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I.—LITERARY.

MISSIONARY PASTORS.

[The annual address before the Society of Missionary Inquiry of Union Theological Seminary, by Rev. R. C. Reed, D. D.]

When I was invited to deliver the address on this occasion, I asked myself the question what, just now, in view of the present condition of our missionary work, and in view of the attitude of the church toward that work, most needs to be said? How can I use this one auspicious hour to the very best advantage? It did not take me long to answer the question. It is my deliberate conviction that the most urgent need of the church just now in prosecuting its mission work is missionary pastors. The urgent need is for men to stand in our pulpits who are saturated through and through with the missionary spirit, and who are glowing with missionary fervor. We need foreign missionaries to remain at home, to direct the religious thought and mould the religious life of God's people.

Such being my conviction, I am not here to plead for men to go abroad; I am not here to give information about foreign fields; I am here to make a plea in behalf of our Divine Master by laying on the hearts and consciences of those who are to be the pastors of our home churches the urgent and abiding duty of training Christ's disciples into sympathy with Him in the matter of evangelizing the world. Evidently the church will never occupy the right attitude towards this work until the pastors who minister to its spiritual life and who develop and direct its spiritual energies shall themselves occupy the

THE GREAT FISH OF JONAH.

PROF. W. W. MOORE.

JONAH, the son of Amittai, was born about the middle of the 9th century B. C., in the little mountain village of Gath-hepher, two miles and a-half northeast of Nazareth, in the tribe of Zebulon. From the scanty record of his life we learn that he became a prophet, and that he was apparently the most prominent man of his order during the reign of Jeroboam I. (B. C. 825-784); for it was by Jonah's counsel and encouragement (2 Kings 14: 25) that this monarch, the greatest of all the kings of Israel, undertook those vigorous and brilliant campaigns which not only retrieved the disasters that had befallen Israel under Jehu and Jehoahaz, but which even reduced Damascus itself, and restored the whole northern empire of Solomon, so that the dominion was once more extended northward to Hamath on the Orontes and southward to the Dead Sea. Jonah was evidently a man of intense national spirit, and we can well imagine with what a fervent heat of patriotic pride and joy his soul was fired by the unparalleled victories of Jeroboam which carried the northern kingdom to the highest pitch of prosperity and power, and with what fondness he cherished the hope that this political restoration was the harbinger of an equally glorious religious renaissance, and that these military successes were the signs of the perpetual establishment of Israel in the favor of Jehovah. With what anguish would such a man at such a time have received any intimation of a supposed purpose on God's part of rejecting the Israelites for their sins and of receiving into his favor some heathen nation in their stead! Such a possibility had been distinctly stated in the days of Moses when Jehovah said (Deut. 32: 25): "I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation." Especially intolerable to Jonah and his contemporaries in Northern Palestine would have been the thought that the people to be thus chosen and blessed with the distinguishing favor of God were the proud and bloody and oppressive Assyrians who had humiliated and spoiled former kings of Israel, and who still loomed like a dark thunder cloud on the eastern horizon. In

case of the substitution for Israel of that ruthless and hateful people, it would have been the last drop in the bitter cup to an intense Israelite like Jonah that the repentance and reformation of the people whom he hated most fiercely should be brought about through his own instrumentality.

Yet Jonah must have known that underneath the external prosperity of Jeroboam's reign there were nameless depths of corruption, that idolatry, licentiousness and oppression were well-nigh universal, as we learn from Amos and Hosea, and that Israel had almost passed the limits of the divine forbearance. Israel had fulfilled the condition of her own rejection. And, as a matter of fact, the glory of Jeroboam's reign was but the melancholy splendor of Indian Summer.

Amid such circumstances as these Jonah received from Jehovah this startling commission: "Arise, go to Nineveh, that great city, and cry against it; for their wickedness is come up before me." Fearing that Jehovah might in the end have mercy upon the Ninevites (Jonah 4: 2) and that his predictions of judgment would thus be frustrated; tortured perhaps with the lurking apprehension in his heart that Assyria was about to supplant apostate Israel in the favor of Jehovah; and unable to bring himself to go on such a mission to the abhorred oppressor of his nation, Jonah undertook to "demit the ministry"—to abandon the prophetic office, in the face of God's fresh and urgent call to its duties: "he rose up to flee from being in the presence of Jehovah," i. e., from standing in His presence as His minister and prophet, ready to deliver any message that he might send to men anywhere; and, yielding to the impulse to get as far as possible from the scene of the insupportable duty laid upon him, he goes in exactly the opposite direction from that which God commanded. God sent him eastward to Assyria. He determined to fly westward, the whole length of the Mediterranean, to Spain. Hurrying down from the hills of Gallilee to Joppa, the one port of Palestine then as now, he finds a ship of Tyre about to sail for Tarshish, pays the fare thereof ("one of those little touches of a true narrative"), and, exhausted by the feverish haste of his long journey and by the excitement and turmoil of his spirit, he goes down into the body of the ship as the vessel weighs anchor and falls into a deep sleep. But when they were only a little way out God hurled a great wind upon the sea, and there was a mighty tempest, so that the ship was like to be broken. The

Tyrian sailors, accustomed though they were to the sudden and violent storms so common in the Levant, were thoroughly demoralized by this unexampled display of the fury of the elements, and in their terror they prayed each man to his gods. Then they threw overboard the cargo, to lighten the ship, but still she rolled and plunged amid the wild waters, seeming every moment as if she would go to the bottom. Through all the confusion and terror the fugitive prophet lay fast asleep, unawaked by the howling winds, or the violent pitching of the vessel, or the terrified cries of the sailors. At last the shipmaster came to him and roused him sharply and speaking of his sleeping at such a time as if it were a sort of disease, said: "What aileth thee, O sleeper? arise, call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us, that we perish not." Then, recognizing still more clearly the fact that this was no common storm—that there was something supernatural about it, they cast lots to find the criminal, and the lot fell on Jonah. Then follow their short, sharp questions in quick succession, Why has this happened to us? What is thy business? Whence hast thou come? What is thy country? and, Of what people art thou? Their fear was only increased by his calm reply to their inquiries, for he had already told them that he was fleeing from the service of Jehovah, but now he tells them for the first time that this Jehovah was the maker of the sea. Fully assured that Jehovah was pursuing the guilty fugitive, they ask the prophet himself what they shall do to him, to which he replies that they shall take him up and cast him into the sea. The kind-hearted sailors struggled against the dreadful necessity thus put before them, they rowed hard, they "dug the sea," as the graphic original says, in one more desperate attempt to save themselves and him by bringing the ship to land. But all in vain, and at last they took up the unresisting and conscience-stricken prophet and cast him into the sea. The storm subsided, the sea ceased from her raging, and "the ship sailed on with her awestruck and thankful crew." *And Jehovah appointed a great fish to swallow up Jonah; and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights. Then Jonah prayed unto Jehovah his God out of the fish's belly. . . . And Jehovah spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land.* "It is on this single incident that attention has concentrated itself in volumes of speculation. Those who have accepted it as a miracle have anathematized those who looked

on it as a moral figure, and those who have regarded it as a moral figure have derided those who believe it to be a miracle." Schaff's Bible Dictionary is correct in saying that "the difficulty with the book is the story of the great fish." But there is a moral miracle related in the sequel no less incredible to many than the physical miracle of the prophet's preservation in the shark's belly. How can we believe, say they, that a rich and splendid city of 600,000 inhabitants was brought to repentance by the preaching of an uncouth foreigner who was probably clad in a sheep-skin mantle, with his hair hanging long over his shoulders, and who simply shouted through the streets in a barbarous dialect the single sentence, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown"? Here, then, is the two-fold difficulty in this remarkable book: the swallowing and vomiting of the prophet who was to preach at Nineveh by a great fish, and the instant conversion of all classes of a luxurious and corrupt and cruel population under the preaching of the man thus miraculously preserved and sent to them, so to speak, out of the very midst of this monster of the deep.

Looking first at the physical miracle, let us see exactly what the difficulty is. It is not the fact that Jonah was swallowed by a great fish. Skeptics have made themselves very merry over the supposed statement that a *whale* swallowed Jonah, alleging that the whale is incapable of swallowing a man, because of the narrowness of its throat. To this cavil it may be replied: (1), That, while the allegation is true of the Greenland whale, it is not true of the Great Spermaceti whale, the presence of which in the Mediterranean is vouched for by no less a person than Cuvier, and of which the naturalist Beale says: "The throat is capacious enough to give passage to the body of a man, presenting a strong contrast to the contracted gullet of the Greenland whale." (2), The word used in the original Hebrew does not necessarily mean whale, nor does the Greek word used in the New Testament references to this event designate a whale specifically. Both terms are used to designate various classes of the larger creatures of the sea in general, and the "great fish" of Jonah was probably not a whale but a shark. (3), That there are sharks in the Mediterranean which can swallow a man whole, is a fact established beyond dispute. The extraordinary incident quoted by Eichorn and Perry from the natural historian, Muller, is the closest parallel to the experience of Jonah, though not the strongest

proof to be cited of the point here in question : " In 1758, in stormy weather, a sailor fell overboard from a frigate in the Mediterranean. A shark was close by, which, as he was swimming and crying for help, took him in his wide throat, so that he forthwith disappeared. Other sailors had leapt into the sloop, to help their comrade, while yet swimming; the captain had a gun which stood on the deck discharged at the fish, which struck it so that it cast out the sailor which it had in its throat, who was taken up, alive and little injured, by the sloop which had now come up. The fish was harpooned, taken up on the frigate and dried. The captain made a present of the fish to the sailor who, by God's Providence, had been so wonderfully preserved. The sailor went around Europe exhibiting it. He came to Franconia, and it was publicly exhibited here in Erlangen, as also at Nurnberg and other places. The dried fish was delineated. It was 20 feet long, and, with expanded fins, nine feet wide, and weighed 3,924 pounds." The same writer informs us that on opening a shark of this kind which was taken near the island of St. Marguerite, a horse was found in it whole, which had apparently been thrown overboard by some ship. From the stomach of another Mediterranean shark, caught near Marseilles, two large fish were taken and the body of a man who had been swallowed whole.

There was therefore nothing miraculous in Jonah's being swallowed by a great fish, but the preservation of his life in the midst of the fish and his ejection alive and well at the end of three days were altogether miraculous. He was saved by an extraordinary interposition of Divine Power. Now why do so many people who have no hesitation in accepting the scriptural record of other miracles, no less wonderful, find it difficult to believe this? We repeat, the difficulty does not lie in the fact that there is a miracle involved—scores of scholars discredit the book of Jonah as literal history, who have no difficulty about the other miracles of Scripture—but in the fact that there seems to be no sufficient reason for the unique and apparently grotesque *character* of the alleged miracle.

The difficulty is something like that which was once felt by so many scholars in regard to the healing of the first man who got into the pool of Bethesda after the troubling of the water by the angel. The difficulty there was not that people were miraculously healed but that the alleged manner of healing (John 5 : 4) was not in keeping with God's method in other

cases of supernatural cure, and really put a premium on selfishness and fraud. For of course the man who had the slightest ailment and consequently the best use of himself would be the first to get into the water after a fresh ebullition from the bottom of the intermittent spring, and could most easily imagine himself cured. And it seemed unworthy of God to heal merely the first man who plunged selfishly in, regardless of character or faith, and to leave all the rest unhelpt (though perhaps of sorer need and truer faith) simply because they could not get into the water soon enough. It was therefore a great relief to learn that John 5: 4 was not a part of the inspired writer's narrative but a later interpolation, and to be able to see that our Lord's dealing with the impotent man was really a rebuke of the popular superstition and a turning of the man's faith to Him as the true dispenser of God's miraculous healing.

Dr. H. Clay Trumbull, in a suggestive article on "Jonah in Nineveh," published in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XI, Part I, says: "A peculiarity of Bible miracles that differentiates them from all mere myths and fables and lying wonders of any age, is their entire reasonableness as miracles; their clear exhibit of supernaturalness without unnaturalness. . . . The ten 'strokes,' or miraculous 'plagues,' wrought for the bringing of Pharaoh to release God's captive people, are successive strokes at the gods of Egypt, beginning with a stroke at the popular river-god, and passing on and up to a stroke at the royal sun-god in the heavens, and terminating with a stroke at the first-born, or priestly representative of the gods, in every household of Egypt, 'from the first-born of Pharaoh that sitteth upon the throne even unto the first-born of the maid-servant that is behind the mill; and all the (consecrated) first-born of cattle.' The miraculous strokes are, in the light of later Egyptian disclosures, seen to be a reasonable, although a supernatural, exhibit of the supremacy of the God of the Hebrews over the boasted gods of Egypt, rather than a reasonless display of divine power.

Similarly the miracles of the four Gospels differ from those of the Apocryphal Gospels, in the simplicity of their reasonable supernaturalness, as contrasted with the irrational unnaturalness of their spurious imitations. In the one case the miracle is a reasonable exercise of supernatural power, for the increase of food, for the healing of disease, for the restoration

of life, for the quieting of the disturbed elements of nature. In the other case the miracle is a silly marvel of making clay figures walk or fly, and of killing naughty boys by a word or a wish.

Where, in the Old Testament or the New, except in the Book of Jonah, is there such a seemingly unnecessary miracle as the saving of a man's life by having him swallowed in a fish, instead, say, of having the vessel that carried him driven back by contrary winds to the place of its starting? Where else is there a story of the instant turning of a great multitude from self-seeking to God-seeking, by the words of a single strange speaker, without even the intervention of an obvious miracle in enforcement of the speaker's message, as at the time of Belshazzar's feast, or at the day of Pentecost? Is it, indeed, to be wondered at, in this view of the case, that a writer like Professor Cheyne should say concerning the historicity of the Book of Jonah: 'From a purely literary point of view it has been urged that the marks of a story (i. e. an imaginary story) are as patent in the Book of Jonah as in any of the tales of the Thousand and One Nights;' and again, that 'the greatest of the improbabilities is a moral one; can we conceive of a large heathen city being converted by an obscure foreign prophet?'

And so men have endeavored in various ways to explain the book without admitting the reality of these events. Some have supposed that there was a historical germ but that the greater part of the book is fictitious. Abarbanel contended that the portion of the book which relates to the swallowing of Jonah by the fish was a dream, on the ground that in the earlier part of the narrative Jonah was described as going to sleep. Some have held that "the book is merely a moral fiction, a fable, a parable, with no historical basis whatever." Others have added the conjecture that "The Great Fish" was simply the sign of a ship or of a hotel—(just as "The Red Lion" or "The White Horse" might be the sign of an English inn)—which received ("swallowed") Jonah as a passenger or guest, and from which he was ejected ('vomited') by the captain or landlord for not paying his bill or for some other equally good reason. This puerile absurdity is only surpassed by the wild speculations of those who insist that the story is derived from one of the Hercules myths. "At Troy, on the same Mediterranean coast, Neptune in anger sent out a de-

vouring sea-monster, which with every returning tide committed fearful ravages on the people. There was no help till King Laomedon gave up his beautiful daughter Hesione to be devoured. While the monster with extended jaws was approaching her chained to the rocks, Hercules, sword in hand, *leaped into his throat, and for three days and three nights maintained a tremendous conflict in the monster's bowels, from which he at length emerged* victorious and unharmed, except with the loss of his hair, which the heat of the animal had loosened from the scalp." Unfortunately for this brilliant conjecture the form of the myth which contains the matter italicized in our quotation, and consequently the only form with which the story of Jonah can have any possible connection, is not older than the third century of the Christian era. Therefore, if there is any connection between the two, the myth must have been influenced by the story of Jonah and not *vice versa*. These ingenious gentlemen have simply put the cart before the horse.

In like manner, if space permitted, we could show fatal weaknesses in all the other theories which deny the historical character of the book. Returning then to the simple and natural hypothesis that the events occurred just as they are narrated, and repeating our statement that the real difficulty about accepting the narrative as historical is not the miracle but the apparently reasonless and grotesque *character* of the miracle, let us come to the heart of our subject by asking whether "there is anything in the modern disclosures of Assyrian life and history that would seem to render the miraculous element in the story of Jonah more reasonable, and the marvellous effect of his preaching at Nineveh more explicable and natural." Is there anything (in addition to the typical character of the deglutition of Jonah) that suggests an explanation of the extraordinary *form* of this miracle, apparently so much out of keeping with the dignity and significancy of other scriptural miracles?

In the second volume of Sir Austen Layard's work on "Nineveh and its Remains" (or in Smith's or Schaff's Bible Dictionary, article *Dagon*) the reader may see the picture of a bas-relief found amid the exhumed ruins of Khorsabad which represents the fish-god of the Assyrians. The figure has the head and body of a man, to which is joined at the waist, the tail of a fish. In Layard's later work on "Nineveh and Babylon," describing the discoveries made on his second expedition,

there are cuts of similar sculptures found at Koyunjik and Nimroud. Speaking of four colossal bas-reliefs of the fish-god which he found at the doorways of certain apartments in the ruins at Koyunjik, he says: "Unfortunately the upper part of all these figures had been destroyed, but as the lower part remained from above the waist we can have no difficulty in restoring the whole, especially as the same image is seen entire on a fine Assyrian cylinder of agate in my possession. It combined the human shape with that of the fish. The head of the fish formed a mitre above that of the man, whilst its scaly back and fanlike tail fell as a cloak behind, leaving the human limbs and feet exposed. The figure wore a fringed tunic, and bore the two sacred emblems, the basket and the cone.

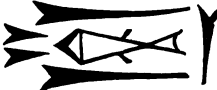
We can scarcely hesitate to identify this mythic form with the Oannes, or sacred man-fish, who, according to the traditions preserved by Berossus, issued from the Erythraean Sea [the ancient Greek name for the Persian Gulf], instructed the Chaldeans in all wisdom, in the sciences, and in the fine arts, and was afterwards worshipped as a god in the temples of Babylonia. Its body, says the historian, was that of a fish, *but under the head of a fish was that of a man*, and to its tail were joined women's feet. Five such monsters rose from the Persian Gulf at fabulous intervals of time. It has been conjectured that this myth denotes the conquest of Chaldea at some remote and prehistoric period, by a comparatively civilized nation coming in ships to the mouth of the Euphrates. I had already identified with the Babylonian idol a figure in a bas-relief at Khorsabad, having the human form to the waist, and the extremities of a fish. Such figures are also frequently found on antique cylinders and gems, but those at Koyunjik agreed even more minutely with the description of Berossus, for the human head was actually beneath that of the fish, whilst the human feet were added to the spreading tail." Speaking of a temple unearthed at Nimroud, farther down the Tigris, he says:

"Within the temple, at right angles to the entrance, were sculptured fish-gods, somewhat different in form from those in the palace at Koyunjik. The fish's head formed part of the three-horned cap usually worn by the winged figures. The tail only reached to the waist of the man, who was dressed in the tunic and long furred robe, commonly seen in the bas-

reliefs of Nimroud." (See Smith's Bible Dictionary, article *Dagon*). Of this last figure Professor Stowe says: "The head and face of a dignified and noble-looking man are seen just below the mouth of the fish, the hands and arms project from the pectoral fins, and the feet and ankles from the ventral; and there are other forms, but it is always *a man in a fish*."

This is what Berossus said concerning the beginnings of civilization in Chaldea under the direction of the fish-god: "There was originally at Babylon a multitude of men of foreign race who had colonized Chaldea, and they lived without order, like animals. But in the first year [of real history] there arose out of the Erythraean Sea, where it washes the coast of Babylonia, a being endowed with reason, whose name was Oannes. This being had the body of a fish, but under his fish's head was a second head, which was that of a man, with a man's feet subjoined to his fish's tail. He had a human voice also; and a representation of him is preserved even to this day. This being used to spend the whole day among men, without taking any food, teaching them letters, sciences and the elements of all the arts, the rules for founding cities, constructing temples, measuring and marking out the land, as well as sowing seed and reaping crops; in short, everything that humanizes mankind and constitutes civilization, so that since that time no one has invented anything new. Then, when the sun set, this being Oannes used to plunge back into the sea and spend the night among the boundless waves; for he was amphibious."

Another point of interest in this connection, and one which has apparently been overlooked by all writers on the subject, is that in the most ancient form of the Babylonian writing, called "linear" cuneiform, the ideogram for "*Nineveh*" (the first syllable of which is identical with *nun*, the Hebrew word

for *fish*) is  in which we easily recognize the head, body, fins, and tail of a fish. Is this not another

trace of the tradition that imperial Nineveh was indebted to the fish-god for her splendid civilization? Now, when we recall the facts already stated, that figures of the fish-god are frequently found in the ruins of Assyrian palaces and temples, that this Oannes was believed to have originally taught the people everything that was essential to their welfare, and that

from time to time, at great intervals, other beings of like nature were believed to come up out of the sea with fresh instructions for mankind from the deity, it looks at least possible that the peculiar form of the miracle which has stumbled so many readers of the Book of Jonah was adopted in order to accredit, or, at least, to emphasize the message which the prophet brought from God to the people of Nineveh. This is the suggestion made by Dr. Trumbull in the article referred to above: "What better heralding, as a divinely sent messenger to Nineveh, could Jonah have had, than to be thrown up out of the mouth of a great fish. . . . And who would wonder that, when it was heard in Nineveh that the new prophet among them had come from the very mouth of a fish in the sea, to bring them a divinely sent warning, all the people "from the greatest of them even to the least of them" should be ready to heed the warning, and to take steps to avert the impending doom proclaimed by him?"

In short, if the Book of Jonah is to be looked upon as veritable history, it is clear, in the light of Assyrian records and Assyrian traditions, that there was a sound reason for having Jonah swallowed by a fish in order to his coming up out of a fish; and that the recorded sudden and profound alarm of the people of an entire city at his warning was most natural, as a result of the coincidence of this miracle with their religious beliefs and expectations. Hence these two stock arguments against the historicity of the Book of Jonah no longer have the force that they seemed to possess."

Let us not adopt this view too hastily, however, for an objection of considerable weight lies against it—an objection which was evidently present to Dr. Trumbull's mind when he wrote the latter part of the following paragraph:

"It would certainly seem to be true that, if God desired to impress upon all the people of Nineveh the authenticity of a message from himself, while leaving to themselves the responsibility of a personal choice as to obeying or disregarding his message he could not have employed a fitter method than by sending that message to them in a way calculated to meet their most reverent and profound conceptions of a divinely authorized messenger. And this divine concession—as it might be called—to the needs and aspirations of a people of limited religious training, would be in accordance with all that we know of God's way of working among men; as shown,

for example, in his meeting of Joseph in Egypt through the divining cup, and of the Chaldeans through their searching of the stars."

But did God meet Joseph through the divining cup? And would he have employed the principle of "accommodation" so far as to use the influence of the Assyrian belief concerning the method of divine revelation for the purpose of securing a better hearing for his own prophet than he could have got in any other way and of teaching them that there was but one only living and true God? This question we will consider more fully at some other time, our present purpose being merely to inform our readers as to what conjectures are advanced from the archaeological point of view in explanation of the extraordinary form of the physical miracle in the book of Jonah and the no less extraordinary moral effect of his preaching at Nineveh.

There are besides some subordinate questions of interest, such as (1) The identity of Dagon and the fish-god of the Assyrians, affirmed by Dr. Trumbull and nearly all other writers on the subject, denied by Prof. Sayce; and (2) The relation between the names "Jonah" and "Oannes." But these also we must reserve for another occasion, as this article has already passed the prescribed limits.

