

NOTES
ON THE
INTERMEDIATE STATE
AND THE
RESURRECTION

2364
Ge

FRANCIS GELL, M.A.

236.4
Ge

hh05

Gell, Francis

Notes on the intermediate
state and the Resurrection

OREGON BIBLE COLLEGE
OREGON, ILLINOIS

R. H. JUDD

NOTES
ON THE
INTERMEDIATE STATE
AND THE
RESURRECTION

WITH REPLIES TO CRITICISMS

BY
FRANCIS GELL, M.A.

HON. CANON OF WORCESTER; RECTOR OF RIPPLE, TEWKESBURY

OREGON BIBLE COLLEGE
OREGON, ILLINOIS

Reprinted from "The Churchman"

[ENLARGED EDITION]

LONDON:
DIGBY, LONG & Co., 18 BOUVERIE ST., FLEET STREET, E.C.

MALVERN:
CYRUS E. BROOKS, COLSTON WORKS, LINK.

1906.

236.4
G2

INTRODUCTION.

IN preparing a revision of my little essay, I have seriously asked myself if there is anything in it to withdraw or alter. A drawer full of correspondence, containing many letters of importance (no less than three of them from Diocesan Bishops) has resulted from the first issue, and seems at least to indicate the unsettlement of men's minds on the subject. Perhaps, too, the rapid development of opinions of the Future State pregnant with evil consequences, begins to arouse all sober-minded churchmen to their danger; but nothing has reached me yet to induce me to modify in any material degree my previous conclusions: and after two more years of thought, prayer and meditation, I send it forth, unaltered, more than satisfied with the measure of acceptance which it has obtained, and unpopular as it is, I thankfully and humbly say, "What I have written I have written."

ii.

The Intermediate State

The Resurrection of Jesus Christ, as we have heard many times, is the keystone of the arch of Christian evidence. But recent experience leads me to doubt whether those who listen to that statement, or even all those who make it, have realized the actual conditions under which that most stupendous event took place; still less have they considered its bearing on prevalent opinions of the Intermediate State.

Watching as I have done, for many years, the trend of religious opinion, I have observed with anxiety the effect of the increasing influence of a doctrine of pre-resurrection seriously prejudicial to the Easter faith of the Church. For, without doubt, the decisions of the great Day of the Lord are antedated by the decisions which are implied in the prevalent opinion (of partial happiness and misery in the Hades Life). I desire to show how little ground there is for this opinion in Holy Scripture; and with that object I have ventured to press upon my Christian brethren a re-examination of all the passages which bear upon it. The popular notion is secretly undermining the belief that God has appointed a day in the which He will judge the world by that man whom He hath ordained. For this opinion virtually antici-

pates the day when the wheat and the tares, the good fish and the bad, the sheep and the goats, are to be separated from each other for ever.

I have made an effort to point out the conditions under which the Resurrection took place, as an historical fact. Two articles from the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund which were lately published are added in the Appendix, indicating exactly what the narratives, as given in the Evangelists, absolutely require. Since they were published, although in a periodical with a circulation limited to members of the Fund, I have learned that there are many devout persons to whom the material facts of the Resurrection were practically unknown; and what with artistic pictures and nursery pre-conceptions, a hazy and indefinite idea prevails, prejudicial to a robust belief in the historical veracity of the record. I have therefore had permission to republish the articles which summarize perhaps all that can be fairly gathered from the inspired writings, as to the peculiarities of the tomb. I venture to think these matters are not *difficiles nugæ*, the idle speculations of curious topographers. I know, indeed, that

topographical discussions, though they have much influence with certain classes of mind, are after all of small importance, compared with the effect of that theory of the Intermediate State against which this argument is mainly directed. If our ultimate condition is really anticipated by a judgment previous to that of the great Day of the Lord, so that our eternal place is settled and a preliminary punishment is assigned, then, indeed, the Resurrection is to all intents and purposes past, and the further and final judgment would be a mere formal ratification of what has already been decided. The rapidity with which three cognate errors are spreading through the Church is clear to any man who knows what is going on. (1) PURGATORY, not long ago regarded as a fond thing vainly invented and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but, on the contrary, repugnant to the Word of God, is now openly taught in Church of England pulpits. (2) SPIRITUALISM, till lately treated with contemptuous disregard was advocated even at a Church Congress; and (3) the doctrine of a SECOND PROBATION, is now no longer a discredited theory, but a real and menacing error, daily looming larger on the ecclesiastical horizon.

Against these errors, there is no adequate defence in the prevailing notion of the Intermediate State—nay, it holds the door wide open for their admission. It may be truly said that they are merely corollaries of a belief in the Consciousness of the Intermediate State, for experience has shown that they inevitably follow it. That door has lately been thrown wider still by the action of the Archbishops in inserting a prayer for the dead into public services. And now we have a multitude of writers of varied capacity, ranging from the crude and confident fallacies of appeals to mere sentiment, up to the careful and scholarly special pleadings of Dean Plumptre, all in the same direction. Whether it was within the competence of their graces to go behind the doctrinal position of the Church of which they were leading guardians, I will not presume to decide. There can be little doubt that at the Reformation, our Church distinctly refused to sanction prayers for the dead, and confined our prayers to “The Church Militant here on earth.”

It may be asked what is the relation of the doctrine of the Intermediate unconsciousness, to the creeds of the Church? There is no

doubt it was keenly debated by the Reformers. Many of them appear to have held it. But Cranmer, who most of all dreaded being accused of Novelty, and being himself but partially reformed, strongly objected to it, inserted among the Forty-two Articles he put forth in 1552, an Article denouncing the opinion. Wiser men, ten years afterwards, after deeper study of the Scripture, and more complete emancipation from Romish trammels, eliminated Cranmer's Article, under the sober guidance of Archbishop Parker, and by rooting out of the Standards of the Church all condemnation of the opinion, virtually accepted it; or to say the least left it open for other times to deal with it as those times required. Some make much of the fact that the creed called the Apostles' Creed retains the clause "descended into hell" (Hades). But we all know that those words are not found in any of the primitive symbols, but were introduced in the fourth century into the Aquileian Creed, merely as representing the words "was buried" — as they do in the Athanasian. Bishop Pearson, in the standard works on the Creed, gives the evidence in full. I suppose it was in the fifth and following centuries that purgatorial

doctrine advanced so rapidly, that for want of Scriptural sanction the obscure passage in 1 Peter iii. 19 (to which, in fact, it had no reference whatever) was alleged as sufficient authority for it. And now, though the history and meaning of that clause in the Creed is well known, many persons still believe we have here the supposed descent of our Lord into Hades, to offer the Gospel to the imprisoned spirits of disembodied men! and this, though the purport of the preaching and the place in which it was made, and the results, if any, by which it was followed, are all entirely concealed from us.

| good

Of course, I could not expect, from the dominant party in the Church, a favourable hearing for a view so destructive of their traditional interpretations. It would almost seem that many of them are running violently down a steep place into the abyss of Popery, where they will be choked as certainly as were the swine of Decapolis, in the Lake of Tiberias. But why many of my dear brethren of the Evangelical persuasion should so resolutely shut their eyes to plain expositions of Scripture, is not so obvious. Difficulties of course there are, in all treatment of the partially-revealed future state, but the greatest difficulty

of all is that of obtaining any notice whatever for a subject on which many have made up their minds, or perhaps committed themselves by public utterances, on insufficient evidence.

At this distance from home I am unable to refer to Authorities, or give confirmatory quotations. I can only pray that the gracious God I desire to serve may forgive all that is erroneous, and bless all that is true. "The time is short." "Behold, the Judge standeth before the door."—Jas. v. 9.

San Remo, Italy,
January, 1906.

The very Suppression proves its un-
Scripturalness, for in Scripture it is
always Death & Hades, never is
life connected with it except in parables.

PREFACE.

THE kindly notice which my article on the Intermediate State has called forth, proves not only an anxious desire for reliable teaching on the subject, but also, perhaps, some reasonable distrust of the prevailing opinion. Volume after volume has poured from the Press, reiterating the old views of what is called "The Hades Life," sometimes passing through many editions, characterized by what I venture to call over-confidence based upon mistaken exegesis. I have refrained from referring to them by name, lest I should have manifested a spirit specially to be deprecated on such a subject. Remembering how soon we shall all be in that future state, we should at least be able to express the result of our study of Holy Scripture without acrimony; and I pray that I may be kept from anything like it in replying to whatever may be advanced on the other side. The view I have brought forward is not new, nor is it without more adequate defenders than I am. We are not infallible, and I have striven to appraise at their full value the reasonings of others without forgetting the weakness of our faculties. In the case of nearly all those kind friends who have taken the trouble to notice my articles I find that the real, and almost the only, difficulty in apprehending the matter arises from the fact

that, as has been said, "each stage of existence can only be clearly defined by the powers appertaining to it." We are compelled, therefore, to talk of the Unseen World in the terms of our present experience, or remain silent; and if we must speak of the future state, the inherent disability of terrestrial thought and speech must be kept constantly in view. It seems to be quite beyond the capacity of many people to do this without introducing some note of time, but it has been truly said that time as well as space are only provisional forms of thought. The succession of events almost obliges us to speak of time as if it were essential to existence, but the phenomenon of sleep should teach us better. There we see existence continued with no consciousness of time whatever. This, I suppose, is why it is the chosen emblem of the Intermediate State. A hint, at least, of this may be noticed in 2 Peter iii. 8, "Beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day," which seems to imply that there is no such thing as time with God. These are mysteries into which it behoves us to tread with reverent care and cautious hesitation, lest we should be guilty of presumption.

In the Egyptian classic, *The Book of the Master of the Secret House*, usually called *The Book of the Dead*, a soul is represented standing before Osiris, the Judge, and enumerating the sins of which he had not been guilty. "Among many other sins," he says, "I have shown no illegal curiosity." He thus declares that he had not presumptuously investigated the mysteries of the gods. The compilers of that document evidently recognized the duty of observing the limits within which religious inquiries should be confined. Penetrating divine mysteries out of mere curiosity was regarded as a sin. Thus St. Paul also, in Col. ii. 18, warns his readers against "intruding into those things which they

*Current theology does not depict "the Shades
life" as one of sleep.*

and the Resurrection.

5

had not seen." Therefore, in dealing with the Intermediate State, we may well take care that our studies do not lead us beyond the line which separates reverent from irreverent investigation. But St. Paul himself reassures us when he tells us, in 1 Thess. iv. 13, that he "would not have us ignorant concerning them that are asleep," encouraging us to advance with wary steps among the revealings of Holy Scripture when it teaches us what we may believe and expect in the Unseen World. Above all we must maintain a careful moderation of statement, if not a tone of uncertainty, when we strive, by the aid of the few and partial hints which the Bible affords us, to pierce the veil which hides the vast world of being beyond the grave.

When people came to our Lord Jesus, "the Word made flesh," they came to a touchstone which at once showed what manner of men they were. So when a man comes to the "Word written," he soon shows whether he comes to learn what God would teach, or to prop up, at all risks, his own preconceived opinions. Perhaps he takes an unworthy refuge from investigation in the common evasion that "nothing certain can be known on the subject." But if we adhere closely to the words selected by inspired men, in dealing with the subject, we shall find enough, not only to guide our own belief, but to correct the serious errors which have resulted from not doing so.

These pages are only addressed to those whose allegiance to the Holy Scriptures is real and absolute. They are not addressed to those who are committed to any form of Purgatory, or any of the prevalent ideas of "the larger hope." The writer believes there are many who, theoretically at least, submit to Scripture, who have nevertheless been accustomed to traditional views of their interpretation, and after "lifelong opinions" in one direction find almost insuperable difficulty in seeing any-

thing worth attending to in whatever diverges from them in any degree.

But he is not without hope of convincing those who are within the covenant of grace that serious error has followed on departing from the Scriptural word "sleep," as descriptive of our condition in the Intermediate State; and my object has been to induce Christian brethren to accept the expression by which the Intermediate State is invariably described in Scripture, and to concentrate their attention on the Resurrection, and the Resurrection alone. In attempting this task, I do not for a moment profess to have probed to the bottom all the many mysteries by which this matter is surrounded; but it is something to have shown how little there is in Scripture in defence of the popular view; and my reason for putting forth the matter in a magazine was the hope that I might draw forth from Christian brethren on the other side some valid argument, meeting my opinion full in the face. It has not been altogether in vain. Many letters on all sides of the question have reached me, but as yet, I must confess, nothing whatever invalidating my main contention, and the conviction has strengthened that there is nothing which can do so. But the last word has not yet been spoken on this subject. After a close and exhaustive examination of the Lord's sayings, Dr. Salmond, in his work on *Immortality*, has no hesitation in announcing that our Lord has delivered no doctrine of the Intermediate State. And surely, if He who had so much of infinite importance to tell us of the future, passes over that interval unnoticed, it suggests at least this, that that part of our existence is unconscious. It seems a pity that the example of the American revisers was not followed in their treatment of the words Sheol and Hades. At least, our revisers might have interpreted these words by "the unseen state." The words used in

(buried state)

*disembodied souls? The Supreme is not
Scriptural, but there is a total negative of the
and the Resurrection. too long to relate*

Scripture connote, not preliminary "torment" or "partial blessedness," but simply the unseen condition (of disembodied souls) The parable of Dives and Lazarus must, of course, be interpreted on the figurative principle of all parabolic instruction. A very little consideration of its terms must convince us that it cannot be interpreted literally. All who die pass into the unseen condition, and the words Hades and Sheol do not indicate a place, but a state of existence. *no the negative of the*

"Some see in the anxiety of Dives for his brethren the proof that suffering was doing its work in him and awaking the slumbering germ of good. With this view, were it the right one, would be connected his own ultimate restoration, and the whole doctrine of future suffering not being vindictive and eternal, but corrective and temporary—a doctrine which will always find favour with those who have no deep insight into the evil of sin, no earnest view of the task and responsibility of life, especially when, as too often, they are bribed to hold it by a personal interest, by a lurking consciousness that they themselves are not earnestly striving to enter at the strait gate, that their own standing in Christ is insecure or none. But the rich man's request grows out of another root. There lies in it a secret justifying of himself and accusing of God. What a bitter reproach against God is here invoked! If only *I* had been sufficiently warned, if only God had given me sufficiently clear evidence of these things, of the need of repentance, of this place as the goal of a worldly life, I had never come hither, but though I was not sufficiently warned, at least let my brethren be so." These words of Archbishop Trench are well worth the consideration of those who are caught by the glamour of the "larger hope." I would respectfully ask those public teachers who so confidently predict a second probation as necessary to meet the common case of those who leave the world unprepared, have they fairly

considered the effect of their doctrine? Are they not really demanding what is, in fact, another Gospel over and above that preached by Apostles and Evangelists? Have they a sufficient Scriptural authority for such a demand? or for condoning neglect and rejection of the one gracious offer which is now made to us in the Gospel? —Heb. x. 26-31—and I venture to ask are they not misleading the multitudes who will be only too glad to believe them? “If the blind lead the blind shall they not both fall into the ditch?”

I make no apologies for the brief and popular form of the expositions of those passages of Scripture which will be found in the following pages. The errors against which I contend have been put out in very popular forms adapted to non-theological readers. I have therefore striven to avoid all scholastic discussion and to present plain and easily understood explanations of texts, some of which have been burdened by “loads of learned lumber,” effectually warning off the unprofessional reader. My purpose will be attained if the few and feeble folk who still, in a noisy age, sit at the feet of Jesus and hear His Word, are established in the Faith and are assured that they may safely and simply “take Him at His Word.”

Ripple, *March 21st, 1904.*

NOTES ON THE INTERMEDIATE STATE, &c.

THERE are many Christian people who are not only anxious to obtain reliable information as to the intermediate state, but who are willing to accept, as the sole source of it, whatever may be proved from Holy Scripture about it.

What, then, is the actual condition of the soul in the interval between death and resurrection?

Most of the writers on this subject have had no hesitation in accepting the popular opinion, and notwithstanding the obscurity which belongs to a truth partially revealed, seem to entertain no doubt whatever of the soundness of their conclusions; but when the grounds on which their conclusions rest are carefully examined, it would seem that they are by no means adequate to sustain such large inferences as follow from them, or to justify such decided conclusions.

The generally accepted opinion is that, in the intermediate state, those who have departed this life in the faith of Christ enjoy a partial blessed-

ness, and exercise in varying degrees a useful activity, in the presence of Christ, to be perfected at the general Resurrection, when the body, raised from the grave, is to be made like unto the glorious body of Christ, invested with glory, honour, and immortality. Varieties of opinion on minor points exist among those who, in the main, would accept this definition of their hope. But the chief point of agreement between them all is the belief in the conscious and active condition of the disembodied soul during that period which, by some writers, is called the "Hades 'life," including, in the case of many, the consoling hope that imperfect Christians may during that time be purged of imperfection and prepared for the Beatific Vision of God in Heaven itself; and some of the more venturesome maintain that those who leave this world unsaved have another and more favourable chance in Hades.

It must be at once allowed that there is much in favour of this view. The sadly defective religious condition in which so many estimable persons die, though perhaps their lives may have been morally blameless, leads us naturally to hope that what is lacking may be supplied in the intermediate state, though we know they have never in this life accepted the offer of mercy through the Blood of a Divine Redeemer. It is comforting to think that such persons may be graciously prepared, after this life, by some merciful but unrevealed process, during the long years of the "Hades life," to sing the new

song of all the saved, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain," for He was slain for us.

There is, moreover, a deeper reason why this opinion finds many advocates. It is the instinctive action of the human mind itself. There is an almost insuperable difficulty, which all more or less experience, in conceiving the idea of continued existence apart from the conditions of time and space under which alone we know it here. This seems imperatively to demand a "Hades life" more or less like that we live on earth. Minds unused to abstract thought inevitably slip into the language of materialized conditions when thinking or speaking of the disembodied state. "The words Sheol" in the Old Testament and "Hades" in the New, meaning simply the "unseen," or "concealed;" are probably used in Scripture to hide what we could not understand had it been revealed. They mark the limits of revelation, and touch the line beyond which our present faculties cannot carry us.

The question is how far the popular opinion is supported by Holy Scripture. At once the advocate for it will quote St. Paul—"absent from the body, present with the Lord" (2 Cor. v. 8). But when the passage in which these words occur is examined, it is found that, so far from supporting the popular opinion, the Apostle here distinctly disclaims any desire for the intermediate state. "Our light affliction, which is for the moment, worketh for us more and more exceedingly an

eternal weight of glory ; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen : for the things which are seen are temporal ; but the things which are not seen are eternal. For 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. For in this we groan, longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven : if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened ; not for that we would be unclothed [or being burdened, in that we would not be unclothed], but that we would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life" (R.V.). Thus the only comfort St. Paul presents to us in tribulation is to be found in the Resurrection, as the exclusive object of the Christian's hope. The eternal house in the heavens not made with hands cannot refer to disembodied existence.

The only reference in this text to that existence is to disclaim any desire for it, and neither in this passage nor in any other, is that state presented to us as an object of desire, or a source of consolation. But if the notion of partial blessedness before the Resurrection were true, how could St. Paul have declared he did not wish for it? and how impossible it would be to explain his silence as to such blessedness had it been revealed to him. In the words "absent from the body, present with the

Lord," or, as R.V., "at home with the Lord," St. Paul speaks of two contrasted states of embodied existence—*i.e.*, "this body of flesh and blood in which we groan, being burdened," and that state for which a spiritual body is to be given to us at the Resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 38), liberated from infirmities and sins, but retaining that identity which belongs to each one of us as our recognizable personality.¹ But the intermediate state being a disembodied state, is passed over unnoticed, or noticed only to be disclaimed as an object of desire. The Apostle steps across the gap between the two conditions of which he treats as if the transition from this body to that were instantaneous. Had there been any pre-resurrection consolation, or any hope of supplying in that interval the defects of this life, this was the place to say so ; but so far from referring to any

¹ The ancient Egyptians, who thought much and profoundly on the future state, as their constant use of the scarabæus testifies, divided man into four parts—body, soul, intelligence, and *ka*. The *ka* seems to have been the personal identity or bodily appearance of the man, and the oath used by Joseph, "By the life of Pharaoh," should probably be "By the *ka* of Pharaoh," the most sacred thing in Egypt. This *ka* was represented by a model of the man, made with minute exactness in durable materials, and placed in his secret tomb, to be ready for his resurrection. Such a *ka* is the green diorite image of Cephren, builder of the second pyramid, quite a miracle of workmanship, and now placed, by what some think sacrilegious hands, in the Gizeh Museum. The Sheyk el Beled is another instance, in wood, in a lower rank of life, of the *ka* of a sturdy agriculturist.

such hope, this passage is found, when closely examined, to tell against it.

The parallel passage (Phil. i. 23), "having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better," falls under the same category. To "depart" is to be "absent from the body," to be with Christ is to be raised with Him; and if, as we have seen, the Apostle in the former place disclaims the intermediate condition, we must understand that disclaimer here, as no contradiction can be supposed between these two parallel statements. To St. Paul his departure would be instantaneous glory with no conscious interval. Here, as everywhere else, his mind passes across the interval unnoticed, and he speaks to the Philippians in the language of his waking consciousness, with no reference to his sleeping in the disembodied state, which would probably have been unintelligible to them.

We observe the same reticence as to the intermediate state in that passage in which our Lord establishes from the Old Testament the doctrine of the Resurrection—St. Luke xx. 37, 38: "that the dead are raised, even Moses showed in the place concerning the bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Now He is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live unto Him" (R.V.). Continuous life of some sort is implied here; but, without noticing that period during which there is no bodily life, the Lord proves the resurrection—

i.e., the fully restored life of "body, soul, and spirit"—by the use of the present tense. He says God is the God of the living, which they are and must become, or He would not be their God. In order to this they must rise; therefore, there must be a resurrection. "Master, thou hast well said," was the comment of the Scribes, who accepted the argument as conclusive.

Thus in 1 John iii. 2, "Beloved now are we children of God, and it is not yet made manifest what we shall be. We know that when He shall be manifested, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him even as He is; and every one that hath this hope set on Him purifieth himself, even as He is pure" (R. V.). We look in vain for any reference, however oblique, to the intermediate state in this passage, where, if the common view is correct, we should certainly expect to find it. Assimilation to the likeness of the Lord is presented to us as the result of personal intercourse with Him; but there was to be no realization of this till the time when He should "appear the second time, without sin unto salvation," at the Resurrection. St. John evidently did not expect to see Him in the intermediate state, or at any time before his own resurrection. And it was this hope, and not the hope of any intercourse in the period of "partial blessedness" that purifies.

So in 1 Thess. iv. 13-18, where the object of the Apostle is to console the bereaved, we find St. Paul pointing believers on beyond the intermediate

state, to which he makes no reference whatever, where, if true, his object would have demanded it. "I would not have you ignorant," he says, "concerning them that fall asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as the rest, which have no hope; for if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also that are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. For this we say unto you by the Word of the Lord, that we that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in nowise precede them that are fallen asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words" (R.V.). Can we reasonably suppose that had there been a conscious partial blessedness in the intermediate state (full, as is represented, of recognitions and preparations for the more blessed future) that St. Paul could in such a place as this have passed it over absolutely unnoticed? For I suppose no one would contend that this passage has any reference whatever to the "Hades life"; but where, if not here, could we look for it? Surely such unvarying silence is significant, and should give pause to those who think there is no doubt about the truth of the prevailing opinion.

Job xix. 26 stands thus in the Revised Version : "After my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another." The alternative reading of the margin, "without my flesh," seems excluded by the reference to his bodily eyes ; so that by the text of the R.V. the writer of this most ancient book expects to see God in the body after his painful flesh in which he then lay had been destroyed—excluding, therefore, the disembodied state. And why excluded ? Because the entire man—body, soul, and spirit—is necessary to all conscious action of thought, speech, or vision ; and a man cannot be said to be alive, in the fullest sense, unless he be possessed of all the component parts of his nature, though we learn that his spirit may "sleep in Jesus" when apart from his soul and body ; for "the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it" (Eccles. xii. 7).

When we come to the *locus classicus* on the subject of the resurrection—*i.e.*, 1 Cor. xv.—we find that a future state of conscious blessedness was undoubtingly believed by those to whom he wrote ; but it would seem they erred, as many do now, in looking for it before the resurrection. "If the dead rise not," he says, then "those fallen asleep in Christ have perished" (verse 18). So there was for them no "partial felicity," and no felicity at all except in and by resurrection, when their felicity would be complete. Thus in the

order of the future events given in verses 23, 24 it is "Christ the first-fruits, then" (with no noticeable intermission) "they that are Christ's at His coming." Then cometh "the end." All the Apostle's hope of recompense for his toils and trials and temporal sufferings was solely at the resurrection. This is indisputable, whatever reasons we may suppose for the fact. The "Hades life" is absolutely ignored all through this crucial passage, and the same must be said of Rom. viii. 19-25, where our future hope is so fully described. Present suffering is placed in direct contrast with future glory, with no hint of a middle condition of any kind; and what we, with a groaning creation, are said to wait for, is not a disembodied blessedness, but the final act of redemptive power—the restoration of bodily existence by the gift of a new spiritual body at the instantaneous change (1 Cor. xv. 52), by which, without loss of identity, we shall be made like Him whom we have loved. How St. Paul could have overlooked the partial blessedness and perfecting process of the "Hades life," had such an important stage or step to glory existed, is inexplicable.

Take as another instance 2 Tim. iv. 6-8. I am aware that some great German scholars think St. Paul was mistaken; but whether he was or not, it is abundantly clear that he looked for nothing till the Lord's coming, when he was to receive the crown of righteousness, "which," he says, "the Lord, the Righteous Judge, shall give me in that

day, and not to me only, but to all them that have loved His appearing." All mention of the disembodied state is studiously excluded from his anticipations, which is unaccountable if he knew that he would retain his consciousness and be actively employed during that long period, and in the enjoyment of his Master's presence in that section of Hades (as is imagined) prepared for saints and called "Abraham's bosom."

So the Psalmist teaches us to look from this life directly on to the resurrection (Ps. xvii. 15): "I will behold Thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied," he says, "when I awake in Thy likeness." He looks forward to the sleep of death, and on beyond it, not to any disembodied waking, but to perfect satisfaction when he wakes from that sleep in the likeness of his Saviour. All the mystery of a life preserved in Hades, though not in full possession of living powers, is invariably all through the Bible hidden under that term "sleep," and what is healthy sleep but life maintained unconsciously? Dreamless sleep is absolutely unconscious. Can we, therefore, rationally crowd into that expression all the imaginary activities of purgatorial preparation for judgment, together with all the half-happy, half-regretful, intercourse with each other and the Lord, which has been enlarged upon, poetically and unpoetically, by those who have turned the "sleep in Jesus," which is promised us, into a period of unsatisfied longing and eager anxiety in the "Hades life"?

Had these fancies any solid ground in Scripture, the Psalmist must have said, "I shall be satisfied when I fall asleep," for he would then have been consciously present with the Lord, which is the source of all satisfaction.

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to have been of the same opinion with St. John and St. Paul in this matter. He says (xi. 39, 40): "These all, having had witness borne to them (R.V.) through their faith, received not the promise" (that is, the full accomplishment of the purpose of God in gathering in the last of the elect before all were glorified); "they were tortured, not accepting deliverance that they might obtain a better resurrection"; so that it is evident they had no hope of any comparative bliss before that event. For if Christian souls at death at once enter on partial bliss in the presence of their Redeemer, what place is there, in their case, either for a resurrection to life or for a day of judgment at all, either that of the *βῆμα* (2 Cor. v. 10) for reward of service, or of the Great White Throne (Rev. xx. 11) for the rest of men? But in 2 Tim. iv. 1 we read of "the day when the Lord Jesus shall judge the quick and the dead, at His appearing in His Kingdom." If each person is judged at death, and then at once ushered either into a half-happy life with Lazarus, or the torments of Dives, what can be understood by this Judgment Day?

Abraham is said to have "looked" on from his tent life, "for a city that hath foundations, whose

builder and maker is God." Only by resurrection can he realize this promise, which has never yet received its fulfilment! The statement may be safely hazarded that never, in any case, is Death represented as the time of Judgment, but a future day, when all accounts shall be wound up; and the intermediate state is significantly left out of consideration as a time when men are "out of the body." Ps. vi. 5: "For in death there is no remembrance of Thee: in Sheol who shall give Thee thanks?" implies that there should be no active worship in Sheol or Hades, or till the final deliverance at the resurrection. So in Ps. xxx. 9: "What profit is there in my blood when I go down to the pit [grave]? Shall the dust praise Thee? shall it declare Thy truth?" And in Ps. lxxxviii. 10: "Wilt Thou show wonders to the dead? shall the dead arise and praise Thee? Shall Thy loving-kindness be declared in the grave, or Thy faithfulness in destruction? (Abaddon, Job vi. 6). Shall Thy wonders be known in the dark, and Thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?" If those in Sheol are consciously and actively present with the Lord, this language could not be applied to them by any stretch of accommodation. The description of the intermediate state here given, as "the dark," "the land of forgetfulness," and "destruction," is very different from, and, I venture to say, quite incompatible with, the popular notion. So in Ps. civ. 33, "I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live: I will sing praises to my God while

I have my being," implies that he would cease to do so as soon as he was dead, during the intermediate period. All his hopes of doing so were, as the following verses prove, connected, not with a disembodied state, but with resurrection. Then Ps. cxv. 18: "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence," could hardly state the case more clearly. "Silence" agrees with all other inspired representations of that condition. So of man he says (Ps cxlvi. 4): "His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish." I have never met with any attempt to square these distinct denials of intermediate consciousness with the usual opinion on the subject, to which they seem to be in direct opposition, as is also the statement of Eccles. ix. 5: "The dead know not anything"; or, verse 10: "There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest"; and with Ps. civ. 29: "Thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust. Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created; Thou renewest the face of the earth."—referring, we may suppose, to the resurrection, which in one sense is a physical re-creation. In Isa. xxxviii. 18, 19: "The grave cannot praise Thee, Death cannot celebrate Thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope for Thy truth. The living, the living, he shall praise Thee as I do this day."

Passages like this cannot be ignored, or treated

by the reverent student of God's word as mere poetical hyperbole; nor, on the other hand, should they be pressed beyond their intention.

But when we come to consider those Scriptures which are alleged in favour of intermediate consciousness, we find the weakness of the case when such an acted parable of glory as the Transfiguration is forced into the service; as if the actors in that "vision" were disembodied souls! The plain purpose of the "vision" was to prefigure the day of restitution, when such bodies as appeared to the three witnesses would be given to Moses and Elias—if, indeed, they were not temporarily given them for that special appearance. No one doubts that Moses and Elias were there embodied, whether temporarily or only in appearance; they were shown as what they shall be "in glory" (which absolutely excludes the silent darkness of the intermediate state). Our Lord Himself was "metamorphosed" so as to represent Him in the form He will assume when He "comes in His kingdom," or when "the Kingdom of God comes with power," as St. Mark phrases it. That kingdom is to be established, as we all agree, when He returns to earth and calls up His people to meet Him, to return with Him. Mistake here is impossible. For if Moses and Elias were embodied, what has their appearance (whether real or only visionary) to do with the condition of disembodied souls? They no doubt represented the two classes of which St. Paul speaks—those that are to be raised,

and those that are alive and are left till the coming of the Lord.

I suppose no text is more frequently used to prove the popular notion than the words of our Lord on the cross to the penitent malefactor. A great deal of ingenuity has been expended in attempts to show that paradise meant the intermediate state. But it can hardly be disputed that paradise was a figurative phrase uniformly but perhaps, vaguely, used by Jews for future happiness and glory, as Sheol and Hades were for the silence of the unseen condition—a condition, be it remembered, from which even our Lord desired deliverance: “My flesh shall rest in hope *for* Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades,” which to our Lord was more a state for aversion than for hope or happiness. It is hardly conceivable that the Lord would have turned away the mind of the poor sufferer from the glories of the kingdom in which he prayed that he might be remembered, to expect relief amid the gloomy shades of Sheol! If good people would but consider what was the prayer to which our Lord’s words were the gracious reply, mistake would be less easy. “Lord, remember me when Thou comest in (or into) Thy kingdom”—*i.e.*, when “He shall come in the glory of His Father and the holy angels.” The “Hades life,” of which so much is made, was wholly omitted, both in the petition and in the reply which granted it. Had that petition been to be remembered in Hades, his reference to “the

kingdom " would have been irrelevant. The robber asked for a place in that glorious kingdom, which will not be set up till the resurrection, which clearly he anticipated, and his prayer was granted in terms which convinced that dying man that, to his consciousness, his entrance on it would be not far off, but immediate—"To-day," &c. If the man had heard any of the prevalent Jewish fancies about the "Hades life," he utterly ignores them in his pathetic prayer; and the Lord, in replying to him and granting that prayer, does the same, using, as ever, not abstract language, but that of the man's apprehension. To anyone whose mind is not warped by such Jewish fancies our Lord's reply is a clear indication that between the cross of shame and the crown of glory there was no conscious interval whatever.

Of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, it is enough to say that it is a parable; and, as Trench insists, parables must not be used for other than their proper purposes. To suppose that these two characters were real men is to abuse the parabolic method of conveying instruction. But it would be easy to point to the tongue of Dives to prove he was in the body, and therefore not disembodied, and therefore not in the condition inferred. He is said to be "in torment"; but the idea of a separate division in Hades for such as he, is, of course, unauthorized assumption. The parable draws a striking contrast between a future state in torment and a future state in peace, Hades

answering to the one and "Abraham's bosom" to the other, when hereafter the earthly conditions of the two are reversed. No more than this can be got out of it, as it is not intended to teach anything more than this.

The confessedly figurative language of Rev. vi. 9, 10, which some advocates have tried to press into the question, is open to the same objection. "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God," &c. This confessedly refers to events yet future, and throws no light upon the present or past condition of disembodied souls; and the highly figurative language of the whole passage is such that no careful expositor would attempt to prove from it such an important and questionable doctrine as that of intermediate consciousness.

Heb. xii. 22-24 is a beautiful description of what is also chiefly future: "Ye are come unto Mount Zion and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the first-born, who are enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better than that of Abel." All, mostly future; but as the purpose of God is as sure as if it were fulfilled, they are here spoken of as if they had already obtained the inheritance reserved for them, as, *e.g.*, in Isa. liii., the past tense is used

for far future events. But what possible help is here for the notion of intermediate consciousness? This is a grand resurrection scene; and the "just men made perfect" are justified men whose perfection is "made" by oneness with the only Perfect One, and not arrived at by the slow strivings of sin-laden souls in the "Hades life," though, indeed, by such a process it could never be arrived at at all. Relative perfection is all we can ever attain. Of course, absolute perfection belongs only to God.

We come now to the passages 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19 and iv. 6, which have by some been considered to prove the conscious activity of the intermediate state, *i.e.*, the supposed visit of our Lord to spirits in prison during that period, and His offer to them of those terms of salvation which they had refused in life. From among the several interpretations of these passages which have been suggested, the simplest and most obvious is that to which fewest objections can be made, and which can claim the support of such names as Bishops Hall and Pearson, and Archbishops Secker and Whately. By these and other authorities the preaching was not addressed to dead, but to living, souls—namely, those on whom Noah, in the spirit of Christ, urged in vain repentance and faith, and whose "disobedience"—*i.e.*, unbelief—was the cause of their death and incarceration. They are now dead, and their spirits in prison, but were alive when the ~~pre-incarnate~~ Christ, through Noah, preached to

them all the time the Ark was preparing. So in iv. 6 the dead are those now dead, but who were living when preached to.

It may be asked, What, then, became of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus during the interval between His Death and Resurrection? He has Himself supplied the answer: "Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit." Beyond this we cannot go. But to suppose that during those thirty-six or forty hours He set up in Hades what is substantially a duplicate economy of grace (continuing from Noah's time on to the end) which is to effect the salvation of men who failed in their earthly probation—and all this vast hypothesis based chiefly upon a single disputed passage—is an astounding assumption, probably without a parallel in the history of theological speculation.* There is no proof whatever that spirits when in Hades were the subjects of this preaching; but, on the contrary, insuperable difficulties belong to the theory, on which, nevertheless, this towering fabric of perilous inference has been built up. But the passages are confessedly obscure, and have been for centuries disputed. Dr. Salmond, in the fourth edition of his *Immortality*, Dr. Wright, in his *Biblical Essays*, Dr. Morris and others, have carefully examined the evidence, and arrived at the

* See *Is there Salvation after Death?* by Dr. Morris Lane, Theological Seminary. See also Bishop Law, of Carlisle, *Considerations*, edited by his son, Bishop of Chester, 1730, strongly advocating the sleep of the Intermediate State.

conclusion briefly here given as presenting fewer difficulties than any other.

Dealing solely with the disembodied state, I need not go at length into the curious case of Samuel, raised, at least in vision, by the Witch of Endor; or into the mysterious glimpse of the saints who rose immediately after Christ's resurrection; or into other instances of persons who were raised, and their bodies revived by the power of Christ, or those who acted in His name. For not one of these cases supports intermediate consciousness, but the reverse. If Lazarus, for instance, had been actively conscious during those four days in Hades, some reliable hint of what was done there would have crept through to us. But if he was, as the Lord said he was, "asleep," of course he would know nothing and could tell nothing; and so of the others.

With collateral speculations, metaphysical or philosophical, the main issue is only indirectly concerned. The question is, Does the Bible, fairly interpreted, sanction intermediate consciousness? and the only answer to that question I have been able to find there is that it does not. I have no quarrel with those who think there is sufficient evidence for it, in some of those passages to which I have referred. But taking the whole scope of revelation, and weighing the plain statements which categorically deny it, against the obscure passages which have been supposed to imply it, I cannot come to any other conclusion; and I have

270
—
Kis
—

delivered my soul by laying before the Christian Church the result of many years of thought and investigation. I do not suppose that warm-hearted Christians, who have been all their lives taught otherwise, and have long been accustomed to think of their departed relatives as consciously waiting for them in Hades, and perhaps interceding for them, will readily yield this sacred feeling to the cold arguments of the understanding. This would, perhaps, be more than we have right to demand. Still, truth does ultimately prevail, and there will always be some who have learnt to keep their imagination in subordination to their reason, and to regard with suspicion a cause which is supported less by Scriptural exegesis than by sensational stories and rhetorical appeals. Nothing of value is gained by calling sleep "torpor," or by refusing to attempt to grasp that condition of which sleep is the divinely inspired emblem. And those of us who cannot accept the modern theory of "salvation after death," and "pre-resurrection," are not, therefore, hard and unfeeling. We believe "the Judge of all the earth will do right," and we doubt not will save all who can possibly be saved, including not only myriads of infants, but probably myriads of heathen and quasi-heathen, who have had no real opportunity of accepting salvation in this life, acting on the principle revealed in Rom. ii. 12.

The main reason why it is vitally important to get clear of prevailing mistakes, if they are

mistakes, on this subject, is the bearing of it on the central truth of Christianity. If conscious activity exists in the intermediate state, irrespective of the resurrection, the linchpin of our faith is knocked out, and the enemies of Christianity will have little difficulty in proving that there is no necessity for a still future resurrection. But if the Scriptures not only exclude the idea of partial happiness till the resurrection, but inculcate the contrary, then indeed the enemy will not prevail against it. If at death the destiny of each soul is adjudged, and reward and penalty awarded, then the day of judgment is so far forth anticipated by the decisions of what is styled the "Hades life."

I am well aware of the difficulty which many minds feel in grasping the thought of unconscious existence. On this difficulty the whole of the perilous theories of the "Hades life" and its possibilities are built up. But the full significance of the Scriptural expression "sleep," once accepted in its simple and obvious meaning, all difficulty vanishes. That word occurs about twenty times as the inspired description of the state of the soul between death and resurrection; and when the serious and inevitable errors which follow the acceptance of the popular opinion that sleep is not sleep as we know it, are considered, and the danger to the resurrection by the pre-resurrection hope is realized, some much stronger proof is required than can be found in the disputed interpretation of an obscure allusion by St. Peter,

4405

set against a long series of passages, directly or indirectly opposed to it.

If the passages supposed to imply the activity of the soul in the intermediate state are capable of a scholarly and reasonable interpretation in an opposite sense, surely ordinary caution would hesitate to adopt a questionable exegesis as the foundation for doctrines which undermine the necessity for believing the Gospel in this life; which put off the great work of salvation into the concealed future, and which teach the virtual resurrection of the soul before the appointed day of the Lord. For these errors, and nothing less than these, are the consequences of the modern theory of the "Hades life," as any study of the popular advocates of consciousness in that life will show.

The peril of this teaching is obvious, remembering the multitudes who desire to put off decision. If a man may hope for an opportunity of seeking salvation in the intermediate state, why should he listen to all the exhortations of prophets and apostles who have declared that this is the time to seek the Lord?—*e.g.*, Isaiah: "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call upon Him while He is near: let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts," &c. If a second probation is to be afforded, the foolish virgins need not be alarmed if the door is shut now, for it will open again in Hades. If there is to be a long period hereafter when men may turn

to God with that repentance and faith which they have refused here, then our Lord must have exaggerated the danger of final exclusion by saying: "When once the Master of the house has risen up," &c.; and, "Agree with thine adversary quickly," &c. St. Paul must have been quite mistaken in declaring with so much emphasis, "Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation," begging his readers to consider how impossible would be escape if they neglected so great salvation.

Then, too, our Lord's words in John v. 28—
"The hour is coming when all that are in their graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgment"—would be emptied of meaning. The invention of the theory of disembodied consciousness in the fifteenth century¹ has introduced the serious errors to which I have referred, but which receive their death-blow as soon as the view is realized, for which Archbishop Whately argued so forcibly, but which some have so much difficulty in apprehending—*i.e.*, the instantaneousness of the passage from death to resurrection. But "it is appointed" ("laid up," R.V.) "to man once to die, and after that" (with no conscious interval) "the judgment" (Heb.

¹ As far as I can learn, this theory was first made an article of faith by the Council of Florence in 1478. Whately's essay was published in 1832.

ix. 27); and in all Scripture the judgment follows or accompanies the resurrection, never precedes it.

The illustration of the resurrection used by our Lord (John xii. 24), and expanded by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 36), is the germination of the corn of wheat. As far as I know, neither Greeks nor Egyptians used any other than entomological illustrations of it. The Greeks portrayed the butterfly on tombs to declare thereby their assurance of a bright hereafter, and the Egyptians the beetle. The Lord draws His illustration only from the vegetable world, possibly because pagan thinkers had mingled much error with their analogies. Recent botanical research has informed us how wonderful the germination of the wheat-corn is, and how instructive is this illustration. For the corn of wheat does die in a very real sense on beginning to germinate in the ground, though the germ of life (or embryo) lives through that death of all other contents of the grain. Sir George King refers me to Anton von Marilaun (edited and translated by F. Oliver Quain, Professor of Botany, London) who gives useful Illustrations (Vol. II., pp. 439 and 607 *et al.*) of the marvellous process through which each grain passes in the death of the original corn and the resurrection of the new plant from the undying germ, feeding, till it reaches the soil, on the carefully reserved store of food enclosed in the silicious husk, which will be found empty by the time the new shoot is able to find food in earth and air for its own support.

See article of mine
"Soul state in 1000-1100" and the Resurrection.

Just as the undying germ of life in each soul is kept alive, though dormant, by the power of Him who gave it life and keeps it ("sleeping in Jesus" is the Apostle's term) till the appointed time arrives to restore it to the full life of consciousness. The corn must "die," and the chemical change which it passes through helps to preserve the dormant germ till the right moment, when, like the soul, it awakes to new life. May we not fairly infer that as the germ of the corn-grain lies in a dormant state, through these transformations, so the germ of human life does the same? We must be careful not to press too far the analogy between the animate and the inanimate. At any rate, a dormant life is implied, and though the grain as a whole dies, something which eludes the most powerful lenses of our microscopes lives. Out of this the new life rises; or on it is super-induced. Regarded as the dissolution of body, soul, and spirit, death occurs to us. Regarded as the divinely sustained germ, life remains. Where? The only reply to that question must be this: "In Him who is the life of all that lives."

sleeping

XX

SAN REMO,

March 1st, 1903

No. in the death
The Turk - Dan 12:2

The negative
to positive

Yes - Hope is hid
with Christ in God

REPLIES TO CERTAIN CRITICISMS.

IN reply to the remarks of critics upon this article. I cannot complain of my kind and courteous commentators least of all of those who have frankly conceded the most important part of what I contend for when they allow that my "reasoning is fatal to the Romish doctrine of purgatory, and to the possibility of repentance and conversion in the Intermediate State." It may probably have occurred to them that if it is fatal to these errors, it is fatal to much more—the invocation of saints, prayers for the dead and to the dead, and all that mass of hazy sentiment which is grounded on the doctrine of intermediate consciousness, including the various forms of "spiritism," necrology, demonology, soothsaying, and divination by the aid—real or pretended—of the spirits of the dead. All this latter-day rubbish goes by the board when once it is clearly seen that there is no ground in Scripture for believing that the spirits of good men, while separated from their bodies, have any such capacities as is implied in these dangerous intrusions into the unseen world. For let it be once granted that instead of Scriptural "sleep" there is to be a "Hades life" of conscious activity, and it becomes difficult, or perhaps impossible, to refuse to believe in moral and spiritual progress

during that life; and when that is granted we must go on to agree to all the discipline, however painful, which is necessary to progress, in the case of those who leave this world in that state of imperfection which is supposed to require it. And what is this but purgatory, needing only a few touches of mediævalism to bring it into line with all the repudiated horrors of the days of Dante and Aquinas, with all the scandals resulting from its pecuniary profit? How soon the modest and tentative suggestions of Augustine deepened into the dogma formulated by the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent we all know; and how utterly unavailing are the disclaimers of purgatory on the part of modern advocates of intermediate improvement needs little proof. The ineffectual protest made the other day against the introduction into our own cathedral of the purgatorial poem of Gerontius by Cardinal Newman would afford an illustration, if one were wanting, of where we are drifting.

I observe that one critic suggests a doubt as to whether or not the Transfiguration was a "real appearance" or a "mere vision," and on the assumption that it was a "real appearance" he proceeds to say it "surely teaches an Intermediate State of conscious activity." But can there be any doubt that it was a vision? Has he forgotten our Lord's words, "Tell the vision to no one," &c.? And so what the vision surely teaches is what those two men, and all those whom they repre-

sented, will be "in glory"; and to be "in glory," as they were represented in the vision, is to be past resurrection. So here, again, as everywhere else, the Intermediate State is ignored.

Then, he objects to the use of the Old Testament, quotations from which he thinks "beside the mark," adding that "many consider that few, if any, Old Testament saints had a sure hope of eternal life." This opens up a large question, to which it would be impossible to do justice here. Warburton's hypothesis is probably well known to most readers; but, not to go further into it, I may remind him that at least David seemed to enjoy a fair prospect of eternal life when he said: "In Thy presence is fulness of joy; at Thy right hand there are pleasures for ever more." There is at least this modicum of truth in this rather sweeping denial of the value of Old Testament indications as to the future life: that the teaching of the Old Testament is germinal and rudimentary, given as men were able to receive it; for, as my critic is kind enough to remind us, a progressive revelation is implied in Heb. i. 1. Without the light cast back upon it from the clearer revelation of the New Testament, we could not gather from the Old Testament much definite information. But I humbly submit that, used as I have used it, it has its value by showing clearly enough that the inspired writers give no countenance to the notion of consciousness of the Intermediate State.

In commenting on my notice of the words of our

Lord to the penitent malefactor, my critic asks if I mean that "to-day" the Lord would be in glory; and then, after assuming that such is my opinion, he kindly tells me that "the Apostles' Creed implies He was in Hades," and assures us that he adheres to that view—as if I denied it! Probably he did not observe that I have carefully explained the sense in which the word "to-day" must be understood. Our Lord spoke in accordance with the poor man's consciousness; and to his consciousness there would be no interval between his death and "the kingdom" in which he prayed to be remembered. It is as if the Lord had said: "You pray to be remembered in My coming kingdom. Yes, you shall be, and to your consciousness you shall be there with Me this very day." As always, so here, our Lord ignores the Hades interval; and, looking on to the day of the kingdom, He promises the sufferer all, and more than all, he prayed for.

As to the invariable use of the figure of "sleep" to represent death in Scripture, my critic tells me that "sleep is not the same thing as unconsciousness," reminding me that it has its dreams. He quotes the words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Hamlet about the disturbed sleep of one whose conscience is ill at ease, as if that was the sort of sleep we are to understand by the Scriptural expression. But when we Christians accommodate to our use the consoling words of the Psalmist (Ps. cxxvii. 2), "So He giveth His

beloved sleep" (or "in sleep"), we do not think of the troubled sleep of the murderer, but of the calm, restful sleep—"balmy sleep, kind Nature's sweet restorer"—of the man who is at peace with God and man. Such sleep is "the same thing as unconsciousness," so far as the lapse of time is concerned. Dreams are said to be merely the partial action of sections of the brain immediately before awaking; but this is surely not the sleep into which the Bible tells us we shall fall when we die. Some "light sleepers" can awake at will at a given time; but such sleep is not restful or usual. For most of us the lapse of time is absolutely unnoticed; and if in health, from the moment we fall asleep we are quite unconscious of it; and surely, when our Lord uses sleep as the emblem of death ("our friend Lazarus sleepeth," &c.), He implies not only that the sleeper will awake, but that, though alive, he is temporarily unconscious—a sweet thought, and full of tranquil happiness. For what sort of happiness would it be if those we have lost could see and take an interest in all we have done and said since their departure? What of all the horrid blunders, failures, and sins, which the best of us must feel conscious of if we look fairly and closely at our lives? How thankful must we be to remember that "sleep" is the divinely selected word to describe their state, and that there is only One, our great High Priest in heaven, who knows all, and yet loves us and bears with us to the end.

If believers are to be made happy in the Intermediate State, and unbelievers miserable, and each apportioned their respective places in that condition, a preliminary judgment is implied before the general judgment; but this idea has no warrant in Holy Scripture, and must be rejected by all who do really abide by its revelations.

One of my most valued correspondents has taken exception to my statement that Heb. xii. 22, 24 is future. But, after most careful reconsideration, all I can say is that the passage has no note of time, and though some of the items are matters of present experience, others are future. "The firstborn enrolled in heaven," for instance, are not yet all born, others not yet born again; nor is the heavenly Jerusalem manifested; nor is God yet revealed as the Judge of all, though the spirits of justified men are complete in Christ (Col. ii. 10, iv. 12) even now, and in that sense "made perfect."

One critic thinks I "evade" the parable of Dives and Lazarus. This is strange, when I have devoted no less than fifteen lines to its exposition. But I may add to what I said in my article that I do not see how it can be used with convincing effect on either side of this controversy, though the main purpose and teaching of the parable, to which I previously referred, is plain enough. But why my worthy critic should suppose I think "Paradise" is synonymous with "Sheol" is not obvious, as I have taken all the care I could

to show that I think the exact opposite. "Paradise" is only met with in the New Testament three times, and though early Christian writers have by a misconception of this parable inferred that it was equivalent to Hades, and divided it into two compartments (making one of them into a painful purgatory), they have done so without a shred of authority from Scripture. The Jews, with equal lack of inspired authority, divided it into seven, as Dr. Wright tells us. Later Christians, following the lead of Milton, have gone further, and indulged in poetical fancies, which are perilously near incurring the penalties denounced in Rev. xxi. 19 against those who shall presume to add to the words of God. In the passages of the New Testament where alone the word "Paradise" is mentioned it is equivalent to the abode of the blessed. St. Paul uses it as synonymous with the Third Heaven (2 Cor. xii. 4), which surely cannot mean purgatory. And in Rev. ii. 7, the only other place, it is said, "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God." But the tight corner in which the commentators, ancient and modern, found themselves, the difficulty—in fact, impossibility—which they had in reconciling this with the ordinary view of the parable, obliged them to give the word in our Lord's mouth a new and quite original meaning. Unable to grasp the thought that our Lord ignored the Intermediate State, and taught His

new disciple to look on beyond it to the true kingdom, they have been obliged to suppose that Paradise is only another word for Hades. Having reached that point, they were confronted with another difficulty. Dives was in torment, Lazarus in bliss; a great gulf divided them for ever! The inference was inevitable. Two compartments must be supposed for the two classes represented by these two characters. It was a mere detail that there is not a particle of Scriptural evidence for it. There was no other way of reconciling the parable as they understood it with prevailing opinion. So all the way down from Tertullian to Dr. Littledale a stream of erroneous comment has misled the Church, and we hear once more of the "portion of Hades enjoyed by the blessed," and are referred to Smith's Dictionary and the Rabbinic School as his authority! The Rabbinic School, it appears, regarded Hades as "a region of rest in the heart of the earth—the intermediate home of the blessed." With due respect to the Dictionary of the Bible, but none whatever for the Rabbinic School, I venture once more to remind my readers that the sole and only authority on the future life is the Holy Scripture fairly interpreted. Come what may, let us stick to that. There we are safe.

It is far easier to tie a knot in a tangle than to pick it out. And it is easier "to darken counsel by words without knowledge" than to make clear to reluctant minds a difficult subject. But if

I may be permitted to refer for a moment to other and more acute critics (to several of whom I desire to render my grateful thanks), I would observe that the chief stumbling-block would seem to be the difficulty of getting rid of the idea of time in the Intermediate State. But this was probably the reason why sleep was used as the proper emblem of it. Time, which Hooker defines as "the measure of the motion of the heavens," is essentially a condition of this life, and cannot be predicated of the next without involving insuperable difficulties. What, *e.g.*, can we think of those who for thousands of years have been in the unseen world, if they have all through these centuries been conscious, and marking with longing expectation the lapse of ages? The Bible speaks of them as asleep. "No, we say they have been wide awake all the time." But, on the other hand, if we regard sleep as unconscious, then all together they will rise at "our gathering together" unto Him. If it were merely an intellectual knot, I should not care to spend time at the fag-end of my life to untie it. But it is a practical question intimately mixed up with our hopes and expectations. Terrible evils are impending over the Church. I have referred to some of them. Others cannot be laid open here. A flood of error is sweeping over us. Surely the time has come when all that can be said to arrest it should be said now. Feebly, but not, I hope, falsely, I have said my say. Soon, very soon for

one like me, nearing fourscore, we must enter on that future life of which I have long been thinking. Then I know what it will be. At rest from this body of infirmity and sin. At home with the Lord in a new body of glorified humanity which He shall give, for He giveth us a body as it pleases Him (1 Cor. xv. 38).

ON THE SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By the Rev. FRANCIS GELL, M.A., Rector of Ripple, Hon. Canon of Worcester Cathedral, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Worcester. Taken by permission from the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, July, 1901.

WE are witnessing a recrudescence of the old controversy as to the real site of Golgotha, and we shall, perhaps, be told that it is a sign of the decay of faith. It has been remarked that, as true faith in the Divine person of the Lord Jesus ebbed and flowed, the ebb has always been marked by an almost feverish desire to find, what will probably never be found in our time, the exact spot where the greatest crime man ever committed was perpetrated, and the greatest deliverance man ever experienced was accomplished.

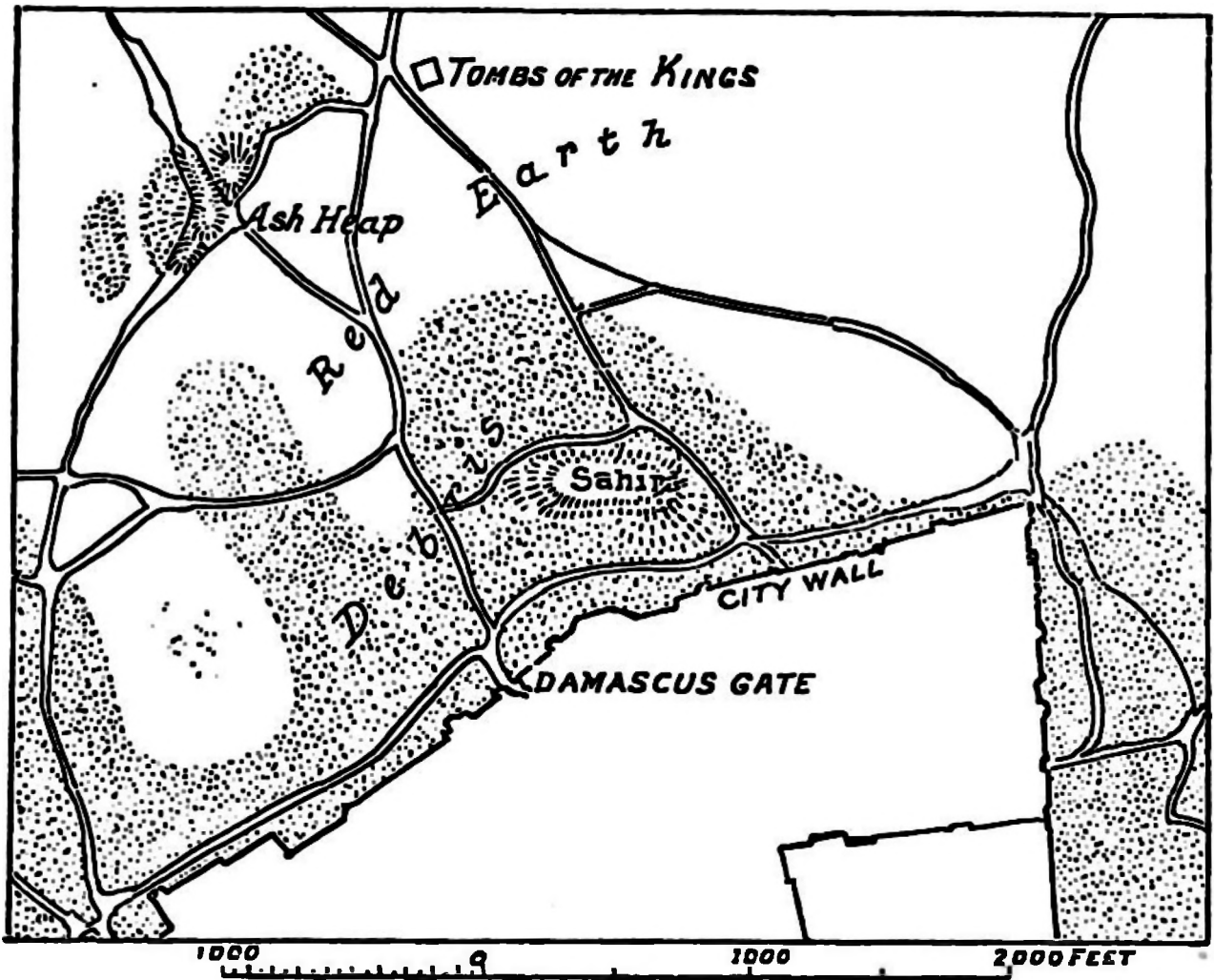
Of late years the saintly eminence of Gordon, backed by the topical knowledge of Conder, has given currency to a theory which has a certain sort of plausibility. On the other hand, the revived ecclesiasticism of the day has contended against it with some ingenuity, and polished up the old arguments for the traditional site, which has at least the advantage of ancient prescription in its favour, if it has nothing else.

Otto Thenius, in 1849, was, I believe, the first to suggest that the striking mound just outside the Damascus Gate was the true place of the Crucifixion; and Gordon, holiest of soldiers, who was, unfortunately, neither an Orientalist nor a topographer, adopted this theory. Like the sweet singer who composed those tripping verses, sung by every

English child the world over, "There is a green hill far away, outside a city wall," he fell into the venerable blunder of supposing that Calvary was a hill; and the children who sang that simple ditty grew up to believe that it must be a hill just outside the existing city wall; and have thus been prepared to accept with acclamation from a Christian hero and a diligent and learned explorer, what I venture to call the Gordon myth. We hear of large subscriptions paid down to keep the favoured spot from desecration, and of fervent believers who are prepared to pay three or four times its value to become its possessors. If those ladies and gentlemen have actually parted with their money, I can scarcely hope to convince them of the improbability of their theory; but having given nearly two months to the careful study of the site of Calvary on the spot, and some years of reading and reflection upon it since, I may beg the many reasonable persons who are interested in the topography of Jerusalem to entertain, at least with patience, a few considerations from one who is not swept away by prepossessions, and who does not feel sure even of the site which he believes has most to say for itself.

One of the earliest and soundest archæologists in Jerusalem, when I resided there, was Dr. Rosen, the Prussian Consul. He entered with kindly zest into my investigations, and suggested a line of argument which was quite new to me, but which my Indian experience at once accepted as sound. He had noticed that wherever ground has been thickly covered by buildings the soil itself testifies unmistakably to the fact. Applying this test to the suburbs of Jerusalem, he constructed a chart, a copy of which accompanies this paper, showing that

the northern suburb of the city extended considerably beyond and all round the knoll, el-Heidhemiyeh—now generally christened “Gordon’s Calvary.” As far as it goes this argument proves that the place was at the time of the Crucifixion in the middle of a large and populous suburb. We know that



every vestige of building there was afterwards razed to the ground; but the tell-tale soil still testifies to the fact that a considerable portion of the ground within the third wall built by Agrippa eleven or twelve years afterwards to protect it, was then covered by

buildings to accommodate the vast crowds who assembled at the Passover.

There is some conflict of testimony as to the numbers usually present at that time in and near Jerusalem. Josephus has been, perhaps, too much discredited by reason of his patriotic exaggeration; but careful calculations have estimated the normal population of Jerusalem in the time of Christ at 70,000, which would certainly be doubled or trebled during the Feast days; so that however largely we may discount the two or three millions of the Jewish historian, there remains a population far beyond the capacities of the old city, unless the people stood upon each other's heads. 97,000 are said to have been made captive by Titus, and 40,000 more were set at liberty, and yet that was at a time when every soul who could escape out of the doomed city had fled. Such multitudes could never have been crammed into that part of the city behind the second wall, wherever it was, especially when the great northern plateau presented unlimited means for expansion. I think any unprejudiced person reading the history of the seige would gather that a large space intervened between the third and second walls, and as Dr. Rosen's *Terrainkarte* shows, a good deal of the eastern part of it was not built upon. Tobler, no mean authority, believed the third wall reached northward nearly to the tomb of Helena, of *Ædiabene*, to give room for the ninety towers, two-hundred cubits apart, which stood upon it; almost all traces of which appear to have been swept away. Is it in the least degree probable that the place of execution selected by Pilate, or his centurions, for the three crosses, would have been in the very middle of a thickly populated suburb of fanatical Jews? Even supposing that the knoll had not been utilised for some shrine

(and we know that subsequently a Byzantine church stood upon it), would it have been in the least likely that such a place would have been desecrated by the disgraceful punishment of criminals condemned by Roman law? We forget how terribly disgraceful, and even obscene, that punishment was, because to us, "the shameful cross" now symbolises the highest point of Divine self-sacrifice. Moreover, we have it from Dr. Chaplin that the knoll was a place of Jewish execution by stoning, and in the Talmud is called Beth-ha-sekela. But our Lord suffered at the hands of Roman executioners; and the place of Jewish executions, even if it could be proved that it was so then, would have been the last place where the Roman law would have been carried out. This consideration should give the advocates of this locality pause. But the final, and to my mind, conclusive argument against it, is the universal and scriptural conviction that the Crucifixion fulfilled the type to which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews refers (xiii. 11, 12), and that the direction, "without the camp," in Leviticus iv. 11, 12, 21, meant without the city which represented it. Thus independently of all arguments drawn from the direction of the walls (which lead, as we know, to an interminable wrangle), but merely on the showing of Dr. Rosen's map there can be no doubt that the inhabited city did extend, in our Lord's time, to the northward of the present wall, and we are driven to the conclusion that we must look for the place of Crucifixion, and of the sepulchre outside the city somewhere on that northern plateau.

In 1865 I pointed out to Dr. Gobat, the then Bishop of Jerusalem, and to Dr. Barclay, that the Levitical ritual required¹ that the carcase of the burnt offering,

¹ Lev. i. 10-11; iv. 21.

represented in antitype by the Crucifixion, should be consumed north of the altar. The Bishop at once adopted the inference, and told me that when he first knew the city, there were considerable remains of tombs on the north side, near the slope into the Kedron Valley, which, when he returned as bishop, had been broken open or lost sight of. I am glad to see that such an authority as Sir Charles Wilson, in the new edition of the "Dictionary of the Bible," adopts the opinion that the northern plateau is the most probable site for the sepulchre.

Of course, if these arguments are sound they dispose of what is called the "traditional" site. In full view of all that has been so ably said in defence of that site, the fatal objections of Dr. Robinson are unanswered. The facility with which the transference of holy sites was made, in very early times, is known to all students of history (*see* a valuable article by Mr. Simpson in the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1879), the total lack of the "topographical instinct," as proved by many instances, in days when few could read or write—and the absolute subjection of reason to faith in those who could—incline all who have no prepossession to think St. Willibald was not far wrong when he said that Helena had "arranged" that the place which was formerly outside should be inside the city: (*see* "Hodœporicon," XVIII. Pilgrims' Text Society, p. 19), and in that age who could possibly object to it? Similar "arrangements," for the sake of convenience, are met with everywhere. What but convenience ruled the "invention" of the cross, together with the tablet which Pilate wrote to affix upon it, and "arranged" the stone of unction and the pillar of the flagellation, and all the rest of it? And when the pious custodians had, without any idea of fraud,

“arranged” objects and places of interest to their liking, a wealth of legendary association clustered round them, and it became worth no one’s while to dispute them. Why should any one do so? The facts were the really important things. The exact places where they were enacted was a very small matter. So we get venerable churches, built in impossible places, yet purporting to be on the very spots; and venerable “fathers” by the score proving that they had seen the localities two or three hundred years afterwards, and had no doubt whatever about it; till now it becomes difficult to plead for strict adherence to the only reliable documentary evidence we have, and to insist on squaring our topography with fair inferences from history and the Holy Scriptures.

Let me enumerate some of the essentials for the identification of the true sepulchre; and I do not think that those who have closely studied the matter will demur to any one of them.

1. It must be in a garden. St. John xix. 41.
2. It must be hewn out of the rock. St. Matthew xxvii. 60.
3. It must be the tomb of a rich Jew of the Herodian period. St. Matthew xxvii. 57, etc.
4. It must be close to the place of the Crucifixion. St. John xix. 41.
5. It must be near a high road. St. Matthew xxvii. 39, 41; St. Mark xv. 29; St. Luke xxiii. 26.
6. It must have been quite new, and therefore would have had then no loculi or kokim. St. John xix. 41; St. Luke xxiii. 53.

7. The place of the Crucifixion, which was close to it, must be where it could be seen "afar off." St. Matthew xxvii. 55.
8. It must be clearly outside all the inhabited parts of the city. Hebrews xiii. 11.
9. The tomb must be a chamber in which at least five people at one time could move about and converse. St. Luke xxiv. 4, 10.
10. It must be closed by a great rolling stone. St. Matthew xxviii. 2, 4; St. Mark xvi. 4, etc.
11. It must be "nigh unto the city" (St. John xix. 20), but far enough for persons coming to it and going from it, to miss each other on the way (compare the various visits to the tomb).
12. The tomb must be so constructed that a person close to it must stoop down in order to look into it. See St. John xx. 11; St. Luke xxiv. 12.
13. And yet so that persons sitting "over against it," *i.e.*, at some distance, could see into it, and observe "how the body of Jesus was laid" in it. St. Matthew xxvii. 61; St. Luke xxiii. 55; St. Mark xv. 47.

These are a few of the indications given us in Scripture to guide us as to the kind of sepulchre which received the dead body of our Lord, and from which he was raised on the third day. There may be more; but these are enough to give a high probability to any tomb which combines them all. Over five-hundred rock tombs have been carefully examined by the agents of the Fund in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. They need not be compared, because

Sir Charles Wilson says in his paper (*Quarterly Statement* for 1869, p. 67), with which I concur, that the most complete of all yet discovered is the Kubur es-Saladeen. This tomb has gone through many vicissitudes and been called by different names. In "Josephus" it is called the Monument of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, a Jewish proselyte who adopted it, and whose sarcophagus was "appropriated" by De Saulcy in 1863, and is now in the Louvre. The tomb is now called the Tombs of the Kings, probably because there is no evidence that any king was ever buried in it. As a typical Jewish tomb of the time of Herod, however, it has a special value for us, containing, in a condition of more or less preservation, all the four members of a rich man's tomb of that period, *i.e.*, first, a garden; secondly, a vestibule or ante-chamber; thirdly, an embalming chamber; and fourthly, loculi, arcosolia, or kokim, excavated as they were required by deaths in the family or friends of the owner—the whole called the sepulchre. As that in which our Lord was buried was just dug "wherein never before man was laid," it would, at that time, have had no additional chamber or loculi.

Armed with these tests, my very first object on reaching Jerusalem was to apply them to Tombs of the Kings, which I need not describe, as they have been carefully described by our agents. Leaving the Bab el-Amud by the great north road, I easily found the excavated garden near the road side, approached by twenty-five steps down to a doorway through a wall of rock. There was the vestibule with the tank for water required for the ablution—there the three foot square entrance below the level of the floor of the vestibule—there the greater part of the rolling stone by which the entrance was closed; and there,

on the architrave, not only the triglyphs and pateræ of the Debased Doric of the Herodian period, but the grapes in the central metope, indicating that the tomb originally belonged to a rich Jew. Entering the chamber, I found it nineteen feet square, surrounded by a stone ledge or seat, except where the rock wall has been since pierced by doorways to other chambers.

These observations disposed of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 14. There remained 12 and 13. As to 12, it was clear after trial that a person near the entrance or in the vestibule, must stoop to see into the tomb chamber. But the women "sat over against the sepulchre," and from that point "beheld how the body was laid." Leaving the excavated garden I ascended on to the plateau, and seating myself on the north-western side of the excavation I found I could see through the three foot square opening into the embalming chamber, in the middle of which I desired my servant to lie down; but it was too dark to see much of him till I called to him to take off his dark blue embroidered jacket, and as soon as he did so, and lay in his white shirt, I could distinctly see "how his body was laid." The tomb being new, the paving slab, which was ultimately to conceal the entire entrance, had not been laid over the opening in the floor of the vestibule. It was therefore possible for the Jews to see the Governor's seal affixed to the rolling stone. This disposed of tests Nos. 12 and 13, and the facts were so striking in their undesigned coincidence with the New Testament narrative, that at that time I had no doubt I was looking on the spot where the body of Jesus had lain. I do not feel sure of it now, but ever since I have felt assured that if that tomb is not the tomb, it must have been one in that neighbourhood, and similar to it. It is not

above seven minutes' walk from that place where, according to Rosen, Josephus, Tobler, etc., the city suburb extended in our Lord's time. It is near a high road, and, though I altogether repudiate the cocksureness of some of our friends, it has a stronger claim than any other existing sepulchre to the honour of having been the mortuary chamber in which our Lord's body was temporarily laid. But certainty is forbidden us; good reasons for which are not far to seek. Meantime we may well utilise the help it affords us in realising the most important event that ever took place in the world.

God forbid that in this faithless age I should speak scornfully even of erroneous beliefs. I can never forget how, on one occasion, I climbed to the top of that canopy (is it a baldachino?) covering the traditional tomb, and lay there for an hour or more unobserved; gazing down through the open work I saw group after group of frowsy pilgrims from the farthest corners of Russia, pressing as near as they could get to the tomb slab to pour out their sorrows, while streaming tears poured down brown cheeks—not of women only, but of hardy men, whose passionate devotion shamed my own cold heart, because they believed, what I knew was a fable, that their dear Lord and mine had been buried in that tiny marble cabinet, which monks persuaded Constantine and Helena had been the sepulchre of Christ.

**EXCURSUS ON THE RESURRECTION ON
THE HYPOTHESIS THAT IT TOOK
PLACE FROM A TOMB SIMILAR IN
CONSTRUCTION TO THE TOMBS OF
THE KINGS, AND IN THAT VICINITY.**

BY CANON GELL.

*(Taken by permission from the Quarterly Statement of The
Palestine Exploration Fund, Oct., 1901.)*

ATTEMPTS to realise the actual conditions under which this, the supreme event of human history, was accomplished have often been confused by want of a clear idea of the particular kind of tomb in which the body of our Lord was laid. The serious difficulty of harmonising the visits to the tomb, recorded by the Evangelists, together with prevailing misconception as to the tomb itself, have combined to produce a vague impression as to what really took place detrimental to a firm belief in its historical veracity.

It is easy to deprecate investigation, and to point to strong and even bitter divergencies of opinion, but when the angel, seated upon the stone he had rolled back, said to the affrighted women, "Come see the place where the Lord lay," he gave some sort of sanction to our topographical enquiries, while he struck the only note of localism in religion which remains in this dispensation.

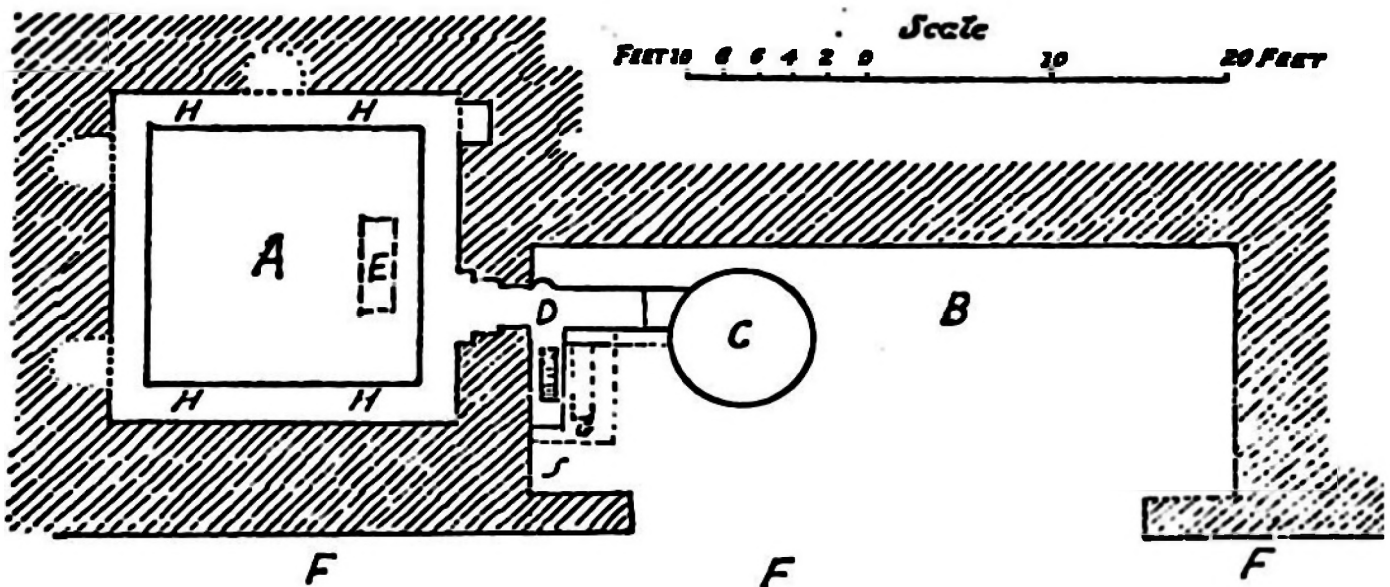
I have enumerated thirteen indicating hints, gathered from Holy Scriptures, pointing to the locality where we may expect to find the sepulchre, and suggesting the kind of sepulchre for which we should search. To my own mind these are fully

sufficient to exclude from consideration both the traditional site within the present city and the recently suggested site just outside of it; but I have carefully guarded myself from assuming that I have proved that the Kubur es-Saladeen was the actual tomb where, as in a mortuary chapel, the sacred body of the Lord lay. Indeed, if I felt as certain as some advocates of other sites profess themselves to be, I should not proclaim it, lest some modern disciples of Eusebius and Constantine should make it a place for pilgrimage. All for which I contend is this—that the indications about the burial in Scripture prove—not that this was the place, but that the place was like this, and in this vicinity, and what I now desire to do is to show how the Resurrection might have taken place, on the supposition that it took place there.

In order to make the matter as plain as possible it is necessary to remind your readers of the peculiar construction of this ancient Jewish burial place, and to refer them to the plan which accompanies this paper. "In the place where He was crucified there was a garden" (there is nothing about a "villa," which has been imported into the narrative without authority); "and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand" (St. John xix. 41, 42).

Thus the record runs, and supposing that the three crosses were set up near the side of the great north road, as seems not improbable, and in strict accordance with Roman custom, at a place near the cross roads called Golgotha (possibly as being on the traditional site of the tomb of Adam), the

“garden” would be the excavated enclosure ten or fifteen yards from the crosses and about twenty yards from the roadside. In the western scarp of this recessed plot, which is about thirty yards square, the sepulchre was made. It consisted of a distyle portico leading to a vestibule about thirty-eight feet by sixteen feet, in the southern end of which is a tank for the water required for lustration of the corpse, and below the level of the floor is

*References.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| A. The embalming chamber. | E. Probable place of stone of unction. |
| B. The vestibule. | F. The garden. |
| C. The tank. | G. The connected passage to back of the rolling stone. |
| D. The groove for the rolling stone at entrance. | H. The stone bench. |

the peculiar arrangement for concealing the entrance which distinguishes this tomb from all others now extant at Jerusalem, as the only one in which the disc of stone closing the entrance, remains in place. The architrave above the portico is still to be seen ornamented with the same “ill-understood Roman

Doric," as Ferguson calls it, which fixes the date of the tomb, as is allowed by all experts, to the time of Herod, but the pyramids, stelæ, or cippi, mentioned by Josephus, are gone.

Approximate figures of dimension only are given, because we learn from our Masonic friends that in all but one chamber the measure which appears to have been used was the Roman foot of 11·6 inches. In one chamber the Jewish cubit of 25·2 inches seems to have been adopted. The use of these measures is another proof of the date of the excavation, which it is generally supposed was used in subsequent years by Helena, Queen of Adiabene. Ferguson argues that Herod himself was buried here and not at Herodium. If so he must—on my hypothesis—have got the place from Joseph of Arimathea, the rich and honourable councillor, by whom it had been prepared for his own use. The prophet Isaiah foretold that the Messiah's grave would be made "with the wicked and with the rich in his death," and certainly if our Lord was laid here Joseph was rich enough and Herod wicked enough to fulfil the prophecy. At the time of the crucifixion the tomb had just been "hewn in stone," so there would have been none of the additional chambers and loculi which we find there now. The only chamber required at first was what I may call the embalming chamber, which in this tomb is about nineteen feet square, and surrounded by a stone bench. There would probably have been also a stone of unction, or bier, on which the body lay, while the process of embalming was being effected and the loculus dug. Convenience makes it probable that the body was not deposited on the floor of the chamber. Of course, the paving slab, which ultimately was to

conceal the entrance, would not have been laid down till the whole process was finished. Thus the women who sat "over against" the sepulchre could see into it, and there seems to have been no restriction to prevent any friends entering the vestibule or even going inside the chamber where the body lay; so whether the women were seated (the Jewish posture of mourning) on the opposite garden wall, as I thought at one time, or had entered the vestibule for closer observation, and sat near the further or northern end of it, would make no difference to the fact that from outside the chamber they could see "how the body was laid." This we read they did before they retired on the eve of the Sabbath. The method by which the entrance was closed has been often described, and I need not explain it, except to observe that the stone disc, the greater part of which is now remaining, is about three feet in diameter and one foot thick, and sufficiently heavy to justify the fears of the women that without help they could not move it away from the entrance where they had seen it rolled by Joseph's servants on the Friday evening. The concealed passage by which a man could get behind it to roll it with a lever across the entrance is indicated by dotted lines in the plan. After a corpse had been embalmed and the loculus dug it was sealed up, the entrance closed, and then the paving slabs forming the floor of the vestibule would have been laid over all, cemented in the reveal, and the entombment was complete. The only other feature of this remarkable tomb which needs mention is the means of access to the herb garden in which it was constructed. This was by a rock-cut staircase of twenty-five steps leading down from the level of the ground above to the archway,

cut through a curtain of rock seven feet thick, admitting to the garden. In my time the stairs and garden were encumbered with rubbish, which has now been cleared away, and portions of the pillars of the distyle and, as is conjectured, of the pyramids which Josephus mentions, have been found by the indefatigable Dr. Schick among the *débris*.

Let me now suppose that this was the new tomb of the Jewish Councillor who went to Pilate on that fateful afternoon and begged the body of Jesus, and try to realize the scene. The mysterious darkness had passed away. The westering sun is casting level beams across that wonderful landscape, now comparatively tame and featureless, touching the gilded spikes along the roof of the great Temple, and reddening all the loftier buildings of the city with sunset glow. A few lingering women remain near the crosses, which the Centurion has just left, after handing over to Joseph legal possession of the body of Jesus. Joseph and Nicodemus, with four or five servants and slaves, proceed, as rapidly as possible, with their work of love. Not ten yards from the cross—if, as I believe, it was a cross—is the recent excavation with its scarce finished tomb. Thither the whole party hurriedly go, lifting their precious burden down the steps, through that archway into the vestibule. At the cistern close to the entrance the lacerated frame is washed quickly and carefully, before being passed through the entrance and laid on the bier or slab near it, watched by the women, as the heavy jar of powdered spice is brought in by the slaves, and sufficient quantity used, by sprinkling it between the folds of the linen cloths and face napkin, to keep the body sweet and fragrant over the Sabbath. No doubt several

servants were required to carry the spices, to fetch water for the lustration, and to perform the necessary services which neither Nicodemus nor Joseph could have performed, on such a day, with their own hands. At least five or six persons must have been moving about, in the performance of these offices, within the chamber. But it is clear that whatever was done was only provisional; especially as the unguents required to be used with the powdered myrrh and aloes were not brought till Sunday morning, when the women came to complete the embalmment.

It was now nearly six o'clock. The Sabbath was close at hand. Out they must all come at once, and one of the slaves must roll the heavy disc of stone across the entrance. In that dark subterraneous tomb, in the deep mystery of death, the body lay, till the yet deeper mystery of resurrection was accomplished, unseen by mortal eyes, in the first moments of the third day.

It was Passover time in Jerusalem. The suburb—afterwards called the New Jerusalem—which covered a large part of the plateau north of the city, was crowded with many thousands of sojourners. Probably most of the houses there were small, and the narrow lanes which led through the clustering tenements were dark and tortuous. The Galilean disciples would be lodged there. John and Peter would seem to have occupied a separate lodging. The mother of Jesus had gone, probably to Bethany, or to John's house, to recover from the shock she had sustained. Before the day dawned Mary of Magdala, with her friends, hastened to the sepulchre. If they had not lodged in the suburb, they could not have done so, as the city gates were never opened till day-break. They seem to have known nothing of what

had happened in the interval. Even the "great earthquake," which must have been limited to the immediate neighbourhood of the tomb, does not seem to have been noticed.

When they reached the entrance they see at once that it had been violated, and fly to tell the rest, but Mary quickly returns, for we find her again, alone, in the vestibule, gazing sadly into the dark chamber. The entrance being below the level of the floor, she had to stoop down, perhaps to kneel, in order to look in. She sees, through her tears, two persons, seated at the head and foot of the slab, where she had seen the body laid. In the early light, twenty feet or more below the level of the ground, it was too dark for her to see that they were angels. Supposing them servants of the owner, she replies to their question: "Why weepest thou?" with her complaint that the body had been removed.

Suddenly she becomes aware that someone was standing in the portico behind her. She turns to speak to him, but his back being to the light, she does not recognize him; and supposing him to be the caretaker, prefers to him the same complaint, offering to take charge of the body, if he would tell her where it was. I need not point out how exactly all this agrees with the construction of the Kubur es-Saladeen. Mary of Magdala was a person of good means, and probably feared, lest our Lord, who had died as a criminal, might be cast into the common pit in which criminals were usually buried. This she was most anxious to prevent. His voice pronouncing her name undeceived her and convinced her that it was not the gardener, but the Master himself.

Then follows the visit to the empty tomb made by John and Peter. How they missed the others on the way to or from the place, can only be explained by supposing there were narrow lanes through the gardens and suburbs, as we see in many Oriental cities. One party would go this way, and another that. The asseverations of so reputable a person as Mary seems to have stirred St. John and St. Peter out of their despondency. They ran—probably it was only a very few minutes' run—to the place, eager to test the truth of Mary's story. John first, rushes to the open door, but hesitates to go in. Peter, who never hesitated, enters, then John follows. What they saw is described by St. John without comment. His simple narrative leaves us to fill in the details, and, as in so much recorded by the Evangelists, to draw the necessary inferences. In doing so the most scrupulous care is needed lest we over-run the record. When John reached the vestibule he sees the tomb is open, and, like Mary, he stoops down to look in, and sees the linen clothes, but not the napkin, till Peter enters and he follows. Then they both see what made John believe, not merely that the body was gone—that was obvious—but that it had been removed in some way that had left the linen clothes undisturbed, and the face napkin folded up and laid aside “in a place by itself.” In a very interesting attempt to throw some light on the facts by Mr. Latham, the Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, the writer is hampered, if I may be permitted to say so, by an erroneous theory of the sort of tomb in which our Lord lay. He supposes the body laid in one of the *arcosolia* of a cave on a level with the ground, on which the sun is streaming in through a door four feet high,

which would not have required a stooping posture to look into it, but would have required a stone of enormous dimension to close it. He thinks the napkin lay on a low step which had acted as a pillow for the head of the corpse, and which, if it was like the representation of it in the illustration, would have dislocated the cervical vertebræ. On this raised step, where the head had lain, Mr. Latham supposes the napkin lay in the form in which it had been bound round the head and face of Jesus. He bases this idea on the word *ἐντετυλιγμένον*, which he interprets to mean "retaining the twisted form which had been given to it when it had been twined round the head of our Lord." One of the first Greek scholars of that University of which Mr. Latham is an ornament,¹ assures me that the word will not bear this meaning; but simply means "folded" or "rolled up." Mr. Latham's object is to show that in the resurrection there was no touch of human hands, with which we entirely agree, but as angelic hands had rolled back the stone, so they doubtless removed the face napkin, rolled it up, and laid it "apart in a place by itself," which surely cannot mean that it was left in the same place and in the same form in which it had been before. And why the napkin should have been left, by Mr. Latham's theory, "standing up a little and retaining its rounded form," when the linen cloths were, as he says, "lying flat," he does not explain. Moreover, he supposes that the whole of the hundred pounds weight of powdered spice was enclosed in the cloths—a supposition both unnecessary and improbable, when we remember that the ointments were not brought till Sunday, and recollect, too, the purely provisional nature of what was hastily

¹ The Master of Corpus.

done on Friday evening. Improbabilities are not necessary to maintain Mr. Latham's position, that the appearance of the cloths was such as to suggest an evanescence of the body from out of them, rather than a disrobing or hasty casting them aside, which would have indicated removal of the body by human hands. We must stick as closely as we can to the record. The linen cloths were lying "by themselves" (St. Luke xxiv. 12), probably on the slab from which the Lord had risen. The napkin, for some reason not stated, was rolled up "apart in a place by itself," probably this was the stone bench which runs round the chamber, that part of it near the door not being visible by St. John from outside. Gradually, very gradually, the stupendous fact dawned upon the minds of the Apostles as they went pondering and wondering home. The other visits to the tomb, so far as they throw any light upon it, are in accordance with my theory, but I do not attempt the task of marshalling those visits in their order—a task which would be profitless in the present state of our record. No doubt we are not in possession of all the facts, and must wait for the solution of any difficulties in harmonising those we have. We have enough to indicate the quarter where the tomb may be looked for, and the kind of tomb it was; and there is but little excuse for those travesties of the great event we often meet with in pictures and descriptions.

NOTE.

Among the indicia which I gave in a former paper for identifying the probable site of the sepulchre, was the hint, for it is no more, afforded by the curious fact that the Jewish ritual required the burnt sacrifice to be killed "on the side of the altar northward." Eusebius is blamed for not knowing that the type required that the sacrifice should be without the camp, *i.e.*, outside the city—but the indication of locality to which I have drawn attention has escaped all our topographers, except Sir Charles Wilson; though there seems no reason why one type should be more topographically important than the other. Surely St. Paul applied the one that we might learn how to apply the other.

F. G.

