervaded the whole air. (One may guess that it was our old friends, the bull-roarers, hard at work again.) So they passed on into the Holiest Place. In front, right against them, sat the High Priest with stony and horrible stare, while between him and themselves lay a row of bloodstained and disembowelled corpses. The High Priest yells, the corpses arise and move out towards the sea, where they wash. The High Priest cries, “Where are the people of my enclosure?” The answer rings out in deep-voiced song as the singers, representing the departed but now resurrected ancestors of the tribe, move back to the rhythm of a solemn chant. (It is perhaps scarcely necessary to add that the blood and bowels of the ‘corpses’ were those of recently slain
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pigs.) (Frazer, The Belief in Immortality, vol. i. pp. 251 and 429.)

It would be possible to illustrate primitive conceptions of resurrection at greater length, but enough has been said to establish the fact that such ideas among people low in the scale of development are common and are extremely crude.

THE DOCTRINE OF RESURRECTION IN THE
RELIGION OF EGYPT

To treat of any doctrine of the Egyptian religion is difficult. The dwellers in the region of the Nile had the misfortune to be possessed of fertile imaginations and most retentive memories. The first led to a luxuriant crop of religious conceptions which outrivalled the forests of Central Africa in their tangled growth. The latter made the use of the axe of the religious woodsman impossible. Every conception which had ever been held was always remembered, and in consequence was retained, synchronously with other conceptions which, if logic had been allowed to have its way, would have annihilated the former.

We are most fortunately not compelled to consider the complicated Egyptian scheme of the component parts of a man—his Ka and his Ba, and so on. We need only in connection with our limited theme consider (a) The Solar Theory of the Hereafter, (b) The Osirian Theory of the Hereafter.

The Solar Theory of the Hereafter

Our knowledge of the Egyptian beliefs with regard to the dead are derived mainly from 'The Pyramid Texts' and 'The Book of the Dead'. The former consist of inscriptions in certain pyramids built towards
the close of the Old Kingdom. These represent views held in the earlier days of Egyptian civilization. The latter is formed by a group of texts which "from the time of the New Kingdom were constantly written on papyri". Here we read the later views current among the Egyptian people. The early Egyptians largely drew their views of the future from the phenomena of the daily journey of the Sun and other heavenly bodies. The Sun, so they imagined, was rowed across the sky in his barque. At night he sank in the West, only to reappear next morning in the East. He must therefore have travelled in a similar way through the subterranean country. This became connected in Egyptian thought with the realm of the dead. But such a prospect was, to say the least, not entirely cheerful; and a way of escape was sought. The dweller in the Nile Valley could not fail to be impressed by the multitudinous stars which thronged the heavenly vault. He became familiar with such striking constellations as Orion and such outstanding stars as Sirius; and it occurred to him that there lay one solution to his problem, 'What became of the dead?' They passed to heaven as stars. The Pharaoh, of course, became identified with Ra, the Sun. It is interesting, and very grotesque, to notice the stages of the development of this belief as recorded in the Pyramid Texts. At first the Pharaoh is admitted to heaven merely as the scribe of Ra. He displaces, as we should say nowadays, the former royal stenographer, who, to his dismay, 'loses his job'. But the subservient priests felt this as entirely too menial a task for a King, and so, in their thinking and writing, they promoted him to be the friend of Ra, taken with him as a travelling companion, and even being asked to row as one of the 'oars' in the Solar barque. It was only one stage further to identify the King with Ra
himself. "Perhaps the finest fragment of literature preserved in the Pyramid Texts is a Sun-hymn in which the king is identified with the Sun-god." In fact, the entire hymn is repeated with the replacement of the name of the Sun by that of the King. Egyptian fancy even went a stage further—a stage which to our minds is not only grotesque but idiotically repellent. The translated Pharaoh became "a cosmic figure of elemental vastness, even superior to the Sun-god" (Erman *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, pp. 90, 91). This was fantastic enough, but the Pharaoh is supposed to pass on to a grotesque cannibalism. "The gods are hunted down, lassoed, bound and slaughtered like wild cattle, that the king may devour their substance... in the belief that he might thus absorb and appropriate their qualities and powers."

Such extravagant conceptions formed, fortunately, the exception rather than the rule. More normally the 'Illuminated' dwelt, not merely in the 'West' as 'Dwellers in the West', where early fancy saw the home of the dead, but "on the east side of heaven upon its northern part among the imperishable ones". Thus the blessed souls are identified with the circum-polar stars, which in northern latitudes never set—"Stellis nunquam tangentibus aequor", as Ovid called them in his *Tristia*. This celestial abode was pictured as another Egypt—Islands, and water, and irrigation and bulrushes. In fact, the home of the blessed was known as the field of Earu or bulrushes.

From the foregoing illustrations it may be seen that the Solar Theology of Egypt, while having technically no doctrine of resurrection, yet for Kings, and for the elect 'Illuminated', defied death, and imagined life to be carried on in at least a quasi-physical sense in a supra-mundane and celestial realm.
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The Osiris Theology

We must now consider the system which, starting as the popular rival of this aristocratic creed, eventually succeeded in absorbing it and in becoming the typical Egyptian faith.

Osiris was originally a Nile god and a spirit of vegetable life. To the believer in the Solar faith Osiris represented the dominion and realm of death. The Solar faith was essentially connected with the Pharaoh. The ordinary Egyptian originally had very different views of death. "The most popular, the most widespread, and at the same time certainly the oldest of the Egyptian notions respecting the hereafter, was that according to which after death a human being leads a second life under the same conditions as those which governed his first. There is no change of form; the man, the woman, the greybeard, the child, live on as such. The cemetery is their dwelling-place, their home the tomb" (Steindorf, The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, p. 116). These tombs were situated amid the sands of the desert, generally on the left or west bank of the river. In early times the god of the locality was also the god of "them that are in the West". But at quite an early period these local gods had made way for a single god. Osiris became for the whole of Egypt the chief "Lord of the Western folk".

And so, to begin with, Osiris was the great foe of the believer in the Solar faith. Breasted quotes one of the Pyramid Texts in which occurs the following quite unequivocal prayer: "Re-Atum does not give thee to Osiris... Osiris! Thou hast not gained power over him" (Breasted, The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, pp. 139, 140).

But this view was not to continue. In course of time

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Osiris became celestialized, until in certain Pyramid Texts he is spoken of as "Lord of the Sky". "The departed Pharaoh is ferried over, the doors of the sky are opened for him, he passes all enemies as he goes, and he is announced to Osiris in the sky precisely as in the Solar theology. There he is welcomed by Osiris, and he joins 'the Imperishable Stars', the followers of Osiris, just as in the Solar faith" (Breasted, *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 149).

But the chief interest in the Osiris cult lies for us in its doctrine of resurrection. The legend told how Osiris had been murdered by his evil brother Set. But his death was avenged by his son Horus. The juvenile god fought with Set, and in the conflict both lost an eye. This detached eye he presented to his dead father, and the strange gift, reinforced by magic formulae and potent ceremonies, succeeded in resurrecting the dead Osiris. Thus the dying and resurrected Sun came into competition with the dying and resurrected Osiris, and the human element in the story of Osiris assured the victory to this form of the faith. As the Pharaoh had become identified with Ra, the Sun, or at best had shared his experience, being borne round the heaven in his barque, so, it came to be believed, the faithful Egyptian shared the destiny of Osiris. "Even as Osiris lives, he also will live; even as Osiris is not dead, he also will not die; even as Osiris is not destroyed, he also will not be destroyed."

And this new life was definitely one of resurrection. Nut, the mother of Osiris, is represented as drawing near the dead man to restore to him his bodily life; "She gives thee thy head, she brings thee thy bones, she sets thy limbs together, and places thy heart in thy body. Thy illuminated spirit and thy power come to
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thee as to the god, the representative of Osiris; thy soul is within thee and thy power behind thee” (Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 96). So the dead but resurrected King passes up to heaven to live there as Osiris: “Thou standest now protected and equipped as god, provided with the form of Osiris, on the throne of the first of those who are in the West. Thou dost as he did among the illuminated and the imperishable.” It is hardly necessary to call attention to the outward similarity of this doctrine to that of the Christian’s identification with the experience of the dying and the risen Christ.

The relation of the mummy to the dead man, or ‘Osiris’ as Egyptians called their blessed dead—so close was the identification—is an interesting point. The mummy and the Osiris were not identical, for experience taught only too clearly that the mummy was not resurrected. And yet on the other hand they were not regarded as entirely distinct. The Osiris was described as resembling the mummy in appearance. The embalmers arranged the mummy as though it were to journey forth into the other world as the Osiris. As the mummy itself never did this, Egyptian thought provided the mummy with a kind of spiritual double, the romantic performances of which were of course quite unfettered by the hard logic of reality and fact.

It is instructive to note further that the Egyptian dead did not wait for a judgement and resurrection at the last day. Judgement and resurrection were dealt out to each man individually. After death the soul was compelled to journey through the underworld—a voyage described at length in the famous ‘Book of the Dead’. After surpassing the various dangers of the way, the dead man is ushered into ‘The Hall of the Double Truth’. Here he makes the well known
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‘Negative Confession’, submits to have his heart weighed in the scales against the symbol of Truth, and, if all goes well, is acquitted by the divine assessors. It is then that the immortal elements which death had separated begin to reunite. “His Ka, and all the remaining parts of himself, were now restored to the justified Osiris, who was thus built up into the complete man who had once walked the earth, and who now entered upon a new life, the everlasting life of the righteous and the blessed” (Wiedemann, The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of Immortality, p. 54).

And what was the nature of this new life? It was at least semi-material. Budge quotes a long description of the life of the Blessed in the Elysian Fields from the Papyrus of Nebseni. It is a life of reaping and paddling a boat in a kind of glorified Delta. The resurrected man could indulge in transmigration at will—not as a horror, as in Indian thought, but as a pleasant pastime. He could be bird, or god, or even re-visit and re-animate the mummy. It was a varied and a full and satisfying life. The relationships of the old earthly home could be continued. No wonder that, as Budge writes (Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life, p. 176), “The resurrection was the object with which every prayer was said and every ceremony performed, and every text and every amulet and every formula, of each and every period, was intended to enable the mortal to put on immortality and to live eternally in a transformed glorified body.”

THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION IN THE RELIGION OF BABYLON

The Babylonian conception of death was essentially gloomy and held out no hope for the general mass of
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mankind. Death indeed was not supposed to end consciousness, but it ended all that made life worth living. The dead were supposed to pass as wraiths or shades into a subterranean abode known as ‘Aralu’. The etymology of this word is unknown, but it probably connotes a cave. Another name for this repellent region was ‘Shualu’, a word probably connected with the well-known Hebrew ‘Sheol’, and derived from a root meaning, probably, ‘abyss’. The ruler of this realm was a ferocious goddess of the name of Ereshkigal, ‘Ruler of the Great Place’, later joined by a male consort, Nergal, the god of pestilence.

The only question germane to our inquiry is this, ‘Was there any hope of release or of resurrection from this dreary abode?’

To this question two answers were given. In the Gilgamesh Epic the hero is represented as smitten with disease. As the fear of death comes upon him he goes to inquire of the maiden Sabitu, who dwells by the sea (Jastrow, Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions, p. 211). He asks her how he can attain immortal life. She replies that his search is vain. “Why dost thou wander from place to place? The life which thou seekest thou wilt not find. When the gods created man they fixed death for mankind. Life they kept in their own hands.” With this hopeless view of death in mind Sabitu goes on to exhort Gilgamesh to indulge in hedonism, “to eat, drink and be merry”, as suggested, in such a contingency, by the great Apostle of the Gentiles in 1 Corinthians 15. The significance of this passage in the Epic is increased by the fact that it occurs in what was apparently a later supplement to the original story, and so represents the mature result of later thinking. Gilgamesh is naturally not satisfied with such a doctrine and implores further light. The
god Ea finally takes pity on him and commands Nergal to allow the spirit of Engidu, a friend of Gilgamesh, to return and answer further questions. Engidu, much like the spirit of Samuel at Endor, rises through a hole in the ground and answers to Gilgamesh’s question: “I cannot tell thee. If I were to tell thee the law of the earth which I have experienced, you would sit down and weep the whole day.” But Gilgamesh persists un-daunted, only to learn that those who have died on the field of battle and are properly buried are permitted the slight accommodation of being allowed to drink ‘clear water’ and of being once more united to their families. The unfortunate person who is unburied has to subsist on “food thrown into the street”. The fate of the unburied recalls Homer and the views of the Greeks. The reward of those who fell in battle reminds us that certain doctrines preached during the Great War from Christian pulpits are older than Mohammedanism, and go back to the very dawn of history.

But the same Epic contains also another, a somewhat brighter answer to our question. Gilgamesh is represented as inquiring the secret of immortality from his remote ancestor, Utnapishtim, the hero of the Deluge, who had been wise enough to understand a warning sent by the god Ea, and to attain to immortality. Into the details of the story and a discussion of its component parts and their relative age we need not go. Suffice it to say that, in a portion which is probably late, Ea is represented as blessing Utnapishtim and his wife, with the result that they became immortal as the gods and went to dwell “in the distance, at the confluence of the streams”.

This last phrase probably referred to the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates at the Persian Gulf and so meant ‘the ocean’. Utnapishtim then went to live in
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‘The Islands of the Blessed’, a kind of fabulous Paradise. Thus we see dawning in the minds of the Babylonians a conception that for certain select souls there waited a future brighter than that for the mass of mankind. This future was scarcely a resurrection, it was almost more an apotheosis, but after all it differed but slightly from the Egyptian view of a future life in the likeness of Osiris.

There are allusions in some of the penitential hymns to Marduk and other gods as restoring the dead to life, but these prayers only refer to the power of the god to restore the sick man from the brink of the grave. As Langdon says, with special reference to the doctrine of Tammuz as Healer (*Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 33), “There seems to be no reference to immortality or deliverance from eternal sleep in Sheol. The Babylonians had no such hope. In the case of two heroes we hear of efforts to attain unto immortality, but they failed, and we hear of the bread of life given by Tammuz, but no mortal save one had the opportunity to eat thereof, and he rejected it. The bread and water of life were partaken of only by the gods.” Jeremias (*H.A.G.*, p. 465) mentions words from a Ninurta Hymn, “Who has gone down to Aralu, his body shall return.” But it is probable that, to the Babylonian mind, for the mass of mankind there remained only the darkness of Aralu, described in the *Descent of Ishtar* as

The land whence there is no return,
The land of darkness,
The house whence no one issues who has once entered it—the road from which there is no return when once it has been trodden.

The Hebrews had that sense of communion with God which led inevitably to an ultimate transcending of the gloomy doctrine of Sheol. But this grace was not given
to the Babylonians. In God's unfolding purpose the Jew came first.

**The Doctrine of Resurrection in the Religion of Ancient Persia**

The doctrine of the Resurrection as an eschatological act became prominent for the first time in world-history in the religion of ancient Persia, generally known as Zoroastrianism. As it is a matter of discussion how far Persian influence moulded Hebrew Eschatology it is important to determine, as far as possible, the dates at which the various Persian doctrines began to be commonly held in the religion of Zoroaster.

*The Date of Zoroaster*

The date of Zoroaster has been much discussed, but opinion has largely come round to the traditional view that he was approximately a contemporary of Buddha, Confucius and Jeremiah, his life being lived between 660 B.C. and 583 B.C. The argument may be read at length in Professor A. V. Williams Jackson's book *Zoroaster*, Appendix 2, p. 150. With him, on the whole, agrees James Hope Moulton in his *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*. In his *Early Zoroastrianism* (p. 19) he adds that he is "frankly unconvinced that the traditional date of Zarathushtra is early enough. I do not feel that we can dogmatize, but I cannot help rather accentuating Professor Jackson's own admission that we could do with a longer time-allowance". Further study, however, led Moulton to write: "Nothing later than the tenth century B.C. can be admitted, it would seem, and another century or two may be quite reasonably allowed" (Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi*, 120).
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p. 13). There is also difficulty in determining the time at which the reigning Achaemenian kings gave in their allegiance to Zoroastrianism. Nöldeke thought that Phraortes was the first to do so, but Moulton argues against Cyrus being a Zoroastrian, but strongly in favour of this being true of Darius I. The great extant inscription of this king seems to put the matter beyond reasonable doubt.

THE LITERATURE OF THE PERSIAN RELIGION

For the teachings of the Persian religion during the time immediately following Zoroaster we must go to the Avesta. This important work consists of two parts—the Avesta proper and the ‘Khorda Avesta’ or Small Avesta. Of these the Avesta proper is the earlier. But here, again, we must make distinctions. The Avesta contains the Vendidad, which is a book of laws, and the Visperad and the Yasna, composed of liturgical material in the form of litanies and hymns. In the midst of the Yasna litanies occur five hymns or Gathas, written in a dialect older than that of the rest of the Avesta. Darmesteter (Sacred Books of the East) maintains that the Gathas are not older than the first century of our era. But Moulton argues, agreeing with Geldner, Bartholomae and Jackson, that “the Zarathushtra of the Gathas is historical, and in my judgement he himself is speaking there, wholly or nearly so” (Early Zoroastrianism, p. 17). Of the Avesta, then, we shall give the greatest weight to the Gathas. We might compare them with our own New Testament. The rest of the Avesta we might liken to the work of Sub-Apostolic and Patristic writers. But we have a yet later literature to deal with—the mediaeval literature of Zoroastrianism. The Persian religion suffered an
eclipse as a result of Alexander’s conquest. Tradition credits him with having been the cause of the destruction of much of the Persian sacred literature. But a revival took place under the Sassanian kings. Ardashir (A.D. 211-241) gathered together the Avesta texts, and a religious literature began to be produced in the Pahlavi, the language of mediaeval Persia. The most important of these works is the Bundahis, which internal evidence shows could not have been completed till after the Mohammedan conquest of Persia in A.D. 651. It contains the priestly superstructure built upon the original and simple foundations laid by Zoroaster. It will be our work, therefore, first of all to give the early doctrine of the Resurrection, which may be traced to Zoroaster himself, and then the fuller details of the eschatology as described in the later literature—details of which may be authentic tradition or which may represent a later Magian elaboration.

The first passage from the Gathas, from which we may adduce Zoroaster’s belief in resurrection, is found in the Gatha known as Yasna 30. The following is Mills’ translation as given in S.B.E., vol. 31, p. 32 (Yasna 30:7): “Upon this Aramaiti (the personified piety of the saints) approached, and with her came the Sovereign Power, the Good Mind, and the Righteous Order. And (to the spiritual creations of good and evil) Aramaiti gave a body, she the abiding and ever strenuous. And for these (Thy people) so let (that body) be (at the last), O Mazda! as it was when thou camest first with creations.” Moulton, however, translates the central sentence somewhat differently (Early Zoroastrianism, p. 163). According to him, Aramaiti gives “continued life to their bodies, and indestructibility”. Aramaiti Moulton takes to be the “Genius of the Earth”. Only Aramaiti possesses this character in
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a very exalted manner. She is one of the ‘Amshaspands’ who bore much the same relation to Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of Zoroastrianism, as the ‘seven spirits of God’ bear to the Almighty in the Book of Revelation. In other words, the resurrection of the corpse is not brought about by the material earth but by "the exalted spirit, a very part of the Creator’s being, which watches over the earth He made".

It will be seen that the reference to the Resurrection is not clear beyond all doubt. Moulton quotes Söderblom as saying, in his work La Vie Future d’après le Mazdeisme: "The Resurrection may well have formed part of the theology of the priests of the Gathas, though in the fragments of Gothic literature that have come down to us they had no occasion to speak of it." De Harlez held the view that to older thought the resurrection was spiritual, and that Pahlavi theology first introduced the notion of a ‘resurrectio carnis’. Moulton himself believes Zoroaster to have taught the doctrine—an idea which seems reasonable, not only from these Gothic hints, but from the large place which it took in the developed eschatology of Persia.

There is one other Gothic passage which seems to imply the doctrine of resurrection—Yasna 48 : 6. The translation of Mills may be found in S.B.E., vol. 31, p. 156. Moulton’s translation is more pointed. Aramaiti “will give us a peaceful dwelling, will give permanence and power” (The Treasure of the Magi, p. 41). This resurrection took place at a definite crisis in the future. Zoroaster looked forward to the Fraso-Kereti, the consummation, or renovation of the world. It was at this eschatological point that the resurrection took place—the world-consummation being brought about by the labours of Zoroaster himself and his
fellow-workers, whom he styled the Saosyants or 'those that will deliver'. Even though he imagined the Kingdom's advent to be so near at hand, he also had a programme for the individual at death. The soul came to a bridge, the Bridge of the Accountant, Cinvato Peretu. There it must pass a judgement before Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster himself. If acquitted (and the only method of justification was for good deeds to outweigh the bad), it passed on over the bridge, broad for the righteous, like a razor for the wicked, to heaven or 'The House of Song'. The wicked were to be tormented, apparently endlessly, in 'The House of the Lie'.

Such was the simple eschatology of Zoroaster, to which additions were made in the later stages of the religion. These consisted chiefly in a postponement of the consummation and in the teaching of a practical universalism. Thus in the Pahlavi Treatise Dādistantī Dīnīk we read: "They have the dead bodies of all men restored; for the good creator, granting forgiveness and full of goodness, would not abandon any creature to the fiend" (S.B.E., vol. 18, Chapter 75). The consummation was postponed till the end of the third millennium after Zoroaster, when it was to be brought about by a Messianic descendant of his, the Saosyant. The fullest description of the Resurrection which then follows is given in the Bundahis, Chapter 30 (S.B.E., vol. 5). According to this passage, after Soshyans (the Pahlavi form of Saosyant) comes, they prepare the raising of the dead. Aūharmazd (Ahura Mazda) points out that resurrection is easier to effect than creation. The former is merely a reconstitution of what has already existed. "At that time one will demand the bone from the spirit of the earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants, and the life
from fire, since they were delivered to them in the original creation.” (One notices here the decadent materialism.) “In the fifty-seventh year of Soshyans they prepare all the dead, and all men stand up; whoever is righteous and whoever is wicked, every human creature they rouse up from the spot where its life departs.” Class distinctions cease. Half the sunlight is available for purposes of recognition. All mankind stand in a vast assembly. “A wicked man becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black.” The righteous who have not taught the wicked are ashamed. The righteous go to heaven, the wicked to hell. Here the latter endure three days of bodily punishment. Then all men pass through a river of molten metal—possibly connected with the fire of the World-Conflagration (compare 2 Peter 3:10). The righteous feel it as warm milk, the wicked as what it really is. All men eat of Soshyans’ sacrifice and become immortal. Men are resurrected as forty years old, children as fifteen. Families are reunited, but there is no begetting. The righteous go to Paradise and Heaven and continually advance. Those who have been uncharitable find themselves naked—until clothed by angels. Hell is fumigated, becomes pure and is added to the earth, henceforth iceless and level. All have part in this universal restoration except sodomites and apostates, who are not raised from the dead. The eschatology of later Parseeism is well summed up in a quotation made by Söderblom (Les Fravashis, p. 1) from a Parsee Confession of Sin: “Je n’ai aucun doute sur la réalité de la bonne religion des adorateurs de Mazda; sur l’arrivée de la resurrection et de la vie à venir; sur le passage au pont Cinvat; sur le compte fait dans les trois nuits des mérites et de la recompense, des fautes et du châtiment; sur la réalité du paradis
And what was the influence of the Persian Eschatology on Judaism? On the one hand we have the view of Rabbi Gaster (E.R.E., Article ‘Parsiism in Judaism’) that the Eschatology of Judaism was entirely unaffected by Persia, for the simple reason that the rise of Zoroastrianism was, in his view, subsequent to the writing of the Canonical Scriptures. In his view, “It is Judaism that works up the Babylonian material, and makes it acceptable in a more concrete form to the founders and shapers of Zoroastrianism also.” On the other hand, Cheyne writes: “The Zoroastrian origin of the doctrine of the resurrection and of the renovation of the world is in itself probable. It is raised almost to a certainty when we have proved the late origin of Isaiah 65, which clearly expresses the hope of the new heavens and the new earth, and of Isaiah 24-27, in which occurs not only the promise of the abolition of death (25:8a, if the text be correct—see Crit. Bib., ad loc.), but also a distinct anticipation of the resurrection of deceased Israelites (26:29)” (Encyclopaedia Biblica, vol. 4, p. 5440). Probably a mediating view is nearer to the truth. Moulton, reviewing Stave’s work in The Critical Review, July 1900, quotes Kuenen’s saying: “The germs which lay hidden in Judaism were fertilised by contact with a religion in which they had arrived at maturity.” He adds: “Practically this is a summary of Stave’s view, and it is hard to disprove its cogency.” The Persian influence on Judaism is to be traced, according to the German writer, (1) in Apocalyptic; (2) in the new outlook upon universal history, its periods and their restriction within a definite space of time, finally developing into a real world-renewal; (3) in the activity of evil before the consummation;
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(4) in the doctrine of retribution begun in Sheol, and the separation of good and bad immediately after death. The argument in greater detail may be read in Moulton’s article on Zoroastrianism (H.D.B., vol. 4). He calls attention to the divergences between the Persian religion and Judaism and adds: “These divergences are fatal to any theory of borrowing, but they do not affect the assertion that the Jewish belief can hardly have developed without Persian stimulus (Cheyne)”. This at least seems probable with regard to the doctrine of the Resurrection.

THE RELIGION OF GREECE

We have now traced the views of Resurrection held by the three great religions which stood in closest contact with the Hebrews. It is interesting to remark that two of these contain the clearest and most specific resurrection doctrines, beside the Hebrew, of all the great religions of Asia. Hinduism, with its belief in transmigration and reincarnation, Buddhism, with its hope of Nirvana, Confucianism, with its avowed agnosticism as to things beyond the veil, can contribute little to our immediate inquiry. The only other phase of thought which influenced later Post-Exilic Judaism, especially through Alexandria, was the Greek. And here, again, the influence came from the Platonic doctrine of the immortality of the soul. This could be painted by Plato in alluring colours in his Apology of Socrates, and still more wonderfully in his Phaedo. Euripides could guess that “life might be death and death life”. But this was not a doctrine of resurrection. It was when Paul spoke of resurrection at Athens that his audience dispersed amidst uproarious peals of incredulous laughter. Greek religion never had possessed a doc-
trine of resurrection. Even for a conception of reincarnation it had to go to the East. Er, the hero of the tale made famous by Plato, was represented as coming from Pamphylia. Pythagoras, too, probably learned from Asia. The old Greek view represented by Homer in *Odyssey*, xi., paints the dead as wraiths flitting about in Hades, some in torment, some striding over the meadows of Asphodel. But there is no resurrection. Alkestis, it is true, was rescued by Herakles, and Eurydike was all but brought back by Orpheus, but this gives no basis for a doctrine. Herakles himself was represented as living after death in heaven—"For himself he hath joy at the banquet among the deathless gods"—a thought which reminds us of the happy lot of Utnapishtim in the Babylonian story. But the Greek view of death for the majority was not bright. At the best it might in certain cases be invested with a dignity and solemn gloom—a grandeur such as that with which Sophocles could paint the mysterious passing of Oedipus amid the leafy shadows of Colonus.

**The Eschatology of the Old Norse Religion**

We have discussed all the religions which could have had any influence on Judaism, but before we sum up our conclusions it may be of interest to notice the eschatology of the religion of our own Teutonic forefathers. This has been preserved to us in two works still extant in the tongue of the Vikings—the Old Norse, or, as it is now generally called, from the country where Old Norse literature was produced, the Icelandic language. These works are known respectively as the Prose Edda and the Poetical Edda, the first being the work of the great Icelandic writer and historian, Snorri Sturlason (A.D. 1178-1241), and the second being
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wrongly ascribed to the old priest Saemund Sigfusson (A.D. 1056-1133). The Prose Edda contains, *inter alia*, a description of the Old Norse Mythology, with frequent quotations from the old lays. These should be of special interest to British people, as they were probably written, in Vigfusson's view, by Norsemen in the British Isles, probably between the time of King Alfred and the early years of the eleventh century. The relevant passages are to be found, in the Poetic Edda, in a poem called *Völuspá*, or 'The Prophecy of the Sibyl', and in the Prose Edda, in the concluding section of the first part of the work, known as *Gylfaginning* or 'The Befooling of Gylfi'. The 'Last Things' in Norse Mythology are connected with the eschatological crisis known as Ragnarök, or The Twilight of the Gods. The end was presaged by the 'Fimbul' winter of snow and frost and wind and darkness. These winters were followed by a period of war and fratricidal strife. Then one wolf devoured the sun and another the moon, and the stars fell from heaven. We need not describe the details of the great battle which followed between the giant forces of Nature and of Evil on one side, and the gods, Odin, Thor and the rest of the Norse Pantheon supported by the dead but blessed human warriors of Valhalla, on the other. The result was that Odin and Thor and most of the gods fell, the earth was burnt up, while, on the other hand, all the forces of Evil were finally destroyed. But something was left. The righteous dead pass to the Norse Paradise, Gimli, in which there are many fair mansions. There dwell men of good and pure report. There is also a hell for the bad, made bitter by torments of cold and the venom of serpents. Some of the younger gods, sons of Odin and Thor, also survive. They build a new Asgard and are joined by Baldr and his wife from
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Hell, or as we should say, Hades, where all take up again the threads of the old life. One man and one woman also survive, Lif and Lifthrásir (Life and Will to Live), of whom the whole renewed world is re-peopled.

It has been questioned how far this Weltanschauung has been influenced by the Christian Eschatology; but taking it as it stands (and its differences imply originality) we notice the idea of heaven for the good, while a new heaven and a new earth, to be peopled by a new race of men, follow the world-consummation. This is a new combination of the eschatological kaleidoscope.

CONCLUSIONS

It is instructive to mark how many of the eschatological ideas common to Judaism and Christianity have been discovered in our investigations of primitive thought and religion. In the Babylonian religion we found conceptions of 'translation' which recall the case of Enoch and to a less degree that of Elijah. In the Persian and Norse religions we found ideas of 'heaven' in 'The House of Song' and in 'Gimli'. In the Persian religion we discovered both eternal punishment in 'The House of the Lie', according to Zoroaster, as well as the later 'Universalism' of the Bundahis. Egypt and Persia both had their thoughts of judgement after death. And when we come to consider our special doctrine of the Resurrection, we find that there, too, almost every possible answer is given to the questions 'How?', 'When?', and 'Where?' To the question 'How?' savage thought answers 'By a material reconstruction of the body'. The Egyptian religion speaks of a semi-material, semi-spiritual state, almost a
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'spiritual body', with the emphasis perhaps on 'body', if we may so interpret the teaching as to the 'Osiris'. To the question 'When?' Egypt answers, 'At death', Persia, 'At the consummation'. To the question 'Where?' Egypt replies, 'In heaven', Persia, partly, 'On a renewed earth'. Thus from the beginning we are presented with a tangle of conflicting ideas on the subject of Resurrection, such as we have already noticed to be the case in our treatment of Jewish thought as to the Kingdom.
LECTURE V

THE RESURRECTION IN JEWISH THOUGHT AND IN THE THOUGHT OF OUR LORD
The expectation of a single great Day of General Resurrection, considered literally, and interpreted as a kind of Final Event in the temporal order, presents great difficulties. Nevertheless the traditional scheme at least calls attention to the truths (a) that the resurrection is to be regarded as being linked with the fulfilled and completed purpose of God, and with the idea of the “new heavens” and the “new earth,” and (b) that the Christian salvation is a social salvation, and that the faithful departed shall not without us be made perfect.

*Doctrine in the Church of England*, p. 211.

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AUF DEN TOD EINES KINDES

Du kamst, du gingst mit leiser Spur,  
Ein flücht’ger Gast im Erdenland;  
Woher? wohin? Wir wissen nur:  
Aus Gottes Hand in Gottes Hand.

LUDWIG UHLAND.

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ON THE DEATH OF A CHILD

With soft step did’st thou come and go,  
A fleeting guest on earth’s low plane;  
Ah, whence? and whither? Nought we know  
But this—From God, to God again.
THE RESURRECTION IN JEWISH THOUGHT
AND IN THE THOUGHT OF OUR LORD

Resurrection in the Old Testament

The early Hebrews probably shared with other primitive peoples the thought of the survival of the spirits of the dead. This is shown by the fact that funeral rites had the object of providing the dead with things which they would need in the other world. Excavations in Palestine have revealed many examples of this. Thus Dr. Stanley A. Cook, in his Schweich Lectures, The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology, writes (p. 37):

"Excavation in Palestine itself has brought to light abundant evidence for the belief in the efficacy of figurines, scarabs, amulets, 'Horus eyes' (p. 42), and for the care taken to supply the needs of the dead in their new experience. Sometimes a large number of dead are buried together, and in two caves of the Early Bronze Age at en-Nasbeh were the bones of seventy or more persons, who seem to have been literally 'gathered unto their fathers' (W. F. Bade, Q.S., 1927, pp. 10-12). Among the contents of Palestinian tombs are plates, knives, and vessels, with ashes, remains of animals—in one case a whole sheep for one man (Gezer, i. 292)—and drink. Lamps abound, and those in a tomb at Ain Shemesh had apparently been lit on the occasion of funerary feasts. Holes have been found for communicating with the dead. Among the small objects are figurines of deities (the mother-goddess and others),
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jewellery, hair-pins, etc., models of a donkey water-carrier, and of a horse and rider (Ain Shemesh, pp. 49, 88); also rattles and clay animal toys, along with remains of the skeletons of children. Speaking of Ain Shemesh, Dr. Duncan Mackenzie says (p. 83): 'The chamber tomb is modelled on the abode of the living, and the images put there to keep company with the spirit of the dead person are the same images of domestic deities that have played so prominent a part in early Semitic religion.'

Oesterley, in his study of Old Testament views as to immortality, Immortality and the Unseen World, finds traces of Ancestor Worship and of the Cult of the Dead. That necromancy was practised is proved by the classical story of the Witch of Endor in 1 Samuel 28, as well as by such verses as Isaiah 8:19.

The Hebrews also possessed a belief in Sheol, as we have noticed at the beginning of our Third Lecture. Oesterley, in his above-mentioned work, advances the idea that the Prophets encouraged the belief in Sheol because the Cult of the Dead infringed on the prerogatives of Yahweh, which belief in Sheol did not (op. cit., p. 203).

But the Hebrews, with their consciousness of present communion with God, could not rest content with the dreary outlook of Sheol. At least elect souls felt that communion with God, begun on earth, must continue beyond the grave. This hope seems to be expressed several times in the Psalms, although the exact interpretation is difficult. We take two outstanding examples—Psalm 49:14, 15: "Like sheep they are laid in the grave; death shall feed on them; and the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning; and

1 Quoted by permission of the Oxford University Press and the British Academy.
their beauty shall consume in the grave from their dwelling. But God shall redeem my soul from the power of the grave; for he shall receive me.” Psalm 73:23-26, “Nevertheless I am continually with thee: thou hast holden me by my right hand. Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory. Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee. My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.”

The late Professor Burney of Oxford, in his book Israel’s Hope of Immortality, sees in the word “he shall take me” in 49:15 a reference to the translation of Enoch where the same word is used, and so concludes that the hope of immortality is expressed in Psalm 49. The same hope of a spiritual revival beyond death breaks forth in the well-known passage of Job (Job 19:25-27): “For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another; though my reins be consumed within me” (A.V.). For a critical discussion of the passage see McFadyen, The Problem of Pain, pp. 127-136, and Strahan, The Book of Job, pp. 176-178. The main point for us is that this passage, used in the Burial Service as a proof of the Resurrection, as a matter of fact probably testifies only to a spiritual survival. The phrase rendered in the A.V. “in my flesh” is literally, as in R.V. “from my flesh”, and means, probably, ‘apart from my flesh’ or ‘in a disembodied state’. We thus discover the faith of Jewish saints feeling its way towards a doctrine of individual immortality.

We first note the idea of resurrection in the Old
Testament in connection with the restoration and revival of Israel as a nation. In other words, the phrase is used metaphorically, as we might speak of the resurrection of Belgium after the Great War. Hosea puts into the mouth of Israel the words, “Come, and let us return unto the Lord! for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us: in the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight” (Hosea, 6:1, 2, A.V.). It is a prayer of the people who repent superficially, and expect an early answer from God, a speedy national restoration following upon a little mild contrition.

The other passage in the same Prophet (Hosea 13:14) sometimes quoted as a resurrection passage, e.g. by S. Paul in 1 Corinthians 15:55, following the Septuagint, which here misses the meaning of Hebrew, is a denunciation of doom (so Wellhausen, Nowack and G. A. Smith as against the older writers Ewald and Pusey) and should be rendered, “Shall I ransom them from the hand of Sheol? Shall I redeem them from death? Where are thy plagues, O Death? Where is thy destruction, Sheol? (i.e. Bring forth the plague and destruction for the guilty people.) Pity shall be hid from my eyes.” This must be the translation of the passage if ‘pity’ is the true rendering of the Hebrew, rather than ‘repentance’. The whole passage is one of doom.

The other picture is the well-known Vision in Ezekiel of the Valley of Dry Bones (Ezekiel 37). The passage could only be thought to refer to a future resurrection of the dead by those who have no instinct for literature. As Lofthouse says in his book, The Prophet of Reconstruction, p. 163, “Ezekiel is thinking of the resurrection of a dead social order, here and now. . . . At the moment the nation lives helpless. But
the breath of God sweeps over it; it is alive.” The prophecy was fulfilled in the reconstitution of the Jewish polity after the Babylonian Exile.

We come now to the consideration of the most important resurrection passages in the Old Testament—those which occur in the remarkable group of oracles forming Chapters 24-27 in the Book of Isaiah. This section of Isaiah stands by itself. In fact, the first definite prediction of resurrection occurs in this passage, which therefore is, probably, later than Ezekiel, and even later than Job. Indeed, it appears to be nearer to Daniel, in which the only other definite statement of the resurrection hope is made in the Old Testament. If we accept the Maccabean date for Daniel, we should (if arguing simply from these data) place this passage towards the same epoch. But the Isaianic flavour of much in these chapters inclines us to favour a somewhat earlier date in the post-Exilic period. The Apocalyptic colouring is also not decisive for any definite date. Prophecy seems gradually to merge into the later forms. We may perhaps trace an early stage, a suggestion of Apocalyptic tints, in the great ‘Dies Irae’ passage of Zephaniah. “His book is the first tinging of prophecy with apocalypse: that is the moment which it supplies in the history of Israel’s religion.” So writes George Adam Smith, in his book, The Twelve Prophets, vol. 2, p. 49. On the other hand, Shailer Mathews says, in his articles on Apocalyptic Literature in Hastings’ One Volume B.D.: “The first approach to the apocalyptic method is probably to be seen in Zechariah 9-14”—chapters, as it seems, among the latest in the prophetic canon. In other words, arguing from all our facts, we cannot say more with certainty than that Isaiah 24-27 is post-Exilic.

Gray, in his commentary on Isaiah in I.C.C.,
beautifully describes the contents of Isaiah 25:6-8 as "Yahweh’s Coronation Feast". In chapter 24 the Prophet has described God’s world-judgement as a veritable ‘Day of the Lord’, ending in a glorious reign of the Lord from Mount Zion. Chapter 25 begins with Israel’s song of praise at this deliverance, and then there follows in verses 6-8 a description of the banquet which God will give His guests. The dark veil of sorrow is to be removed, not only from Israel, but from all nations. Then the climax is reached in verse 8: “He hath swallowed up death for ever.” Death itself is to be abolished.

The verse thus becomes one of the boldest in the Old Testament in its impressive brevity. As Gray puts it, “The idea of the abolition of death is an advance on the expectation of greatly prolonged life in the New Age (65:20); it is expressed here in an isolated monostich between the account of the abolition of the veil which reveals, and the removal from the face of the tears revealed” (op. cit., p. 430).

We come now to the great Resurrection Verse—Isaiah 26:19. The Hebrew can only mean “Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for dew of lights (or herbs) is thy dew, and the earth shall bring shades to the birth.”

G. A. Smith, in his book, The Book of Isaiah, vol. i. p. 446, takes verses 12-18 to be expressive of the fact that, in view of the great divine deliverance and reconstitution of the Jewish people in Palestine, the “Church on earth is pregnant with a life, which death does not allow to come to the birth”. What does the national joy mean if the dear saintly dead are unable to share it? A sense of incompleteness still remains. But in spite of the hopelessness of verse 14, which he
takes to refer to the Jewish dead, faith conquers. God cannot be unfair. The dead are His, as well as His people's ("Thy dead", "My dead bodies"), and He will bring them back from Sheol to share in the new life of the nation's new day in Palestine. Gray's view of the passage is only different in details. He refers verse 14 to the dead oppressors of Israel (op. cit., p. 438). And surely the context proves him to be right. The old tyrants are dead and gone for ever. There is no resurrection for them (verse 14), but the Jewish nation is being divinely led into spacious days of ample prosperity. And yet, though the Prophet is sure of these glorious times, a strange futility hangs over the nation's life. Deliverance tarries. No deliverance was wrought in the earth. Enemies, the inhabitants of the world, did not fall before Israel in battle. Or, as others would render 'inhabitants . . . are not born', the birth-rate is distressingly low. And then suddenly the hope rings out, "We can achieve nothing for ourselves, but all things are possible for our God. He will even raise our beloved dead to share our joy."

It is important to notice that this new hope springs logically from the principles of Hebrew religion. A sense of present communion with God, as in Psalm 73, made the thought of the rupture of that communion in Sheol impossible. Individual immortality must be postulated. But it was also felt that there must be an eschatology of the nation, and this is given in our passage. God must, if He is just, let all the righteous, quick and dead, share in the great consummation. This was, of course, first conceived under earthly forms; the resurrection was to be material, at the consummation, and in Palestine. Only the righteous had any part or lot in it. We have, as Charles puts it, "a true synthesis of the eschatologies of the nation and of
the individual”. But the doctrine is materialistic and will need further development.

In Daniel 12:2 we have the further thought that great sinners also would rise for punishment. Sheol was inadequate for their crimes. This innovation was probably historically conditioned by the passions aroused in the Maccabean struggle.

The last verses of the famous Servant Passage in Isaiah 53 seem to imply a doctrine of immortality, and probably of resurrection. For we read that after the death of the Servant “he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many: for he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors: and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.”

The doctrine of Resurrection passed into Judaism and became current coin in one of the national parties. It was resisted by such writers as Koheleth and Ben-Sira and by the Sadducees. But it influenced the Septuagint Version and, through that Version, the Christian Church.

**Resurrection in the Apocalyptic Literature**

Our study of the teaching of the various Apocalypses as to the nature of the Kingdom has already prepared us for their teaching as to Resurrection. Thus we should expect writers who look forward to an earthly Kingdom to expect a bodily resurrection. This we
find to be the case. Thus the third of the martyred brothers in 2 Maccabees says: “These (my hands) I had from heaven: for His name’s sake I count them nought: from Him I hope to get them back again” (2 Maccabees 7:11).

The writer of the Parables of Enoch, who believed in a Kingdom marked with supernatural characteristics, thought, as we have seen, that the righteous would be clothed in “garments of glory” (Enoch 62:15), but the scene of the risen life would be a renewed earth, as we read in Enoch 51.

Enoch 51:
1. And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, And hell shall give back that which it owes. For in those days the Elect One shall arise, 2. And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them: For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved. 3. And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne, And his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel: For the Lord of Spirits hath given (them) to him and hath glorified him. 4. And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams, And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk, And the faces of (all) the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy. 5. And the earth shall rejoice, And the righteous shall dwell upon it, And the elect shall walk thereon.

We have so far not given details from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

This work, dated by Charles 109-107 B.C., apparently holds as its view of the Resurrection that of a restored life on a renewed earth. The chief passage is found in the Testament of Benjamin 10:6-8. “Then shall ye see Enoch, Noah and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, 143
and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness. Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe, worshipping the King of heaven. Then also shall all men rise [the Armenian Version reads, “Then shall we all be changed”], some into glory and some into shame.” This passage taken alone is somewhat indefinite in its bearing on the question as to whether the writer held a materialistic or spiritual view of the Resurrection. Other passages from the Testaments, however, show that he held the view of a resurrection at the consummation to life on a renewed earth. Thus in the Testament of Levi we read: “And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth, and enlightened through the grace of the Lord. In his priesthood shall sin come to an end, and the lawless shall cease to do evil. And he shall open the gates of paradise, and shall remove the threatening sword against Adam. And he shall give to the saints to eat of the tree of life, and the spirit of holiness shall be upon them. And Beliar shall be bound by him, and he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits.”

The many parallels in this passage to phrases in the New Testament are illuminating. (Compare Revelation 2:7, 22:2, 20:2; S. Mark 16:17, 18.) The point, however, with which we are concerned at present is the fact that it is upon earth that the Kingdom seems to come. It is upon the earth that Gentiles shall be “multiplied in knowledge”. The same inference is borne out by the Testament of Dan (5:12, 13): “And the saints shall rest in Eden, and in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice, and it shall be unto the glory of God for ever, and no longer shall Jerusalem endure desolation, nor Israel be led captive.” This is clearly the description of life on a renovated earth.

There is also a relevant passage in the Testament of
Judah (25:1-5) which Charles summarizes as the description of "A resurrection to a renewed life on the present earth". All the old patriarchs rise. The people of the Lord have one tongue. Beliar is cast into the fire for ever, while the earthly lot of the righteous is reversed: "And they who have died in grief shall rise in joy, and they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall be made rich, and they who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake to life. . . . and all the people shall glorify the Lord for ever."

The writer of the Slavonic Enoch holds a view that seems to imply, as we have seen, a doctrine of life in the Beyond.

Thus we discover three views in the pre-Christian Apocalypses as to Resurrection: a resurrection in earthly bodies to an earthly Kingdom; a resurrection in spiritual bodies to a Kingdom that is to be a blend of earth and heaven; a resurrection in spiritual bodies to a life that seems to merge into that of heaven.

The Post-Christian Apocalypses

We come now to consider briefly the doctrine of the Resurrection in the two post-Christian Apocalypses—the Syriac Baruch and 4 Ezra. We take the Syriac Baruch first.

As we have already seen in our second Lecture, the Messianic Period is treated as a millennium. In order to remind you of what follows that millennium I shall quote again what I have already said in Lecture III: "At the end of this period of earthly reign the Messiah apparently returns to heaven and the Resurrection takes place. Baruch expresses the strange idea that the dead are raised exactly as they were in the earthly life for purposes of recognition, and are then transformed into the splendour of the angels. Then they dwell in
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heaven. ‘For in the heights of that world shall they dwell, and they shall be made like unto the angels, and be made equal to the stars, and they shall be changed into every form they desire, from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory’ (2 Baruch 51:10).

In a word, Baruch seems to teach the doctrine of the spiritual bodies of the resurrected righteous—the scene of the resurrection life being heaven.

We now come to 4 Ezra. In this book, as we have seen, at the end of the Messianic Period of 400 years the Messiah dies and the world reverts for seven days into the primeval silence. Then follows the Resurrection which 4 Ezra describes in the following words: “The earth shall restore those that sleep in her and the dust of those that are at rest therein and the chambers shall restore those that were committed unto them” (4 Ezra 7:32). In 4 Ezra 7:114 we find a picture of the eternal age that is to come wherein

Corruption is passed away,
Weakness is abolished,
Infidelity is cut off;
While righteousness is grown
And faithfulness is sprung up.

In 4 Ezra 7:123 and 125 we find words which suggest the nature and sphere of the risen life: “That Paradise whose fruit endures incorruptible, wherein is delight and healing, shall be made manifest... the faces of such as have practised abstinence shall shine above the stars.” Apparently the abode of the resurrected righteous is to be Paradise on a renewed earth.

The Wisdom of Solomon, 50-30 B.C.

Before we pass on to study the thoughts of the Rabbis as to Resurrection, it may be worth while to
notice how one and the same writer can hold inconsistent views on the subject. Thus the writer of the famous Book of Wisdom shows that he has not thought the matter through. In fact, he shows himself to be completely inconsistent. He is an Alexandrian and has absorbed a certain amount of Greek philosophy. On the other hand, he is a Jew and cannot shake himself free from the eschatology of his nation. His Greek affiliations lead him towards a doctrine of the immortality of the soul, pure and simple. The body, in fact, is a mere nuisance to the higher part of man's being. His great hope is expressed in the immortal words: "But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them. In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died; and their departure was accounted to be their hurt, and their journeying away from us to be their ruin; but they are in peace. For even if in the sight of men they are punished, their hope is full of immortality" (Wisdom 3:1-4). Dr. Charles seems to consider this to express the writer's view. He says that, according to Wisdom, "there will be no resurrection of the body; for the soul is the proper self; the body is a mere burden taken up by the pre-existent soul, but in due season laid down again. Accordingly there is only an immortality of the soul" (H.D.B., vol. 1, p. 746). The present writer had begun to doubt the correctness of this view, owing to the fact that Wisdom speaks of the righteous as 'judging the nations' at the time of the Consummation. We read in 3:8, just after the long passage quoted above, and plainly referring to the righteous dead, "They shall judge nations, and have dominion over peoples." Evidently we are back again amidst the old Jewish Eschatology. He was therefore glad to find Burney in agreement, who writes, in Israel's
We may conclude, then, that the author of Wisdom looks forward to a theocratic kingdom, apparently to be established upon earth, in which the saints are to have dominion. These saints probably include those who survive to the time of the establishment of the kingdom, but also certainly the blessed dead who are to be raised so as to have their part in the kingdom, and therefore, it may be assumed, to be raised with their bodies.” Thus the writer failed to harmonize his Greek and Jewish Eschatologies. As Holmes well writes, “The comparison of these (i.e. the Jewish) different schemes of eschatology with Wisdom forces one to the belief that the writer simply added the idea of the immortality of the soul immediately after death to one or other of the current forms of Jewish eschatology, and did not, or could not, make them consistent. It is perhaps doubtful whether he felt the difficulty. Indeed, a much greater Alexandrian, Philo, found it impossible to have a consistent eschatology. He accepted the idea of a Messianic Kingdom, though it was entirely ‘foreign to his system’: and with regard to a greater than either—S. Paul—we are told that it is impossible to get a systematic scheme of eschatology out of his writings” (Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of O.T., vol. 1, p. 529).

The Resurrection in the Rabbinic Literature

The general view of the character of the Resurrection in the Rabbinic Literature is that of a bodily resurrection. This was inevitable among men who largely based their conception upon the picture of the Valley of Dry Bones as given in Ezekiel 37. We read, for instance, in Tractate Sanhedrin: “The dead whom Ezekiel brought to life again returned to the land of
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Israel, married wives and begat sons and daughters.” It was even considered that, owing to the cessation of a certain physical disability on the part of women, married life would be carried on without interruption. Rabbi Gamliel, about A.D. 90, expresses the view that a wife would bear a child every day. On the other hand, in Rabbinic Literature we find more spiritual ideas. The Rabbi Rab (died A.D. 247) wrote: “In the world to come there is neither eating nor drinking, nor creation . . . but the righteous sit with crowns on their heads and refresh themselves on the glory of the Shekinah.” These words, however, probably refer to the Intermediate State.

It is interesting to notice in connection with Our Lord’s reference to the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, that a Rabbi about the year A.D. 150 said: “God unites his name with the righteous, not during their lifetime, but after their death.”

In connection with Our Lord’s argument for the Resurrection from the words of the Pentateuch, it is instructive to notice that Rabbi Gamliel, whom we have just mentioned, answered Sadducees who asked him whether it was possible to prove the Resurrection from the Old Testament, in the following words (Sanhedrin 90b): “From the Torah and from the Prophets and from the Writings. From the Torah, ‘the Lord said unto Moses, Behold thou shalt sleep with thy fathers and rise’” (Deuteronomy 31:16). This exegesis of the Hebrew text is a fascinating example of Rabbinic word play. In our English Version the text reads: “Thou shalt sleep with thy fathers; and this people shall rise up, and go a whoring after the gods of the strangers of the land.” In the Hebrew, however, the words “rise up” come immediately after the word “and” following “fathers”. It is at this
point that the Rabbi Gamliel puts his full stop, even though to do so leaves the words "this people," without the verb which naturally belongs to them. No wonder the Sadducees would not accept the Rabbi's argument! He continued, however, by quoting from the Prophet Isaiah the well-known passage Isaiah 26:19, which we have already considered. From the Writings the Rabbi quoted from Solomon's Song, Chapter 7, verse 9: 

"The roof of thy mouth like the best wine for my beloved, that goeth down sweetly, causing the lips of those that are asleep to speak." That is to say, the Rabbi considered the reference to the speaking of those who are asleep to imply their resurrection. The Sadducees, however, naturally again raised objections, saying that the reference was to normal sleep.

The Rabbis also tried to prove the Resurrection from a passage in Numbers (18:28): "Thus ye also shall offer an heave offering unto the Lord of all your tithes, which ye receive of the children of Israel; and ye shall give thereof the Lord's heave offering to Aaron the priest." This was taken to prove that Aaron would have to rise again to receive the heave offering. The words of Exodus 6:4, "And I have also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage, wherein they were strangers", were taken to imply that the Patriarchs would rise again to receive the land which was promised to them. The Resurrection had become such a settled article of faith in Talmudic Judaism that it was held that he who denied the doctrine would have no share in the fact.

The hope of resurrection was enshrined in the Jewish Liturgy in the Shemoneth Esreh. In the Second Benediction we read: "Thou, O Lord, art mighty for ever. Thou revivest the dead Thou art
mighty to save. Thou sustainest the living with loving kindness, revivest the dead with great mercy, supportest the falling, healest the sick, looseth the bound, and keepest thy faith to them that sleep in the dust. Who is like unto Thee, O Lord of mighty acts and who causest salvation to spring forth? Yea, faithful art Thou to revive the dead. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who revivest the dead.” This prayer dates possibly from the age of the Maccabees.

We see, then, that the Apocalyptic hope of resurrection was carried on by Rabbinism. As in the Apocalyptic writings, it manifested itself in a more and in a less materialistic form. But the materialistic viewpoint was the more popular, and it was this which the Sadducees endeavoured to ridicule in their famous attempt to set a trap for Our Lord and to catch Him in his speech.

Before we summarize the teaching on the subject of the Resurrection to be found in Jewish Literature, there is one other point with which we must briefly deal—namely, the question as to what classes of people had their part in the Resurrection. As we have already noted, the passage in Isaiah 26:19 speaks only of the resurrection of the just, while Daniel 12:2 speaks of the resurrection of the just and of some of the unjust. The dominant view, though not the only view of the Apocalyptic Literature, was that all, just and unjust alike, would be raised for purposes of judgement. The view of a universal resurrection was also the prevailing view among the Rabbis of the Tannaitic period. Later, however, certain classes of the dead were excluded by certain Rabbis from the Resurrection, either because they were regarded as having been annihilated, or because they had already received adequate punishment.
Summary of Jewish Views

Before we turn to consider the teaching of Our Lord, it may be well to summarize the answers which Jewish Thought gave to four questions with regard to the Resurrection, namely, the questions 'How?', 'When?', 'Where?', 'Who?'

In answer to the question 'How?' we receive three answers:

(1) The resurrection body is our present body revived.
(2) The resurrection body is a body suited for life on a renewed earth, and spiritualized.
(3) The resurrection body is a spiritual body.

In answer to the question 'When?' the Resurrection takes place (1) at the beginning, (2) at the end of the Messianic Age.

In answer to the question 'Where?' we discover three answers:

(1) On the earth as it is.
(2) On a renewed earth.
(3) In heaven.

In answer to the question 'Who?' we discover three answers:

(1) Only the righteous.
(2) All the righteous and all the wicked.
(3) All the righteous and some of the wicked.

Practically every variation possible is found in the tangled thought of Jewish Literature.

The Teaching of Our Lord as to Resurrection

The chief passage in which Christ's teaching on our doctrine is recorded is the well-known section S. Mark
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12:18-27, with the parallels, S. Matthew 22:23-33 and S. Luke 20:27-38. The slight textual variations do not affect the data of our inquiry, nor even do the differences between S. Luke and S. Matthew, who, on the whole, followed the earlier evangelist. S. Luke, however, contains certain interesting variations, but the thought is essentially the same. Our Lord’s reply, according to S. Mark, was as follows: “Is it not for this cause that ye err, that ye know not the scriptures, nor the power of God? For when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as angels in heaven. But as touching the dead, that they are raised; have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the place concerning the Bush, how God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but of the living: ye do greatly err.” (R.V.)

This answer of Our Lord to the Sadducees is extraordinarily interesting as showing, in short compass, what seems to be a combination of two eschatologies—the Eschatology of the Nation and the Eschatology of the Individual.

Let us remind ourselves just what these two eschatologies are. The Eschatology of the Nation deals with the Kingdom of God that is to be, either identified with the World-to-Come or looked upon as immediately preceding it. With this Kingdom is connected the Resurrection and Judgement—the individual waiting in an intermediate state until the hour strikes for him to rise. That is to say, the Eschatology of the Nation awaits some moment in the future. It is the Eschatology of ‘The Time’. The Eschatology of the Individual, on the other hand, expects a blessed communion with God at death, and looks for its
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felicity in heaven. Thus the Eschatology of the Individual is the Eschatology of 'The Place'. Now these two ideas are both, apparently, present in Our Lord's reply. We quote from the Lucan account (20:27-40). Thus we read in verse 35 of 'that age'—a phrase which suggests the Eschatology of the Nation or 'The Time'; in verse 36 we read of the risen as "equal unto the angels"—a phrase which suggests the Eschatology of the Individual or 'The Place', for the angels are normally invisible, and there seems to be no need for the dead to await the Kingdom to partake in such a mode of being. Again, in verse 37 we read that "the dead are raised"—a phrase suggesting the Eschatology of the Nation or of 'The Time'. In verse 38 we read that all live unto God—a phrase suggesting what we have called the Eschatology of the Individual or of 'The Place'. Thus Our Lord's words, in this brief passage, twice seem to suggest the Eschatology of the Nation and twice the Eschatology of the Individual.

Nor is this duality of presentation confined to this passage. It runs through all the Gospels. For Our Lord is using the various thought-forms and symbolisms of His Hebrew people. As Schweitzer strikingly, but with some exaggeration, has put it, "Historically regarded, the Baptist, Jesus, and Paul are simply the culminating manifestations of Jewish Apocalyptic thought" (The Quest of the Historical Jesus, p. 366). Again and again Our Lord uses phrases which imply the Eschatology of 'The Time'. It is hardly necessary to list the passages in the Synoptic Gospels in which Our Lord speaks of the World-to-Come—the 'Olam ha-ba'—meaning, apparently, the Messianic Age when He shall have come in power—or of the 'End of the Age'—meaning the end of this present age, the 'Olam
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ha-zeh’—which ushers in the World-to-Come. The thought of the coming crisis is also common in the Parables of Our Lord. Mark especially the parables of the Tares and the Drag Net in S. Matthew 13, and of the Talents and the Judgement in S. Matthew 25. We can find the same type of language in the Johannine Gospel. This writer, with all his tendency to spiritualize Apocalyptic symbolism, speaks of the resurrection from the graves at the Last Day (S. John 5:28, 29). All these instances prove what is obvious—namely, that the Eschatology of the Nation, of an Age to Come, with which were connected ideas of Resurrection and Judgement, held a prominent place in the thought of Our Lord. Christ taught the doctrine of ‘The Time’.

But He also spoke of the Eschatology of the Individual in His discourses as recorded by all four Evangelists. In the Synoptic Gospels we note the type of saying which occurs frequently in the Sermon on the Mount. The persecuted have a great reward in heaven; the abusive man or the man who misuses hand or eye is in danger of Gehenna; the disciples are exhorted to lay up treasure in heaven beyond the reach of moth and rust and thief. Further, Our Lord, in S. Luke, speaks of “Him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell”, apparently at death (S. Luke 12:5). It is interesting to notice that in the Lucan account of Our Lord’s dialogue with the dying robber (S. Luke 23:39-43) the robber’s mind dwells on the Eschatology of ‘The Time’, Our Lord’s on that of ‘The Place’. But the most unequivocal passage is S. Luke 16:9, which speaks of the merciful at death being received into the “eternal tabernacles”. So, too, in S. John’s Gospel, we read, as we have noted before, of the “many mansions” and of the glory of Christ.
which His disciples are to behold in heaven (S. John 14:2 and 17:24). We seem to be listening to words about heaven without any reference to a future Consummation. We are concerned with the Eschatology of ‘The Place’.

This double conception, on the one hand, of heaven or hell at death for the individual; on the other hand, the idea of a certain moment in the future when the dead rise for judgement, has remained all down the history of the Church. These differing conceptions are expressed very strikingly in two great Italian Works of Art. We recall Michelangelo’s picture of the Last Judgement painted on the walls of the Sistine Chapel at Rome. This picture suggests the moment in the future when, as we have said, the dead rise for judgement. By way of contrast, Dante’s great poem, the *Divina Commedia*, pictures souls as judged immediately after death. For them the Last Judgement has lost its significance. Nor does Resurrection seem to be needed by those who have already gained their reward. Earlier references to Resurrection in the *Paradiso* seem to be a concession to the traditional orthodoxy. To recall the saints who form part of the great White Rose of Heaven and who are enjoying the Beatific Vision, in order that they may take part in the Resurrection for purposes of judgement, seems entirely unnecessary. In a word, Michelangelo’s picture teaches the doctrine of ‘The Time’; Dante’s immortal poem the doctrine of ‘The Place’.
LECTURE VI

THE RESURRECTION IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT
But the question may be asked—and inevitably it is, in fact, asked—What is it exactly that happens when we die? There is the discarding of the physical frame; the soul, as we say, leaves the body. Are we to think of it as being immediately "clothed upon" with what St. Paul, in one passage, describes as its "habitation which is from Heaven"—that is to say, its new body of the resurrection? Or are we, in accordance with the literal and formal orthodoxy of the main Christian tradition, to think rather of a period of disembodied existence, an "intermediate state," as intervening between the death of the body and the day of "general resurrection"? The problems of the relation of the temporal to the eternal order, and of the conditions of life here to the conditions of life hereafter, are involved at this point. In the light of what has been said above, the notion of a period of disembodied existence presents difficulties.

_Doctrine in the Church of England_, pp. 210, 211.

My knowledge of that life is small,
The eye of faith is dim;
But 'tis enough that Christ knows all,
And I shall be with him.


MORS JANVA VITAE
THE RESURRECTION IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

THE APOSTOLIC EXPERIENCE OF THE RISEN CHRIST

The great new factor which vitalized the teaching of S. Paul and of the other Apostles was the actual Apostolic experience, including his own, of the Risen Christ. The Vision that appeared to him on the way to Damascus gave him a conception of the glory of Christ’s Spiritual Body which nothing could dim. He doubtless also was influenced by what he heard from the other Apostles of the Appearances of the Lord during the great Forty Days. These appealed to the sense of sight (S. Matthew 28:17; S. Luke 24:39; S. John 20:18; Acts 1:3, etc.), and to the sense of touch (S. Luke 24:39-43; S. John 20:27, etc.), and to the sense of hearing (see the accounts of the Appearances passim, whenever the Master spoke to His own). Thus the Apostles would be convinced that the Lord was not a mere spirit, but was embodied. On the other hand, the fact that the Body was normally invisible; that it could appear and disappear, anywhere, at any time, at will; as well as its strange unlikeness and yet likeness to the Jesus they knew, making recognition now difficult, now certain, must have given them an equally strong assurance that the Body was spiritual and adapted for life in the Other World. As Simpson well says, “The whole Appearances are manifestations, within the realm of sense, of a spiritual body whose essential nature is beyond the
reach of human senses " (Sparrow Simpson, *The Resurrection and Modern Thought*, p. 89). This fact—that Our Lord’s Risen Body was essentially a denizen of the Other World—has often since then been forgotten, but was well brought out by S. Chrysostom. He writes: “It is worth while asking the question how it was that an incorruptible body could show the prints of the nails and become sensible to mortal touch. Do not let the question trouble you. For what happened was by way of condescension. . . . Our Lord manifested these things for the sake of the disciples” (S. Chrysostom, *In Joannem Homilia*, 87). In other words, the appearances of Our Lord were accommodations made in condescension to the needs of the disciples, for the sake of evidence, in order to prove the reality of His Resurrection. They were thus objective manifestations of a Spiritual Body, not of a merely resuscitated corpse. They gave S. Paul a basis of fact for his great doctrine of the Spiritual Body.

This may be the best place to consider a related question. What was the connection between the earthly Body of the Lord and His Risen Body? We most certainly believe in the Empty Grave. The earthly Body must have been dissolved or changed. Its disappearance was necessary for the sake of evidence, as S. Chrysostom would say. But it is not inevitable for us to infer that therefore there was any necessary connection between the buried Body and the new Risen Body of the Lord, although there may well have been a connection between Our Lord’s living earthly Body and the Risen Body. In the case of the mass of men there obviously can be no connection between the buried corpse and the resurrection body. The former is dissolved into its elements, which continue to play their part in the varied economy of the Universe.
What unites one stage of human existence to another is not identity of material in the physical organism, but the unity of the personality, the Ego. It may be possible, as Sir Oliver Lodge suggests, that an ether body is formed within our present bodies and is liberated at death. We are personally inclined to believe that truth is to be found, at least partly, in this direction. But this is a distinct conception—different entirely from the thought that the corpse and the risen body have any connection. The Rabbinical idea of the teeth, which remain in the grave undecayed, as a sort of seed from which the new body will spring, need only be mentioned to be rejected.

S. Paul's Doctrine of Resurrection

The two thoughts which we must bear in mind in our investigation of the teaching of S. Paul are: (1) Can we trace the two views of the Hereafter as a Place and as a Time which we have noticed in Our Lord's Teaching? (2) Can we mark a definite development and progress in the Apostle's thought? We shall therefore consider the relative passages in their chronological order.

The Epistles to the Thessalonians

We come at once upon the well-known passage in the First Epistle, 4:13-18. We are struck with the pronounced Apocalyptic symbolism—the Trumpet and the Clouds. Both metaphors come from the Old Testament. Compare Exodus 19:16, Isaiah 27:13, Zechariah 9:14, Psalms of Solomon, 11:1, 4 Ezra 6:23, and note also Isaiah 18:3, Jeremiah 51:27, Joel 2:1, and for the clouds, Daniel 7:13. (According to Rabbinic tradition the trumpeter will be the
Archangel Michael, the trumpet will be 1000 ells long, and there will be seven blasts.) Possibly also the narrative of the Ascension may have influenced the Apostle's thought. He evidently considered the Resurrection as taking place at the Parousia; but there is at least the suggestion that, perhaps unconsciously to himself, another type of thought was present in the background of his mind. "Those who have fallen asleep through Jesus will God bring with Him." We are reminded of S. Jude's (verse 14) quotation from Enoch. But if they come with Christ, why must they rise? The Apostle seems to be combining the thought of the Coming of Christ with the Saints (who, as dwelling with Him, are presumably clothed already with resurrection bodies) with the idea of resurrection from the grave at the Parousia. Lake, in his book The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, pp. 92, 93, points out in an interesting manner that in the Thessalonian Church were to be found three thoughts of future destiny: the old view of the Mystery religions that death, for the initiated, was the pathway to a blessed immortality; the new Christian hope that the baptized would live to be made partakers of the glories of the Kingdom at the Parousia, which was imminent; and the third view, taught by S. Paul to relieve anxiety, that for the dead awaited the old Jewish Apocalyptic hope of resurrection at the Parousia. Ultimately, as we know, the Christian Church combined the first and the last of these views. It is interesting to see that S. Paul himself seems, though probably unconsciously, to hold them both simultaneously. But at this stage of his thought the idea of the Resurrection as taking place from the earth at the Consummation was most prominent. The doctrine of 'The Time' was dominant.
What exactly was the nature of the doubt with regard to the Resurrection which had been raised and which S. Paul is trying to answer in this great chapter? Lake, with his tendency to see the Mystery religions everywhere (The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, pp. 215-219), believes that one party at Corinth maintained, as was thought in the Mysteries, that death was the pathway to life, ‘Mors Janua Vitae’, and that hence there was no necessity for resurrection. It was otiose. He thinks there was another party who insisted on the Old Jewish doctrine of a flesh-and-blood resurrection. The purpose, then, of 1 Corinthians 15 is to point out the via media of the spiritual body. Could the party that held the old Jewish view have been the ‘Peter Party’? And was it the ‘Apollos Party’ who, with their Alexandrian views, deprecated the need of resurrection?

It has also been thought that the Greek incredulousness as to resurrection, which S. Paul met at Athens at the time of his Areopagus speech, confronted him again at Corinth.

The first argument of the Apostle is the fact of Christ’s Resurrection, proved and certified by the testimony of abundant witnesses. He then goes on to connect Christ’s Resurrection with the Christian’s. They both stand or fall together. The Resurrection of the Lord is, in fact, the only guarantee we have of resurrection and immortality. Christ, by His Resurrection, became the Head of a new race—those who are ‘in Christ’. He rose as the First Fruits; we, too, shall rise at the Parousia. If this be not true we might as well become hedonists at once.

He then proceeds to answer the question as to the
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'How?' of the Resurrection. The sown grain of wheat is his illustration. You sow a seed, you reap the completed plant. Nature shows you that there are various types of embodiment. So it is in the Resurrection. A body of flesh is buried, a spiritual body is raised. This is the order of development. A spiritual body is necessary for the Heavenly Kingdom. Christians will be granted it at the Parousia—the dead by resurrection, the living by metamorphosis.

And so to our four questions the Apostle in this passage gives the following answers:

**How?** In a spiritual body.

**When?** At the Parousia. Charles (*Eschatology*, p. 453) well points out, however, that here again we have an instance of the Apostle unconsciously holding the other view. As the grain of wheat, immediately on the death of the husk, bursts into the new plant, so on the death of the body the ego may be supposed to be clothed immediately with the spiritual body. But the Apostle did not explicitly state this consequence of his illustration. The old eschatology dominated him still.

**Where?** Evidently not on earth, at least as it is now, for the sphere of the new life cannot be entered by flesh and blood.

**Who?** It is to be noted that S. Paul only speaks of the resurrection of Christians. They are raised because of their mystical and spiritual union with Christ. They are 'in Him'. The connection of each member with the Head is vital. Whether any resurrection of the unjust is possible does not here enter the Apostle's mind. It is stated to be a fact in Acts 24:15, and is perhaps implied in Romans 2:15, 16. Anyhow, the only resurrection that is worthy of hope is that of those who are 'in Christ'.

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2 Corinthians 4:7-5:10

Here again it is unnecessary for us to consider the verbal exegesis of the passage. A long list of the Commentaries may be found in Meyer and in Plummer (I.C.C.). We have to weigh against one another the rival views as to the teaching of these verses on the subject of the Resurrection.

Sabatier, Schmiedel, Reuss, Holtzmann, Teichmann, Pfeiderer, Clemen, Charles and St. John Thackeray take the view that between the writing of 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians a change had come over the thought of the Apostle. He no longer believed that it would be necessary to wait till the Parousia for the spiritual body. It would be granted at death. "We know that, if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." Thackeray (The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought) argues that this change in the orientation of the Apostle's mind had been caused by the trouble through which he had been passing, and by danger of imminent death. His hope of surviving to the Parousia had been lessened, and hence his thoughts became directed to the Intermediate State. His faith was enabled to light up this dreary tract with the certainty of the gift of the Resurrection body and of the attained presence of Christ being granted at death. This development of thought was assisted, so it is suggested, by the reading of the Book of Wisdom, possibly put into his hands by the Alexandrian Apollos. This is supported by a comparison of 2 Corinthians 5:4 with Wisdom 9:15. S. Paul's knowledge of Wisdom, however, does not depend only upon this resemblance. Sanday and Headlam, in their Commentary on Romans, have tabul-
ated the passages which give clear indications that the Apostle was familiar with this book. Thus S. Paul's eschatology shows a clear development. As Charles puts it, "In the interval that elapsed between the First and Second Epistles, he came to a conscious breach with the older view, and henceforth taught the Resurrection to be the immediate sequel of departure from this life" (Eschatology, p. 458). This exegesis Charles supports by a reference to the verses in the subsequent Epistles which speak of the manifestation, not resurrection, of the risen dead with Christ at the Parousia. Thus in Romans 8:19 we read of the revelation of the sons of God, and in Colossians 3:4 of how "then shall ye also be manifested with Him in glory". This resurrection at death would be the natural unfolding of the spiritual resurrection which Christians have already experienced through their mystical union with Christ. (See Romans 6:13, 8:9-11; Colossians 2:12, 3:1; Ephesians 2:6.) Compare also Philippians 1:21-23, which connects the life of union here with a communion after death.

On the other hand, there are many writers who will have none of this supposed change in the Apostle's doctrine. Plummer writes: "The Epistles to the Corinthians are written in the glow of intense feeling, which varies according to the subject, and it is unreasonable to interpret them as if they were parts of a carefully elaborated system of theology" (I.C.C., p. 161). On the same side are Kennedy, St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things, Denney in the Expositor's Bible, and Salmond, The Christian Doctrine of Immortality, pp. 450 ff.

Which of these two views is correct? On the one hand, it is obvious that S. Paul never gave up his expectation of the Parousia and of a crisis in the destiny
of the individual which might be called Resurrection. In the very passage which we are considering we have a verse (4:14) which implies this hope. As Massie paraphrases the words, "He is sure of resurrection in union with Jesus and in fellowship with his converts when Jesus comes" (Massie's Volume in Century Bible, p. 283). In Philippians, the very Epistle which speaks of being with Christ at death, occurs a passage vibrant with the hope of resurrection at the Parousia (Philippians 3:8-21). The same thought is dominant in Romans 8. While for those who hold the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles we might quote 2 Timothy 1:12, 18, 4:1, 8; Titus 2:13. We grant all this, but is it necessary to deny that, while S. Paul still kept the great hope connected with the Consummation, he made any advance in his thinking? There are at least indications that S. Paul was passing beyond his old view. In 4:16 we have the continual daily strengthening of the new spirit-born personality through union with Christ. 4:18 almost seems to hint that in that other world time is transcended. In 5:1 the present tense "We have", while it may be a present of certainty, is at least suggestive of something more. 5:3, 4 show us that the Apostle's great shrinking was from a disembodied existence. He was Palestinian in his feeling to the core, and was poles asunder from Philo. And then in 5:8 he says that he desires to leave the body and be present with the Lord. Does this not imply that he expects more than a disembodied communion? The Master lived in His Risen Body, and how could the Apostle be with Him unless also possessed of a similar organ of life? It is like that can hold communion with like.

We conclude, then, that while S. Paul never gave up his hope of the Consummation, yet the thought of an
adequate embodiment at death half unconsciously grew on him—an embodiment which was nothing less than the spiritual body itself. We saw a faint suggestion of the idea in 1 Thessalonians. That faint suggestion has now grown, hardly to a dogma, but to a rapturous intuition. Thus in the teaching of the great Apostle we notice the same double strain of thought which we found in the teaching of the Master.

THE DOCTRINE OF RESURRECTION IN OTHER WRITERS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

We discover the same blending of the two views of the future life in other writers of the New Testament. We find side by side the doctrine of 'The Place' and the doctrine of 'The Time'.

The thought of S. Peter seems to be closely related to the type which we have learned to associate with the Parables of Enoch. That is to say, S. Peter looked for a definite moment in the future when the glories of the heavenly life would be revealed on earth. In his speeches as recorded in the early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles we notice especially his words in Acts 3:20 and 21. The Parousia of Christ is to introduce the Redemption Era foretold by the Hebrew Prophets. The famous passage describing the Christian’s hope, 1 Peter 1:3-5, is consonant with the same expectation.

2 Peter is interesting as showing us that the writer was influenced by the Persian doctrine of the World-Conflagration (3:12). The astronomical phenomena of the Novae prove that such an end for our planet is within the bounds of possibility.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews the thought of a spiritual life after death, in accordance with Alexandrian conceptions, seems to be uppermost. We read
of the heavenly place within the veil whither our Forerunner is entered; of the eternal inheritance (9:15); of a better country (11:16); of the City whose builder and maker is God (11:10); of the City which is to come (13:14); of a Rest for the people of God (4:9); and of "the spirits of just men made perfect" (12:23). And yet the Apostolic writer also looked forward to a Consummation (12:26, 27); to the Parousia (9:28); and to a Resurrection (11:35)—though this last passage is a reference to 2 Maccabees 7.

The Doctrine of Resurrection in the Johannine Books

The study of this portion of the New Testament is of pre-eminent importance, because here Christian Doctrine is carried forward to its furthest Apostolic development. In a word, we may say that the change of emphasis which we noted in the later Epistles of S. Paul is yet more marked. Eschatology recedes into the background. Eternal Life, a present possession, mediated by the Spirit, and superior to the shock of death, becomes the dominant conception.

The Apocalypse of S. John need not detain us—the eschatological scheme of the writer being very similar to that of 4 Ezra. We notice the Millennium, with which is connected the First Resurrection of the martyrs, followed by the coming to earth of the New Jerusalem, preceded by the General Resurrection. On the other hand, even in the Apocalypse the Christian dead are pictured as enjoying an adequate life without resurrection, before the Throne of God. Note particularly the exquisite passage in Chapter 7, verses 9 to 17. Here they are pictured as serving day and night in the Heavenly Temple. For such there seems to be no need of resurrection. The language, in fact, is strikingly
similar to that used of the New Jerusalem at the close of the Apocalypse.

In order to arrive at any fair estimate of the doctrine of the Beloved Disciple it is essential to treat the Gospel and Epistles as one whole, although in so doing we shall, to some extent, re-travel old ground. It is relatively easy, taking the Gospel alone, to make out a case for the conclusion that S. John was moving toward a transcending of the old eschatology. But if the Epistles are taken into account as well, it is impossible to maintain this view entirely. As in the rest of the New Testament, two outlooks on the future life are maintained, that of eschatological resurrection, and that of an adequate life at death, but it is the latter which in S. John receives its supreme emphasis.

The idea of Eternal Life is a favourite one with S. John. It is true that the phrase is an old one. We find it in the Old Testament in Daniel 12:2; in 2 Maccabees 7:9; in the Psalms of Solomon 3:16; in 1 Enoch 37:4; 40:9; 58:3; 62:14; and in 2 Enoch 50:2, etc. We find the words also in the Synoptic Gospels, S. Mark 10:30, and parallel passages. The word 'life' by itself in the sense of the eschatological reward is common—S. Matthew, 7:14, 18:8, 25:46. But in S. John the phrase 'Eternal life' supersedes the Synoptic 'Kingdom'. The Kingdom, of course, is conceived in the earlier Gospels, in one of its aspects, as a present possession; but in S. John the thought of the present possession is abundantly emphasized. See S. John 3:36, 5:24, 6:47, 6:54. The great passage in connection with the Resurrection is found in 11:23-37. Martha expresses the usual eschatological hope of resurrection. But the Lord replies, "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live; and whosoever
liveth and believeth on me shall never die.” The true resurrection, in other words, comes from the mystical union with Christ by faith. The man thus united to Christ is possessed of a life which entirely transcends the death of the body. In fact, there is no death for such. The personality persists in one glorious continuity of the life that is life indeed. The thought is carried on in 12:26. The destiny of the faithful servant is to be with the Master. So, too, in 14:2, 3, Christ comes to receive the disciple to Himself at Pentecost, at the death of each individual, and at the Parousia. (So Godet and Westcott in Commentaries, ad loc.) The promise is expressed in its grandest form in 17:24. This great prayer of the Divine High Priest for His own seems to be quite unconditioned by any sense of eschatology. The beholding of His glory cannot be postponed indefinitely to some distant Parousia—each faithful disciple, like Stephen, is welcomed by the Lord at death.

On the other hand, there are passages in the Gospel which express the eschatological doctrine of Resurrection in a very materialistic way. See especially 5:28, 29, and compare 6:39, 40. Charles would regard these passages as survivals, which have no right to appear. But the Epistles show us that the Apostle still retained his belief in the Parousia (2:28, 3:2), and we find the same belief in the appendix to the Gospel itself (21:22). We conclude, therefore, that, as in the rest of the New Testament, so we find in S. John this strange duality of presentation; but in this, the last of the Apostles to pass away, the emphasis is greater on the inward and spiritual view. "The mystic interpreter of the historical incarnation realised life to be qualitative and universal, dependent on a spiritual, sacramentally conditioned relationship to an
eternal divine being, and no longer a mere attribute—although the highest specific blessedness—of an age or Kingdom to come, depicted according to the categories of Jewish apocalyptic" (Winstanley, Jesus and the Future, p. 346).

THE DOCTRINE OF RESURRECTION IN THE FATHERS

One of the tragedies of Church History has been the fact that spiritual and reasonable New Testament teaching has been misunderstood, or rather not understood at all. The Church of early times failed to understand the spiritual New Testament doctrine of Resurrection. As soon as we pass from the Apostolic writers to the so-called Apostolic Fathers we meet at once doctrine of a grossly materialistic type—doctrine which has, upon the whole, held sway through the Church until very recent times. The trouble was started by the fact that men came to emphasize the character of the manifestations of the Risen Christ as though they were the permanent elements of the risen life, and failed to notice that the permanent elements of that life were precisely its spirituality and invisibility to mortal eye.

A most admirable sketch of the Patristic Teaching on the Resurrection Body has been given by Dr. Sparrow Simpson in his book The Resurrection and Modern Thought, pp. 338-371. We need only call attention to the main points.

S. Clement, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, shows at once his appalling inferiority to the Apostle who wrote to the same Corinthians. He recounts the ridiculous story of the Phoenix as an analogy of the Resurrection, and quotes (as rendered in the Septuagint) Psalm 28:7, 3:5, and Job 19:26 to prove the doctrine.
RESURRECTION IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

Unfortunately he quotes the words of Job as “And thou shalt raise up all flesh” (he does not give the Septuagint rendering). Thus we can trace at once the beginning of that doctrine which was later to find its way into the Creed as ‘resurrectio carnis’.

This doctrine is still more explicitly stated in the so-called 2 Clement (9): “In like manner as ye were called in the flesh, ye shall come also in the flesh.” “Let not any one of you say that this flesh is not judged neither riseth again.” We notice here the strange idea that, as the body sins, the body must be judged. The old writers failed to understand that judgement can be executed on the immortal and continuous personality.

Ignatius, on his way from Antioch to suffer in the Colosseum at Rome in the early years of the second century, shows something of the double Johannine viewpoint. He understands the mystical union. Jesus Christ is “our inseparable life”. He believes that through death he will “attain unto God”. The Eucharist is “the medicine of immortality”. But, on the other hand, he goes beyond S. John and teaches the Resurrection of the Flesh. “I know and believe that He was in the flesh even after the resurrection”; and in another place he speaks of the “resurrection which was both carnal and spiritual”. Apparently Ignatius was led to this false emphasis in his efforts to combat the Docetic Heresy. He proves his point by a reference to Our Lord eating and drinking after His Resurrection —entirely failing to see, as Chrysostom later saw so well, that this was done by Our Lord for the sake of condescension and evidence.

Didache 16 repeats the old Apocalyptic eschatology, and Polycarp, in his magnificent prayer at the stake, praises God for granting him a portion in the cup of
Christ “unto resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and of body, in the incorruptibility of the Holy Spirit”.

“It is difficult”, writes Hooke, “to extract much coherency from the rambling visions and parables of Hermas” (Article ‘Resurrection’ in D.A.C.). Apparently both flesh and spirit are to be preserved for the future life (Similitudines 5:7), while Similitudines 9:16 teaches the strange doctrine, that the Apostles descended to Hades to the Old Testament saints and gave them the seal of baptism. The Apostles “went down alive and again came up alive; whereas the others that had fallen asleep before them went down dead and came up alive”.

The writer of the Epistle to Diognetus held apparently the Alexandrian view; he spoke of the true life in heaven. On the other hand, it is strange that Papias, a hearer of S. John, should express his views of the Kingdom in the materialistic language of 2 Baruch 29. This fact raises strange questions in our minds. How far is the Chiliasm of Papias and of Irenaeus really to be traced to S. John? It obviously has connections with the author of the Apocalypse. Can it also be derived from the mystic who wrote the Fourth Gospel? Is this an indication that Gospel and Apocalypse are by different authors? If so, which is the Apostle?

Let us consider the views of another member of the Johannine circle—a pupil of Polycarp, the pupil of S. John. Irenaeus was born about the year A.D. 130, and became later Bishop of Lugdunum or Lyons in Gaul. His great work, Contra Haereses, in which he endeavoured to refute the Gnosticism of Valentinus and to declare the true doctrine of Christianity, has unfortunately only come down to us through the medium of a somewhat rough Latin translation. The book was probably completed about the year A.D. 190.
It is in the fifth part of the treatise that he gives us his views on the Resurrection—views which partook of the materialistic type of thought and which were strongly coloured by Chiliasm. Could Irenaeus have learnt this attitude of mind from Papias? Is it possible that S. John held these opinions along with his mystical insight?

Irenaeus argues that the power of God is manifested in giving life to what is mortal and in recalling the corruptible to incorruptibility. The flesh is not beyond the wisdom and power of God. This power is manifested in the translation of Enoch and Elijah, and in the deliverance of Jonah and of Daniel’s three friends. The whole man consists of spirit and body. Because Christ rose in the flesh we too shall rise (5:7). The gift of the Spirit is preparing us for incorruptibility. The heretics abuse the words “Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God” (5:9). We have examples of the Resurrection in those raised from the dead by Christ—Lazarus and the widow’s son at Nain (5:13). The Incarnation is a guarantee that our flesh is to be saved (5:14). Isaiah 26 and Ezekiel 37 are quoted in order to prove the resurrection of the body (5:15). He appeals to the witness of those to whom the Apostles entrusted the Churches (5:20).

In Chapter 30 we have the famous attempt to explain the number of the Beast. In 5:31 he teaches a waiting time for the dead in an Intermediate State, arguing from the waiting time of Our Lord between Good Friday and Easter Day. The saints will have their reward in the same flesh in which they have endured sorrow (5:32). He argues from the Master’s promise to drink the ‘Fruit of the Vine’ and the Invitation to the Great Feast (S. Luke 14:12, 13), and proceeds to quote materialistic descriptions of the fertility of
Millennia in the phrases of 2 Baruch and Papias (5:33).

Perhaps the most interesting part of this long argument is the phrase used of the Souls in Paradise—ἐν αἰωνίῳ, rehearsing immortality; and the beautiful description, which he quotes from the Elders, of the life of the new heaven and earth—"Then they who have proved worthy of an abode in Heaven shall go there; some shall possess the glory of the city, and others the delight of Paradise, for everywhere the Saviour shall be seen as they who see Him shall prove worthy." "Et propter hoc dixisse Dominum, multas esse apud Patrem mansiones" (5:36).

There is no need to follow in detail all the crudities of doctrine through the *Apology* of Athenagoras, or even of Justin Martyr, who believed in the resurrection of physical organs, thinking that Christ rose in the flesh to show the resurrection of the flesh. Tertullian is specially materialistic, who argued that our hairs were numbered that they might be resurrected; that the weeping and gnashing of teeth obviously implied eyes and teeth with which to weep and gnash. He even argued that teeth, undecayed after being buried for centuries, were "the lasting germs of the body which is to spring into life again at the Resurrection" (*De Resurrectione Carnis*, 34). In palliation, however, it is only fair to add that he believed this material resurrection to be necessary for life in the Millennium, at the end of which Christians would be changed into the substance of angels.

It would have been fascinating to have possessed the work which Clement of Alexandria had thought of writing on the Resurrection. In its absence we pass on at once to the greatest of all Christian thinkers of the Alexandrian School. That Clement held the spiritual view, however, is seen in *Stromateis*, 6.
ORIGEN'S TEACHING ON THE RESURRECTION

In Origen we find a thinker who at least approximately grasped the teaching of S. Paul, and whose influence on the Greek-speaking Church saved it from the depths of materialism into which the doctrine of the Resurrection sank and remained in the West. Unfortunately, his work on the Resurrection is lost, but the doctrine is referred to in his treatise Contra Celsum, and also in his De Principiis. Jerome did Origen unwittingly a great kindness. He largely quoted from him in order to refute him, and as the passages which Jerome disliked are precisely those which make the greatest appeal to us, we find the most interesting parts of Origen's teaching preserved in Jerome's work.

Origen's main purpose was to point out the via media between the disembodied immortality of Docetism and the crude materialism of Latin Theologians. He taught, like S. Paul, the 'spiritual body'. But he hampered his doctrine by his belief in the connection between the body that was buried and the new body of the Resurrection. He thought that the former possessed a 'ratio insita', which was the principle from which sprang in due time the new body. His doctrine also was modified by his metaphysical theory of substance. Thus he writes in his work De Principiis, Bk. 2, 10, 3 (Translation in Ante-Nicene Fathers, ed. Roberts and Donaldson): "In the same way also our bodies are to be supposed to fall into the earth like a grain; and (that germ being implanted in them which contains the bodily substance) although the bodies die and become corrupted, and are scattered abroad, yet by the word of God that very germ which is always
safe in the substance of the body, raises them from the earth, and restores and repairs them, as the power which is in the grain of wheat, after its corruption and death, repairs and restores the grain into a body having stalk and ear.” Compare also De Principiis, Bk. 3, 6:5.

But Origen also understood the Pauline doctrine of the nature of the spiritual body. He conformed the interpretation of the Gospel accounts of the Appearances to the formulated Apostolic doctrine, and not, as the Western Church did, vice versa. Thus he writes: “And, simple ones, be not deceived by the resurrection of Our Lord because He showed His side and His hands, stood on the shore, went for a walk with Cleopas, and said that He had flesh and bones. That body, because it was not born of the seed of man and the pleasure of the flesh, has its peculiar prerogatives. He ate and drank after His resurrection, and appeared in clothing, and allowed Himself to be touched, that He might make His doubting Apostles believe in His resurrection. But still He does not fail to manifest the nature of an aerial and spiritual body. For He enters when the doors are shut, and in the breaking of bread vanishes out of sight. Does it follow then that after our resurrection we shall eat and drink, and perform the offices of nature? If so, what becomes of the promise ‘This mortal must put on immortality?’” (Jerome, To Pammachius against John of Jerusalem, 26). Origen quotes 1 Corinthians 15:42-44, and adds: “Now we see with our eyes, hear with our ears, act with our hands, walk with our feet. But in that spiritual body we shall be all sight, all hearing, all action, all movement. The Lord shall transfigure the body of our humiliation and fashion it according to His own glorious body. In saying transfigure, he affirms identity with the members which we now have.
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But a different body, spiritual and eternal, is promised to us, which is neither tangible, nor perceptible to the eye, nor ponderable; and the change it undergoes will be suitable to the difference in its future abode.” Origen obviously got near to the truth in these great words. They are Pauline and they are also extraordinarily modern. They recall the immortal lines of Rupert Brooke—lines in which the youthful poet touched the heights of English style. In the life that is to be we shall, he tells us—

Spend in pure converse our eternal day;
Think, each in each, immediately wise;
Learn all we lacked before; hear, know, and say
What this tumultuous body now denies;
And feel, who have laid our groping hands away;
And see, no longer blinded by our eyes.

THE HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE AFTER THE TIME OF ORIGEN

The history of the doctrine after Origen’s time is, upon the whole, disappointing. The Latin Church was practically a unit in holding the material conception, while the Greek Church was not a unit in following the higher view. Methodius, a Lycian Bishop, and one of the Diocletian Martyrs, set himself to refute Origen. “Man”, he argued, “having been appointed by the original order of things to inhabit the world and to rule over all that is in it, when he is immortal, will never be changed from being a man into the form either of angels or any other.” He completely failed to see that our present mode of existence is simply a stage in the process of man’s development, and not a permanent and essential condition of human ‘nature’ (*The Writings of Methodius*, translated by Clark: ‘The Discourse on the Resurrection’, 10).
The doctrine even of Gregory of Nyssa is very unsatisfactory. In his discourse with the sister of S. Basil ‘On the Soul and the Resurrection’, he says that the soul watches the particles of the body, until at the Last Day it is clothed with them again and regains man’s first estate, lost by Adam’s fall. “The Resurrection is the reconstitution of our nature in its original form.” But this is to be understood as a state divested of “the skin of the brute and all its belongings”.

Chrysostom, as we have seen, held a view closely akin to that of Origen, but the Western Church still retained its stark materialism. Jerome reproduced the crudities of Tertullian, and even the great Augustine recanted the higher views of his earlier life. He had written: “In that time of angelic change it (the flesh) will no longer be flesh and blood, but only body” (De Fide et Symbolo, 24). But in the closing books of the De Civitate Dei he shows himself to be involved in the most hopeless materialism. He believes that all will arise in bodies, aged apparently thirty years, which he considered to be the ideal human age. He thought that deformities would disappear, that severed limbs would be replaced, but that the mark of severance would remain! While he answers the question, difficult to explain on his theory, as to what would happen in a case of cannibalism, by stating that the flesh would revert to its original owner (Sparrow Simpson, op. cit., p. 366).

Unfortunately, Augustine’s influence permanently fastened these absurdities on Western Theology. There was one memorable and most dramatic occasion on which East and West came into conflict over this question in the persons of their chief representatives. The West apparently won, but the East was right. The controversy was waged between Gregory—not yet
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Pope, but afterwards famous as Gregory the Great—and Eutychius, the Patriarch of Constantinople. Eutychius followed Origen, Gregory Augustine. The disputants fell ill, and according to Gregory’s account, Eutychius recanted on his death-bed, and taking hold of the skin of his hand, declared, “I confess that we shall all rise again in this flesh”.

Of the Schoolmen, apparently Erigena alone stood out for the doctrine of S. Paul and of Origen. The materialistic conception, however, was crystallized and made permanent for the Roman Church by the writings of S. Thomas Aquinas. All the blood, he taught, which flowed from Christ in the Passion rose again in His Resurrection.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION IN ENGLISH THEOLOGY

Unfortunately, while the Reformation brought the Church of England more spiritual views of the Sacraments and of the Ministry, the old mediaeval ideas of the Resurrection remained. The change of ‘the Resurrection of the flesh’ to ‘the Resurrection of the body’ in the rendering of the Apostles’ Creed in the Daily Offices is no indication of a real change of conception. In The Institution of a Christian Man (A.D. 1537) we read: “I believe . . . that . . . Almighty God shall . . . raise up again the very flesh and bodies of all men”; while the Necessary Doctrine of 1543 actually declared that “every man generally shall resume and take again the very self-same body and flesh which he had while he lived here on earth.” Unfortunately, even our present Article 4 still retains the materialistic language of the Middle Ages—taken
from the Gospel account of the manifestations unmodified by the Pauline teaching. The false assumption of the Latin Church was that flesh and bones necessarily pertained to the perfection of man's nature. It is as though one were to say that the organs of the caterpillar are necessary for the butterfly. English Theologians naturally followed the official lead of their Church. Bishop Pearson in his famous work on the Creed maintains the old Western view. Locke approached the subject in his famous *Essay on the Human Understanding* and argued that personal identity did not consist in identity of substance but in identity of consciousness. The audacity of the layman brought a reply from the Episcopal Bench, and Stillingleaf came forward as the champion of obscurantism. But the new leaven was working, and Bold (1705); Burnet, Master of the Charterhouse (1715); Bishop Horsley of St. Asaph; Bush, Professor of Hebrew in New York (1845); Goulburn, Westcott, Latham and Moberley maintained the deeper view, and brought the Pauline and Origenistic succession down to our days (see Sparrow Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp. 378-401). It is to be noted, however, that all these discussions deal with the 'How?' of the Resurrection, not with the 'When?' These writers saw that the Body of the Lord as Risen (and the future body of the Christian) is essentially a Spiritual Body. But the old conception of resurrection at the Parousia so dominated them that they never asked whether after all it is necessary to believe that the soul has to wait in an intermediate disembodied state for a final consummation. It did not strike them that the tendency of the Pauline Teaching and the whole drift of doctrine on the subject was in the direction of a belief that resurrection for the individual takes place at death.

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CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE DOCTRINE OF RESURRECTION

We have now sketched the course of thought on the subject of Resurrection from the earliest times to the present day. We have seen how, in one form or another, it has been the hope of mighty religious systems and of countless individuals. Our conclusions have been probably gathered in the course of our inquiry, but it will be well to sum them up definitely at its close.

_How?_ To this inquiry we answer in the words of S. Paul, "It is raised a spiritual body". What precisely do we mean by this? Why, first, is any body necessary? Let us quote Moberly: "A human body is the necessary—is the only—method and condition, on earth, of the spiritual personality. It is capable, indeed, of expressing spirit very badly; it is capable of belying it; indeed, it is hardly capable of expressing it quite perfectly. . . . And yet body is the _only_ method of spiritual life; even as things are, spirit is the true meaning of bodily life; and bodies are really vehicles and expressions of spirit; whilst the perfect ideal would certainly be, not spirit without body, but body which was the ideally perfect utterance of spirit." (Quoted by Sparrow Simpson, _op. cit._, p. 411.) Body, then, is the medium of spirit or personality. It is also the medium of individuality. The Resurrection of the Body stands, says Streeter, "mainly for two things, that the life of the future will be richer, not poorer, than this life, and that individuality, personal distinctions, and the results of the moral and emotional, as well as of the intellectual activities of this life, will be preserved in the next" (_Immortality_, p. 95).

Eternal form will still divide
The eternal soul from all beside,
And I shall know him when we meet.

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But this is not all. The body also stands for an instrument and medium of work. "His servants shall serve Him"—and the glorious task demands a glorious organ of achievement.

But why material? There is an old catch-phrase which used to sum up the conclusions of a certain school of philosophy: "What is Matter? Never mind. What is Mind? No Matter". But however true this may be in one sense, yet there is the complementary truth, that we never know mind in this world except as associated with matter. Thought may not be an excretion of the brain, but thought only seems to exist where there is a brain. Now this relationship may very well be something which is permanent and universally true. Spirit may always require embodiment. As Sir Oliver Lodge writes, "This dependence of the spiritual on a vehicle for manifestation is not likely to be a purely temporary condition: it is probably a sign, or sample, of something which has an eternal significance—a presentation of some permanent truth" (Man and the Universe, p. 161). Sir Oliver himself would believe that the material of that other life is the imponderable ether of space. Of this we are totally ignorant. But that the spirit in the other sphere has an embodiment—to us indeed in our present state normally invisible, but yet material in the sense that it is differentiated from mind or spirit—seems eminently reasonable. By a spiritual body, then, will be meant not a body made of spirit, but a body adapted to the life of the spirit.

When? To this question we have been led to answer 'At Death'. If once the belief in the Resurrection is no longer considered as bound up with the earthly Messianic Kingdom, the raison d'être of the waiting time of the Intermediate State vanishes. We have seen
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how the teaching of Our Lord and of S. Paul and of S. John all contain elements which point in this direction. But the Church’s belief in the old eschatology was too strong. Modern researches into the history of eschatology, however, have led such writers as Streeter and Charles to put forth the view that we are now advocating. And it is interesting to notice that the Commission on Christian Doctrine appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York seems to be not unsympathetic towards our view.

Where? Our answer to this question is closely related to our answer to the preceding. The Resurrection Life will be lived in the higher sphere, the eternal tabernacles, the many mansions, heaven. It is extremely interesting to notice how this doctrine of ‘heaven at death’, though not, generally speaking, the official doctrine, yet became the popular doctrine of the Universal Church. Among English writers one need only call attention to Bunyan and the view expressed in the immortal Progress. To Bunyan the passage through the River of Death led immediately to the Heavenly City, where the trumpets sounded forth a welcome to the faithful warrior. In Dante each soul has individually passed through Purgatory and individually joins the army of the redeemed around the Throne of God.

In forma dunque di candida rosa
Mi si mostrava la Milizia santa
Che nel suo sangue Cristo fece sposa.
(Paradiso, Canto 31, lines 1-3).

In fashion, as a snow-white rose, lay then
Before my view the saintly multitude,
Which in His own blood Christ espoused. (CAREY).

1 This view is quite consistent with the idea that there will be stages and degrees in that other life. Where there is life, and that life is moral and spiritual, there must be possibilities of advance, training, growth.

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Those who form part of the great White Rose of Heaven need no further resurrection.

It was to heaven that Fray Luis de Leon (1528-1591), the Spanish Poet of the University of Salamanca, looked forward. He gazed at the glories of the midnight sky and wrote:

What man is there who views the starry host,
But feels how far, how far from heaven lies earth,
Yea, groans and sighs
To burst the bonds which fetter close the soul,
Holding her fast—an exile from her joy?

In heaven aye lives content; in heaven reigns peace;
In heaven, high seated on his golden throne,
Dwells holy Love, begirt with all delights.

There fairest Beauty manifests herself,
There shines a light, serene and bright and pure;
There night ne'er falls; there flowers eternal spring.

The hymnody of all the Churches bears witness to the fact that the faithful have looked forward to heaven rather than to Resurrection—in the Protestant Churches
without even the delay of Purgatory. The life more 
abundant, to the eye of faith, awaited them at death— 
something better than they knew, a surprise of the 
Father for His children. It will be enough to give the 
first lines of some such hymns:

“For ever with the Lord”
“Jerusalem on High”
“There is a land of pure delight”
“Give me the wings of faith to rise”
“How bright these glorious spirits shine”
“O what their joy and their glory must be”.

Who? This question is one of the most difficult to 
answer. The whole emphasis of the New Testament 
is on the Resurrection of the Just. There are passages 
which speak of a resurrection of the wicked to judg-
ment; but exactly in what sense are we to take them? 
If the real Resurrection Life is mediated by the Spirit 
of Christ, to what kind of life will those rise who are 
not vitalized by the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus 
from the dead? Some would argue for Annihilation 
and Conditional Immortality, on the ground that 
Resurrection is the result of Evolution and is only for 
the fit who have fulfilled the conditions. But on the 
other side we have to consider the unity of the race 
and the value of the individual as well as the urgency 
of moral claims. We confess to a reverent agnosticism.

Is there any Connection between our Present Body and 
the Spiritual Body?

As we have seen; there can be none between the 
buried corpse and the spiritual body; but there very 
probably is between our present living bodies and the 
body that is to be. All Nature shows continuity. The 
child is derived from the parents, the butterfly from 
the chrysalis. It is very probable that there is continu-
ally being formed within us the body that is to be. It is liberated at death. Death is birth into a higher sphere. This does not negative S. Paul's great words in 2 Corinthians 5:1—"a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens". To the Apostle heaven is not primarily a place, but a state. The Christian is already seated with Christ in the heavenly places. The spiritual body, prepared during his earthly life by the Spirit of Christ, is in the truest sense of the words a heavenly habitation.

The Consummation

But do our conclusions make it necessary to give up the conception of the Parousia, of a Consummation? The Resurrection is the consummation of the Eschatology of the Individual. Is there also an Eschatology of Human History? We have found that there must be such. It is true that our view makes it unnecessary for the individual to wait an indefinite period for his blessedness, but this does not mean that, though the individual progresses to his goal, there is no progress of mankind as a whole; no far-off, divine event, to which the whole creation moves. For if we believe in God, we must believe that history is not aimless. We would rather suggest that as death is the Coming of Christ to the individual, so the world as a whole is moving forward to a Coming of Christ, of whatever nature that Coming may be, which will complete its destiny. This was the universal expectation of the Spirit-filled mind of the Apostles. Can we believe that they were entirely mistaken? May we not rather believe it is possible that at the great crisis in all history there will be a new and supreme manifestation of the spiritual realities? And may it not be that with the manifestation of Christ will occur the manifestation of
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His own? This will be the eschatological resurrection of the completed society. “When Christ, who is our life, shall be manifested, then shall ye also with Him be manifested in glory.”

Our conclusion as to the nature of the Resurrection of the Dead is put forward as a suggestion rather than as a certainty. This at least is true of our details. The history of the development of varied eschatological conceptions is so intricate and kaleidoscopic that certainty is impossible. But at least we can base our hope of an adequate immortality on three facts.

First, there is the fact of the Mystic Consciousness of communion with God, and its testimony to the divine faithfulness with the objects of the divine love. God will not leave His friends to perish.

Second, there is our faith in the trustworthiness of God and in the meaning and value of life as a training-ground of ethical personality.

Lastly, we have the great fact of Christ’s Resurrection, which founds faith upon no visionary base of unstable Apocalyptic, but upon a grand accomplishment of power divine. Here life and immortality are brought to light through the Gospel. As S. John of Damascus sang—

The day of resurrection!
Earth, tell it out abroad;
The Passover of gladness,
The Passover of God!
From death to life eternal,
From earth unto the sky,
Our Christ hath brought us over
With hymns of victory.

Perhaps a hymn by an anonymous writer, which may be found in the Revised Hymn Book of the Church of England in Canada, No. 614, expresses an idea of the
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Other Life in terms which, more completely than those of an earlier hymnody, satisfy the Christian consciousness of to-day:

Where the Light for ever shineth,
   Where no storm ariseth more,
There the Saviour meets his loved ones
   On the shore.

They nor thirst, nor suffer hunger,
   All their tears are wiped away,
Night has past, and they have entered
   Endless day.

Surely he, the mighty Worker,
   He who slumbers not, nor sleeps,
Leaveth not in useless silence
   Those he keeps.

They who bravely toiled amongst us
   We believe are working still,
Where no disappointment hinders,
   No self-will.

Lo! from earth's imperfect labour
   He hath called them to his feet,
There to work where, free from failure,
   Work is sweet.

Grant that we with them thy loved ones,
   Whom by faith we still can see,
May when life's great morning dawneth
   Follow thee.
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THE HEREAFTER IN THE CHRISTIAN THOUGHT OF MEDIAEVAL ICELAND
THE HEREAFTER IN THE CHRISTIAN
THOUGHT OF MEDIAEVAL ICELAND
AN ICELANDIC DIVINE COMEDY

The Middle Ages were pre-eminently the period of history in
which men's minds were haunted by "the fear of something
after death". The Church encouraged this attitude of dread
—sometimes for her own selfish purposes. But she also used
it as an ethical lever of no mean effectiveness. The large west
window of the churches not seldom portrayed in arresting
manner the scene of the Last Judgement. In the Sistine
Chapel at Rome, Michelangelo painted the tremendous assize
on the wall behind the altar. Nothing stood between the
Christian soul and that—except the priest and the Mass of
Christ's sacrificed Body and Blood. Such was the last and one
of the greatest representations of the mediaeval terror.

The process had begun, roughly, with the Dialogues of
Gregory the Great, full of portentous ghost stories. A humble
disciple had ventured to ask the saintly Pope, "Why, in these
last times, so many things about souls are becoming clear which
were unknown before?" The answer given was that these
visions seemed to be the dawning light before the sun arises—
the clouds of this disappearing world shot through with the
rays of the light that is to be. So, in particular, the doctrine of
Purgatory established its dominion. Visions of the other
world, of hell, and of heaven, were multiplied. In our own
Church literature we may recall how the Venerable Bede tells
of the experiences of the Irish S. Fursa in that other world.
Bede himself lived ever under the spell of the unseen realities.

Ere that need-fare no one may be
More prudent than him well beseemeth,
If he but meditate, ere his departure,
What to his spirit of good or evil
After his death-day may be doomed.
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So he wrote in his rugged Anglo-Saxon tongue, and the words have been chosen as the inscription on the beautiful cross raised to his memory at Monkwearmouth on the shore of the grey North Sea.

Such thoughts received their highest and ever-enduring expression in the mighty poem of the great Italian of Florence. But our immediate concern is with a humble, but very interesting, Icelandic forerunner of Dante’s *Divine Comedy*.

It is remarkable that the fate of some gem of ancient literature often depends upon the escape from destruction of some one or two manuscripts. Our ‘Lay of the Sun’ was probably preserved through the centuries on two parchment vellums. Both have perished, but before their disappearance paper transcripts were made, some of which are extant to-day. The unknown copyist worked better than he knew. We could ill have afforded to have lost our poem, for it marks an epoch in the history of Icelandic literature—the moment when the old Teutonic verse-form, just before its death, uttered its swan-song in the precenting of Christian truth. The Eddaic poetry of the heathen days was to yield to a new culture of thought and of expression. The battle between Thor and Christ had been fought, and Christ remained victor. The music which had sounded the strength of Thor was to utter its homage to the Conqueror, and then to cease from the earth.

And it was well that thus it came to be, for the rugged forcefulness of the Edda was a trophy worthy of the Christian spirit. The Anglo-Saxon Caedmon had used the old tones for his Epic of Bible History, but it was in Iceland that the old Teutonic metres fulfilled their most remarkable destiny. It was probably in the stirring days of the Viking Exodus that the skalds sang these songs, handed down at first by word of mouth. Collected in the volume known as the Elder Edda they are one of the chief sources for our knowledge of the mythology of the North. With their short lines and alliterative beat they seem to embody the robust strength of the Norse gods and the sturdy heroism of the men who worshipped them.

The two most notable of these poems are the Hávamál and
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the Völuspá—the ‘Speech of the High one’, that is of Odin, and the ‘Prophecy of the Sibyl’. The former is a kind of Norse Book of Proverbs—full of the practical and ethical wisdom of the Viking race. ‘No one can bear a better baggage on his way than wisdom; no worse wallet can he carry on his way than ale-bibbing’—a maxim which is unfortunately still appropriate in the twentieth century. Perhaps the best-known stanza of the old poem is that containing the solemn words—

Cattle die,
Kinsmen die,
One dies oneself;
But good report
Never dies
From the man that has gained it.

Even more remarkable is the description in another part of the poem of the sacrifice of Odin—the god sacrificed, himself to himself, that he might gain wisdom—‘I mind me hanging on the gallows-tree nine whole nights, wounded with the spear, offered to Odin, myself to myself, on the tree whose roots no man knoweth. They gave me no loaf; they held no horn to me. I peered down, I caught the mysteries up with a cry, then I fell back.”

The ‘Prophecy of the Sibyl’ begins with a wonderful picture of Creation: “In the beginning, when naught was, there was neither sand nor sea nor the cold waves, nor was earth to be seen nor heaven above. There was a Yawning Chasm.” It ends with a picture of the Twilight of the Gods, the great day of Ragnarok, when the Norse gods were to fight their last battle against the titanic forces of nature and of evil, and were to perish in the conflict. But that was not to be the end: “I behold Earth rise again with its evergreen forests out of the deep. I see a hall, brighter than the sun, shingled with gold, standing on Gimli. The righteous shall dwell therein and live in bliss for ever.”

Now ‘The Lay of the Sun’ baptizes this old poetry into Christ. It contains very definite reminiscences of Hávamál, and echoes, perhaps more distant, of Völuspá. And it is
precisely this Icelandic manner which gives the poem its interest. Its subject-matter indeed is the normal thought-material of the mediaeval Church. Written by a "clerk", possibly by a monk in some lonely monastery on the shores of an Arctic sea, some time in the thirteenth century, the kernel of the poem takes the form of an admonition, delivered in vision, by a dead father to his son. After a description of the pangs of death he paints the horrors of hell and the joys of heaven. The horrors are horrors indeed. He has seen men with their hands nailed to red-hot stones. On the other hand, he can think of nothing more adequate for the joys of heaven than to sit and listen to holy books and hymns read by angels. That is the mediaeval expectation, and it is scarcely satisfying to us who demand life, and life more abundant. But how arresting is the Icelandic treatment! How strong the short, crisp sentences! When the writer wishes to paint the tragedy of a passionate desire for life overwhelmed by the power that none may gainsay—the "fey" man—that is, the death-doomed man, compelled to pass onward into that other world against his will—he uses these few words: "Great was my lust to live; But He had His way Whose will was stronger; Forward are the paths of the fey." In another passage he personifies the pains of sickness as the Maids of Hel, goddess of the lower regions—"The Maids of Hel Each evening Made the world a horror."

It is, however, in his powerful description of the dying man's last sight of the sun, setting blood-red on the horizon (and this gives the poem its name), that we obtain our most moving glimpse of the northern mind, and understand something of the passion with which the dweller in the Arctics craves for those beams which to him are always a benediction—never, as sometimes on the plains of India, a curse. "The sun I saw Setting Blood-red; Far gone from the world was I: Behind me sounded The Ocean-stream Mingled with blood." So he reiterates again and again the phrase "The sun I saw". At one moment he notices it shivering, 'boiling' as modern astronomers would say, above the horizon. At another its glory overpowers the dying eyes—the sun seems a symbol of
the majesty of the eternal God. And so at last the soul passes out, born through death into that other life where adventures so stupendous await it.

All this the dead father narrates in vision to his son. The ghost closes with a prayer to the Trinity, and with a request to the son to publish his story to the living. He hopes to meet his son again on the great 'dies laetitiae', when, after the Judgement, families are reunited, bound in the bundle of life with the Lord. The last words of the poem are a paraphrase of the prayer in the Gothic Missal—"Tribue, quaesumus, ut viventes salutem, defuncti quietem consequantur sempiternam."

But it is time to come to the work itself. The rendering is tolerably literal, and I have endeavoured to give it some similarity to the original through an alliterative flavouring. I have translated only the part of the poem which describes the Vision, and in that I have omitted two short sections which our English taste would find it difficult to appreciate.

THE LAY OF THE SUN

DEATH

I must tell my tale
How happy I lived
In the world of delight;
And that, far other,
How the sons of men
Must fare, unwilling, forth.

Lust and pride
Cheat the children of men,
Mad for mammon.
Shining silver
Bringeth to long grief;
Wealth hath brought many to woe.

Happy to many
Men I appeared;
Short-sighted was I.
The world of man's sojourn
The Lord hath shaped
Rich with pleasure.
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Low I sat,
Long bowed down,
Great was my lust to live;
But He had His way
Whose will was stronger;
Forward are the paths of the fey.

The cords of Hel,
Hard-girt,
Seared my sides;
To break them I strove,
But strong they were;
Easily go the unbound.

Alone I knew
How, all ways,
The pains gat hold upon me.
The Maids of Hel
Each evening
Made the world a horror.

The sun I saw,
True star of day,
Set in this noisy world.
Behind I heard
The gate of Hel
Clang heavily.

The sun I saw
Setting blood-red;
Far gone from the world was I:
More mighty he seemed
In many a way
Than ere he had seemed before.

The sun I saw—
Methought I beheld
Great God Himself.
To the sun I bowed
For the last time
In the world of men.

The sun I saw—
So he shone
That I swooned away.

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APPENDIX

Behind me sounded
The ocean-stream
Mingled with blood.

The sun I saw
Shivering o'er the sea-verge,
Shrinking and full of dread;
For my heart
Was hardly
Sundered into shreds.

The sun I saw,
Never more sorrowful,
Far gone from the world was I.
Turned was my tongue
To wood that is dry,
All chilled from within.

The sun I saw,
Never again
After that darksome day;
In the far distance
Vanished the sea,
As I passed out, called from my pains.

My soul, star of hope,
Flew at my death-birth.
Far from my breast;
Far up it flew,
Nowhere might it settle,
Nowhere have rest.

Longer than all
Was that one long night
When I lay, stark on straw.
Then a man marks
That word of God
That man is as mould.

O God of love,
Shaper of earth and sky,
Hearken and heed
How many fare forth
Unsolaced of kin,
When from kin sundered.

199
His own works
Reaps each wight;
Happy is he who good works hath hoarded.
Called from my wealth
For me was decreed
A couch shut in with sand.

The lust of the flesh
Hath led many astray,
Oft hath a man too much.
The purging stream
Was to me most painful
Of all that is.

On the Mount of Purgatory
Nine days was I poised;
Then was I hoist to heaven.
Mock suns
Grimly shone
From clouds of storm.

Without and within
Meseemed I fared
Through heavens seven.
Up and down
A path I sought
For straight going.

HELL
I must tell my tale
What first I beheld
When freed from the world of woe.
Scorched birds,
Souls they were,
Flew like flies for multitude.

Hushed was the wind,
Stilled the waters,
Then heard I the din of doom.
For their paramours
Wives of falsehood
Ground earth for eating.

200
Stones blood-stained
Those same dark women
Drearily dragged.
Bloody hearts
From their bosoms hung,
Heavy with sorrows.

Many a man
Unmannned saw I faring
The red hot roads;
Their faces methought
Bathed in the blood
Of the girl each had wronged.

Many men I saw
Turned to mould
Who scorned the Sacrament.
Heathen stars
O'er their heads stood,
Drawn in characters of doom.

Men saw I then
Who much nourish
Envy of others' good hap.
Runes of blood
Upon their breast
Were graven painfully.

Men saw I there,
Many in misery,
On far paths astray.
Such the reward
Of him who is misled
By this world's madness.

Men saw I then
Who by cunning devices
Defrauded others of their own.
In throngs they marched
To the city of Mammon,
Loaded with lead.

Men saw I then
Who many had robbed
Of chattels and life.
APPENDIX

Through their breasts
Strong snakes
Shot stings of poison.

Men saw I then
Who scorned to hold
Holy days.
Their hands
To hot stones
Were nailed in their need.

Men saw I then
Who of pride overweening
Too sumptuously had dressed.
Their clothes
Were strangely
Shot through with flame.

Men saw I then
Who against their neighbour
Had borne false witness.
The ravens of Hel
From their heads
The eyes pitilessly plucked.

All the terrors
May'st thou never know
Which the Hell-gone endure.
Sweet sins
To sore penance are turned;
Pain aye followeth hard after pleasure.

PARADISE

Men I saw then
Who much had given
According to God's laws.
Pure candles
O'er their heads
Brightly were burning.

Men saw I then
Who of a whole heart
Had granted the poor furtherance.

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APPENDIX

Angels read books.
And holy hymns
Above their heads.

Men saw I then
Who much had punished
Their flesh with fasting.
Angels of God
To them made obeisance—
The highest happiness this.

Men saw I then
Who tired travellers
With food had fed.
Their beds
On heaven's beams
Were made in comfort.

Holy maidens
Had purely cleansed
The soul of sin
Of those men
Who on many a day
Themselves had chastened.

Troops on high
Saw I pass along the heavens,
Taking their path to God.
Men are their guides
Who murdered were
Without a cause.

PRAYER

Almighty Father!
Almighty Son!
Holy Ghost of Heaven!
Who hast created us,
Keep us, I pray,
From all evil.

This lay
Which I have learnt thee
Shalt thou recite to the living:
APPENDIX

The Lay of the Sun,
Wherein shall seem
Least told in lie.

Here we part;
Again shall we meet
On that far day of bliss.
May my Lord grant
Rest to the dead,
To the living mercy.
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