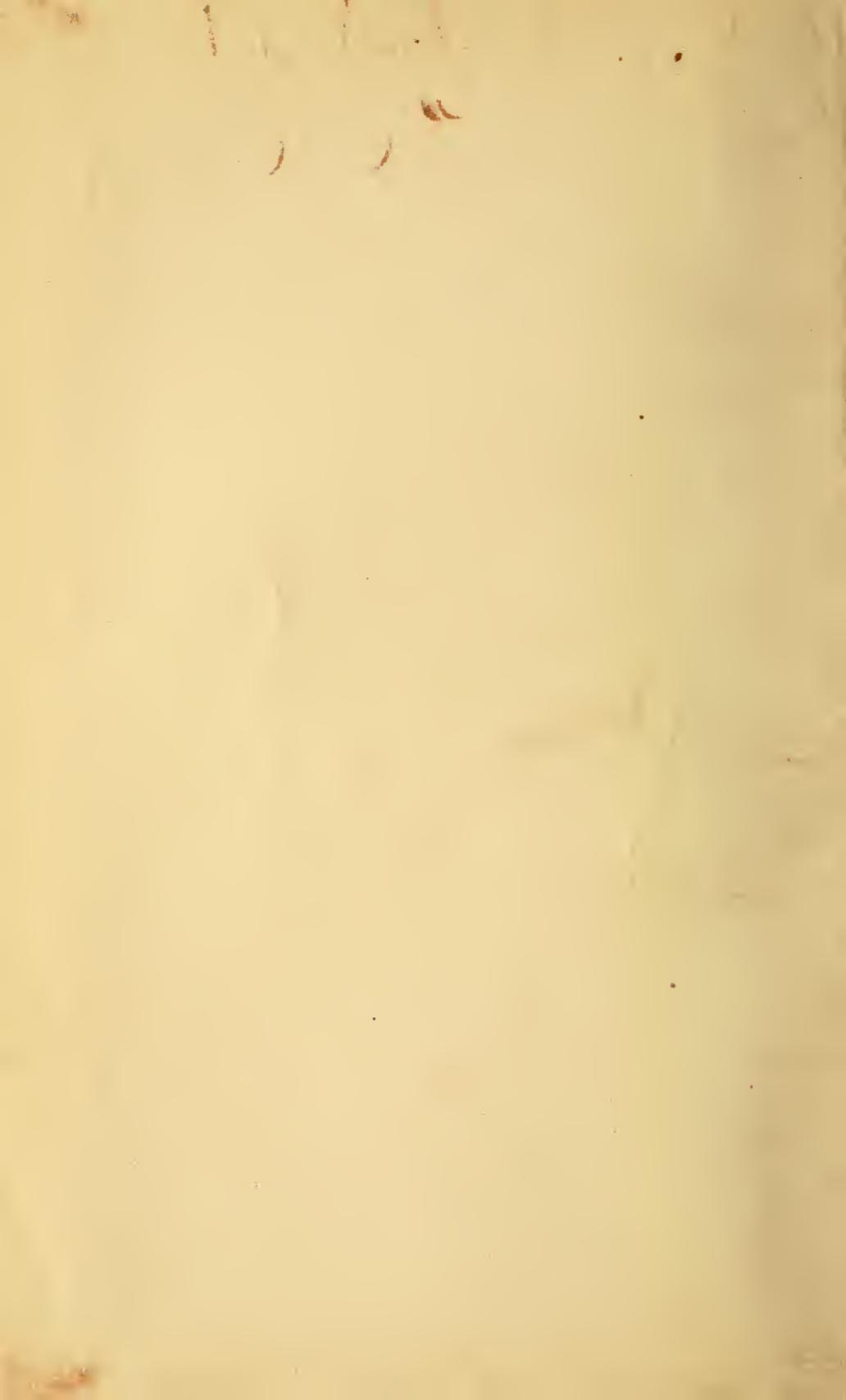
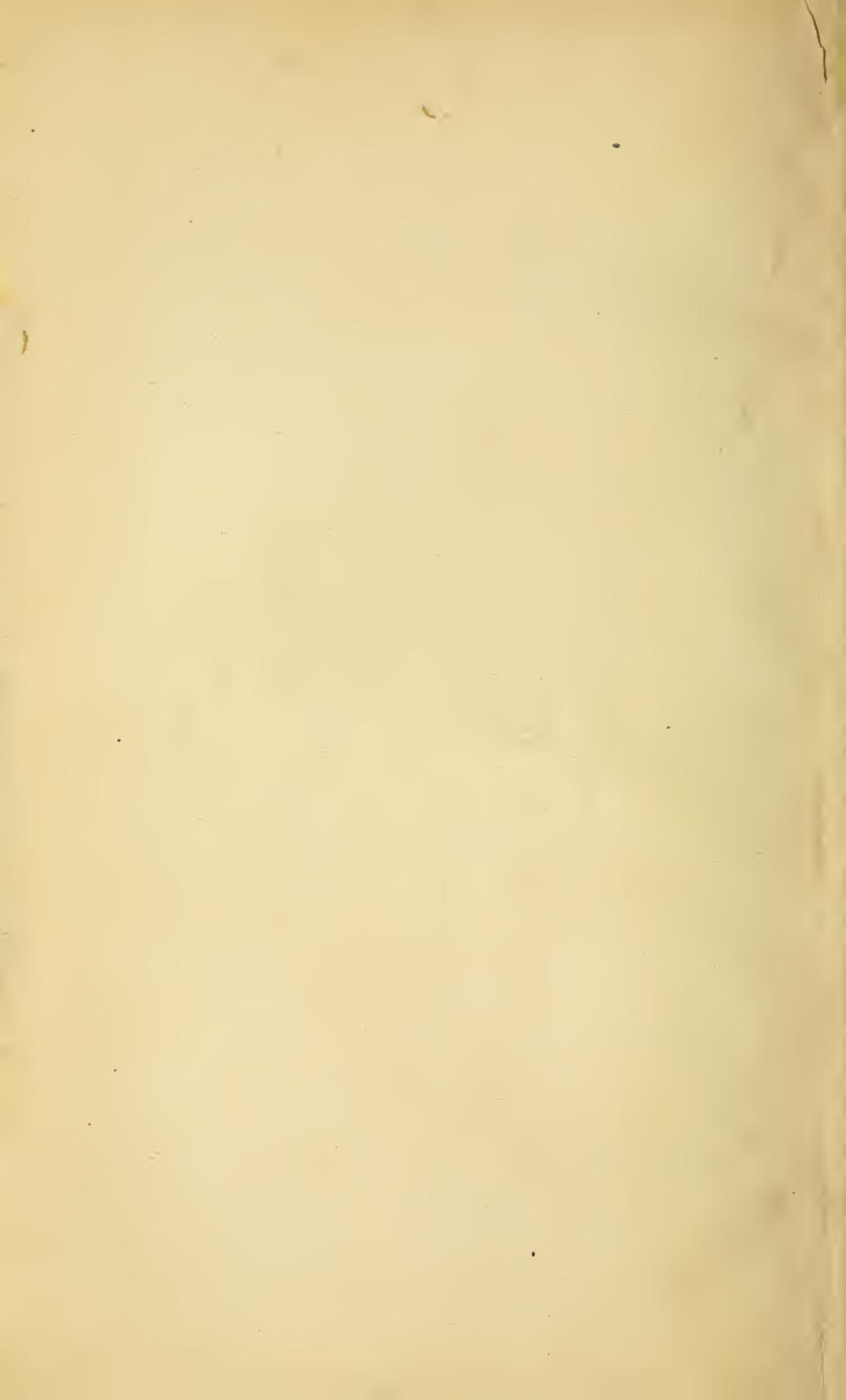


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THE
TEXT
OF
THE OLD TESTAMENT
CONSIDERED;

WITH
A TREATISE ON SACRED INTERPRETATION;
AND A
BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS AND
THE APOCRYPHA.

17
R24
BY SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE, AND LL.D.



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THE
TEXT
OF
THE OLD TESTAMENT
CONSIDERED.

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P R E F A C E.

THE writer of the present volume has endeavoured to discuss the contents in a manner consistent with the general scope of the work to which it belongs. It consists of three parts; the first, relating to the text of *the Old Testament*, or biblical criticism, as far as that portion of the sacred volume is concerned; the second, belonging to the interpretation of the Bible generally, exhibiting a system of Sacred Hermeneutics; and the third, containing an Introduction to the Old Testament as well as the Apocrypha. It was expected of the author that he should not exceed the space allotted to these topics in the last edition of the whole work; and that they should be conformed to the present state of knowledge regarding them. The first division is very briefly discussed, because the author had already written on it in his "Treatise on Biblical Criticism," to which he has often referred for more extended information. Little has been added to the science since that work appeared; and therefore it seemed unnecessary to repeat the same things in nearly the same words. What *is* now written, however, originated in independent thought; and should it be found to differ from the "Biblical Criticism" in any point, it must be accepted as the author's *latest* view. On the subject of Hermeneutics, an extended treatise was also published by the writer in the year 1843; where a history of biblical interpretation is given till the time of the Reformation, which will always retain its value. Though the space here

devoted to this important branch is much less ; he hopes that the present treatise, as far as it goes, is an improvement on the larger. He has laboured, at least, to make it so. In some respects it will not *supersede*, but *supplement*, its predecessor ; the wish of the writer being that *both* should be consulted ; and that the reader should follow the last in preference to the first work, except where the older occupies independent ground of its own.

The copious list of quotations from the Old Testament in the New, with accompanying notes and discussions, belongs both to criticism and interpretation. Much thought and labour have been expended on this portion ; which the writer believes to be far superior to the corresponding part of the "Sacred Hermeneutics."

Two hundred and fifty pages were allowed for an Introduction to the Old Testament and Apocrypha. This fact is sufficient to show that a full and satisfactory discussion of all the topics connected with so many books could not be furnished. Indeed, the third division alone would require four volumes to do it ample justice. The difficulties connected with it are so many and perplexing, that abundant room should be free for an exhaustive treatment. But the author has done what he could ; and it is hoped that nothing of moment has been left unnoticed. Unless he is greatly mistaken, no essential point has been neglected ; for which purpose he was compelled to exceed the two hundred and fifty pages. Here, perhaps, it may be thought that the author has had undue regard to Keil's book ; but *the latest* Introduction to the Old Testament deserves to be specially considered. That it is the best, no scholar acquainted with De Wette's can ever suppose. It is not characterised by original investigation, independent inquiry, or high critical ability ; for it is mainly based on Hengstenberg and Hävernick, with such other writers as come nearest

to their stand-point. As far as the present writer can judge, the Dorpat Professor has not advanced Old Testament criticism and interpretation by his retrograde book; nor can the extreme ground of Hengstenberg and his followers, in relation to many parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, stand the test of an impartial exegesis. Like all attempts to roll back the tide of steadily advancing inquiry, it must prove ineffectual. With that progressive march of investigation the candid reader will go hand in hand as far as it is safe, regulating its course, and restraining its excesses, that it may prove reliable. It is right that the theologian should be conservative, as far as he may out of deference to truth: he is wrong in showing an obstinate conservatism which shuts out the light because it proceeds from a suspicious quarter. Let him not be afraid of the fate of a revelation coming from God to man: the word of the Lord abideth for ever; triumphant over the waves of opposition and the assaults of infidelity. By that word let him hold fast, distinguishing the human and the divine in the Scriptures — the divine essence, alike imperishable and immutable; the human form, which is necessarily imperfect.

The manner in which the subjects had to be treated was not less perplexing than the matter. As the book was not meant for the learned alone but for intelligent students of the Bible, a half-popular cast was the most fitting. It was neither to be entirely popular and superficial; nor altogether learned and critical; but of an intermediate character. The difficulty of attaining this medium is great; and the author does not presume to think that he has always secured it. Some topics are of a nature to make it impossible, as parts of the book will show. It will be observed, that the Apocrypha is treated somewhat out of proportion, because correct information on the subject is rare. Hence the account of these books was lengthened. Probably this feature will not detract from the value of the work.

It is hoped that candid and competent judges will approve of the present attempt to produce a brief Introduction to the Old Testament adapted to the present state of knowledge on the subject. The task is very delicate. Here especially the responsibility of the work was felt. The author feared that prejudice and ignorance would be arrayed against him. He was aware that he should be confronted with traditional opinions. But he can honestly say, that he sought to follow *truth* amid all his speculations. Alive as he was to the sacredness of truth, he endeavoured to keep as near to it as he could. If, therefore, he has cut away some of the traditional fat of hereditary sentiments, he hopes that *the diseased alone* has been removed. Yet he can hardly expect to escape censure from parties wedded to antiquated notions. If attacked, it is far from his intention to reply; since he has lived long enough to know that fighting for religious opinions is of little benefit. And indeed he is in no mood to heed the strictures of men, while listening to the painful lesson of affliction and adopting the language of the Psalmist, "*God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power belongeth unto God.*" Henceforward he would rather nestle in the consolations of religion than dispute about things which may have little relation to spiritual life. For he is firmly persuaded that pure religion concerns the emotions more than the intellect. In the feelings and aspirations of the heart it finds its best element; the deductions of the intellect being but remotely related. It is not necessary that the fellowship of the spirit with God should be interrupted or marred by the investigations of historical criticism into the books of Scripture. As the Church has her appropriate department in awakening spiritual life, assimilating it to the great Fountain of blessedness, and raising it to the highest attainable perfection in the present world; so scientific criticism has its own

field in which it may *freely* range as long as it leaves the *word of God* — that divine aliment which alone sustains the soul by becoming its very life — uninjured and entire.

As the writer dislikes dogmatism and has rebuked it, he would be the last person to make the least approach to an assumption of infallibility. The more he reflects, he sees more of the difficult and mysterious in divine things. God has placed man in circumstances that require all the faith he can exercise to guide him to a higher sphere, amid the unsearchable dispensations of Providence. Besides, the Bible itself is a difficult book. He has therefore learned to distrust his own judgment and look for light from above.

The first two portions of the volume were printed more than a year ago, and therefore it was too late to use in their composition several recent treatises. But the references generally are somewhat sparing, conformably to the nature of the book. As it was written for a numerous class of readers the multiplication of allusions to works English, German, and French, was thought undesirable.

The writer alone is responsible for all to which his name is prefixed. None of his fellow labourers is accountable for anything in *his* portion.

In conclusion, the author is deeply impressed with a sense of the gratitude he owes to the great Author of revelation for enabling him to complete this book. A task involving labour and anxiety of no ordinary kind emphatically needed such help. Prosecuted as it was amid some circumstances unfavourable to mental abstraction, he cannot but be thankful that it is finished. Blessed be God who has supported him thus far! Never did he feel more solemnly the force of the Psalmist's saying, "I am a stranger with thee and a sojourner, as all my fathers were." His friends Gieseler and Lücke are gone; masters in their respective departments, their work on earth is over. The accomplished Hare, who

would have looked most kindly on this book, is taken to his reward, leaving the English Church to mourn the loss of so great an ornament. And death has touched the writer still more closely by removing his eldest surviving son, in whom the best elements of a manly character, in connection with superior tastes, had begun to develop themselves.* But "there is a victory that overcometh the world, even our faith."

* Sinclair Davidson, after a lingering illness, was taken at the age of 17 years, on the 27th of April, to be for ever with Christ; leaving behind satisfactory evidence of his personal salvation.

Independent College,
Manchester, May 17th, 1856.

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ERRATA.

- Page 17. line 41. for "v. 8." read "v. 18."
 „ 22. „ 33. for "נְגִינוֹת" read "נְגִינוֹת"
 „ 31. „ 26. for "שְׁמָלִי" read "שְׁמָלִי"
 „ 39. lines 25, 26. for "places, 2 Kings v. 18.; Deut. vi. 1.; Jer. li. 3.; Ezek. xlvi. 16.; Ruth iii. 12." read "words in Ruth iii. 12.; 2 Sam. xiii. 32., xv. 21.; Jer. xxxix. 12.; 2 Kings v. 18.; Jer. xxxviii. 16., li. 3.; Ezek. xlvi. 16."

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

PART I.—CRITICISM.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY.

THE *criticism* of the Old Testament will be treated of in this work in the proper and more restricted sense of the term. It will relate to *text alone*, apart from the *interpretation* of that text. Sometimes this has been called the *lower criticism*, as distinguished from *exegetical* treatment which is termed the *higher*. Others have called it *textual criticism*, an appellation distinctive and appropriate. *Biblical criticism*, or *criticism* alone, is sufficient to characterise the process; and *interpretation* should never have been included in the appellation.

According to this definition, the object about which criticism is employed is the text of Scripture. It discusses all matters belonging to the form and history of that text, showing in what state it has been perpetuated, what changes it has undergone. Alterations which the text has suffered in the course of transmission from age to age are carefully discovered and noted. We need scarcely say, that the text of no ancient book transcribed and handed down through successive centuries, could be kept perfectly free from change without a miracle. It is impossible to guard against mistakes. The original genuine text cannot be preserved against every kind of deterioration, while it passes through the hands of fallible men. Now criticism endeavours, in the first place, to find out the nature and amount of all changes which the text has undergone from its origin till the present time; and having accomplished this, to remove them, and so restore the text to its original state. Here a wide field is opened up to the inquirer. He is carried back to remote ages, and thence downward through the stream of time to the present day. He judges of the words, sentences, paragraphs, and books as they lie before him, comparing various copies and employing various instruments for rectifying the text, that is, for discovering the true one. He cannot, indeed, flatter himself with the idea, that he can see every place in which

some change has been made in the letters or words, or the exact nature of the alteration itself. Neither can he pretend to be able in all instances to remove the alteration and restore the primitive form. But he may hope to approach the desired result. And he is the more encouraged in relation to this end when he remembers that the text has not suffered *materially*. It is generally admitted that it has not been *extensively* tampered with or corrupted. Certainly it has not been maliciously meddled with. Hence the task of criticism is easier than it would have been otherwise.

Before proceeding to the proper criticism of the Old Testament text, it will be desirable, if not necessary, to examine the language or languages in which the books are written. These must be known by him who takes upon him the critical function. None can perform the task adequately or well, without an intimate acquaintance with the languages in which the Old Testament was composed.

CHAP. II.

LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ALL the books of the Old Testament are written in *Hebrew*, with the exception of some pieces in Daniel and Ezra, which are in the *Chaldee* language. These portions, forming an exception to the rest in respect to diction, are, Dan. ii. 4—vii. 28.; Ezra iv. 8—vi. 18., vii. 12—26. A verse in Jeremiah may be added to them (x. 11.).

The language was called Hebrew from the people that spoke it vernacularly in the time of their independence, the posterity of Abraham denominated *Hebrews*. Why they were so designated, it is not easy to ascertain. Critics at least are not agreed about the origin of the appellation. On comparing the usage of עִבְרִי, עִבְרִים, עִבְרִיִּים, we find that it must be regarded as the *ethnographic* appellation, being usually employed to distinguish the race from other peoples. It was applied to them partly by foreigners, and partly by themselves in their intercourse with others, or in contradistinction from them, as is manifest from the following passages, Gen. xxxix. 14., xli. 12.; Exod. i. 16.; 1 Sam. iv. 6. 9., xiii. 19., xxix. 3.; and Gen. xl. 15.; Exod. ii. 7., iii. 18., &c.

There are three ways in which the name *Hebrew* has been derived.

1. Some take it from the verb עָבַר, *to pass over*. According to this, the appellation was first given to Abraham by the Canaanites, because he had *crossed* the Euphrates. It is therefore equivalent to *passer over*, or to the Latin *transitor*. Such seems to have been the opinion of Origen and Jerome.

2. Others derive it from עֲבֵר, a preposition denoting *beyond*. It would thus mean, one who dwells *beyond* the Euphrates, on the other side from Mesopotamia; equivalent to the Latin *transfluvialis*. This is supposed to be favoured by the Septuagint rendering of the term where it first occurs in Gen. xiv. 13., applied to Abraham: viz.,

ὁ περάτης, and Aquila's περαΐτης. But the version ὁ περάτης appears to us to favour the derivation from the *verb* rather than the preposition; that of Aquila agrees better with the *preposition*. It is clear that Diodorus of Tarsus inclined to the latter¹, as well as Chrysostom.² It is adopted by the majority of scholars in modern times, among others by Gesenius, Hengstenberg, and Rödiger. But it has not been usual to keep the two hypotheses distinct; and therefore the names of such as have inclined to the one or the other, are usually given together.

3. A third opinion makes it a patronymic from *Eber*, one of the descendants of Shem (Gen. x. 24., xi. 14. 16, 17.). We believe, with Ewald, Hävernick, and Fürst, in recent times, that this view is best supported. Indeed it appears to us the only one sanctioned in the book of Genesis itself, as Gesenius himself admits, referring to Gen. x. 21.; Numb. xxiv. 24.³ He and others think, of course, that the explanation of the Hebrew genealogists inserted in the Pentateuch is erroneous in this instance; but we prefer to abide by it. It is useless to adduce against it that Eber is nowhere mentioned as the progenitor of the Israelites, for there may have been connected with him or his day, what sufficed to make him stand out prominently as one worthy to give his name to those descended from him. He was father of Peleg, in whose days the earth was divided, as recorded in Gen. x. 25. We rely on Gen. x. 21., where עֵבֶר עֲבָרָה occurs as a valid proof that עֵבֶר, the patronymic for *Hebrew*, was taken from *Eber*. The people were thus called *Hebrews* as *sons of Eber*, an appellation by which they were known among foreigners. But they themselves preferred another name, *Israel*, or *sons of Israel*, *Israelites*, a more honourable title, because involving a reference to illustrious descent. The latter was in fact the *theocratic*, as the former was the *ethnographic* name. *Israel* continued to be appropriated by them as a national name of honour, till, after Solomon's death, ten tribes revolted from the kingly house of David, and assumed the name *Israel* to themselves as distinct from the *kingdom of Judah*. The prophets, however, often applied it to *all* the people; and so it continued to be employed till the name *Jews* became general. But the old appellation *Hebrews* was again revived not long before the Christian era.

The people being thus called *Hebrews*, the name *Hebrew language* came very naturally to be applied to their mother tongue. But in the Old Testament it is never called the Hebrew language. It is termed poetically *the language of Canaan* (Isa. xix. 18.), after the country in which it was spoken. It is also called *the Jews' language* (2 Kings xviii. 26.; Isa. xxxvi. 11. 13.; Neh. xiii. 24.), after the kingdom of Judah; when the name *Jew* was extended to the whole people, subsequently to the deportation of the ten tribes. The name *Hebrew* is first applied to the language in the prologue of Jesus Sirach, ἑβραϊστί. In like manner, Josephus uses the expression

¹ Comp. Flaminus Nobil. ad loc. in Walton's Polyglott. vol. vi.

² Homil. xxxv. in Genes.

³ Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache und Schrift, p. 11.

γλώττα τῶν ἑβραίων. But in the New Testament ἑβραϊστί (John v. 2., xix. 13. 17. 20.) and ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος (Acts xxii. 40., xxii. 2., xxvi. 14.) denote the language at that time vernacular in Palestine, in distinction from the Greek, viz., the *Aramaean*. In the Targums and among the Rabbins Hebrew is called אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָה־אָמַר, *the holy tongue*, in contrast with the *Chaldee* or people's language, which was then designated *the profane tongue*.

The Hebrew dialect is only one branch of a large trunk-language in Western Asia, which was native not only in *Canaan*, including Phœnicia and Palestine, but also in *Aram*, i.e. Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, as well as in Arabia. Nor was it indigenous in these only, wide as the space occupied by them is, but likewise in the countries from the Mediterranean Sea to the Tigris, and from the Armenian mountains to the south coast of Arabia. From this extended surface it also went forth and covered at an early period Ethiopia southward of Arabia, beside many islands and shores of the Mediterranean, especially the entire Carthaginian coast, through the instrumentality of Phœnician colonics. This great trunk-language and the various peoples using it, are now usually called *Shemitic*, *Shemites*, a name which has supplanted the old one, *Oriental*, customary among the fathers and older theologians. It is true that *Shemitic* is not very exact; for the Elamites and Assyrians, who were descended from Shem, did not speak it; whereas, on the other hand, Canaan and Cush who did, were sprung from Ham. Hence Hupfeld proposes *fore-Asiatic* or *hither-Asiatic*.¹

The other great family of languages which bordered the Shemitic on the east and north, has been called *Indo-Germanic*, *Japhetic*, *Arian*, to each of which Ewald has objected, proposing another not likely to be adopted, viz., *Mediterranean* or *inland*.² *Japhetic* is perhaps the best. The distinguishing character of the Shemitic family may be traced both in *grammatical* structure and *lexically*. The *grammatical* character consists mainly in the following peculiarities:—

1. In the consonant-system there is a greater variety of gutturals and of other primitive sounds which are partly incapable of being imitated, than in any other; whereas the vowel-system evolves itself from the same three primary sounds *a, i, u*, as the Japhetic family does.

2. In the *written* state there is a striking disproportion between the vowel-representation and the development of the language. The former fell behind the latter. The entire vowel-system, as outwardly noted, is expressed by special signs placed under the letters which were only used in the sacred writings, not in common life; whereas other languages invented distinct letters for vowels added subsequently to their development.

3. The roots uniformly consist of three letters or two syllables evolved out of the primitive monosyllable by the addition of a third letter which can be easily discovered in most cases. In the later dialects, the tendency was to go on to four letters, and even to five.

¹ Ausführliche Hebräische Grammatik, p. 2.

² Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache, p. 17.

This same progress towards more than three letters also appears in the Japhetic family, but with the difference that, in the Shemitic, the roots of one syllable remain along with and beside their enlargement, while in the Japhetic they have entirely disappeared.

4. Scarcely a compound word appears in verbs or nouns, except proper names.

5. In the flexion of verbs, there is a poverty in tense-formation which is limited to two forms. On the other hand there is greater richness in *verbals*, or forms intended to express the modifications of the simple verbal idea.

6. In the flexion of nouns, there are important deficiencies. (a) Two genders only, masculine and feminine, the neuter being supplied by the feminine. (b) There are no proper forms for *cases*; but either two words are syntactically put together for the genitive, or prepositions for the other cases. (c) In the pronoun, all oblique cases are indicated by appended forms. (d) There are no proper forms for the comparative and superlative, except in the Arabic.

7. In the syntax there is a deficiency and crudeness in the use of particles, and consequently in the structure of periods, which may be attributed not so much to the essence of the language itself as to the temperament of the people, which was more poetical than philosophical.¹

Considerable difference is also observable between the Shemitic and Japhetic families in a *lexical* point of view, though there is apparently more in common between them here than there is *grammatically*. Not a few Shemitic stems and roots coincide in sound with the Japhetic. But here all that is similar may be much reduced in a variety of ways.

The predominant principle of the Shemitic is its peculiar law of *formation*. There the consonants constitute the solid body; the vowels, the animating soul, of words. The fundamental idea lies almost exclusively in the consonants, not, as in Indo-Germanic, in the junction of one or more consonants with a radical vowel. The former develops itself *phonetically*; the latter, *logically*. The former enlarges and enriches itself by increase of sounds, either in finer distinctions of the consonant sounds, or by doubling the radical consonants, or by annexing new consonants to the short monosyllabic stem, i. e. by increasing the *biliteral* roots so as to become *triliteral* or *quadriliteral*. The latter enlarges and develops itself by the logical law of *composition*. Roots consisting of primitive particles, or verbs in themselves independent, are joined together so as to make a new whole, and become *word-stems*.

This *phonetic* principle regulates so entirely the formation of words from stems, that verbs and nouns, with their numerous modifications, are chiefly made by means of vowel changes within the firm sounds or roots. When more than this is necessary, or when something is required which internal vocalisation in the root itself is insufficient to express, sounds or syllables are attached to the beginning or end called *prefixes* or *suffixes*. In the Indo-Germanic

¹ See Hupfeld's *Ausführliche Grammatik*, p. 3. *et seqq.*

family, words are formed almost exclusively by suffixes, and the radical vowel can only change within its own relative sounds according to the rules of euphony.

The Shemitic trunk-language is divided into three leading branches.

1. The *Aramæan*, the primitive dialect, preserved to us only in two late offshoots, an *Eastern* one, viz. the Babylonian or Chaldee; and a *Western*, i. e. the Syriac. The Zabian dialect, the Samaritan, mixed however with Hebrew, and the Palmyrene, belong to the Aramæan; but they are corrupted.

2. The *Canaanitish*, to which the Hebrew language of the Old Testament, the Phenician and the Punic belong; whence also has descended the later Hebrew or Talmudic and Rabbinic dialect, mixed however with Aramæan.

3. The *Arabic*, of which the Ethiopic is a branch; and the language of the inscriptions at Sinai.

The first, or Aramæan, having been the language spoken in the mother-country of the human race, must be regarded as the oldest. It prevailed in the north and north-east, i. e. Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Syria. In its original form it exists no longer, but is known merely from memorials that originated after the decay of the Hebrew. But even from the late monuments of it extant, some have inferred that it is older than all Semitic dialects. Rough and flat in its consonants, poor and clumsy in its vowels, it is the least developed.

Of all the Shemitic family, the Hebrew language possesses the oldest literature; and because, in its very oldest memorials, it appears in a fully developed and cultivated state, its primitive form is removed from the light of history. The greater number of its roots had already accommodated themselves to the law of three letters, and the forms were so fixed as to suffer few alterations afterwards. In consequence of the much higher antiquity of Hebrew literature, it might be inferred that its *grammatical relation* to the other Shemitic dialects is more ancient in the same proportion. And some have actually drawn this conclusion, supposing that the language bears the stamp of a higher antiquity upon it, as indicated by the simplicity and purity of its forms. But this position is scarcely tenable. It is true that Hebrew has the impress of a very high antiquity in many respects. The antique and forcible simplicity of its poetry; the character of its *lexical and grammatical formations*, where significations and adaptations which are already *established* in the two cognate branches of the Shemitic stock may be seen in their rudiments; the number of pluriliterals, much smaller than in the other dialects; the simplicity and lucidness of many structural and flexion-forms; the stronger flexion-letters ם and ן, not yet polished off into the weaker ones ך and ן; the manifest purity of its consonant system; the uniform accentuation of the final syllable, if such can be established as an ancient law; these features look as though they would sustain the opinion of the high antiquity of the Hebrew language in comparison with the other Shemitic branches. But there are qualifying circumstances that lessen their force.

Several of the peculiarities in question are shared by the Hebrew with the rest, and in some the latter even surpass it, as is the case in verbal-flexion, which is developed in the Arabic, and still more in the Ethiopic language, with greater purity. Besides, the Hebrew *vocalism* is by no means so simple as that of the Arabic; like that of the Aramæan, it is motley and degenerate. Even in the consonantism of the language, in other respects so purely maintained, the prevalence of the hissing sound, where the others have always blunt lingual sounds, brings the character of originality into suspicion; so that higher antiquity is on the side of the Arabic.¹ Hence the assertion of Keil², that the Hebrew has lost its ancient character only *in individual formations* cannot be sustained, any more than his view that it bears, for the most part, internal marks of a higher antiquity than its Shemitic companions.

In examining its grammatical relation, if we look to richness and development of forms, the Arabic language is decidedly superior. Its consonant-system, with the outward representation of it; its word-building and flexion, but especially its syntax and stock of words, place Arabic immeasurably above the rest. In these and other respects, the Aramæan stands at the other extreme, being the poorest and the least developed; while the Hebrew occupies an intermediate position between the two, just as it does *geographically*.

The state of the Hebrew language prior to its earliest historical period has excited the curiosity of many, without leading to any important results. Here doctrinal prepossessions have unhappily affected *inquiries*. There is no doubt that when Abraham came into Canaan he found the language prevailing among the various tribes living there to be very like his own. In other words, *Hebrew*, the language of his posterity, was *substantially* identical with the Canaanitish, Phenician, and Punic. This is deducible from the following phenomena.

1. Proper names relating to the Canaanites in the Bible, as well as those pertaining to the Phenicians and ancient Carthaginians in the classical writers, are similar.

2. The remains of the Phenician and Punic languages preserved partly in Phenician monuments and partly in the classics, are in affinity to the Hebrew.

3. There is no hint of diversity of language in all the Bible accounts of the intercourse between the Israelites and Canaanites.³ These considerations must not be pressed to the extent of proving the *sameness* of the Canaanitish, Punic, and Hebrew; they are solely available for the purpose of showing that the three are the same *in substance*, whatever peculiarities of a dialectical kind exist between them. Biblical proper names may have been somewhat Hebraised in form when adopted by the Hebrews, just as Egyptian and Persian words were; and the remains of the Phenician, while exhibiting great similarity to the Hebrew, may also have some affinities

¹ Hupfeld, p. 5. *et seqq.*

² Lehrbuch der Historisch-Kritischen Einleitung, p. 35.

³ Gesenius's Geschichte der Heb. S. u. s. w., p. 16. *et seqq.*

to the Aramæan, as indeed they appear to have. Still the Phœnician has a greater affinity to the Hebrew than any other Shemitic language, though we admit that in some respects it is distinguished from it.

A point has been discussed among various critics, whether Abraham brought with him into Canaan the very Hebrew language which appears in the earliest books of the Old Testament; or whether he adopted from the tribes living in that country their common tongue, which was afterwards developed by his successors under the peculiar influences they were subject to, so as to assume the condition it appears in, in the biblical books. We believe the latter view to be the correct one. The Canaanites occupied their territory before Abraham came into it; and we infer from Gen. xxxi. 47. that the relatives of Abraham who remained behind him in Mesopotamia, whence he had emigrated, spoke Aramæan. Hence this must have been the mother-tongue of Abraham himself. Besides, the language has no other word for *west* than *ד*, *sea*, showing that it was not carried with him by Abraham into Canaan, but proceeded from the Canaanites living to the east of the Mediterranean.¹ These tribes must have left the Aramæan mother-land in times considerably earlier than the progenitor of the Israelites; and the Canaanitish, in which the Hebrew is included, originated with them in its distinctive character as a branch of the great Shemitic family.

The considerations now adduced will help us to answer another question somewhat allied to the preceding one, but which it is scarcely necessary at the present day to do more than allude to. Indeed the very mention of it may seem superfluous. Was Hebrew the primitive language of mankind? In recent times, this question has been answered in the affirmative by Hävernîck², Scholz³, and Baumgarten⁴, though it ought in fairness to be stated that the former has introduced certain modifications into the view to make it plausible. It is wholly vain to attempt proving the identity of Hebrew with the primeval language of mankind by the biblical names in the early part of Genesis, which are formed according to Hebrew etymologies and so essentially connected with their origin; or by the vestiges of Hebrew words alleged to exist in all other languages.

The latest researches into the Shemitic dialects lead back to a common Shemitic trunk-language, whose roots were for the most part biliteral or monosyllabic. In like manner the basis of all the Indo-Germanic dialects is a common trunk-language with monosyllabic roots. By this feature of the two, the Shemitic and Indo-Germanic, the way is prepared for ascertaining and establishing a *radical* affinity between them. As far as we can judge from the

¹ Robinson affirms that this argument is fallacious, because for the same reason it might be shown that the Arabic was original in Egypt, the Egyptians using *El-Bahr* (the Mediterranean Sea) for the *north*. But the inference is invalid, because there are other words in Arabic for *north* besides *El-Bahr*; whereas the Hebrew has no other term for *west* save the one in question. See *Bib. Researches in Palestine*, vol. i. p. 542.

² Einleitung; vol. i. 1., p. 145. *et seqq.*

³ Einleit. vol. i. § 9.

⁴ Theologischer Commentar zum Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 155.

historical languages which have proceeded from the two stocks, there is little doubt that there was so great a relationship between them as to justify the hypothesis of their original unity. In this unity there is a sure index of the identity of all languages at the beginning. Even the Egyptian has been shown by Lepsius, Meyer, Bunsen, and Benfey, to bear a radical affinity both to the Indo-Germanic and Shemitic, being a more ancient formation than either of them, perhaps the common germ of both; or the most ancient representative of the one primitive tongue. It is *primitive Hamism*.¹

Instead of asking, therefore, whether Hebrew was the primitive language, we should rather inquire in the first instance, which of the dialects belonging to the primitive Shemitic trunk-language has adhered longest and truest to its original type, or retained most of its antique simplicity? A question this, easily asked, but difficult to answer. Here we are inclined to think that the Hebrew must give way to the Aramæan and Arabic. Both Ewald and Rödiger give the priority to the Arabic. But we prefer with Fürst to assign it to the Aramæan. The latter appears to us as the more original form of Shemitism. It is true that its structure has suffered considerably; but Rödiger probably goes too far in asserting that its simplicity is occasioned merely by derangement of structure and curtailment of forms.² In every case the development of the *structure* of the language must be carefully separated from the development of its *literature*, since both depend on causes and influences distinct from one another.

Although Hebrew is by no means so rich, full, and developed in its forms as the Arabic, it can hardly be considered in itself as a poor language. In the sphere of religious ideas, and in things generally affecting the life and spirit of the people, it showed an expansive capacity of expression. Words symbolising foreign things it was obliged to borrow from foreign languages, such as Egyptian, Persian, and Greek. It would be a mistake to suppose that the extant remains of old Hebrew literature have preserved the entire treasures of the ancient language. The latter must have been richer than they appear in the canonical literature of the Old Testament, which is but *a part* of the Hebrew national literature.

It is likely that there were dialects in the ancient Hebrew, though there are very few traces of them, because the Old Testament writers almost all belonged to a very limited locality. The Aramæan may have exerted an influence in the north on the popular language, as the prefixed *ש* in the book of Judges serves to show. Traces of northern dialect are contained in the song of Deborah (Judg. v.). In Nehemiah (xiii. 23, 24.) the dialect of Ashdod is censured as Philistian; and the Ephraimites pronounced *ש* like *שׁ* or *ס* (Judg. xii. 6.).³ In addition to the fixed character of the East, there is a peculiarity of structure in the Hebrew language, with the other Shemitic dialects, which prevented it from being subject, in the lapse

¹ See Bunsen's able Essay on Ethnology, in the Report of the British Association for 1847, p. 254. *et seqq.*

² In Gesenius's Hebräische Grammatik, p. 7., 17th edition.

³ Ewald's Lehrbuch, p. 20.

of time, to such striking changes as the Indo-Germanic family is liable to. Besides, the circumstances of the Hebrew nation were such as could not materially affect a language. The Mosaic institutions tended to shut them out from intercourse with other peoples; the twelve tribes lived together in civil and ecclesiastical unity under a peculiar constitution which resisted the current of popular life as it moves along with hurried pace overstepping the barriers of civilisation; they were never subjected for a long time together to the yoke of nations speaking a foreign tongue, and lived almost secluded from the rest of the world. Hence the people did not make much advancement in civilisation; and their language was little developed at the same time. Yet a certain progress in it may be discovered, even from the remains extant in the Old Testament. It has been thought by Hengstenberg¹ and Hävernick², whom Keil follows as usual, that three periods in the history of the language may be traced clearly enough. These are the Mosaic age, that of David and Solomon, and that of the exile. This division rests on some observations made by Ewald, in which his acuteness and microscopic power of discovering distinctions alike appear. But the lines between the three specified periods are somewhat shadowy and indistinct. And not only are they obscure and inexact, but they also involve certain views as to the age of books which it is difficult to sustain. On this account we prefer to abide by the old and well-known division into the *golden* and *silver* ages of the language, a division none the worse in our eyes because Gesenius gave currency to it. Even here the lines cannot be sharply drawn. The former reaches to the Babylonian exile, when the latter commences. To the *golden* age belong the following historical books, viz., the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Ruth; the prophets Joel, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah; the last part of Zechariah (ix.—xiv.); among the poetical writings, the earlier Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Job. During this period, amid all the individualities of different writers and the differences of literary excellence, no great diversities of style are apparent. But the language of the poetical books and fragments is distinguishable from the prose of the historical ones, by an external rhythm consisting in a parallelism of members, not in an adjusted measurement of syllables. It is also observable in a peculiar *usus loquendi*, employing certain words, significations of words, forms, and constructions, not current in the ordinary idiom, but yet analogous to the usage in other dialects, especially the Aramæan. The most natural explanation of what has just been stated, lies in our assuming that these poetical peculiarities are part of the original Aramæan tongue, and therefore *archaisms*, to which the diction of poets in general leans. The older language of poetry is characterised by the usual qualities of energy, vividness, and boldness. But it is also marked by a certain hardness, clumsiness, and obscurity of expression which commonly characterise first attempts in literature. The language of the prophets during

¹ In Tholuck's *Litterarischer Anzeiger*, No. 44.

² *Einleit.* i. 1. p. 177. *et seqq.*

its palmy period is closely allied to the poetical; the only exception being, that the rhythm is freer and less regular and the periods longer than in the writings of such as are properly called poets. In the later prophets, the diction is flattened down more and more into prose, in proportion as the animating spirit degenerates.

About the time of the Babylonish exile, a *silver* age of the Hebrew language and literature appears. This may be said to extend from the commencement of that deportation till the close of the canon. The theocratic spirit of the nation now sank, and with it native power of conception, purity of taste, and originality of ideas. As the political prosperity and independence of the people fell away, we might have expected, *a priori*, a corresponding degeneracy in literature. This is observable in two writers who stand on the borders of the golden age in point of language, Jeremiah and Ezekiel; still more in the post-exile prophets, Haggai, Zechariah (i.—viii.), Malachi, Daniel, and the later Psalm-writers. In the latter, the diction sinks down to the verge of prose; or it is marked by an imitation of older poetical phrases. In like manner, history, ceasing to be pervaded by the old spirit of the nation, became less worthy of the name, consisting of extracts from genealogies and memoirs: annalist compilations, mechanically put together, as Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles. Daniel, Esther, and Jonah, are not free from analogous features. The decay of the language is chiefly exhibited in the Aramæan colouring affecting its orthography, forms, and *usus loquendi*. The Hebrews had come into contact with the Chaldeans in Babylon; and therefore the dialect of the latter, allied as it was to the Hebrew, exerted an important and increasing influence on that of the former. Such Aramæan element is particularly seen in Chronicles, Esther, Daniel, Jonah, Ecclesiastes, and various Psalms. In Ezra and Daniel, portions wholly Chaldee are found. Yet there are exceptions in the compositions of this period to the general inferiority of its literary products. Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the language, there are works in which the old living spirit of poetry appears, causing them to be ranked in merit with the best parts of the Old Testament, such as Ecclesiastes, and several later Psalms, particularly cxxxix. In others, the pure style of the classical age is preserved, as in the Psalms of Korah.¹

It is not easy to mark the precise time at which Hebrew ceased to be the living language of the Jews. Some date its extinction at the captivity, an opinion revived and supported with great ability in modern days by Hengstenberg and Hävernick.

Another view is, that though the people in Babylon became accustomed to the Aramæan dialect, and laid aside the use of their mother-tongue, they retained the latter *partially* for some time after. The more educated class still employed their ancient language in speech and writing. Thus both the Chaldee and Hebrew continued among the people for a considerable period, till the former entirely supplanted the latter in the second century before Christ.

¹ Gesenius's Hebräische Grammatik, ed. Rödiger, 17th edition, p. 9. *et seqq.*

These views are not very different, if they are stated with certain modifications which some of their respective advocates would hardly object to. Much depends on the discrimination made in regard to classes of the people. The adherents of the old view cannot deny that the educated still understood their former speech after the return to Palestine; and it was certainly used in books written after the exile. In our opinion they must have *spoken* it too, and not only they, but others also. It was not wholly supplanted among the body of the people during the sojourn in Babylon. The duration of that sojourn and the habits of the exiles are adverse to any other supposition. It was still partially used in various districts after the exile, by the side of the adopted dialect; longest without doubt by the more opulent and cultivated. It became extinct gradually somewhere in the second century before Christ. It will be seen, therefore, that we adopt the latter view as the more correct one, rejecting that of Hengstenberg. Gesenius, Hupfeld, and Rödiger hold the same opinion. Two passages have been adduced on both sides, according as they are interpreted, viz., Nehemiah viii. 8., xiii. 24. In the former, it is related that the priests and Levites “read in the book of God קִפְּרָו , and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading.” Gesenius explains the term קִפְּרָו *distinctly, faithfully, accurately*, so that every word could be apprehended by the hearers.¹ But Hengstenberg, following the Talmudists and Hebrew interpreters, understands the term, *adding an explanation*, i.e. giving at the same time the interpretation of what was read in the Chaldee language.² This latter is said to be confirmed by Ezra iv. 18. But the meaning thus developed seems to be untenable and unauthorised. It is favoured neither by the context, nor by Ezra iv., 18. Besides, Nehemiah xiii. 24. plainly shows that Hebrew was still spoken in Nehemiah’s day. Certain Jews, as there related, had children who spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak *in the Jews’ language* לְהִנְיֵן . It is vain for Hengstenberg to argue that לְהִנְיֵן means *the language which the Jews then spoke*, i.e. the Aramaean as opposed to that of the Philistines, Ammonites, &c. The assumption is quite arbitrary.

From the preceding observations, it will be seen that we disagree with such as maintain the extinction of the Hebrew as a living tongue at the exile. It continued to be partially spoken and used in writing some time after, especially among the more cultivated; the Aramaean being *generally*, but not *exclusively*, spoken by the great mass of the people.

After Hebrew became a dead language, it still continued, as the dialect of the sacred books, to be read and explained in the synagogues; and was a subject of learned study among the Rabbins. It was carefully preserved and handed down in the schools of learning. The Rabbins have great merit in thus perpetuating a knowledge of the ancient language along with the holy writings. And not only so, but they also attended critically to the text,

¹ Geschichte der Heb. Sprache, p. 45., and Thesaurus, s. v. קִפְּרָו .

² Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament, p. 299. *et seqq.*

furnishing it, probably after the sixth century, with a number of new orthographical marks to assist in a more accurate pronunciation of it—a vowel-system, involving the finest distinctions of sounds—and with an accentuation and interpunction of like minuteness. The collection of critical observations made by these Jewish scholars has received the name *Masorah*; and they themselves after it are styled *Masoretes*. Yet whatever merit may belong to the Masoretes for labours of this nature, there is little doubt that such complex and outward orthographical signs overburden the forms of words, and stifle the living spirit of free inquiry. A true insight into the genius of the language is impeded by them.

Even after the destruction of the Jewish state, Jewish zeal on behalf of their old language was not extinguished. The sacred books prevented that misfortune. They were ardently studied; and by the aid of tradition, which always retained some knowledge of the old classical tongue, as well as a strong love for the perusal of the national literature, an aftershoot of the ancient Hebrew arose in the *new Hebrew* dialect. This became the language of the learned, or of the Rabbins, beside the Aramæan or people's dialect, and was used in many Rabbinical works of a scientific nature, occupying an intermediate place between the old sacred tongue and the common Aramæan. This *new Hebrew* or *Rabbinical* dialect appears first in the most ancient part of the Talmud, the *Mishna*, a collection of ecclesiastical statutes intended to explain and supplement the written law of Moses; and which, after being orally preserved and handed down through various generations, was reduced to writing, in the first half of the third century after Christ, by R. Judah *the holy*, president of the Jewish academy at Tiberias. The language of the *Mishna* approximates to the latest biblical Hebrew, inclining of course still more to the Aramæan; and all Jewish writings belonging to the first six centuries of the Christian era partake more or less of the same character, their diction being impregnated with an Aramæan colouring, and the forms of words so far corrupted by means of it. The dialect of the younger parts of the Talmud, or the *Gemara*, collected and written down between the fourth and sixth centuries, is much more degenerate than that of the *Mishna*, especially in the portions collected at Babylon, or the Babylonian *Gemara*, which were of later origin than those committed to writing at Jerusalem, i.e. the Jerusalem *Gemara*. Here the language sinks down almost entirely into Aramæan.¹

In the eleventh century, a second revival of learning took place among the Jews. Stimulated by the example of the Arabians, a number of Jews applied themselves to the language of their own books, which they tried to purify and bring into greater conformity to the biblical Hebraism. The direction their efforts took was a *scientific*, not a *popular*, one. Hence arose the so-called *Rabbinical* dialect as distinguished from the *Talmudic*. In some respects the Rabbinical is a successful approximation to its model, excelling the Talmudic in purity. It appears to most advantage

¹ Hupfeld, Hebräische Grammatik, pp. 13, 14.

in the commentaries on the Old Testament, known by the appellation פירושים. But on the whole it bears the character of a degenerate, corrupt dialect strongly imbued with Aramæan, though less so than the Talmudic. Both have a considerable number of new words and significations of words, from being applied to subjects foreign to the Old Testament. Terms expressive of objects and relations in the arts and sciences distinguish it most, adding to its compass, as compared with the biblical language. It is also marked by a more abundant stock of particles. Foreign terms have in like manner been incorporated with it,—Latin, Greek, and Persian.¹

CHAP. III.

THE HEBREW CHARACTERS.

THE most ancient mode of writing was by pictures, which represented the object to the eye and recalled the name for it. But we have now to do with the Hebrew alphabet, which is merely an ancient branch of the Shemitic. Yet there is reason to believe that the hieroglyphical, so long preferred in Egypt, suggested the principle or germ of the earliest alphabetical writing to a people external to Egypt itself. The Shemitic alphabet must have been invented by a Shemitic people, since it is perfectly adapted to the peculiarities of the Shemitic trunk-language. It is needless to inquire minutely into the question, What people invented alphabetical writing? To Egypt must be assigned *phonetic hieroglyphics*, the oldest of all methods of writing; and then proper alphabetical writing belongs either to the *Phenicians* or the *Babylonians*. Scholars are not agreed in assigning the honour of the discovery to one or the other. In favour of the Babylonians are Kopp, Hoffmann, Hupfeld; but Gesenius inclines to the Phenicians. One thing is tolerably certain, viz. that the people who first used this writing had some connexion with Egypt. The commerce of the *Phenicians* would readily lead them to Egypt; but the *Aramæans* also may have been brought into contact with the same country through a cause or causes unknown to us.

From the time we have any certain traces of the Shemitic writing, it was divided into three branches. In the farthest south, embracing southern Arabia and Africa, were developed the Himyaritic and Ethiopic, both anciently exhibiting a degree of elegance. The western branch is seen in the Phenician character, which was the character of the Hebrew for a length of time, and has been preserved among the Samaritans to the present day. The eastern branch was used in Babylonia and other countries on the Euphrates and Tigris.

The genuine palæographical monuments of the Phenicians have preserved to us the form of that alphabet to which we must look for the original Hebrew character. The letters found on Phenician stones and coins, are generally marked by strong strokes downward,

¹ Hupfeld, Hebräische Grammatik, pp. 15, 16.

without curvatures to join them to other letters, and closed heads either round or pointed. The former peculiarity corresponds with the character of a rude age inscribing letters on a hard material. It was this mode of writing, as well as the language itself, which the Hebrews adopted from the Canaanites among whom they dwelt, and which was current throughout the whole period during which Hebrew was a living tongue. A twofold memorial of its use has been preserved, besides a certain tradition respecting it found in the Talmud, and even before in Origen and Jerome:—(a) The character on the Maccabean coins which were struck under the princes of that distinguished family, dating from B. C. 143, a character closely allied to the Phœnician; (b) The Samaritan writing, in which the Samaritan Pentateuch exists, a character remaining unaltered down to the present time, and differing from the Phœnician, especially as seen on the Maccabean coins, only by several freer and more artificial traits, as might have been expected from the difference of material on which it was impressed. Thus the Hebrew characters, till about the time of Christ, the Phœnician, and the Samaritan, were substantially identical. They are stiff and heavy, angular, uneven, without proportion or beauty; and underwent comparatively little alteration in the progress of many centuries.¹

In the meantime among the Aramæans, at least those in the west, this old Shemitic character was gradually altered. It was by degrees brought near the form of a cursive character in two ways, either by opening the heads before closed and dividing them into two projecting points or ears; or by breaking the stiff strokes into horizontally inclined ones, which would serve for union in cursive writing, but in stone-writing would form for the most part a sort of basis. This character is found on Aramæan monuments in a twofold form, an *older* and simpler one appearing on the Carpentras stone, still approximating to the ancient writing from which it deviates, chiefly by opening the heads of letters; and a *younger* one appearing in inscriptions on the ruins of Palmyra, where the primitive alphabet has been wholly forsaken, both in the open heads, of which nothing but a point remains in many letters, and in horizontal union-strokes as well as in twisted features. Thus the eastern Aramæan branch of Shemitic writing was early distinguished by being somewhat round, ductile, and regular.²

But the old Phœnician character, that branch of Shemitic writing adopted by the Jews, did not remain stationary and unchanged among that people. In their hands it passed through a course of development not unlike the Aramæan branch. It did not indeed change so much nor become round and cursive like the latter, yet it did not resist all modification. The Maccabean coin-writing evinces a tendency towards alteration, especially in breaking the upright strokes of some letters. It is very probable that the influence of the later Aramæan had contributed to this, since the language of the Jews itself had felt the powerful influence so as to give way to it entirely. Aramæan influence modified and suppressed the ancient

¹ Hupfeld, Grammatik, pp. 33, 34.

² Ibid. p. 34.

character. Hence arose our *present* Hebrew character. It is to be regretted that the character found on the Palmyrene inscriptions belongs to monuments of no higher date than the first Christian century. And yet this character stands in a relation to the square Hebrew which cannot be denied. It has been used both by Kopp and Hupfeld as the intermediate link between the ancient Hebrew character employed before the exile and the modern or square one. In consequence of the intermediate nature of the Palmyrene, Kopp brings down the time when the present Hebrew character began to the fourth century.¹ But this is too late, as has been proved by Hupfeld², who places it in the first or second century after Christ. If we compare our square character with the Palmyrene, it may be said to proceed an important step farther, smoothing off entirely the remaining points of the Phœnician heads, enlarging the horizontal strokes, as well as altering the position and length of several cross-lines; while at the same time by separating the single letters and the stiff ornaments which proceeded from the hands of tasteless writers, it lost again the attributes of a cursive character, and became a pointed, broken one. Hence it has received the appellation קָרֵבַע בְּתֵב, *square character*. But it would give an erroneous view of the question to regard the square character as a development of the old one. It is chiefly of *foreign* origin. It was adopted by the Jews from another people. Yet the one could not have been *formally and at once* exchanged for the other. Such alterations are usually made by degrees. It is curious to observe how the external influence operating on the old Hebrew modified and renewed the ancient character. The Aramæan influence, itself acting through a cursive character, did not stamp that cursive character on the old Hebrew; but rather led to a revival of the separation and distinctness of letters characteristic of the antique form.

In maintaining that the change from the old Hebrew character to the square one was of Aramæan origin, and that it was not sudden but gradual, we must not lose sight of the existence of two principles which modify more or less all kinds of writings, i.e. *tachygraphy* and *calligraphy*. It was *tachygraphy*, or the striving after convenience and facility, which had begun to affect the old Hebrew writing seen on the Maccabean coins, where the approaches to a cursive form may be easily recognised. And it was the principle of *calligraphy*, or the striving after elegance and regularity of form, which may be noticed in the square character, where the letters are separate, distinct, well-proportioned. Yet the *foreign element* was still predominant, acting perhaps through the *tachygraphical* principle mainly; whereas the *calligraphical*, apparent in the square character, seems to have proceeded from a feeling of resistance to the other, and may be attributed perhaps to the circumstances in which the Jews stood towards the Samaritans.³

¹ Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit, vol. ii. § 101. 115.

² See Beleuchtung dunkler Stellen der alttestamentlichen Textgeschichte, reprinted from the Studien und Kritiken for 1830, p. 39. *et seqq.*

³ Hupfeld, Beleuchtung, u. s. w., p. 13. *et seqq.*

But here a difficult and disputed point arises as to the people from whom the square character was derived. Were they *Babylonians* or *Syrians*? The latter is strenuously maintained by Hupfeld, who adduces ingenious and cogent arguments in favour of it. The former is more generally adopted, as by Kopp, Ewald, Winer, and others. A good deal of stress is laid by the advocates of the latter on the phrase *בְּתַב אֲשֵׁרִי*, applied in the Talmud to the square or modern character. This they explain *Assyrian* writing, *i. e.*, Chaldean. And it must be confessed that such is the most natural interpretation. Hupfeld however takes it as an *appellative*, in contrast with *רַעֲוָן*, the word applied by the Talmudists to the old Hebrew character retained by the Samaritans. He translates it *firm, strong*, deriving it from the verb *אָשַׁר*.¹ There are at least *four* coins of Bar-Cochba known to be in existence, inscriptions on which are in characters exactly similar to the Maccabean coin-writing.² But this fact is not so important in its relation to the time when the change from one character to another took place, as some may suppose; for there is reason to believe that Bar-Cochba made use of the genuine Maccabean stamp introduced by Simon for some purpose or other, inasmuch as the very same emblems appear on his as on the Maccabean ones; and the old character, so far from being current at the time of Bar-Cochba, was disliked, if we may judge from R. Elieser of Modin, a contemporary of Bar-Cochba, denying that the *Torah* or law, had been originally written in the Samaritan character.

But the Palmyrene inscriptions, whose connection with the square Hebrew none can doubt, appear to us to refer *the consummation* of the change from the one character into the other to the last half of the first century. And it is probably safer to hold by *the Syrian* than the Chaldean origin of the alteration, agreeably to the view of Hupfeld. The *commencement* of the change, however, may be referred to the second century before Christ, thus allowing three centuries for its consummation. We are not insensible to the modifications which Hävernick³, Winer⁴, Herbst⁵, and others would introduce into the theory first wrought out with admirable skill by Hupfeld, on the principles of Kopp's great book. But it seems to us that some of them would take the Aramæan commencement of the change too far back towards the time of Ezra. The Maccabean coin-writing stands in its way, if not the coins of Bar-Cochba, both bearing the old Phenician or Hebrew. The only objection to the bringing of the change into the first century of the Christian era is a passage in St. Matthew's Gospel, (v. 8), from which it would seem to follow, that the law was then written in the square or

¹ Hupfeld, *Beleuchtung*, u. s. w., p. 50.

² These four are partly in the Bibliothéque Royale at Paris, and partly in London. Four have been known for some time, and are described in various works, especially by Bayer and Eckhel. But one is suspicious, and may be omitted from the number. A fourth, which is unquestionably genuine, is in the British Museum. See an account of it in Davidson's *Bib. Crit.*, vol. i. p. 35.; and comp. the excellent note of Graetz in his *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv. pp. 513, 514.

³ *Einleit.*, vol. i. 1. p. 285. *et seqq.*

⁴ *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, vol. ii., article *Schreibkunst, Schrift*.

⁵ *Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments*, part i. p. 61 *et seqq.*

modern character, because *yod* is referred to as the smallest letter of the alphabet. But this may allude to *Greek* Matthew, and the *Greek* alphabet; or, the square character had been partially introduced at that time. We cannot admit the Jewish tradition which attributes the change to Ezra to be true in any sense, even in the limited one held by Gesenius, who, assuming that both characters, the Aramaean and the old Hebrew, were used together after the exile, endeavours to justify the late use of the ancient letters by appealing to the parallel use of the Kufic character on the Mohammedan coins after the Nischi had been employed in writing; and to the probability that the Maccabees had a mercantile interest in imitating the coinage of the Phenicians.¹ We believe that no scholar since the researches of Kopp abides by the tradition embodied in the Talmud, Origen, and Jerome, that Ezra exchanged the one character for the other. But there has been of late a desire to carry up the commencement of the change towards Ezra's time, and to attribute the foreign origin of the square letters to the Babylonians. Against this the Palmyrene militates, showing that the square character was developed out of an alphabet having a close affinity to the Palmyrene, which could only be Syrian, while at the same time the coin-writing of the Maccabees harmonises with the Palmyrene inscriptions in bringing the time of complete change into the first century of the Christian era.²

CHAP. IV.

HEBREW VOWEL POINTS.

THE controversy carried on two hundred years ago respecting the antiquity of the vowel points terminated in the general acknowledgment of their comparatively recent origin, without throwing any light on the nature of the original Hebrew vocalisation.

In the Hebrew alphabet there are only two letters which serve as vowels, viz., *yod* and *vau*, representing *i* and *u* respectively, and often *o* and *e*. All the other vowel sounds are denoted by points and small lines placed above and beneath the consonants; and even the two vowel letters *vau* and *yod* attain their significance and power only by such points and lines, so that they cannot be termed vowel-marks by themselves. They are otiose, meaningless vowel-bearers, and therefore termed *quiescent*.

In developing the original vowel-system of the Hebrews, two positions appear indubitable. The one is, that the original vocalisation was much simpler than it is now; the other, that the writing continued in its first state even after the vocalisation had been extended, without inventing signs for the newly-added tones. The

¹ Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift, p. 150.

² See the tables in Gesenius's Monumenta Phœnicia, part iii., first five plates; the plate prefixed to Hupfeld's Hebräische Grammatik; that prefixed to Davidson's Biblical Criticism, and the *third chapter* of the last-named treatise.

first of these positions has been arrived at by a wide analogy of language; the other appears from the facts of the case.

Like all primitive languages, the Hebrew had at first the three primitive vowels *a*, *i*, *u*. But in writing, the two last only, viz., *i* and *u*, which possess also a consonantal power, have peculiar letters to represent them, *yod* and *vau*; the purest and predominant vowel *a*, having no sign of its own. We may therefore conceive of the oldest Hebrew writing as a kind of *syllable-writing*, in which every letter was uttered with the vowel-sound *a*, the simplest and purest of all, most resembling a natural emission of the breath; whereas the vowels *i* and *u*, nearer to consonant sounds, and making the consonants *ai*, *au*, by union with *a* of the consonant before them, were represented by the same letters which expressed their consonant sounds. Hence the vowel-sound *a* was always supplied where the written representatives of the other two vowels *i* and *u* did not appear. Of this original predominance of the *a* vowel, important traces still remain in the Arabic and Ethiopic languages, where the oldest vocalisation has been most faithfully retained.

In progress of time, this simple vowel-system, if such it can be appropriately termed, extended itself by the intermediate sounds *e* and *o*, which took place by obscuration of the clear high *a* into *è* and *ò*, both in an impure utterance of it and in intentional modification of the sound; by obscuration of *i* and *u* into *é* and *ó*; and by contracting the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, into *ê*, *ô*. One should have expected from the analogy of other languages, that this extension of vowel-sounds would have been designated by additional letters, as in Greek. But in Shemitic that was not done. The writing remained the same; and the additional vowels were regarded either as so many auxiliary tones to the consonants, or as modifications of *i* and *u*. When looked upon as auxiliary sounds to the consonants, like the primitive vowel *a* whence they were derived, they did not of course obtain any outward sign or representative. When regarded as modifications of *i* and *u*, they had the same symbols as *i* and *u*, viz. *yod* and *vau*. In this manner the entire series of vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, with all their shades and distinctions of sound had but two representative letters. And even these were frequently omitted, both in the inscriptions on stones and coins, where the hard material led to as much abbreviation as possible; and in the oldest books of the Bible. The *scriptio defectiva* is well known. In the final syllable however, or that with the tone on it, they were placed with considerable regularity. With such simple, imperfect vocalisation was the Hebrew language satisfied, as long as it was a living one. The deficiencies were not felt much, because they could be so readily supplied in speaking; and men did not write or read much in those times. After the captivity, when some literary activity began, the inconveniences of the old vowel notation began to be felt in the same proportion as a knowledge of the language itself decreased among the people; and assistance was given in the *more frequent* use of the vowel letters *vau* and *yod*, as well as of *ס* for *à*. This orthography

appears in the later books of the Old Testament, which belong to the post-exile times; where the so-called *scriptio plena* has always been recognised as a feature distinguishing those books from the more ancient ones. The same expedient is found in a much greater degree in the Samaritan Pentateuch, as well as in the Talmudic and Rabbinic dialect.¹

At the time when the Septuagint version was made, the Hebrew vocalisation had not attained to its latest form; and, therefore it deviates in many instances from the present. In the Targums it appears much more fixed and definite. In the Talmud and Jerome it is still more settled, agreeing in the main with what it became afterwards. But neither the Talmud nor Jerome recognise the vowel-points. They were of later origin, as has been proved by Hupfeld.² Hence they must be put later than the sixth century of the Christian era. The ambiguity arising from the want of vowel-signs must have been acceptable to the Talmudists. So far from their exhibiting any feeling of the want of them, their principle *that the traditional word must not be written* repressed such feeling; for the appending of vowel-points would have prevented very many of those plays on terms and applications to didactic purposes founded on an ambiguous because unpointed text, in which they loved to indulge. The Talmudic period must have elapsed and a new one of literary activity commenced, before the vowel-point system began. This is confirmed by the fact that, in MSS. of the law intended for synagogue use, the vowel-points are not put, because the form of such MSS. is accurately prescribed in the Talmud, in contrast with the usage of the Syrians and Arabians who furnish their copies with a complete vocalisation and interpunction, contenting themselves with unvowelled ones for common use.

After the completion of the Talmud, the Jews oppressed and scattered, felt the necessity of fixing their oral traditions by *writing*, so that they might not be lost. This led to the development of the present Masoretic system—a complicated and artificial apparatus—which could not have proceeded from one person, or have been the work of a single century. It was made by *successive* steps. This indeed cannot be proved, yet it has been rendered highly probable from various circumstances. The historical relations of the Jews of that time to the Syrians and Arabians, a philological comparison of the vowel-systems belonging to the latter with the Masoretic one, and other historical circumstances combine to show that it was unfolded gradually and successively from simpler rudiments. In the seventh century, the Syrians and Arabians had a vowel-designation, which, setting out with simple diacritic signs and points, was developed by degrees into a complete phonetic representation of vowel-sounds. The vocalisation-system, already existing among the Syrians and Arabians, gave rise to the Masoretic and furnished the basis of it. To what minuteness these learned Jews who were employed in fixing the Masorah in writing carried out the vowel-system, is apparent to

¹ See Hupfeld, Grammatik, p. 54. *et seqq.*

² Kritische Beluchtung, u. s. w., p. 62. *et seqq.*

all. The finest and most delicate distinctions of sound were intended to be preserved by it. The Syro-Arabian influence which originated and affected the Masoretic vowel-system has been minutely investigated and maintained by Hupfeld.¹ But Ewald denies the *Arabian* influence², attributing the vocalisation merely to a *Syrian* source. It is hard however to resist the proofs of Arabian origin and influence. Jewish grammarians reduce all the vowels to three fundamental ones; and the Arabic names of them in the book Kosri coincide with the Hebrew vowels. We may place the development of the vowel-system from the seventh till the tenth centuries, at Tiberias, where there was a famous Jewish academy. At the beginning of the eleventh century, R. Juda Chiug mentions all the seven vowels; and the Spanish Rabbins of the eleventh and twelfth centuries know nothing of their modern origin.

A MS. at Odessa, examined and described by Pinner, reveals the existence of another vowel-system, different from the Masoretic one. In it the points, with one exception, are all *above* the letters, and their forms are unlike those of the usual vowels. It represents the vocalisation developed by the Jews in Babylon; and has therefore been called by Ewald the *Assyrian-Hebrew*. But Roediger, with more propriety, calls it *Persian-Jewish*.³ Yet though differing from the Palestinian, it may be traced back to the same simple basis. Both were evolved out of the same rudiments, as is thought by Ewald, to whose essay, as well as to that of Roediger, we refer for a particular account of these strange vowels.⁴ Hupfeld thinks otherwise.

The value of the Masoretic vowel-system, awkward and complicated as it is, cannot be lightly estimated. It is indeed the representation of a tradition, but of the best and oldest tradition we can obtain.

The great Hebrew vowel controversy, which formerly excited such interest among Biblical scholars, is now matter of history. We can only refer to it in the briefest terms. The different critics who took part in it may be thus arranged:—

1. The Buxtorfs, father and son, following most Rabbins of the middle-age period, with Loescher and almost all orthodox theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, contended for the originality or divine origin of the points.

2. Their late origin was intimated by Abenezra, expressly asserted by Elias Levita, and became current among the Reformers, Luther, Calvin, and others. Buxtorf, in his *Tiberias*, attempted a refutation of this view. It was defended by Cappellus in his celebrated work *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum* (1624), which was answered by Buxtorf junior. Cappellus and John Morin replied.

3. An intermediate view was adopted by others. They assumed the existence of an older and simpler vowel-system, consisting either

¹ Beleuchtung, u. s. w., p. 99. *et seqq.*

² Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache, p. 115.

³ See the Hallisch. Allgem. Lit. Zeit. Aug. 1848, No. 169.

⁴ Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft für 1848, p. 160. *et seqq.*

of three primitive vowels or of diacritic points. The oldest advocates of this hypothesis were Rivetus and Hottinger. It also was held by many able scholars of a more recent age, such as J. D. Michaelis, Eichhorn, Jahn, Bertholdt.¹

CHAP. V.

HEBREW ACCENTS.

THE Masoretic accentuation-system is closely connected with the vowels. The origin of both must have been contemporaneous. Like the vowel-system, the accentuation cannot be the work of one man or one century. It has been gradually evolved out of simple elements to its present state of minute and complicated signs. It is highly probable that the simpler Syriac accentuation furnished a starting-point for its further development and extension.

The Hebrew accents are of a *rhythmical* nature. They are the *exponents of rhythmical relations* in their manifold gradations. The rhythmical swell of the voice, its rising and sinking, is necessarily regulated by the sense, while it is *outwardly* expressed in the alternation of the tones with relation to height, and the intensity of the tone itself or the accent. Hence the pauses or members of this movement must be at once members of *the sense* and of *the tone*. They are both *logical* and *musical*, *i. e.*, they point out the relations existing between one word with another, and also one sentence with another; while they serve as musical notes to regulate the cantillation of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the former view they bear an analogy to the marks of punctuation employed by occidentals. In the latter they bear an analogy to musical notation. Thus they are the exponents both of *logical* or *grammatical*, and *musical* relations. They express a regulated, solemn kind of declamation, which was regarded by the Hebrews as suited to the sacred Scriptures, not the pronunciation or intonations of common discourse. This view of the nature and uses of the accents is confirmed by the twofold name appropriated to them, טַעְמִים, *tastes*, with obvious reference to their hermeneutical significance as punctuation marks; and נְגִינֹת, *music-notes*.²

Like the vowel-points, the accents also furnished ground for controversy in former times. The prevailing view in the seventeenth century was, that their design was *musical*. But after the middle of that century, another opinion began to be advanced, viz., that they were intended to point out the degree of connection existing between the different members of a sentence. They were thus supposed to have a *logical* or *grammatical* significance. When either of these views was held up as the *proper*, *original* design of the accents, objections could not fail to be adduced against it. The true theory is *that which unites both*. In assigning to them a

¹ See Gesenius, *Geschichte, der Heb. u. s. w.*, p. 182. *et seqq.* Hävernick, *Einleit.*, i. 1. p. 304. *et seqq.* Keil's *Einleit.*, §§ 168, 169., and Davidson's *Bib. Crit.*, vol. i. chap. iv.

² See Hupfeld, *Grammatik*, p. 115. *et seqq.*

rhythmical import, both are necessarily included. The whole system of accentuation was first *scientifically* unfolded and explained by Ewald and Hupfeld, each after his own manner. Before they wrote, discussions were little less than *empirical*.¹

Instead of speaking now of the cognate languages separately, which should be done perhaps because of their relation to the Hebrew, we shall introduce a very brief notice of them into the following chapter where they will naturally belong.

CHAP. VI.

MEANS BY WHICH A KNOWLEDGE OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE MAY BE ACQUIRED.

THERE are various sources whence a fundamental knowledge of Hebrew may be obtained. A language which has been dead for more than two thousand years, and is preserved but imperfectly in the limited remains of Old Testament literature, needs a variety of helps towards its thorough elucidation. Happily these are not scanty or insufficient, when all the circumstances of the case are fairly considered. The means of obtaining a sure acquaintance with Hebrew are of three kinds, viz., *historical*, *philological*, and *philosophical*.

1. Under the historical may be placed, *Jewish tradition*. This is preserved in the writings of the Rabbins, especially those of the Jewish grammarians, lexicographers, and commentators of the middle ages, such as R. Saadiah Gaon, R. Juda ben Karish, R. Menahem ben Saruk, R. Salomon Parchon, R. Juda Chiug, R. Jona or Abulwalid, R. Salomon Jarchi, David Kimchi, R. ben Moses or Ephodæus, Aben Ezra, Tanchum of Jerusalem. The majority of these wrote in the Arabic language, and their works are for the most part unprinted.

Jewish tradition is also preserved in the different ancient versions of the Old Testament, especially the Chaldee Paraphrases, the Alexandrine version, the Syriac Peshito, the Vulgate of Jerome, and the Arabic of R. Saadiah Gaon. The value of these depends in part on their antiquity and their literality. They often lead to the determination of the usage of a particular word where other helps fail; but they must be used with discrimination, since the Jews mixed up their own conjectures with the traditional, and did not always understand the original text, or render it faithfully into other languages.²

2. To the philological means belong a comparison of *the individual phenomena of the language*, which mutually supply and illustrate one

¹ See Hupfeld, Grammatik, p. 115. *et seqq.* Ewald, Lehrbuch, p. 132. *et seqq.*

² See Gesenius, on the sources of Hebrew Philology and Lexicography, translated in the American Biblical Repository for January 1833, article I. De Wette's Einleitung, part i. §§ 35, 36, sixth edition; and Keil's Einleit., p. 365. *et seqq.*

another. Thus, in a *grammatical* view, those existing forms should be searched out which contain in them the traces of an older formation, and so furnish an index to the origin of the present forms, viz. the anomalous forms, which generally belong to the oldest—those *c'thibs* or textual readings generally changed for ordinary forms by the Masoretes; proper names, in which several things that would be otherwise lost may be discovered; and a comparison of older and younger forms in the different parts of the Old Testament. In a *lexical* respect, the context and parallel places should be compared, as serving to show that the signification of a word may be discovered from the connection and can be confirmed by parallels; besides *etymology*, which may deduce the signification of derivatives from still existing roots. To this head also belongs a comparison of other Shemitic dialects, a procedure quite necessary not only for the purpose of explaining words, but also for penetrating into the entire grammatical structure of the Hebrew language. By such comparison, lost roots may be restored; significations uncertain, because they are of rare occurrence in Hebrew, and analogies explanatory of the *usus loquendi*, may be ascertained. But here the comparison should not be partial. It ought not to be confined to one dialect only but extended alike to all, and that, not in a superficial way, but fundamentally, so as to comprehend the internal structure and peculiar characteristics of each. A brief historical notice of these kindred dialects is now subjoined. The principal of them are the Aramæan and Arabic, with their respective secondary branches.

The Aramæan language was anciently vernacular in the extensive region included under *Aram*, *i. e.* Syria and Mesopotamia. No remains of it, as spoken by the people themselves, now exist. Some inscriptions in the dialect of Palmyra, belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era, have been found; but they throw little light on the old Aramæan. From the Aramæan come the Chaldee and Syriac. These two have been usually distinguished from one another, both *dialectically* and *geographically*. The one is called *East Aramæan*, the other *West Aramæan*, because the Chaldee was supposed to be spoken in Babylonia and Chaldea, the Syriac in Syria and northern Mesopotamia. But the distinction has been denied by some eminent scholars. The Chaldee and Babylonian we know only from *Jewish* memorials. They are wholly of Palestinian origin. It is also asserted that the so-called Chaldee wants the peculiar impress of a dialect. Its derivations from the Syriac are either imaginary, such as the pronunciation of the vowels, or mere Hebraisms. Hence it has been inferred that the two are identical, without denying however the early existence of a proper Aramæan-Babylonian dialect. What is asserted is, that we have no historical proof of the existence of the two dialects Chaldee and Syriac. It is said that after the Hebrew ceased to be vernacular, we know of the existence of but one language current from the Mediterranean Sea to the river Tigris, whose development and cultivation took place chiefly at Edessa and Nisibis, and that no dialects can be traced in it. When it passed over to the Jews, it was mixed with Hebrew.

The Aramæan then received a strong Hebrew colouring, as seen in the Chaldee portions of the Old Testament, and in a less degree, in the Targums. On the contrary, the Hebrew language coloured with Aramæan constituted the so-called *New-Hebrew*, exhibited in the Talmud and Rabbinical writings. According to this view, the so-called Chaldee, as a *living dialect distinct from the Syriac*, had no known existence. It was nothing but a branch of the one Aramæan tongue mixed with Hebrew. Such is the opinion of Hupfeld¹, Fürst², and De Wette³, who deny the difference of the two dialects. On the other hand, it has been argued that the Chaldee may be distinguished in many ways, both grammatically and lexically, from the Syriac, so that it must be regarded as the East Aramæan dialect once spoken in Babylonia. This is maintained by Hoffmann⁴, Winer⁵, Hävernick⁶, and Dietrich.⁷ The *Syriac* language has been termed the *West-Aramæan*, in contradistinction from the Chaldee or Babylonian. To us now it is a *New-Aramæan* dialect, that of the Syrian Christians, who had a considerable literature of their own from the middle of the second century. Into it the Scriptures were translated; and in the theological schools at Edessa and Nisibis it was further developed. Ecclesiastical and theological subjects were the circle within which it moved. It has not remained pure in the course of centuries, but has admitted foreign elements, especially Greek. The Syriac dialect is not extinct. It is still used as the church-language of the Maronites or Syrian Christians; and in a corrupted vulgar dialect it is spoken as their vernacular tongue, at the present day, by the Syrian Christians in Kurdistan and Mesopotamia.⁸

The Aramæan is closely allied to the Hebrew and serves to throw considerable light on it; but it is much poorer than the Arabic.

The principal remains of what is called the Chaldee are in the portions in Ezra and Daniel already indicated, and in the Targums or Chaldee paraphrases of the Old Testament.

The chief document extant in the Syriac language, is the Peshito version of the Old and New Testaments.

The *Samaritan* dialect is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramæan, like the Chaldee. It exists in the translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and in some MS. poems in the British Museum, the most important of which have been published by Gesenius.

The Arabic language is the richest and most fully developed of all the Shemitic family. In vowels and consonants, in word-stems and grammatical forms, it is more copious than the Hebrew. Before Mohammed, it was confined to Arabia, and cultivated for the most part through poetry. But with Islamism, it spread over the greater portion of Asia and Africa, while its literature increased and extended

¹ Beleuchtung, u. s. w., p. 45. *et seqq.*

² Lehrgebäude der Aram. Idiome, p. 5. *et seqq.*

³ Einleit. pp. 53, 54.

⁴ Grammatica Syriaca, p. 4.

⁵ Grammatik d. Bibl. und Targum. Chald., p. 5. and Realwörterbuch, s. v. Chaldaer.

⁶ Einleit. i. p. 103. *et seqq.*

⁷ De Sermonis Chald. proprietate.

⁸ Roediger über d. Aramäische Vulgärsprache der Heutigen Syr. Christen in Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenland, ii. p. 77. *et seqq.*, 314. *et seqq.*

into all departments. On many accounts it is the most interesting of the Shemitic languages, next to Hebrew.

There are few or no memorials of its most ancient form. Probably it had at first simpler forms than now, more analogous to those of the Hebrew than we see in its fully developed state. But as far as it can be traced it is much richer than the Hebrew orthographically, grammatically, and lexically. Hence it is a fertile source of Hebrew etymology and lexicography. Among the numerous independent tribes who used it there must have been *many dialects*. We now know however of the existence of only two principal ones. The *Himyaric* in Yemen was different from the dialect of central Arabia, and bore a nearer affinity to the Hebrew.¹ This was entirely supplanted by the *Koreishite* dialect, prevailing in north-western Arabia especially at Mecca; the latter being elevated by Mohammed, so as to become the language of books and the universal language of the people. It is this therefore that is called *the Arabic language*. All Arabic literature is in it. After the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the *classical* gave way to the *vulgar* Arabic as spoken by the people, into which latter many foreign and Turkish words were adopted. But it is less copious, having lost many forms and features of cultivation possessed by the more ancient language, and by that means has been made to approximate to the Hebrew more nearly. Its fewer and shorter forms render it so far simpler, and more analogous to the idioms of Hebrew and Aramæan.

“The personal and continued perusal of Arabic writers,” says Gesenius, “will be indispensable to the truly learned interpreter of the Old Testament; and will always be to him a rich source of parallels and comparisons for language in the broadest sense of the word, as also for ideas, poetical figures, &c.”²

From the *Himyaric* or dialect of southern Arabia, which was wholly supplanted by the present written Arabic, proceeded the *Ethiopic*. This is less rich and cultivated than the Arabic, yet it comes nearer the Hebrew and Aramæan. It is known by a translation of the Scriptures existing in it, and by various ecclesiastical works. In Abyssinia it continued to be spoken till the fourteenth century, when it was supplanted by the *Amharic*, which is still spoken. The *Geez* dialect is employed only in writing. Ludolf has primary merit in handling the Ethiopic; while in recent times, Hupfeld and Drechsler have investigated parts of it.

3. To the *philosophical* means for acquiring a fundamental knowledge of Hebrew belongs an examination of *the analogy of language generally*. Here abstract speculations respecting the nature of languages will be of little use, without a thorough study of other primitive dialects especially the Indo-Germanic or Japhetic. In this field much remains to be done; for the path has as yet been but partially indicated and trodden.

¹ See Gesenius in the *Allgem. Litt. Zeit.* of Halle for 1841, No. 123., and Roediger's *Excurs. über Himjar. Inschriften in Wellsted's Reisen in Arabien*, vol. ii. p. 352. *et seqq.*

² In the *Bib. Repos.* for 1833, p. 31.

CHAP. VII.

CRITICISM OF THE TEXT.

THE criticism of the text has to do with every thing that the authors themselves of the Old Testament put down in writing or that is now written. It includes, therefore, the characters they used, and every thing *palæographical*. The dividing and interpunction also, though not proceeding from the original writers, may be brought into the present topic. Under *the external form* of the text, we may place what relates to the characters employed by the sacred authors; the diacritic signs, vowels, and accents afterwards added; the various divisions greater or less which the text has had, or has now. After sketching the history of *the external form* of the text, we shall proceed to handle *the text itself* and its history, including the changes made in it, as well as the means employed by criticism to purify and restore it to its original condition.

HISTORY OF THE EXTERNAL FORM OF THE TEXT.

We have already considered the nature of the characters employed by the Hebrews at different times, the vowel-system appended to the consonants at a later period, together with the accentuation. The various divisions, marks of distinction, and interpunction occurring in the text must now be touched upon.

The ancient Hebrews, like most other people of antiquity, wrote *continuously* without an intervening space between one word and another. Yet not *always* nor *exclusively* so. Most of the Phœnician inscriptions indeed have no division of words; but others have it indicated by a point. Words closely connected with one another were not so separated.¹ It is impossible to ascertain whether the Hebrews formerly used this point to indicate the separation of words; or whether they had small open spaces between words, without the points. It is all but certain that they did employ small intervals for dividing both words and sentences, though they did not follow that practice with consistency or uniformity. Perhaps the points were not used everywhere along with these intervening spaces, but only occasionally. With the introduction of the *square* character, the separation of words by small interstices became general, though in later times the practice was not always strictly followed in MSS., perhaps from negligence. On comparing the Septuagint version with our present Hebrew text, we see that the translators have deviated in many instances from the modern division of words; but the departures are commonly found in cases where words are closely connected, and prove no more than the fact that there was no regular uniform division in the MSS. employed by the translators.

In the Talmud, it is strictly prescribed how much space should be between words in sacred MSS. designed for the synagogue.

¹ Gesenius, Geschichte d. Heb. u. s. w., p. 171.

Divisions in the sense—larger or smaller sections—were early marked in prose by open spaces of different kinds and magnitudes. Such spaces formed in the *Pentateuch* those divisions of the text known by the name פְּרָשְׁיֹת, plural פְּרָשְׁיֹת, *perashioth*; and were distinguished either as *open*, פְּתוּחוֹת, or as *closed*, סְתוּמוֹת, according as they stood before sections beginning a line or in the middle of lines. In Masoretic MSS. and editions they have the initial letters פ and ס. The *open* divisions, or such as begin with פ in an open space, were intended to denote a distinction of topics or change in the subject-matter, though sometimes they served also to indicate *logical* or *rhythmical* alterations in the *same* subject, as a change of speakers or the members in a genealogy. The *closed* divisions, or those beginning with ס in an open space, mark small separations in the sense. There are 669 of these *perashioth* in the *Pentateuch*.¹ Similar divisions of the text are also found in the *Prophets* and *Hagiographa*, and are carefully observed in the more accurate MSS. and editions, in conformity with very ancient tradition. Their existence can be carried up to a time anterior to the Talmud. Several of them are expressly referred to in the Mishna; while in the Gemara, the distinction of *open* and *closed perashioth* is placed among the inviolable requirements of sacred orthography, and its origin traced up to Moses. Hence the commencement of these sections or paragraphs belongs to the earliest times of the public reading of the Scriptures. Keil goes too far in thinking that they may have proceeded from the writers themselves of the divine books.²

In like manner in the *poetical* books and pieces, single sentences or rhythmical members were marked off line-wise from the earliest times of sacred calligraphy, into פְּסוּקִים, *στίχοι*, *verses*, or into κῶλα καὶ κόμματα, *i. e.* larger and smaller members of verses. The high probability of this ancient practice found among the Greeks, Romans, and Arabians, being followed in the Old Testament text, is deducible from the fact that it constantly appears in the poetical pieces inserted in the *Pentateuch* and historical books; that the poetical books in many of the oldest MSS. are still so divided; that MSS. of the LXX. and the old Latin versions were so written; that Josephus and Philo compare the *στίχοι* or verses with the classical verses; and that the fathers treat them as old or original. In our post-Masoretic MSS. the division has been laid aside.

Corresponding to the rhythmical division into sentences in the poetical books, there was introduced into the prose writings, or at least the reading-books, a logical period-division called פְּסוּקִים. This is mentioned so early as in the Mishna, as a division to be observed in reading the law and the prophets. Probably it was introduced for the purpose of contributing to the easier reading and interpretation of Scripture in the synagogues. The Gemara refers it to Moses. Our present division into verses arose out of these פְּסוּקִים, and nearly coincides with them, as has been inferred from old lists of them given in the Talmud, which agree substantially with the modern verses.

¹ Hupfeld, Grammatik, p. 85. *et seqq.*

² Einleit., pp. 579, 580.

Whether these period- or verse-divisions were at first marked by outward signs, or handed down orally, is a question more curious than important. The former is maintained by Prideaux, with considerable ingenuity.¹ The latter is advocated by Hupfeld, because the Talmud never mentions any external notation of them, often as it speaks of verses; the synagogue rolls ignore them; the observance of them is represented as an art learned in schools; and because the ancient translators vary in dividing verses. Had a notation of them been practised, it is probable that it would have been made merely by small intervening spaces.² It was not till after the Talmudic period that this verse-division was externally marked by two points (:) termed *Soph-Pasuk*. The same outward designation was introduced even into the poetical books, where it supplanted for the most part the ancient separation into *στίχοι* or *stichs*. *Soph-Pasuk* is older than our modern vowel points and accents; for it is earlier mentioned than they. It is found in unpointed MSS. and editions, and always distinguished from the corresponding accent *silluk*.³

The traces of chapters in the Hebrew text which have sometimes been found in Jerome because he speaks of *capitula*, do not at all justify the idea that either the Hebrew *perashioth*, or something analogous to the modern chapters, were intended; they are mere arbitrary divisions, equivalent in signification to *loci*.⁴

It has been thought that the פְּרָשִׁיִּים found in a MS. of R. Jacob ben Chayim and adopted in his edition of the Bible, furnished the first attempted division into chapters. There are 447 of these in the Old Testament. The present division into chapters is of Christian origin in the thirteenth century, some assigning it to Cardinal Hugo, others to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. In either case it was first adopted in a concordance to the Vulgate, whence it was borrowed by R. Nathan in the fifteenth century, who undertook a similar concordance for the Hebrew Bible. The divisions of R. Nathan are found in Bomberg's Hebrew Bible of 1518. The introduction of *verses* into editions of the Hebrew Bible proceeded from Athias, a Jew of Amsterdam, in the first edition 1661. They had been previously in the Vulgate so early as 1558.

Very different from the *perashioth*, or small sections characterised by open spaces, are the *large perashioth* or sections. These are of later origin than the small ones, and were intended to serve another purpose. They are reading-lessons for every Sabbath in the year, extending through the *Pentateuch* and 54 in number, to suit the Jewish intercalary year within which all are read. From their not being mentioned in the Mishna, but for the first time in the Masorah, and their being also ignored in the synagogue rolls, their late origin has been justly inferred. In places where these Sabbath-day sections coincide with the smaller *perashioth*, there are פָּסָק in the case of *open sections*, or סָפָק in the case of *closed ones*.

¹ Connection of the Old and New Testament, vol. i. p. 335. ed. 1719.

² Hupfeld, Grammatik, p. 99. *et seqq.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 112.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 95.

Of like origin are the reading-lessons taken from the *prophets*, and written together on a separate synagogue roll, termed הַפְּטוּרוֹת (from פָּטַר, *to dismiss*). These are mentioned so early as in the Mishna. The conjecture of Elias Levita respecting the origin of them is now exploded. He thinks they first began when Antiochus Epiphanes forbade the reading of the law. They were substituted for the sections in the law. Had Antiochus prohibited the one kind of lessons, he would have prohibited the other also. We see from the New Testament, that the prophets were then read in the synagogue; but it seems to follow from Luke, iv. 16. &c., that the sections were not fixed.

The various books of the Old Testament were divided by the Jews into three parts or classes; תּוֹרָה, *the law*; נְבִיאִים, *the prophets*; and כְּתוּבִים, *the Hagiographa* or holy writings. A passage in the New Testament has been supposed to show that this division obtained in the time of our Saviour (Luke, xxiv. 44.), where by the *Psalms* it is thought the Hagiographa are meant, because that division begins with the book of Psalms.

The *law* comprehended the Pentateuch or five books of Moses. When that portion was divided into five books is not known. It may have proceeded from the Alexandrine translators; but we suppose it to have originated before.

The *prophets* were divided into the *former* and *latter*; the *former* prophets meaning Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings; the *latter* including Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets.

The *Hagiographa* contained the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles. Why these various books were put together in the third division it is impossible to discover. The difficulty respecting Daniel being placed there is considerable. One thing is tolerably clear, that his book was not so arranged, because the prophet foretold with great minuteness the coming of the Messiah and therefore the Jews were apprehensive lest the public reading of his predictions should lead some to embrace the doctrines of Jesus Christ.

The first English Testament divided into chapters and *verses*, was that published at Geneva, in 1558. The first English *Bible* divided into *verses* was also published at Geneva, by William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and Thomas Sampson, in 1560.

The order of the books of the Old Testament in our English version is taken from the Vulgate and the Septuagint, the last of which changed materially the Jewish-Palestinian order of the books.¹

¹ See Davidson's Biblical Crit., vol. i. chap. v.

CHAP. VIII.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT ITSELF.

It is unnecessary to enumerate the different periods into which the critical history of the Old Testament text has been divided by different writers. We shall follow no formal arrangement. The most convenient is the division into two periods, viz., those of the *unprinted* and *printed* text.

Notwithstanding the great care with which the Jews watched over the preservation of the sacred Scriptures, and the excessive reverence they felt towards them, these writings have not escaped the common lot of all ancient documents frequently transcribed. Mistakes of various kinds have crept into the text. Various readings have arisen in the course of successive centuries. This might have been expected from the nature of the case, notwithstanding the anxiety of the Jews for the integrity and purity of these books, unless a special miracle had interposed.

False readings may be resolved into two classes, *unintentional* mistakes committed by transcribers, and *designed alterations*. In the one case, simple negligence was the cause; in the other, well-meant officiousness and desire to amend.

1. To the former head we refer the following. Through imperfect *sight*, the scribes *substituted* letters similar in shape for one another; *transposed* letters, words, and sentences; *omitted* letters, words, and sentences, especially when two terminated in the same manner. Examples are, שְׁבִנְיָה, Nehem. xii. 3., and שְׁבִנְיָה, verse 14.; שְׁמִלִי, Ezra, ii. 46.; שְׁלֵמִי, Nehem. vii. 48.; יְהוֹה יוֹשֵׁב הַבְּרוּכִים אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא, Nehem. xiii. 6., and אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שֵׁם יְהוֹה יוֹשֵׁב הַבְּרוּכִים עָלָיו, 2 Sam. vi. 2. The last is preferable. Comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 30—32. with Psalm xevi. 9—11., the former being corrupt. יִשְׁעֵי, Psalm xviii. 42. יִשְׁעֵי, 2 Sam. xxii. 42. אֱלֹהֵי הַחַרְדִּי in 2 Sam. xxiii. 25., partly omitted in 1 Chron. xi. 27. In Psalm xxxvii. 28. is an omission by *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*, or the similar ending of two clauses. The discrepancies of numbers in the historical books, especially in Kings and Chronicles, have been reconciled by the aid of this interchange of letters, on the assumption that letters were used to represent numbers. And it is now generally admitted that letters were so used. The conciliation of numbers in this manner was formerly attempted by Kennicott, and has been extensively applied by Reinke.¹ Mistakes were committed from imperfect *hearing*. Thus יִשְׂרָאֵל, 2 Sam. xvii. 25., for יִשְׁמַעֵאל, 1 Chron. ii. 17.; וְהָ, 1 Sam. xvii. 34., in several MSS. for שָׁה. Many examples of such mistakes as we have referred to these two heads, are accumulated by Cappellus in the fifth and following chapters of his *Critica Sacra*. But a number of his instances will not stand examination, so that the list must be largely cut down.

Mistakes must be attributed in like manner to *defective memory*.

¹ In his Beiträge zur Erklärung des Alten Testament, vol. i.

A transcriber sometimes wrote freely, trusting too much to memory. Thus אל and בל are interchanged in Leviticus, xxv. 36.; יִרְבֵּר is interchanged with וַיֵּאמֶר in 2 Kings, i. 10.; יְהִיָּה with אֱלֹהִים often. And not only were words exchanged for one another, but they were occasionally omitted or changed for well known parallels, as in Isaiah lxiii. 16., למען שְׂמֹךְ for מעולם שְׂמֹךְ.

Mistakes of *judgment* were also committed, as in dividing words, in resolving abbreviations, in relation to the so-called *custodes linearum*, and the taking of marginal remarks into the text. Examples occur in Psalm xlvi. 15., where על-מות should be עלמות. Psalm xxv. 17., הרחיב ומצוקותי for הרחיבו ממצוקותי. In Jerem. vi. 11., חמט stood in the text, which the LXX. read τὸν θυμὸν μου. In Isaiah xxxv. 1, יששום is for יששן, the ם of the following מרבר having been written as a *custos*. In Isaiah, vii. 17., אֵת מְלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר is an explanatory scholium, according to Gesenius and others.

2. Mistakes were made *designedly*. Here it has been a point in dispute whether the Jews *falsified* the biblical text. Some few have maintained that they *wilfully* corrupted it. In one passage, Jerome hints a suspicion of this sort with respect to Deut. xxvii. 26.¹; but he elsewhere speaks decidedly, appealing at the same time to Origen's testimony, that the Jews did not falsify the text.² Indeed the charge is wholly improbable. Even in the passages which appear most favourable to the suspicion, Psalms xvi. 10., xxii. 17.; Isaiah, xix. 18.; it cannot be substantiated. Yet some mistakes were committed from an *innocent, critical officiousness*, substituting easier and apparently better readings for such as seemed less likely. In this respect the Samaritan scribes altered much, as is evident from the text of their Pentateuch compared with the Hebrew copy. In 1 Chron. ii. 48. יֶלֶד is in some MSS. יֶלְדָה. In Psalm xxxvi. 2., לִבִּי is in some copies לִבּוֹ. Other examples, which however are merely of a probable kind, may be found in Eichhorn³ and De Wette.⁴

Having thus spoken of the rise of various readings or mistakes in the text we may remark, that the school of Cappellus went to great excess in supposing many more errors than there are, and in correcting them by the aid of versions, parallels, or conjecture. Kennicott belonged to that school, and followed in the path of his master. Geddes also pursued the same way. The scholars of Germany did not take the same direction with equal zeal; though Bauer, Eichhorn,

¹ " incertum habemus, utrum LXX interpretes addiderint 5 Mos. xxvii. 26. omnino *homo et in hominibus*, an in veteri Hebræo ita fuerit et postea a Judæis deletum sit. . . . Quam ob causam Samaritanorum Hebræa volumina relegens inveni scriptum esse et cum LXX interpretibus concordare. Frustra igitur illud tulerunt Judæi ne viderentur esse sub maledicto, sin non possent omnia complere, quæ scripta sunt; eum antiquiores alterius quoque gentis litteræ id positum fuisse testentur." Comment. in Galat., iii. 10.

² " Quod si aliquis dixerit Hebræos libros postea a Judæis esse falsatos, audiat *Origenem* quid in octavo volumine Explanationum Esaiæ huic respondeat quæstiuneule: quod nunquam Dominus et apostoli qui cætera crimina arguunt in Scribis et Phariseis, de hoc crimine, quod erat maximum, reticissent. Sin autem dixerint post adventum Domini Salvatoris et prædicationem Apostolorum, libros Hebræos fuisse falsatos, cachinnum tenere non potero, ut Salvator et Evangelistæ et Apostoli ita testimonia protulerint, ut Judæi postea falsaturi erant." Comment. in Jes., cap. vi.

³ Einleitung in das Alte Testament, vol. i. p. 306. *et seqq.*

⁴ Einleit., p. 124. *et seqq.*

and Vater, followed it to some extent. But Gesenius and his school wisely held by the principle, that the Masoretic text has mostly preserved the genuine readings; and they have always been averse to resort to the supposition of corruption. Above all, they have practically protested against amending the Hebrew solely from one or two ancient versions, especially the LXX. Here Thenius is an exception, who attributes far too much weight to the readings of the LXX. And we believe that Hitzig and Ewald have too often resorted to conjecture in changing the text. They have supposed corruptions where corruptions do not exist. Hengstenberg, on the other hand, has gone to an extreme in maintaining the uniform correctness of the Masoretic text. He abides by it in cases where it is corrupt. The true medium, we apprehend, has been attained by Gesenius; and we should be sorry to see the methods of reaction followed by Hitzig, Ewald, or Thenius, again prevail. They are more mischievous than Hengstenberg's *extreme* notions.

We come now to speak of the condition of the text before and at the close of the canon. Here there are few *real data* to guide the inquirer. Much depends on his preconceived opinions. He is left chiefly to conjecture. On the one hand it is maintained, that before the collection of sacred books was finally and definitely made, the Hebrew text met with very unfavourable treatment. As long as the different parts of the Old Testament circulated singly, and before the collection obtained general recognition and sanction, the text is said to have suffered considerably. So it is asserted by Eichhorn, De Wette, and others. But the evidences adduced in favour of the view are liable to objection. Parallel psalms, with historical parallel chapters in different books, are adduced. The deviations in these, it must be admitted, are often perplexing. It is difficult, if not impossible, in various instances, to reconcile one statement with another. None but those who have minutely examined such differences, can be aware of their intractability in the hands of him who attempts to harmonise them. But we are not inclined to attribute them to *transcribers*. It is *possible* that copyists *did take* great liberties with writings that were often anonymous, and altered them arbitrarily; but it is *improbable*. We are persuaded that the things to which reference is made proceeded from the original writers or compilers of the books. Sometimes they took other writings, annals, genealogies, and such like, with which they incorporated additional matter, or which they put together with greater or less condensation. The Old Testament authors used the sources they employed with freedom and independence. Conscious of the aid of the Divine Spirit, they adapted their own productions, or the productions of others, to the wants of the times. But in these respects they cannot be said to have *corrupted* the text of Scripture. They *made* the text. When transcribers are blamed, they are often blamed wrongly. It should be recollected, that almost all the deviations from one another in parallel places belonging to different books, are *not* mistakes or corruptions of the text, as has been assumed. Besides, in the case of such parallel sections, the one class was not always taken from the other.

The entire problem can only be solved by a thorough investigation of the historical books, especially the Chronicles. In the latter there are unquestionable corruptions. Yet when we find the oldest versions presenting the same text, we see that it reaches up to the close of the canon. And then it is quite true, as Keil remarks¹, that these corruptions are not so numerous as critics of Cappellus's school assert; and also that many of them, particularly in the genealogies of the Chronicles, proceed from the defectiveness and corruption of the old documents used by the Chronicle writer. Hence they cannot be charged either to the account of transcribers or to the author. They are no proofs of injurious tampering with the text, of carelessness on the part of copyists, of arbitrary intercalation of it. Rather are they evidences of honesty on the part of the compiler of Chronicles.

We believe too, that the persons who collected the books and compiled the canon acted most conscientiously. This may be fairly deduced from the fact that they took into the collection different recensions of separate portions of Scripture just as they were, without change, as Psal. xiv. and liii.; Psal. xl. 14—18. and lxx.; Psal. xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii.; Psal. cviii., Psal. lvii. 8—12., and lx. 7—14.; Psal. cv. and 1 Chron. xvi. 8—22.; Psal. xcvi. and 1 Chron. xvi. 23—33. Neither did they alter parallel passages in different books, notwithstanding the variations and apparent or real discrepancies found in them, but adopted them in the state they got them, though in both cases it would have been easy to have availed themselves of expedients for harmonising inconsistencies; such as the parallels between the books of Samuel and Kings on the one hand, and Chronicles on the other; Isa. xxxvii. and xxxviii. with 2 Kings xviii. xix.; Jer. lii. with 2 Kings xxiv. 18.—xxv. 30.

The entire question properly belongs to a history of the canon, which has still to be written.* It involves most delicate and difficult points.

One of the most important phenomena in this part of the history is the origin of that form of the text which appears in the Samaritan MSS. of the Pentateuch, and is allied to the LXX.

The Samaritans were a race made up of a remnant of the ten tribes and Assyrian colonists. They were therefore of mixed origin, the predominating element being Gentile or heathen, since only a few of the poor inhabitants had been left in the kingdom of Israel, when the great bulk of the people were carried away into captivity. We do not believe that they were *simply* and *solely* of heathen origin, as has been maintained by Hengstenberg² and others.

As to the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, or the time when the Samaritans first got a copy of the law, opinions have been divided.

1. Some think that as the Pentateuch existed before the separation of the tribes under Rehoboam, and still continued in the kingdom of Israel, the Samaritans had it from the first. Copies existed among the remnant of the ten tribes not carried away. So Kennicott, Eichhorn, Jahn, Bertholdt, Steudel, and others conjectured.

2. Others think that the Israelite priest, afterwards sent by Esar-

¹ Einleitung, p. 659.

² Die Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. i. p. 39. *et seqq.*

haddon to Israel, took a copy of the Pentateuch with him, to teach the people out of it. So S. Morin, Le Clerc, and Poncet.

3. Another view is, that they first became acquainted with it under Josiah. This is the view of Herbst.

4. A fourth view is, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was the production of an impostor named Dositheus, the founder of a sect among the Samaritans who pretended to be the Messiah. So Ussher thought.

5. A fifth is, that the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch is coeval with the building of the Samaritan temple on Gerizim and the founding of an *independent* sect. Hence to Manasseh and other Jewish priests is assigned the introduction of the copy among them. So Simon, Prideaux, Hasse, De Wette, Gesenius, Hupfeld, Hengstenberg, Keil, and others.

The first and last of these hypotheses have been most adopted. In late times, the last seems to have acquired the mastery. And when the two are balanced against each other, as they usually are, any intermediate hypothesis being disregarded or unseen, the arguments certainly lie on the side of the last.

The three leading arguments for the first have always been the national hatred existing between the Jews and the Samaritans after the return of the former from captivity, excluding all idea of the reception of the Jewish law-book on the part of the Samaritans; the fact, that the Samaritans have no more than the Pentateuch; and the preservation of the old Hebrew character in the Samaritan Pentateuch. None of these proofs is invulnerable, as Hengstenberg has shown. The mutual animosity existing between the Jews and Samaritans does not date from the separation of the tribes under Rehoboam, and was not inherited from the ten tribes or Israelites by the mixed sect called Samaritans. It arose from the refusal of the Jews to recognise the claim of the Samaritans to belong to the people of God, and to take part as such in the rebuilding of the temple under Zerubbabel. The Samaritans always endeavoured to conform as closely as possible to the Jews, in their religion and mode of worship. The fact that the Samaritans have no more sacred books than the law of Moses, is satisfactorily explained by its sufficiency for their purpose, without Jewish history; and the old Hebrew character preserved in their Pentateuch shows, that the opinion of its being changed in the time of Ezra is unfounded. We know that the character did not cease till long after the captivity, having been still used on the Maccabean coins.

But on the other hand, the two leading arguments advanced on behalf of the last view, viz. that the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch was contemporary with the building of the Samaritan temple, are by no means invulnerable. These are the later composition and collection of the Pentateuch into one whole; together with the religious state of the ten tribes and of the Samaritans till the temple was built on Gerizim. As to the former, it would take up too much space to combat it. To bring down the Pentateuch to a comparatively recent period is easy; but to *prove* the assumption is difficult. We cannot assent to that view which fixes the origin of its present

state about the time of the exile.¹ Nor can we see anything in the state of religion among the ten tribes and Samaritans to justify the supposition that they had no written rule for divine worship. How easily and readily the law was violated, forgotten in the times before Josiah—how many national religious rites were neglected—how ignorant the people were—how idolatrously disposed—we learn even from the Old Testament history. Nor has Keil at all improved the reasons adduced by Gesenius and De Wette for the late origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch; though he has followed in the wake of Hengstenberg. Objecting, as he does, to those adduced by the two eminent scholars just named, he has furnished nothing better. He thinks that the incipient religious state of the Samaritans till they received an Israelitish priest through Esarhaddon, the circumstance that this Pentateuch agrees in many readings with the Septuagint version, and the later text-corruption of the Hellenists generally, show that the Pentateuch of the sect did not originate earlier than the going over of Manasseh and other Jewish priests to the Samaritans.² Such reasoning seems to us very weak and inconclusive.

We adopt the opinion, that the Israelites, and their motley offspring the Samaritans, first became acquainted with the Pentateuch under Josiah.³

After having long lain buried in obscurity, this copy of the Pentateuch was brought to light in the seventeenth century, and printed for the first time in the Paris Polyglott, by Morin. It was thence reprinted in the London Polyglott, in a more correct form. The only separate edition of it is in Hebrew characters, published by Blayney at Oxford in 1790, 8vo.

Its importance in Hebrew criticism has often been overrated. It was so by Kennicott, Geddes, De Rossi, Bertholdt, and others. But a fundamental and masterly examination of it undertaken by Gesenius⁴, dissipated the excessive notions of its value. Its credit and worth in criticism were virtually ruined from that time. Even the more sober opinion of it entertained by such men as Simon, Walton, Le Clerc, Michaelis, Eichhorn, and Jahn, viz. that though its text was very inferior on the whole to the Hebrew one, not a few readings preferable to the Masoretic were to be found in it, had to be abandoned.

Gesenius has divided the various readings exhibited by the Samaritan Pentateuch into eight classes:—

1. Corrections merely of a grammatical nature.
2. Glosses received into the text.
3. Plain modes of expression substituted in the room of those which seemed difficult or obscure in the Hebrew text.
4. Readings in which the Samaritan copy is corrected from parallel passages, or apparent defects supplied by means of them.

¹ See an elaborate refutation in the American Biblical Repository for 1832, p. 689. *et seqq.*, by Prof. Stuart.

² Einleitung, p. 663.

³ See Davidson's Biblical Crit., vol. i. p. 97. *et seqq.*

⁴ De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, indole, et auctoritate, Halae, 1815, 4to.

5. Additions or repetitions respecting things said and done.

6. Corrections made to remove what was offensive in regard to sentiment.

7. Places in which the pure Hebrew idiom is exchanged for that of the Samaritan.

8. Alterations made to produce conformity to the Samaritan theology, worship, or mode of interpretation.

9. A ninth class is necessary to complete the account, consisting of *additions* to the Hebrew text. One or more words are appended. Examples are presented in Gen. xxiii. 2., xxvii. 27.; Exod. v. 13., xxxii. 32.; Levit. viii. 31. Such additions are copied from the LXX., and badly rendered into Hebrew or Samaritan. That these flowed from the LXX. is confirmed by several passages where the Samaritan changes words of the Hebrew conformably to the LXX., as Gen. xxx. 40., xlvii. 21., xlix. 22. Compare also the large additions, Exod. xxii. 4.; Levit. xv. 3., xvii. 3. 4.¹

Numbers of examples are given by Gesenius under each of the eight heads, amply corroborating the statements. Only four readings in the Samaritan are thought by him to be preferable to the Hebrew ones, viz. in Gen. iv. 8., xxii. 13., xlix. 14., xiv. 14. Even these, however, are reckoned by many inferior to the Hebrew. The most material variations between the two copies occur in the prolongation of the patriarchal genealogies, Gen. v. xi.; and in the alteration of Ebal into Gerizim, Deut. xxvii. 4. Dr. Hales has undertaken to vindicate the chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch, very unsuccessfully as we think; and Kennicott's attempt to charge the corruption in Deut. xxvii. 4. on the Jews, as though *they* altered Gerizim into Ebal, is vain. Let no rash critic therefore attempt to correct the Hebrew text by the Samaritan. In the case of the four places referred to by Gesenius, he may hesitate; but in all others he must discard the use of the Samaritan as an authority.

The agreement of the Samaritan with the Septuagint text has always been observed. It is said that they harmonise in more than a thousand places where they differ from the Hebrew. More however has been deduced from this agreement than it will fairly justify. Too great importance has been attached to it. The LXX. agrees with the Hebrew against the Samaritan in many more places than it agrees with the Samaritan against the Hebrew. Hence little can be built upon the phenomenon in question.

The Septuagint version of the Old Testament teaches little that is probable or definite respecting the text which lies at the basis of it. Nothing valuable can be deduced from it towards a knowledge of the Hebrew at the time it was made, till its own text be restored. Till later insertions and corruptions of the Greek be distinguished from the veritable rendering of the Hebrew then lying before the eyes of the interpreters, little can be done to aid our perception of the state of the original in their day and country. We fear, however, that it is well nigh impossible to restore the Septuagint text to its original

¹ See Frankel, über den Einfluss der Palästin. Exegese auf die Alexandrinische Hermeneutik, pp. 338, 339.

purity. Taking it in the best condition we can have it, and judging of the original Hebrew whence it was taken, we should not believe that a peculiar *critical recension* of the Hebrew text is shown by it, as some have supposed.¹ This may perhaps be the case with Jeremiah, where the differences between the Greek and Hebrew are extensive and peculiar. But we cannot think that a critical recension of the original lay at the basis of it generally. Even in the books of Samuel, where Thenius discovers a much better text than the Masoretic, we dissent. Its numerous and considerable departures from the Masoretic text, as far as they are original, we attribute to the translators themselves, who altered arbitrarily and uncritically, so as to get easier readings; omitted, added, displaced what they thought unsuitable or erroneous on historical, chronological, or doctrinal grounds; misunderstood the sense from want of thorough knowledge of the language; and translated vaguely according to their conjectures. How arbitrarily they proceeded Frankel has shown by a minute examination of the Pentateuch in particular.

We think it very probable, however, that the Hebrew text then current in Egypt had suffered considerably. Alexandrine Judaism was not attached so superstitiously to the letter of Scripture as to watch over the words with the scrupulousness of the Palestinian Jews. It was freer and more speculative. Hence it is likely that the Hebrew MSS. in Egypt, from which the version was made, had been written somewhat carelessly and incorrectly. If this be so, the translators are so much the less to blame for their departures from the Masoretic text.

While the Jews at Alexandria and the Samaritans had thus shown no special regard for the preservation of textual purity, but on the contrary treated the books in an arbitrary way, there is reason for believing that the Jews in Palestine and Babylon were more careful. The latter preserved the text from a fluctuating, unsettled state. In their hands it became fixed and definite. About the time of and a little before Christ, it was very near to the present Masoretic text, judging from the versions of Jonathan and Onkelos. In like manner, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, deviate much less from our present text than the LXX.

Shortly before and at the time of Christ, flourished in Jerusalem those Jewish schools or academies, presided over by Hillel, who had come from Babylon, and Shammai. After the destruction of the metropolis, similar ones were formed in Jabne, Ziphoria, Lydda, Cæsarea, and Tiberias. At a later period, the academies of Sora, Pumpeditha, Nahardea, near the Euphrates, were celebrated. Though the time of those who belonged to these schools was largely occupied with oral traditions, yet it cannot be doubted that they also attended to the study of the Old Hebrew documents, their language, text, and interpretation, inasmuch as those traditions were connected with the Scriptures. From Origen's Hexapla, we see that he employed a copy similar to the Masoretic recension. In the fourth century, Jerome

¹ L. Cappellus, J. Morinus, Houbigant, Dr. H. Owen, Movers, Thenius, and others.

was instructed in Hebrew by Palestinian Jews, and used their MSS. Hence his translation of the Bible agrees with the present recension. As yet there were no vowel-points or diacritic signs.

The Mishna and both Gemaras presuppose a settled text, but not perhaps so fixed that the Talmudists refrained from altering anything in it. They sought, however, to make it *generally* unchangeable for all succeeding times by prescriptions respecting biblical calligraphy. The Talmud mentions *comparison* of MSS., and, as appears most likely, in connexion with the critical revision of a text having various readings. But Keil explains the case very differently.¹ The numbering of verses, words, and letters is also spoken of as a task of the סופרים, *sopherim*, scribes.

1. The עטוי סופרים, *rejection of the scribes*, refers to five places in which the reader is directed to reject ו, viz. Gen. xviii. 5., xxiv. 55.; Numb. xii. 14.; Psal. lxviii. 26., xxxvi. 7. The opposite of this is מקרא סופרים, *lectio scribarum*, or *reading of the scribes*.

2. *Extraordinary points* in fifteen words, placed over one, more, or all the letters; Gen. xvi. 5., xviii. 9., xix. 33., xxxiii. 4., xxxvii. 12.; Numb. iii. 39., ix. 10., xxi. 30., xxix. 15.; 2 Sam. xix. 20.; Isa. xliv. 9.; Ezek. xli. 20., xlvi. 22.; Psal. xxvii. 13.²

3. קרי ולא כתיב, *k'ri v'lo c'thib*, referring to something not in the text, but which ought to be read, in seven places, 2 Sam. viii. 3., xvi. 23.; Jer. xxxi. 38., l. 29.; Ruth ii. 11., iii. 5. 17.³

4. כתיב ולא קרי, *c'thib v'lo k'ri*, referring to something in the text, which should *not* be read, in five places, 2 Kings v. 18.; Deut. vi. 1.; Jer. li. 3.; Ezek. xlvi. 16.; Ruth iii. 12.

5. Sometimes the Talmud also mentions different readings, as on Job xiii. 15.; Hag. i. 8. These are called the Masoretes קרי וכתוב, *k'ri uc'thib*.

6. The distinction between מקרא and מסרת, *mikra* and *masoreth*, also occurs. יש אם למקרא, יש אם למסרת: *There is ground for the traditional reading; there is ground for the textual reading.*

7. אל תקרא בן אלא בן. *Read not so, but so.*

Much difference of opinion exists respecting the proper meaning and application of these technical words and phrases. On the one hand it has been held, that they refer to actual variations in the text, and critical corrections; on the other, that they are of a *hermeneutical* nature. The most strenuous supporter of the latter hypothesis is Keil, who maintains that the text was never doubtful to the Talmudists, but that it was already so firmly settled in tradition that the true reading constantly agrees with the modern one.⁴ In so doing, we believe that he has extended several explanations offered by Hupfeld, to a greater length than the latter scholar approves of.⁵ We agree with Hupfeld, that Nos. 6. and 7. do not refer to *critical emendations*, but to *canonical* or *ecclesiastically-established*, and *apocryphal* readings (No. 6.), and a sort of play on words in the text or a turning of them into some other application (No. 7.). But we

¹ Einleitung, p. 666.

² Cappelli, Critica Sacra ed. Vogel, vol. i. p. 443. *et seqq.*

³ Nedarim, fol. 37. cap. 2.

See Buxtorf's Tiberias, p. 40. *et seqq.*

⁴ Einleitung, pp. 667, 668.

⁵ Beleuchtung, u. s. w., p. 62. *et seqq.*

demur to the explanations of Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5., given or sanctioned by Keil, and regard the expressions as vestiges of *critical corrections* in the biblical text, made by the *Scribes* or סִפְרִים before the Talmudic time.

No. 2. relates to the extraordinary points. The Tract Sopherim mentions six such places, though the Masorah speaks of fifteen. It would seem that they were originally intended to show the spuriousness of words or letters.¹ The Talmud also speaks of the *unusual letters*, i. e. *litteræ majusculæ, minusculæ, inversæ et suspensæ*. It appears that they had at first a *critical* import; but in the time of the Talmud they were applied *allegorically*.

On the whole, the text was well settled during the Talmudic period, and generally agreed with the Masoretic. But various readings were not unknown. The Talmudists and their predecessors had critically attended to the text, and occasionally suggested better readings. They had different MSS., and on comparing them found several discrepancies respecting which they gave an opinion.

After the Talmud was completed, at the close of the fifth century, a new period in the history of the text, termed *the Masoretic*, began. We have seen that the Talmudists were *generally* satisfied with the text as they had received it from generation to generation; though they unquestionably contributed to give more fixedness to it in successive centuries. Their chief attention, however, was directed to questions of juridical theology and allegorical interpretations, for which great scope was furnished by an unpointed text. Learned Jews continued to study the sacred books, pursuing like investigations to their predecessors. The schools in Palestine, especially that at Tiberias, now took the lead. Brought into connexion with the Syrians and Arabians, they were stirred up to do for their own language something like what their active neighbours were effecting for their respective dialects and literature. In consequence of the increasing number of traditional definitions and precepts, it was felt desirable, if not necessary, to reduce them to writing, and to fix the pronunciation in the same manner by vowel-points and accents. As the mode of reading the biblical text had been established by oral tradition in the schools and synagogues, it became needful to represent it if possible by written marks. What was thus written, the body of traditional remarks received from their fathers, augmented by their own observations, as well as the traditional pronunciation represented by a system of signs, is called *the Masorah*, מִסְרָה, i. e. *tradition*. It may be readily supposed, that the matters committed to writing were multifarious. They all related to the text, not to such questions of juridical theology and allegorical interpretation as are discussed in the Talmud. They were *critical* rather than *hermeneutical*. The Masoretes wrote down what had been orally perpetuated for a long period; from Ezra's time, as the Jews say. The materials which had accumulated in the course of centuries, they committed to writing, securing at the same time the traditional interpretation of the text by a vowel-system partly bor-

¹ Buxtorf's Tiberias, p. 173. *et seqq.*

rowed and partly framed by themselves. But they also enlarged the mass of traditional regulations and observations they had received from their predecessors, by numerous remarks of their own, critical, orthographical, grammatical, and exegetical. They did not make a *critical recension* or *revision* of the text. They had got the text in a fixed state. It had been already established by the usage of centuries. But they made a number of corrections on it, which, along with others of the same kind handed down to them, they intended to accompany the *textus receptus*.

In adopting and enlarging the critical remarks contained in the Talmud, we find in the Masorah תיקון סופרים *correctio scribarum* in eighteen passages of Scripture, *i. e.* emendations in the text. Of the words to which קרי ולא כתיב is affixed, only seven are given in the Talmud, whereas there are thirteen in the Masorah.

As to the remarks of the Masoretes distinguished by the phrase קרי וכתב, *read and written*, they are *critical*, including a different division of words, a transposition of letters, or a change in them, the supplying or omitting of a consonant; *grammatical*, *exegetical*, *orthographical*, *glossarial*, *euphemistic*.

The sources of these *k'ris* some have assumed to be *tradition and the comparison of MSS.*, as Kimchi, Buxtorf, Kennicott, &c.; others, the decided opinion of the Masoretes themselves, as Loescher, Pfaff, &c.; but others more correctly assume *both*, as Cappellus and Walton.

Distinct from these are the proper *conjectures*, סבירין, *s'birin*, of the Masoretes on difficult words, *exegetical*, *orthographical*, and *grammatical*.

They also numbered the verses, words, and letters of every book; pointed out the middle word and letter of each; counted verses which contained *all* the letters of the alphabet or a certain number only, &c.¹

Thus this work contains a great mass of observations, multiform and various in their nature. It is a vast critical and exegetical storehouse, to which different sources and times contributed, pervaded by the one object of preserving the integrity of the original text, as well as the right reading and apprehension of it, for all times.

The Masorah was written at first in distinct books by itself. But it was afterwards transferred to the margin of MSS., a practice that gave rise to great confusion. Arbitrary *abbreviations* and *omissions*, often arising from want of space, and the frequent appending of new observations, involved it in inextricable perplexity. The *great* and *little* Masorah are distinguished by the greater or less compass of the observations included in them. The one is a curtailment of the other. According to the *place* it occupies, the great Masorah is called *finalis*, placed at the end of books; or *textualis*, by the side of the text.

The *great* Masorah was first printed in the large Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf; the *little* Masorah is printed, more or less complete, in all Hebrew Bibles.

¹ See De Wette, Einleit. § 91. pp. 137, 138, 139.

The value of the Masorah has been differently estimated. Those who are best acquainted with the work look upon it as contributing much to the purity of the text. Trifling as are some parts of it, others are well worthy of attention as having largely and beneficially influenced both the integrity and correctness of the sacred writings. The complete vocalisation of the text, as well as its accentuation, had now been completed. The *c'thibs* and *k'ris* had been distinguished and settled by the labours of the Masorettes. From this time forward it was the business of Jewish as well as Christian scholars to provide for faithful transcripts, and to prevent corruption in the text now firmly established, by comparing MSS. and collecting various readings.

At the end of Bomberg's second Rabbinical Bible, edited by R. Jacob ben Chayim, is printed a list of various readings belonging to the eastern or Babylonian, and the western or Palestinian, Jews. They amount to 216—220. All relate merely to the consonants, except two about *He Mappik*. Hence the comparison of the MSS. whence they were derived is placed anterior to the introduction of the vowel-points. The particulars referred to are minute ones, frequently *k'ris* and *c'thibs*. Their author and age are alike unknown. Probably they belong to the seventh century; but Morin assumes the eighth. None of them relates to the Pentateuch, because, as Buxtorf thinks, there was no difference there. Our western MSS. do not always confirm these readings. Walton has reprinted them in the sixth volume of the London Polyglott.

In the eleventh century, R. Aaron ben Asher, a Palestinian, and R. Jacob ben Naphtali, a Babylonian Jew, made a collation of eastern and western MSS. The various readings in this list relate solely to vowels and accents, whence it is concluded that the vowel-system had been already completed, and unpointed MSS. had fallen into disuse. One exception, not relating to vowels or accents, is on Canticles viii. 6., where ben Naphtali divides a word into two. This list, containing upwards of 864 variations, is printed in the Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, as well as the London Polyglott. The western Jews, and therefore our printed editions, commonly follow ben Asher.

From this period onward, to which belong most of our existing Hebrew MSS., the text remained substantially the Masoretic one. MSS. were mostly conformed to the Masorah. It may be safely affirmed that no important alterations were introduced into the received text, though many various readings existed during the time we speak of, as is proved by Kennicott. When R. Meir Hallevi (A.D. 1250) complains of the corruption of MSS., he refers chiefly to the *scriptio plena* and *defectiva*. Eichhorn thinks that MSS. were altered after the Targums, and according to the principles of grammar, which were now studied with great zeal¹; but this idea is rejected by Jahn² and De Wette.³ The recognised authority of the Masorah

¹ Einleitung, vol. i. pp. 372, 373.

² Einleitung in die göttlichen Bücher des alten Bundes, vol. i. pp. 400, 401. second edition.

³ Einleitung, pp. 140, 141.

would scarcely have permitted such license. On the other hand, Kennicott thinks that the Targums were altered after the Hebrew text.¹ This is more likely, though we confess that there is little evidence in favour of the statement.²

In transcribing MSS., the Rabbins of the middle ages adopted certain old and celebrated exemplars highly valued for their accuracy as standard texts. These were:—

1. The *Codex of Hillel*, mentioned by Kimchi, R. Moses Nachmanides, R. Elias Levita, R. Menahem de Lonzano, and R. Zacut. We do not know who Hillel was. Perhaps R. Simon³ is right in suspecting him to have been a Spanish Jew, the rector of some academy, who corrected the Masoretic recension in several places, after ancient copies. It would appear that the *Codex Hillel* was furnished with the vowel-points.

2. *Codex Ægyptius*, or *Ben Asher*, also the Palestinian or Jerusalem codex. This was a copy corrected by Ben Asher, and called by different names, according to the places where it was kept.

3. *Codex Babylonius*, or *Ben Naphtali*. This was a copy corrected by Ben Naphtali, highly esteemed by the Babylonian Jews.

4. *Codex Sinaiticus*, mentioned by Elias Levita, a copy of the Pentateuch proceeding from an unknown author, distinguished by some diversity in the accents.

5. The *Codex of Jericho*, a copy of the law, also mentioned by Elias Levita, brought from Jericho. In it the writing of the full and defective words is the chief point noticeable.

6. The *Book of Spain*, quoted by Elias, means all the MSS. written in that country, which were more highly esteemed than others.

7. The *Codex Sanbouki* is mentioned by R. Menahem. What is meant by it, is unknown.⁴

CHAP. IX.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

THE form of the early printed editions of the Hebrew Bible resembles very much that of MSS. They are without titles at the commencement, have appendices, are printed on parchment with broad margin, and large ill-shaped type, the *initial* letters being commonly ornamented either with wood-cut engravings or the pen. These letters, however, are often absent. With vowels the editions in question are very imperfectly supplied. Separate parts of the Bible were first printed. The Psalms appeared (at Bologna, probably) in 1477; the Pentateuch at Bologna, in 1482; the earlier and

¹ Dissertation the second, on the date of the printed Hebrew text, p. 167.

² For the history of the unprinted text, see Davidson's *Bib. Crit.* vol. i. chapters vi. vii. viii. ix.; and the article *Bibeltext des A. T.* in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, by Dillmann.

³ *Disquisitiones Criticæ de variis bibl. edit.* cap. 3.

⁴ See *Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa*, vol. ii. sect. 2. p. 289. *et seqq.*

later prophets, in 1486; the Megilloth, 1482 and 1486; and the Hagiographa 1487; almost all with the Rabbinical comments of Kimchi or Rashi.

I. The first edition of the entire Hebrew Bible from MSS. appeared at Soncino, 1488, small folio, which was closely followed by the edition of Brescia, 1494, 4to. To this first recension belong the Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg, 1517, 1518, edited by Felix Pratensis; the smaller editions of 1518, 1521; that of Sebastian Münster, published at Basel, 1536, 4to., and that of R. Stephens, 1539—1544.

II. The Complutensian Bible contained in the Complutensian Polyglott, 1514—1517, was derived from MSS., and has therefore an independent and peculiar text.

III. A new recension of the text after the Masorah is presented by the second edition of Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible, edited by R. Jacob ben Chayim, Venice, 1525, 1526, 4 vols. folio. Most others have followed this.

IV. A text compounded of the two last is contained in the Antwerp Polyglott, 1569—1572, 8 vols. folio.

V. The edition of Elias Hutter, 1587, folio, Hamburg, and in his unfinished Polyglott, 1591, folio, Nürnberg, was formed from several older editions.

VI. A text revised after the Masorah, and therefore differing here and there from earlier editions, was given by Buxtorf in his smaller edition of 1611, Basel, 8vo., and in his large Rabbinical Bible, 1618, 1619, 4 vols. folio.

VII. The text of the older editions corrected by two MSS. is given in the edition of Jos. Athias, with a preface by Leusden, Amsterdam, 1661, and also 1667, 8vo. This was followed in most later editions, and through Van der Hooght's (Amsterdam, 1705, 8vo.) became the *textus receptus*.

We come now to speak of editions with a critical apparatus:—

The great Masorah and various readings are given in the Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf; while variations are given in the editions of Sebastian Münster (Basel, 1536, 2 vols.); of Van der Hooght; of J. H. Michaelis (1720, Halae, 4to. and 8vo.); in the edition of Mantua (1742—1744, 4 vols. 4to.) with the critical commentary of Jedid. Salom. Norzi; in that of C. F. Houbigant (1753, 4 vols. fol. Paris); in that of Benjamin Kennicott (2 vols. fol. Oxford, 1776, 1780); of Dæderlein and Meisner (Leipzig, 1793, 8vo.); Jahn (4 vols. 8vo. Vienna, 1806); and Boothroyd (1810—1816, 2 vols. 4to.)

Collections of various readings alone were published by R. Meir Hallevi (Florence, 1750, small fol.); by R. Menahem de Lonzano (אורי תורה Venice, 1618); and by J. Bern. de Rossi (Parma, 1784—1788, 4 vols. 4to.); and another supplementary volume (1798).¹

The result of all the collations of Hebrew MSS. which have been instituted, is the confirmation of the text lying at the basis of the Masorah. All known codices exhibit substantially that text. The

¹ For the history of the printed text, see Masch's edition of *Le Long Bibliotheca Sacra*, part i.; De Wette's *Einleit.* §§ 95, 96.; and Davidson's *Bib. Crit.* vol. i. chapter x.

oldest versions which adhere most to the original had nearly the same text. Little alteration has been made in it since settled by the Masoretes; and the earliest Targums show that about the time of Christ it was essentially what it afterwards appeared in the Masoretic period. When we try to go up further to the time when the canon was completed, and onward to the return of the Jews from exile, in search of what the primitive text then was, we cannot conceive of it as differing much from its present condition. The Jews after the exile were very careful in preserving it. They guarded it against corruption with watchful jealousy. Everything conspires to show that we have the original now in a correct state. The genuine text has been handed down with purity. This is evident from the fact, that the characteristic peculiarities of the various writers are retained; and that separate pieces, out of which books have been made up, may be traced by distinctive marks.

In the seventeenth century, the controversy respecting *the integrity* of the Hebrew text gave rise to many publications. The opponents of its absolute integrity pushed their opinions to an extreme in exaggerating the supposed corruption of the Masoretic text, in overvaluing the critical importance of ancient versions and the Samaritan Pentateuch, and in applying critical conjecture. Jos. Vossius, Whiston, John Morin, L. Cappell and others, fell into this error. And though their successors R. Simon, Kennicott, and De Rossi were more moderate, *they* were not wholly free from blame, while Houbigant was most extravagant in his procedure. The old Protestant party—the defenders of the integrity of the text—though *substantially* right, went too far in the opposite direction. While admitting a few trifling mistakes in Hebrew MSS. and editions of the Bible, they would not allow of any real error, even the smallest, in a text resulting from comparison of all critical evidence. And then they extended the absolute integrity of the text to the vowel-points. Buxtorf the son, Arnold Bootius, Wasmuth, Loescher, Carpzov, Glassius, and others, stood on this extreme ground.

The collations of Kennicott and De Rossi in the eighteenth century showed that no material variation has been made in the text, as far as we can discover by the aid of all critical appliances. It confirmed the old Protestant idea, that the text has been carefully preserved and faithfully transmitted by the Masoretes. No *important* or *extensive* help has been furnished by such copious collations of MSS. towards changing the text. They affect it only in a small degree. The variations in MSS. influence the sense or meaning of the text very slightly. The same remark applies to ancient versions. We cannot hope to get from them anything that will materially alter the Masoretic text. As to *conjectural* criticism, we must apply it in some cases; but not so often as Hitzig or even Ewald assumes. To resort to it frequently is unnecessary and unauthorised. Wherever the text is hopelessly inexplicable or glaringly inconsistent, *there* and *there only* would we have recourse to it.

CHAP. X.

SOURCES OF CRITICISM.

HAVING shown the existence of various readings in the original text of the Bible, and followed the history of the text itself through various phases and periods till the present time, criticism has next to point out the means of restoring it. There are resources by which it may be brought back as nearly as possible to its first condition. These sources of criticism are various.

In arranging and dividing them various methods may be adopted. Thus Eichhorn marks first, the earliest period of the text, *i.e.* that which preceded the settlement and close of the canon. Secondly, the period of it reaching down to the completion of the Masoretic recension, *i.e.* the pre-Masoretic. Thirdly, the Masoretic text.¹

First, in regard to the *ante-canonical* period, we know scarcely anything. The sources of rectifying the mistakes then made are said to be parallel places and alphabetical poems. But here we may easily fall into error. In our view Eichhorn has done so. On comparing the numerous parallels in different books, or in the same one, and observing their variations, it is plainly seen either that the same author wrote the same piece twice, and not in exactly the same words; or that the later writer generally intended more than a simple copying of the earlier. He expressed the same thing in a manner suited to his own purpose. When he altered, he did it himself. The alteration is not therefore a thing for criticism to touch and correct. In respect to alphabetical poems, it is vain to make them alphabetically regular and orderly. Did the original writers *always* intend to follow, throughout a piece or poem, the method *generally* pursued in it? We do not think so. Hence these poems cannot be safely used in the criticism of the text.

With regard to the second state of the text, the *pre-Masoretic*, the following sources are enumerated for it, the ancient translators, (Philo and Josephus,) the fathers (Ephrem the Syrian) Origen and Jerome, the Talmud, and the Masorah itself.

These distinctions of text-periods are practically useless to us at the present day. Only one form of text lies before us, the so-called Masoretic. Out of *this* our task is to educe as nearly as possible the primitive text. What then are the sources employed by criticism for judging of it? The following are the chief:—

1. Ancient versions.
2. MSS.
3. Parallels.
4. Quotations in the New Testament, the Masorah, the Talmud, and in Rabbinical writings.
5. Critical conjecture.

We shall first refer to ancient versions. These have been divided into *immediate* and *mediate*, the former denoting those made directly

¹ Einleitung, vol. i. p. 390.

from the original; the latter those made from another version. The latter serve properly and chiefly to correct the text of the version from which they were taken. It will not be necessary to do much more than mention the *mediate*. Of *immediate* versions, the most important are such as we shall now describe.

CHAP. XI.

THE SEPTUAGINT TRANSLATION.

THE Greek version of the Old Testament called the Septuagint, has received this name either from the account of seventy-two persons having been employed in making it; or from its having been sanctioned by the Jewish Sanhedrim, which consisted of seventy or rather of seventy-two persons. It is the oldest and most important of all Bible versions, and has been the parent of many others.

The history of it is veiled in obscurity. Hence various hypotheses have been proposed respecting its origin.

The oldest account is, that it was made at the request and advice of Demetrius Phalereus, librarian of the great library at Alexandria, under Ptolemy Philadelphus. A general collection of laws had been made for the benefit of that national repository of literature; and when it was found that the Jewish laws were wanting, the librarian naturally wished to have them also. Hence he set about the procuring of them. The king sent Andreas and Aristeas, two of his court, to Eleazar then high priest at Jerusalem, with a request that a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures might be granted to him, and with it seventy-two persons skilled in Hebrew and Greek to interpret it. In compliance with this desire on the part of the Egyptian king, seventy-two learned men, with a copy of the law, were sent to Egypt, shut up in an island, probably Pharos, where after mutual conference respecting the sense and expression, they dictated a version to Demetrius. Such is the substance of a narrative written by Aristeas to his brother Philocrates, in a Greek epistle still extant.¹

It is now generally admitted, that the letter of Aristeas is a forgery. But it was made at an early period, since Josephus has repeated the substance of it.² Philo knew nothing of these fables of the pseudo-Aristeas, yet he has other Egyptian legends. He represents the learned Jews who had been sent from Palestine to Ptolemy Philadelphus as executing in the island of Pharos each a separate version, and when all were compared they were found to agree so exactly in minute points, as to show that the men were inspired. But Philo does not specify the number of translators.³

Some time after, Justin Martyr endeavoured to force the different circumstances of the two accounts into agreement. He makes

¹ It is printed by Hody in his learned work *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, &c.*

² *Antiquit. lib. xii. cap. ii.*

³ *De vita Mosis, lib. ii.*

seventy-two cells to have been built by the king for the seventy-two interpreters, where they composed so many distinct versions, all agreeing with one another, and therefore inspired.¹ But in Justin's narrative much of Aristee's is omitted, as the conference of the translators and the dictation of the translation. Epiphanius again distributes the good translators in thirty-six cells, two by two, and places in each a copyist to whom the version might be dictated. The result was thirty-six versions, all agreeing.²

The earliest writer who speaks of the version is Aristobulus, belonging to the second century before Christ, in a fragment preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius. This fragment, however, is brief and obscure. It has even been regarded as spurious by Hody and Eichhorn. But Valckenaer³ and Hävernick⁴ have vindicated its authenticity. One phrase in it is doubtful, viz., τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου, which may either mean the Pentateuch, or the entire Old Testament. Probably it means the former, not the latter as Valckenaer and Hävernick suppose. Aristee, Josephus, Philo, the Talmudists, speak only of *the law*. But Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Epiphanius, and others, speak of the entire Old Testament.

It is unnecessary to present the proofs of the spuriousness of Aristee's letter at the present day. The principal is, that the author wishes to represent himself as a heathen, a worshipper of Zeus, and yet betrays his Jewish personality throughout. Hody demonstrated the fabulous character of the document so triumphantly that it soon found no defenders; and little has been since added to his proofs.

It is difficult to ascertain *what truth, if any*, lies at the basis of the current story. How far is it to be looked upon as historical? Has it any historical basis? We are inclined to believe that it has a foundation in truth, though it may be impossible to separate the historical and unhistorical.

The design of the pseudo-Aristee was evidently to exalt the credit of the version. The original was brought from Jerusalem, the high priest consenting. The king of Egypt and his library are also magnified. It would seem, therefore, that some objections had been made to the version. It may have been urged against it that it was unauthorised, made by the command of a heathen king, and not from the sacred text preserved at Jerusalem. The writer could not deny the fact that it was made by command of the king of Egypt. But, instead of putting Ptolemy Lagi, a king very obnoxious to the Jews, he puts in his stead Ptolemy Philadelphus his son, who was favourable to them.

The version was made at the command of a king. The yearly festival instituted in memory of the event, and mentioned by Philo, confirms this supposition. Plutarch and Ælian favour it. Aristobulus is on the side of it. So also is an old scholion on Plautus drawn by Tzetzes from the writings of Callimachus and Eratosthenes,

¹ Cohortat. ad Græcos.

² Diatribe de Aristobulo Judæo, p. 56. *et seqq.*

³ De Ponderibus et mensuris.

⁴ Einleit. i. 2. p. 39. *et seqq.*

given by Wichelhaus¹ and Ritschl.² By command of the king, it was deposited in the royal library. We believe that king to have been *Lagi*, not *Philadelphus*. Irenæus, Theodoret, and others give *Lagi*; though many make him *Philadelphus* the son. But the connection of Demetrius with *Philadelphus* as adviser, is very questionable. It has been inferred from a passage in *Hermippus*, that *Demetrius Phalereus* was banished by *Ptolemy Philadelphus* at the beginning of his reign.³ One thing is certain, viz. that he never was librarian. In order to reconcile conflicting statements, *Hody* assumed that the version was made or begun during the two years in which *Philadelphus* reigned conjointly with his father *Lagi*, B. C. 286—285. But this supposition is unnecessary.

If the view now given be correct, it follows that it did not originate in the religious necessities of the Jews in Egypt. The latter were in connection with the Palestinian brethren, and would scarcely have ventured to make it of themselves for the use of their synagogue or synagogues. But *translators* probably thought of its ecclesiastical use when the king ordered it to be made. The king's motive was apparently a political one; but the translators had other thoughts. We cannot believe, with *Hävernick*, that the intention which prompted it was a purely *literary* one.

The Pentateuch was translated first, and afterwards the other books of the Old Testament; but how long time elapsed between the commencement and completion of the entire translation cannot be determined. It is commonly believed that the interval was not great, because the grandson of *Jesus*, son of *Sirach*, in his prologue is supposed to allude to the translation of the three parts of the Old Testament as existing in his time (131 B. C.). The inference, however, is not firm. The version of the book of *Esther* is thought by many to have been made under *Ptolemy Philometor* (181—145 B. C.); and the tragic writer *Ezekiel* belonging to the second century B. C., is thought to have used the version. The dialect in which it is written is the *κοινή διάλεκτος*, that which prevailed after the time of *Alexander the Great*; and its Egyptian origin is clearly evinced by a variety of particulars in the version itself. There are Egyptian words and expressions, or such as refer to Egypt, betraying the origin of it, such as *ψονθομφανήχ*, altered a little from the Hebrew; *ἄχσ* or *ἄχσει*, Gen. xli. 2. 18.; *ἰβις*, Lev. xi. 17. Other words given by *Hody* are invalid as proofs, such as *κόινδυ*, *ἀρτάβη*, *βύσσος*, *ἀλήθεια* for *ד'ארה*, *παστοφορέιον*, *γένεσις* the title to the first book, &c. Besides, its internal character agrees well with an Egyptian source, not a Palestinian. The treatment of the text is somewhat arbitrary, unlike the precision and literalness of the Palestinians who would not have ventured on such license and looseness. They would have been more anxious about the letter of the original. We see in

¹ De *Jeremiæ versione Alexandrina*, p. 23. *et seqq.*

² Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken und die Sammlung der Homerischen Gedichte nach Anleitung eines Plautinischen Scholiums.

³ See *Herbst's Einleitung*, vol. i. p. 150. *et seqq.*

it somewhat of the Alexandrine spirit accommodating Hebrew ideas to Hellenism. A few doctrinal and philosophical representations, characteristic of the later Alexandrine Judaism, may also be detected; though not so many as Daehne has attempted to show.¹ In short, there is more subjectivity and freedom in the treatment of the text than Palestinians would have exhibited—such latitude as is quite consonant with the speculative spirit of Alexandrine Judaism. In modern times, Frankel has denied the Alexandrine origin of the version, though he admits that the impulse which led to it went forth from Alexandria. But his arguments are few and weak. In going to Cyrene and other places in Africa for the origin of some books, he has surely indulged in mere hypotheses.² There is no good reason for denying *Alexandria* to be the birthplace of the Septuagint. No other place is so likely to have produced the translators.

It is not easy to determine the number of translators. That there were several is apparent from the general character of the version. Not only are the same words and phrases variously rendered in different books, but the whole method of translation is diverse. There is a tradition in the *Tract. Sopherim* respecting five translators; but no weight can be attached to it. We have nothing but internal evidence as a guide in the matter; and who knows not the uncertain nature of that criterion?

Many assume that the Pentateuch proceeded from one translator; and there is a general character about it that favours the assumption. Not that differences in the translation of the separate books are wanting—there are perceptible varieties in them, some being better rendered than others. Frankel attributes them to different interpreters covering a space of time between sixty and seventy years.³ With very minute investigation he has gone over all the Pentateuch, and thinks that fragmentary pieces of translation, explanations, and glosses, were interwoven with the version. Partial attempts at a Greek version had preceded, on the basis of which an entire translation was formed.⁴ There is some appearance of truth in this hypothesis, so far as it assumes that current interpretations and oral glosses on passages entered into the composition. But with all the heterogeneous phenomena which present themselves to the close observer, we greatly doubt whether the learned critic be right in his peculiar ideas respecting *the basis* of the entire version, and especially respecting the Pentateuch. It is likely enough that the translation of the Pentateuch *did* proceed from more persons than one; but the attempt to divide parts and pieces of books, made by Frankel, is very arbitrary.⁵ The translation of the Pentateuch is the best executed part of the whole. It is more literal and carefully done than the rest, not without a degree of elegance. But from this we must except Exod. xxxvi. 9., &c. &c. Leviticus is better ren-

¹ *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alexandr. Religionsphilos.* vol. ii. p. 11. *et seqq.*

² *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, p. 38. *et seqq.*

³ *Über den Einfluss der Palästinischen Exegese*, u. s. w., p. 231.

⁴ *Vorstudien*, u. s. w., p. 20.

⁵ See Thiersch, *De Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina*, p. 36. § 9.

dered than any other book; and next to it Deuteronomy. Numbers is the worst translated part. Hence each is supposed by Frankel to have proceeded from one person. That the same should be predicated of the others respectively, there is no valid reason for denying as far as we can perceive. Frankel's dismemberment of Genesis and Exodus has led him to adopt another view. But he has carried his microscopic anatomy too far; and in assuming between sixty and seventy years, *i. e.* between Philadelphus and Philopator, for the making of the Pentateuch version, we must dissent from him.¹ The translation of the historical books is much inferior. The men who had to do with them had less knowledge of Hebrew, and were consequently less able to do justice to the original. Thenius however entertains a very favourable opinion of the translator of the books of Samuel, laying the blame of the Greek text, where it is manifestly incorrect and improper, on the caprice of transcribers and others.² In this respect few will agree with him. He exalts the version too much at the expense of the Masoretic text. The frequent pleonasm of ἐγὼ εἶμι, as in Judges v. 3., vi. 18., xi. 27.; Ruth iv. 4.; 2 Sam. xi. 5., xv. 28., xxiv. 12.; 1 Kings ii. 2.; 2 Kings iv. 13., x. 9., is remarkable. The translator of Isaiah, who was very incompetent, must have been different from him who rendered the minor prophets, as will be seen from a comparison of Isaiah ii. 2—4. with Micah iv. 1—3.; and that the historical books were not translated by the interpreter of Isaiah, follows from Isaiah xxxvi—xxxix. compared with 2 Kings xviii. &c.³ On the whole, the prophetic books are ill translated—in a manner destitute of spirit and poetic fire. In difficult passages they are generally rendered incorrectly. With regard to Jeremiah, the departures from the Hebrew are remarkable and extensive. How they are there to be explained is a most difficult problem. We cannot believe with Wichelhaus⁴, that the departures are to be ascribed entirely to the translator. Probably another recension lay at the basis of the version⁵—one not so full as the Masoretic. In the case of Daniel, the translator has so widely departed from the text, taking so many liberties with it, by omitting, abridging, adding, inserting, that the paraphrase was always rejected, and that of Theodotion introduced in its place, into the Greek Bibles. The book of Esther has been treated in a similar way to that of Daniel. Of the poetical books, Proverbs are best rendered. The Psalms have been translated in a slavish, literal method, without spirit or taste. Ecclesiastes is also ill rendered, the version often being unintelligible from its slavish literality. The translator of Job entirely omitted many difficult passages.

¹ See Über den Einfluss der Palästinischen Exegese, u. s. w.

² Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, vierte Lieferung, Einleitung, p. xxv. *et seqq.*

³ See Gesenius, Commentar über den Iesaia, vol. i. p. 56. *et seqq.*

⁴ De Jeremiæ versione Alexandrina, p. 175. *et seqq.*

⁵ See Movers, De utriusque recensionis Vaticiniorum Jeremiæ, Græcæ Alexandrinæ et Hebraicæ Masorethicæ, indole, u. s. w.

The version, considered as a whole, is by no means good. With an aiming at literality there is much arbitrary procedure, by virtue of which tropical expressions are changed, anthropomorphic resolved into unfigurative ones, objectionable words and ideas avoided. Much is brought *into* the text by way of explanation; much is left out. Transpositions are not unfrequent. The want of a mastery of the two languages, Hebrew and Greek, is everywhere observable.

Attempts have been made by Ussher, Hody, and Eichhorn to determine more particularly the times when several of the books were first translated. But they have not been successful. Thus it is inferred that the book of Joshua could not have been translated till upwards of twenty years after the death of Ptolemy Lagus, because in viii. 18. the translator has introduced the word *γαισός*, a term of Gallic origin, signifying a dart or javelin peculiar to the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece, B. C. 278; some time after which event the Egyptian kings took Gallic mercenaries into their service. But all this is trifling. It is more probable that the Hebrew word was here left untranslated, and one of a similar sound in Greek substituted for it.

Again, it has been supposed that *the prophets* were not translated till after the death of Philometor, because Antiochus Epiphanes, who died in the seventeenth year of Philometor's reign, forbade the reading of the law in the Jewish synagogues. The Jews had therefore recourse to the prophets. But the interdict in question is baseless. That the law alone was forbidden by Antiochus, wants historic probability.

It has also been inferred by Ussher and Hody, from the historical appendix to the book of Esther, that the latter was rendered into Greek in the reign of Philometor. To this Hävernicks replies that the epilogue in question relates to the apocryphal additions to Esther, which are of later origin than the book itself, an affirmation which appears very plausible. But, after minute examination, we believe that the whole book of Esther is meant. And this is the view of Fritzsche, who has given much attention to the Greek version of Esther. Whether the (apocryphal) additions are included is matter of doubt.¹ Fritzsche supposes that they are later than the origin of the version of the book to which they are appended.

There are no good reasons for supposing that certain books were not translated till after the time of Christ, such as Judges and Daniel. Nor can Ezekiel be placed after Christ, because Philo is silent respecting it. As far as we can now ascertain, all the books were translated about or soon after the middle of the second century before Christ. The translation was begun in the time of the first Ptolemys, and the other books were gradually added till the middle of this second century B. C.

In consequence of the agreement observed between the text lying at the basis of the Greek Pentateuch and the Samaritan, various theories have been proposed as explanatory of it.

¹ Exeget. Handbuch zu den Apokryphen, part i. p. 73.

1. Some have thought that the Alexandrians translated from a Samaritan MS. So Hottinger, Postellus, L. de Dieu, Whiston, Hassencamp, Eichhorn, and Bauer. This rests on two or three passages in Origen and Jerome, where it is stated that the venerable name *Jehovah* was not in the letters in common use, but in very ancient characters; and also on the fact that consonants are frequently confounded in the Septuagint whose forms are similar in the Samaritan, but not in the Hebrew alphabet. These considerations are worthless. The text of the prophets and Hagiographa at the basis of the Septuagint differs quite as much from the Masoretic text, as that at the basis of the Greek Pentateuch differs from the Masoretic Pentateuch. And it is *certain* that Hebrew and Samaritan characters, at the time when the version was made, were alike. The change from the old into the modern Hebrew character had not then taken place.

2. Others have supposed that the one Pentateuch was interpolated from the other. So R. Meor Enayim, Ussher, Grotius, and others. This theory of interpolation in some shape appears almost indispensable for the solution of the problem. If we assume, with Frankel, that the Samaritan was made gradually into its present form, and that the later Samaritans had forgotten the dispute that once took place between them and the Jews in Alexandria, the relations in which they stood to one another will not form an insuperable objection to the hypothesis that the Samaritans used the LXX. Still the hatred between the Jews and Samaritans at Alexandria is an objection to the interpolation view.¹

3. Gesenius thinks² that the Samaritan Pentateuch and Septuagint both flowed from Jewish MSS. which resembled one another, and followed a different recension of the Pentateuch from the one that afterwards obtained public authority among the Palestinians, but that the Samaritan copy was subsequently corrected and interpolated by illiterate transcribers. This hypothesis is implicitly adopted by Stuart.³ Doubtless it is plausible and ingenious. Yet it is improbable in some parts. The assumption of *two recensions* of the Pentateuch seems unlikely. The Alexandrian Jews were not so careless of the law as that would indicate. They explained it allegorically, but adhered to the letter. The text of *the law* was always venerated.

4. Dr. Lee conjectures, that the early Christians introduced into their copies Samaritan glosses, which were subsequently taken into the text by careless, unskilful copyists.⁴ This is contrary to the habits of the early Christians.

5. R. Asaria conjectures⁵ that an Aramæan version was extant at the time of Ezra, from which the Septuagint was afterwards taken. The Targum was loose and paraphrastic. Its text had

¹ Über den Einfluss, u. s. w., p. 237. *et seqq.*

² De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, &c. p. 14.

³ American Bib. Repos. for 1832, p. 714.

⁴ Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta, p. 55.

⁵ Meor Enayim.

suffered much. Both the Greek version and the Samaritan Pentateuch flowed from it. This hypothesis explains many phenomena, but it does not satisfactorily account for all, as Frankel observes. We believe that the Pentateuch of the Samaritans originated too early for this; and it is wholly improbable that a Chaldee paraphrase appeared so early as Ezra's time.

All explanations of the agreement in question, hitherto proposed, have been insufficient. The most probable way of accounting for the coincidence is, the fact that the Septuagint was largely used in the Samaritan. The additions to the Masoretic text which the latter presents are in a great measure copies of the Greek reproduced and Hebraised in a very clumsy and incorrect manner. Both documents were also influenced either by an Aramæan paraphrase which circulated in different forms, or by Aramæan paraphrases. Chaldaic elements and Midrashim were introduced into their texts. The coincidence is not so remarkable a phenomenon as has been commonly thought, for the *disagreement* is far greater than the *agreement*.

A singular hypothesis was started by Tychsen respecting the derivation of the Greek version from Hebrew MSS. The ambassadors sent from Jerusalem transcribed the Hebrew copy into Greek for the king's use, and the translators rendered into Greek from this Hebrew-Greek copy.¹

It were a waste of words to refute such a wild hypothesis, especially after it has been so effectually demolished by Hassencamp.

The Greek version soon acquired great reputation and authority among the Hellenists, as is evident from the fabulous accounts of its origin and the belief in its inspiration. It was the object of the legends respecting it to assert for it the same authority with the original text. Philo believed in its inspiration; and even the Talmud contains traces of the same notion. Nor was the extravagant view of its correctness confined to the Hellenists. The Jews in Palestine shared the same belief. Not only does Philo use it *alone*, but Josephus employs it much more than the Hebrew. The New Testament writers also used it more than the original, even where it gives the sense very loosely without adhering to the Hebrew. Some have thought that it was read in the synagogues in Palestine, as well as in those out of it. It must be confessed however, that *all* the evidence adduced on behalf of this opinion is not valid or pertinent. But two passages, one in Tertullian and one in Justin Martyr, with a third in Justinian's Novell. (146), appear to justify and confirm it. Frankel's attempt to evade it by a forced interpretation of the words in the Novell., as if they meant *an interpretation in Greek* and not a Greek version, is forced and unnatural.²

To the early Christian fathers, the Greek version was the only source of their acquaintance with the Old Testament. They did not know the original, and were satisfied with the Septuagint as sub-

¹ Tentamen de variis codicum Hebr. V. T. MS. generibus, p. 66. *et seqq.*

² Vorstudien, u. s. w., p. 56. *et seqq.* See Hody, p. 224.

stantially correct. Origen and Jerome were the only fathers who could read Hebrew.

Disputes arose at an early period between the Jews and the Christians respecting the Septuagint. When the latter quoted it in argument, the Jews must have been often perplexed. We find traces of such controversy as early as in Justin Martyr. In consequence of its furnishing powerful weapons against the Jews in favour of the Messiahship of Jesus, it fell under suspicion. They hated it as much as they had before esteemed it. They even instituted a solemn fast, on the 8th of Tebet, to execrate the memory of the day when it was made.¹

CHAP. XII.

OTHER ANCIENT GREEK VERSIONS.

AQUILA.

OTHER Greek translations were made, of which some fragments only remain. As the Jews had become dissatisfied with the LXX., a version was soon undertaken, which they adopted and opposed to it. It is not surprising that they wished for another, when the state of the Septuagint text was considered, added to the many deviations from the Masoretic Hebrew which that text *at first* presented from ignorance on the part of the translators and other causes injuriously operating. Aquila, a Jewish proselyte belonging to Sinope, in Pontus, made a Greek translation for the use of the Jews. The exact time at which it appeared cannot be known. Epiphanius calls him the nephew (*πνεθεριδης*) of Hadrian; and Irenæus appears to consider him a contemporary. Credner has shown that Justin Martyr does not quote the version, as was thought at one time.² He may be placed about or after the middle of the second century. Many Jewish scholars suppose that Aquila is identical with Onkelos the Targumist, an opinion favoured by the fact of the name being written in Rabbinical works not only עקילס and אקילס, but also אונקלוס.

This version was extremely literal. Every Hebrew word was rendered by a corresponding Greek one. Even אַת, prefixed to the object of a verb, was represented by σὺν, as in Gen. i. 1. This character renders it very valuable for criticism, but much less so for interpretation, since it is so slavishly verbal as to be occasionally unintelligible.

It may be readily supposed, that the translator's fellow-religionists received his work with high esteem. If not made on purpose to serve their cause in opposition to Christian polemics, it was at least substituted for the Septuagint, and employed in aid of Jewish sentiments. So much was it approved by them, that it was designated *the*

¹ See Herzog's Encyklop. article *Alexandrinische Bibelübersetzung*, by Fritzsche, and my Bib. Crit., vol. i.

² Beiträge zur Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 198.

Hebrew verity, as if it were a true representative of the Hebrew itself, and on a par with it. It does not seem however to have been very favourably received by the early Christian fathers. But their judgments of it are not uniform or harmonious. Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Jerome speak severely of it. But the opinion of the last writer was not consistent, for he even prefers it to the LXX. on one occasion, and passes a favourable judgment on its merits.¹ It would also appear from Jerome, that Aquila published a second edition. He revised the first and made it more literal. Whether the revision extended to all the books, or only to the three of which fragments have been preserved, viz. Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, is uncertain. It is a mistake to suppose, with some, that in the 146 Novell. of Justinian, Aquila's second edition is meant by *secunda editio*.

There is no just cause, as far as we can judge, for the accusations of some early writers, like Irenæus and Philastrius, that Aquila perverted passages relating to the Messiah, in order to please the Jews. It is not improbable that he had a polemic object in making the version; but that circumstance does not argue that he *knowingly misinterpreted* the original. The fathers, with scarcely an exception, were incompetent judges on the point. They could not compare Aquila's version with the original, but merely with the Septuagint. Jerome, *on the whole*, speaks very highly of it. Hence we cannot sympathise in Kennicott's depreciating remarks on Aquila.²

THEODOTION.

Theodotion was a Jewish proselyte of Ephesus, and is called by Jerome an Ebionite, semi-Christian, and Jew. Epiphanius's account is somewhat different, and apparently inaccurate. The same writer says that his version was published under Commodus (180—192), which may, perhaps, be reconciled with Irenæus, who represents him as contemporary or nearly so with Aquila. But we cannot attach any weight to the statement of Epiphanius. Theodotion lived somewhat later than Aquila.

The work of Theodotion can scarcely be called a new version. It is rather a revised edition of the LXX. Very early the Septuagint translation of Daniel was discarded by the Christians, and that of Theodotion substituted in its place, as being much more accurate. According to Credner³, this did not take place till the end of the third century. The reason for such a step was unknown to Jerome. When Theodotion forsakes the LXX., and follows his own method of interpretation, he preserves a middle course between the servile closeness of Aquila, and the freedom of Symmachus. Judging however from remaining fragments, he had not an accurate acquaintance with the Hebrew language, and often made mistakes. Bauer⁴ gives

¹ Epist. ad Marcellam, Opp. vol. iv. 2. p. 61.

² Second Dissertation on the state of the Hebrew text, p. 365.

³ Beiträge, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 257. *et seqq.*

⁴ Critica Sacra, p. 279.

as examples of his ignorance, *φεργωλ*, Lev. vii. 18.; *μασφαι*, Lev. xiii. 6.; *θαβελ*, Lev. xviii. 23.; *κωλυμα*, Deut. xxii. 9.; *εδδιμ*, Isa. lxiv. 5. Whether he made a second edition is uncertain, for the passage in Jerome on which the opinion is founded, appears to be corrupt. If Hody's conjecture be probable, no second edition is there referred to.¹

SYMMACHUS.

Symmachus was an Ebionite, according to Jerome and Eusebius; and with this agree Syrian notices in Asseman. According to others, he was a Samaritan, as he is represented by Epiphanius, the synopsis of sacred Scripture among Athanasius's works, the Paschal Chronicle, and Euthymius Zygabenus. Epiphanius places him under the Emperor Severus; and with this agrees Irenæus's silence respecting him. His translation was made before Origen, and after Theodotion's.

The character of the version is freer than that of Aquila or Theodotion. Symmachus was more anxious about the sense than the letter—about style and expression in preference to rigid fidelity. The purity and elegance of his Greek have been referred to; but the purity can only be relative, in comparison with the other Greek versions. Jerome speaks of a second edition. Various examples to illustrate the excellence of Symmachus as an interpreter, are given by Bauer from Thiemé.² Dr. H. Owen has also printed the first chapter of Genesis along with the same portion in the Septuagint, Aquila, and Theodotion in parallel columns, for the purpose of showing their respective characteristics together.³ A comparison of these three versions with the Septuagint will prove their greater fidelity to the original. They are not so diffuse and glossarial. In the resolution of tropical phrases also, they differ from the LXX. Occasionally all three agree in opposition to the latter. But it is matter of regret that we have nothing but fragments of them now. The most copious collection of such fragments is that made by Montfaucon from the remains of the Hexapla, and published at Paris in two folio volumes, 1714. Such fragments of Aquila as appear in Rabbinical writings, have been collected and published by Anger, with explanatory comments, 1845.

The three anonymous translations, commonly called the fifth sixth and seventh versions, derive their names from the order in which Origen disposed them in the columns of his great work on the Bible. Origen himself did not know their authors; and it is very probable that they did not extend over the whole of the Old Testament. It is usually supposed that the author of the sixth was a Christian, from a fragment on Hab. iii. 13. But Jerome calls the translators of the fifth and sixth *Judaici translatores*. It is impossible to tell the extent of each or all of them. From the fragments in Montfaucon, it appears that the fifth and sixth comprehended the

¹ "Theodotio interpretatus est *sudrinus*: secunda, *pessima*, Symmachus *novissimas*." Hieronym. in Jer. xxix. 17. Hody would insert after *sudrinus*, Aquilæ prima editio.

² Critica Sacra, p. 277. *et seqq.*

³ Observations on the Septuagint, p. 114. *et seqq.*

Pentateuch, the minor prophets, the Psalms, Solomon's Song; the seventh, Psalms and Solomon's Song. Jerome, however, apparently indicates that they also embraced Job and Proverbs. Fragments of the fifth, in a Hexaplar-Syriac version of the second book of Kings, were also found by Bruns in a Paris MS.

In the margin of MSS. containing the Greek Bible or LXX., notes have been found containing, it is thought, small fragments of versions. These are cited as ὁ Ἑβραῖος, the Hebrew; ὁ Σύρος, the Syriac; τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν, the Samaritan; ὁ Ἑλληνικός, the Hellenic. ὁ Ἑβραῖος refers to remarks on the text of the LXX. compared with the Hebrew, chiefly extracted from Jerome.

ὁ Σύρος, the old Syriac version. Dœderlein, followed by Eichhorn and most others, think that fragments of the Greek version made by Sophronius are intended, which is improbable. That version was taken from Jerome's *new Hebrew-Latin*, and was much used in Syria.

Τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν denotes fragments of a Samaritan-Greek version. Some suppose them to be fragments of a Greek translation made from the Samaritan Pentateuch. Others regard them as extracts translated from the Samaritan version. Perhaps they are merely explanatory notes on the LXX.¹

ὁ Ἑλληνικός alludes to an unknown Greek translation.

From the widely extended use of the LXX. among Hellenists, and subsequently in Christian churches, as well as the want of a critically established text of it, numerous corruptions crept in. Transcribers and readers could alter or add capriciously, as long as there was no definite standard-form of the text to guide them. And this they must have done. They acted carelessly and arbitrarily in regard to the biblical text of the Old Testament. Even in Josephus and Philo traces of its corruption may be found. In the New Testament also, as well as the earliest fathers, several may be detected. There can be little doubt that the version was altered by Christian hands, especially in Messianic passages. This is the case with the text employed by Justin Martyr. And the appearance of other Greek versions, in the first three centuries, increased the embarrassed state of the text, since the Septuagint could so easily be amended by means of them. Under such circumstances, Origen, who was alive to the fact of its corruptness, undertook to place the text of the LXX. in such a light as that it could be easily used for exegetical purposes. He showed how it should or could be corrected. His purpose was not a *critical* so much as an *apologetic* one. It was not to set forth a critically revised text, but to exhibit the true relation of the Greek version to the original. He substituted as it were the fundamental text for the translation, by way of aiding the Christians in their controversies with the Jews.²

The great work produced by Origen is commonly called the *Hexapla*, from its containing six columns. But it is commonly supposed that he began with the *Tetrapla*, a work containing only four columns,

¹ See De Wette, *Einleit.* § 63 b. p. 98.

² *Epist. ad Afric.*, p. 16. *et seqq.*

in which were ranged the four Greek versions of the LXX., Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; and that this, his first production, stimulated his mind to a greater task. Accordingly, it is believed that he proceeded to make another work on a more extended plan, containing first, the Hebrew in its own character; secondly, the same in Greek letters; thirdly, the version of Aquila; fourthly, that of Symmachus; fifthly, the LXX.; sixthly, Theodotion; seventhly, eighthly, and ninthly, versions five, six, and seven. This was *the proper Hexapla*, which we suppose, with most critics, to have been a separate production from the Tetrapla. Some however have considered the Hexapla and Tetrapla to be merely different appellations of the same, according to the number of columns taken into account. Having found the sixth, seventh, and eighth versions, he made the Hexapla and Octapla, which are appellations of *the one* work according to the columns. Some think that he first wrote the Tetrapla; and, after finding the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions, the Hexapla and Octapla. So Hody, Ussher, Montfaucon, and others. Others suppose that he wrote the Hexapla first; and, by taking away the two Hebrew texts, made the Tetrapla. So Valesius in his note to Eusebius vi. 16. It is an obvious inference from Euseb. vi. 16., and cod. March. ap. Montfaucon. prælim. p. 10. 15. (comp. schol. c. Coislin. on Psal. lxxxvi.), that the Tetrapla was a distinct work from the Hexapla. Redepenning has also shown that the former was subsequent to the latter.¹ *Hexapla* and *Octapla* are only different names for the same work; but the Tetrapla was another later one. The text of the LXX. was amended from the rest. When he saw something in the Hebrew which the LXX. wanted, he inserted it out of Theodotion, with an asterisk at the commencement, and the name of the source to which the supplement belonged (*). When there was something superfluous in the text, he allowed it to stand with an obelisk prefixed (⚭). Two points (:) after a supplement or omission, showed how far the proposed correction extended. He also used *lemniscs* (÷) and *hypolemniscs* (−), both mentioned by Epiphanius. The former appear to have been affixed to words in which the LXX. and Theodotion coincided; the latter to words in Theodotion alone. In every case, the initial letter of each translator's name was put immediately after the asterisk, to indicate the source whence a supplementary passage was taken.

The reason that determined the particular order of the columns, was founded on the nature of the versions. The version of Aquila, as coming nearest to the Hebrew original, occupies the place next to it. After Aquila was placed Symmachus, because he is nearer to the Hebrew than the LXX. or Theodotion. The LXX. precedes Theodotion, because the latter followed the former very closely. Epiphanius gives another but incorrect explanation of the reason which led to the disposing of the columns in the order they were placed in. We subjoin the following table illustrative of the Tetrapla and Hexapla.

¹ Origines, vol. ii. p. 175. *et seqq.*

No. 1.

TETRAPLA.

Gen. i. 1.

Οί Ο'.	Ἀκύλας.	Σύμμαχος.	Θεοδοσίον.
Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν κεφαλῶν ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

No. 2.

HEXAPLA.

Gen. i. 20.

Τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν.	Τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν Ἑλληνικοῖς Γράμμασι.	Ἀκύλας.	Σύμμαχος.	Οί Ο'.	Θεοδοσίον.
וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִרְצֻוּ הַמַּיִם נִפְשׁוּ שָׂרִיץ וְעוֹף הַיָּמִים וְעוֹף הַיָּבֵשׁ יִרְצֻוּ אֶת-פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת-רִקְיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם :	Οὐτω μερ ελω- ειμ ισρεσου αμαιμ σαρες ναφες αια ουωφ ιεωφεφ αλ-σαρες αλ- φανη ρακιη ασαμαιμ.	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς· ἐξερψάτο τὰ ὕδατα ἔρπετὰ ψυχῆς ζώσης, καὶ πετηνὸν ἰπτάμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς· ἐξερψάτο τὰ ὕδατα ἔρπετὸν ψυχῆν ζώσαν, καὶ πετηνὸν πετόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κατὰ πρόσωπον στερεώματος οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς· ἐξαγαγέτο τὰ ὕδατα ἔρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζώσων, καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. — Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως :	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς· ἐξερψάτωσαν τὰ ὕδατα ἔρπετὰ ψυχὰς ζώσας, καὶ πέτηνον πετόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κατὰ πρόσωπον στερεώματος οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.
Psalms viii. 4. : אֲרָאָה שָׁמַיִךְ :	ερεε σαμαχα.	ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς σου.	ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς σου.	ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς* σου :	ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς σου.
Psalms xviii. 7. : לְרוֹן אֲרָחָה :	λαρους ωραχ.	δραμεῖν ὀδόν.	δραμεῖν ὀδόν.	δραμεῖν ὀδόν — αἰ τοῦ: Jer. xlv. 22. (li. 22.).	δραμεῖν ὀδόν.
				* A. Θ. παρὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἰσοκλίσητα. Jer. xi. 13. * A. Σ. Θ. θυσιαστήριον. Jer. xxxviii. 3. * οἱ Γ'.	
				† Ω δὴ κῆρυξ :	

No. 3.
Habakkuk, ii. 4.

Τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν. וַיְהִי בְּחֹנֹהוּ	Τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν Ἑλληνιστῶς Γεγραμ- μασι.	Ἄξιόμας. καὶ δίκαιος ἐν πίστει αὐτοῦ ζήσεται.	Σύμμετρος. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει.	Οἱ Ο΄. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζή- σεται.	Θεοδόσιος. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει.	Ε΄. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει.	Σ΄. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει.	Ζ΄. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει.
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This voluminous work must have occupied the laborious author many years; *how* many cannot be known. It is sometimes said that he spent twenty-eight years in its preparation. But there is no foundation for this time. When and where he began it, as well as the time and place of its completion, are indicated by no ancient writer. Huet says, that he began it at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and finished it at Tyre.¹ But this is incorrect, for Origen, in the Epistle to Africanus, which was previously written in Nicomedia, refers to the Hexapla, as De Wette well observes. It may have been commenced at Alexandria, as De Wette conjectures. In consequence of its vast extent, no transcript of the whole seems to have been made. Pamphilus and Eusebius copied the text of the Septuagint alone, with the critical marks employed by Origen, viz. the asterisks and obeli. This was frequently transcribed. All that remains of the Hexapla is a few fragments, the original having probably perished when Cæsarea was taken by the Arabs, A. D. 653. In collecting the fragments many scholars have employed themselves, such as P. Morin, Drusius, Montfaucon, Dæderlein, Scharfenberg, Matthæi, Schleusner, Spohn.

It is to be regretted, that the use of Origen's great work led to new corruption in the text of the LXX. His marks were misunderstood or neglected by ignorant, careless transcribers, a circumstance which contributed greatly to deteriorate the genuine text. Hence Lucian, presbyter in Antioch († 311), and Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, undertook new recensions, which met with acceptance and came into public use. It is said that the former revision circulated in Syria, Asia Minor, and Constantinople; the latter in Egypt. Holmes thinks that the Tetrapla lay at the basis of both, which they amended after the Hebrew²; and Huet infers from a passage in Jerome that they used the Hexaplaric signs. But Hävernick disputes the latter. Of these two recensions nothing has been preserved.

Still the corruption of the text was not removed by these critical labours. On the

¹ Origeniana, p. 17.² Præfat. ad Tom. i. Vet. Test. Græci. sect. ix. x.

contrary it was increased, because the different recensions came to be mixed together. Hence Jerome speaks of the LXX. as being in a lamentable condition; and in the same deteriorated state it has remained ever since. No MS. or MSS. contains any one recension in a pure state; nor does any edition accurately and faithfully represent the text in MS.

The old unrevised text, as it existed before Origen, has been usually called the *κοινή*, or Vulgate; that of Origen, the *Hexaplaric*. The best single representatives of these two texts are the two leading MSS., the Vatican and Alexandrine; the former containing, for the most part, the *κοινή*; the latter, the Hexaplaric text.

There are four leading editions of the LXX., from which all the rest have been taken.

I. That in the Complutensian Polyglott, 1514—1517, folio. The text is taken from unknown MSS., having peculiar readings differing from the edd. Vat. and Alex., but often confirmed by the Syro-Hexaplaric text. There can be no question that the MSS. were excellent ones, and that the editors faithfully followed them. Hence they have produced a good text. There is not a particle of evidence in favour of an assumption made respecting them, that they altered the readings of their MSS. to make their text more accordant with the Hebrew. This edition has been recently exalted to a very high degree by Grinfield.¹ He raises it above every other, chiefly because the editors have given a complete and continuous text, corresponding chapter by chapter, and verse by verse, with the Hebrew original, free from the defects, transpositions, and interpolations of our present editions. But the esteemed critic ought to know that the criterion of excellence here set up is fallacious. It is not agreement with the Hebrew text which is the test of goodness; but the most ancient and internally valuable MSS. of the LXX. The goodness of an edition depends on the fact of its being derived from the oldest and best MSS.

II. The Aldine edition, 1518, folio. This contains a mixed text.

III. The Roman edition of Sixtus V., 1587, folio. After the Vatican codex, but altered here and there. Mr. Grinfield has also attempted to lessen the credit of this edition, reducing it far below the Complutensian. He says its text is faulty, imperfect, interpolated. He takes the Hebrew as the standard, and judges by comparison with it. It is very true that the Roman editors have attached notes to each chapter, in which the readings of the Complutensian are given. But we cannot subscribe to the opinion "that the Roman editors frequently refer to the Complutensian text as furnishing the means and materials for amending and correcting the Vatican text," or that "in numberless instances they own the superiority of the Complutensian readings." We believe they acted judiciously in following the Vatican MS. as far as it was complete. In other parts they printed from the best they had. The preface disproves several of Grinfield's assertions respecting the editors of

¹ In the Gentleman's Magazine for February 1855.

the Roman edition. In some instances its text could be amended by the collation of MSS. since made known. In some cases the Complutensian text is preferable, because it is supported by superior MS. authority. But we hold that the Vatican text, *as a whole*, is superior to that of the Complutensian, or any other of the old standard editions. The text of any really good edition must be based *mainly* upon it; or at least on the great source whence it was taken, the Cod. Vaticanus. The transpositions and interpolations of which Grinfield complains, are in the most ancient and best MSS. Why then should they be rejected? Surely the mode in which we should judge of the goodness of the LXX.'s text is not its agreement with the Hebrew, but with the most ancient MSS.

IV. The edition of Grabe, 1707—1720, 4 vols. folio. This is taken from the Alexandrine MS.

The most copious and splendid edition is that of Holmes and Parsons, 1798—1827, 5 vols. folio. The text here is the Vatican; and the collection of various readings is the largest ever made. But these readings, derived from many MSS., are indistinctly exhibited; and even those of the Cod. Vat. cannot be accurately discovered. A better text is that in Tischendorf's edition of 1850, with a selection of various readings from some MSS. before unknown.

The Septuagint version of Daniel is not that commonly published in editions, but Theodotion's. It was first printed at Rome in the year 1772, folio.

The value of the LXX. can be now estimated pretty correctly. Formerly, it was either unduly exalted or depreciated. In criticism it will always have its place and use, because of the antiquity belonging to it. But it is probably more serviceable in the interpretation than the criticism of the text. It must be used in correcting the Hebrew with great caution, because its text is in the state already described.¹

CHAP. XIII.

VERSIONS FROM THE SEPTUAGINT.

VERSIO VETUS.

THERE is no ground for believing that several independent Latin versions of the Bible existed in the time of Augustine. The expressions of this father respecting translations are inexact. When he speaks of *versio Italica*², he is speaking of *the New Testament alone*. There was *one* old Latin version with a very varying text in various MSS.; and it is of these discrepant MSS. that Augustine speaks so strongly, not of distinct translations. *This one* version may indeed have been made, at different times, by different persons. It circulated *in parts*,

¹ For a fuller account of the Septuagint and the other Greek versions belonging to the Hexapla, see Davidson's *Bib. Crit.* vol. i. chaps. xi. xii. xiii., with the Introductions of De Wette and Keil.

² "In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Italica* ceteris preferatur; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ." *De Doctrina Christiana*, vol. ii. p. 15.

which each seems to have altered after his own fancy. But though there were a great many various readings, the version was *one*. No passage in the fathers is sufficient to show that there were many versions, among which Augustine preferred the one called *Itala*. All the fragments of the old Latin that can be gathered out of early writings and from MSS. show *one translation* substantially.

The first certain traces of the *vetus*, or old Latin, are found at the close of the second century. Tertullian quotes or refers to it. Hence it may be dated in the second century; and Eichhorn was right in conjecturing that it was made in Africa, not in Italy.¹ This is proved by Wiseman from the fact, that for the first two centuries, and even later, there is hardly a single instance of an ecclesiastical writer belonging to the Italian church composing his works in any language but Greek, whereas not a Greek ecclesiastical writer appears in north Africa during the same time; from an examination of the words and phrases in the *versio vetus*, which shows that it abounds in archaisms or antiquated forms of expression, found only in writers anterior to the Augustan age, as also that it contains many Africanisms.² Jerome, referring to *the copies that circulated about Rome*, says³, that every one added or omitted according to his own judgment.

It is superfluous to refer now to the conjectures respecting the word *Itala* in Augustine. It should not be altered, either into *illa*, with Bentley and others, nor into *usitata*, with Potter. It ought to remain as it is. But it is inapplicable to the version, at least in the Old Testament, since Augustine is speaking of the New Testament in the passage where he uses *Itala*. The appellation *Itala* should therefore be discarded, because it does not denote a version of the Old Testament, but solely a class of MSS. of the New Testament Vulgate circulating in a particular locality. It is also a mistake to suppose that when Jerome speaks of the *vulgata editio, communis editio, vetus editio*, he means the old Latin; for these epithets are descriptive of the LXX., as Leander Van Ess has fully proved.⁴

The character of the version was that of literal fidelity to the Greek from which it was made. It followed the *κωνή* or *ante-Hexaplaric* text of the LXX., and therefore participates in the mistakes existing in that text before Origen's labours upon it. The text of the Septuagint, which it most nearly approaches, is of course *the Vatican*. Only parts and fragments of it are preserved in the works of the fathers. Its utility lies in the criticism of the Septuagint text.

All the fragments of the *vetus versio* that could be discovered were collected and published most copiously by Sabatier at Rheims, 1743, three vols. folio. The first two volumes contain the Old Testament. Additional fragments were afterwards supplied by Münter, Hafniae, 1819. Angelo Mai⁵ added others.

For the purpose of remedying the state of the text so much corrupted, Jerome undertook a critical revision of it about the year

¹ Einleit. vol. ii. § 323.

² See Wiseman's Essays, vol. i. p. 42. *et seqq.*

³ Præfat. in Josua.

⁴ Pragmatisch-kritische Geschichte der Vulgata, p. 24. *et seqq.*

⁵ Nova Collectio Script. Vct. vols. iii. ix.

A. D. 382. After amending the New Testament, he revised the Psalter in a cursory way; but he subsequently amended it more carefully by the Hexaplaric text, and with the critical marks of Origen. The former was called the *Roman* Psalter, because it was used in the Roman church; the latter, the *Gallican* Psalter, because adopted by the churches in Gaul. In like manner he corrected Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Proverbs, and Job. Whether he revised more books than these is not very clear. In his Apology against Rufinus he speaks of these six only; and therefore it has been inferred that he revised no more. (The double prefaces to these six only, is another argument adduced; but there are no double prefaces to Proverbs and Canticles.) Yet in other writings he speaks generally, as if he had amended the whole Septuagint. It is matter of regret, that the greater part of the books he had corrected were lost through the treachery of a friend, as he himself says. Both Psalters and Job are all that have survived.

SYRIAC VERSIONS FROM THE LXX.

Till the sixth century of the Christian era, the Syrians seem to have had only the Peshito, taken from the original Hebrew. But in consequence of the separation of the Monophysites from the Nestorians, a version of the Old Testament from the Greek was executed.

At the request of Athanasius, Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Paul, bishop of Tella in Mesopotamia, undertook a Syriac version from the Greek during his abode at Alexandria. The work thus executed follows the Hexaplaric text, word for word. So literal and close is it, that the Syriac usage is neglected for the sake of adhering to the Greek words and imitating the Greek etymology. Even the article is represented. It has also the Hexaplaric marks. The text agrees for the most part with the Alexandrine MS.; but it not unfrequently coincides too with the Vatican and Complutensian texts. This version is of great value towards restoring the true Hexaplaric text of the LXX.

Andrew Masius possessed and used a MS. containing the present translation, which has since been lost. A MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan contains the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, the twelve minor prophets, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Daniel, Ezekiel, Isaiah. A Paris MS. contains the fourth book of Kings. With the exception of the apocryphal parts, all these have been printed by Norberg, Bugati, Hasse, and Middeldorpf.

This is the version which was known for some time as the *versio figurata*, and believed to be an independent one. Pococke erroneously read and translated Abulfaragius's words¹, as was pointed out by De Sacy.² At the beginning of the eighth century, James of Edessa revised the Hexaplaric Syriac version after the Hexaplaric text of Origen and the Peshito. He did not therefore make a new

¹ In Abulfaragii Historia Dynast. p. 100.

² In Eichhorn's Allgem. Biblioth. vol. viii. p. 588.

version, but a new recension of that already made by Paul of Tella. Only a few fragments of it have been communicated to the public by De Sacy and Bugati.

The Nestorian patriarch Mar Abba († 552) is also said to have made a Syriac translation from the Greek; but it appears never to have got into circulation, and we know nothing of it except the name.¹

Polycarp, rural bishop to Philoxenus or Xenayas, bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis in Syria (488–518), in addition to the New Testament had also translated the Psalter out of the Greek into Syriac, as we learn from Moses of Aghelle in Mesopotamia, belonging to the sixth century. But no version of the entire Old Testament was made, either by Philoxenus or Polycarp, as we infer from Barhebræus and Moses Bar Cepha. Hence the scholion in the margin of the Ambrosian MS. at Isa. ix. 6. must be based on error.²

It does not appear that Thomas of Charkel or Heraclea made a version of the Old Testament, as Pococke supposed. The Harklean *version* of the history of Susanna in a MS. mentioned by that scholar, is merely a *free* revision of Theodotian's.

ETHIOPIC VERSION.

When Christianity spread among the Ethiopians, they received in the fourth century a version of the entire Bible executed in the ancient Geez, or holy dialect. It has been supposed that Frumentius was the author, since the Ethiopic tradition refers it to him under the appellation of *Abba Salama*. But it probably proceeded from different individuals; from Christians not Jews. There can be little doubt that it was made from the Septuagint, though this is denied by Bruce. Dorn³ supposes that the translator consulted the original Hebrew also; an opinion disputed by Gesenius⁴ and Rödiger.⁵ Although there are several MSS. in Europe containing the Ethiopic version entire, only parts have been printed at different times. The Psalter has been published oftenest, first of all by Potken at Rome, along with Solomon's Song, 1513, 4to. It was also published by the Bible Society at London in 1815. Ruth, Jonah, Joel, Malachi, a few chapters of Genesis were published, in addition to the Psalms and Canticles, till Dillmann recently began to edit all the Old Testament from various MSS., some volumes of which have already appeared. This will be the first complete edition of the Old Testament. The same scholar has described the version in Herzog's Encyclopædie.

EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.

Towards the conclusion of the third and commencement of the fourth centuries, Christianity seems to have penetrated into the provinces of Egypt, about which time the origin of Egyptian versions may be placed.

¹ Eichhorn, Einleit. vol. ii. § 267.

² Hävernick, Einleit. i. 2. pp. 62, 63.

³ De Psalterio Æthiop.

⁴ In the Allgem. Litt. Zeit. for 1832.

⁵ Ibid.

One was made in the dialect of Lower Egypt, improperly called Coptic, the *Memphitic* version; another in that of Upper Egypt, the *Sahidic* or *Thebaic*. Both were taken from the LXX., but which preceded the other it is difficult to tell. Both appear to belong to the third century. According to Münter¹ their basis is the Hesychian recension. Theodotion's version was used in the book of Daniel. Of the *Memphitic*, various books have been printed: the Pentateuch by Wilkins; the Psalms repeatedly, last of all by Schwartz; the greater prophets by Tattam; pieces of Jeremiah by Mingarelli; of Daniel by Münter; and of Isaiah by Engelbreth. Of the *Sahidic*, mere fragments have been printed by Münter, Mingarelli, and Zoega, embracing Daniel ix.; Jer. xiii. 14., xiv. 19.; Isa. i. 1—9. 16., v. 18—25. A version in the *Basmuric* dialect has also been discovered, a dialect compounded of the other two, but inclining more to the Sahidic. Engelbreth has published some fragments of it, at Copenhagen, 1811.

ARMENIAN VERSION.

Along with their alphabet, the Armenians received from Miesrob in the fifth century an Armenian version of the Bible. In this work he was assisted by two scholars, Johannes Ekelensis and Josephus Palnensis, whom he had sent to Alexandria that they might become better acquainted with the Greek language. The translation of the Old Testament follows the Septuagint; but in Daniel, Theodotion. The text, as it appears in it, is a mixed one, agreeing with none of our leading recensions of the LXX. It is said by Walton² to have been subsequently interpolated from the Peshito, but this is denied by Wiseman³ and Rhode.⁴ La Croze asserted also that it was interpolated from the Vulgate in the thirteenth century; but this wants proof. The Psalms were first printed repeatedly; and the entire Bible, under the supervision of Uskan at Amsterdam, 1666, 4to. Uskan has been charged with altering the text after the Vulgate.

GEORGIAN VERSION.

In the sixth century, the Georgians received a translation of the Bible, after the example of the Armenians, from whom they received the art of writing. This version is in the *sacred* or *ecclesiastical* dialect of the country, and in the Armenian character. The Old Testament part was taken from the LXX., and the authors are unknown. The entire Bible was published at Moscow, 1743, fol., revised and amended from the Slavonic.

SLAVONIC VERSION.

The Slavonic version of the Bible has been usually attributed to the brothers Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, who translated the Old Testament from the Septuagint. But Alter of Vienna,

¹ Specim. verss. Danielis Coptic. p. 13.

² Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta, xiii. 16. p. 621. ed. Dathe.

³ Horæ Syriacæ, p. 141. *et seqq.*

⁴ Gregorii Barhebraei Schol. in Psalm. vet. xviii. p. 74.

who collated it for Holmes, affirms that it was made from the *vetus* or old Latin in the *glagolitic* character, and first altered in the fourteenth century after Greek MSS. Hence Methodius and Cyril cannot be the authors of it; nor can it be put among the mediate versions derived from the LXX. Perhaps Methodius and Cyril merely made the New Testament version from the Greek. Afterwards the Old Testament was taken from the Latin. The Pentateuch was first printed at Prague, 1519, and the whole Bible at the same place in 1570. It has been often reprinted.

GOTHIC VERSION.

This version is ascribed to Ulphilas, bishop of the Mæso-Goths, in the fourth century. Both Old and New Testaments were made from the Greek. But only a few fragments of the former have been discovered by Angelo Mai in some leaves of a Latin MS. belonging to the Ambrosian Library at Milan, containing small pieces of the books of Kings, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Ezra ii. 28—42.; Neh. v. 13—18., vi. 14—19., vii. 1—3., were published by him and Castilioni; and again by Gabelentz and Löbe, in their complete edition of all the fragments of the Gothic Scriptures known to be extant, vol. ii. part i. 1843. As far as a judgment can be formed from these little parts, the version was carefully and faithfully made from the Hexaplaric text. Ulphilas's text, where it departs from the leading editions, agrees with the Complutensian.

ARABIC VERSIONS.

Several Arabic versions were made from the LXX.

1. The Arabic translation of the Prophets, printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts. According to the subscription to the Paris MS. of it, the version was made by an Alexandrine, probably after the tenth century. The Hexaplaric text is the basis of it, according to Gesenius.

2. A version of Solomon's writings, also printed in the Polyglotts.

3. The book of Ezra, printed in the same.

4. The Psalms, in the Polyglotts, in an *Egyptian* recension; printed in Justiniani's Polyglott Psalter, after a *Syriac* recension. The latter is also contained in the Psalter of V. Scialac and Gabriel Sionita, printed at Rome in 1614.

5. The version used among the Melchites¹, made by Abdallah Ibn Alfadl before the twelfth century.

Various other Arabic translations from the Greek are still unprinted.²

¹ The orthodox Greeks were so called from a Syriac word denoting *King*, as being adherents to the imperial religion of the Byzantine empire.

² See Rödiger de Origine et Indole Arab. Librorum Tet. Test. Histor. Interpretat. ; and Keil's Einleit. p. 624.

CHAP. XIV.

VENETIAN GREEK VERSION.

ANOTHER Greek version is the *Venetian*, so called from a MS. in the library of St. Mark's church at Venice, which contains it. This is the only codex of the version which has been discovered. The MS. in question belongs to the fourteenth century, and the version itself to the middle-age period. It extends to several books of the Old Testament, the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Daniel. Who the author was, cannot be exactly discovered. He was certainly not a Jew. Ammon thinks that he was a Christian monk; Ziegler and Bauer that he was a Christian grammarian of Constantinople, who had been taught Hebrew by a western Jew. The version itself follows the Masoretic text with slavish fidelity, and the diction is a curious mixture of the pure Attic dialect and barbarisms. It is useless to speculate about the time when the translator lived. Probably he belonged to the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries. The work is of little use in criticism, especially as it does not follow the Hebrew alone, but has received contributions from the LXX., from other Greek versions, and from Jewish interpreters. The Pentateuch part was published by Ammon at Erlangen, 1790, 1791, and the other books by Villoison at Strasburg, 1784.¹

CHAP. XV.

TARGUMS.

THE word *Targum* signifies *version* or *interpretation*, and may denote any translation. But it has come to be restricted to those paraphrastic versions of the Old Testament which were made in the Chaldee dialect.

The origin of these paraphrases can be traced with tolerable certainty. *How* and *why* they were made can be readily known. But *the exact time* when they began to be used is somewhat uncertain. After Hebrew had ceased to be spoken as the language of the people, the lessons which were read out of the Old Testament in the synagogue required an accompanying explanation. Oral comments were made at the time of the lessons, in order that the latter might be intelligible. We do not suppose, however, that the practice of oral explanations began with the time of Ezra, because the old language did not become extinct so early. And it is a mistaken view of the passage in Nehemiah viii. 8. which finds these Chaldee interpretations there. At first, the remarks made were oral. But this could scarcely have been satisfactory, especially as the interpreter

¹ See Davidson's *Bib. Crit.* vol. i. pp. 222, 223.; and Bertholdt, *Einleit.* vol. ii. p. 566. *et seqq.*

took great freedom with the text, indulging occasionally in extensive and miscellaneous comments. We know that his position had been abused by the fact, that hermeneutical rules were made to restrain the licence so natural to it. The *reader* and *interpreter* were different persons, and seem to have proceeded alternately in paragraphs or otherwise.

What interval elapsed between the time when these oral phrases began, and when the first was committed to writing, it is impossible to say. Probably no long period intervened. The *oral* were soon succeeded by the *written* comments. It is clear that *written* Targums existed before the time of Christ. Whether Zunz is correct in affirming that they existed on most of the biblical books as early as the Hasmonean time is doubtful.¹ The Mishna speaks of the language and character in which they must be written; and in the Gemara, a written Targum on Job, belonging to the middle of the first century, is referred to. It has also been conjectured by Pfannkuche² that Josephus used Targums; which is quite improbable, for the Chaldee was Josephus's native dialect, and he was well educated in the biblical Hebrew. A trace of them has also been found in Matt. xxvii. 46., where our Lord is thought to have quoted from a Targum. But this also is uncertain. It is far more likely that he translated at the time into the current dialect the ancient Hebrew of Psal. xxii. 1. Perhaps pieces only were written at first. There was no complete Targum or translation of a whole book for a while. Difficult or important passages received expository remarks in writing. Paragraphs were paraphrased; and out of these Chaldaic accompaniments, along with traditional comments *not* committed to writing, the earliest written Targums on entire books were first made.

No existing Targum extends to all the parts of the Old Testament. Each embraces a separate portion of the Bible; and all are in a very uncritical state both in regard to the consonants and vowels of their texts. They were originally unpointed. Buxtorf first introduced a consistent vowel system into them, after the model of that in the Chaldee sections of Daniel and Ezra. But though he did so much in this respect, he was censured by Simon for not having attained the perfection he had intended, as if men can always come up to the degree of completeness which they wish to arrive at. The merit of Buxtorf will be highly estimated if the anomalous pointing in the Venice and other Bibles before his day be considered. Till his time there was no *system* in the points. They had been put capriciously and irregularly. Even in the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglotts, where some labour was spent upon them, they are irregular.

THE TARGUM OF ONKELOS.

The accounts of Onkelos are very uncertain. The oldest notices represent him as a proselyte and disciple of the elder Gamaliel who taught the Apostle Paul, and died not long before the destruction

¹ Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, p. 61.

² In Eichhorn's Allgem. Biblioth. vol. viii. p. 427.

of the Temple. He must be placed, therefore, in the first century. In the Babylonian Talmud he is repeatedly mentioned; and what is there predicated of him is attributed to Aquila, the Greek translator in the Jerusalem Talmud. Hence the one has been identified with the other. The names, indeed, are nearly the same. Whether there be a mistake in this Jewish identification of the two translators, or whether they be really one and the same person, we shall not decide. We see nothing insuperable against the latter supposition, which some learned Jews of the present day adopt. The chief argument on which Frankel relies for showing their diversity is, that in many passages they differ, and even translate in modes directly opposite.¹ To which Graetz² replies, that we have no assurance that the fragments of Aquila collected by Montfaucon are to be regarded as really his, because through the procedure of Origen much that belonged to one translator was often attributed to another. But this reply does not fully meet the case; and the more probable view still is, that the two translators, Aquila and Onkelos, were different persons. We agree therefore with Frankel rather than Graetz. Eichhorn's arguments for his being a Babylonian, drawn from his being mentioned only in the Babylonian Talmud, from the purity of the dialect in which his version is made, and its freedom from fabulous legends, must be rejected as unsatisfactory. All the ancient accounts respecting Onkelos have been collected and published by Anger.³

The Targum of Onkelos is on the Pentateuch. The dialect is good and pure Chaldee, approaching to the biblical. It contains, however, a few Greek words and many obscure expressions which were unintelligible to the Talmudists themselves. The translation is faithful to the original and literal. Occasionally the author paraphrases a little in explaining tropes, as well as in removing anthropomorphisms and expressions unbecoming to modesty. But he does not incorporate foreign elements into the work. His *doctrinal* explanations are very simple. It has been observed that he interprets only two passages of the Messiah, Gen. xlix. 10.; Numb. xxiv. 17., while the later Targums have seventeen Messianic passages. In the poetical pieces alone, the author is freer and more paraphrastic, introducing additions. These last, however, have been reckoned *interpolations*, an assumption favoured by the fact that all the codices do not agree. This Targum is most highly prized by the Jews. It is printed in the large Polyglotts as well as the Rabbinical Bibles, and has been translated into Latin by Paul Fagius. S. D. Luzzatto gives the best disquisition on it.⁴

TARGUM OF JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL.

Jonathan, the son of Uzziel, was the author of a Targum on the former and later prophets. He is said to have been a disciple of

¹ Über den Einfluss der Paläst. Exeges., u. s. w., p. 15. and elsewhere.

² Geschichte der Juden, vol. iv. p. 510.

³ De Onkelo Chaldaico quem ferunt Pentateuchi paraphraste &c., Partic. ii.

⁴ Philoxenus, s. de Onkelosi Chald. Pentat. versione Dissertat. Herm. Crit. &c. 1830, 8vo.

Hillel the elder. If this be true, he lived before Christ, and wrote before Onkelos. Zunz, however, infers from the agreement of Jonathan with Onkelos in several places (Targ. Judges v. 26., with Targ. Deut. xxii. 5.; Targ. 2 Kings xiv. 6., with Targ. Deut. xxiv. 16., Targ. Jer. xlviii. 45, 46. with Targ. Numb. xxi. 28, 29.) that the former used the latter.¹ If so, he lived after Christ. Hävernick on the contrary infers from these passages that Onkelos was acquainted with Jonathan's work, because the tradition embodied in the Talmud makes Jonathan the older, because it is probable in itself that an interpretation of the *prophets* was undertaken before the Jews ventured to do so with the *law*, and because the tendency towards versions at the time of Gamaliel is in harmony with the more liberal character of the man, as he is known from other records.² In any case, the late date of the third or fourth century after Christ, assigned to it by Eichhorn and Jahn, must be discarded; for the arguments adduced on behalf of it are insufficient, such as the silence of Origen and Jerome; the incorporation of later opinions, Rabbinical sayings and legends; the impure style.

Several things betraying a much later period than Jonathan seem to have been *interpolated*. Even Rashi (on Ezek. xlvii. 19.) speaks of falsifications of his text, among which Zunz reckons all that is hostile to Rome, the mention of Armilus, &c.³

The character of the version is less faithful than that of Onkelos. It is freer and more paraphrastic. This was allowable in the prophets, not in the law. Indeed it was almost unavoidable in rendering those obscure intimations about the future of Israel. Hence the interpretation in the *proper* prophetic books often becomes *haggadical*⁴, or imbued with Rabbinical legends. The historical books are rendered more literally than the prophetic, because the latter required the *interpreter* more than the *translator*. This difference affords no valid ground for concluding, with Eichhorn and Bertholdt, that the historical and prophetic proceeded from different translators. The unity of the translation is shown by internal evidence. Parallel passages, like Isa. xxxvi—xxxix. compared with 2 Kings xviii. 13., &c., Isaiah ii. 2—4. and Micah iv. 1—3., coincide verbally. In the historical books, too, the poetical pieces (Judges v., 1 Sam. ii., 2 Sam. xxiii.) are furnished with additions strongly resembling one another. Comp. Judges v. 8. with Isa. x. 4., 2 Sam. xxiii. 4. with Isa. xxx. 26. All the Messianic passages are collected by Buxtorf in his Rabbinical and Talmudical Lexicon (p. 1270. *et seqq.*). Eichhorn affirms that a polemic tendency against Christianity may

¹ Die Gottesdienstl. Vorträge, u. s. w., p. 63.

² Einleit. i. 2. p. 78.

³ Die Gottesdienstl. Vorträge, p. 63.

⁴ This word is formed from the Jewish term *Hagada*, which denotes the free, unrestrained explanation of Holy Scripture. The *Hagada* was distinguished from the *Halacha* in that it had no legal character, whereas the *Halacha* embraces traditional legal determinations delivered in the form of definite, condensed positions, that they might be retained the more readily in the memory. The *Halachas* were brief, dry sentences embodying authorised decisions. The *Midrash* taught how oral determinations should be drawn from the text of Scripture. It is properly the mode of deriving the materials of tradition out of the written word. The word is generally applied to the traditional comments founded on the text.

be detected in Jonathan; but no effort to explain Christ away from Messianic places can be fairly proved. The diction and style of this Targum are less pure and elegant than Onkelos's. Yet the difference between them is not great. They resemble and approximate one another. In consequence of the freer character of the version, it is not so valuable in a critical view as the Targum of Onkelos. Like the latter, it is printed in the Rabbinical Bibles and the Polyglotts.

THE JERUSALEM TARGUM ON THE PENTATEUCH, OR THAT OF
PSEUDO-JONATHAN.

A Targum on the Pentateuch has been ascribed to the same Jonathan who translated the prophets. But this must be incorrect. The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan is substantially and originally identical with the so-called Jerusalem Targum. Both are recensions of one and the same paraphrase, as has been proved by Zunz. Frankel, however, has tried to show their diversity, in opposition to Zunz.¹ Pseudo-Jonathan is preserved entire—the Jerusalem only in fragments. If we compare Onkelos with the Jerusalem Targum, we see that the former is only the *interpreter* occasionally, while the Jerusalemite is only the *translator* occasionally. The Targumist of Jerusalem did not mean to set forth *Hagadas*, much less a commentary, but to produce a work in which the interpretation of Scripture should correspond to the prevailing ideas of the time. His production is a loose paraphrase with the prevalent *Midrash*.²

The Pseudo-Jonathan recension is written in an inferior dialect—a Palestinian dialect of the Aramæan—and is allied in expression, style, and grammar, to the Jerusalem Talmud and the Targums on the Hagiographa. The language is impure and barbarous, having many foreign words. Of course it is filled with the representations, ideas, legends, and fables of a comparatively late period. Most of the additions and legends are also in the Talmud. They are not peculiar to the interpreter, nor were they excogitated by him, but represent merely the culture of his own day and the power of transmitted ideas. In consequence of these characteristics, as well as his mention and use of the Talmud (Exod. xxvi. 9.), the paraphrast must be placed in the second half of the seventh century. He has used Onkelos with other and freer Targums. Zunz thinks that this Jerusalem Targum is younger than the name Constantinople (Numb. xxiv. 19. 24.), than the establishment of the Jewish Calendar, the fall of the Western Roman empire, and even the Babylonian Gemara; but that it is older than our Masoretic text and the extinction of the Aramæan.³ The Jerusalem Targum, *as distinguished from that of Jonathan*, extends only to single verses, often to mere separate words. It appears to have extended to the prophets also. Zunz has collected passages mentioning a Targum on Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Habak-

¹ See Einiges zu den Targumim in the Zeit. für die rel. Inter. d. Judenth, 1846, pp. 111. &c.

² See Zunz, p. 72.

³ Die Gottesdienstl. Vortr. pp. 75, 76.

kuk, Zechariah; from which he infers that there was a complete Jerusalem Targum on all the prophetic books. Of course, this Targum, even in the copious recension of Pseudo-Jonathan, can be of no use in criticism. Both recensions are given in the London Polyglott.

TARGUMS ON THE HAGIOGRAPHA.

These Targums are all of late origin, coinciding in some respects with the Jerusalem one; and their authors are wholly unknown. They are—1. A Targum on Psalms, Job, and Proverbs. The part on Proverbs adheres somewhat closely to the original text, and is quite free from *Hagadas*. It has been observed to agree in part with the Syriac version, whence Eichhorn and Bertholdt have concluded that the latter was used by the paraphrast of Proverbs. Hävernäck however objects to this opinion.¹ Psalms and Job follow the paraphrastic manner of Pseudo-Jonathan, coinciding in style and diction with the Jerusalem Targum. All three must belong to the same period, country, and author.

2. A Targum on the five *Megilloth*, i. e. Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song. Some have attributed this work to Joseph the Blind († 325), but writers even of the thirteenth century contradict this. It belongs to the post-Talmudic period, and can scarcely be called a version. It is rather a *Hagadical* commentary. That on Ruth and Lamentations is superior to the rest. Ecclesiastes is more loosely paraphrased, and inserts many pious reflections. Canticles is exceedingly diffuse. The text is buried under glosses.

3. The two Targums on Esther, i. e. *Targum prius* and *Targum posterius*, were translated into Latin by F. Tayler, at London, 1665, 4to. One of these, the latter, is a Jerusalem paraphrase, part of the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch; and both are of late origin, glossarial and diffuse. The *Targum prius* is printed in the London Polyglott. A third on Esther was supposed to be that printed in the Antwerp Polyglott. But it is the same with that afterwards placed in the London Polyglott by Walton. Both are recensions of one and the same text. The Antwerp form of it is briefer, and free from fables; the London Polyglott form is full of silly Rabbinical tales. That published by Tayler, called *Targum posterius*, is still more diffuse and insipid. It is, however, a *different* text from the rest.

4. Last of all, a Targum on Chronicles was discovered in an Erfurt MS., and published by Beck in 1680—1683, 4to.; better by Wilkins, at Amsterdam, 1715, 4to., from a Cambridge MS., which supplied the imperfections and deficiencies of the other. Its language, style, and *Hagadical* paraphrasing, betray its Jerusalem origin.

Thus it appears that the Targums form a continued paraphrase on the Old Testament, with the exception of Daniel and Ezra (including Nehemiah). The reason assigned in the Talmud for Daniel being

¹ Einleit. i. 2. pp. 86, 87.

without such paraphrase, is the revelation in it of the coming of Messiah. Far more probable is it, that the Chaldee pieces in these books rendered it unnecessary, or that superstition recoiled from mixing the holy text of the original with a paraphrase. The conjecture of Prideaux that Targums were composed on these books, which have perished in the lapse of ages, is not a happy one.

The only ones of these Targums that can be used with advantage in criticism are those of Onkelos and Ben Uzziel. The former is more useful in criticism; the latter in interpretation. All the rest may be safely neglected.¹

CHAP. XVI.

OLD SYRIAC VERSION.

ONE of the oldest and best versions of the Bible is the Syriac, commonly called *Peshito*, i. e. *simple, literal, verbal*, such as follows the true sense of the words in contradistinction from *allegorical* interpretations.

As to the time of its origin, the traditions of the Syrians themselves carry it up to a very ancient date, some referring it to the period of Solomon and Hiram; some to Asa the priest when he was sent from Assyria to Samaria; others to the time of Thaddeus the Apostle and King Abgarus, when the New Testament part was also translated. The oldest testimony respecting it is that of Jacob of Edessa, in Bar Hebræus; and the most probable opinion is, that it was made about or later than the middle of the second century, at Edessa. The first century, in which many have placed it, is too early; the third is too late. Ephrem, who died A. D. 378, speaks of it as if it were the generally received translation among the Syrians in his day, calling it *our version*. Many expressions in it he could hardly understand. But this may not have arisen merely from the time which had elapsed between its origin and his own day; the difference of dialect may have caused it. The early existence of Syrian churches and of a Syrian literature sufficiently attest its antiquity.

It has been disputed, whether the translator was a Jew or a Christian. Simon thought he was a Jew; an opinion supported, in relation to the Pentateuch at least, by Frankel, Rapoport², and Graetz in recent times. More probable is it that he who translated the prophets was a Christian, as Kirsch, Michaelis, Bertholdt, Gesenius, Hirzel, Hävernick, Wichelhaus, De Wette, and Keil believe. This appears from the interpretation of Messianic passages, as Isa. vii. 14., lii. 15., liii. 8.; Zech. xii. 10.

Another point in which there has been a difference of opinion

¹ See on Targums Hävernick's Einleit. i. 2., De Wette's Einleit. p. 91. *et seqq.*, Zunz's Gottesdienstl. Vorträge, and Davidson's Bib. Crit. vol. i.

² Biccure ha-Schanah Jahrg. 1844, p. 37., and Erch Millin, p. 254.

relates to *plurality* of authorship. Was the work made by one translator, or by several? Eichhorn has adduced various internal arguments to show that different persons were employed in it. But they are weak. Others have drawn the same conclusion from the circumstance that Ephrem, on Josh. xv. 28., speaks in the plural of *those who* translated into Syriac. Little stress can be laid upon this loose mode of expression.

There can be no doubt that the Peshito was made from the original Hebrew text, to which it adheres for the most part closely and faithfully. In this respect it is unlike the Chaldee paraphrases. Even when it is not literal but explanatory,—though that is the exception,—the *most necessary* particulars are stated, without bringing any extraneous matter into the text. Most of the deviations from the Hebrew are found in the Psalms. Not only in the inscriptions, but in the text itself, the differences are frequent. This circumstance is to be explained partly by the liturgical use of the Psalter, causing alterations to be made in the titles particularly; and partly by the more frequent transcription of a book so much used in public worship. Dath¹ supposes besides, that the monks having most of the Psalter in their memory were not so careful in copying MSS. of it. Frequently, there is an affinity to the Septuagint, which could not escape the notice of critics. How to account for it, is a difficulty which all do not solve in the same manner. Some suppose that the Septuagint was employed; while others deny the assumption. It is most natural to think that it *was* consulted, not however by the translator or translators, but afterwards. Whether these coincidences proceeded from James of Edessa, who is said to have undertaken an improvement of the text, may be questioned. Yet Michaelis proposes this view to account for some of the more remarkable correspondences. According to him, the Syriac accords with the Greek more frequently in Ezekiel than in the other books. The agreement is also frequent in the Proverbs. The version was occasionally corrected and interpolated from the LXX. If in difficult passages the affinity between the two disappears, that circumstance does not disprove the absence of the Septuagint influence elsewhere. In some cases also, it approaches near to the Chaldee in such a manner as to indicate that the latter was consulted here and there; especially in the prophets, as Credner has shown.²

The Peshito embraces only the *canonical* books of the Old Testament. The Syriac of the Apocryphal writings does not belong to it, though known to and quoted by Ephrem. It was a later version. The Apocryphal additions to Daniel were not in Ephrem's copy.

This version being used by different ecclesiastical parties, different recensions of the text were developed in the progress of time. Of these, we know of the recension belonging to the Nestorians through the scholia of Bar Hebræus, which differed merely in the points. There was also the Monophysite recension, called *Karkaphensian*, i. e.

¹ Psalter. Syr. Præf. p. 29.

² De Prophetarum Minorum versionis Syr. quam Peshito vocant, Indole, &c. p. 107. et seqq.

mountainous, a name supposed by Wiseman to be derived from its birthplace Mount *Sigara*, where there was a monastery of Jacobite Christians. Wiseman conjectures that David, a Jacobite monk who resided in the monastery of St. Aaron on Mount Sigara, in the tenth century, was the author of the recension in question. The peculiar character of it consists in the following particulars.

1. The fundamental text of it is the Peshito, very closely allied to the pointed text.

2. It has a peculiar division and order of the books, both in the Old and New Testaments.

3. It differs from the Peshito mainly in this, that proper names and Greek-Syriac words are adapted to the Greek or Harclean orthography.

4. It was made for the use of the Jacobites, not the Nestorians. The last position is doubted by Lee.¹

The value of this version in criticism is considerable, both from its antiquity and literality. Many good readings deserving of attention are found among the number in which it differs from the Masoretic text. Yet there is no reason for supposing that the codices from which it was made contained any other than the Masoretic text substantially. Whether they were good or bad, correct or incorrect at the time, it is needless to inquire. But it is possible to overestimate the version, as Dathe and De Rossi have done. On the other hand, it may be unduly depreciated with Bar Hebræus and Simon.

The Peshito is printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts. The best edition is that edited for the Bible Society by Dr. S. Lee, London, 1823, 4to., for which some MSS. were used. A good edition with a critically revised text is still a desideratum. The materials for it are not wanting. Besides the large MS. formerly brought by Buchanan from India, containing both the Old and New Testaments, the Pentateuch part of which was collated by Yeates, and other codices collected by the same Christian scholar in his Eastern journeys, many better and more ancient copies have since been obtained from the Nitrian desert, which are now in the British Museum. Among these are old and valuable MSS., out of which the text might be greatly improved. It is said that Cureton is preparing a critical edition of the Old Testament, either entire or in part, by the aid of these treasures.²

ARABIC VERSIONS FROM THE PESHITO.

1. That of Job and Chronicles, printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, was made from the Syriac. Those too of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings partly (*viz.* 1 Kings i.—xi.; 2 Kings xii. 17—xxv.), and Neh. ix. 28—xiii., were derived from the same source. According to Rödiger, Judges, Ruth, Samuel and 1 Kings i.—xi. were translated by a Christian in the thirteenth or fourteenth cen-

¹ *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 234. *et seqq.*

² See on the Peshito, Hävernick's *Einleit.* i. 2., De Wette's *Einleit.* p. 98. *et seqq.*, Davidson's *Bib. Crit.* vol. i. chap. 16.

ture. 2 Kings xii. 17—xxv. and Neh. ix. 28—xiii. proceeded from different Christian authors.

2. Two Arabic translations of the Psalms also belong here, viz. that contained in the Syriac edition of the Psalter printed at Mount Lebanon in 1585 and 1610, and an unprinted Psalter in the British Museum.

3. There are some Arabic versions of the Pentateuch, of which a few notices exist; but they are unprinted.¹

CHAP. XVII.

ARABIC TRANSLATIONS.

THREE Arabic versions have been printed.

1. That of R. Saadias Gaon, a native of Egypt, and afterwards president of the Academy at Sora, in Babylonia. His translation is paraphrastic and explanatory, resembling Targumic or Rabbinical interpretations. It is more useful in the exposition than the criticism of the Old Testament, showing very considerable knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures in the tenth century at Babylon. The Pentateuch was first published in a Polyglott Pentateuch at Constantinople, in Hebrew characters, 1546, fol., afterwards in the Paris and London Polyglotts. Isaiah was published by Paulus at Iena, 1790, 1791, 8vo. The text in this latter is corrupted. It has been observed by Adler² that the version of the Pentateuch, as printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, has an affinity to the Samaritan-Arabic. The Book of Job was found by Gesenius in a MS. of the Bodleian, and a transcript was made by him; but only a small piece was printed by Stickel. Kimchi quotes the version of Hosea. The remaining books have not been discovered. It is most likely that Saadias translated all.

2. In the Polyglotts is an Arabic version of Joshua and of parts of the Books of Kings, viz. 1 Kings xii.—2 Kings xii. 16., made by a Jew of the eleventh century; and of Nehemiah i.—ix. 27., proceeding in like manner from a Jewish author, but subsequently interpolated by a Christian hand from the Peshito.

3. The Arabic version of the Pentateuch published by Erpenius at Leyden, in 1622, was made by an African Jew in the thirteenth century, in the vulgar Arabic dialect, from the Masoretic text.

Besides these, there is a MS. in the British Museum containing Genesis, the Psalms, and Daniel, in an Arabic version made by Saadias Ben Levi Asnekoth. In the Bodleian is an unprinted translation of the Psalms. In the Mannheim Library there is one of Genesis in MS.³

¹ See Keil, Einleit. § 195.

² Bibl. Krit. Reise, u. s. w., p. 149.

³ See De Wette, Einleit.; Keil, Einleit.; Hävernick, Einleit.; and Davidson's Bib. Crit. vol. i.

ARABIC VERSION OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

After the Samaritan dialect became extinct, Abu Said, a Samaritan, made an Arabic version of the Pentateuch for his fellow-religionists in Egypt, about the year 1070 A.D. Where the Samaritan agrees with the Jewish copy, Abu Said followed Saadiah, frequently word for word; but where the Samaritan departs from the Jewish, he follows the Samaritan text, translating it faithfully with the aid of the Samaritan version. Like the Chaldee paraphrasts, he resolves anthropopathisms, employs euphemisms, and makes several minor alterations, especially in proper names.

But the Samaritans in Syria continued to use the version of Saadiah even after Abu Said's was circulated. Hence Abul Baracat composed scholia on the version of Abu Said, in order to recommend it to the people and shake the credit of Saadiah's version. In this manner there arose two recensions of the Arabic-Samaritan translation, an Egyptian one by Abu Said, and a Syrian one by Abul Baracat. Unfortunately both were soon mixed up together in MS., and can no longer be separated. Kuehnen has recently published some books at Leyden, 1851, &c. Specimens had been previously printed by Hottinger, Castell, Durell, Blanchini, Hwiid, Van Vloten, and others. The best critical accounts of it are those given by De Sacy, Eichhorn, and especially Juynboll.¹

CHAP. XVIII.

SAMARITAN VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

THERE is a version of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the Samaritan language. It is faithful and literal. The only instances in which the translator has not adhered to the words of the Samaritan copy, are in paraphrasing the name of Deity, in resolving anthropopathic expressions, and in employing euphemisms after the manner of the Targums. He frequently agrees with the Targum of Onkelos, whence it was inferred by Hottinger and Eichhorn that he made use of it. Yet as he does not coincide with Onkelos in difficult passages, the agreement may perhaps be explained by the influence of the hermeneutical tradition of the Jews on the theology of the Samaritans. Still there are certain peculiarities which make it difficult to resist the assumption of interpolation. Double readings and the variations in MSS. point in this direction. The author and age are alike unknown. Modern accounts of the Samaritans themselves make Nathanael the high priest the author († 20 B.C.). Gesenius supposes it to have been made a few years after the birth of Christ, which is, on the whole, the most probable hypothesis; for Juynboll affirms that a Greek translation was made from it in Egypt in the second century after Christ.² But Hävernäck reverses the

¹ Comp. the *Orientalia*, vol. ii.

² *Ibid.* p. 116.

fact, supposing that the Greek-Samaritan version is older than the Samaritan.³ If Juynboll's opinion be correct, as we believe it is, then the Samaritan version must have been in circulation for a considerable time before the middle of the second century. Frankel strangely brings down its origin to the time after Mohammed.⁴ It is printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, but incorrectly.

PERSIAN VERSION.

A Persian translation of the Pentateuch was executed by Jacob, son of Joseph Tawus a Jew. It follows the Masoretic text literally and closely, in the manner of Aquila, adopting Hebrew constructions opposed to the genius of the Persian language, and many Hebrew words, but explaining difficult places after Onkelos, and coinciding occasionally with Saadiah also. According to Rosenmüller³, it could not have been made before the ninth or tenth century, because *Babel*, in Gen. x. 10., is explained *Bagdad*, which city was not built till A. D. 762. And Tawus is usually interpreted *Tus*, a city in Chorasán, where there was a celebrated Jewish academy. But Lorschach explains it otherwise, and dates the version in the sixteenth century.⁴

This translation was first printed in the Polyglott Pentateuch of Constantinople, published in 1546, fol., in Hebrew letters. Out of this it was transcribed in the Persian characters by Hyde, who, having supplied the chasms, accompanied it with a Latin version, and transferred it to the London Polyglott.

CHAP. XIX.

VULGATE VERSION.

WHILE Jerome was employed in revising the *versio vetus*, he resolved to make a new Latin translation from the Hebrew. To this he was urged by the advice of various friends. He began accordingly the arduous undertaking after the year 385, with the books of Samuel and Kings. After these he translated all the prophets, the four greater and the twelve lesser ones. To these succeeded Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Canticles; next Job, the Psalms, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. Some years after, he translated the Pentateuch, which was shortly followed by Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Esther; and to make the work more complete he also rendered Tobit and Judith. The former he translated in one day, by the help of a Jewish teacher who interpreted the Chaldee in Hebrew words, Jerome dictating the Latin to a quick writer. The latter he translated himself, after he had acquired some knowledge of Chaldee. He found the books of Maccabees in

¹ Einleit. i. 2. pp. 110, 111.

² See the Verhandl. d. ersten Versamml. Deutscher u. ausl. Orientalisten, p. 10.

³ De Versione Pentateuchi Persica, &c. p. 4. *et seqq.*

⁴ In the Jena Allgem. Lit. Zeit. for 1816, No. 58.

Hebrew, as also Ecclesiasticus; but he rendered neither into Latin. As to the Apocryphal additions to Esther, Daniel, and Jeremiah, he retained them, with marks expressing his disapprobation. Thus all the Apocrypha, except Tobit and Judith, was retained from the old Latin or *ante-Hieronymian*. The whole work was completed A.D. 405, having been executed at intervals, part after part. According to his own statement in the preface to Isaiah, his object was an *apologetic* one. He wished to stop the cavils of the Jews against the LXX., and so assist Christians in their controversies with them.

There is no doubt that Jerome had a good knowledge of the Hebrew language. He had been instructed in it by Jews, and had laboured very diligently to overcome the inherent difficulties of the study. He was therefore well prepared, as far as an acquaintance with the original language was concerned, for the task he undertook. He had also accurate Hebrew copies from which to translate. Besides, he made use of the exegetical tradition of the Jews, as well as earlier translations. Of the latter he mentions the LXX., Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus. The principles on which he proceeded were right and excellent, for he avoided, on the one hand, too great literality, which is liable to become unintelligible, and on the other, arbitrary departures from the original. What he aimed at was, to give the sense clearly and distinctly. Possessing such qualifications, and following such principles, he produced a version which far exceeded in value any preceding one; and which we may safely affirm none of the fathers, save himself, could have executed. Had he not proceeded with too much haste in rendering some books, and suffered frequent interruptions from sickness and other causes, he might have accomplished a better work. He confesses, for example, that he rendered Solomon's writings, viz. Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Canticles, in three days. Another circumstance that detracted from the value of the version was his fear of innovations; or rather of being charged with innovation. In consequence of this, he sometimes sacrificed his better judgment to ancient authority. He was timid; afraid of being deemed heretical.

Notwithstanding the merits of this version, and the cautious manner in which Jerome proceeded, his work did not escape animadversion. Its departures from the LXX. which was then regarded with superstitious feelings, and from the *Vetus* the offspring of the LXX., rendered it obnoxious to the majority of his contemporaries. The passionate Rufinus accused him of heresy and falsification of Scripture. Even Augustine had scruples, and joined to some extent in blaming the author. But he was afterwards induced by Jerome's defence to express approval of and to employ the new version.¹ All his contemporaries, however, did not frown upon the production. Some bishops and churches received it favourably. It was better treated by the Greek church; the patriarch Sophronius rendering the version of the Psalms and Prophets into Greek.

Gaul was the first country in which it got into ecclesiastical

¹ See his treatise, *De Doctrina Christiana*, iv. 7.

use. Hence we read of the praises bestowed on it in the works of Cassian, Eucherius of Lyons, Vincent of Lerins, Salvian of Marseilles, and others. In consequence chiefly of Gregory the Great using it in his commentary on Job, along with the old Latin, it soon obtained currency and credit in Rome and other churches of the West, so that it gradually came to have universal ascendancy and to supplant the old Latin. About 200 years after Jerome's death, it was the universal Church version. Since the seventh century, it has always been used exclusively in the Roman Church, with the exception of the Psalms, which, being previously set to music, made it difficult to have alterations introduced into them. Hence the old Latin Psalter as corrected by Jerome has been employed since Gregory the Great. The apocryphal books, Baruch, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and Maccabees, are retained from the versio *vetus*. The name *Vulgate* version was given to it from the time it was universally adopted by the Romish communion.

Owing to a variety of influences, the text of this version became corrupt at an early period. The old Latin was used along with it for a considerable time, and exerted an injurious effect upon the text of the new version, causing numerous alterations both intentional and undesigned. Half-learned monks introduced into their MSS. glosses from other copies, from parallel passages of the Bible, from liturgical books, the other writings of Jerome, and even from the Septuagint and Josephus. Great critical caprice and ignorance were evinced by such arbitrary procedure on the part of copyists. The text was disfigured with additions and alterations, so that the necessity of critical emendation was felt by all scholars.

About the year 802, Alcuin, at the command of Charlemagne, undertook to revise the text, but on what principles it is difficult to discover. We do not think with Hody, that he employed the original languages and MSS. Porson is more correct in believing that he employed MSS. alone.¹

In the eleventh century, Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, made another revision of the text; and in the twelfth, Cardinal Nicolaus. About the same time, appeared the *Epanorthotæ* or *Correctoria Biblica*, whose object was to secure a correct Bible text, somewhat in the manner of the Masorah. The text of the Vulgate was furnished with glosses from other copies, as also from the writings of the older fathers and other distinguished teachers in the church, with emendations after the original, remarks on peculiarities of language, interpunction, and such like particulars. These *correctoria* or notes were made by monks and learned men in order to prevent the corruption of the text. The oldest known is that made by the Cistercian abbot Stephen, about 1150. It is obvious, however, that this remedy was but partial and incomplete. Its nature was more *exegetical* than *critical*. The evil was too deeply seated to be cured by so imperfect an application. The good done by all the *correctoria* must have been comparatively little. A brief

¹ Letters to Travis, p. 145.

specimen of a *correctorium*, printed at Cologne in 1508, is given by Carpzov.¹

When the Vulgate was printed, the varieties of the text appeared in a striking light. Different editions taken from different MSS. presented many variations. Critical editions especially, with emendations after the original text and lists of various readings, proved how corrupt the text had become.

The first edition with the name of the place and year appeared at Mainz, 1462. The first critical edition was that of J. Parvus (Petit) and Thielmann Kerver, Paris, 1504, fol. with various readings by Adrian Gumelli. The edition in the Complutensian Polyglott was taken from MSS. The best early critical editions are those of Robert Stephens, Paris, 1528, 1532, fol.; 1534, 8vo.; 1540, 1545, 1546, 1555, 8vo., with the division into verses both in the Old and New Testaments; 1557 fol. 1565. The finest and best of these editions is that of 1540, folio. In making it Stephens used fifteen MSS. and three ancient editions. The marginal notes are fewer than in the preceding editions; but the text is more correct. Stephens was censured by the Paris theologians on account of the alleged errors contained in his editions of the Vulgate. To these he replied, after he had taken up his abode at Geneva. Isidore Clarius amended the text very carefully "after the Hebrew and Greek verity," Venice, 1542, fol. This edition was prohibited, and denied to contain the text of the Vulgate. It was reprinted in 1557 and 1564. In the preface the editor says that eight thousand places were annotated and amended by him.

After long debates in the council of Trent respecting the Vulgate, a decree was enacted in the fourth session, pronouncing the Vulgate *authentic*, an epithet whose meaning has been much contested between Protestants and Catholics.² Perhaps it means no more than *authorised, authoritative*. The council also decreed that the Vulgate should be printed as correctly as possible. In the year after the council, the Louvain divines endeavoured to produce an amended text, 1547, fol., with a preface by John Hentenius. In this valuable edition, Hentenius and his associates availed themselves of Stephens's labours in the same direction. The Louvain text was often reprinted. An amended edition was prepared by the same divines and published in 1573, Antwerp, 3 vols. 8vo., under the superintendence of Lucas Brugensis.

These private editions, however, were thought insufficient to satisfy the demand of the decree. Hence the pope himself undertook the task of preparing the required *authentic* edition. In 1564, Pius IV. with his cardinals began to collect and collate

¹ Critica Sacra, p. 686.

² "Insuper eadem sacrosancta Synodus considerans, non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus Latinis editionibus quæ circumferuntur, sacrarum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat: statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot seculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus, pro *authentica* habeatur; et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat." Sessio iv. can. 2.

ancient MSS. The preparation of materials was continued by his successor, Pius V. Under Gregory XIII. nothing was done; but Sixtus V. resumed and completed the work, which was published at Rome in one volume folio, 1590. In the accompanying papal bull, the text is declared to be that very one which was the object of inquiry in the council of Trent. It is the *true, legitimate, authentic* text.¹ But the edition of Sixtus was soon withdrawn, being found very incorrect. He himself in correcting the press discovered many mistakes, which he either removed by means of the pen, or by pasting small pieces of paper over the wrong words, with the right readings upon them. Gregory XIV., Sixtus's successor, did not live long enough to prepare another; but that was done by Clement VIII., who published his in 1592. The preface to this latter was written by Bellarmine, and contains, by the admission of Catholic scholars themselves, some incorrect statements. It was a difficult task to account for the appearance of the latter edition and not infringe upon the infallibility of Sixtus. The two copies differ in very many places, presenting even contradictory readings. Sixtus excommunicated any one who should dare to alter his in the least; but Clement had no fear of the papal prohibition; and therefore Protestants have founded an argument on the two editions against papal infallibility.

The differences between the two editions were carefully collected by Thomas James (Bellum Papale), in 1600, 4to.; as also by Prosper Marchand, in Schelhorn's *Amœnitates Litterariæ*, vol. iv. A few examples of the discrepancies may suffice.

	<i>Sistine Edition.</i>	<i>Clementine Edition.</i>
Genesis ii. 12.	ibique invenitur.	Ibi invenitur
	15. in paradisum voluptatis.	in paradiso voluptatis.
	18. hominem esse.	esse hominem solum.
	iii. 11. cui dixit Dominus :	cui dixit :
	18. herbas	herbam.
Numb. xxx. 11.	Uxor in domo viri si voverit, et juramento se constrixerit.	Uxor in domo viri cum se voto constrinxerit et juramento, si audierit vir et tacuerit, nec contradixerit sponsioni reddet quodcumque promiserat; sin autem exemplo contradixerit, non tenebitur promissionis rea : quia maritus contradixit et dominus ei propitius erit si voverit et juramento se constrixerit
2 Kings vi. 13.	Immolabat bovem et ovem et arietem et David percutiebat in organis armigatis et saltabat	Immolabat bovem et arietem et David saltabat
	ix. 26. Pro sanguine Naboth, quem vidi heri ait dominus sanguinem filiorum ejus reddam tibi in agro isto dominus. Nunc	Si non pro sanguine Naboth, et pro sanguine filiorum, quem vidi heri, ait dominus, reddam tibi in agro isto dicit dominus. Nunc
1 Sam. iii. 2, 3.	Nec poterat videre lucernam Dei antequam extingueretur.	Nec poterat videre; lucerna Dei antequam extingueretur.

A second edition was published in 1593, Rome, 4to. It differs from the preceding. Another, the third, appeared in 1598, 4to., carefully

¹ " *Vera, legitima, authentica, et indubitata, &c.*"

edited, and with errata for those of 1592 and 1593. The Clementine edition is the basis of all succeeding ones.

The text of the Vulgate still needs revision. A good critical edition, with the various readings of the best and oldest MSS., is a desideratum. Learned Roman Catholics could supply the want most successfully, but we fear they are too much trammelled to undertake it in the true spirit of impartial criticism.

The value of this version in the criticism of the Bible is great. Being faithful and accurate for the most part, it must preserve many good and true readings. It is much older than any Hebrew MS. now existing. Protestants, in so long depreciating it out of polemic motives, neglected an important document in biblical criticism, as well as interpretation. But it has risen in estimation in modern times, especially since Lachmann was careful to procure a good text of it for his large critical edition of the Greek Testament. In the Old Testament, it is of equal importance. A pure text of it would agree for the most part with the Masoretic Hebrew. Even in its present state, with all its corruptions, it generally coincides with the Masoretic text.¹

CHAP. XX.

VERSIONS MADE FROM THE VULGATE.

ANGLO-SAXON VERSION.

THE earliest accounts of translations of the Scriptures into Anglo-Saxon do not reach beyond the eighth century. In 706 Adhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, translated the Psalter into Saxon. Perhaps this is the Psalter published by Thorpe, at Oxford, 1835, 8vo., from a MS. in the Royal Library at Paris. Not long after, the venerable Bede rendered the whole Bible into the same language. King Alfred had undertaken a translation of the Psalms, but died before it was completed. Ælfric, in the tenth century, translated several books, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Job, part of Kings, Esther, Maccabees. Of these, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Job were published by Thwaites, at Oxford, 1699. Eichhorn and Bertholdt erroneously say that this version was made from the LXX. It is from the Vulgate. Alfred's translation of the Psalter, with the interlineary Latin text, was published by Spelman, at London, 1640, 4to. There is another Anglo-Saxon Psalter in a MS. belonging to the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. But the entire Anglo-Saxon version of the Bible has never been printed. It is of use in ascertaining the true readings of the Vulgate.

The Vulgate has often been translated into Arabic for the use of the Romish Christians in the East. Thus the entire Bible was printed at the Propaganda press, at Rome, 1671, 3 vols. folio.

¹ For the Vulgate, see Leander Van Ess, *Pragmatisch-Kritische Geschichte. der Vulgata*; and Davidson's *Bib. Crit.*, vol. i. chap. 18.

Several other Arabic versions from the same source are still unprinted. The Vulgate has also been translated into Persian. Two Persian Psalters in MS. were known to Walton.

CHAP. XXI.

RULES FOR USING VERSIONS.

IN using ancient versions for critical purposes, the following rules or observations should be followed:—

1. Care should be taken to have as correct a text of each version as can be procured. It is well known that most versions have suffered in the lapse of time. They should be used in the purest state possible. Here it is safer to have various editions of the same version, where they can be procured, than to rely solely on one. It is unfortunate that almost all the versions are very corrupt.

2. Having procured one or more of the best editions of each version, it must not be taken for granted at once that every departure of an interpreter from the ordinary Hebrew text is a various reading. Sometimes what may be taken for a various reading is only the result of the free manner of the translator. The method followed by each translator should be carefully kept in view, else it may be thought, in many instances, that he had in the original copy from which he translated a different reading from the present one. Here many mistakes have been committed even by good critics. Indeed great tact and discrimination are required to prevent errors. Thus Lowth supposes that גבורתך in Isa. iii. 25. was read by the LXX., Vulgate, Syriac, and Chaldee גבוריך, because they rendered the word *thy mighty men*. But they merely translated the abstract noun by a concrete. The same critic thinks that the LXX. and Syriac read יהרו twice in Isa. xi. 7. because they have twice expressed it. But they merely did so to fill up the sense.

3. A version made literally from the Hebrew is more useful for criticism than one in which the interpreter studied purity and perspicuity. Thus the translation of Aquila is most valuable.

4. That ancient interpreter is to be preferred in criticism who evinces knowledge of the languages he has to do with, skill in translating, and carefulness in adhering to the original; whereas *he* has less authority who evinces comparative ignorance, unskilfulness, and negligence in his work.

5. When an ancient version has been interpolated from another, its authority is greatly lessened.

6. The more ancient a version, the more valuable it is, *cæteris paribus*. Hence the Septuagint is of great authority, because of its age. So too are Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, the Syriac, Onkelos, Jonathan, and the Vulgate.

7. The greater the number of ancient versions that support a reading, the greater probability is there of its originality.

8. When they differ from one another, that reading must be preferred which, besides having the most weighty testimonies on its side, agrees best with the genius of the writer and with the context.

9. A various reading taken from one or more versions may be the true one, though destitute of the support of MSS.

We fear that these rules, obvious though they be, and apparently easy to be followed, will not suffice to prevent critics from drawing false conclusions respecting the readings found in versions. No rules will make a good critic. In some cases they may keep him from error, and that is all. Much more depends on the judgment and taste of individuals, their knowledge and perception, than upon formal canons. Hence it may happen that such as admit the correctness of all the observations we have proposed as guides and cautions, may immediately blunder as soon as they begin to apply them.

We shall conclude our remarks on versions with examples of their improper and proper use. Thus in Prov. xviii. 22., *Whoso findeth a wife, findeth a good thing*. Kennicott and others read, *Whoso findeth a good wife, findeth a good thing*, since the Septuagint, Syriac, and Vulgate insert the epithet *good* before *wife*. But there is no reason for supposing that the authors of these versions found in the Hebrew a word corresponding to *good*. They inserted it to complete the sense in their own way. They added it to bring out, as they supposed, the right meaning more clearly.

The same remarks apply to Gen. i. 25., where after, *ye shall carry up my bones from hence*, the LXX., Syriac, and Vulgate add, *with you*. The addition forms no part of the original text, having been inserted by the translators to fill up the sense, probably from the parallel in Exod. xiii. 19. A few MSS. and the Samaritan Pentateuch add no weight to the reading. It is not, in fact, a true various reading.

Equally erroneous is it to suppose, on the authority of ancient versions, that the word *two* should be inserted in Gen. ii. 24., *And they shall be one flesh*. The New Testament, which has *two*, resolves itself into the LXX. The fathers that employ it quoted from the same version. Another example of the same kind is in Exod. vi. 20., where, after the words, *she bare him Aaron and Moses*, the LXX. and Syriac add, *and Miriam, their sister*.

Another example like the preceding is Isa. xl. 5., *All flesh shall see together, viz., the glory of God* just spoken of. Here, because the sentence *appears* to be imperfect, and because the LXX. read τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, *the salvation of God*, Lowth and others would alter יהוה into יֵשׁוּעַ. But the Septuagint formed the version here after the parallel passage, lii. 10.; and the text should not be changed.

Another similar example is 1 Sam. ix. 7., *What shall we bring the man*, where, after the word *man*, all the ancient versions read, הַאלהים *of God*. Here the versions are not independent. The supplement is one of the very many added by the LXX. translators.

A still more glaring blunder is committed by those who, on the sole authority of the Septuagint, take the clause, *And God saw that*

it was good, from Gen. i. 10, and place it in the eighth verse. In the Septuagint, at the eighth verse, it is an instance among many others of a supplement taken from parallel passages by the *revisers* of the Greek text. It does not belong to the translator himself.¹

But, on the other hand, the LXX. probably lead to the true reading in Hab. i. 5., where they have *οἱ καταφρονῆται* for the Hebrew בְּנֵיִם, which latter yields an indifferent sense. If we read בְּנֵיִם, we have probably the original word represented by the Greek one. The alteration from בְּנֵיִם into בְּנֵיִם is easily made. The top of the *daleth* has only to be diminished. The quotation of the Greek version in the Acts sanctions and confirms the reading indicated by it; and as the Syriac is similar to the Septuagint, its authority is on the same side.

CHAP. XXII.

HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS.

ANOTHER source of criticism is Hebrew MSS. These have been divided into two classes, *autographs* and *apographs*. The former, written by the original authors themselves, have long ago perished. The latter, taken from the autographs, and multiplied by repeated transcription, exist in considerable numbers. But the more ancient of them have been destroyed many ages ago; and therefore *the more recent alone* are all that remain. Numerous MSS. are in existence, but they are comparatively modern.

The MSS. now extant present, with a very few exceptions, the Masoretic text, and therefore agree. A few unimportant deviations constitute the variations among them. But the older ones contain the Masoretic form of the text in a more exact state than the modern. *They* may probably retain the ante-Masoretic text for substance, having preserved it unaltered from early times. Their general agreement with the younger copies, which are completely cast in the Masoretic mould, may be accounted for by the fact, that the Masorah did not *change* but *preserve* the most ancient text.

All existing MSS. are divided into two classes, *sacred* and *common*; or *synagogue rolls* and *common* or *private copies*. These latter again are subdivided according as they are written in *the square* character or *the rabbinical*.

1. *Synagogue rolls*.—These contain the Pentateuch alone, which was read in the Jewish synagogues from their first establishment and was always held in the highest veneration by the Jews. Great pains were taken to have the rolled manuscripts as accurate as possible, for which end various rules were made to guide the persons who prepared them. In consequence of regulations minute, trifling, superstitious, the synagogue rolls are uniform, hardly differing one

¹ See Frankel, über den Einfluss, u. s. w., p. 60.

from another. As to the date of these prescriptions, it is unknown. They are not all of the same age, but increased in number with the progress of time. Some of them probably reach up to the time of the Babylonian Talmud, though the earliest written treatise where they appear is in the *Tract. Sopherim*, which, though printed with the Babylonian Talmud, is not so old, and does not form a proper part of it. The chief of these regulations are the following.

A synagogue roll must be written on the skins of clean animals, prepared for the particular use of the synagogue by a Jew. These must be fastened together with strings taken from clean animals. Every skin must contain a certain number of columns equal throughout the entire codex. The length of each column must not extend over less than forty-eight, or more than sixty lines; and the breadth must consist of thirty letters. The whole copy must be first lined; and if three words be written in it without a line, it is worthless. The ink should be black, neither red, green, nor any other colour; and be prepared according to a definite receipt. An *authentic* copy must be the exemplar, from which the transcriber ought not in the least to deviate. No word or letter, not even a yod, must be written from memory, the scribe not having looked at the codex before him. The square character is that used in synagogue rolls, without vowel points and accents. The consonants *שׁעטכזנין* must have the prescribed ornaments (*תנין*). The *extraordinary points* are to be inserted in their proper places; and the consonants of unusual forms to be put, viz., the so-called *literæ majusculæ, minusculæ, suspensæ, inversæ*. Words are not to be divided at the end of lines; and in two poetical pieces (Exodus xv., Deuteronomy xxxii.) they are to be written in such *hemistichs* (*στίχοι*) as the *Tract. Sopherim* prescribes. Between every consonant the space of a hair or thread must intervene; between every word the breadth of a narrow consonant; between every new *parshiah* or section, the breadth of *שש* written three times, or of nine consonants; between every book, three lines. The fifth book of Moses must terminate exactly with a line; but the rest need not do so. Besides this, the copyist must sit in full Jewish dress, wash his whole body, not begin to write the name of God with a pen newly dipped in ink, and should a king address him while writing that name he must take no notice of him.

The revisal of the *Torah* or synagogue copy, must take place as soon as the copying is finished, and be completed within thirty days. Three mistakes on a page may be tolerated; but should there be four, or a mistake in the sections *open* or *closed*, or in the position of the poetical pieces that are to be written in *hemistichs*, the whole is vitiated. Whether an error in the name of God renders a copy unfit for public use, is a disputed point among the Jews. The rolls in which these regulations are not observed are condemned to be buried in the ground or burned; or they are banished to the schools, to be used as reading-books. The *Haphtaroth* or prophetic sections, and five *Megilloth*, are on separate rolls.¹

¹ See Eichhorn, *Einleit.* vol. ii. p. 458. *et seqq.*

Painful and superstitious as most of these regulations are, they have been useful in ensuring greater accuracy in the text of the Pentateuch. In consequence of their influence, it has been kept generally free from deterioration. Not many various readings can be derived from the rolled copies before us. If they do not present exactly the original text, they contain it substantially. They give a close approximation to it—so close, that we may gratefully accept it as the primitive text.

2. *Private MSS. in the square character.*—These are in different forms, folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo; and their material is mostly parchment, sometimes eastern paper, and even common paper. The consonants are written with black ink, prepared much in the same way as the ink prescribed for the *Torah*. But the vowels and the smaller writing in the margin, are made with other and various inks. The consonants are formed with a broad, thick pen; the vowels and smaller writing with a fine one. Yet there are exceptions; for occasionally the text and points are alike black, even though the writer of the consonants was a different person from the vowel- or point-writer. Gold and beautiful colours are often used for decorating initial words and letters. A single MS. at Leyden, a Psalter, has the vowels and accents in red ink.

In most MSS. the columns, lines, and consonants, external and internal upper and lower margins, are carefully divided and arranged so as to bear a mutual proportion. No page has more than four columns, the precise number usually depending on the breadth of the MS. or the judgment of the transcriber. And the number of columns is not always the same through an entire MS. Poems and the metrical books are often written in hemistichs. These columns contain, sometimes the Hebrew text alone, sometimes the same text with a version. Sometimes the same Hebrew text is written in two parallel columns, one pointed, the other unpointed.

A Chaldee paraphrase oftenest accompanies the text, written either in a column beside it, or between it. More rarely is an Arabic version added to the text. Some MSS. have the Vulgate with the original; others a Persian translation.

The breadth of the lines is accidental, as well as their number on a page. The size of the upper and lower margin, reserved for the Masorah, is commonly determinate and fixed. This upper and lower margin is occupied by the great Masorah, which is often wound into curious and fantastic figures. Sometimes Jewish prayers, psalms, sections out of the law, are found there. Again, the commentary of a Rabbin is often in the same place, instead of the Masorah. The external margin is for corrections of the text, commentaries of Rabbins, palæographical, critical, and exegetical scholia, for the notification of the *haphtaroth* and *parshioth*, for showing what *haphtaroth* and *parshioth* are to be read together on one Sabbath, for designating the middle of books, for variations, for all kinds of figures twisted and made up of texts, prayers, psalms, and other sections of the Old Testament. To the inner margin between the columns, belong the *Kri* and the little Masorah.

The various books are separated by spaces between them, except the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Daniel Bomberg separated these in his edition, according to the Vulgate. The *parshioth* and *haphtharoth* are for the most part carefully marked, but in different ways.

With regard to the arrangement of the prophets, German MSS. follow the Talmud, according to which Isaiah comes after Jeremiah and Ezekiel; the Spanish again, the Masorah, according to which Isaiah precedes Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In the German codices, the Hagiographa stands thus: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles. But in the Spanish codices they are arranged after the Masorah; Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra. Sometimes, however, MSS. follow a peculiar arrangement agreeing neither with the Talmudic nor Masoretic one.

The square character in which all known MSS. are written is pretty nearly one and the same. Yet the Jews themselves speak of a twofold distinction in the square character, the *Tam* and the *Velshe* writing. The former is distinguished by pointed corners and perpendicular *coronulæ* or *taggin*; the latter, which is younger than the *Tam* according to the Jews, is rounder in the body-strokes of the consonants; and the *coronulæ* terminate in a thick point. Both are usual in synagogue rolls, though not limited to them. It has been thought the Polish and German Jews used the *Tam*; the Spanish and oriental Jews, the *Velshe*.

Modern critics have also distinguished between a Spanish, a German, a French and Italian character. The Spanish is regular, square, and well proportioned; the German is more inclined, with pointed corners. The French and Italian is *intermediate*, somewhat smaller, more round than pointed.

Most copies passed through several hands, such as the consonant-writer or *sopher*, the person who put the vowel-points and accents, the reviser, the Masorah-writer, the scholiast, the retoucher or freshener. One person, however, often united several of these employments. But the text and the points were always written separately, the latter being begun only after the former had been completed. The consonant-writer himself undertook at times the punctuation. The diversity of the *sopher* and punctuator may be detected by the disagreement of the punctuation and consonant-text, or by a subscription at the end, or by a different ink. From the punctuator the '*kris*' in the margin regularly proceeded. Again, the consonant-writer was occasionally his own reviser or corrector. Generally speaking, the person who put the vowel-points was the corrector also, though there are many exceptions. Occasionally the Masorah-writer was the corrector. The Masorah-writer was in many MSS. the same with the *sopher* and punctuator. A punctuator different from the *sopher* often put the great and little Masorah. Sometimes the Masorah proceeded from a person different from the *sopher* and punctuator. Occasionally, but not often, the *sopher* became scholiast

to himself in the margin, correcting or explaining what he had written. But these critical and explanatory remarks oftener correct what the punctuator wrote. The freshener retouched with ink faded words and letters, though by that means he often effaced an old reading.¹

The age of MSS. is determined by the subscriptions belonging to them. But this is not the only purpose these subscriptions serve. By giving the name of the copyist, sometimes too of the punctuator and Masorah-writer, the name of the individual for whom they were written, the country or place, the name or names of the succeeding possessors, as well as the number of years, they furnish materials for judging of the quality of their text. Few codices however have subscriptions. This calamity is owing in part to the fact that most of them consisted of several volumes, which were often separated by the accidents of time, and the last, containing the subscription, lost altogether. Even when a MS. has a subscription, it is not unfrequently difficult to find it. Sometimes it is put into the Masorah or in another concealed place; sometimes it is wound up into a figure. And when an inscription, not discoverable at first sight because out of its proper place, has been found, it cannot always be safely used. An error may lie in the number of years; the era by which the number of years is reckoned may be omitted; the hundreds or the thousands may be left out. If the name of the transcriber only is affixed, it is insufficient to determine the age of the codex unless he be celebrated in Rabbinical literature. Lastly, the possessor of a MS., in order to enhance its value when he wished to sell it, affixed to it a new subscription, or altered something in the old one, erased, retouched it to conceal his deception. This is the reason that some codices have two or three subscriptions with different and even contradictory dates. And not only were subscriptions made to bear an older date than they had at first, they were also made to bear a younger one. When a Jew possessed a codex by inheritance, he might readily give the idea to others by a false subscription that he had either copied the codex himself or got it copied at his expense. The Talmudic regulation enjoins one or other alternative—writing a manuscript himself or getting it written—upon every Jew.

In consequence of the uncertainty attaching to the external testimony afforded by subscriptions, towards the age of MSS., the evidence furnished by internal marks has been resorted to. But these are likewise insecure. They are:—

1. The elegance and simplicity of the character, which are pronounced marks of a considerable antiquity. But certain artificial ornaments are very old; and Spanish copyists have always had a disinclination to ornamental additions. A modern Spanish codex may be as much distinguished for simplicity of character as any other.

2. A MS. with no Masorah, or with a very imperfect one, has the impress of antiquity. But the Masorah was never reckoned an essential part of a MS. Some of the oldest have it.

¹ Eichhorn, *Einleit.* vol. ii. p. 467. *et seqq.*

3. Another characteristic is, the Mosaic law being written continuously, without spaces between the sections. This is merely an evidence that the copyist did not observe the prescribed rules.

4. The absence of critical emendations is also given as a sign of considerable antiquity. But every pointed codex is corrected; and

5. The absence of vowel-points can be no criterion of age, as has been assumed. They might be readily neglected.

6. The blackness of the consonants and fading of the vowels have been taken to indicate the great age of those consonants, and the modern character of the pointing. But there must be a difference between the letters and vowels, even though made by the same hand, because different inks and pens were used in writing them.

7. When a MS. has been retouched or freshened, it is supposed to be ancient. But the necessity of this proceeding often arose from accident, not from necessity.

8. The frequent occurrence of the name Jehovah instead of *Adonai*, and the abbreviation of Jehovah by ם or ם, or ם, has been thought to show antiquity. But MSS. are very arbitrary in interchanging the two appellations; and the abbreviations are also arbitrary.

9. The frequent or sparing use of letters with unusual forms, of larger and smaller suspended and inverted consonants, has also been employed as a test of age. But these things depended on a close or loose attachment to the Masorah.

10. Nor can the yellow parchment of a MS. attest its antiquity. Many circumstances would soon render a white MS. yellow, especially damp.

11. It is also alleged that the poetical books are metrically written in very old copies. But here the copyists were bound by no rules, except in two instances already specified.

12. Old MSS. are also said to follow the Talmudic order of the books. This position cannot be sustained.

13. The circumstance that a codex has passed through the hands of several correctors and critics, does not prove its antiquity. A very young MS. might happen to be so treated.

14. The thickness and grossness of the hide has also been supposed to show a high antiquity. Surely different qualities of hide would appear at all times.

Such are the chief rules given by Jablonski, Wolf, Houbigant, Kennicott, and De Rossi, for determining the age of MSS.; and such the insecure nature of them. Schnurrer¹, Tychsen², and Eichhorn³, have sufficiently exposed their weakness.

Where the birthplace of MSS. is not given in their subscriptions it is difficult to discover it by internal marks. No general criteria are available for this end any more than in finding out the age. The following have been adduced as the distinguishing characteristics of Spanish MSS. which are usually esteemed the best.

¹ De Codd. Hebr. Vet. Test. Manuscriptor. ætate difficulter determinanda, in his Dissertationes Philologico-criticæ, p. 1. *et seqq.*

² Tentamen, p. 264. *et seqq.*

³ Einleit. vol. ii. § 372.

1. It is affirmed that the Spanish Jews made use of the *Velshe* character. This position does not always hold good.

2. Manuscripts written in a very simple, plain character, without any ornaments, are said to be Spanish. But surely German calligraphers might imitate the same character.

3. There is said to be a certain arrangement of *haptharoth* in Spanish MSS. But the Spanish Jews did not always strictly follow the arrangement referred to.

4. The Spanish are said to follow the Masoretic arrangement of books. Yet many copies observe neither the Masoretic nor the Talmudic order.

5. The Spanish Jews are said to have revised their MSS. more critically than the Germans, and to have occupied their margins with various remarks. But this is true only in a limited sense.

6. Certain readings are said to be peculiar to Spanish copies. But no MS. follows throughout the readings termed characteristically the *Spanish*.

7. The Spanish copies are said to have always Chateph Kametz instead of Kametz. But all MSS. mostly use Chateph Kametz for Kametz.

8. The use of Dagesh forte in \beth after ψ is said to characterise Spanish and Italian MSS. But it is surely possible that the Spanish punctuation may have been accidentally employed for a German codex, and *vice versa*.

9. Spanish codices are said to have the hemistichs in Exodus xv. in a peculiar way. This is not always the case.

10. Spanish codices are said to contain the eastern, and German ones the western readings. But it is evident from Kennicott's collations, that the two kinds of readings are mixed in all MSS.

11. Spanish copies are said to have the vowel points in all the oft-recurring words and clauses contained in Levit. vii. 18—38; whereas the German copies leave the repetitions unpunctuated. Surely this depends on the careful industry of the punctuator more than on country.

German MSS., on the other hand, are discoverable by the following marks:—

1. They are written in the *Tam* character.

2. Their characters are somewhat artificial, being furnished with all kinds of figures and calligraphical ornaments.

3. They follow the German order of Haptharoth.

4. They have the books arranged in the Talmudic order.

5. They contain the Western readings.

Much the same objections lie against the criteria of German as are adduced against those of Spanish codices. All are uncertain and insecure.¹

What, then, is to be said about the country of codices? Can it be found in no instance? Is it matter of conjecture and nothing more? Surely a number of particulars may unite to assign a codex to a particular country, to Spain for example, rather than to Ger-

¹ Eichhorn, Einleit. vol. ii. § 371.

many or Poland? There are probabilities which may lie takeably in a certain direction, and so indicate either Spanish or German MSS. But one criterion is not sufficient. Various must be found together; and in proportion to their number does the probability of the conclusion derived from them increase in strength. Something depends too on familiarity with MSS. Facility in detecting their age and country is acquired by habit. He that has examined and collected most, will be in a better position for judging of their date, value, and native place, than one comparatively unused to the sight of such documents.

Eichhorn has pertinently remarked that Bruns's acquaintance with codices makes his testimony on this subject entitled to attention. Spanish MSS. are thus characterised by him.

Spanish copies are written with paler, German with blacker, ink. The pages of the former are seldom divided into three columns. The Psalms are arranged after the manner of the 32nd chapter of Deuteronomy in the common editions. The Chaldee text does not alternate with the Hebrew in single verses, but is put by itself in a column, commonly in smaller characters than the Hebrew. The Hagiographa are arranged in Spanish MSS. in the Masoretic mode, as follows: Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra. Jeremiah is never put before Isaiah. The lines always end with an entire word, to accomplish which the letters are sometimes placed closer than usual together, sometimes wider asunder. Between the last words in a line an empty space is occasionally left, or filled with particular marks. The last letters of concluding words sometimes stand beyond the limits of the line. The half of a book is not marked in the text itself, still less with unusual letters. The initial words of the *parshioth* in biblical books are not different from ordinary ones. Figures, ornaments, flourishes, are not used. The beginning of *parshioth* is marked in the margin פֶּרֶשׁ with small letters. A threefold פ or פֶּרֶשׁ is not found. Every book does not end with הַיּוֹם. Books are separated by a space of four lines. The upper part of the letters coincides with the lines drawn on the parchment; but the lower part does not stand upon the lines. Metheg and mappik seldom appear; raphe or a cross-stroke over undageshed consonants often occurs. These marks, taken in conjunction with the form of the Spanish character, will generally enable one to distinguish a Spanish codex from a copy written elsewhere. In Bruns's edition of Kennicott's general dissertation, the editor has given five engraved specimens, showing the Italian, German, and Spanish characters—one of the Italian (from cd. 1.); one of the German (from cod. 96.), and three of Spanish (from codd. 290. 293. 682.). But Kennicott says that the characters in cod. 1. are *Spanish*.¹

Having shown that the age and country of Hebrew MSS. are somewhat uncertain, or at least that the evidences of both must be received with caution, it follows that the goodness of MSS. cannot be definitely determined by general characteristics. Antiquity is

¹ Eichhorn, Einleit. vol. ii. p. 555. *et seqq.*

circumstance that occurs to the mind, since it is natural that the nearer a codex is to the period of the original, the should its text be to the original. But this admits of many exceptions. Ancient MSS. are often less valuable than others younger than they.

The first place in value is assigned to Spanish MSS., because they were most carefully corrected; the next to the French and Italian; the last to the German. The Rabbins unite in praise of the Spanish. But there are good and bad copyists in every country; and calligraphy may have operated, at times, injuriously upon the accuracy of the text. Transcribers would not like to spoil the beauty of the letters by erasures.

Again, it may be that MSS. made by learned transcribers are better than those of the ignorant. This position however is doubtful. Perhaps an unlettered copyist was less liable to alter pre-masoretic readings.

Still further, it has been thought that a codex made for a Rabbini or a Jew of distinction has a claim to be considered good. But in many cases this may not have been so. Much would depend on the kind of copyist chosen.

Again, it has been supposed that when a codex has the form of a synagogue roll, *i. e.* when it contains the Pentateuch, the book of Esther, and the Haphtaroth (which were always in three separate rolls in the synagogue), and is intended to repeat the lessons, it harmonises closely with the text of the synagogue copies, and is therefore more accurate. This criterion too is liable to be called in question.

Lastly, a correctly lined codex has been thought favourable to a correct text. But there is no necessary connection between the two things.

On the whole, each codex must be judged by itself. The character of the readings which distinguish it determines the value of its text. Criticism must decide upon its merits impartially, by the general quality of the readings.

All known MSS. were written either by Jews or proselytes, as has been inferred from subscriptions and other marks. Tychsen thought that many were written by Christians; but all his arguments were refuted by Eichhorn.

In classifying existing MSS., it is impossible to find a good division. Some have distinguished them into Masoretic and unmasoretic; others into Masoretic and ante-Masoretic. Masoretic are those conformed to the Masorah; unmasoretic, such as do not agree with it everywhere. But all contain the Masoretic recension more or less fully. As to ante-Masoretic, none such really exist. Thus there is but one family of Hebrew MSS., the Masoretic one. All are comparatively recent. None reach up to so high dates as the leading uncial codices of the Greek Testament. Other classifications are equally useless, such as pointed and unpointed, corrected and uncorrected, pure and mixed, eastern and western, cabbalistic or midrashical. Nor is that of De Rossi¹ of any more value than

¹ Prolegomena in Varias Lectiones, Vet. Test. vol. i. §§ 14, 15, 16.

these; viz. *more ancient*, or such as were written before the century; *ancient*, those written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; *more recent*, those written at the close of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries. The most recent, or those written since the fifteenth century, which are commonly found in synagogues, are of little or no use unless it can be shown that they were transcribed from ancient *apographs*.¹

Private MSS. in the Rabbinical character.—These codices are mostly made of eastern or linen paper having a Rabbinical mode of writing or one like it, without points and Masorah, sometimes furnished with an Arabic version, having many abbreviations, and generally very modern. Such are 9. 13. 15. 22. 34. 346. 227. 342., &c. of Kennicott.

Upwards of eleven hundred MSS. were collated by Kennicott and De Rossi, few of them throughout. It is greatly to be regretted that they were not distributed into such as are good and valuable, and those of inferior worth. Had the two collators done so, we should have had a good classification. And having separated them in this manner, it would have contributed much more to the criticism of the Old Testament, if they had collated the better class throughout, neglecting the other. Perhaps they would have discovered by this procedure various copies which bear such an affinity to one another as to indicate that they flowed from a common source.

Since the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi, another has been made, but a much smaller one, by Pinner at Odessa. But although the number he examined was few, the antiquity of most, and the singularity of some, render his descriptions important and interesting. The oldest MS. collated by De Rossi (No. 634.) belongs, as he supposes, to the eighth century; the oldest in Kennicott's collation, (No. 590.), to the eleventh. But in Pinner one is dated 580, (No. 1.), in the sixth century. Two are dated in the *ninth* century, and two in the *tenth*.

The Jews in China have nothing but Masoretic copies. Since 1850 almost all their MSS. have been bought, and are now in London; both synagogue-rolls and others. In 1851 fac-similes of parts of them were published at Shanghai, whence it appears that the text is the Masoretic. One of the rolls was collated by Mr. Coleman, and is described in Davidson's *Biblical Criticism*.²

In 1806, Buchanan brought from the East a synagogue-roll found among the Malabar Jews. This codex was minutely examined and described by Yeates.³ It is made of goat-skins dyed red. It is evidently an European Masoretic roll, either made in Spain, or more probably copied from a Spanish MS. by a careless transcriber. Its value is small.

¹ See Eichhorn, *Einleit.* vol. ii. p. 467. *et seqq.*, and Davidson's *Bib. Crit.* vol. i. chap. xxiii.

² Vol. i. chap. xxv.

³ Collation of an Indian copy of the Pentateuch, p. 2. *et seqq.*

CHAP. XXIII.

A FEW OF THE OLDEST MSS. DESCRIBED.

THE following are a few of the most ancient MSS. collated by Kennicott, Bruns, De Rossi, and Pinner.

1. *Cd.* 634., *De Rossi*, in quarto.—This contains a fragment of the books of Lev. xxi. 19.—Numb. i. 50., on parchment, without vowel points Masorah and Keris, without spaces left between sections, though sometimes a point is inserted between words. De Rossi supposes that it was written in the eighth century. In De Rossi's own collection.

2. *Cd.* 503., *De Rossi*, in quarto.—This is a MS. of the Pentateuch on parchment, composed of various ancient pieces, beginning with Gen. xlii. 14., and ending with Deut. xv. 12. At present it has a chasm from Lev. xxi. 19.—Numb. i. 50., because De Rossi separated the latter from it, thinking it to be older, and marked it as a peculiar fragment by itself, No. 634., *i. e.* the preceding one. The vowel-points are appended but not everywhere, and proceed from the hand of the consonant-writer. There is no trace of the Masorah or Keri; and in singular readings there is a remarkable agreement with the Samaritan text and the old versions. De Rossi puts the oldest leaves of which it is made up in the ninth or tenth century. Belonging to his collection.

3. *Cd.* 590., *Kennicott*, in folio.—This codex contains the Prophets and Hagiographa, written on vellum. The text has the vowel-points, but apparently by a later hand. In the margin there is nothing of the Masorah, but various readings are marked here and there. Some books have the final Masorah. The separate books have no Hebrew title, and are arranged in the most ancient order—Jeremiah and Ezekiel preceding Isaiah, and Ruth the Psalms. The codex has an inscription in which it is said to be written in 1018 or 1019, as it may be read. According to Adler, it consists of 471 leaves and two columns, each column containing twenty-seven lines. It is at Vienna.

4. *Cd.* 1., *Kennicott*, in folio.—This codex is on parchment, containing the whole of the Old Testament, but defective till Gen. xxvii. 31. The letters are much faded, but in many cases they have been written over a second time. Originally the text was without vowel-points. It has some fragments of the Masorah, and was evidently meant to have it from the lines in the upper and lower margin. Kennicott affirms that the text of it differs from Van der Hooght's in 14,000 cases, of which more than 2000 are in the Pentateuch alone. According to the same critic, 109 of these confirm the Septuagint, 98 the Syriac, 82 the Arabic, 88 the Vulgate, 42 the Chaldee paraphrase, in the Pentateuch portion. It also agrees with the Samaritan against the Hebrew in 700 words. Hence the text deviates widely from the Masoretic, and coincides with the ancient versions.¹ It must have been greatly altered, or else taken from an incorrect exemplar. Kennicott places it in the eleventh century, Bruns in the twelfth. It belongs to the Bodleian Library.

¹ *Dissertatio Generalis*, ed. Bruns. p. 335. *et seqq.*

5. *Cd. 536., Kennicott*, in folio.—This codex is on parchment, containing the Pentateuch, the Haphtaroth, and the five Megilloth. It begins with Gen. ii. 13., is without Masorah, has some younger leaves at the commencement and end. In its margin are inserted some various readings of ancient MSS. De Rossi pronounces it very valuable; and Kennicott places it in the eleventh century. It is in the Malatesta Library at Bologna.

6. *Cd. 162., Kennicott*, in quarto.—This codex is on parchment, containing the books of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel. It is defective however till Josh. vi. 20., and from 1 Sam. i. 1—10., and from 2 Sam. xxiv. 10. till the end. Many letters which were obliterated by time have been renewed by a later hand; and the diversities of the text would have been more numerous had not some words been changed by the renovator. It may be assigned to the commencement of the twelfth century, and belongs to the Laurentian Library at Florence.

7. *Cd. 262., De Rossi*, in folio.—This codex is on parchment, containing the Pentateuch, the Megilloth, and Haphtaroth. The vowel-points are from the same hand with the consonants. There are no Masorah and *Kris*. The text frequently agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch and the ancient versions. De Rossi assigns it to the eleventh century. It belongs to his own collection.

8. *Cd. 10., De Rossi*, in quarto.—This codex is on parchment, containing the Pentateuch and the Megilloth, without Masorah and *'Kris*. It is defective at the beginning till Gen. xix. 35. It has also the Targum. The character is rude and defaced by time; the initial letters larger. De Rossi places it in the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. It belongs to his own collection.

9. *Cd. 349., De Rossi*, in quarto.—This codex, on parchment, contains the Book of Job. It has no Masorah, and but a single *'Kri* put by the punctuator. The pages are distributed in two columns, and the lines are unequal. De Rossi assigns it to the end of the eleventh or commencement of the twelfth century. It is in his own collection.

10. *Cd. 379., De Rossi*, in folio.—This parchment codex contains the Hagiographa. It is defective at the beginning and end, since it begins with Psal. xlix. 15. and ends with Neh. xi. 4. It is also without Masorah and *'Kris*. The poetical books are arranged in hemistichs. De Rossi, who places a high value on the MS., assigns it to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. It is in his own collection.

11. *Cd. 611., De Rossi*, in octavo.—This parchment codex contains the Pentateuch, without the Masorah, and with a few *'Kris*. The letters are frequently faded. It is defective till Gen. i. 27. Frequent omissions occur, which are supplied in the margin. De Rossi assigns the same date to it as the last. It belongs to his own collection.

12. *Cd. 4., Kennicott*, in folio.—This parchment codex contains all the Old Testament. It is defective till Gen. xxxiv. 21., and from 2 Chron. ix. 5. Jeremiah and Ezekiel are before Isaiah, according to the oldest arrangement. So too in the Hagiographa, Ruth precedes

Psalms. It was at first written without the vowel-points, which are still wanting occasionally for several lines. It belongs to the twelfth century, and is in the Bodleian Library.

13. *Cd.* 154., *Kennicott*, in folio.—This codex is on parchment and contains the Prophets, with the Targum written interlinearly. It is defective from Josh. x. 12—32., and 1 Sam. xii. 21.—xvii. 1. In very many instances its text departs from the Masoretic one. *Kennicott* and *De Rossi* value it very highly. According to the inscription, it was written A.D. 1106. It once belonged to the famous *Reuchlin*, and is now in the public library of *Carlsruhe*.

14. *Cd.* 193., *Kennicott*, in octavo.—This parchment codex contains the Pentateuch without vowel-points and Masorah. The first chapters of *Genesis*, the last chapters of *Leviticus*, and the part of *Deuteronomy* from v. 26. are from a later hand. The same hand has appended a subscription, according to which it was written A.D. 1287, which of course is only the date of the supplied parts. The rest of the MS. belongs to the twelfth century. It has many erasures and alterations which were made by the supplementer also; but it contained many good readings. *Bruns* thinks that the scribe was a Christian. The MS. is in the *Ambrosian Library* at *Milan*.

15. *Cd.* 193., *Kennicott*, in folio.—This parchment codex contains the Prophets and Hagiographa, but it is defective in various parts, till 1 Sam. xx. 24.; from *Ezek.* xi. 19. to *Isa.* xli. 17.; from *Esth.* ix. 16—*Ezra* ii. 69.; from *Ezra* viii. 24—*Neh.* i. 5.; and from 2 *Chron.* xix. 6. The books are arranged in a peculiar order. *Jeremiah* follows *Samuel*, then 1 *Kings*, *Ezekiel*, and *Isaiah*. After *Esther* come *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. The Masorah is very rarely put. *Kennicott*, who values it very highly, places its origin at the beginning of the twelfth century. It is in the *Ebnerian Library* at *Nürnberg*.

16. *Cd.* 210., *Kennicott*, in quarto. This codex on parchment, contains all the Old Testament. It is without Masorah, has only a few *Kris*, and is said to be rich in good readings. The *Megilloth* immediately precede *Chronicles*. *Houbigant* and *Starck* praise it highly. *Kennicott* assigns it to the beginning of the twelfth century. It belongs to the *Royal Library* at *Paris*.

17. *Cd.* 224., *Kennicott*, in folio.—This codex contains the Prophets and Hagiographa, but is defective till *Josh.* vi. 16.; from *Ruth* i. 1.—ii. 4.; from 2 *Chron.* xiv. 10—xix. 8.; and from 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 22. till the end. The books are arranged in the oldest order, so that *Ruth* precedes the *Psalms*, and *Jeremiah* with *Ezekiel* go before *Isaiah*. The initial letters are larger; and the three poetical books are divided into hemistichs. Its readings often agree with the ancient versions. It is assigned to the twelfth century; and is now in the *Royal Library* at *Königsberg*.¹

The following are the principal MSS. which were examined at *Odessa* by *Pinner*.

18. *Pinner*, No. 1.—This is a Pentateuch roll on leather. Of course it has no vowels or Masorah. The form of the letters differs

¹ See *Kennicott's Dissertatio Generalis*, ed. *Bruns.*; *De Rossi's Prolegomena*; and *Davidson's Bib. Crit.* vol. i.

considerably from the present square one. It contains but few various readings. According to the subscription, it was corrected in the year 580, consequently the roll must be upwards of 1270 years old. If the subscription be genuine, which Pinner does not doubt, (though the words of the MS. are separated from one another, and such separation was not commonly made till A.D. 800—1000), it is the most ancient MS. known. It was brought from Derbend in Daghestan.

19. *Pinner*, No. 5.—This is an incomplete Pentateuch roll, beginning with Numb. xiii. 19. The form of the letters is considerably different from the present. The text has been carefully copied. The subscription states that it was written A.D. 843.

20. *Pinner*, No. 11.—This is part of a synagogue-roll, beginning with Deut. xxxi. 1. The inscription assigns it to the year 881.

21. *Pinner*, No. 3., folio.—This codex contains Isaiah, Jeremiah Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, and is on parchment. Every page has two columns, between which, as well as below and in the outer margin, stands the Masorah. The vowels and accents are entirely different from those now used. They are all too *above* the letters. The first page has a twofold pointing, above and below; but this does not occur again, except occasionally. From Zech. xiv. 6—Mal. i. 13. there is no punctuation. The first three verses of Malachi only have been pointed much later, in the manner at present used. The text is very correctly written, and the various readings important. The form of the consonants is very different from our present ones.

According to the subscription the MS. belongs to 916 A.D. This unique codex has excited considerable attention, especially in relation to its vowels and accents. Stern, Ewald, Luzzatto, and Røediger have written about them. A good fac-simile of it is given by Pinner.

22. *Pinner*, No. 13., in folio.—This parchment codex is imperfect, containing 2 Sam. from vi. 10., and the two books of Kings. Each page has three columns, between which, as well as at the sides of the text, stands the Masorah. The text has many and important various readings. The vowels and accents are different in many respects from those now current. The MS. states that it was *purchased* A.D. 938. It is a very valuable and important codex.

23. *Pinner*, small folio.—This parchment codex contains the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa. Each page has three columns, except in Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, where there are but two. The text has vowels and accents. The letters and accents are similar to those in No. 3. of Pinner. The little Masorah stands between the columns, as well as on the outer and inner margin. Only from two to four lines of the great Masorah are found above and below. It is inaccurately copied. According to the subscription, it was written in Egypt A.D. 1010.¹

Seventeen MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch are known to exist

¹ See Prospectus der der Odessaer Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Altherthümer Gehoerenden aeltesten Hebraischen und Rabbinischen Manuscripte; and Davidson's Bib. Crit. p. 357. *et seqq.*

in various libraries throughout Europe. Seven are in England, five in Paris, two in Rome, one at Milan, one at Leyden, and one at Gotha. Of these the chief are:—

24. *Cd.* 334., in quarto.—This codex, on parchment, is defective till Gen. xviii. 2.; from Lev. xiv. 39. till xvii. 4.; and from Deut. vii. 5. till the end. It is very ancient and valuable. Kennicott places it in the eighth century. It belongs most probably to the eleventh, and is in the Royal Library at Paris.

25. *Cd.* 363.—A complete codex on parchment, belonging to the close of the eleventh century. The Samaritan Pentateuch was first printed from it by Morin. It is now in the library of the Oratoire at Paris.

26. *Cd.* 197., 12mo.—This codex is on parchment, and the characters are red. It is defective in many places and illegible. It was collated for Bruns by Branca, and is of great value. Probably it may be assigned to the twelfth century. It belongs to the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

27. *Cd.* 127., in quarto.—A complete codex on parchment. The date is 1362. It is now in the British Museum.

28. *Cd.* 62., in quarto.—This codex, on parchment and paper, has an Arabic version in parallel columns, but in the Samaritan character. It is very defective. According to the subscription, part of it was written or supplied A. D. 1524. Kennicott assigns it to the middle of the thirteenth century. It is in the Bodleian Library.

29. *Cd.* 66., in 24mo.—This codex, on parchment, is written in small letters. The text is faded in many places, and in some defective. It belongs to the middle of the twelfth century, and is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Critics usually believe that ancient editions taken immediately from MSS. are of equal use and authority to MSS. themselves, and may be regarded as such in criticism. They supply several good readings, and should not be neglected. Hence both Kennicott and De Rossi have employed this source. Those editions that preceded Bomberg's second Rabbinical Bible, published in 1525, specially apply here; because their text has been less adapted to the Masorah.

The following general observations on MSS. are taken from Davidson's Biblical Criticism:—

“1. The most obvious rule, if it can be called so, is that the reading found in the greater number of MSS. should be preferred. This, however, can only be *ceteris paribus*.

“2. Besides *number*, the *character* of the MS. or MSS. containing a reading should be carefully considered. Thus the age ought not to be overlooked. Antiquity possesses some weight. The nearer MSS. are to the age of the writers themselves, the more value belongs to them. But the most ancient are comparatively recent. Yet, as some readings which have improperly perhaps been rejected by the Masoretes may occur in these ancient copies, they deserve attention.

“3. A recent MS., accurately written, may be transcribed from a very ancient and a very accurate one long ago lost. In such case, antiquity is rather apparent than real, and may readily mislead.

“4. The habits of the scribe should also be noted. Was he exact and scrupulous in his copying, or was he negligent in his work? Did he write for a synagogue or for a private person? What sort of exemplar did the scribe follow? Can this be inferred from any known circumstances?

“5. Again, To what country does a codex belong? The Spanish are esteemed by the Jews the most correct and the best, especially those made for synagogue use. Doubtless there are exceptions to the universality of this rule.

“6. It is considered a mark of innate excellence in a MS. that it is not only accurately written, but contains besides many good readings differing from the received text, and clearly confirmed by the authority of ancient versions. This canon should not be applied absolutely, or pushed too far. It certainly needs limitation, as applied by Cappell, Kennicott, and De Rossi. It should only be followed to a certain extent, and with great circumspection, lest ancient versions have an undue weight assigned to them.”¹

Examples of improper emendation by a MS. or MSS. are the following:—In Lev. iv. 29. instead of *במקום העלה*, No. 4. of Kennicott reads *במקום אשר ישחט העלה*, i. e. instead of *he shall slay the sin-offering in the place of the burnt-offering*, this codex reads *he shall slay the sin-offering in the place where he slays the burnt-offering*. Hence Kennicott would bring these two words into the text, especially as they are confirmed by the Greek and Syriac versions, and by the Samaritan Pentateuch.² But in the latter authorities they are simply exegetical insertions; and the MS. must have got them originally from the versions. No claim of originality can be set up on their behalf. It is possible, indeed, that the true reading may be preserved in one MS. only; but then there must be a *strong necessity* for rectifying the text by a single witness.

In Isa. lviii. 10. we read, *if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry*. Instead of *נפשך thy soul*, eight MSS. have *לחמך thy bread*, which is also in the Syriac version. Hence Lowth and others rectify the text by admitting the latter word into it in place of the former. Here however, there is no reason for supposing the Masoretic reading corrupt. It gives a better sense than the proposed one, *thy soul or thy desire, thy appetite*. The authority is quite insufficient to justify an alteration.

At Josh. xxi. 35. two additional verses, numbered as 36 and 37, are found in many MSS. On their authority, as well as on other considerations, they should be admitted into the text, though they are not recognised by the Masorah.

In 1 Sam. x. 19. many MSS. read *לֹא not*, instead of *לו to him*. This reading is also confirmed by ancient versions. Hence the former should be reckoned the right word; or at least, *not* is the right sense, for *it may be* that *לו* was once used orthographically in the sense of *not*, as well as for the pronoun *him*.

¹ Bib. Crit. vol. i. pp. 371, 372.

² First Dissertation, pp. 408, 409.

CHAP. XXIV.

PARALLEL PASSAGES.

PARALLEL passages are another source of various readings, and so assist in restoring the original text. But their aid has been over-estimated. They have been employed in many instances to amend the text where it needed no emendation. Both Cappell and Kennicott abused this source of various readings by applying it extensively and injudiciously. Nor have later writers been free from the same fault. The most copious collection of these parallels is given by Eichhorn, who divides them into 1. Historical sections repeated, including (*a*) Genealogies; (*b*) Narratives. 2. Laws, oracles, and poems, that appear in a twofold form. 3. Ideas, sentences, proverbs, &c., repeated. A more correct list than Eichhorn's is given by Davidson.¹ It is not necessary however for our present purpose to enumerate the passages, because we believe that textual criticism can derive but small benefit from this quarter. The instances are comparatively rare in which it can be properly used for restoring authentic readings. It is of most use in the books of Kings and Chronicles, which often contain parallel accounts and histories. But the difficulty there is very great, because intricate questions connected with the *higher* criticism are involved. Some may correct in those books what the writers or compilers themselves penned. And so it has happened. Critics thought that such and such passages could not emanate from the original writers, and therefore set about rectifying one by help of another. It is not easy to distinguish everywhere between what the Chronicle writer wrote himself, and what a later hand may have altered. Hence the extreme delicacy of the task in regard to the parallels in Chronicles and other historical books. Parallel passages have been used most judiciously in textual criticism by Thenius in the books of Kings. Less so by the same writer in his commentary on Samuel. Hitzig on the Psalms has not proceeded with caution in the application of them. Very judicious is De Wette on the Psalms. On the other hand, Hengstenberg on the Psalms goes to an extreme in refraining from the use of this source, as if the Masoretic text were perfect. He is rigid in adherence to what he finds written; and is wrong accordingly in several instances. Perhaps he errs in abiding by the safer extreme. We apprehend, however, that aid may be derived from parallel passages; and that they should not be overlooked. When and how far they should be used, cannot be enunciated in general rules. Each case or passage must be judged of by itself, in the light of all phenomena.

A few examples both of the improper and proper use of this source of criticism will now be given.

In Isa. lxi. 4. we read, *they shall build the old wastes*. In lviii. 12. the same sentence occurs, but with the addition after it of

¹ Bib. Crit. vol. i. p. 294. *et seqq.*

they shall build, מִנֶּךָ i. e. from thee; they that spring from thee shall build, &c. Four MSS. too have this reading. Hence by authority of the parallel, confirmed by four MSS., and on the supposition that the sentence in lxi. 4. is incomplete because we know not who are the builders, Lowth receives the word מִנֶּךָ into the text. But the sense is entire without any addition. The whole context shows that the *restored exiles* shall build the fallen cities. The authority for transferring מִנֶּךָ from the one passage to the other is wholly insufficient, and the necessity imaginary.

In Judges, vii. 18., we read, *Say, of the Lord and of Gideon.* The parallel place in verse 20. has, *the sword of the Lord and of Gideon;* and therefore חֶרֶב, *sword*, is supposed to be wanting in verse 18. Accordingly it is found in ten MSS., as also in the Targum, the Syriac, and Arabic versions. But the text is not corrupted. The same writer varies his forms of expression relating to the same thing. Examples occur in viii. 16. compared with verse 7.; and in xvi. 13, 14. It is far more likely that the word *sword* was transferred from verse 20. than that it was omitted from the 18th. We must therefore regard the versions and few MSS. as incorrect, contrary to the opinion of Dathe and others.

On the other hand, numbers can often be rectified in this manner, especially by supposing that the Hebrew letters were used as numerals. Thus in 2 Chron. xxii. 2., *forty and two years old was Ahaziah,* &c., must be read *twenty and two years old,* &c., as in 2 Kings, viii. 26., else Ahaziah was born before his father.

In 2 Kings, xxv. 3., the text is evidently defective, but the chasm may be supplied from Jer. lii. 6. by the word *fourth,* הַרְבִּיעִי. This is confirmed by some versions.

It has sometimes been asserted, that even where there is a verbal difference in copies of the same prayer or speech in the printed text, it ought to be corrected, as in Psal. xviii. compared with 2 Sam. xxii. But there is no ground for supposing that the same writer repeated himself in precisely the same words. The same transaction may be differently narrated in two passages without either being pronounced corrupt. Passages containing a command, and either a repetition of it or a record of its being obeyed, as in Exod. xx. 2—17. and Deut. v. 6—22., must not be forced into verbal harmony. The same holds good of proverbial sayings, and even of records of the same genealogies, since the genealogy may be differently traced, some links being left out and others added.

CHAP. XXV.

QUOTATIONS.

ANOTHER source whence various readings are derived and the restoration of the genuine text aided is, quotations from the Old Testament. These are various. 1. Quotations in the New Testament.

2. In Josephus. 3. In the Talmud and Rabbins. 4. In the Masorah.

1. Quotations in the New Testament. This source affords few various readings, not only because the writers generally quoted from the Greek, but because even in cases where they consulted the Hebrew, they gave the sense rather than the exact words. It is possible, however, notwithstanding the loose manner in which the New Testament writers employed passages in the Old, their memoriter method of citation, and their indifference about mere words, that they may suggest here and there readings deserving of attention. In a few cases the Hebrew has been considered corrupt on their authority. But others have denied its corruptness even in those passages, holding that it cannot be established. The critical use of this source is small, though Cappellus has freely employed it. Citations in the New Testament may be used to correct the text of the Septuagint in some cases where it has suffered. But when we consider that the apostles usually quoted from memory—that they added, omitted, transposed, and changed words according as they wished to adapt a place to their design—little reliance can be placed on their citations as corrections of the Hebrew text, even supposing that they did abandon the Greek at times and follow the Hebrew. But we shall refer to them more in detail hereafter.

2. Quotations in Josephus. Although Josephus has narrated a great part of the sacred history, yet there are no proper citations in his works. He used the Greek version, not the Hebrew original. In some places indeed he leaves the former and approaches the latter; but even then it is doubtful whether he followed the Hebrew. It is probable that he understood Hebrew. He can hardly be said to have *cited* the Old Testament text in his reproduction of the principal matters contained in it. But though this be the case, his writings may occasionally furnish some assistance in criticism, and should not be entirely overlooked. *Names, numbers, and facts* as he gives them, may suggest various readings. Yet the benefit to criticism afforded by Josephus is very small.

3. Quotations in the Talmud and Rabbins. The citations in the Talmud are in general literal and exact. Care must be taken however to note such places as are merely alluded to, or in which there is some play on the original words without a formal citation. Sometimes too only as many words are adduced as were necessary for a particular purpose; sometimes the first terms of a place are given, leaving the reader to supply the rest; sometimes again there is an addition to the biblical expressions. Mistakes are most apt to be made on the part of the critic in the case of allegorical puns and plays in which the Talmudists indulged. Thus the formula *אל תקרא בן אלה* *בן*, *do not read so, but so*, belongs to the allegorical fancies of the writers.

Important readings might have been expected from the Talmud because the MSS. it quotes were ante-masoretic. And Cappellus thought that the variations in it from the Masoretic text were of considerable value. But collations of its printed text have not

justified the expectations entertained, neither have they confirmed Capellus's statements. Its text is very poor in readings generally; extremely poor in *important* ones. Gill, who collated the Mischna and Gemara for Kennicott, did not meet with more than a thousand variations in all, most of which are trifling. And he evidently increased the number injudiciously, by quoting as various readings expressions which were inserted merely as explanatory. Frommann, who carefully collated the Mischna, using three different editions of the text, found but twelve various readings. The cause of this paucity must lie partly at least in the editors of the printed editions of the Talmud, who, instead of accurately following their MSS., altered the text conformably to the printed Masoretic one. Hence some printed editions are more conformable to the Masorah than others, the earliest less, the latest most so, till at last the chief peculiarities for which criticism would have sought with eagerness, disappeared. In consequence of this procedure, MSS. of the Talmud should be carefully collated, and extracts made from them; for Gill's collations are all but useless, especially as no account is given by Kennicott of *the manner* in which he derived his extracts.

As to quotations in the Rabbinical writings, the critic should confine himself to the oldest writers, Aben Esra, Rashi, David Kimchi, and Maimonides, because they are nearest to the Talmud. Where these writers quote the Old Testament, their citations do not always agree with our usual printed text. Sometimes they expressly adduce variations in the Hebrew text. It must be admitted however that their works do not afford many readings of importance. This is chiefly owing to the period they lived in; for then the text had been fixed by the Masorah, and therefore their citations of it coincide with the later MSS.

Here again, as in the case of the Talmud, printed editions of the writings of the Rabbins have not accurately followed MSS. of them. The text quoted or referred to in them has been conformed to the Masoretic one. Hence MSS. should be consulted rather than the printed editions of their works. As a proof of this, Kimchi's *Liber Radicum* may be mentioned, in which the Hebrew text is quoted with many deviations from that printed and edited by Latiph in 1490. The laborious editor has collected and put together all the departures from the Hebrew text in the work of Kimchi, in an appendix, informing the reader that they were not *errata*. But succeeding editors quietly altered the varying readings according to the printed text of the Hebrew, omitting altogether Latiph's appendix.¹

Some examples of various readings from the Rabbins are given by Cappell. Others are given by Tychsen. But the few that have been as yet collected are of little value.

4. Quotations in the Masorah. The materials contained in the Masorah were accumulated by degrees during various centuries; and though they are not all of a critical nature, yet critical observations on the text are included in them. The chief part of the Masorah of critical value is the *k'ri* and *c'thib*. Without doubt the origin of the

¹ Eichhorn, Einleit. vol. ii. § 341.

remarks so denoted reaches up to a remote time, even beyond the Talmud. In judging of the various readings characterised in the Masorah by these terms, we must not suppose with the Jews, that the *k'ri* or marginal reading is to be preferred to the *c'thib* or textual one in every case. Buxtorf and many of the older critics held this extreme view. On the contrary, the *c'thib* should not be always adopted as the true reading, as Danzius and Schultens contended. The opinion that *both* should be adopted, though held by various scholars, is sufficiently absurd. Speaking generally, the *c'thib* is more correct than the *k'ri*, the readings in it being generally older and more anomalous than the *k'ri*. The right rule is to be guided in the adoption of one or other, in each particular case, by the context, the analogy of the language, parallel passages, and ancient versions. No universal canon as to one or other can be given.

In like manner the *Ittur Sopherim*, *Tikkun Sopherim*, and the *puncta extraordinaria*, are of a critical nature, referring to revisions or traces of revision, *i. e.* to various readings, a circumstance denied in vain by Keil.

The use of the Masorah may be illustrated by two examples. In Isa. ix. 2. we read לֹא לְךָ; *thou hast not increased the joy*. But the *k'ri* has לְךָ *for him or it*, referring to גֵּוֹ. This latter is confirmed by above twenty MSS., the LXX., Syriac, and Chaldee, and is alone accordant with the sense. Again, in Psalm c. 3. we read וְלֹא אֲנַחְנוּ, *and not we ourselves*. The *k'ri* has וְלֹא instead of וְלֹא, which is confirmed by many MSS., by the Chaldee and Jerome. It yields too a much better sense. Hence it should be adopted as the true reading. It is much to be regretted, that the earlier and later revisions of the Jews in the Masorah are so mixed up together as to be incapable of separation. The printed Masorah too, and the unprinted MSS., differ, as has been exemplified by Nagel¹ and Schiede.² This indeed is the result of old Masoretic and new Masoretic criticisms. On the whole, the Masorah has not been employed in criticism so much as it ought to have been. Kennicott depreciated it. Yet the age of the readings it recommends goes up much nearer to the originals than the oldest of Kennicott's MSS. And what serves to enhance their value is the fact, that they agree for the most part with the Hebrew text of Origen and Jerome, in opposition to the readings of our modern codices. Aquila too, who lived earlier than either, usually harmonises with the critical notes of the Masorah. It should therefore not be despised, as it has been by those who look merely at the puerile and trifling side of it.

CHAP. XXVI.

CRITICAL CONJECTURE.

It is now admitted by almost all capable of forming a proper judgment in the department of Old Testament criticism, that critical

¹ *Dissertatio de Codd. Biblioth. Norimberg*, p. 11.

² *Observationum Sacrarum Biga*, p. 190.

conjecture must be occasionally resorted to. The step is unavoidable. In consequence of the paucity and youth of all Hebrew MSS., the uncritical state in which the oldest and best versions are found, and of the comparative poverty of external evidence as a whole, added to the great extent of the Old Testament books and the remote times from which they have been handed down, the necessity of applying critical conjecture in the case of the Old Testament becomes apparent. Yet it should be used sparingly. It need not indeed be otherwise employed. The only rule respecting its application is, when a *pressing necessity arises* let it be adopted. But what is meant by a *pressing or urgent necessity*? In cases where the existing text yields no meaning, or a meaning contradictory and absurd, external testimony supplying no remedy, conjecture is applicable.

There is one very difficult question respecting its employment, which cannot be solved in a manner satisfactory to all. It is well known that various contradictions occur in the books of the Old Testament. This is especially the case in some historical books, as in Kings and Chronicles compared with one another. Real discrepancies occur in numbers. They are also found in the narration of historical events. In the departments of chronology, geography, and history, these phenomena are most observable. Whatever ingenuity has been employed in trying to remove them entirely from the common text, they refuse to be fairly eliminated from it. Are we then to apply critical conjecture to these cases, and bring them into harmony by its aid? Or, are we to suppose that even in them the Masorah has preserved the original reading? The answer to these questions involves ulterior considerations, affecting the canonical authority and inspiration of the Scriptures. Those who hold that *such inspiration* belonged to all the books, historical as well as more directly theological or devotional, as *implied infallibility*, will naturally maintain that all real discrepancies in them must be removed; if not with the aid of external testimony, by that of conjecture. They consider it derogatory to the sacred authors to allow their writings to be disfigured by absolute contradictions. The authors were inspired, and were therefore, they say, *infallible* in whatever they wrote under that divine influence. All the writers were inspired, no matter what the subject they touched upon, be it history, chronology, or any collateral topic; and therefore they could neither contradict themselves nor one another. Those again who hold that inspiration need not be extended to topics not religious or moral—who limit it to *the moral and religious* alone—will naturally be less solicitous about the application of conjecture for the removal of *historical or chronological* contradictions. They think it quite possible that the writers may have erred in these matters, without ever erring in higher topics; that their inspiration extended to the one department merely, not to the other. To discuss the question at issue between the two parties does not belong to our province. We shall leave the matter undecided. All that we are inclined to assert at present is, that in the ordinary Masoretic text there are *some* contradictions which in our opinion could not have proceeded from the

original writers. They are so glaring and obvious as to induce the belief that they owe their existence to later causes. And they can be so easily accounted for, from the confounding of similar letters used as numerals, that we hold them fit subjects for conjecture. It is in our view a disgraceful thing that they have been allowed to disfigure the text so long; for surely the Masorah was not infallible, and did not hand down to us a text perfectly correct. There is thus scope for critical conjecture, because in the cases we refer to no external testimony comes in to relieve the difficulty. But whether *all* contradictions should be removed in the same manner, is a point we do not undertake to settle. At present we are disinclined to apply the remedy to all. Historical annalists and compilers, like the writers of Kings and Chronicles, may possibly have made mistakes in times, dates, and circumstances. Perhaps they were not infallibly guided in such subordinate matters. If they were not, as is most probable, they were guilty of occasional mistakes; and one contradicted himself or another here and there. Thus we apply critical conjecture in the case of *some* contradictory passages, not all. We apply it in the case of *some* places that yield no sense, not *all*. What these cases are must be left to one's own judgment. They must be determined each one by itself, according to its nature, appearance, and concomitant circumstances.

It is matter of regret, that conjecture has been abused by so many. The temperament of some critics leads them to indulge in it. They are apt to suppose that the text is corrupt where it is not so; and finding no various reading in it, they immediately resort to their favourite expedient. This has induced others who entertain greater reverence for the written word to eschew the use of so hazardous an expedient even in places where it should undoubtedly be employed. Their feelings react strongly against the unwarrantable licence in which so many have indulged, and they run to an opposite extreme which causes them to do violence to the natural interpretation in certain instances. We need not allude to the improper use of conjecture by Cappell, Kennicott, Lowth, Houbigant, Geddes, Hitzig, and others; nor to the absolute integrity maintained by Buxtorf, Glassius, Carpzov, and so many of the older Protestant critics. The views adopted and followed by both parties are well known.

It will serve, perhaps, to lessen the prejudices of some when they are informed that the Jews themselves hazarded such conjectures. The Masoretes occasionally put in the margin סְבִירִין *sbirin*, which expressed their opinion of what ought to be read in certain cases.

We shall first give a few examples of the abuse of critical conjecture, and afterwards of its legitimate application.

In Ps. lxxxiv. 6. the word מַסְלוֹת, rendered *ways*, does not please Hitzig; and therefore he is disposed to change it into מַעֲלוֹת, meaning *journeys* to the festivals at Jerusalem. But the former yields a good and suitable sense.

In Ps. xxxii. 7. the word רָנִי is rejected by Teller and many others as unsuitable. But it yields a good sense, and is not contrary to other modes of expression.

In Isa. xxx. 32. occurs the expression מטה מוסרה, which Le Clerc, Lowth, Bauer, and others, would change into מטה מוסרה, *staff of correction*. But the sense of the common expression is obvious enough, *staff of grounding, chastisement of determination, determined or appointed punishment*.

In Isa. xl. 7. the second number of the verse אכן הציר העם is supposed to be a marginal gloss by Koppe, Eichhorn, Gesenius, and Hitzig. But for this there is no good reason. The verse reads better with than without the clause.

On the other hand, the following conjectures appear to be required by the sense and connection. In Ex. xvii. 16. גם should be גמ. The word occurs nowhere else, and is usually considered equivalent to כסא, *throne*. But that does not yield a suitable sense; whereas גמ is in harmony with the context, especially verse 15., so that Moses in it refers to the name just given to the altar, as is usual. Comp. Gen. xvi. 13.

In 2 Kings, xv. 27. Pekah is said to have reigned *twenty* years. But this is inconsistent with xv. 33., and also with xvii. 1. Hence we should probably read *thirty* years, which agrees perfectly with all the other notices relating to his reign. ל as a numeral was abridged into ג, and hence the mistake arose. In 2 Kings, i. 13. stands שלשים, which embarrasses the sense, since it cannot be translated with De Wette, *for the third time*, nor can it be rendered *the third* fifty. It ought to be שליש, *a third*, which reading is supported by אחר in verse 11., and השלישי in the immediate context.

In every case of critical conjecture, the best guide is the *usus loquendi* of the writer and the nature of the place supposed to be corrupt. If the origin of the mistake can be readily accounted for, the proposed remedy will be the more probable. If the conjectural reading would easily have given occasion to the present one, it is all the more likely to have been at first in the text. It is understood, of course, that the division of words may be changed, or the vowel points altered. Critical conjecture scarcely includes such trifling things, because both division of words and the vowels were of later origin than the writers themselves. It concerns the changing of a word or words for others, the alteration of letters, addition, omission, or transposition, with reference to something at present existing in the text. We would earnestly inculcate on every critic, especially every tyro, the need of caution in meddling with the text. It is not often corrupt; far less than many good scholars have supposed. If it be considered necessary to rectify the text where external means fail, let a thorough acquaintance with the Hebrew language be an indispensable qualification in the man who undertakes the task. Even Houbigant saw and asserted this, though he himself not being furnished with the knowledge of Hebrew recommended, fell into countless errors.

CHAP. XXVII.

APPLICATION OF THE SOURCES OF CRITICISM.

WHEN the sources of criticism are divided in their testimony, as they usually are, the first thing is to adjust the external witnesses with a view to ascertain the amount of their united evidence. To what form of the text do they incline as a whole; and how strongly? We have next to look to the internal evidence. Which reading is most favoured by it? In judging of external evidence, the critic looks at the number of witnesses supporting a reading, their critical character, their age, their independence of one another.

The following rules are taken from Davidson's *Biblical Criticism*:—

“1. A reading found in all critical documents is commonly the right or original one.

“2. When the Masoretic text deviates from the other critical documents, and when these documents agree in their testimony quite independently of one another, the reading of the latter is preferable.

“3. If the documents disagree in testimony, the usual reading of the Masoretic text should be preferred, even though a majority of the Hebrew MSS. collated cannot be quoted in its favour.

“4. A reading found in the Masoretic text alone, or in the sources of evidence alone, independently of the Masoretic text, is suspicious.

“5. If the MSS. of the original text disagree with one another, *number* does not give the greater weight; but other things, such as age, country, &c., aided by internal grounds.

“6. The more difficult reading is generally preferable to the easier one.

“7. A reading more consonant with the context, with the design and style of the writer, and with the parallelism in prophetic and poetical books, is preferable.

“8. Every reading apparently false, vicious, absurd, containing a contradiction, is not on that account actually incorrect.

“9. It is possible that a reading which has no more than one or two witnesses in its favour, if it be intrinsically good, may be worthy of adoption.

“10. It is possible that, in some places, the true reading may be preserved in none of the sources. If there be strong reasons for thinking so, critical conjecture should be resorted to.”¹

¹ *Bib. Crit.* vol. i. pp. 386, 387.

CHAP. XXVIII.

TABLES OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

THE texts from which these selections have been made are that of Van der Hooght for the Hebrew; that of Tischendorf for the Septuagint, taken from the Vatican Codex; and that of Lachmann's larger edition for the New Testament. The English of the Septuagint is from Brenton's translation. The English of the Hebrew and of the Greek Testament is from the authorised version. In a few instances the English of Brenton and that of the New Testament have been altered.

(1.) Is. vii. 14.

Ἴδου ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσει τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ.

Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb, and shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel.

Matt. i. 23.

[Ἴνα πληρωθῇ τὸ βῆθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος·] Ἴδου ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ.

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying,] Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel.

Is. vii. 14.

הִנֵּה הָעַלְמָה הַקְּרוּהָ וְיָלְדָה בֵּן וְקָרָאתָ שְׁמוֹ עִמָּנוּאֵל :

Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel.

(2.) Micah, v. 2.

Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ οἴκος Ἐφραθά, ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

And thou, Bethleem, house of Ephratha, art few in number to be reckoned among the thousands of Juda; yet out of thee shall one come forth to me, to be a ruler of Israel.

Matt. ii. 6.

[Γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου·] Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγεύμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραὴλ.

[It is written by the prophet,] And thou Bethlechem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a governor that shall rule my people Israel.

Micah, v. 2.

וְאַתָּה בֵּית־לְחֶם אֶפְרַתָּה קְטַנָּה עֵינַי לְהַיּוֹת בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה כְּמִנְיַד לִי יֵצֵא לְהַיּוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל :

But thou, Beth-lehem Ephrata, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel.

¹ This quotation agrees very nearly with the LXX.

² Here the evangelist agrees neither with the Hebrew nor the LXX., but follows his own manner freely. The discrepancy, caused by the insertion of the negative οὐδαμῶς in Matthew, between the Gospel and the Hebrew as well as the LXX., is best removed by inserting *though* in the Hebrew, as our translators have done. This is preferable to the method of Grotius, who reads the Hebrew and LXX. interrogatively, *art thou too little &c.*, an expedient favoured by the Syriac version, and by D. in Matthew, which has *μή* interrogative instead of οὐδαμῶς. Palfrey (The Relation between Judaism and Christianity, p. 34.) errs in thinking that the reference in the original is not to the place of Messiah's birth, but to the origin of his family. It is obvious that ἐξελεύσεται means *birth*; and that the corresponding מוֹשֵׁל has the same sense is proved by Gen. xvii. 6., compared with Heb. vii. 5. See Meyer on the passage.

(3.) Hosea, xi. 1.

Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.

Out of Egypt have I called his children.

Matt. ii. 15.

[ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐπὶ κυρίῳ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, λέγοντος.] Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying,] Out of Egypt have I called my son.

Hosca, xi. 1.

וּמִצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי לְבָנִי :

And called my son out of Egypt.

(4.) Jer. xxxviii. 15.

Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ ἠκούσθη θρήνου καὶ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ ὄδυρμου· Ῥαχὴλ ἀποκλαιομένη οὐκ ἤθελε παύσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῆς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν.

A voice was heard in Rama, of lamentation, and of weeping, and wailing; Rachel would not cease weeping for her children, because they are not.

Matt. ii. 18.

[Τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος.] Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ ἠκούσθη, κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὄδυρμὸς πολὺς, Ῥαχὴλ κλαίουσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν παρακληθῆναι, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν.

[Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying,] In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.

Jer. xxxi. 15.

קוֹל בְּרָמָה נִשְׁמָע נְהִי בְבִי תַמְרוּרִים כְּחַל מִבְּרָרָה עַל־בְּנֵיהָ מֵאֲנָה לְהַנְחֵם עַל־בְּנֵיהָ כִּי אֵינְנָה :

A voice was heard in Rama, lamentation, and bitter weeping: Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.

(5.)

Matt. ii. 23.

[ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν] ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται.

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets,] He shall be called a Nazarene.

Isaiah xi. i.; Zechar. vi. 12., iii, 8.; Jerem. xxiii. 5.; xxxiii. 15.

(6.) Is. xl. 3, &c.

Φωνὴ βοᾶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, Ἔτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, ἐθθείας ποιήτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

³ This is altered from the LXX. and made more conformable to the Hebrew. It is superfluous to refer to the ridiculous notion that the passage is no quotation at all, in accordance with the expression *spoken* by the prophet. It was a *traditionary* prophecy which the prophet *spoke* but did not *write*! An *evasion* of a supposed difficulty is not a *solution* of it.

⁴ This passage is cited neither after the Hebrew nor the Greek exactly. It is wholly improbable to suppose with Randolph (The Prophecies and other Texts cited in the New Testament, compared with the Hebrew Original and with the Septuagint Version, &c., p. 27.) that it might possibly be taken from another Greek translation than the LXX. In exchanging the Greek, the writer comes nearer to the Hebrew.

⁵ Here it is hardly worth while to mention the hypothesis, which is nothing but an evasion of the difficulty, that the evangelist refers to what the prophets *spoke* but did not *write*. He alludes to Isaiah xi. 1. in particular, not to Judges xiii. 5. where Samson is called a Nazarite, as Palfrey thinks. But because he joined with it in his mind other passages where the Messiah is styled *נֶזְרִי* branch, equivalent to *נֶזֶר* shoot, he uses the plural, *by the prophets*. Nazareth had its name *נֶזֶר*, because it was a *feeble twig*, an insignificant place exposed to contempt; and in the fact that Jesus chose that despised place, there was at the same time a fulfilment of the prophecy that he was to be a humble sprout from the stem of Jesse. "There is a truth in this," says Tholuck, "only it seems to us a contracted religious view that seeks in such accidentals a divine intention."—Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament, p. 46., 4th edition.

⁶ This agrees almost verbatim with the LXX.

Matt. iii. 3.

[Ὁ ῥηθεὶς διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος.] Φωνὴ βοᾶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἔτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιείτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.

Is. xl. 3, &c.

קוֹל קוֹרֵא בְּמִדְבָּר פִּנּוּ דְרָגָה יְהִנְזַח יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּעֵרְבָרָה מִסְלֹרָה לְאַלְהֵינוּ :

The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God.

[This is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying,] The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a high-way for our God.

(7.) Deut. viii. 3.

Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ βήματι τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God.

Matt. iv. 4.

[Γέγραπται·] Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ βήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ.

[It is written,] Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Deut. viii. 3.

לֹא עַל-הַלֶּחֶם לִבְדּוֹ יְחִיָּה הָאָדָם כִּי עַל-כָּל-מוֹצֵא פִי-יְהוָה יְחִיָּה הָאָדָם:

Man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.

(8.) Ps. xc. 11, 12.

Ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σου, τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου· ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσί σε, μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὴν πῶδα σου.

For he shall give his angels charge concerning thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up on their hands, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.

Matt. iv. 6.

[Γέγραπται γάρ·] ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σου, καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσιν σε, μή ποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὴν πῶδα σου.

[For it is written,] He shall give his angels charge concerning thee; and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.

Ps. xci. 11, 12.

כִּי מַלְאָכָיו יִצְוֶה לְךָ לְשָׁמְרֶךָ בְּכָל-דְּרָכֶיךָ; עַל-בְּיָמַי יִשְׁאוּנֶךָ בְּיַד-תּוֹגָה בְּאֲבָן לְרַגְלֶךָ:

He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.

(9.) Deut. vi. 16.

Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.

Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

Matt. iv. 7.

[Πάλιν γέγραπται·] Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.

[It is written again,] Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

Deut. vi. 16.

לֹא תִנְסֶוּ אֹת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:

Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God.

(10.) Deut. vi. 13.

Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου φοβήθησιν καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις·

Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

Matt. iv. 10.

[Γέγραπται γάρ·] Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

[For it is written,] Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

Deut. vi. 13.

אֹת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ תִירָא וְאֹתוֹ תַעֲבֹד:

Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him.

(11.) Is. ix. 1, 2.

Ταχὺ ποίει χώρα Ζαβουλῶν, ἢ γῆ Νεφθαλίμ, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν, καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἔθνων. ὁ λαὸς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐν σκό-

Matt. iv. 15, 16.

[Ἴνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος·] Γῆ Ζαβουλῶν καὶ γῆ Νεφθαλείμ, ὁδὸν θαλάσσης πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Γαλιλαία

Is. ix. 1, 2.

בְּעֵת הַרְאִישׁוֹן הַקָּל אֲרָצָה זְבֻלוֹן וְאֲרָצָה נַפְתָּלִי וְהַצַּרְחוֹן הַקְּבִיד רַחֵם אֶפְרַיִם הַיְיָבוֹ

⁷ This is taken from the LXX.

¹¹ The present passage is freely rendered from the Hebrew; but the received version in Isa. viii. 23., ix. 1., is incorrect. It ought to be, "As the former time brought into reproach the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, so the succeeding time brings into honour the way of the sea," &c.

τε, ἴδετε φῶς μέγα· οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν χώρα σκιᾷ θανάτου, φῶς λάμψει ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.

τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκοτίᾳ φῶς εἶδεν μέγα, καὶ τοῖς καθήμενοις ἐν χώρα καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου, φῶς ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς.

אֲלֵלֵי הַגּוֹיִם : הָעַם הַהַלְכִי בְּחֹשֶׁךְ כְּאוֹר אֶזְרֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאֶרֶץ צַלְמוֹת אֶזְרֹל נִגְהַע עַל־הֶם :

Act quickly, O land of Zabulon, land of Nephtholim, and the rest inhabiting the sea coast, and the land beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles. O people walking in darkness, behold a great light! ye that dwell in the region, and shadow of death, a light shall shine upon you.

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias, the prophet, saying,] The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephtholim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light: and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up.

When at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict her by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

(12.) Is. liii. 4.

Ὁὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾷται·

Matt. viii. 17.

[“Ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ρηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος·” Αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβῶστατεν.

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias, the prophet, saying,] Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses.

Is. liii. 4.

אָבֵן הִלְכֵנוּ הוּא נִשָּׂא וּמַכְאִיבֵנו סְבָלָם :

He bears our sins, and is pained for us.

He hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows.

(13.) Hosea, vi. 6.

Ἐλεος θέλω ἢ θυσίαν·

I will have mercy rather than sacrifice.

Matt. ix. 13. (Comp. No. 13.)

[Μάθετε τί ἐστίν·] Ἐλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν.

[Learn what that meaneth,] I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.

Hosea, vi. 6.

כִּי חֶסֶד חֲבַצְתִּי וְלֹא־זֶבַח :

I desired mercy, and not sacrifice.

(14.) Mal. iii. 1.

Ἴδου ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου, καὶ ἐπιστλήσεται ὀδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου·

Behold, I send forth my messenger, and he shall survey the way before me.

Matt. xi. 10.

[Γέγραπται·] Ἴδου [ἐγὼ] ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, καὶ κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου.

[It is written,] Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

Mal. iii. 1.

הִנְנִי שֹׁלֵחַ מַלְאָכִי וּבָנֶה דֶרֶךְ לְפָנָי :

Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me.

(15.) Hosea, vi. 6.

Ἐλεος θέλω ἢ θυσίαν·

I will have mercy rather than sacrifice.

Matt. xii. 7. (See No. 13.)

Ἐλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν.

I will have mercy and not sacrifice.

Hosea, vi. 6.

חֶסֶד חֲבַצְתִּי וְלֹא־זֶבַח :

I desired mercy, and not sacrifice.

¹⁴ This citation agrees neither with the Hebrew nor the LXX.: πρὸ προσώπου σου is inserted; and in it, as well as in ἔμπροσθέν σου, the second person is put, instead of the first in Hebrew. Thus it is represented as an address of God to Messiah. The sense is substantially the same.

(16.) Is. xlii. 1, &c.

Ἰακώβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήψομαι αὐτόν· Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἢ ψυχὴ μου, ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτὸν, κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει, οὐ κεκραζέται οὐδὲ ἀνήσει, οὐδὲ ἀκουσθήσεται ἕως ἢ φωνῇ αὐτοῦ. κάλαμον τεθλασμένον οὐ συντρίψει, καὶ λίνον καπνίζομενον οὐ σθέσει, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀλήθειαν ἐξοίσει κρίσιν. ἀναλάμψει καὶ οὐ θραυσθήσεται, ἕως ἂν θῆ ἔπι τῆς γῆς κρίσιν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἑλπιούσιν.

Jacob is my servant, I will help him: Israel is my chosen, my soul has accepted him. I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up his voice, nor shall his voice be heard without. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench: but he shall bring forth judgment to truth. He shall shine out, and shall not be discouraged, until he have set judgment on the earth: and in his name shall the Gentiles trust.

(17.) Is. vi. 9, &c.

Ἀκοῆ ἀκούετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε. ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδιά τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκάμυσαν, μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶ ἀκούσωσι, καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσι καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ ἰάσωμαι αὐτούς.

Ye shall hear indeed, but ye shall not understand; and ye shall see indeed, but ye shall not perceive. For the

Matt. xii. 18. &c.

[Ἴνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος·] Ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ἠρέτισα, ὃ ἀγαπητός μου ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου· θήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπαγγελεῖ. οὐκ ἔρῃσει οὐδὲ κραυγάζει, οὐδὲ ἀκούσει τις ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις τῆν φωνῆν αὐτοῦ· κάλαμον συντετριμμένον οὐ κατεῖξει καὶ λίνον τυφόμενον οὐ σθέσει, ἕως ἂν ἐκβάλῃ εἰς νίκος τῆν κρίσιν. καὶ τῶ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἑλπιούσιν.

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias, the prophet, saying,] Behold my servant, whom I have chosen; my beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased. I will put my spirit upon him, and he shall shew judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not strive nor cry; neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory. And in his name shall the Gentiles trust.

Matt. xiii. 14, &c.

[Ἀναπληροῦται ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαίου ἡ λέγουσα·] Ἀκοῆ ἀκούετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε. ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδιά τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν [αὐτῶν] βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμυσαν, μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἰάσωμαι αὐτούς.

[And in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith,] By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not under-

Is. xlii. 1, &c.

הו עבדִי אֶת־מִדְבָּרִי בְּחִירִי רָצַתָה נְפִשִׁי בְּתַמִּי רַחֲמֵי עָלָיו מִשְׁפָּט לְגוֹיִם יוֹצִיאָה לֹא יִצְעַק וְלֹא יִשָּׂא וְלֹא יִשְׁמָע בַּחֲוִין קוֹלוֹ: קָנָה רַצוֹן לֹא יִשְׁבֹּר וּפְשָׁתָהּ בְּהָרָה לֹא יִכְנָה לְאֻמֹּת יוֹצִיא מִשְׁפָּט: לֹא יִבְהָה וְלֹא יִרְוֶן עַד־יִשְׁעֵים בְּאָרְצוֹ מִשְׁפָּט וּלְתוֹכָתוֹ אֵיִם יִיחַלוּ:

Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break: and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth. He shall not fail, nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law.

Is. vi. 9, &c.

שְׁמָעוּ וְאַל־תִּבְיֵנוּ וְרֵאוּ וְאַל־תִּדְעוּ: הַשְׁמַן לְבַבְהֶם הִנֵּה וְאִיְנוּ מִהַבְּדָר וְעֵינָיו הִשְׁעוּ פְּתוּרָהּ בְּעֵינָיו וּבְאָזְנָיו יִשְׁמָע וּלְקַבְּוּ בִּין יִשָּׁב וְרָפָה לוֹ:

Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and

¹⁶ This quotation is partly from the LXX. and partly from the original. The only difficulty is in the rendering of Πῶς by εἰς νίκος. De Wette (*Exegetisches Handbuch zum N. T.*) supposes that the evangelist had in his mind, or read as a gloss in the margin, the synonymous Πῶς, which the LXX., agreeing with the Syriac, render by εἰς νίκος, in 2 Sam. ii. 26. and other places.

¹⁷ This passage is cited according to the LXX. The Hebrew agrees in sense, and has not been obscured, as Randolph (p. 29.) thinks, by false pointing.

heart of this people has become gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

stand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive. For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.

make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes: lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.

(18.) Ps. lxxvii. 2.

Ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, φθέγγομαι προβλήματα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.

I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter dark sayings which have been from the beginning.

Matt. xiii. 35.

[Ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος] Ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, ἐρεῦξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς.

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying,] I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.

Ps. lxxviii. 2.

אֶפְתָּחָהּ בְּמִשְׁלָל בִּי אֲבִיאָהּ
חִירוֹת מִיְּמֵי־קֶדֶם :

I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old.

(19.) Ex. xx. 12, & xxi. 16.

Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου, καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου· Ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἢ μητέρα αὐτοῦ τελευτήσῃ θανάτῳ.

Honour thy father and thy mother. He that reviles his father or his mother shall surely die.

Matt. xv. 4.

[Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἶπεν] Τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ Ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτω.

[For God said,] Honour thy father and mother; and he that curseth father or mother, let him die the death.

Ex. xx. 12, & xxi. 17.

כְּבֹד אֶת־אֲבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמְךָ
וּמְקַלְלֵל אָבִיו וְאִמּוֹ מוֹת
וְיָמוֹת :

Honour thy father and thy mother. He that curseth his father or his mother shall surely be put to death.

(20.) Is. xxix. 13.

Ἐγγίξει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσί με, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόθῳ ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· μάτην δὲ σέβονται με, διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας.

This people draw nigh to me with their mouth, and they honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me: but in vain do they worship me, teaching the commandments and doctrines of men.

Matt. xv. 8, 9.

[Ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὧμων Ἡσαΐας λέγων] Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσιν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόθῳ ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.

[Esaiah prophesied of you, saying,] This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.

Is. xxix. 13.

כִּי נִגַּשׁ הָעָם הַזֶּה בִּפְּיוֹ
וּבִשְׂפָתָיו בְּבִדּוֹנִי לִבּוֹ רַחֵק
מִמּוֹנִי וְתִהְיֶה יְרֻחָתָם אֵתִי
מִצִּוֹת אֲנִישִׁים מְלַמְּדֶיהָ :

This people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear towards me is taught by the precept of men.

(21.) Gen. ii. 24.

Ἔνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ

Matt. xix. 5.

[Ἐἶπεν] Ἔνεκα τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα

Gen. ii. 24.

עַל־בּוֹ יַעֲזֹב־אִישׁ אֶת־אָבִיו

²⁰ This citation is made from the LXX., but not exactly. The LXX. mistook וְתִהְיֶה יְרֻחָתָם, and therefore translated ματῆν δέ, which the evangelist follows notwithstanding.

²¹ From the LXX., who inserted *οἱ δύο* for the sake of emphasis.

καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they two shall be one flesh.

(22.) Ex. xx. 12, &c.

Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου.—Οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις·

Honour thy father and thy mother. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not bear false witness.

(23.) Lev. xix. 18.

Καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

And thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

(24.) Zech. ix. 9.

Χαίρε σφόδρα θύγατερ Σιών, κήρυσσε θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔρχεται σοι δίκαιος καὶ σώζων, αὐτὸς πραῦς καὶ ἐπιβεσηκῶς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον.

Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; proclaim it aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, the king is coming to thee, just, and a Saviour: he is meek, and riding on an ass, and a young foal.

(25.) Is. lvi. 7, & Jer. vii. 11.

Ὁ γὰρ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Μὴ σπήλαιον ληστῶν ὁ οἶκος μου οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα μου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ ἐνώπιον ὕμων;

For my house shall be

καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ κολληθήσεται τῇ γυναίκὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

[And said,] For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh.

Matt. xix. 18.

[Τό·] Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα.

Jesus said, Thou shalt do no murder; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; honour thy father and thy mother.

Matt. xix. 19.

[Καὶ·] Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

[And,] Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Matt. xxi. 5.

[Ἔνα πληρωθῆ τὸ βῆθρον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος·] Εἴπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιών Ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι, πραῦς καὶ ἐπιβεσηκῶς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον υἴον ὑποζυγίου.

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying,] Tell ye the daughter of Zion, Behold thy king cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass.

Matt. xxi. 13.

[Γέγραπται·] Ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται, ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ποιεῖτε σπήλαιον ληστῶν.

[It is written,] My house

וְאָתְּאָמוּ וְדָבַק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ וְהָיוּ לְבֶשֶׂת אֶחָד :

Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh.

Ex. xx. 12, &c.

בְּכָר אֶת־אָבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמֶּיךָ : לֹא תִרְצַח : לֹא תִנְאָף : לֹא תִגְנוֹב : לֹא תַעֲנֶה בְּרֵעֶךָ עֵד : שֹׁמֵר :

Honour thy father and thy mother.—Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness.

Lev. xix. 18.

וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמוֹךָ :

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Zech. ix. 9.

גִּילִי מְאֹד בְּתִצִּיּוֹן הַרְעִי בְּתִירוּשָׁלַם הִנֵּה מְלֻכָּךָ יָבוֹא לְךָ צַדִּיק וְנוֹשֵׁעַ הוּא עָנִי וְרַב־עַלְמוֹד וְעַל־עֵיֶר כֶּן־אֲתַנּוֹת :

Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: Behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.

Is. lvi. 7, & Jer. vii. 11.

כִּי בֵיתִי בֵית־תְּפִלָּה יִקְרָא לְכָל־הַעַמִּים : הַקְּשַׁרְתָּ פְרָצִים הִיָּה הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר־יִבְנֶנָּה יִשְׁמִיעֵלָיו בְּגוֹיִם :

Mine house shall be called

²⁴ This is taken from Zech. ix. 9. The Greek was abandoned in some expressions, and the Hebrew more followed. The words εἴπατε—Σιών are prefixed from Isa. lxii. 11.

called a house of prayer for all nations. Is my house, whereon my name is called, a den of robbers in your eyes?

shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.

a house of prayer for all people. Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?

(26.) Ps. viii. 2.

Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον

Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou perfected praise.

Matt. xxi. 16.

[Οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε.] Ὅτι ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον;

[Have ye never read,] Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?

Ps. viii. 2.

מפי עוללים וינקים יסרת

עו :

Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength.

(27.) Ps. exvii. 22, 23.

Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὐτῆ, καὶ ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.

The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner. This has been done of the Lord; and it is wonderful in our eyes.

Matt. xxi. 42.

[Οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς.] Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὐτῆ, καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.

[Did ye never read in the Scriptures,] The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

Ps. exvii. 22, 23.

אָבן מָאָסוּ הַבּוֹנִים הִתְהַלְאֵשׁ כִּפְתֹּחַ הַיְהוָה : מֵאֵת הַיְהוָה הִתְהַלְאֵת הַיָּא נִפְלְאוֹת בְּעֵינֵינוּ :

The stone which the builders refused, is become the head stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes.

(28.) Deut. xxv. 5.

Ἐὰν δὲ κατοικῶσιν ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν, σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ᾗ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἕξω ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι· ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ λήψεται αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναικῆ καὶ συνουήσῃ αὐτῇ.

And if brethren should live together, and one of them should die, and should not have seed, the wife of the deceased shall not marry out of the family to a man not related: her husband's brother shall go in to her, and shall take her to himself for a wife, and shall dwell with her.

Matt. xxii. 24.

[Μωσῆς εἶπεν.] Ἐὰν τις ἀποθάνῃ μὴ ἔχων τέκνα, ἡνα ἐπιγαμβρεύσει ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναστήσει σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.

[Moses said,] If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

Deut. xxv. 5.

כִּי יִשְׁבוּ אַחִים וְהָיוּ וּמָת אֶחָד מֵהֶם וְגַם אִין לוֹ לְאִשׁ תְּהִינָה אִשְׁת־הַיְהוָה הַחַיָּה לְאִישׁ זָר וְבָמָה עָלָה וְלָקְחָהּ לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה וְיָבִימוּ :

If brethren dwell together, and one of them die and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her.

(29.) Ex. iii. 6.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς σου, θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ·

I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaae, and the God of Jacob.

Matt. xxii. 32.

[Οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε τὸ βῆθὲν ὑμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντος.] Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ;

[Have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying,] I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jaecob?

Ex. iii. 6.

אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק וְאֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב :

I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. καὶ ἔλαβον τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς καὶ ἐπέβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον.

Drop them into the furnace, and I will see if it is good metal, as I was proved for their sakes. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them into the furnace in the house of the Lord.

τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τιμημένου, ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως, καθὰ συνέταξέν μοι κύριος.

[Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying.] And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.

וְאֶקְהַר שְׁלֵשִׁים רִבְבָּקָה וְאֶשְׁלִיךְ אֹתוֹ בְּיַד הַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַיְהוָה הַיּוֹצֵר :

Cast it unto the potter: a goodly price that I was prized at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord.

(35.) Ps. xxi. 1.

Ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός μου, πρόσχες μοι. ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με;

O God, my God, attend to me: why hast thou forsaken me?

Matt. xxvii. 46.

Ἠλὶ ἡλὶ λημὰ σαβακθανί; τουτέστιν Θεέ μου θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;

Eli, Eli, lama sabaethani? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

Ps. xxii. 1.

אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי לָמָּה עָזַבְתָּנִי :

My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

(36 & 37.) Mal. iii. 1., and Is. xl. 3.

Ἴδὸν ἐξαποπέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου, καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται ὀδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου.

Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιείτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

Behold, I send forth my messenger, and he shall survey the way before me.

The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God.

Mark i. 2, 3.

[Ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἠσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ.] Ἴδὸν ἀποπέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου. Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιείτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.

[As it is written in the prophet Isaiah.] Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

Mal. iii. 1., and Is. xl. 3.

הֲנִי שֹׁלֵחַ מַלְאָכִי וַיְבַרְכֵהוּ דְבַר לְפָנַי : קוֹל קוֹרֵא בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּנֹגַד דְּבַר יְהוָה וַיִּשְׂרוּ בְעַבְרָתוֹ מִסְלָח לְאַלְהֵינוּ :

Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me.

The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.

ment books, and to Jeremiah standing first in the prophets, maintains that the common reading is correct, because Jeremiah stood at the head of the division from which the evangelist quoted. Others suppose that the mistake arose from a transcriber writing *Ἰερ* instead of *Ζεχ*. Mede and others think that Jeremiah wrote the latter part of the book of Zechariah, and therefore the quotation is correct. We must either adopt this opinion, or suppose that the apostle made a mistake in quoting from memory.

The passage is freely used, so that its form here agrees neither with the Hebrew nor the LXX. Ἐλαβον must be the third person singular, because of ἔδωκαν following. Both the Hebrew and LXX have the first person. It is arbitrary to alter ἔδωκαν into ἔδωκα, and so make both the first person. The words τὴν τιμὴν—Ἰσραὴλ are by no means a good version of the Hebrew אֶרְךָ הַיְהוָה אֶשְׁרֵי יִתְרֵי מַעְלִיָּהוּ.

³⁵ These words are from the Hebrew translated into Chaldee. *Sabaethani* is now in the Targum.

(38.) Is. vi. 9., &c.

Ἄκοῦστέ ἀκούσατε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε. ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκάμμυσαν, μὴ ποτε ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν ἀκούσωσι, καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσι καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ ἰάσωμαι αὐτούς.

Ye shall hear indeed, but ye shall not understand; and ye shall see indeed, but ye shall not perceive. For the heart of this people has become gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

Mark iv. 12.

[Ἴνα] βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν, μὴ ποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφῃθῇ αὐτοῖς [τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.]

[That] seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and [their sins] should be forgiven them.

Is. vi. 9., &c.

שְׁמַעוּ וְאַל-תִּבְיֵנוּ וּרְאוּ וְאַל-תִּדְעוּ: הֲשִׁמּוּ לִבְהִיָּעַם הַנָּה וְאָזְנוֹי הַבְּבֵר וְשִׁינֵי הַשֶּׁעַר וְרֵאָה בְּשִׁינֵי וּבִבְאֲזָנוֹי וְשִׁמְעוּ וְלִבְבוּ יָבִין וְשָׁב וּרְפָא לוֹ:

Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.

(39.) Is. xxix. 13.

Ἐγγίξει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσί με, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας.

This people draw nigh to me with their mouth, and they honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me: but in vain do they worship me, teaching the commandments and doctrines of men.

Mark vii. 6, 7.

[Ὡς γέγραπται:] Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσιν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.

[As it is written,] This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.

Is. xxix. 13.

כִּי נִגַּשׁ הָעָם הַזֶּה בִּפְּוִי וּבִשְׂפָתָיו בְּבִרוּנֵי וּלְבוֹ רֶמֶק כִּמְנוֹי וְתַהִי יִרְאָתָם אֲתִי מִצֹּת אֲנָשִׁים מִלְּמֹדָה:

This people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men.

(40.) Ex. xx. 12., and xxi. 16.

Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου Ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἢ μητέρα αὐτοῦ, τελευτήσει θανάτῳ.

Honour thy father and thy mother. He that reviles his father or his mother shall surely die.

Mark vii. 10.

[Μωυσῆς γὰρ εἶπεν:] Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου, καὶ Ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτω.

[For Moses said,] Honour thy father and thy mother; and, Whoso curseth father or mother, let him die the death.

Ex. xx. 12., and xxi. 17.

בְּבֵר אֶת-אָבִיךָ וְאֶת-אִמְךָ וּמְקַלֵּל אָבִיו וְאִמוֹ מוֹת יוּמָת:

Honour thy father and thy mother. And he that curseth his father or his mother, shall surely be put to death.

(41.) Gen. i. 27.

Ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.

Male and female he made them.

Mark x. 6.

Ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς [ὁ θεός.]

[God] made them male and female.

Gen. i. 27.

זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֹתָם:

Male and female created he them.

(42.) Gen. ii. 24.

Ἐρεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh.

Mark x. 7.

Ἐρεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσκολληθήσεται τῇ γυναίκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh.

Gen. ii. 24.

עַל־כֵּן יַעֲזֹב־אִישׁ אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אִמּוֹ וְיִדְבַק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ וְהָיוּ אֶת־אֶחָד׃

Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh.

(43.) Ex. xx. 12., &c.

Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου.—Οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις·

Honour thy father and thy mother. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not bear false witness.

Mark x. 19.

[Τὰς ἐντολάς οἶδας·] Μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ μοιχεύσης, μὴ κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, μὴ ἀπιστερήσης, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου.

[Thou knowest the commandments,] Do not commit adultery. Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother.

Ex. xx. 12., &c.

כָּבֵד אֶת־אֲבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמְךָ׃ לֹא תִרְצֹחַ׃ לֹא תִגְזֹף׃ לֹא תַעֲבֹד אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים׃ לֹא תִשָּׁקַע עֵד׃

Honour thy father and thy mother.—Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness.

(44.) Is. lvi. 7., and Jer. vii. 11.

Ὁ γὰρ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Μὴ σπήλαιον ληστῶν ὁ οἶκός μου ὃ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν;

For my house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations. Is my house, whereon my name is called, a den of robbers in your eyes?

Mark xi. 17.

[Οὐ γέγραπται·] Ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐποίησατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον ληστῶν.

[Is it not written,] My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.

Is. lvi. 7., and Jer. vii. 11.

כִּי בֵיתִי בֵית־תְּפִלָּה יִקְרָא׃ לְכָל־הָעַמִּים׃ הַמְעַבְדֵת פְּרָצִים׃ הֲיָה הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֶשְׁוֶר־נִקְרָא׃ שְׁמִי־עָלָיו בְּעֵינֵיכֶם׃

For mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people. Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?

(45.) Ps. cxvii. 22, 23.

Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη, καὶ ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.

The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner. This has been done of the Lord; and it is wonderful in our eyes.

Mark xii. 10, 11.

[Οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε·] Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.

[Have ye not read this Scripture,] The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner: This was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?

Ps. cxviii 22, 23.

אֶבֶן מָאָסוֹם הַבְּנוִים הִיְתָה׃ לְרֵאשִׁית פִּנְיָה׃ מַאֲרַת יְהוָה הִיְתָה וְזֹאת הָיְתָה נִפְלְאוֹת׃ בְּעֵינֵינוּ׃

The stone which the builders refused, is become the head stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes.

(46.) Deut. xxv. 5.

Ἐὰν δὲ κατοικῶσιν ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν, σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ᾖ αὐτῷ,

Mark xii. 19.

[Μωσῆς ἐγράψεν ἡμῖν,] ὅτι ἐὰν τινος ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ καὶ καταλίπῃ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα μὴ

Deut. xxv. 5.

בְּיַשְׁבּוּ אַחִים יְתָדוּ וְגַם אַחֵר מֵהֶם וְגַם אֵינְלּוּ לֹא־

οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἕξω ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ λήψεται αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναικῆ καὶ συνοικήσει αὐτῇ.

ἀφ᾽ ἧ, ἵνα λάβῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.

תְּהִי אִשְׁת־תְּמוּת הַחַיָּה לְאִשׁוֹ וְיָבֵא יְבָמָהּ וְיִשְׁכַּב עִיָּהּ וְיִלְדָה לָּו לְאִשְׁתֵּי יְבָמָהּ :

And if brethren should live together, and one of them should die, and should not have seed, the wife of the deceased shall not marry out of the family to a man not related : her husband's brother shall go in to her, and shall take her to himself for a wife, and shall dwell with her.

[Moses wrote unto us,] If a man's brother die, and leave his wife behind him, and leave no children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

If brethren dwell together, and one of them die and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her.

(47.) Ex. iii. 6.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς σου, θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ.

Mark xii. 26.

[Οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωυσέως ἐπὶ τοῦ βᾶτου] Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ ;

Ex. iii. 6.

אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק וְאֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב :

I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

[Have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the bush-section,] I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?

I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

(48.) Deut. vi. 4, 5.

Ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστὶν καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου.

Mark xii. 29, 30.

[Πρώτη πάντων [ἐντολή ἐστίν]] Ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστίν, καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου.

Deut. vi. 4, 5.

שמע ישראל יהוה אחד יהוה אחד : וְאַהַבְתָּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶׁךָ וּבְכָל־מְאֹדְךָ :

Hear, O Israel, The Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.

[The first of all the commandments is,] Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord: And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.

Hear, O Israel, The Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.

(49.) Lev. xix. 18.

Καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

And thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Mark xii. 31.

[Δευτέρα ὁμοία αὐτῇ] Ἄγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

[The second is like unto it,] Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Lev. xix. 18.

וְאַהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ כָּמוֹךָ :

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

(50.) Ps. cix. 1.

Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand,

Mark xii. 36.

[Δαυεὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ] Εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

[David said by the Holy Ghost,] The Lord said unto

Ps. cx. 1.

נָשָׂב יְהוָה לְאַדְנִי יְשָׁב לְיָמֵי עַד־אַשִׁית אֲנִי־יְדָרְךָ יְהוָה : לְבִינְיָדְךָ :

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right

until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool.

hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

(51.) Zeeh. xiii. 7.

Πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα.

Smite the shepherds and draw out the sheep.

Mark xiv. 27.

[Ἐγράφται·] Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα.

[It is written,] I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.

Zeeh. xiii. 7.

הַ אֶת־הַרְעָה וְתַפּוּצֶינָהּ

: הַצֹּאֵן

Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.

(52.) Is. liii. 12.

Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη.

And he was numbered among the transgressors.

Mark xv. 28.

[Ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφή ἢ λέγουσα·] Καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη.

[The Scripture was fulfilled, which saith,] And he was numbered with the transgressors.

Is. liii. 12.

וְאֶת־בְּשָׂעִים נִמְנָה

And he was numbered with the transgressors.

(53.) Ps. xxi. 2.

Ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός μου, πρόσχες μοι, ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με ;

O God, my God, attend to me: why hast thou forsaken me?

Mark xv. 34.

Ἐλωὶ ἔλωὶ λέμὰ σαβαχθανὶ ; ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον Ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με ;

Eloi, Eloi, lama sabaethani, which is, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

Ps. xxii. 1.

אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי לָמָּה עֲזַבְתָּנִי

My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me?

(54.) Mal. iv. 4, 5.

Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστελῶ ὑμῖν Ἡλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην πρὶν ἔλθειν τὴν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ, ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ·

And, behold, I will send to you Elias the Thesbite, before the great and glorious day of the Lord comes; who shall turn again the heart of the father to the son, and the heart of a man to his neighbour.

Luke i. 17.

Καὶ αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἡλίου, ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίαν πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα, καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων·

And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just.

Mal. iv. 5, 6.

הֲגַה אֲנִי שְׁלַח לְכֶם אֶת אֵלֶיָּה הַנְּבִיא לְפָנַי בּוֹא יוֹם יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא : וְהַשִּׁיב לִב־אֲבוֹת עַל־בָּנִים וְלִב בָּנִים עַל־אֲבוֹתָם :

Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers.

(55.) Ex. xiii. 2.

Ἀγιάσον μοι πᾶν πρωτότοκον πρωτογενὲς διανοῖγον πάσαν μήτραν.

Sanctify to me every first-born, first produced, opening every womb.

Luke ii. 23.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου] ὅτι πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ κληθήσεται.

[As it is written in the law of the Lord,] Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord.

Ex. xiii. 2.

קְדַשְׁתִּי לִי כָל־בְּכוֹר

: קְדַהֲמָם :

Sanctify unto me all the first-born, whatsoever openeth the womb.

(56.) Lev. xii. 8.

Δύο τρυγόνας ἢ δύο νοσσοῦς περιστερῶν·

Two turtle-doves or two young pigeons.

Luke ii. 24.

[Κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου,] ζεύγος τρυγόνων ἢ δύο νοσσοῦς περιστερῶν.

[According to that which is said in the law of the Lord,] A pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons.

Lev. xii. 8.

שְׁתֵּי-תְרִים אִוּ יִגְי בְּגִי יִזְנָה :
קול קורא בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּגִי
יְהוָה יִזְנֶה יְשָׁרוֹ בְּעֵבֶר
כְּסִלָּה לְאַלְהֵינוּ : כָּל-גִּיא
יִשְׁעָה וְכָל-הָרַחֵק וְיִשְׁפְּלוּ
וְהָיָה הַעֲקֵב לְמִישׁוֹר
וְהָרְבִים לְבִקְעָה : וְגִלְגָּלָה
בְּכֹד יִהְיֶה וְכֹאֵו כָּל-בְּשָׂר
: יִהְיֶה :

Two turtles, or two young pigeons.

(57.) Is. xl. 3, 4, 5.

Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιήτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται, καὶ πᾶν ὕρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται. καὶ ἔσται πάντα τὰ σκολιά εἰς εὐθείαν, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα εἰς πεδία, καὶ ὀψήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου, καὶ ὕψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.

The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low: and all the crooked ways shall become straight, and the rough places plain. And the glory of the Lord shall appear, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

Luke iii. 4, 5, 6.

[Ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἠσαίου τοῦ προφήτου] Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἔτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιήτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ· πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται καὶ πᾶν ὕρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ἔσται τὰ σκολιά εἰς εὐθείας καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας, καὶ ὕψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.

[As it is written in the book of the words of Esaias the prophet, saying,] The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

Is. xl. 3, 4, 5.

קול קורא בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּגִי
יְהוָה יִזְנֶה יְשָׁרוֹ בְּעֵבֶר
כְּסִלָּה לְאַלְהֵינוּ : כָּל-גִּיא
יִשְׁעָה וְכָל-הָרַחֵק וְיִשְׁפְּלוּ
וְהָיָה הַעֲקֵב לְמִישׁוֹר
וְהָרְבִים לְבִקְעָה : וְגִלְגָּלָה
בְּכֹד יִהְיֶה וְכֹאֵו כָּל-בְּשָׂר
: יִהְיֶה :

The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness. Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a high-way for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

(58.) Deut. viii. 3.

Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ βήματι τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God shall man live.

Luke iv. 4.

[Γέγραπται·] ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ βήματι θεοῦ.

[It is written.] That man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God.

Deut. viii. 3.

לֹא עַל-לֶחֶם לָבֵדוּ יְהוָה
הָאָדָם בִּי עַל-כָּל-מוֹצֵא פִי
: יְהוָה יְהוָה הָאָדָם :

Man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.

(59.) Deut. vi. 13.

Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου φοθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

Luke iv. 8.

[Γέγραπται·] Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

[It is written,] Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

Deut. vi. 13.

אֶת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ תִירָא
: וְאֵתוֹ תַעֲבֹד :

Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him.

⁵⁷ This is freely from the LXX. Why they have τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ for יְהוָה it is not easy to tell. Dr. H. Owen suspects that they had a different word in their copy, but this is unlikely (The Modes of Quotation, &c. pp. 22, 23). We suppose the phrase to be an addition to the Hebrew, the translators omitting the adverb.

(60.) Ps. xc. 11, 12.

Ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου. ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσίᾳ σε, μὴ ποτε προσκώψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.

For he shall give his angels charge concerning thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up on their hands, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.

Luke iv. 10, 11.

[Γέγραπται γάρ] ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ, τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσίᾳ σε, μὴ ποτε προσκώψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.

[For it is written,] He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee. And in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.

Ps. xci. 11, 12.

כִּי כֹל־קַיָּוִי יִצְנֶה־ךָ לְשִׁמְרֶךָ בְּכָל־דְּרָכֶיךָ : עַל־כַּפְּיָם יִשְׂאוּנֶךָ בְּיָמֶיךָ בְּאֶרֶץ־לִיֶּתֶד :

For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.

(61.) Deut. vi. 16.

Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου

Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

Luke iv. 12. (Comp. No. 8.)

[Εἶρηται] Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.

[It is said,] Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

Deut. vi. 16.

לֹא תִסְתָּוּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ :

Yc shall not tempt the Lord your God.

(62.) Is. lxi. 1, 2.

Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ ἐνεκεν ἔχρισέ με εὐαγγελισασθαι πτωχοῖς, ἀπέσταλκε με ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν, κηρῦξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεςιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, καλέσαι ἑνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me; he has sent me to preach glad tidings to the poor, to heal the broken in heart, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind; to declare the acceptable year of the Lord.

Luke iv. 18, 19.

[Ἦν γεγραμμένον] Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ ἐνεκεν ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελισασθαι πτωχοῖς, ἀπέσταλκεν με [ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν,] κηρῦξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεςιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἄφεσει, κηρῦξαι ἑνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν.

[It was written,] The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me [to heal the broken-hearted] to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

Is. lxi. 1, 2.

רוּחַ יְהוָה אָדָּנִי יְהוָה עָלַי יְעֹן קִישָׁח יְהוָה אֹתִי לְבַשׂוּר עֲנָוִים יְשַׁלְּחֵנִי לְחַבֵּשׁ לְגַשְׁבֵּרֵי־לֵב לְקַרְאֵם לְשִׁבוּעַם דְּרוּר וְלְאִסְרוֹתֵם בְּקַח־קוֹחַ : לְקַרְאֵם יַשְׁתַּדְּרֻן לַיהוָה :

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

(63.) Mal. iii. 1.

Ἴδού ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου, καὶ ἐπισιέσεται ὀδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου.

Behold, I send forth my

Luke vii. 27.

[Γέγραπται] Ἴδού ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὅς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου ἐμπροσθέν σου.

[It is written,] Behold, I

Mal. iii. 1.

הִנְנִי שֹׁלְחַם מַלְאָכִי וּבִפְנֵהוּ יֵרֶד לְפָנָי :

Behold, I will send my

⁶² This passage is from the LXX., but not at all exactly. The words ἰάσασθαι—τὴν καρδίαν, according to ancient evidence, should be expunged from the text: ἀποστεῖλαι—ἀφέσει are from Isa. lviii. 6. Instead of the Hebrew בְּקַח־קוֹחַ לְאִסְרוֹתֵם, to the prisoners the opening of the prison, the LXX. have τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, recovery of sight to the blind, which the evangelist follows, though it is not a right translation. There is not the least ground for conjecturing that the Hebrew contained more than we now find in the MSS. and printed editions, as some have supposed.

messenger, and he shall sur-
vey the way before me.

send my messenger before
thy face, which shall prepare
thy way before thee.

messenger, and he shall pre-
pare the way before me.

(64.) Is. vi. 9., &c.

Ἀκοῆν ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ
συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε
καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε. ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ
ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ
τοῖς ὠσίν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκου-
σαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκάμ-
μυσαν, μὴ ποτε ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφ-
θαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν ἀκούσωσι,
καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσι καὶ ἐπι-
στρέψωσι, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

Ye shall hear indeed, but
ye shall not understand; and
ye shall see indeed, but ye
shall not perceive. For the
heart of this people has be-
come gross, and their ears
are dull of hearing, and their
eyes have they closed; lest
they should see with their
eyes, and hear with their
ears, and understand with
their heart, and be converted,
and I should heal them.

Luke viii. 10.

Ἴνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν
καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνιῶσιν.

That seeing they might
not see, and hearing they
might not understand.

Is. vi. 9.

שָׁמְעוּ וְשָׁמְעוּ וְאֵל
תִּבְנֶנּוּ וְרָאוּ וְרָאוּ וְאֵל-תִּדְרְעוּ :

Hear ye indeed, but under-
stand not; and see ye indeed,
but perceive not.

(65.) Deut. vi. 5.; Lev. xix.
18.

Καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν
θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας
σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου
καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου.

Καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον
σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.

And thou shalt love the
Lord thy God with all thy
mind, and with all thy soul,
and all thy strength.

And thou shalt love thy
neighbour as thyself.

Luke x. 27.

Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν
σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου
καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ
ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ
τῇ διανοίᾳ σου, καὶ τὸν πλη-
σίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.

Thou shalt love the Lord
thy God with all thy heart,
and with all thy soul, and
with all thy strength, and
with all thy mind; and thy
neighbour as thyself.

Deut. vi. 5.; Lev. xix. 18.

וְאָהַבְתָּ אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
בְּכָל-לִבְּךָ וּבְכָל-נַפְשְׁךָ
וּבְכָל-מְאֹדֶךָ :

וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמוֹךָ :

And thou shalt love the
Lord thy God with all thine
heart, and with all thy soul,
and with all thy might.

Thou shalt love thy neigh-
bour as thyself.

(66.) Exod. xx. 12., &c.

τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ
τὴν μητέρα σου.—Οὐ μοιχεύ-
σεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ φονεύσεις·
οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις·

Honour thy father and thy
mother. Thou shalt not
commit adultery. Thou shalt
not steal. Thou shalt not
kill. Thou shalt not bear
false witness.

Luke xviii. 20.

[Τὰς ἐντολάς οἶδας,] Μὴ
μοιχεύσης, μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ
κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης,
τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν
μητέρα.

[Thou knowest the com-
mandments.] Do not com-
mit adultery, Do not kill,
Do not steal, Do not bear
false witness, Honour thy
father and mother.

Ex. xx. 12., &c.

כְּבֹד אֶת-אָבִיךָ וְאֶת-אִמְּךָ
—לֹא תִרְצֹחַ : לֹא תִנְאָף :
לֹא תִגְנוֹב : לֹא תַעֲנֶה בְרֵעֶךָ
עַר שָׁקֵר :

Honour thy father and thy
mother.—Thou shalt not kill.
Thou shalt not commit adul-
tery. Thou shalt not steal.
Thou shalt not bear false
witness against thy neigh-
bour.

(67.) Is. lvi. 7., and Jer. vii. 11.

Ὁ γὰρ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Μὴ σπῆλαιον ληστῶν ὁ οἶκος μου οὐδ' ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν;

For my house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations. Is my house, whereon my name is called, a den of robbers in your eyes?

Luke xix. 46.

[Γέγραπται·] ὅτι ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς ἐστίν· ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατε σπήλαιον ληστῶν.

[It is written,] My house is the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.

Is. lvi. 7., and Jer. vii. 11.

כִּי בֵיתִי בֵית־תְּפִלָּה יִקְרָא
לְכָל־הָעַמִּים : הַמְעַבְרַת בְּרָצִים
הִנֵּה הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא
שְׁמִי עָלָיו בְּעֵינֵיכֶם :

For mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people. Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?

(68.) Ps. cxvii. 22, 23.

Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner.

Luke xx. 17.

[Τί οὖν ἐστὶν τὸ γεγραμμένον τούτου;] Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

[What is this then that is written,] The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?

Ps. cxviii. 22.

אֲבֹן מַאֲסוֹ הַבּוֹגִים הִתְהַוָּה
לְרֹאשׁ פֶּנֶה :

The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner.

(69.) Deut. xxv. 5.

Ἐὰν δὲ κατοικῶσιν ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν, σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ἦ αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ τεθνήσκοντος ἕξω ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι. ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ λήψεται αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναικῆ καὶ συνοικήσει αὐτῇ.

And if brethren should live together, and one of them should die, and should not have seed, the wife of the deceased shall not marry out of the family to a man not related: her husband's brother shall go in to her, and shall take her to himself for a wife, and shall dwell with her.

Luke xx. 28.

[Μωσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν,] ἔάν τινος ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ ἔχων γυναῖκα, καὶ οὗτος ἄτεκνος ἦ, ἴνα λάθῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.

[Moses wrote unto us,] If any man's brother die, having a wife, and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

Deut. xxv. 5.

בְּיַשְׁבוּ אַחִים יְהוּד וּמַת
אחד מהם וגו' אינלו לֹא
תהיה אשת־המת החוּצָה
לְאִישׁ זָר וּבָמָה יבֹא עָלֶיהָ
וּלְקַחְתָּ לָּהּ אִשָּׁה וּבְמָה :

If brethren dwell together, and one of them die and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her.

(70.) Ps. cix. 1.

Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν δῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

Luke xx. 42, 43.

[Δαυεὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν ψαλμῶν] Εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν δῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου;

[David saith in the book of Psalms,] The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool.

Ps. cx. 1.

נָאִם יְהוָה לְאֹדְנִי שֵׁב
יְמִינִי עַד־אֲשִׁית אֲנִי־ךָ
יָרֵם לְרַגְלֶיךָ :

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

(71.) Is. liii. 12.

Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη·

And he was numbered among the transgressors.

Luke xxii. 37.

[Τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι·] ὅτι καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη.

[This that is written must be accomplished,] And he was reckoned among the transgressors.

Is. liii. 12.

: אֶת־שִׁשִּׁים וְנִקְוָה :

And he was numbered with the transgressors.

(72.) Ps. xxx. 6.

Εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

Into thine hands will I commit my spirit.

Luke xxiii. 46.

Εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

Into thy hands I commend my spirit.

Ps. xxxi. 5.

: בְּיַדְךָ אֶפְקִיד רִיחִי :

Into thine hand I commit my spirit.

(73.) Is. xl. 3.

Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιήτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God.

John i. 23.

[Καθὼς εἶπεν Ἡσαίας ὁ προφήτης·] Ἐγὼ φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, εὐθύνετε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου.

[As said the prophet Esaias,] I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord.

Is. xl. 3.

קוֹל קוֹרֵא בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים יְהִי הַדֶּרֶךְ יְשָׁרָה לְפָנֵינוּ

The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a high-way for our God.

(74.) Ps. lxxviii. 10.

Ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου κατέφαγέ με·

The zeal of thine house has eaten me up.

John ii. 17.

[Γεγραμμένον ἐστίν·] Ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου καταφάγεταί με.

[It is written,] The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.

Ps. lxi. 10.

: בֵּי־קִנְיָאֵת בֵּיתְךָ אֶכְלָתֵנִי :

For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.

(75.) Ps. lxxvii. 24.

Καὶ ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς.

And gave them the bread of heaven.

John vi. 31.

[Καθὼς ἐστιν γεγραμμένον·] Ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν.

[As it is written,] He gave them bread from heaven to eat.

Ps. lxxviii. 24.

: וַיִּגְדַּן־שָׁמַיִם נֶתַן לָמוֹ :

And had given them of the corn of heaven.

(76.) Is. liv. 13.

Καὶ πάντα τοὺς υἱούς σου διδασκούς θεοῦ·

All thy sons to be taught of God.

John vi. 45.

[Ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις·] Καὶ ἔσονται πάντες διδασκτοὶ θεοῦ.

[It is written in the prophets,] And they shall be all taught of God.

Is. liv. 13.

: וְכָל־בְּנֵיךָ לְמוֹדֵי יְהוָה :

And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord.

(77.) —

John vii. 38.

Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, [καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή,] ποταμοὶ ἐκ

⁷⁷ The original of this citation must be sought in various places, as Isa. lv. 1., lviii. 11., xlv. 3. The formula, as the Scripture saith, does not imply that one place is formally quoted. It here refers to the general tenor or spirit of various places. Whether Joel iii. 23., Zech. xiv. 8., Ezek. xlvi. 1. 12. be of the number is questionable.—See my Sacred Hermeneutics, pp. 374, 375.

τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ βέβουσαν
ὕδατος ζῶντος.

He that believeth on me,
[as the Scripture hath said,]
out of his belly shall flow
rivers of living water.

(78.) Deut. xix. 15.

Ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων
καὶ ἐπὶ στόματος τριῶν μαρτύ-
ρων στήσεται πᾶν ῥήμα.

By the mouth of two wit-
nesses, or by the mouth of
three witnesses, shall every
word be established.

(79.) Ps. lxxxi. 6.

Ἐγὼ εἶπα θεοὶ ἐστε·

I have said, Ye are Gods.

(80.) Zech. ix. 9.

Χαῖρε σφόδρα θύγατερ Σιών,
κῆρυσσε θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ·
Ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔρχεται σοὶ
δίκαιος καὶ σώζων, αὐτὸς πραῖς
καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑπόζυγιον
καὶ πῶλον νέον.

Rejoice greatly, O daugh-
ter of Zion; proclaim it a-
loud, O daughter of Jeru-
salem: behold, the King is
coming to thee, just, and a
Saviour: he is meek, and
riding on an ass and a young
foal.

(81.) Is. liii. 1.

Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ
ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίον κυρίου
τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη;

O Lord, who has believed
our report? and to whom
has the arm of the Lord been
revealed?

John viii. 17.

[Ἐν τῷ νόμῳ δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ
γέγραπται·] ὅτι δύο ἀνθρώπων
ἢ μαρτυρία ἀληθῆς ἐστίν.

[It is written in your law.]
That the testimony of two
men is true.

John x. 34.

[Οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν
τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν·] ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶπον
θεοὶ ἐστε;

[Is it not written in your
law,] I said, Ye are gods?

John xii. 14, 15.

[Καθὼς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον·]
Μὴ φοβοῦ, θύγατερ Σιών ἰδοὺ
ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται καθή-
μενος ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου.

[As it is written,] Fear
not, daughter of Zion: be-
hold, thy King cometh sitting
on an ass's colt.

John xii. 38.

[Ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαίου τοῦ
προφήτου πληρωθῇ, ὃν εἶπεν·]
Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ
ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίον κυρίου
τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη;

[That the saying of Esaias
the prophet might be ful-
filled, which he spake,] Lord,
who hath believed our re-
port? and to whom hath the
arm of the Lord been re-
vealed?

Deut. xix. 15.

על־פי שְׁנַי עֲדוּיִם אוֹ עַל־
פִּי שְׁלֹשָׁה עֲדוּיִם יָקוּם דְּבָרְךָ :

At the mouth of two wit-
nesses, or at the mouth of
three witnesses, shall the
matter be established.

Ps. lxxxii. 6.

אָנֹכִי אֶמְרֵתִי אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם :

I have said, Ye are gods.

Zech. ix. 9.

גִּילִי מְאֹד בַּת־צִיּוֹן הַרְיֵעִי
בַּת־יְרוּשָׁלַם הִנֵּה מְלִכְךָ יָבוֹא
לָךְ צַדִּיק וְנֹשֵׁעַ הוּא עָנִי
וְרֹכֵב עַל־מֹר וְעַל־עֵיז בְּרֹךְ
אֶת־נוֹת :

Rejoice greatly, O daugh-
ter of Zion; shout, O daugh-
ter of Jerusalem: behold, thy
King cometh unto thee: he is
just, and having salvation;
lowly, and riding upon an
ass, and upon a colt the foal
of an ass.

Is. liii. 1.

מִי הֶאֱמִין לְשִׁמְעַתְנוּ וְיִרְוֶעַ
הִנֵּה עַל־מִי נִגְלָתָה :

Who hath believed our re-
port? and to whom is the arm
of the Lord revealed?

⁸⁰ This follows neither the Hebrew nor the LXX. John merely selected a few words to express what he wished to take from the prophet.

(82.) Is. vi. 10.

Ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκάμμυσαν, μὴ ποτε ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ὤσι ἀκούσωσι, καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσι καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

For the heart of this people has become gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

John xii. 40.

[Ἐἶπεν Ἡσαΐας] Τετύφλωκεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ πεπώρωκεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν, ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στραφῶσιν καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

[Esaias said,] He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

Is. vi. 10.

הַשְׁמַן לְבַרְהֶם הִנֵּה וְנִאֲנְיוּ
הַכְבֵּד וְנִעְיְיוּ הַשְׁעֵם פְּנֵי יִרְאָה
בְּעֵינָיו וּבְנִאֲנְיוּ יִשְׁמָע וּלְבָבוֹ
יִבִּין וְשָׁב וְרָפָא לוֹ

Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.

(83.) Ps. xl. 10.

Ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμέ περιρσιμόν.

He who ate my bread, lifted up his heel against me.

John xiii. 18.

[Ἦνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῆ·] Ὁ τράγων μετ' ἐμοῦ τὸν ἄρτον ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμέ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ.

[That the Scripture may be fulfilled,] He that eateth bread with me, hath lifted up his heel against me.

Ps. xli. 9.

אֲבִיל לְחֶמֶי הַנְּדִיל עָלַי
עַקְבִּי

Mine own familiar friend which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up *his* heel against me.

(84.) Ps. xxxiv. 19.

Οἱ μισούντές με δωρεάν.

They hate me without a cause.

John xv. 25.

[Ἦνα πληρωθῆ ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῶν γεγραμμένος·] ὅτι ἐμίσησάν με δωρεάν.

[That the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law,] They hated me without a cause.

Ps. xxxv. 19.

עָנָא יְהוָה

And fought against me without a cause.

(85.) Ps. xxi. 19.

Διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον.

They parted my garments among themselves, and cast lots upon my raiment.

John xix. 24.

[Ἦνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῆ·] Διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον.

[That the Scripture might be fulfilled,] They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots.

Ps. xxii. 18.

יִחְלְקוּ בְּנֵי לְהֶם וְעַל־
לְבוּשִׁי יַפִּילוּ גוֹרָל

They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.

(86.) Ex. xii. 46.

Καὶ ὁστοῦν οὐ συντριψέτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

John xix. 36.

[Ἦνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῆ·] Ὅστοῦν οὐ συντριβήσεται αὐτοῦ.

Ex. xii. 46.

וְעָצֶם לֹא־תִשְׁבְּרוּרָבוֹ

⁸² This quotation is made neither according to the Hebrew nor the LXX. *The sense of the prophet is given.* What God commands the prophet to do in Isaiah's book, he is here represented as doing himself. Accordingly the *third* person stands at the beginning, though the *first* is allowed to remain at the end.

⁸¹ Some think that this quotation was made from Ps. cix. 3. (cviii. 3., LXX.). It is rather from xxxv. 19. (xxxiv. 19., LXX.), or lix. 5. (lxviii. 5., LXX.). It is from the LXX., but not verbally.

⁸⁰ This is taken from Exod. xii. 46., rather than Ps. xxxiii. 21., to which Dr. H. Owen refers it (p. 65.). It agrees more nearly with the LXX. than the Hebrew. What is there in the active voice is here spoken of in the passive.

And a bone of it ye shall not break.

[That the Scripture should be fulfilled,] A bone of him shall not be broken.

Neither shall ye break a bone thereof.

(87.) Zech. xii. 10.

Καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μέ, ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο·

John xix. 37.

[Ἔτερα γραφὴ λέγει·] Ὁ-ψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν.

Zech. xii. 10.

וְהִיטוּ אֶלַי אֶת אֵינְיָן דְקָרָה : וְקָרָה

And they shall look upon me, because they have mock- ed me.

[Another Scripture saith,] They shall look on him whom they pierced.

And they shall look upon me whom they have pierced.

(88.) Ps. lxxviii. 26.

Γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτῶν ἡρημωμένη, καὶ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώ- μισιν αὐτῶν μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικ- κῶν.

Acts i. 20.

[Γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν·] Γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυ- λις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος, καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ·

Ps. lxxix. 25.

תְּהִי -- בְּיָמֶיךָ וְנִשְׁמְרָה בְּאֶהְלֵיכֶם אֱלֹהֵי יִשָּׁב :

Let their habitation be made desolate, and let there be no inhabitant in their tents.

[For it is written in the book of Psalms,] Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein.

Let their habitation be de- solate ; and let none dwell in their tents.

(89.) Ps. cviii. 8.

Καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάθῃ ἕτερος.

And let another take his office of overseer.

Acts i. 20.

[Καί·] Τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐ- τοῦ λάθῃτο ἕτερος.

[And,] His bishopric let another take.

Ps. cix. 8.

בְּקָרְתוֹ יִקַּח אַחֵר :

Let another take his office.

(90.) Joel ii. 28., &c.

Καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφη- τεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ πρεσ- βύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνύπνια ἐνυπνιασ- θήσονται, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὄρασεις ὄψονται. καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου, καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ. ὁ ἥλιος μεταστρα- φήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σε- λήνη εἰς αἶμα, πρὶν ἔλθειν τὴν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ. καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἐν ἐπικαλέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται·

Acts ii. 17., &c.

[Τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προ- φήτου Ἰωήλ·] Καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἑσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει ὁ θεὸς, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύμα- τός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὄρασεις ὄψον- ται, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίους ἐνυπνιασθήσονται· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύμα- τός μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν. καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἕνω καὶ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ. ὁ ἥλιος μεταστρα- φήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σε- λήνη εἰς αἶμα, πρὶν ἔλθειν τὴν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ. καὶ ἔσται, πᾶς ὃς ἐν ἐπικαλέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυ- ρίου σωθήσεται.

Joel iii. 1., &c.

וְהָיָה אַחֲרָיְכֶם וְהִנְיָן דְאֶתְרִוּיָהוּ עַל-בְּלַבְּשֵׁי וְנִבְאִי בְּגִיבָם וּבְנִתִיבָם וְקִגְיָם תְּלַמּוֹת יַחַלְמוּן בְּחֻבֵיכֶם תְּוִנְוֹת יִרְאוּ : וְגַם עַל-הַעֲבָדִים (עַל-הַשְּׂפָחוֹת) בְּיָמִים הַהֵמָּה אֲשַׁפּוֹף אֶת-רוּחִי : וְנִתְּמִי מוֹפְתִים בְּשָׂמַיִם וּבְאָרְצֵיךָ דָם וְאַשׁ וְתַמְרוֹת עֵשֶׂן : הַשְּׁמַיִם יִהְפְּפוּ לְחֶשֶׁךְ וְהַיָּמֵה לְדָם לִפְנֵי בּוֹא יוֹם יְהוָה תִּגְדּוֹל וְהִנְוֹרָה : וְהָיָה כָּל אֲשֶׁר-יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִסְלָט :

And it shall come to pass

[That which was spoken

And it shall come to pass

⁸⁷ This is from the LXX., but their rendering is abandoned for the literal sense of the Hebrew word קָרָה. Some think, as do Randolph and Newcome, that the evangelist read יִלְבָּשׁ him, instead of יִלְבָּשׁ me, in the Hebrew, which is favoured by various ancient MSS. (above fifty) and a few old editions. But the reading is a mere correction. In the Hebrew, Messiah is represented as the speaker ; in John, he is spoken of.

⁸⁸ This is freely cited from the LXX. David predicates in the plural of his enemies, what the apostle applies to one person.

afterward, that I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And on my servants and on my handmaids in those days will I pour out of my spirit. And I will show wonders in heaven and upon the earth, blood and fire, and vapour of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and glorious day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

by the prophet Joel.] And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams. And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my spirit; and they shall prophesy. And I will show wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit. And I will show wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered.

(91.) Ps. xv. 8., &c.

Προωρώμην τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διαπαντός, ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἐστὶν ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ. διὰ τοῦτο ἠψφράνθη ἡ καρδία μου καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι· ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἄδην, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς. πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τὸ ἴδεόν σου.

I foresaw the Lord always before my face; for he is on my right hand that I should not be moved. Therefore my heart rejoiced, and my tongue exulted; moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope: because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; thou wilt fill me with joy with thy countenance.

Acts ii. 25., &c.

[Δαυεὶδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν.] Προωρώμην τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός, ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἐστὶν, ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ. διὰ τοῦτο ἠψφράνθη ἡ καρδία μου καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς Ἄιδην οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς, πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τὸ ἴδεόν σου.

[For David speaketh concerning him,] I foresaw the Lord always before my face, for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved: therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad; moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope: because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; thou shalt make me full of joy with thy countenance.

Ps. xvi. 8., &c.

שְׁנִיתִי יְהוָה לְנִגְדִי תָמִיד
כִּי מִיְמִינִי בְּלֹא־מִוְטָא:
שָׂמַח לִבִּי וַיִּנְגַל כְּבוֹדִי אֲדָרָה
כִּי־יִשְׁכַּח וְיִשְׁכַּח לְבָבִי מֵאֶרֶץ
תְּעֹזֵב נַפְשִׁי לְשָׂאוֹל לֹא־תִתֶּנּוּ
חַסְדֵיךָ לְרָאוֹת שְׁמֵרָתָה:
תוֹרִיעֵנִי אֲדָרָה חַיִּים שְׁבַע
שְׂמֵחוֹת אֶת־כִּפְיֶךָ:

I have set the Lord always before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth: my flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life: in thy presence is fulness of joy.

⁹¹ This is from the LXX. For the Hebrew שְׁנִיתִי the Greek has προωρώμην. כְּבוֹדִי is translated ἡ γλῶσσά μου, and for שְׁבַע stands πληρώσεις με. In regard to the reading חַסְדֵיךָ, we believe that the singular חַסְדֶיךָ is probably the authentic one. 263 MSS. have it thus; so too all the ancient versions.—Comp. Davidson's Biblical Criticism, vol. 1., p. 395.

(92.) Ps. cix. 1.

Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου
κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ
τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον
τῶν ποδῶν σου.

The Lord said to my Lord,
Sit thou on my right hand,
until I make thine enemies
thy footstool.

Acts ii. 34, 35.

[Δαυεὶδ λέγει·] Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος
τῷ κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ
δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς
σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν
σου.

[David saith,] The Lord
said unto my Lord, Sit thou
on my right hand until I
make thy foes thy foot-
stool.

Ps. cx. 1.

יָאֵם יְהוָה לְאַרְנֵי שָׁב
לְמִינֵי עַד־אֲשֵׁית אֲבִירָה הָרִם
לְבַרְלָךְ :

The Lord said unto my
Lord, Sit thou at my right
hand, until I make thine ene-
mies thy footstool.

(93.) Deut. xviii. 15, 19.

Προφήτην ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
σου ὡς ἐμέ ἀναστήσει σοι κύριος
ὁ θεός σου, αὐτοῦ ἀκούσε-
σθε.—Καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἐὰν
μὴ ἀκούσῃ ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ ὁ
προφήτης ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνό-
ματι μου, ἐγὼ ἐκδικήσω ἐξ αὐ-
τοῦ.

The Lord thy God shall
raise up to thee a Prophet of
thy brethren, like me; him
shall ye hear. And what-
ever man shall not hearken
to whatsoever words that
prophet shall speak in my
name, I will take vengeance
on him.

Acts iii. 22, 23.

[Μωσῆς μὲν εἶπεν·] ὅτι
προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος
ὁ θεός ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελ-
φῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ αὐτοῦ ἀκού-
σεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἀν-
λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Ἔσται δὲ,
πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις ἂν μὴ ἀκούσῃ
τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου ἐξολε-
θρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ.

[Moses said,] A Prophet
shall the Lord your God raise
up unto you, of your brethren,
like unto me; him shall ye
hear in all things, whatsoever
he shall say unto you. And
it shall come to pass, that
every soul which will not
hear that prophet shall be
destroyed from among the
people.

Deut. xviii. 15, 19.

יָבִיִּא מִקִּרְבְּךָ מֵאַחֶיךָ כְּמוֹנֵי
יָקִיִּם לְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲלֵיו
תִּשְׁמָעוּן : —
וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִשְׁמָע
אֶל־דְּבָרֵי אֲשֶׁר יְבַרֵּךְ בְּשֵׁמִי
אֲנִי אֶדְרֹשׁ מֵעֵמוּ :

The Lord thy God will
raise up unto thee a Prophet
from the midst of thee, of
thy brethren, like unto me;
unto him ye shall hearken.
And it shall come to pass,
that whosoever shall not
hearken unto my words
which he shall speak in my
name, I will require it of him.

(94.) Gen. xxii. 18.

Καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ
σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
τῆς γῆς·

And in thy seed shall all
the nations of the earth be
blessed.

Acts iii. 25.

[Λέγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ·] Καὶ
ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου ἐνευλογη-
θήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς
γῆς.

[Saying unto Abraham,]
And in thy seed shall all
the kindreds of the earth be
blessed.

Gen. xxii. 18.

וְהִתְבָּרַכְוּ בְּרַבְרְךָ כָּל־גּוֹיֵי
הָאָרֶץ :

And in thy seed shall all
the nations of the earth be
blessed.

(95.) Ps. cxvii. 22, 23.

Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ
οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη
εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. παρὰ κυ-
ρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη, καὶ ἔστι
θαυμάσιον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.

The stone which the build-
ers rejected, the same is be-
come the head of the corner.
This has been done of the
Lord; and it is wonderful in
our eyes.

Acts iv. 11.

Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος ὁ ἔξου-
βηνθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῶν οἰκοδό-
μων, ὁ γενόμενος εἰς κεφαλὴν
γωνίας.

This is the stone which
was set at nought of you
builders, which is become the
head of the corner.

Ps. cxvii. 22, 23.

אָבֵן מַאֲסוּ הַבּוֹנִים הִיְתָה
לְרֹאשׁ כּוֹנֵן : מַאֲת יְהוָה
הִיְתָה זֹאת הִיא נִפְלְאוֹת
בְּעֵינֵינוּ :

The stone which the build-
ers refused, is become the
head stone of the corner.
This is the Lord's doing; it
is marvellous in our eyes.

⁸³ This citation is taken neither from the LXX. nor the Hebrew. It seems to have been freely quoted from memory, and gives the true sense.

(96.) Ps. ii. 1, 2

Ἰνατί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη, καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά; παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπιτοαυτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Wherefore did the heathen rage? and the nations imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers gathered themselves together, against the Lord and against his Christ.

Acts iv. 25, 26.

[Ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυεὶδ παιδὸς σου εἰπὼν·] Ἰνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά; παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

[Who, by the mouth of thy servant David hath said.] Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ.

Ps. ii. 1, 2.

לָמָּה רָגְזוּ גוֹיִם וְלֵאמֹיִם
יְהוֹגִיפוּ יְהוָה : וְתִצְבְּבוּ מַלְכֵי-
אֲרָץ וְרוֹזְנֵי־נְסֻדֵי יְהוָה עַל-
יְהוָה וְעַל-מְשִׁיחוֹ :

Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed.

(97.) Gen. xii. 1.

Ἐξελεθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἂν σοὶ δείξω.

Go forth out of thy land and out of thy kindred, and out of the house of thy father, and come into the land which I shall shew thee.

Acts vii. 3.

[Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν·] Ἐξελεθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ [ἐκ] τῆς συγγενείας σου, καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἂν σοὶ δείξω.

[And said unto him.] Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall shew thee.

Gen. xii. 1.

לֶךְ-לְךָ מֵאֶרֶץךָ וּמִבְּלָדְךָ
וּמִבֵּית אָבִיךָ אֶל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר
אֶרְאֶה :

Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee.

(98.) Gen. xv. 13, 14.

Πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐν γῆ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ κακώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς τετρακόσια ἔτη. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ᾧ ἂν δουλεύσωσι κρινῶ ἐγὼ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς.

Thy seed shall be a sojourner in a land not their own, and they shall enslave them, and afflict them, and humble them four hundred years. And the nation whomsoever they shall serve, I will judge; and after this, they shall come forth hither with much property.

Acts vii. 6, 7.

[Ἐλάλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεός,] ὅτι ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον ἐν γῆ ἁλλοτρίᾳ, καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτὸ καὶ κακώσουσιν ἐτη τετρακόσια. καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ᾧ ἂν δουλεύσωσιν κρινῶ ἐγὼ, ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται, καὶ λατρεύουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.

[And God spake on this wise,] That his seed should sojourn in a strange land; and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat them evil four hundred years. And the nation to whom they shall be in bondage will I judge, said God; and after that shall they come forth and serve me in this place.

Gen. xv. 13, 14.

כִּי-יָרֵךְ יְהוָה וְרָעַד בְּאֶרֶץ
לֹא לָהֶם וְעַבְדוּם וְעָנּוּ אֹתָם
אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה : וְנָכַח
אֶת-הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר יַעֲבֲדוּ דָן
אֹנִי וְאֶת-הָיָרֵךְ וְיָצְאוּ בְרִשְׁתִּי
גָדוֹל :

Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years. And also that nation whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance.

⁹⁸ This is freely cited from the LXX. ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν is inserted; and καὶ λατρεύουσιν—τούτῳ is added from Exod. iii. 12.

(99.) Gen. xlv. 27.

Πᾶσαι ψυχὰι οἴκου Ἰακώβ
αἱ εἰσελθοῦσαι μετὰ Ἰακώβ εἰς
Αἴγυπτον ψυχὰι ἐξδομηκοντα-
πέντε.

All the souls of the house
of Jacob who came with
Joseph into Egypt were se-
venty-five souls.

Acts vii. 14.

Ἀποστείλας δὲ Ἰωσήφ με-
τεκαλέσατο Ἰακώβ τὸν πα-
τέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν
συγγένειαν ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐξδομή-
κοντα πέντε.

Then sent Joseph, and
called his father Jacob to
him, and all his kindred,
threescore and fifteen souls.

Gen. xlv. 27.

כָּל-הַנְּפֹשֹׁת לְבֵית יַעֲקֹב
הַבָּאִים מִצְרָיִם שְׁבַע-עִים

All the souls of the house
of Jacob, which came into
Egypt, were threescore and
ten.

(100.) —

Acts vii. 16.

ὃ ὠνήσατο Ἀβραὰμ τιμῆς
ἀργυρίου παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἐμ-
μὸρ τοῦ ἐν Συχέμ.

That Abraham bought for
a sum of money of the sons
of Emmor, the father of
Sychem.

See Joshua xxiv. 32.

(101.) Ex. ii. 13, 14.

Ἐξελθὼν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ
δευτέρᾳ ὄρᾳ δύο ἄνδρας Ἑβραί-
ους διαπληκτιζομένους καὶ λέ-
γει τῷ ἀδικούντι Διὰ τί σὺ
τύπτεις τὸν πλησίον; ὃ δὲ εἶπε
Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ
δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνελεῖν
με σὺ θέλεις, ὃν τρόπον ἀνείλες
χθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον;

And having gone out the
second day he sees two He-
brew men fighting, and he
says to the injurer, Where-
fore smitest thou thy neigh-
bour? And he said, Who
made thee a ruler and a
judge over us? Wilt thou
slay me as thou yesterday
slewest the Egyptian?

Acts vii. 26, &c.

[Τῇ τε ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὥφθη
αὐτοῖς μαχομένοις, καὶ συνήλ-
λασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην εἰ-
πών·] Ἄνδρες, ἀδελφοί ἐστε·
ἴνα τί ἀδικεῖτε ἀλλήλους; [Ὁ
δὲ ἀδικῶν τὸν πλησίον ἀπώ-
σατο αὐτὸν εἰπών·] Τίς σε κα-
τέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικα-
στὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνελεῖν με
σὺ θέλεις ὃν τρόπον ἀνείλες
ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον;

[And the next day he
shewed himself unto them as
they strove, and would have
set them at one again, saying,]
Sirs, ye are brethren, why do
ye wrong one to another?
[But he that did his neigh-
bour wrong, thrust him away,
saying,] Who made thee a
ruler and a judge over us?
Wilt thou kill me, as thou
didst the Egyptian yester-
day?

Ex. ii. 13, 14.

וַיֵּצֵא בְיָוִם הַשֵּׁנִי וַהֲגַה
שְׁנֵי-אֲנָשִׁים עֹבְרִים נֶעְצְמִים
וַיֹּאמֶר לְרִשָּׁע לָמָּה תִּכְהַה
הַעֲדָה
וַיֹּאמֶר מִי עֲמָדךָ לְאַיֵשׁ שִׁיר
וַיִּשְׁפֹּט עָלָיו הַלְהַרְגֵנִי אַתָּה
אָמַר בְּאַשֶׁר הִרְגַת אֶת-
הַמִּצְרִי

And when he went out
the second day, behold two
men of the Hebrews strove
together: and he said to him
that did the wrong, Where-
fore smitest thou thy fellow?
And he said, Who made thee
a prince and a judge over
us? intendest thou to kill
me, as thou killedst the Egyp-
tian?

(102.) Ex. iii. 6.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς

Acts vii. 32.

[Ἐγένετο φωνὴ κυρίου·] Ἐγὼ

Ex. iii. 6.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנֹכִי אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם

¹⁰⁰ In this quotation it has been thought by many that Ἀβραὰμ is an interpolation which has crept into the text. But that is a mere conjecture. The name must stand as it is. There is a mistake here. Jacob purchased a field from the sons of Emmor (Gen. xxxiii. 19.). But Abraham bought the cave of Macpelah from Ephron. Stephen quoted from memory or followed tradition. There are two similar mistakes just before. First, that besides Jacob and Joseph, the other sons of Jacob were buried in Palestine. Secondly, that Jacob was buried in Sichem, instead of in the cave of Macpelah in Hebron (Gen. xlix. 30.). Stephen was not infallibly inspired.

σου, θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ·

ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ.

אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק וְאֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב :

I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

[The voice of the Lord came,] I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

Moreover he said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

(103.) Ex. iii. 5, 7, 8, 10.

Ὁ δὲ εἶπε, — Λύσαι τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου· ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἕστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν. — Ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῶν ἀκήκοα, — καὶ κατέβην ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτούς· — καὶ νῦν δεῦρο, ἀποστείλω σε πρὸς Φαραῶν βασιλεῖα Αἰγύπτου.

Acts vii. 33, 34.

[Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος·] Λύσον τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου· ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐφ' ᾧ ἕστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν. Ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤκουσα, καὶ κατέβην ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτούς· καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

Ex. iii. 5, 7, 8, 10.

וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁלֵךְ-נְעֻלֶיךָ מֵעַל רַגְלֶיךָ כִּי הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה עֹמֵד עָלָיו אֶרֶץ-קֹדֶשׁ הִוא· רָאָה רָאִיתִי אֶת-עֲנִי עַמִּי אֲשֶׁר בְּמִצְרַיִם וְאֶת-צַעֲקָתָם שָׁמַעְתִּי וְאֶרְדּוּ לְהַצִּילוֹ וְעַתָּה לָכֵן וְאֵלְפֶלֶחֶךָ אֶל-פַּרְעֹה :

And he said, Draw not hither, loose thy sandals from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. I have surely seen the affliction of my people that is in Egypt, and I have heard their cry. And I have come down to deliver them. And now come, I will send thee to Pharaoh, king of Egypt.

[Then said the Lord to him,] Put off thy shoes from thy feet: for the place where thou standest is holy ground. I have seen, I have seen the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and I have heard their groaning, and am come down to deliver them. And now come, I will send thee into Egypt.

And he said, Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry. And I am come down to deliver them. Come now therefore, I will send thee unto Pharaoh.

(104.) Ex. ii. 14.

Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν;

Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us?

Acts vii. 35.

Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν;

Who made thee a ruler and a judge?

Ex. ii. 14.

מִי שִׂמְךָ לְאִישׁ יֵשׁוּר וְשֹׁפֵט : מִי שֶׁעָשָׂהְךָ מֶלֶךְ וְשֹׁפֵט עָלֵינוּ :

(105.) Deut. xviii. 15.

Προφήτην ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμὲ ἀναστήσει σοι κύριος ὁ θεός σου.

The Lord thy God shall raise up to thee a prophet of thy brethren, like me.

Acts vii. 37.

Προφήτην ὑμῶν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ.

A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me.

Deut. xviii. 15.

נָבִיא מִקִּרְבְּךָ מֵאַחֶיךָ כְּמוֹנִי יָקִים לְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ :

(106.) Ex. xxxii. 1.

Ποίησον ἡμῶν θεοὺς, οἱ ποιοῦνται ἡμῶν· ὁ γὰρ Μωυσῆς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐκ οἶδαμεν τί γέγονεν αὐτῷ.

Make us gods who shall

Acts vii. 40.

Ποίησον ἡμῶν θεοὺς οἱ ποιοῦνται ἡμῶν· ὁ γὰρ Μωυσῆς οὗτος, ὃς ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐκ οἶδαμεν τί ἐγένετο αὐτῷ.

Make us gods to go be-

Ex. xxxii. 1.

עֲשֵׂה-לָנוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר יִלְכוּ לְפָנֵינוּ בְּיָדוֹ מֹשֶׁה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר הֵעֲלָנוּ מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם לֹא יָדַעְנוּ מִהֵנָּה לוֹ :

Make us gods, which shall

go before us, for this Moses, the man who brought us forth out of the land of Egypt, we do not know what is become of him.

fore us: for as for this Moses, which brought us out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

go before us: for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

(107.) Amos v. 25, &c.

Μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσνήγκατέ μοι, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ; καὶ ἀνελάθετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολδὺ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ραϊφάν, τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν οὐς ἐποίησατε ἑαυτοῖς· καὶ μετοικίω ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Δαμασκού·

Acts vii. 42, 43.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν·] Μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσνήγκατέ μοι ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἀνελάθετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολδὺ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ Ῥεφάν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποίησατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς; καὶ μετοικίω ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος.

Amos v. 25, &c.

הַזְבָּחִים וּמִנְחָה הַנִּשְׁתָּחִים לִי בַמִּדְבָּר אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל; וְנִשְׁאַתֶּם אֶת כְּבוֹד מַלְאָכֶיךָ וְאֶת בְּיֹון צְלִמְיֶיךָ כַּכֹּכַב אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם וְהִנֵּלְתִי אֶתְכֶם מִהַרְלָאָה לְדַמְשֶׁק׃

Have ye offered to me victims and sacrifices, O house of Israel, forty years in the wilderness? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Raiphān, the images of them which ye made for yourselves. And I will carry you away beyond Damascus.

[As it is written in the book of the prophets,] O ye house of Israel, have ye offered to me slain beasts and sacrifices by the space of forty years in the wilderness? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your God Rephan, figures which ye made to worship them: and I will carry you away beyond Babylon.

Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves. Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus.

(108.) Is. lxvi. 1, 2.

Οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ ὑψιστός μου θρόνος, καὶ ἡ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετε μοι; καὶ ποῖος τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἡ χεὶρ μου·

Acts vii. 49, 50.

[Ὁ προφήτης λέγει·] Ὁ ὑψιστός μου θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετε μοι; λέγει κύριος, ἡ τίς τόπος καταπαύσεώς μου; οὐχὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐποίησεν πάντα ταῦτα;

Is. lxvi. 1, 2.

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הֲשִׁימִים כַּסְאִי וְהֶאֱרַן הַדָּם כִּנְלִי אִי־זֶה בַּיִת אֲשֶׁר תִּבְנֶנּוּ לִי וְאִי־זֶה מְקוֹם מִנְחָתִי; וְאֶת־בְּלִי־אֶלֶה יְרִי עֲשֵׂתָה׃

Thus says the Lord, Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: what kind of a house will ye build me? And of what kind is to be the place of my rest? For all these things my hand has made.

[Saieth the prophet,] Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool: what house will ye build me, saith the Lord, or what is the place of my rest? Hath not my hand made all these things?

Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool; where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest? For all those things hath mine hand made.

(109.) Is. liii. 7, 8.

Ὡς πρόσβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἄμωδς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος ἄφωμος, οὕτως

Acts viii. 32, 33.

[Ἦ δὲ περιοχῆ τῆς γραφῆς ἣν ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἦν αὕτη·] Ὡς πρόσβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθη,

Is. liii. 7, 8.

בִּשְׂאֵה לטֹבַח יִבָּל וּבְרַחֵל לִבְנֵי נְזִיָּה נֶאֱלָמָה וְלֹא יִפְתָּה׃

¹⁰⁷ This is cited from the LXX. The Hebrew and LXX. have both *Damascus*, for which *Babylon* stands here. But the discrepancy is merely apparent. Israel was carried not only beyond Damascus, but Babylon also.

¹⁰⁹ This is quoted from the LXX. The pronouns *αὐτῶν* and *αὐτοῦ* (twice) are added. It agrees exactly with the Alexandrine codex.

οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἢ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη· τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ.

καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἔφωτος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἢ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη· τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ.

כִּי : מַעֲזָר וּמְשֻׁבָּט לֶקַח
וְאֶת־דֹּרוֹ מִי יִשְׁחַח כִּי נָגַד
מֵאֲרֵץ חַיִּים :

He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb, so he opens not his mouth. In his humiliation his judgment was taken away; and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken away from the earth.

[The place of the Scriptures which he read was this,] He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and like a lamb dumb before his shearer, so opened he not his mouth. In his humiliation his judgment was taken away: and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth.

He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. He was taken from prison and from judgment: and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living.

(110.) 1 Kings xiii. 14; Ps. lxxxviii. 21.

Ζητήσῃ κύριος ἑαυτῷ ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ.—
Εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ἐν ἐλεεί ἀγίῳ ἔχριστα αὐτόν.

Acts xiii. 22.

[Ἐἶπεν μαρτυρήσας·] Εὗρον Δαυεὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσῃ πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου.

1 Sam. xiii. 14; Ps. lxxxix. 21.

בְּקִישׁ יְהוָה לוֹ אִישׁ בְּלִבָּו
— מִן־אֶתִּי דָּוִד עַבְדִּי בְּשֵׁמוֹ
קִדְשִׁי מִשְׁחָתוֹי :

The Lord shall seek for himself a man after his own heart. I have found David my servant; I have anointed him by my holy mercy.

[He gave testimony and said,] I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will.

The Lord hath sought him a man after his own heart.— I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him.

(111.) Ps. ii. 7.

Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.

Acts xiii. 33.

[Ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ πρώτῳ·] Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.

Ps. ii. 7.

בְּנִי אֶתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם
יִלְדֶתיך :

Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee.

[As it is also written in the first Psalm,] Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

(112.) Is. lv. 3.

Καὶ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην αἰώνιον, τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά.

Acts xiii. 34.

[Ὅπως εἶρηκεν·] ὅτι δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυεὶδ τὰ πιστά.

Is. lv. 3.

וְאֶתְּתָה לָכֶם בְּרִית עוֹלָם
חֶסְדִּי דָוִד הַנְּאֻמִּים :

And I will make with you an everlasting covenant, the sure mercies of David.

[He said on this wise,] I will give you the sure mercies of David.

And I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.

(113.) Ps. xv. 10.

Οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.

Acts xiii. 35.

[Ἀλέγει·] Οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.

Ps. xvi. 10.

לֹא־תִתֶּן חֶסְדֶיךָ לְאִוֶּחַת
שָׁחַת :

Neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption.

[He saith,] Thou shalt not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.

Neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.

(114.) Hab. i. 5.

Ἴδετε οἱ καταφρονῆται ἐπιβλέψατε, καὶ θαυμάσατε θαυμάσια καὶ ἀφανίσθητε· διότι ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἕάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται.

Behold, ye despisers, and look, and wonder marvellously, and vanish; for I work a work in your days, which ye will in no wise believe, though a man declare it to you.

Acts xiii. 41.

[Τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις.] Ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονῆται, καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, ὅτι ἔργον ἐργάζομαι ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ἔργον ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἕάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται ὑμῖν.

[Which is spoken of in the prophets.] Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.

Hab. i. 5.

ראו בגוים והביטו והתמהו
תמהו בידעל פעל בימים
לא תאמינו בירוספר :

Behold ye among the heathen, and regard, and wonder marvellously: for I will work a work in your days, which ye will not believe, though it be told you.

(115.) Is. xlix. 6.

Δεῶκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.

I have given thee for the covenant of a race, for a light of the Gentiles; that thou shouldst be for salvation to the end of the earth.

Acts xiii. 47.

[Ἐντέταται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος.] Τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.

[The Lord commanded us,] I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldst be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.

Is. xlix. 6.

נתתיה לאור גוים להיות
ישועתי עד קצה הארץ :

I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.

(116.) Amos ix. 11, 12.

Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκυῖα αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ κατεσκευασμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτὴν καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτοῦς, λέγει κύριος, ὃ ποιῶν πάντα ταῦτα.

In that day I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and will rebuild the ruins of it, and will set up the parts thereof that have been broken down, and will build it up as in the ancient days; that the remnant of

Acts xv. 16, 17.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται.] Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ τὰ κατεσκευασμένα αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτὴν, ὅπως ἀνἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν κύριον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτοῦς, λέγει κύριος ποιῶν ταῦτα.

[As it is written.] After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up: That the residue of men might seek after the

Amos ix. 11, 12.

ביום ההוא אקים את
סכת דוד הנפלת ונבנית
את פראצוה ותרסתיו אקים
ובניתיה בימי עולם : למען
יירשו את שארית אדום
וכל הגוים אשר נקרא שמי
עליהם נאם יהוה עשה זאת :

In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old: that they may possess the remnant of Edom, and of all

¹¹⁴ This is a free translation from the LXX. As it is taken from Habakkuk alone, ἐν τοῖς προφήταις must mean in the Book of the Prophets. There is one important deviation from the Hebrew: בגוים, among the heathen, is rendered by οἱ καταφρονῆται, ye despisers. It is, therefore, probable that the translators read בוגרים in their copy. We do not think, however, that it is the genuine reading.

¹¹⁶ Taken from the LXX. with some variations. In one clause, however, the Hebrew is materially different. Instead of יירשו את שארית אדום, may possess the remnant of Edom, the LXX. have ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κ.τ.λ. They read, perhaps, ירשו ירשו : שארית אדום. The New Testament quotation sanctions the Septuagint reading.

On account of you my name is continually blasphemed among the Gentiles.

For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you [as it is written.]

And my name continually every day is blasphemed.

(121.) Ps. l. 6.

“Ὅπως ἂν δικαιοθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου, καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε.

That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged.

Rom. iii. 4.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται.] “Ὅπως ἂν δικαιοθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε.

[As it is written.] That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged.

Ps. li. 6.

לִמְשֹׁן מִצְדָק בְּרִבְרָה מִזְבָּה
: קִשְׁפֹּתָהּ

That thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest.

(122.) Ps. xiii. 1, & c.

Οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἐνός. κύριος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διεκύψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ ἔστι συνίων ἢ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν. πάντες ἐξέκλιαν, ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν, οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἐνός.

There is none that does goodness, there is not even so much as one. The Lord looked down from heaven upon the sons of men, to see if there were any that understood, or sought after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become good for nothing, there is none that does good, no not one.

Rom. iii. 10, 11, 12.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται.] ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἷς, οὐκ ἔστιν συνίων, οὐκ ἔστιν [ὁ] ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν· πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν· οὐκ ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἐνός.

[As it is written.] There is none righteous, no not one: There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable: there is none that doeth good, no, not one.

Ps. xiv. 1, & c.

אֵין עֲשֵׂה-טוֹב : יְהוָה
מִשְׁמֵימִים הִשְׁקִיף עַל-בְּנֵי-אָדָם
לְרְאוֹת הַיֵּשׁ מִשְׁפִּיל הַרֵשׁ
אֶת-אֱלֹהִים : הַבֵּל כֹּר יַחְדָּו
נִאֲחָזוּ אֵין עֲשֵׂה-טוֹב אֵין גַּם-
: אֱתָר

They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, there is none that doeth good. The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and seek God. They are all gone aside, they are all together become filthy: there is none that doeth good, no, not one.

(123.) Ps. v. 10.

Τάφος ἀνεφωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν.

Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit.

Rom. iii. 13.

Τάφος ἀνεφωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν.

Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit.

Ps. v. 10.

קִבְּרֵת-בִּתְנַת גְּרִנָּם לְשׁוֹנָם
: יַעֲלִינָם

Their throat is an open sepulchre; they flatter with their tongue.

¹²¹ This is from the LXX. For the Hebrew תִּנְקָה, thou mayest be clear, the Septuagint translator has νικήσῃς, mayest overcome, after the Syriac *usus loquendi*. The sense of both is the same.

¹²² Taken from the Septuagint, but not exactly. The first part is abridged. The latter is verbatim. ἠχρειώθησαν, are become unprofitable, is the representative of נִאֲחָזוּ, are corrupt which is stronger and more forcible.

¹²³ [Rom. iii. 13—17. is interpolated in Ps. xiii. between the third and fourth verses of various modern printed editions of the Septuagint as taken from the Vatican; but they are merely in the margin of the Cod. Vat. The Alexandrine MS. does not contain them. They occur in the Vulgate version of Ps. xiii.] The present quotation is from the Septuagint, Ps. v. 10.

(124.) Ps. exxxxix. 4.

Ἰδὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν.

The poison of asps is under their lips.

Rom. iii. 13.

Ἰδὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν.

The poison of asps is under their lips.

Ps. exl. 3.

תַּמַּת עֵקֶשׁוֹב תַּמַּת יְבִיחִימוֹ ;

Adder's poison is under their lips.

(125.) Ps. ix. 28. (x. 7.)

Οὐ ἄρᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας, καὶ δόλου.

Whose mouth is full of cursing, and bitterness, and fraud.

Rom. iii. 14.

Ὦν τὸ στόμα [αὐτῶν] ἄρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει.

Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness.

Ps. x. 7.

אָלָה בֵּיהוּ מְלֵא וּמְרִמּוֹת ;

His mouth is full of cursing and deceit.

(126.) Is. lix. 7, 8.

Οἱ δὲ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πονηρίαν τρέχουσι, ταχινοὶ ἐκχέαι αἷμα, σύντριμμα καὶ ταιλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν—καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ οἶδασιν.

And their feet run to wickedness, swift to shed blood, destruction and misery are in their ways; the way of peace they know not.

Rom. iii. 15, &c.

Ὁξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα, σύντριμμα καὶ ταιλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν.

Their feet are swift to shed blood. Destruction and misery are in their ways: And the way of peace have they not known.

Is. lix. 7, 8.

רְגִלֵּיהֶם לָרַע יִרְצוּ וּיִמְהָרוּ לְשַׁפְּפוּ דָם נָקִי—שִׁדּוֹ וְנִשְׁבֵּר בְּמַסְלוֹתָם: דְּרָגָה שְׁלוֹם לֹא יָדְעוּ ;

Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood; wasting and destruction are in their paths. The way of peace they know not.

(127.) Ps. xxxv. 1.

Οὐκ ἔστι φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ.

There is no fear of God before his eyes.

Rom. iii. 18.

Οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

There is no fear of God before their eyes.

Ps. xxxvi. 1.

אֵיךְ פָּחַד אֱלֹהִים לְגַדְדַּי עֵינָיו ;

There is no fear of God before his eyes.

(128.) Gen. xv. 6.

Καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

And Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

Rom. iv. 3.

[Τί γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ λέγει:] Ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

[For what saith the Scripture?] Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.

Gen. xv. 6.

וְהֶאֱמַן בֵּיהוָה וַיַּחְשְׁבֶהָ לוֹ צְדָקָה ;

And he believed in the Lord, and he counted it to him for righteousness.

(129.) Ps. xxxi. 1, 2.

Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὐ μὴ λογίσθῃται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.

Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.

Rom. iv. 6, 7, 8.

[Καθάπερ καὶ Δαυεὶδ λέγει:] Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὐ μὴ λογίσθῃται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.

[Even as David also saith.] Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord doth not impute sin.

Ps. xxxii. 1, 2.

אַשְׁרֵי נְטִי-בְּשִׁיעַ בְּסוּי אֱשֶׁרֶה ; אֱשֶׁרֶה לֹא יִחְשַׁב יְהוָה לוֹ עוֹן ;

Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity.

¹²⁵ This is from the LXX. The translators confounded מְרִמּוֹת, *deceit*, with כְּרִרְתַּת, *bitterness*, πικρία.

¹²⁶ This is from the LXX, with omissions and variations.

- (130.) Gen. xvii. 5. Rom. iv. 17. Gen. xvii. 5.
 "Οτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε. [Καθὼς γέγραπται·] ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε. : כִּי אֲבִי־הַמּוֹן גּוֹיִם לְתַתִּיךָ ; כִּי
 For I have made thee a father of many nations. [As it is written,] I have made thee a father of many nations. For a father of many nations have I made thee.
- (131.) Gen. xv. 5. Rom. iv. 18. Gen. xv. 5.
 Ὁὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου. [Κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον·] Ὁὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου. : כֹּה יִהְיֶה יוֹרְעֶךָ ;
 Thus shall thy seed be, [According to that which was spoken,] So shall thy seed be. So shall thy seed be.
- (132.) Ex. xx. 17. Rom. vii. 7. Ex. xx. 17.
 Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίου σου, κ. τ. λ. [Ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν·] Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις. : לֹא-תַחְמוֹד אִשְׁתְּ רֵעֶךָ ;
 Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, &c. [The law said,] Thou shalt not covet. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife.
- (133.) Ps. xliii. 23. Rom. viii. 36. Ps. xli. 22.
 "Οτι ἐνεκά σου θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς πρόβατα σφαγῆς. [Καθὼς γέγραπται·] ὅτι νεκεν σοῦ θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς πρόβατα σφαγῆς. : בְּיַעֲלִיד הוֹרְגָנוּ כְּלֵי־הַיּוֹם ;
 For thy sake we are killed all the day long ; we are counted as sheep for slaughter. [As it is written,] For thy sake we are killed all the day long ; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. For thy sake are we killed all the day long ; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter.
- (134.) Gen. xxi. 12. Rom. ix. 7. Gen. xxi. 12.
 "Οτι ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα. [ΑΛΛ·] Ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα. : כִּי בְיִצְחָק יִקְרָא לְךָ זָרַע ;
 For in Isaac shall thy seed be called. [But] In Isaac shall thy seed be called. For in Isaac shall thy seed be called.
- (135.) Gen. xviii. 10. Rom. ix. 9. Gen. xviii. 10.
 Ἐπαναστρέφω ἥξω πρὸς σέ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὥρας, καὶ ἔξει υἱὸν Σάρρα ἢ γυνή σου. [Ἐπαγγελίας γὰρ ὁ λόγος οὗτος,] κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐλεύσομαι καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάρρα υἱός. : שׁוּב אֲשׁוּב אֵלֶיךָ קַעַת חַיִּי ;
 I will return and come to thee, according to this period seasonably, and Sarah thy wife shall have a son. [For this is the word of promise,] At this time will I come, and Sarah shall have a son. I will certainly return unto thee according to the time of life; and lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son.
- (136.) Gen. xxv. 23. Rom. ix. 12. Gen. xxv. 23.
 Καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι. [Ἐβρέθη αὐτῇ·] ὅτι ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι. : וְרַב יַעֲבֹד זָעִיר ;
 And the elder shall serve the younger. [It was said unto her,] The elder shall serve the younger. And the elder shall serve the younger.

¹³⁵ This is a free quotation of Gen. xviii. 10. after the LXX. Instead of the fuller form κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὥρας the Apostle omits the last two words, and that is the representative of יִהְיֶה תִּעֲתָּ, when the time shall have lived again, i.e., in another year. There is no reason for supposing that יִהְיֶה, this, or that Paul used any other version than the LXX., as Randolph conjectures.

(137.) Mal. i. 2, 3.

Καὶ ἠγάπησα τὸν Ἰακώβ,
τὸν δὲ Ἡσαὺ ἐμίσησα.

Yes, I loved Jacob and
hated Esau.

Rom. ix. 13.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται·] Τὸν
Ἰακώβ ἠγάπησα, τὸν δὲ Ἡσαὺ
ἐμίσησα.

[As it is written,] Jacob
have I loved, but Esau have
I hated.

Mal. i. 2, 3.

וְאֶהְבֶּתִי יַעֲקֹב׃
וְאֶשְׂנֵא אֶסָּו׃

Yet I loved Jacob, and I
hated Esau.

(138.) Ex. xxxiii. 19.

Καὶ ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, καὶ
οἰκτειρήσω ὃν ἂν οἰκτειρῶ.

And I will have mercy on
whom I will have mercy,
and will have pity on whom
I will have pity.

Rom. ix. 15.

[Τῷ Μωσῆϊ γὰρ λέγει·]
Ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, καὶ οἰ-
κτειρήσω ὃν ἂν οἰκτείρω.

[For he saith to Moses,] I
will have mercy on whom
I will have mercy, and I will
have compassion on whom I
will have compassion.

Ex. xxxiii. 19.

וְהִנֵּחֵתִי יְהוָה
וְרַחֲמֵי אֶת־אֲשֶׁר אֲרַחֵם׃

And I will be gracious to
whom I will be gracious, and
will shew mercy on whom I
will shew mercy.

(139.) Ex. ix. 16.

Καὶ ἕνεκεν τούτου διετηρή-
θης ἵνα ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν
ἰσχύον μου, καὶ ὅπως διαγγε-
λῆ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ.

And for this purpose hast
thou been preserved, that I
might display in thee my
strength, and that my name
might be published in all the
earth.

Rom. ix. 17.

[Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ τῷ Φα-
ραῶ·] ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸ τούτο ἐξή-
γειρά σε, ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν
σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου καὶ ὅπως
διαγγελῆ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν
πάσῃ τῇ γῆ.

[For the Scriptures saith
unto Pharaoh,] Even for this
same purpose have I raised
thee up, that I might shew
my power in thee, and that
my name might be declared
throughout all the earth.

Ex. ix. 16.

וְאֵלֶם בְּעִבּוֹר זֹאת
הַעֲמַתִּיךָ בְּעִבּוֹר הַרְאֵתִיךָ
אֶת־בְּהִי וְלִמְעַן סַבֵּר יְמֵי
בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ׃

And in very deed for this
cause have I raised thee up,
for to shew in thee my power;
and that my name be de-
clared throughout all the
earth.

(140.) Hos. ii. 23.

Καὶ ἀγαπήσω τὴν οὐκ ἠγα-
πημένην, καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ οὐ λαῷ
μου Λαὸς μου εἶ σύ.

And I will love her that
was not loved, and will say
to that which was not my
people, Thou art my people.

Rom. ix. 25.

[Ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὠσηὲ λέγει·]
Καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου λαόν
μου καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην
ἠγαπημένην.

[As he saith also in Osee,] I
will call them my people,
which were not my people;
and her beloved, which was
not beloved.

Hos. ii. 23.

וְרַחֲמֵי אֶת־לֹא
וְאִמְרַתִּי לְלֹא־עַמִּי עַמִּי־אֶתָּה׃

And I will have mercy
upon her that had not obtain-
ed mercy, and I will say to
them which were not my peo-
ple, Thou art my people.

(141.) Hos. i. 10.

Καὶ ἔσται, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ
ἐβְרָθֶתָּ αὐτοῖς Οὐ λαὸς μου
ὑμεῖς, κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ
υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος.

And it shall come to pass
that in the place where it
was said to them, Ye are not
my people, even they shall
be called the sons of the
living God.

Rom. ix. 26.

Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ
ἐβְרָθֶתָּ [αὐτοῖς] Οὐ λαὸς μου
ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ
θεοῦ ζῶντος.

And it shall come to pass,
that in the place where it
was said [unto them] Ye are
not my people; there shall
they be called, The children
of the living God.

Hos. i. 10.

וְהָיָה בְּמִקְוִם אֲשֶׁר־אָמַר
לָהֶם לֹא־עַמִּי אֶתָּם וְאָמַר
לָהֶם בְּגִי אֱלֹהִים׃

And it shall come to pass,
that in the place where it was
said unto them, Ye are not
my people, there it shall be
said unto them, Ye are the
sons of the living God.

(142.) Is. x. 22, 23.

Καὶ ἔαν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ κατάλειμμα αὐτῶν σωθήσεται. λόγον συντελῶν καὶ συντέμων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ὅτι λόγον συντεταγμένον κύριος ποιήσει ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη.

And though the people of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant of them shall be saved. He will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness; because the Lord will make a short work in all the world.

Rom. ix. 27, 28.

[Ἡσαίας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.] Ἐὰν ᾖ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται. λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμων ποιήσει κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

[Isaías also crieth concerning Israel.] Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved: For he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness: because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth.

Is. x. 22. 23.

כִּי אִם־יִהְיֶה עִמָּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל
כְּחֹל הַיָּם שְׂאֵר יִשׁוּב בּוֹ
כְּלִי־חַיִּים שׁוֹרֵף צְדָקָה:
כִּי כָל־הַיְהוּדָה אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה
צְבָאוֹת עֲשֶׂה בְּקִרְבּוֹ כָּל־
הָאָרֶץ:

For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, yet a remnant of them shall return: the consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness. For the Lord God of hosts shall make a consumption, even determined in the midst of all the land.

(143.) Is. i. 9.

Καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος Σαβαώθ ἐγκατέλιπε ἡμῶν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν, καὶ ὡς Γόμορρα ἂν ὠμοιώθημεν.

And if the Lord of Sabaoth had not left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been made like to Gomorrah.

Rom. ix. 29.

[Καθὼς προείρηκεν Ἡσαίας,] Εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαώθ ἐγκατέλιπε ἡμῶν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὡς Γόμορρα ἂν ὠμοιώθημεν.

[As Esaías said before,] Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we had been as Sodom, and been made like Gomorrah.

Is. i. 9.

לֹא־יְהִי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת הַחַיִּים
לְנוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמִשְׁטַם בְּסֹדֹם הַיְיָנוּ
לְעִמְכָּה כְּמִינָה:

Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

(144.) Is. viii. 14., & xxviii. 16.

Καὶ οὐχ ὡς λίθον προσκόματι συναντήσεσθε, οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι. — Ἴδου ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελεῖ ἑκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαίον ἐντιμον, εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ κατασχυνθῆ.

And ye shall not come against him as against a stumbling-stone, neither as against the falling of a rock. Behold, I lay for thee in Zion, a costly stone, a choice, a corner stone, a precious stone, for its foundation; and he that believes on him, shall by no means be ashamed.

Rom. ix. 33.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται:] Ἴδου τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον προσκόματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ κατασχυνθήσεται.

[As it is written,] Behold, I lay in Zion a stumbling-stone, and rock of offence: and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.

Is. viii. 14, & xxviii. 16

וְלֹא־אֶבֶן נִגְף וְלֹא־צִוּר מְכֻשָׁל
הֲנִי יִסַּר בְּצִיּוֹן אֶבֶן אֶבֶן בְּתוֹן
בְּנֵת יִקְרַת מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד
הַמְאֲמִין לֹא יִתְיַשֵּׁר:

And he shall be for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence. Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste.

¹⁴² This passage is from the LXX. The Hebrew has the same sense, but differs somewhat in expression.

¹⁴⁴ This citation is taken from two places in Isaiah, which are put together, viz. xxviii. 16. and viii. 14. The first agrees with the Hebrew, differing much from the LXX. The second coincides with the LXX. There is no ground for supposing with Randolph, that because the LXX. have κατασχυνθήσεται they read יִבְשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל.

(145.) Lev. xviii. 5.

*Α ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Which if a man do he shall live in them.

Rom. x. 5.

[Μωσῆς γὰρ γράφει.] ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας [αὐτὰ] ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ.

[For Moses writeth,] That the man which doeth [those things] shall live by them.

Lev. xviii. 5.

אָפּוּר יַעֲשֶׂה אִתָּם הָאָדָם וְיֵחַי בָּהֶם :

Which if a man do, he shall live in them.

(146.) Deut. xxx. 12., &c.

Οὐκ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω ἐστὶ, λέγων Τίς ἀναθήσεται ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ λήψεται ἡμῖν αὐτήν, καὶ ἀκούσαντες αὐτὴν ποιήσομεν; οὐδὲ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ, λέγων Τίς διαπεράσει ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ λάβῃ ἡμῖν αὐτήν καὶ ἀκουστήν ἡμῖν ποιήσῃ αὐτήν, καὶ ποιήσομεν; ἔγγυς σου ἐστὶ τὸ ῥῆμα σφύδρα ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου ποιεῖν αὐτό.

It is not in heaven above, as if there were one saying, Who shall go up for us into heaven, and shall take it for us, and we will hear and do it. Neither is it beyond the sea, saying, Who will go over for us to the other side of the sea, and take it for us, and make it audible to us, and we will do it? The word is very near thee, in thy mouth, and in thine heart, and in thine hands to do it.

Rom. x. 6, &c.

[Ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτως λέγει.] Μὴ εἴπησ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου Τίς ἀναθήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; τοῦτ' ἔστιν χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν. ἢ Τίς καταθήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον; τοῦτ' ἔστιν χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν.—Ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμα ἐστίν, ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου.

[But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise,] Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into heaven? that is, to bring Christ down from above. Or, Who shall descend into the deep? that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.—The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart.

Deut. xxx. 12, &c.

לֹא בַשָּׁמַיִם הוּא לֵאמֹר מִי יַעֲלֶה-לָנוּ הַשָּׁמַיְמָה וְיִקְחֶהָ לָנוּ וְיִשְׁמָעֵנוּ אֹתָהּ וְנַעֲשֶׂנָהּ; וְלֹא-מֵעֵבֶר לָנוּ הוּא לֵאמֹר מִי יַעֲבֶר-לָנוּ אֶל-יַעַר הַיָּם וְיִקְחֶהָ לָנוּ וְיִשְׁמָעֵנוּ אֹתָהּ וְנַעֲשֶׂנָהּ; בִּיַּקְרוֹב אֵלַיךָ הַדָּבָר מְאֹד בְּפִיךָ וּבְיַדְּךָ לַעֲשׂוֹתוֹ;

It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.

(147.) Is. xxviii. 16.

Ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ κατασχυνθῇ.

He that believes on it shall by no means be ashamed.

Rom. x. 11.

[Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή.] Πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ κατασχυνθήσεται.

[For the Scripture saith,] Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.

Is. xxviii. 16.

הַמֵּאֱמִיִן לֹא יִחְיֵשׁ :

He that believeth, shall not make haste.

¹⁴⁶ It does not concern our present purpose to inquire in what way the apostle adapts the passage in Deuteronomy to his present purpose. It is evident that he uses it in another sense than that signified by the writer in Deuteronomy. There is a point of coincidence between the Mosaic idea in Deuteronomy and the apostolic one. There is nothing out of the reach of humanity or inaccessible in what the law demands; it merely requires performance—the doing of it. So there is nothing incomprehensible or remote in what the gospel requires; it merely demands belief; faith in its message. It is easy to see that there is no argument or proof in the passage. It is a mere accommodation of the Mosaic words. See Palfrey's Relation between Judaism and Christianity, p. 258., and De Wetto (Exeget. Handbuch).

(148.) Joel ii. 32.

Καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσεται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.

And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

Rom. x. 13.

Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσεται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, σωθήσεται.

For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.

Joel ii. 32.

יְהוָה בָּל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִמָּלֵט׃

And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered.

(149.) Is. lii. 7.

Ἦς ὦρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρεων, ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοῆν εἰρήνης, ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθὰ.

A season of beauty upon the mountains, as the feet of one preaching glad tidings of peace, as one preaching good news.

Rom. x. 15.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται.] Ὦς ὠραίοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθὰ.

[As it is written,] How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of good things.

Is. lii. 7.

מְהִינְאוֹ עַל-הַהָרִים רַגְלָיו
מִבְּשָׁר מְשֻׁמֵּיעַ שְׁלוֹם מִבְּשָׁר
טוֹב׃

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good.

(150.) Is. liii. 1.

Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;

O Lord, who has believed our report?

Rom. x. 16.

[Ἡσαίας γὰρ λέγει.] Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;

[For Esaias saith,] Lord, who hath believed our report?

Is. liii. 1.

מִי הֵאֱמִין לְשִׁמְעֵתֵנוּ׃
Who hath believed our report?

(151.) Ps. xviii. 5.

Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.

Their voice is gone out into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.

Rom. x. 18.

[Μενούν γε.] Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.

[Yes verily,] Their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.

Ps. xix. 4.

בְּקֵל-הָאָרֶץ יִצְיָא קוֹנָם׃
וּבְקֶצֶה תְּבַל מְלִיחָם׃

Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.

(152.) Deut. xxxii. 21.

Κἀγὼ παραζηλώσω αὐτοὺς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἄσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ αὐτούς.

And I will provoke them to jealousy with them that are no nation, I will anger them with a nation void of understanding.

Rom. x. 19.

[Μωσῆς λέγει.] Ἐγὼ παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἄσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ ὑμᾶς.

[Moses saith,] I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, and by a foolish nation I will anger you.

Deut. xxxii. 21.

וְאֲנִי אֶקְנִיָּאם בְּלֹא-עַם בְּגוֹי
וְאֲנִי אֶכְעִיָּם׃

And I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.

¹⁵¹ This quotation is taken from the LXX. It has been thought by some, as by Randolph, that the Greek translators read קוֹל instead of קוֹנָם, and hence their rendering φθόγγος; whereas the present Hebrew denotes a line. And as the ancient versions translate it *sound*, they have been adduced to confirm the hypothesis. But neither the LXX. nor the other ancient interpreters had a different Hebrew word from the present one. Taking line in the sense of the *string of a musical instrument*, from which the transition to the *sound produced* is obvious, they rendered the term *sound*. But Hebrew usage does not sanction this meaning. The only signification is a *measuring-line*. The apostle did not reckon it necessary to depart from the LXX.

(153.) Is. lxx. 1, 2.

Ἐμφανῆς ἐγενήθη τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν, εὐρέθη τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν.—Ἐξέπτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.

I became manifest to them that asked not for me; I was found of them that sought me not: I have stretched forth my hands all day to a disobedient and gainsaying people.

Rom. x. 20, 21.

[Ἡσαίας δὲ ἀποτολμῶ καὶ λέγει] Εὐρέθη [ἐν] τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανῆς ἐγενήθη [ἐν] τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν.—Ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξέπτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.

[But Esaias is very bold and saith,] I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me.—All day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.

Is. lxx. 1, 2.

נִדְרַשְׁתִּי לְלוֹא נִמְצָאתִי בְּקֹשְׁנֵי—
פְּרִשְׁתִּי יְדֵי פְּלִהוּיִם אֶל־עַם
סוּחֵר:

I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not. —I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people.

(154.) 3 Kings xix. 14.

Τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου καθεῖλαν, καὶ τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν βομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπολέλειμμαι ἐγὼ μόνατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.

They have overthrown thine altars, and have slain thy prophets with the sword! and I am left entirely alone, and they seek my life to take it.

Rom. xi. 3.

Ἐν Ἠλίᾳ λέγει ἡ γραφή: Κύριε, τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν, κἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος, καὶ ζητοῦσιν τὴν ψυχὴν μου.

[The Scripture saith in the Elias section,] Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thy altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life.

1 Kings xix. 14.

אֶת־מִזְבְּחֵיךָ הָרָסוּ וְאֶת־נְבִיאֶיךָ הָרְגוּ בְּדָבָר וְאֲנִי־אֲנִי לְבַדִּי וַיִּבְקְשׂוּ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי לִמְחַתָּה:

They have thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only am left, and they seek my life, to take it away.

(155.) 3 Kings xix. 18.

Καὶ καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα & οὐκ ὠκλάσαν γόνυ τῷ Βάαλ.

And thou shalt leave in Israel seven thousand men, all the knees which had not bowed themselves to Baal.

Rom. xi. 4.

[Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ χρηματισμός:] Κατέλιπον ἑμαντῷ ἑπτακισχιλίου ἀνδρας, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ.

[Saith the answer of God unto him,] I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal.

1 Kings xix. 18.

וְהִשְׁאַרְתִּי בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל שִׁבְעַת אֲלָפִים בְּלֹתֵי־בָרְכִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־קָרְעוּ לְבַבְעַל:

Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal.

(156.) Is. xxix. 10.

Ὅτι πεπότικεν ὑμᾶς κύριος πνεύματι κατανύξεως, καὶ καμύσει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν.

For the Lord has made you to drink a spirit of deep sleep; and he shall close their eyes.

Rom. xi. 8.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται:] Ἐδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως, ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκοεῖν.

[As it is written,] God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear.

Is. xxix. 10.

בִּינְסַף עֲלֵיכֶם יְהוָה רוּחַ תַּרְדֵּמָה וַיַּעֲצֵם אֶת־עֵינֵיכֶם:

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes.

¹⁵⁴ This is taken from the LXX., abridged, altered, and transposed.

¹⁵⁶ This quotation is taken from two passages mixed up together, viz. Isa. xxix. 10., and Deut. xxix. 3. ἔδωκεν is borrowed from the latter. The Septuagint was the original source.

τιζε αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

πότιζε αὐτόν. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

לֶחֶם וְאֵם צָמְאוּ הַשָּׂקֵהוּ מִיָּם :
בִּי גָּחַלִים אָתָּה הִתָּה עַל־
רֵאשׁוֹ ;

If thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink : for so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.

Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink : for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.

If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat ; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink : for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.

(162.) Ex. xx. 13—17 ; Lev. xix. 18.

Rom. xiii. 9.

Ex. xx. 13, 14. (13-17.) ; Lev. xix. 18.

Οὐ μοιχεύσεις. οὐ κλέψεις. οὐ φονεύσεις. οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις. οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις. Ἄγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις. Ἄγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

לֹא תִרְצֹחַ : לֹא תִנְאָף : לֹא תִגְזֹב : לֹא תַעֲנֶה בְרֵעֲךָ עַד נִשְׁקָר : לֹא תַחְמוֹד : וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֲךָ כְּמִדְּךָ :

Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not covet, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not covet. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

(163.) Is. xlv. 23.

Rom. xiv. 11.

Is. xlv. 23.

Κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ ὀμνῶ, εἰ μὴ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου δικαιοσύνη, οἱ λόγοι μου οὐκ ἀποστραφήσονται, ὅτι ἔμοι κάμψαι πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ ὁμείτῃαι πᾶσα γλῶσσα τὸν θεόν.

[Γέγραπται γάρ·] Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι ἔμοι κάμψαι πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ.

בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי וְצִאָה מִפִּי צְדָקָה
דְּבַר יְכֹא וְשׁוֹב בִּי־לִי תִבְרַע
בְּלִבְבָּךְ תִּשָּׁבַע כָּל־לִשׁוֹן :

By myself, I swear, righteousness shall surely proceed out of my mouth ; my words shall not be frustrated ; that to me every knee shall bend, and every tongue shall swear by God.

[For it is written,] As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue confess to God.

I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, That unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.

(164.) Ps. lxxviii. 10.

Rom. xv. 3.

Ps. lxxviii. 10. (9.)

Οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδίζόντων σε ἐπέπεσον ἐπ' ἐμέ.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται·] Οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδίζόντων σε ἐπέπεσαν ἐπ' ἐμέ.

וְהַרְבֹּת חוֹרְבֵיךָ גָּבְלוּ עָלַי :

And the reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen upon me.

[As it is written,] The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me.

And the reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen on me.

(165.) Ps. xvii. 50.

Rom. xv. 9.

Ps. xviii. 50. (49.)

Διὰ τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσι, κύριε, καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται·] Διὰ τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ.

עֲלֶיךָ אֲזַמְרָה בְּגוֹיִם יְהוָה וְלִשְׁמוֹךְ אֲזַמְרָה :

Therefore, will I confess to thee, O Lord, among the Gentiles, and sing to thy name.

[As it is written,] For this cause I will confess to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy name.

Therefore will I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the heathen, and sing praises unto thy name.

¹⁶³ This is a free citation, agreeing neither with the Hebrew nor the LXX. (ζῶ ἐγώ is not in the text of Isaiah, but the clause *I swear by myself* corresponds to it. The LXX., according to the Vatican text, follow the Hebrew closely in *ὁμείτῃαι πᾶσα γλῶσσα τὸν θεόν*, but the Alexandrine text agrees with the apostle.

(166.) Deut. xxxii. 43.

Εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people.

Rom. xv. 10.

[Πάλιν λέγει·] Εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.

[Again he saith,] Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people.

Deut. xxxii. 43.

הַרְגִּינוּ גוֹיִם עִמּוֹ

Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people.

(167.) Ps. cxvi. 1.

Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐπαινέσατέ αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί.

Praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye peoples.

Rom. xv. 11.

[Καὶ πάλιν λέγει·] Αἰνεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἐπαινέσατέ αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί.

[And again he saith,] Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles; and laud him, all ye people.

Ps. cxvii. 1.

הַלְלוּ אֱתֵי ה' הַגּוֹיִם שְׂבַחְוהוּ בְּלִשׁוֹנֵי אֲמִיּוֹם

Praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people.

(168.) Is. xi. 10.

Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαί καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν.

And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall arise to rule over the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles trust.

Rom. xv. 12.

[Ἡσαΐας λέγει·] Ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν.

[Esaias saith,] There shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles trust.

Is. xi. 10.

וְהָיָה בַיּוֹם הַהוּא יִשְׁתָּעַבְדוּ עַמֵּי אֲרָץ עֲמֹד לְגַם עַמֵּי אֲרָץ יִרְשׁוּ

And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek.

(169.) Is. lii. 15.

Ὅτι οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν, συνήσουσιν.

For they to whom no report was brought concerning him, shall see; and they who have not heard, shall consider.

Rom. xv. 21.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται·] Οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν, συνήσουσιν.

[As it is written,] To whom he was not spoken of they shall see; and they that have not heard shall understand.

Is. lii. 15.

בִּי יִשְׁאָר לְאַרְסָפָר לְהֵם רְאוּ וּבְיִשְׁאָר לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ הִתְבּוֹנְנוּ

For that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider.

(170.) Is. xxix. 14.

Καὶ ἀπολώ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν κρύψω.

And I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will hide the understanding of the prudent.

1 Cor. i. 19.

[Γέγραπται γάρ·] Ἀπολώ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω.

[For it is written,] I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent.

Is. xxix. 14.

וְיִכָּרְתָה חֵכְמַת חֲכָמָיו וְיִכָּבְדוּ נְבוֹנֵי תִּקְמָתָם

For the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.

¹⁶⁶ This is from Deut. xxxii. 43. exactly according to the LXX. The Hebrew has *rejoice ye tribes, his people*; but the Septuagint, in which two different translations are combined, one being a gloss, i.e. $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$, μετὰ, and $\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota$, ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ, have *with his people*. The Masoretic punctuation is right, and the Septuagint incorrect. To say with Scott that "the Septuagint give the genuine meaning of the Hebrew, though, in the abrupt language of poetry, the preposition signifying *with* is omitted," (Christian Observer,) is either saying nothing to the purpose, or asserting what is wholly untenable.

(171.) Jer. ix. 24.

Ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος, συνιέν καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ ποιῶν ἔλεος καὶ κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Let him that boasts boast in this, the understanding and knowing that I am the Lord that exercise mercy, and judgment, and righteousness, upon the earth.

1 Cor. i. 31.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται·] Ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω.

[As it is written,] He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.

Jer. ix. 23. (24.)

כִּי אִם-יְבוֹאֲרַת יְתַלְלֵל
הַמְתַּלְלֵל הַיְשָׁבֵל וְיָדַע אֹתִי
כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה הַקֶּסֶד
מִשְׁפָּט וְיִצְדָּקָה בְּאֶרֶץ:

Let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness, in the earth.

(172.) Is. lxiv. 4.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἤκουσαμεν οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον θεὸν πλην σου καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου ἃ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον.

From of old we have not heard, neither have our eyes seen a God beside thee, and thy works which thou wilt perform to them that wait for mercy.

1 Cor. ii. 9.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται·] Ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ ὁ οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃσα ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

[As it is written,] Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.

Is. lxiv. 4.

וְיַעֲשֶׂה לְאִשְׁמְעוּ לֵא
הַאֲזוּנוֹ עֵין לֹא רָאָתָה אֲלֹהִים
וּזְלַתָּה יַעֲשֶׂה לְמַחְבְּאֵה-לוֹ:

Since the beginning of the world men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, beside thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him.

(173.) Is. xl. 13.

Τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο, ὃς συμβεῖβῃ αὐτόν;

Who has known the mind of the Lord? and who has been his counsellor to instruct him?

1 Cor. ii. 16.

Τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, ὃς συμβεῖβῃ αὐτόν;

For who hath known the mind of the Lord that he may instruct him?

Is. xl. 13.

מִי־תִגְבֹּן אֶת־רוּחֵהּ יְהוָה
וְאִישׁ עֲצָתוֹ יְדוּרֵי־עֵנּוּ:

Who hath directed the Spirit of the Lord, or, being his counsellor hath taught him?

(174.) Job v. 13.

Ὁ καταλαμβάνων σοφούς ἐν τῇ φρονήσει.

¹⁷² This citation is attended with many difficulties. It has more resemblance to Isa. lxiv. 4. than to any other place in the Old Testament, and therefore many think that it has been very freely taken from it *memoriter*; some other passages in Isa., as lii. 15. and lxx. 17., being also in the apostle's mind. Origen and several of the fathers think it was quoted from the apocryphal work called the *Revelation of Elias*, in which we are assured by one writer that the words of the apostle were actually found. This view has been adopted by Meyer in modern times, though he allows that *καθὼς γέγραπται* at the commencement, is always applied elsewhere to *canonical* works. Randolph errs in affirming that "the passage is so near to the Hebrew, both in sense and words, that we cannot suppose it to be taken from anywhere else." (Page 39.) The difficulty lies in its *remoteness* from the Hebrew text. Nor is it certain that the Hebrew is here greatly corrupted, as Randolph asserts; or that it is impossible to make sense of it. Gesenius has made sense of it as it is; so has Knobel. There is not the least ground for supposing the Hebrew corrupt. On the whole, though Origen's view is not improbable, we are inclined to believe that the apostle quoted freely from a reminiscence of Isa. lxiv. 3.; other prophecies of the writer floating in his mind at the same time. For full information on the verse, we refer to the commentaries of De Wette and Meyer on the New Testament, and to those of Gesenius and Knobel on the Old.

Who takes the wise in their wisdom.

[For it is written,] He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.

He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.

(175.) Ps. xciii. 11.

Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι εἰς μάταιοι.

The Lord knows the thoughts of men that they are vain.

1 Cor. iii. 20.

[Καὶ πάλιν ·] Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν, ὅτι εἰς μάταιοι.

[And again,] The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain.

Ps. xciv. 11.

יְהוָה יִדְעַ מַחְשְׁבוֹת אָדָם
כִּי־הֵמָּה תְהִלָּה

The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man, that they are vanity.

(176.) Gen. ii. 24.

Καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

And they two shall be one flesh.

1 Cor. vi. 16.

Ἔσονται γὰρ [φησιν] οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

For two [saith he] shall be one flesh.

Gen. ii. 24.

וְהָיוּ לְבָשָׂר אֶחָד

And they shall be one flesh.

(177.) Deut. xxv. 4.

Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα.

Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treads out the corn.

1 Cor. ix. 9.

[Ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωυσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται·] Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα.

[For it is written in the law of Moses,] Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.

Deut. xxv. 4.

לֹא־תַחַם שׁוֹר בְּדִישׁוֹ

Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.

(178.) Ex. xxxii. 6.

Καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίξαι.

And the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.

1 Cor. x. 7.

[Ὡσπερ γέγραπται·] Ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίξαι.

[As it is written,] The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.

Ex. xxxii. 6.

וַיֹּשְׁבּוּ הָעָם לֵאכֹל וּלְשׂוֹת
וַיָּקָמוּ לְצַחֵק

And the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.

(179.) Deut. xxxii. 17.

Ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ.

They sacrificed to devils and not to God.

1 Cor. x. 20.

[Ἄλλ·] ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ θύουσιν.

[But,] That the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God.

Deut. xxxii. 17.

וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ לְשֵׁרִים לֹא־אֱלֹהִים

They sacrificed unto devils, not to God.

(180.) Ps. xxiii. 1.

Τοῦ κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς.

The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof.

1 Cor. x. 26.

Τοῦ κυρίου γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς.

For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.

Ps. xxiv. 1.

לַיהוָה הָאָרֶץ וּמְלִאֲתָהּ

The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.

(181.) Is. xxviii. 11, 12.

Διὰ φανλισμῶν χειλῶν, διὰ

1 Cor. xiv. 21.

[Ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται·]

Is. xxviii. 11, 12.

כִּי בְלַעְגֵי שִׁפְחָה וּבְזָלוֹן

¹⁷⁵ This citation agrees equally with the LXX. and with the Hebrew. It differs from both only in the word σοφῶν, for דַּבָּרִים, ἀνθρώπων, but this does not alter the sense. Those MSS. of the Pauline Epistles, as well as versions that have ἀνθρώπων, have it by correction.

¹⁷⁹ This is not so much a citation as a reminiscence from Deut. xxxii. 17., in the LXX.

¹⁸¹ This quotation, taken from Isa. xxviii. 11., deviates considerably from the LXX. Randolph asserts incorrectly that it is not taken from the LXX. but either from the Hebrew or some other translation (page 40.).

γλώσσης ἐτέρας, ὅτι λαλήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ—καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀκούειν.

ὅτι ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἐτέρων λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακουσούνται μου, λέγει κύριος.

אַתְּתָּה יִבְרַר אֶל־הָעַם הַזֶּה : וְלֹא יִשְׁמָעוּ :—

By reason of the contemptuous words of the lips, by means of another language: for they shall speak to this people. But they would not hear.

[In the law it is written,] With men of other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people; and yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord.

For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to this people:—yet they would not hear.

(182.) Ps. cix. 1.

Ἔως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

1 Cor. xv. 25.

Ἄχρις οὗ θῆ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς [αὐτοῦ] ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

Ps. cx. 1.

יָשֵׁב לִי כִמְיִי עַד־אֶשְׂרִית אֲנִי יְדֵךְ הָרַם לְרַגְלִיךָ :

Until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

Till he hath put all (his) enemies under his feet.

Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

(183.) Ps. viii. 7.

Πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

1 Cor. xv. 27.

Πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

Ps. viii. 7.

כָּל שִׂמְתָה תַּחַת־רַגְלָיו :

Thou hast put all things under his feet.

For he hath put all things under his feet.

Thou hast put all things under his feet.

(184.) Is. xxii. 13.

Φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.

1 Cor. xv. 32.

Φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν· αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.

Is. xxii. 13.

אֲכֹל וְשָׂתוּ בִי מָחָר נְמוּת :

Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die.

Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die.

Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we shall die.

(185.) Gen. ii. 7.

Καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.

1 Cor. xv. 45.

[Οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται·] Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος [ἄνθρωπος] Ἄδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.

Gen. ii. 7.

וַיְהִי הָאָדָם לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה :

And the man became a living soul.

[And so it is written,] The first [man] Adam was made a living soul.

And man became a living soul.

(186.) Is. xxv. 8.

Κατέπειν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας.

1 Cor. xv. 54.

[Τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος·] Κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος.

Is. xxv. 8.

בָּלַע הַמָּוֶת לְגַצְתָּ :

Death hath prevailed and swallowed men up.

[Then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written,] Death is swallowed up in victory.

He will swallow up death in victory.

(187.) Hos. xiii. 14.

Ποῦ ἡ δίκη σου, θάνατε; ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου, ἄδη;

1 Cor. xv. 55.

Ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νίκος; ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον;

Hos. xiii. 14.

אֵהִי דְבַרְיֶךָ מָוֶת אֵהִי קְרָבְךָ שְׂאוּל :

Where is thy penalty, O death? O Hades, where is thy sting?

O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?

O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction.

¹⁸⁷ This is a free citation from the LXX., who have not rendered the Hebrew closely or correctly, for they have ποῦ for אֵהִי as if it were הֵיכָּן, ἡ δίκη σου for דְבַרְיֶךָ, and τὸ κέντρον σου for קְרָבְךָ. Those who think that the Hebrew should be corrected by the New Testament here, proposing to change אֵהִי I will be, into הֵיכָּן where, are altogether mistaken.

(188.) Ps. cxv. 1.

Ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα.

I believed, wherefore I have spoken.

2 Cor. iv. 13.

[Κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον] Ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα.

[According as it is written,] I believed, and therefore have I spoken.

Ps. cxvi. 10.

וְאָמַנְתִּי בִּי אֲדַבֵּר :

I believed, therefore have I spoken.

(189.) Is. xlix. 8.

Καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι.

In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I succoured thee.

2 Cor. vi. 2.

[Λέγει γάρ:] Καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι.

[For he saith,] I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee.

Is. xlix. 8.

בָּעֵת רְצוֹן עֲנִיתִיךָ וּבְיוֹם בָּעֵת יִשְׁעָךָ עֲוֵרְתִיךָ :

In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee.

(190.) Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.

Καὶ θήσω τὴν σκηνήν μου ἐν ὑμῶν—καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεὸς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαός.

And I will set my tabernacle among you, and will walk among you, and be your God, and ye shall be my people.

2 Cor. vi. 16.

[Καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεός:] Ὅτι ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι λαός.

[As God hath said,] I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.

Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.

וְנִתְמַי מִשְׁכְּנִי בְּתוֹכְכֶם—וְהִתְמַלְכְּתִי בְּתוֹכְכֶם וְהִייתִי לְכֶם לֵאלֹהִים וְאַתֶּם תְּהִי־לִי לְעַם :

And I will set my tabernacle among you:—and I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people.

(191.) Is. lii. 11, 12.; 2 Kings vii. 14.

Ἀπόστητε ἀπόστητε, ἐξέλθατε ἐκείθεν καὶ ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἀψησθε, ἐξέλθετε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῆς—προπορεύσεται γὰρ πρότερος ὑμῶν κύριος.—Ἔγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν.

Depart ye, depart, go out from thence, and touch not the unclean thing; go ye out from the midst of her; for the Lord shall go first before you. I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son.

2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.

Διὸ ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφορίσθητε, [λέγει κύριος] καὶ ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἀπτεσθε· κἀγὼ εἰσδέξομαι ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν εἰς πατέρα, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς υἱὸς καὶ θυγατέρας, [λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ.]

Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate [saith the Lord,] and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you; and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters [saith the Lord Almighty.]

Is. lii. 11, 12.; 2 Sam. vii. 12.

סורו סורו צאו מִשְׁמֶ כְּכֹמֵא אֶל־תִּמְנְעוּ צֵאוּ מִתּוֹכָהּ—בִּי הִלַּךְ לִפְנֵיכֶם וְהָנָה—אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה־לּוֹ לְאָב וְהוּא יִהְיֶה־לִּי לְבֵן :

Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her: for the Lord will go before you.—I will be his Father, and he shall be my son.

¹⁹⁰ From Levit. xxvi. 11, 12. in the Septuagint. What was spoken of the Israelites is here applied to Christians. Instead of *θήσω τὴν σκηνήν μου*, the apostle has *ἐνοικήσω*. He also changes the pronouns to make them coincide with the *oratio obliqua*.

¹⁹¹ This is freely taken from the LXX. The prophet refers to the departure from Babylon. Here the same is applied to Christians. Hence it was necessary for the Apostle to depart from the words of the Old Testament, though he subjoins notwithstanding his favourite expression *λέγει κύριος*. The 18th verse is founded on various passages, such as 2 Sam. vii. 14., Jer. xxxi. 9—33., xxxii. 38., but chiefly on the first. In various places God promises to be a father to Israel and to Solomon, which the apostle applies to Christians in general.

(192.) Ex. xvi. 18.

Οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν ὁ τὸ πολὺ, καὶ ὁ τὸ ἕλαττον οὐκ ἠλαττόνησεν.

He that had gathered much had nothing over, and he that had gathered less had no lack.

2 Cor. viii. 15.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται·] Ὁ τὸ πολὺ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν, καὶ ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον οὐκ ἠλαττόνησεν.

[As it is written,] He that had gathered much had nothing over; and he that had gathered little had no lack.

Ex. xvi. 18.

וְלֹא הִתְעַדִּיף הַמְּרֻבָּר וְהַמְּמֻעָט לֹא חָסֵר׃

He that gathered much, had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack.

(193.) Prov. xxii. 8.

Ἄνδρα ἱλαρὸν καὶ δότην εὐλογεῖ ὁ θεός.

God blesses a cheerful man and a giver.

2 Cor. ix. 7.

Ἱλαρὸν γὰρ δότην ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεός.

For God loveth a cheerful giver.

Prov. xxii. 9.

טוב־עֵינַן הוּא יְבָרֵךְ׃

He that hath a bountiful eye shall be blessed.

(194.) Ps. cxi. 9.

Ἐσκόρπισεν, ἔδωκε τοῖς πένησιν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνα.

He has dispersed abroad; he has given to the poor; his righteousness endures for evermore.

2 Cor. ix. 9.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται·] Ἐσκόρπισεν, ἔδωκεν τοῖς πένησιν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

[As it is written,] He hath dispersed abroad; he has given to the poor; his righteousness remaineth for ever.

Ps. cxii. 9.

פֶּזַר נֶתַן לְאַבְיוֹנִים צְדָקָתוֹ עֲמָרְתָּ לְעַד׃

He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor; his righteousness endureth for ever.

(195.) Deut. xix. 15.

Ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ ἐπὶ στόματος τριῶν μαρτύρων στήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.

By the mouth of two witnesses or by the mouth of three witnesses shall every word be established.

2 Cor. xiii. 1.

Ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.

In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established.

Deut. xix. 15.

עַל־פִּי שְׁנַי יְעִידִים אִוְ עַל־פִּי שְׁלֹשָׁה יְעִידִים יָקוּם דְּבָר׃

At the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established.

(196.) Gen. xii. 3.

Καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.

And in thee shall all tribes of the earth be blessed.

Gal. iii. 8.

[Προϊδούσα δὲ ἡ γραφή . . . προενηγγελίστατο τῷ Ἀβραάμ·] ὅτι ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.

[And the scripture, foreseeing . . . preached unto Abraham,] In thee shall all nations be blessed.

Gen. xii. 3. (see xviii. 18.)

וְנִבְרַכּוּ בְךָ כָּל מִשְׁפְּחוֹת הָאָרֶץ׃

And in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.

(197.) Deut. xxvii. 26.

Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τούτου ποιῆσαι αὐτούς.

Cursed is every man that continues not in all the words of this law to do them.

Gal. iii. 10.

[Γέγραπται γάρ·] ὅτι ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά.

[For it is written,] Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.

Deut. xxvii. 26.

אָרוּר אִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא־יִקְוֶם אֶת־דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה־הַזֹּאת לַעֲשׂוֹת׃

Cursed be he that conformeth not all the words of this law to do them.

(198.) Hab. ii. 4.; Lev. xviii. 5.

Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.—² Ἀ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἀνθρώπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

The just shall live by my faith.—Which if a man do he shall live in them.

(199.) Deut. xxi. 23.

Κεκατηραμένους ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου.

Every one that is hanged on a tree is cursed of God.

(200.) Gen. xxii. 18.

Καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς.

And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.

(201.) Is. liv. 1.

Εὐφράνθητι στείρα ἢ οὐ τικτουσα, βῆξον καὶ βόησον ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.

Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that dost not travail; for more are the children of the desolate than of her that has a husband.

(202.) Gen. xxi. 10.

¹ Ἐκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην ταύτην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης ταύτης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Ἰσαάκ.

Cast out this bondwoman and her son, for the son of this bondwoman shall not inherit with my son Isaac.

Gal. iii. 11, 12.

¹ Ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.—² Ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

The just shall live by faith.—The man that doeth them shall live in them.

Gal. iii. 13.

[¹ Ὅτι γέγραπται·] Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου.

[For it is written,] Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.

Gal. iii. 16.

[Ὁὐ λέγει·] Καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν, [ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἑνὸς] Καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, [ὅς ἐστὶν Χριστός.]

[He saith not,] And to the seeds, [as of many; but as of one], And to thy seed [which is Christ.]

Gal. iv. 27.

[Γέγραπται γάρ·] Εὐφράνθητι στείρα ἢ οὐ τικτουσα, βῆξον καὶ βόησον ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.

[For it is written,] Rejoice, thou barren, that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband.

Gal. iv. 30.

[Τί λέγει ἡ γραφή;] Ἐκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.

[What saith the scripture?] Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman.

Hab. ii. 4.; Lev. xviii. 5.

—: יְצַדִּיק בְּאִמּוֹנָתוֹ יִתְּנֶהּ אֱשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם הַצְּדִיק וְחַי בְּהֶם

The just shall live by his faith.—Which if a man do, he shall live in them.

Deut. xxi. 23.

: קָלַל אֱלֹהִים תְּלוּי

He that is hanged is accursed of God.

Gen. xxii. 18.

וְהַתְּבָרְכוּ בְּרִיעַךְ כָּל גּוֹיֵי הָאָרֶץ

And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.

Is. liv. 1.

רְנִי עַמְּךָ לֹא יִלְדָה פְּצָהּ רְנִי וְצִלְלִי לֹא־תִלְהָה בֵּי רַבִּיבֵי בְּגֵי־שׁוֹמְמָה מִבְּגֵי בְּעֹלָהּ

Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate, than the children of the married wife.

Gen. xxi. 10.

גָּרַשׁ הַאֲמָה וְאֶת־בְּנֵיהָ בֵּי לֹא יִרְשׁ בְּנֵי־הָאֲמָה וְעַם־בְּנֵי עַם־יִצְחָק

Cast out this bondwoman and her son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac.

¹⁹⁹ These words are quoted freely after the Septuagint. The apostle omits ὑπὸ θεοῦ, but retains πᾶς, which was inserted by the Greek translator.

²⁰² This is borrowed from the LXX. with some alterations. The pronouns ταύτην and ταύτης are omitted; and for μου Ἰσαάκ is put τῆς ἐλευθέρας.

(203.) Lev. xix. 18.

Καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.

And thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self.

Gal. v. 14.

[Ἐν τῷ·] Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.

[In this,] Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Lev. xix. 18.

וְאַהֲבָהָתָּ לְרֵעֲךָ כְּמוֹךָ

But thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

(204.) Ps. lxxvii. 19.

Ἄναβας εἰς ὕψος ἤχμαλώ- τευσας αἰχμαλωσίαν ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

Thou art gone up on high, thou hast led a multitude of prisoners captive, thou hast received gifts for men.

Eph. iv. 8.

[Διὸ λέγει·] Ἄναβας εἰς ὕψος ἤχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

[Wherefore he saith,] When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.

Ps. lxxviii. 18.

עֲלִיתָ לְמָרוֹם שָׁבִיתָ שָׁבִי לְמַחְתָּ מִכַּוְנוֹת בְּצָרָם

Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast received gifts for men.

(205.)

Eph. v. 14.

[Διὸ λέγει·] Ἐγείρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφάσει σοι ὁ χριστός.

[Wherefore he saith,] Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.

—

—

(206.) Gen. ii. 24.

Ἐνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

Therefore shall a man

Eph. v. 31.

Ἄντι τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ προσκολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

For this cause shall a man

Gen. ii. 24.

עַל-יְבֹן יַעֲרַב אִישׁ אֶת-אִיבֹו וְאֶת-אִמּוֹ וְרַבַּב בְּאַשְׁתּוֹ וְהָיָו לְבָשָׂר אֶחָד

Therefore shall a man

²⁰⁴ This is a free citation from the LXX. of Psal. lxxviii. 18 The LXX. agree with the original Hebrew, but the apostle differs widely from both. It is of no consequence that he changes the person, for the purpose of incorporating the quotation with his subject. But instead of "thou hast received gifts among men," *ἔλαβες—ἐν ἀνθρώποις*, Paul has "gave gifts to men," *ἔδωκε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*. This too is the most important clause, that in which the strength of the apostle's illustration lies. We can only state our view of the quotation in the briefest manner, referring to such commentators as De Wette on the New Testament and Hengstenberg on the Psalms, for copious remarks.

First, The apostle does not use the Psalm-passage as if it contained a *direct* prophecy respecting Christ. Neither does he find in it a *typical* prophecy of Christ. Had either been the case, he would not have taken such liberty in altering the words.

Secondly, The apostle uses the passage in the same way as many others, for example Rom. x. 7, 8., as a vehicle for his own ideas, in the way of accommodation. It is used for *illustration*, not for *proof*. If this be so, he is warranted in changing the words to suit his purpose, which, in another case, he would scarcely be. Hence there is no necessity for investigating the historical circumstances and subject of the Psalm. Those who believe that the apostle quotes from it in its true and proper meaning, sadly twist the words of Paul to bring them into accordance with the original. See for example the perverted exegesis of Eadie. It is no valid objection to our view that the apostle reasons upon the words in the following verses, because in applying *ascended* to Christ, on which verb the stress is laid, he only takes for granted what the Jews and all acquainted with the Old Testament acknowledged, viz. that the manifestations of God in the ancient economy were manifestations of the *Word* or *Memra*.

²⁰⁵ This passage can scarcely be considered a quotation. Some have thought that it was taken from an apocryphal writing of Elias, or a similar composition of Jeremiah; others that it was borrowed from a Christian hymn. It is probably based upon Isa. lx. 1., but the language differs much from the Septuagint.

leave his father and his mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh.

leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh.

leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh.

(207.) Ex. xx. 12. (Deut. v. 16.)

Eph. vi. 2, 3.

Ex. xx. 12. (Deut. v. 16.)

Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται, καὶ ἵνα μακροχρόνιος γένη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα, [ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ.] ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται καὶ ἔση μακροχρόνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

בְּיָד אֱתֵּיבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמְךָ
לְמַעַן יִצְרְכוּ יְמֶיךָ עַל
הָאָרֶץ :

Honour thy father and mother that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on the land.

Honour thy father and mother, [which is the first commandment with promise,] That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth.

Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land.

(208.) Deut. xxv. 4.

1 Tim. v. 18.

Deut. xxv. 4.

Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα.

[Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή.] Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα.

לֹא־תִחָסֵם שׂוֹר בְּיִשׁוֹ :

Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treads out the corn.

[For the scripture saith,] thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.

Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.

(209.) Num. xvi. 5.

2 Tim. ii. 19.

Num. xvi. 5.

Καὶ ἔγνω ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ.

*Ἐγνω κύριος τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ.

יָרַע יְהוָה אֶת־אֲשֵׁרֵלֹו :

God has known them that are his.

The Lord knoweth them that are his.

The Lord will shew who are his.

(210.) Ps. ii. 7, and 2 Kings vii. 14.

Heb. i. 5.

Ps. ii. 7., and 2 Sam. vii. 14.

Τίς μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, — Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν.

[Τίς γὰρ εἶπεν —] Τίς μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε; [καὶ πάλιν] Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν.

בְּנִי אֲמַתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם
יְלִדְתִּיךָ : אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה־לּוֹ לְאָב
וְהוּא יְהִי־לִי לְבֵן :

Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee. — I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son.

[For unto which ... said he,] Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee, [and again,] I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son.

Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee. — I will be his father, and he shall be my son.

(211.) Ps. xevi. 7.

Heb. i. 6.

Ps. xevii. 7.

Προσκυνησατε αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ.

[Λεγει:] Καὶ προσκυνήσασθε αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ.

הִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ־לוֹ כָּל־אַלְהֵים :

Worship him, all ye his angels.

[He saith,] And let all the angels of God worship him.

Worship him, all ye gods.

²⁰⁷ This quotation may be either from Exod. xx. 12. or Deut. v. 16.

²¹¹ This quotation is from Psal. xcvi. 7. in the Septuagint, not from Deut. xxxii. 43. In the latter place there is nothing corresponding to it in the Hebrew. The Alexandrine recension of the LXX., which the apostle used, has there *ἰοὶ θεοῦ*, instead of *ἄγγελοι θεοῦ*. The Hebrew word *elohim* never denotes *angels*, as Gesenius and Hengstenberg both allow; so that the New Testament writer must have had both passages of the LXX. in his mind and mixed them up together.

(212.) Ps. ciii. 4.

Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐ-
τοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λει-
τουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.

Who makes his angels
spirits, and his ministers a
flaming fire.

Heb. i. 7.

[Λέγει·] Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγ-
γέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ
τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ
φλόγα.

[He saith,] Who maketh
his angels spirits, and his
ministers a flame of fire.

Ps. civ. 4.

עֲשֵׂה כוֹלְאֲזָבוּי רוחות
מְשַׁרְתֵּיו אֵשׁ לְהַטּוֹת

Who maketh his angels
spirits; his ministers a flam-
ing fire.

(213.) Ps. xlv. 7, 8.

Ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ θεός, εἰς
αἰῶνα αἰῶνος, βάβδος εὐθύτητος
ἢ βάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου.
ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐ-
μίσησας ἀνομίαν. διὰ τοῦτο
ἔχρισέ σε ὁ θεός ὁ θεός σου
ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιᾶσεως παρὰ τοὺς
μετόχους σου.

Thy throne, O God, is for
ever and ever; the sceptre
of thy kingdom is a sceptre
of righteousness. Thou
hast loved righteousness, and
hated iniquity: therefore God,
thy God, has anointed thee
with the oil of gladness be-
yond thy fellows.

Heb. i. 8, 9.

[Πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν·] Ὁ θρό-
νος σου, ὁ θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ βάβδος τῆς εὐ-
θύτητος βάβδος τῆς βασιλείας
σου. ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ
ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν· διὰ τοῦτο
ἔχρισέν σε, ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός σου
ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιᾶσεως παρὰ τοὺς
μετόχους σου.

[But unto the Son, [he
saith,]] Thy throne, O God,
is for ever and ever: a
sceptre of righteousness is
the sceptre of thy kingdom;
Thou hast loved righteous-
ness, and hated iniquity;
therefore God, even thy God,
has anointed thee with the
oil of gladness above thy
fellows.

Ps. xlv. 6, 7.

בְּסֶפֶד אֱלֹהִים עוֹלָם וָעַד
שֵׁבֶט מִיְמִינֶךָ שֵׁבֶט מַלְכוּתֶךָ;
אֶתְהַבֵּת אֶתְךָ וְתִשָּׂאָה רִשְׁעֵי-
עַלְיָן בְּיַד מִשְׁפָּחֶיךָ אֱלֹהִים
וְשִׁמְן שִׁשְׁנוֹן מִמֶּנְהֶיבֶיךָ

Thy throne, O God, is for
ever and ever: the sceptre of
thy kingdom is a right sceptre.
Thou lovest righteous-
ness, and hatest wickedness:
therefore God, thy God, hath
anointed thee with the oil of
gladness above thy fellows.

(214.) Ps. ci. 26, &c.

Κατ' ἀρχὰς τὴν γῆν σὺ κύ-
ριε ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν
χειρῶν σου εἰσὶν οἱ οὐρανοί.
αὐτοὶ ἀπολούνται, σὺ δὲ διαμέ-
νεις, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον
παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ πε-
ριβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτοὺς καὶ
ἀλλαγῆσονται. σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτός
εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλεί-
ψουσιν.

In the beginning thou, O
Lord, didst lay the founda-
tion of the earth; and the
heavens are the works of
thine hands. They shall
perish, but thou remainest:
and they all shall wax old
as a garment; and as a ves-
ture shalt thou fold them,
and they shall be changed.
But thou art the same, and
thy years shall not fail.

Heb. i. 10, &c.

[Καί·] Σὺ κατ' ἀρχὰς, κύριε,
τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα
τῶν χειρῶν σου εἰσὶν οἱ οὐρα-
νοί· αὐτοὶ ἀπολούνται, σὺ δὲ
διαμένεις· καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμά-
τιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ
περιβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτοὺς, ὡς
ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἀλλαγῆσονται· σὺ
δὲ ὁ αὐτός εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου
οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν.

[And,] Thou, Lord, in
the beginning hast laid the
foundation of the earth; and
the heavens are the works of
thine hands. They shall
perish; but thou remainest:
and they all shall wax old
as doth a garment; and as
a vesture shalt thou fold
them up, and they shall be
changed; but thou art the
same, and thy years shall not
fail.

Ps. cii. 26. (25.) &c.

לְפָנַי הִתְהַוָּה הַמָּוֶה
וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיךָ שִׁמְמוֹם: הַמָּוֶה
יִאֲבָדוּ וְאַתָּה תַעֲמֹד וְיָלֵם
כְּבִגְדוֹ יִבְלֶה כְּלְבוּשׁ תִּתְלַחֵם
וְיִתְלַפֵּוּ: וְאַתָּה הוּא וְיִשְׁנוֹתֶיךָ
לֹא יִתְמוּוּ

Of old hast thou laid the
foundation of the earth; and
the heavens are the work of
thy hands. They shall perish,
but thou shalt endure; yea,
all of them shall wax old
like a garment: as a vesture
shalt thou change them, and
they shall be changed: But
thou art the same, and thy
years shall have no end.

²⁴ This quotation is taken from the Septuagint which agrees very nearly with the Hebrew. Instead of ἠλίξεις the Cod. Vat. of the LXX. has ἐλλάξεις which is inaccurate, though the writer of the Epistle follows it. The Alex. Cod. has ἀλλάξεις, which is in D. and the Vulgate, and is certainly conformable to the original, but it is not the true reading in the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is not the least probability that the original reading both in the Psalm and this Epistle was ἀλλάξεις.

(215.) Ps. cix. 1.

Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν δῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

Heb. i. 13.

[Εἰρηκέν ποτε·] Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν δῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου;

[Said he at any time.] Sit on my right hand, untill I make thee thine enemies thy footstool.

Ps. cx. 1.

שֵׁב לְיָמֵי עַד-אֲשֵׁר יִשָּׁב אֲנִי בְּיַד הַלְלוֹתֶיךָ :

Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

(216.) Ps. viii. 5.

Τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι μιμήσκη αὐτοῦ, ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι ἐπισκέπη αὐτόν; ἢ λάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἑστεφάνωσας αὐτόν, καὶ κατέστησας αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου· πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

What is man, that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little less than angels, thou hast crowned him with glory and honour; and thou set him over the works of thy hands. Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet.

Heb. ii. 6, &c.

[Διεμαρτύρατο δὲ πού τις λέγων·] Τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι μιμήσκη αὐτοῦ, ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι ἐπισκέπη αὐτόν; ἢ λάττωσας αὐτόν βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἑστεφάνωσας αὐτόν, [καὶ κατέστησας αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου,] πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

[But one in a certain place testified, saying] What is man that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honour, [and didst set him over the works of thy hands.] Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet.

Ps. viii. 5. (4.) &c.

מָה-אָנוּשׁ בְּיַד-תְּבַרְכָנוּ וּבְךָ אָדָם בִּי תִבְרַכְנֵנוּ; וְתַמְפְּרֵהוּ כְעֵט מַלְאָכִים וּבָבוּד וְהָדָר תַּמְפְּרֵהוּ; תַּמְשִׁילֵהוּ בְּמַעֲשֵׂי יְדֶיךָ בְּלֹ שְׂמָחָה תַּתְּחִילֵהוּ :

What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet.

(217.) Ps. xxi. 23.

Διηγῆσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε.

I will declare thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the church I will sing praise to thee.

Heb. ii. 12.

[Λέγων·] Ἄπαγγελῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε.

[Saying,] I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the Church will I sing praise unto thee.

Ps. xxii. 23. (22.)

אֲסַפְּרָה שִׁמְךָ לְאֶחָי בְּתוֹךְ קְהַל אֲהֲלֵיךָ :

I will declare thy name unto my brethren: in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee.

(218.) Is. viii. 17, 18.

Καὶ πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός.

And I will trust in him. Behold I and the children which God has given me.

Heb. ii. 12, 13.

[Καὶ πάλιν·] Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιθὼς ἐπ' αὐτῷ. [καὶ πάλιν] Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός.

[And again,] I will put my trust in him. [And again.] Behold, I, and the children which God hath given me.

Is. viii. 17, 18.

וְקִוִּיתִי לוֹ; הִנֵּה אֲנִי וּבְנֵי-יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַלְתִּי יְהוָה :

And I will look for him. Behold I and the children whom the Lord hath given me.

(219.) Ps. xciv. 7., &c.

Σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ παρακρασμῷ. κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πικρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· οὐ ἐπειράσαν με οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν, ἔδοκίμασαν, καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα

Heb. iii. 7., &c.

[Καθὼς λέγει τ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἁγίου] Σήμερον, ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν τῷ παρακρασμῷ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὐ ἐπείρασαν οἱ πατέρες

Ps. xciv. 7, &c.

הַיּוֹם אִם-בְּקִלּוֹ תִשְׁמְעוּ; אֲלֵמַתְשׁוּ לְבַבְכֶם בְּמִרְיָבָה בַּיּוֹם מִסָּה בְּמִדְבָּר; אֲשֶׁר גִּסְוִי אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם בְּהַגְוִי גַם-

μου. τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη προσ-
ώχθισα τῇ γενεᾷ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ
εἶπα Ἄεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ,
καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁ-
δοὺς μου· ὡς ἄμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ
μου Εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν
κατάπαυσίν μου.

ὑμῶν ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ καὶ εἶδον τὰ
ἔργα μου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη.
διὸ προσώχθισα τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ
καὶ εἶπα Ἄεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ
καρδίᾳ· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν
τὰς ὁδοὺς μου, ὡς ἄμοσα ἐν τῇ
ὀργῇ μου Εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς
τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου.

רָאוּ פְעֻלָּי: אַרְבָּעִים יָשָׁנָה
אָקוט בְּדוֹר וְאָמַר עִם הַעֵי
לָדַבּ הֵם וְהֵם לֹא יָדְעוּ יְרֻבֵי:
אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי בְּאָפִי אִם־
יָבֹאוּ אֶל־מְנוּחָתִי:

To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts; as in the provocation, according to the day of irritation in the wilderness: where your fathers tempted me, proved me and saw my works. Forty years was I grieved with this generation, and said, They do always err in their heart, and they have not known my ways. So I swore in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.

[As the Holy Ghost saith,] To-day if ye will hear his voice, Harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness: When your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years. Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do always err in their heart; and they have not known my ways. So I swear in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.

To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your heart, as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness; when your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my work. Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said, It is a people that do err in their heart, and they have not known my ways. Unto whom I swear in my wrath that they should not enter into my rest.

(220.) Ps. xciv. 8.

Σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐ-
τοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε
τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ
παρὰκρυσμῷ.

Heb. iii. 15.

[Ἐν τῷ λέγεσθαί] Σήμερον,
ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε,
μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑ-
μῶν ὡς ἐν τῷ καταπικρασμῷ.

Ps. xciv. 7, 8.

הַיּוֹם אִם־בְּקִלּוֹ תִשְׁמְעוּ:
אֶל־תִּמְשְׁקוּ לְבַבְכֶם בְּמִרְיָהּ
כִּיּוֹם מִסָּה:

To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts; as in the provocation.

[While it is said,] To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation.

To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your heart, as in the provocation.

(221.) Ps. xciv. 11.

Ὡς ἄμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου
Εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατὰ-
παυσίν μου.

Heb. iv. 3.

[Καθὼς εἶρηκεν] Ὡς ἄμοσα
ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου Εἰ εἰσελεύ-
σονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου.

Ps. xciv. 11.

אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי בְּאָפִי אִם־
יָבֹאוּ אֶל־מְנוּחָתִי:

So I swore in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.

[As he said,] As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest.

Unto whom I swear in my wrath that they should not enter into my rest.

(222.) Gen. ii. 3.

Καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡ-
μέραν τὴν ἕβδομην καὶ ἡγίασεν
αὐτήν· ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν,
ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ,
ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι.

Heb. iv. 4.

[Εἶρηκεν γὰρ που—] Καὶ
κατέπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
τῇ ἕβδομῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔρ-
γων αὐτοῦ.

Gen. ii. 3.

וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־יוֹם
הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְמַדְּשֵׁנּוּ אֹתוֹ כִּי בּוֹ
שָׁבַת מִכָּל־מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר־
בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת:

And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because in it he ceased from all his works which he made.

[For he spake in a certain place . . .] And God did rest the seventh day from all his works.

And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made.

(223.) Ps. xciv. 8.

Σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐ-
τοῦ ἀκούσῃτε, μὴ σκληρύνῃτε
τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

To-day if ye will hear his
voice, harden not your hearts.

Heb. iv. 7.

[Καθὼς προεῖρηται.] Σήμε-
ρον, ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκού-
σῃτε, μὴ σκληρύνῃτε τὰς καρ-
δίας ὑμῶν.

[As it is said before,] To-
day, if ye will hear his voice,
harden not your hearts.

Ps. xciv. 7, 8.

הַיּוֹם אִם-בָּקִלּוֹ תִשְׁמָעוּנִי
: אִלְמָנְשִׁי לְבַבְכֶם בְּמִרְיָבָה
:

To-day if ye will hear his
voice, harden not your heart
as in the provocation.

(224.) Ps. ii. 7.

Τίός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον
γενένηκά σε.

Thou art my Son, to-day
have I begotten thee.

Heb. v. 5.

[Ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν.]
Τίός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον
γενένηκά σε.

[But he said unto him.]
Thou art my Son, to-day
have I begotten thee.

Ps. iii. 7.

בְּנִי אִמְתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם
: יִלְדִמֶנִּי
:

Thou art my Son, this day
have I begotten thee.

(225.) Ps. cix. 4.

Σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ
τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ.

Thou art a priest for ever,
after the order of Melchi-
sedec.

Heb. v. 6.

[Καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει.]
Σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ
τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ.

[As he saith also in ano-
ther place,] Thou art a priest
for ever after the order of
Melchisedec.

Ps. cx. 4.

אִמְתָּה-כֹּהֵן לְעוֹלָם עַל דְּבַרְתִּי
: מִלְכִּי-צֶדֶק
:

Thou art a priest for ever
after the order of Melchize-
dek.

(226.) Gen. xxii. 16, 17.

Λέγων, κατ' ἐμαντοῦ ὤμοσα,
λέγει κύριος ἡ μὴν εὐλογῶν
εὐλογῆσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων
πληθύνῃ τὸ σπέρμα σου.

Saying, I have sworn by
myself, saith the Lord.—
Surely blessing I will bless
thee, and multiplying I will
multiply thy seed.

Heb. vi. 13, 14.

[Ὁ θεὸς ὤμοσεν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ,
λέγων.] Εἰ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλο-
γήσω σε καὶ πληθύνων πληθυ-
νῶ σε.

[God sware by himself,
saying,] Surely blessing I
will bless thee, and multi-
plying I will multiply thee.

Gen. xxii. 16, 17.

בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי נְאֻם-יְהוָה
: בְּיַדְךָ יִמְרָרָה
: אֶרְבָּה אֶת-זַרְעֲךָ
:

By myself have I sworn,
saith the Lord—That in
blessing I will bless thee,
and in multiplying I will
multiply thy seed.

(227.) Ps. cix. 4.

Ὦμοσε κύριος καὶ οὐ μετα-
μεληθήσεται Σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν
αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχι-
σεδέκ.

The Lord swore and will
not repent, Thou art a priest
for ever, after the order of
Melchisedec.

Heb. vii. 17, 21.

[Μαρτυρεῖται γὰρ] ὅτι σὺ
ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν
τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ.—[Διὰ τοῦ
λέγοντος πρὸς αὐτόν,] Ὦμοσεν
κύριος, καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσε-
ται, σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ.

[For he testified,] Thou
art a priest for ever after the
order of Melchisedec. [With
... that said unto him,]
The Lord sware and will not
repent, Thou art a priest for
ever after the order of Mel-
chisedec.

Ps. cx. 4.

נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה וְלֹא יִנְחָם
: אִמְתָּה-כֹּהֵן לְעוֹלָם עַל-דְּבַרְתִּי
: מִלְכִּי-צֶדֶק
:

The Lord hath sworn, and
will not repent, Thou art a
priest for ever after the order
of Melchizedek.

(228.) Ex. xxv. 40.

Ὅρα ποιήσεις κατὰ τὸν τύ-
πον τὸν δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ
ὄρει.

Heb. viii. 5.

[Καθὼς κεχρημάτισται Μω-
σῆς.] Ὅρα γὰρ [φησιν,] ποι-
ήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον
τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

[As he said,] See that thou
do all things according to the
pattern which was shewed
thee in the mount.

Ex. xxv. 40.

וְרָאָה וַעֲשֵׂה בְּתַבְיֹתָי
: אֲשֶׁר-אִמְתָּה מִרְאֵה בְּהָרִי
:

See that thou do all things
according to the pattern which
was shewed thee in the
mount.

See, thou shalt make them according to the pattern shewed thee in the mount.

[As Moses was admonished,] For, Sec [saith he] that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed to thee in the mount.

And look that thou make them after their pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount.

(229.) Jer. xxxviii. 31, &c.

Heb. viii. 8., &c.

Jer. xxxi. 31, &c.

Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, φησὶ κύριος, καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰουδα διαθήκην καινὴν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠμέλησα αὐτῶν, φησὶ κύριος· ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη μου, ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας, φησὶ κύριος, διδοὺς δάσω νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν γράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν. καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἕκαστος τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, λέγων Γινῶθι τὸν κύριον· ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσί με ἀπὸ μικροῦ αὐτῶν ἕως μεγάλου αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἴλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι.

[Λέγει·] Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει κύριος, καὶ συντελέσω ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰουδα διαθήκην καινὴν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν ἐποίησα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠμέλησα αὐτῶν, λέγει κύριος. ὅτι αὐτὴ ἡ διαθήκη [μου] ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας, λέγει κύριος, διδοὺς νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν. καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἕκαστος τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, λέγων Γινῶθι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσίν με ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἴλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἁνομιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι.

הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים בְּאֵימָה וְכָרַתִּי אֶת־בְּרִית יְהוָה וְכָרַתִּי אֶת־בְּרִית יְהוָה לֹא בְּבְרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרַתִּי אֶת־אֲבוֹתְכֶם בְּיוֹם סְחֻמֵי בְּנֵיכֶם לְהוֹצִיאֵם מֵאֶרֶץ־מִצְרָיִם הַבְּרוּ אֶת־בְּרִיתִי וְאָנֹכִי בְּעֵלְמִי כִּם בְּאֶם־יְהוָה׃ כִּי זֹאת הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר אֶכְרַת אֶת־בְּרִית יִשְׂרָאֵל אַחֲרָי הַיָּמִים הָהֵם בְּאֶם־יְהוָה גַּתְמִי אֶת־יְהוָה וְעַל־לִבִּי אֶכְתַּבְנָה וְהָיִיתִי לְהֵם לֹא־לֵהִים וְהָמָּה יְהוִי־לִי לֵעָם׃ וְלֹא אֶלְמִדּוֹ עוֹד אִישׁ אֶת־דַּרְעוֹ וְאִישׁ אֶת־אֲחֵיו לֹא־מִזְכּוֹר דַּעַי אֶת־יְהוָה כִּי כֹלָם יִדְעוּ אֹתִי לְכַקְטָנָם וְעַד־גְּדֻלָּתָם בְּאֶם־יְהוָה כִּי אֶסְלַח לְעֹנְוֵם וְלֹתְפֹאתֶם לֹא אֶקְרָעֶד׃

Behold, the days come, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Juda: not according to the covenant

[He saith,] Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah: Not according to

Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that

²²⁹ This long quotation is from the LXX., with a few unimportant verbal alterations that do not affect the meaning. The Hebrew agrees with the LXX., except in one clause which is apparently very different, viz. בְּעֵלְמִי בָּם, rendered κατὰ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν. This is translated in the English version, "although I was an husband unto them." There is no reason for supposing with Randolph and others that the Hebrew was different, such as בעלתי, which Capellus conjectures to have been the word. All such conjectures are gratuitous. Joseph Kimchi and others after him explain the Hebrew by the Arabic, "and I rejected them," a sense which is expressed in a mild form by the ἠμέλησα of the LXX. But this can hardly be sustained. The most natural interpretation is, "I ruled over them." This is favoured by the LXX., in Jer. iii. 13., where the phrase also occurs. In the present instance, those translators, by using ἠμέλησα, missed the true sense. See Hitzig on Jeremiah.

which I made with their fathers in the day when I took hold of their hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; for they abode not in my covenant, and I disregarded them, says the Lord. For this is my covenant which I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, says the Lord, I will surely put my laws into their mind; and write them on their hearts; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. And they shall not at all teach every one his fellow-citizen, and every one his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them: for I will be merciful to their iniquities, and their sins I will remember no more.

the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord, For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more.

I made with their fathers in the day that I took them out of the land of Egypt; which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord. But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.

(230.) Ex. xxiv. 8.

Ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης
ἧς διέθετο κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord has made with you.

Heb. ix. 20.

[Λέγων·] Τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα
τῆς διαθήκης ἧς ἐνετείλατο
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός.

[Saying,] This is the blood of the testament which God hath enjoined unto you.

Ex. xxiv. 8.

הִנֵּה דַם־הַבְּרִית־אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת
יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם:

Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you.

(231.) Ps. xxxix. 7., &c.

Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ
ἤθελῃσας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρίστω
μοι· ὀλοκαύτωμα καὶ περὶ ἁ-
μαρτίας οὐκ ᾔτησας· τότε εἶπον
Ἰδοὺ ἦκα, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου

Heb. x. 5., &c.

[Λέγει·] Θυσίαν καὶ προσ-
φορὰν οὐκ ἤθελῃσας, σῶμα δὲ
κατηρίστω μοι, ὀλοκαυτώματα
καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ᾔδούκη-
σας. τότε εἶπον Ἰδοὺ ἦκα (ἐν

Ps. xl. 7, &c.

זָבַח וּמִנְחָה לֹא הִפַּצְתָּ
אָזְנוֹיִם בְּרִית לִי עוֹלָה וְחֹטְאָה
לֹא שָׁאַלְתָּ; אִזְ אֲמַרְתִּי הִגֹּה־

²³¹ This citation is from the LXX., with some variation. But the Hebrew widely differs, for instead of לִי אָזְנוֹיִם בְּרִית, "mine ears hast thou opened," the LXX. have σῶμα δὲ κατηρίστω μοι, "a body hast thou prepared for me." Some think that the Hebrew might be more properly rendered, "mine ears hast thou bored," an allusion being made to the custom mentioned in Exod. xxi. 6., but this cannot be sustained, because the verb employed in Exodus is not that in the Psalm, and only one ear was pierced, not both, as the Psalm would imply from the use of the dual number. To open or uncover the ear was a customary expression among the Hebrews for "revealing," including the idea of listening to a communication, followed by prompt obedience. Hence the Greek phrase adopted by the writer of the Epistle is substantially equivalent to the Hebrew.

Kennicott and others have here resorted to conjecture in the Hebrew text, supposing it to be corrupt in the word אָזְנוֹיִם, which was originally two, viz. אז then, and ניה a body. But none of the MSS. collated by Kennicott and De Rossi have a single various reading. The text as it stands must not be disturbed. It is quite correct. Neither must the Septuagint text be disturbed with De Wette, as if it had at first ὠρία for σῶμα, the latter being a transcriber's mistake. Where some of Holmes's MSS. have ὠρία, they have it by correction.

γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ, τοῦ ποι-
ῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου ὁ θεὸς μου
ἠβουλήθην, καὶ τὸν νόμον σου
ἐν μέσῳ τῆς καρδίας μου.

κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται
περὶ ἐμοῦ) τοῦ ποιῆσαι, ὁ θε-
ος, τὸ θέλημά σου.

בְּאֵתִי בְּמִגְלַת־סֵפֶר בְּתוֹב
עָלַי : לְעִשְׂוֹת־רְצוֹנְךָ אֲלֵהִי
הִפְצֵתִי וְתוֹרַתְךָ בְּתוֹךְ מִצְעִי :

Sacrifice and offering thou
wouldest not ; but a body
hast thou prepared me : whole
burnt-offering and sacrifice
for sin thou didst not re-
quire. Then I said, Behold,
I come ; in the volume of the
book it is written concerning
me, I desired to do thy will,
O my God, and thy law in
the midst of mine heart.

[He saith,] Sacrifice and
offering thou wouldest not,
but a body hast thou pre-
pared me : In burnt-offer-
ings and sacrifices for sin
thou hast had no pleasure.
Then said I, Lo, I come (in
the volume of the book it is
written of me) to do thy
will, O God.

Sacrifice and offering thou
didst not desire ; mine ears
hast thou opened ; burnt
offering and sin offering hast
thou not required. Then
said I, Lo, I come : in the
volume of the book it is
written of me : I delight to
do thy will, O my God : yea
thy law is within my heart.

(232.) Jer. xxxviii. 33, 34.

Αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη μου ἣν δια-
θήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ Μετὰ
τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας, φησὶ κύ-
ριος, διδοὺς δώσω νόμους μου
εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ
καρδίας αὐτῶν γράψω αὐτοὺς,
—καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ
μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι.

Heb. x. 16, 17.

[Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰρηκέναι.]
Αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη ἣν διαθήσομαι
πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας
ἐκεῖνας, [λέγει κύριος] Διδοὺς
νόμους μου ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐπι-
γράψω αὐτοὺς, καὶ τῶν ἁμαρ-
τιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν
αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶμαι ἔτι.

Jer. xxxi. 33, 34.

זֹאת הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר אֶרְבֶּה
אֶת־בְּרִית יְשׁוּעָה אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אִתְּכֶם
הַיּוֹם בְּאָמְרֵי הוֹדָה נְתַתִּי אֶת־
תּוֹרַתִי בְּקַרְנֵיכֶם וְעַל־לִבְכֶם
אֶתְּבַרְכֶנָּה — כִּי אֶסְלַח לְעֵוֹנֵיכֶם
וְלִחַטְאוֹתֵיכֶם לֹא אֶזְכָּרֵנּוּ :

This is my covenant which
I will make with the house
of Israel ; after those days,
says the Lord, I will surely
put my laws into their mind,
and write them on their
hearts ; and their sins I will
remember no more.

[For after that he had
said,] This is the covenant
that I will make with them
after those days, [saith the
Lord :] I will put my laws
into their hearts, and in
their minds will I write
them ; and their sins and
iniquities will I remember
no more.

This shall be the covenant
that I will make with the
house of Israel ; After those
days, saith the Lord, I will
put my law in their inward
parts, and write it in their
hearts :—For I will forgive
their iniquity, and I will re-
member their sin no more.

(333.) Deut. xxxii. 35, 36.

Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδίκησεως ἀντα-
ποδώσω ὅτι κρινεῖ κύριος
τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.

Heb. x. 30.

[Οἶδαμεν γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα.]
Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταπο-
δώσω, λέγει κύριος [καὶ πά-
λιν] Κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν
αὐτοῦ.

Deut. xxxii. 35, 36.

לִי נֶקֶם וְיִשְׁלַם בְּיַדְיָו יְהוָה
עִמוֹ :

In the day of vengeance,
I will recompense, —For the
Lord shall judge his people.

[For we know him that
hath said,] Vengeance be-
longeth unto me, I will re-
compense, saith the Lord.
[And again] The Lord
shall judge his people.

To me *belongeth* venge-
ance and recompence. For
the Lord shall judge his peo-
ple.

(234.) Hab. ii. 3, 4.

Ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἤξει καὶ οὐ

Heb. x. 37, 38.

Ὅ ἐρχόμενος ἤξει καὶ οὐ

Hab. ii. 3, 4.

כִּי־בֹא יָבֹא לֹא יֶאֱהָר :

²³⁴ This citation is from the Greek, with some alterations. The N. T. writer has changed the order of the last two clauses, and put μου after δικαίος, instead of πίστεως. On comparing the Septuagint with the Hebrew, there is a considerable difference between them, so that some have suspected a corruption of the latter, but without reason. The general meaning of both is the same, though it is tolerably clear that the Greek translator did not reach the exact sense of the Hebrew.

μη χρονισθ. εαν υποστειληται
οικ ευδοκει η ψυχη μου εν αυ-
τω· ο δε δικαιος εκ πιστεως μου
ζησεται.

For he will surely come,
and will not tarry. If he
should draw back, my soul
has no pleasure in him: but
the just shall live by my
faith.

χρονιει. ο δε δικαιος μου εκ
πιστεως ζησεται· και εαν υπο-
στειληται, οικ ευδοκει η ψυχη
μου εν αυτω.

He that shall come will
come,—and will not tarry.
Now the just shall live by
faith; but if any man draw
back, my soul shall have no
pleasure in him.

הגה עֲבָלָהּ לֹא־יִשְׁרָהּ בְּיָשׁוּ
בוּ וְצָדִיק בְּאֵמֻנָתוֹ יִתְּהוּ :

Because it will surely
come, it will not tarry. Be-
hold, his soul *which* is lifted
up is not upright in him: but
the just shall live by his faith.

(235.) Gen. xlvii. 31.

Και προσεκύνησεν Ἰσραὴλ
ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς βέβου αὐτοῦ.

And Israel did reverence,
leaning on the top of his
staff.

Heb. xi. 21.

Και προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄ-
κρον τῆς βέβου αὐτοῦ.

And worshipped, leaning
upon the top of his staff.

Gen. xlvii. 31.

וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־רֹאשׁ
הַמִּטָּה :

And Israel bowed himself
upon the bed's head.

(236.) Prov. iii. 11, 12.

Τίε, μη δλιγφρει παιδειας
κυριου, μηδε εκλου υπ' αυτου
ελεγχόμενος. ὃν γάρ αγαπη
κύριος ἐλέγχει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ
πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.

My son despise not the
chastening of the Lord; nor
faint when thou art rebuked
of him; for whom the Lord
loves he rebukes, and
scourges every son whom he
receives.

Heb. xii. 5, 6.

[Διαλέγεται·] Τίε μου, μη
δλιγφρει παιδειας κυριου, μηδε
εκλου υπ' αυτου ελεγχόμενος.
ὃν γάρ αγαπη κύριος παιδεύει,
μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν
παραδέχεται.

[Which speaketh,] My
son, despise not thou the
chastening of the Lord, nor
faint when thou art rebuked
of him: For whom the Lord
loveth he chasteneth, and
scourgeth every son whom
he receiveth.

Prov. iii. 11, 12.

מוסר יהוה בני אלתמוסר
ואל-תקין בתוכחתו :
כי את אשר-יאננה יהוה
יוכיח וכבב את-בן ויאה :

My son, despise not the
chastening of the Lord; nei-
ther be weary of his correc-
tion. For whom the Lord
loveth he correcteth, even as
a father the son *in whom* he
delighteth.

(237.) Ex. xix. 12, 13.

Πᾶς ὁ ἀψάμενος τοῦ ὕρου
θανάτω τελευτήσει.—Ἐν γάρ
λίθοις λιθοβοληθήσεται ἢ βο-
λίδι κατατοξευθήσεται· εἰάν τε
κτῆνος εἰάν τε ἄνθρωπος, οὐ
ζήσεται.

Every one that toucheth
the mountain shall surely die,
for he shall be stoned with
stones or shot through with
a dart, whether beast, or
whether man, it shall not
live.

Heb. xii. 20.

[Τὸ διαστελλόμενον·] Κἄν
θηρίον θίγη τοῦ ὕρου, λιθο-
βοληθήσεται.

[Which was commanded,]
And if so much as a beast
touch the mountain, it shall
be stoned.

Ex. xix. 12, 13.

כֹּל־הַגֵּעַ בְּהַר מוֹת יוּמָת :
כִּי־יִסְקֹל יִסְקַל אִוְרָה יִיָּהּ
אִם־יִהְיֶה אִם־אִישׁ לֹא
יִתְּהוּ :

Whosoever toucheth the
mount shall be surely put to
death. There shall not an
hand touch it, but he shall
surely be stoned or shot
through; whether *it* be beast
or man, it shall not live.

²³⁵ This quotation is from the Septuagint version of Gen. xlvii. 31., with the single omission of the word *Israel*. But the LXX. pronounced the Hebrew word *הַמִּטָּה* a *staff* or *sceptre*, instead of *הַמִּטָּה* a *bed*, as it is pointed in the Hebrew. We believe that the true reading is in the Masoretic punctuation, for it agrees best with Gen. xlvii. 2. and 1 Kings i. 47. Randolph takes the opposite view, because he thinks that Jacob was not confined to his bed then, contrary to the context; and because it is not easy to understand what can be meant by *worshipping* or *bowing himself on the head of his bed* (p. 45.), contrary to 1 Kings i. 47. The writer of the Epistle as usual follows the Greek. See Tuch on Genesis, and De Wette on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

(238.) Deut. ix. 19.

Καὶ ἔκφοβός εἰμι διὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργήν.

And I was greatly terrified because of the wrath and anger.

Heb. xii. 21.

[Μωυσῆς εἶπεν] Ἐκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἐντρομος.

[Moses said.] I exceedingly fear and quake.

Deut. ix. 19.

כִּי יִנְתִּי כַפְגִּי הָאֵף וְהַחֲמָה אֲפֹר קָצֵף יְהוָה :

For I was afraid of the anger and hot displeasure wherewith the Lord was wroth.

(239.) Hag. ii. 6.

Ἐτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

Yet once I will shake the heaven and the earth.

Heb. xii. 26.

[Ἀλέξαν] Ἐτι ἅπαξ, ἐγὼ σείσω οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν.

[Saying,] Yet once more, I will shake not the earth only, but the heaven.

Hag. ii. 6.

עוֹד אֶחַת כְּעַת הִיא וְאֲנִי כְּרַעֲשֵׁת אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ :

Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth.

(240.) Deut. xxxi. 8. (Josh. i. 5.)

Οὐκ ἀνήσει σε οὐδὲ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπη.

And he shall not forsake thee, nor abandon thee.

Heb. xiii. 5.

[Αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶρηκεν] Οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω.

[For he hath said,] I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.

Josh. i. 5. (Deut. xxxi. 8.)

לֹא אֲרַפֶּךָ וְלֹא־אֲשַׁחֲזֶכָּה :

I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.

(241.) Ps. cxvii. 6.

Κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσομαι τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος.

The Lord is my helper; and I will not fear what man shall do to me.

Heb. xiii. 6.

Κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, [καὶ] οὐ φοβηθήσομαι τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος ;

The Lord is my helper, [and] I will not fear; What can man do unto me ?

Ps. cxviii. 6.

יְהוָה לִי לֹא אֲיָרָא כוֹחַ יַעֲשֶׂה לִי אֱדָם :

The Lord is on my side; I will not fear: What can man do unto me ?

(242.) Lev. xix. 18.

Καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

James ii. 8.

Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Lev. xix. 18.

וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמוֹךָ :

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

(243.) Ex. xx. 13. 15.

Οὐ μοιχεύσεις.—Οὐ φονεύσεις.

Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not kill.

James ii. 11

[Ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν] Μὴ μοιχεύσης [εἶπεν καὶ] Μὴ φονεύσης.

[For he that said,] Do not commit adultery, [said also] Do not kill.

Ex. xx. 13, 14.

לֹא תִרְצַח : לֹא תִנְאַף :

Thou shalt not kill.— Thou shalt not commit adultery.

²⁴⁰ This is from the LXX., with some variations. At first sight it seems to agree more closely with the Hebrew than the Greek. But it is improbable that the writer followed the former. In departing from the Greek for the sake of giving emphasis to the words, the author of the Epistle brings the citation unconsciously nearer the original.

(244.) Gen. xv. 6.

Καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

And Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

James ii. 23.

[Ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφή ἡ λέγουσα] Ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

[And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith,] Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.

Gen. xv. 6.

וְהֵאֱמַן בַּיהוָה וַיִּחְשָׁבֶנָּה לְוֶי
: דְּקָה

And he believed in the Lord; and he counted it to him for righteousness.

(245.) —

James iv. 5.

[Ἡ γραφή λέγει] Πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ κατέκισεν ἐν ἡμῖν;

[The scripture saith,] The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy.

—

—

—

(246.) Prov. iii. 34.

Κύριος ὑπερηφάνους ἀντιτάσσειται, ταπεινοὺς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν.

The Lord resists the proud; but he gives grace to the humble.

James iv. 6.

[Λέγει] Ὁ θεὸς ὑπερηφάνους ἀντιτάσσειται, ταπεινοὺς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.

[He saith,] God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.

Prov. iii. 34.

וְיִלְיֵא אֲסִי-לְלִצִּים הוּא יִלְיֵא
: וְיִתְנִיחַ יְהוָה

Surely he scorneth the scorners; but he giveth grace unto the lowly.

(247.) Lev. xi. 44.

Καὶ ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἅγιός εἰμι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.

And ye shall be holy, because I the Lord your God am holy.

1 Pet. i. 16.

[Γέγραπται] Ἄγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος.

[It is written,] Be ye holy; for I am holy.

Lev. xi. 44.

וְהִייתֶם קְדוֹשִׁים כִּי קְדוֹשׁ
: אֲנִי

And ye shall be holy, for I am holy.

(248.) Is. xl. 6, &c.

Πᾶσα σὰρξ χόρτος, καὶ πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου. ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσε, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass

1 Pet. i. 24, 25.

Πᾶσα σὰρξ χόρτος, καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου. ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσε· τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

All flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass

Is. xl. 6, &c.

כָּבֹד אֲדָמָה וְכָל-חַיָּה
: יָבֵשׁ וְהָאֵלֹהִים
: יִשְׁתַּבַּח

All flesh is grass, and all the goodness thereof is as the flower of the field. The

²⁴⁵ This is a very difficult passage. Those who look upon it as a citation are puzzled to find the original. They refer it to many places, as Gen. vi. 5, 11.; Num. xi. 29.; Ezek. xxiii. 25.; Prov. xxi. 10.; Cant. viii. 6.; Eccles. iv. 4.; Wis. vi. 11, 23.; Gal. v. 17, 21. Some think that it contains a general reference to the doctrine of Scripture, and not a direct citation; while others regard it as a paraphrastic application of the tenth commandment. On the whole, it is best not to look for any quotation in the words, as if ἡ γραφή λέγει were introductory to one. If we translate "Do ye think that the Scripture speaks in vain?" with reference to what is stated in the preceding verse, viz., the friendship of the world is enmity with God, we shall perhaps come nearest the true view. But it must be admitted that this idea is not free from objections, especially the implication that the writer speaks of the collection of the N. T. Scriptures under the title of γραφή.

²⁴⁶ This is from the LXX., merely putting ὁ θεὸς for κύριος. The Hebrew agrees in sense, though not in expression.

withers, and the flower fades; but the word of our God abides for ever.

withereth, — and the flower thereof falleth away: But the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever.

(249.) Is. xxviii. 16.

Ἴδὸν ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελεῆ ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαίον ἐντιμον, εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ κατασχυνθῆ.

Behold, I lay for the foundations of Zion, a costly stone a choice, a corner-stone, a precious stone for its foundations; and he that believeth on it shall by no means be ashamed.

1 Pet. ii. 6.

[Περιέχει ἡ γραφή:] Ἴδὸν τίθῃμι ἐν Σιών λίθον ἀκρογωνιαίον ἐκλεκτὸν ἐντιμον, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ κατασχυνθῆ.

[It is contained in the Scripture,] Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded.

Is. xxviii. 16.

הֲנִי יִסַּד בְּצִיּוֹן יְסֹד מוֹסָד מוֹסָד בְּחֵן פְּנֵת יִקְרַת מוֹסָד מוֹסָד : הַמַּאֲמִין לֹא יִחַשׁ :

Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste.

(250.) Ps. cxvii. 22, 23.

Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

The stone which the builders rejected the same is become the head of the corner.

1 Pet. ii. 7.

Λίθος ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

The stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner.

Ps. cxviii. 22, 23.

אָבֵן מַאֲסוֹ הַבּוֹנִים הִתְקָה לְרֹאשׁ פֶּנֶה :

The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner.

(251.) Ex. xix. 6.

Ἔμεις δὲ ἔσσεσθὲ μοι βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον.

And ye shall be to me a royal priesthood and a holy nation.

1 Pet. ii. 9.

Ἔμεις δὲ — βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον.

But ye are — a royal priesthood, an holy nation.

Ex. xix. 6.

וְאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ־לִי מְקִלָּת וְעַמִּי קָדוֹשׁ :

And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.

(252.) Is. liii. 9.

Ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ δόλον ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.

He practised no iniquity nor craft with his mouth.

1 Pet. ii. 22.

*Ὁς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.

Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth.

Is. liiii. 9.

לֹא־הִקְמוֹ עֲשָׂה וְלֹא מִרְמָה כִּפְיוֹ :

Because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.

(253.) Is. liii. 5.

Τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν.

And by his bruises we were healed.

1 Pet. ii. 24.

Ὁὗ τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἰάθητε.

By whose stripes ye were healed.

Is. liiii. 5.

וּבִחְבַלְתָּהּ גָּרַפְאֵלֵנוּ :

With his stripes we are healed.

(254.) Ps. xxxiii. 13, &c.

Τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃ θέλων ζωὴν, ἀγαπᾶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθὰς; παῦσον τὴν γλῶσσάν σου ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ χεῖλη σου τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον. ἐκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιήσον ἀγαθόν, ζήτησον εἰρήνην, καὶ διώξον αὐτήν. ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους, καὶ ὅτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν· πρόσωπον δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά.

1 Pet. iii. 10, 11, 12.

*Ὁ γὰρ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθὰς πανσάτω τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ χεῖλη τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον, ἐκκλινάτω δὲ ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιησάτω ἀγαθόν, ζητησάτω εἰρήνην καὶ διωξάτω αὐτήν, ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ὅτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν, πρόσωπον δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά.

Ps. xxxiv. 13. (12.) &c.

מִי־הָאִישׁ הַחֲפֵץ חַיִּים אֲהַב יָמִים לְרֹאוֹת טוֹב : נִצֵּר לְשׁוֹנֵךְ מִכָּרַע וּשְׂפָתַיִךְ מִדַּבֵּר מִרְמָה : סוּר מִכָּרַע וַעֲשֵׂה־טוֹב בַּקִּיט שְׁלוֹם וּרְדַפְהוּ : עֲיָנֵי יְהוָה אֶל־שִׁעְתֶּם : צַדִּיקִים וְאֶנְיוּ אֶל־שִׁעְתֶּם : בְּגִי יְהוָה בְּעֵשִׂי רַע :

Who is he that will live, and love his days, shall keep his tongue from evil, and his lips from guile, shall turn from evil, and shall do good, shall seek peace, and shall follow it, for the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open to their cry, and the face of the Lord is against them that do evil.

What man is there that desires life, loving to see good days? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Turn away from evil, and do good; seek peace and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open to their prayer. But the face of the Lord is against them that do evil.

For he that will love life and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile. Let him eschew evil, and do good; let him seek peace, and ensue it. For the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers; but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil.

What man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days, that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open unto their cry. The face of the Lord is against them that do evil.

(255.) Is. viii. 12, 13.

Τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ φοσηθῆτε οὐδὲ μὴ ταραχθῆτε. κύριον αὐτὸν ἀγιάσατε.

But fear not ye their fear, neither be dismayed. Sanctify ye the Lord himself.

(256.) Prov. x. 12.

Πάντας δὲ τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικοῦντας καλύπτει φιλία.

Affection covers all that do not love strife.

(257.) Prov. xxvi. 11.

Ὅσπερ κύων ὕταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον.

As when a dog goes to his own vomit.

(258.) Ps. ii. 9.

Ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, ὡς σκεῦος κεραμείως συντριβείας αὐτοῦ.

Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces as a potter's vessel

1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.

Τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε, μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε, κύριον δὲ τὸν χριστὸν ἀγιάσατε.

And be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled, but sanctify the Lord Christ.

1 Pet. iv. 8.

[Ὅτι] ἀγάπη καλύπτει πληθὸς ἁμαρτιῶν.

[For.] Charity covers the multitude of sins.

2 Pet. ii. 22.

[Συμβέβηκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς παροιμίας,] κύων ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέραμα, καὶ ὡς λουσαμένη εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου.

[But it is happened unto them according to the true proverb,] The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.

Rev. ii. 27.

[Καὶ] ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, ὡς τὰ σκεῦη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντριβεῖται.

[And] He shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers.

Is. viii. 12, 13.

וְאֵת־מוֹרְאָא לֹא־תִירָאוּ וְלֹא־תִרְעָצוּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־בָאֵת אֲתוֹ תִקְדְּשׁוּ

Neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself.

Prov. x. 12.

וְעַל־לֵב־פְּשָׁעִים תִּכְסֶה אֱהָרָה

Love covereth all sins.

Prov. xxvi. 11.

כָּבֵל־בְּשֵׁב עַל־קֹאוֹ

As a dog returneth to his vomit.

Ps. ii. 9.

תִּרְעַם בְּשֵׁבֶט בְּרֹגֶל בְּבָלִי יִגְרַר תִּנְפְּצֵם

Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.

²⁵⁵ This is from the Greek, with which the Hebrew agrees in meaning. The apostle, however, has adapted the words of Isaiah to his own purpose. In the LXX. we have *αὐτοῦ*, but in Peter *αὐτῶν*, which are equivalent in sense.

²⁵⁶ This is generally looked upon as a citation from Prov. x. 12. If so, it agrees more nearly with the Hebrew than the Greek. The Septuagint gives a very incorrect representation of the original. Perhaps the apostle refers to a proverb which was then current, and not to the passage in the book of Proverbs. See De Wette.

²⁵⁸ This is from the LXX., with a very slight alteration of the person from the second to the third.

CHAP. XXIX.

SOURCES WHENCE QUOTATIONS WERE TAKEN.

THE chief source of citations in the New Testament is the Septuagint version. This was generally used by the early Christians, who were not acquainted with the original Hebrew. It was universally received and read. To have departed from it therefore without a valid reason, would have hindered the progress of the truth. The sacred writers employed it as *the Old Testament*, because it was best known to all. There was no good cause for departing from it except where it was very incorrect, or unfit for a particular purpose. Wherever it expressed the sense of the original sufficiently well to serve the writers' end, they naturally adopted it. In the great majority of cases, the Greek version must be regarded as the source whence citations in the New Testament were derived.

But we cannot go so far as to affirm, with some, that the Septuagint was *the exclusive* source. Occasionally the Hebrew was also employed. An examination of several texts leads to this conclusion. The LXX. were abandoned in various places; and the Old Testament cited in nearer conformity to the Hebrew. It is true that the instances in which this was done are comparatively few. But the fact cannot be denied. Why the writers occasionally had recourse to the Hebrew, is a difficult question to answer. Did they resort to it whenever the Greek was so incorrect as not to give the true sense? So it might be thought by such as reason *à priori*. But there are phenomena adverse to that hypothesis. It is impossible to furnish any *general* reply to the question. Every individual case of quotation must be judged by itself; and when all are so considered, it will be found impossible to obtain any one satisfactory answer to the question. All that can be affirmed with truth is, that the writers sometimes judged it better for their purpose to bring the form of a quotation nearer to the Hebrew than the Greek version presented it. They may not have done this because they believed that the latter failed to express the true sense. We can imagine other reasons to have operated on their minds.

In addition to the Hebrew and Septuagint, it has been thought that several quotations were derived from a translation or paraphrase now lost. But when the list of such passages is examined, it will be found that there is no sufficient basis for the view in question. It is entirely unnecessary.

It has also been supposed that some citations in the New Testament were taken from apocryphal writings. Examples of such are said to exist in 2 Tim. iii. 8. Here the names of the two magicians that withstood Moses are given. According to Origen, the knowledge and names of these impostors was derived by Paul from an apocryphal book. This is unlikely. Nor is it probable that he took the names from the Targum of Jonathan on Exod. vii. 11. Probably he followed *Jewish tradition*; for the names in question are in the

Talmud and other Jewish writings as well as in the Targum of Jonathan.

In the epistle of Jude two instances of apocryphal quotations are adduced. One is in the ninth verse, where Michael the archangel is said to have disputed with Satan about the body of Moses. Here some think that the writer followed the apocryphal book called the "Ascension of Moses," mentioned by Origen. It is more likely that Jewish tradition was the source of his information.

The fourteenth verse of the same epistle refers to a prophecy of Enoch contained in the apocryphal book of Enoch. The passage in the book of Enoch as translated by Laurence is this: "Behold he comes with ten thousands of his saints to execute judgment upon them, and destroy the wicked, and reprove all the carnal; for every thing which the sinful and ungodly have done and committed against him." (chap. ii. p. 2. Oxford, 1838, third edition.) If the result of recent studies by Hoffmann¹, Lücke², and Krieger³, be well grounded, the work in question was written before the year 70, in Greek; and it is not improbable that Jude actually quoted it. Such was the view of the Fathers—of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Jerome, and Augustine.⁴ Nor is the authenticity of the epistle lessened, though an apocryphal document be quoted in it. All that is really sanctioned by the writer is the single passage cited, not the entire composition. Others think that Jude followed traditional accounts then received by the Jews.

A few examples of citations from profane authors are found in the New Testament. The Apostle Paul writing to the Gentiles or disputing with them, has quoted from Pagan authors, such as Aratus, Menander, Epimenides. In Acts xvii. 28. are words borrowed from the *φαινόμενα* of Aratus, which were originally spoken of Jupiter, the supreme God of the heathen. In 1 Cor. xv. 33. the words *φθειροσσω ἦθη χρῆσθ' ὀμιλίαι κακαί* are taken from Menander's *Thais*, a comedy now lost; and in Titus i. 12. the Apostle alludes to Epimenides, a Cretan poet.

CHAP. XXX.

INTRODUCTORY FORMULAS.

MOST of the citations in the New Testament from the Old are introduced by certain formulas, such as *it is written, the Scripture saith, that it might be fulfilled*, &c. &c. These seldom contain a specific intimation of the places from which the passage is cited. The name of the writer is sometimes given; but the book or writing itself is not often mentioned, and the place still seldomer. The persons addressed in the New Testament were supposed to be already acquainted

¹ Das Buch Henoch, u. s. w., Erste Abtheilung, Einleit. p. 23. *et seqq.*

² Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes, § 11. second edition.

³ Beiträge zur Kritik und Exegese, 1845.

⁴ See Arnaud's *Recherches Critiques sur l'Épître de Jude*, p. 127. *et seqq.*

with the Old, so that they could readily find a passage without minute direction. They knew the Jewish Scriptures in the Greek version; or it was of no consequence to specify the cited passage more exactly. Besides, even had the New Testament writers thought it a matter of importance to mention the place whence a quotation was derived, it would have been inconvenient, in consequence of the want of chapters and verses. The biblical MSS. were then written *continuously* without such divisions. Where a section in the Old Testament is marked, a thing that rarely occurs, some principal word is selected and applied as a designation of the whole paragraph. Thus in Mark xii. 26., and Luke xx. 37., *ἐπὶ τῆς βάλτου, in the bush-section*, i. e. the third chapter of Exodus. So too in Rom. xi. 2., *ἐν Ἠλίᾳ, in the Elias-section*, viz. the 17th, 18th, and 19th chapters of 1 Kings. A similar practice was followed by the Rabbins. The Mohammedans do the same in quoting the chapters of the Koran. But the common method of quotation followed in the New Testament is indefinite, a specific mention of place being the exception not the rule. Introductory formulas are quite general.

A similarity between the formulas of the New Testament writers and those employed by the Rabbins has often been noticed, as indeed it could scarcely fail to be. Surenhusius¹ in particular has collected a number of phrases similar to the Scripture formulas. His object was to defend the interpretation of the apostles against the Jews of his time, so that if blame be attached to the New Testament writers for their modes of quotation, it must equally belong to the Talmudical doctors. This kind of argumentation may be very useful for the purpose of silencing an opponent: as an *argumentum ad hominem* it may be legitimate and forcible; but it cannot contribute to an enlightened estimate of the whole subject. It leads unavoidably to the conclusion that the apostles were not exempt from the absurd interpretations of the Rabbins, which has been enunciated indeed more or less plainly by Döpke, Rückert, Fritzsche, and others. The analogy between such formulas can be easily accounted for. The apostles and their disciples being Jews, cited Scripture after the usual formulas to which the schools of the Rabbins had given currency. The Apostle of the Gentiles especially, accustomed to Rabbinical dialectics before his conversion, has many Rabbinical expressions, such as, *τι δὲ ἐροῦμεν, ἐρεῖς οὖν, ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις, μὴ γένοιτο, ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε*, &c. But the analogy in question may be exaggerated; as it has been by Surenhusius. The assimilation to current phraseology, arising from the fact that the New Testament writers were native Jews and therefore partaking of Jewish modes of conception and using speech essentially Jewish, need not be carried so far as to induce the belief that formulas absurd or fanciful were naturally adopted by the sacred writers. Some Rabbinical formulas find their analogies in the New Testament; but many do not. Those that consist of trifling conceits, far-fetched allegory, ingenious puerility, unhistorical or ungrammatical use of language, are not em-

¹ Βίβλος καταλλαγῆς. Amstel. 1713, 4to. See Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics, pp 449, 450.

ployed. The accommodation to prevailing modes of speech must be limited, for it was not indiscriminating, and general. Doubtless the spirit that was in the writers led them to reject various formulas current in their time. All the analogies too collected by Surenhusius are not real ones. His examples should be reduced in number; for in his anxiety to justify all the quotations made from the Old Testament in the New, he has collected too many of what are thought similar instances.

The following introductory formulas characterise the books of the New Testament.

In quoting Messianic passages, Matthew has the formula *ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου*, i. 22., ii. 15. This is abbreviated in ii. 17., iii. 3., iv. 14., viii. 17., xii. 17., xiii. 14. 35., xxi. 4., xxvi. 56., xxvii. 9. The phrase *τοῦτο δὲ ὄλον γέγονεν ἵνα κ. τ. λ.* does not occur elsewhere. Matthew also employs *γέγραπται*, *εἶπεν* singly or accompanied with *θεὸς* or *Μωυσῆς*.

In Mark's Gospel the usual formula is *γέγραπται*, *ὡς γέγραπται*, or some parallel expression.

Luke has commonly *γέγραπται*, *ἦν γεγραμμένον*, or *γράφω* joined to other words. In John the customary formula is *γεγραμμένον, καθὼς ἔστιν γεγραμμένον, ἵνα πληρωθῆ* with *ἡ γραφή* or *ὁ λόγος* as the subject.

In the Acts of the Apostles all the introductory clauses differ. No two are alike.

The Epistle to the Romans has *καθὼς γέγραπται* as the characteristic formula. The chief departures from it are in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, which refer to the Jews, where we find *Ἡσαίας λέγει*, *Μωυσῆς λέγει*, &c.

The two Corinthian epistles have *καθὼς γέγραπται*, *γέγραπται*, &c.

In the Epistle to the Galatians *γέγραπται γὰρ*, *ὅτι γέγραπται*, &c. are used.

The Epistle to the Ephesians has only three quotations, two of which are prefaced with *διὸ λέγει*.

In the Epistles to Timothy are only two quotations, one with a preface.

The Epistle to the Hebrews has usually *λέγει*, *μαρτυρεῖται*, *εἶρηκε*, *εἶπεν*, with *πνεῦμα* or *θεὸς* as the subject. *Γράφω* is never used. The manner of citation here is like that in Philo.

The Epistle of James has five citations, three of which are introduced by the verb *λέγω*; another by *ὁ εἰπὼν*.

Peter's manner is to have no formula. In three instances he has one, *γέγραπται*, *περιέχει ἡ γραφή*.

It is impossible to regard these introductory formulas as direct indications of the modes in which quotations are made. We cannot infer from them, *à priori*, the degree of accuracy with which the Old Testament will be adduced. Hence Surenhusius was mistaken.¹

¹ "Videndum est prius qua allegandi formula utantur apostoli, ex qua statim dignoscere licet, quare sequentia verba hoc, et non alio modo allegaverint, atque ad veterem Scripturam: Hebræam plus minusve attenderint; sic alium sensum involvit illa allegandi formula *ἐρρήθη*; alium *γέγραπται*," &c. Præfat.

That they are not infallible indexes of the modes in which quotations are made is evident from the fact, that different formulas are prefixed to the very same citations in the same words, in different books, as in Mark xv. 28.; Luke xxii. 37. Thus they are sometimes used synonymously. The rigid distinctions made by Surenhusius cannot be carried out; and his multifarious rules are both perplexing and useless.

Yet the diversity of introductory formulas cannot be regarded as the result of mere taste or caprice on the part of the writers and speakers. It was not always a matter of indifference whether they used this one or that. *Some* reasons for the variety in question may be assigned, in addition to the natural aversion to sameness which every good writer more or less feels. It was not a point of perfect indifference whether one formula or another was employed. What then are the causes of such diversity?

One cause may be discovered in the position and attainments of the persons addressed. Thus Hebrew Christians acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures were differently appealed to from Gentile converts. The same introductory formula was not equally suitable to both classes. The former were reminded of the authority attaching to the words quoted, by the expression, "God says" or "speaks" so and so; while the latter were referred to certain documents where the passages might be found.¹ To the former the phraseology in which *said* expresses the main idea was better adapted, while to the latter, *it is written* is commonly addressed. The correctness of these remarks will be apparent to any one who compares the usual formula of quotation in Matthew's Gospel, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that of James, with the introductory expressions in the Epistles to the Churches at Rome, at Corinth, and in Galatia. When the individuals addressed were acquainted with the Old Testament, the verb λέγω was generally employed. It was sufficient in such circumstances to refer to God as *saying* such and such things; or to Scripture as *speaking* after a certain manner. But when the Christian converts were less familiar with the Old Testament—when they were Gentiles not Jews—what is *written* is generally referred to. Thus a distinction in the usage of introductory formulas is observed according to the circumstances of the people addressed.

In explaining this difference of introductory formulas by means of the degree of attainment possessed by the persons to whom the books of the New Testament were at first directed, it must not be thought that the rule holds good without exception. In some cases formulas are used synonymously, as in Rom. iv. 3. compared with James ii. 23.²

Another cause which influenced the form of these introductory clauses may be found in the purposes for which quotations were made. In showing the fulfilment of a prophecy, a New Testament writer would employ a different formula from that used to support a position or afford an illustration. In pointing out that a thing

¹ See Townson on the Gospels, pp. 98, 99., 4th edition, Dublin, 1831.

² Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 453.

was accomplished, and in enforcing a sentiment, he would speak differently.

An introduction is commonly wanting to a quotation when several texts follow in succession, as in Rom. iii. 10—18. In like manner it is usually absent from a passage inserted a second time.

CHAP. XXXI.

ON THE EXTERNAL FORM OF QUOTATIONS.

FROM the introductory formulas we proceed to consider the quotations themselves. Here various degrees of discrepancy between the citations and their originals may be observed. A wide field of investigation is opened up by comparing the passages cited with the Old Testament from which they are taken. Discrepancies appear which have often perplexed the serious inquirer, and given occasion to the infidel to rejoice. But before instituting a thorough comparison of quotations with their originals, it is desirable to look at the state of the Hebrew text, the Septuagint, and the Greek text of the New Testament. Allowance must be made for various readings. Some theologians have made considerable use of this expedient. Assuming what none can deny, that the Hebrew and the Greek *may be* corrupt, though there are no existing means of correcting them, they have inferred that certain passages *are so*. Drs. Randolph and Owen are the chief advocates of this notion. Thus the Hebrew has been considered corrupt in Isa. lxiv. 4. quoted in 1 Cor. ii. 9.; in Zech. xii. 10. compared with John xix. 37.; in Isa. xxviii. 16. with Rom. ix. 33.; in Psal. xix. 4. compared with Rom. x. 18.; in Jer. xxxi. 31—34. with Heb. viii. 8., &c.; in Hos. xiv. 3. with Heb. xiii. 15.; in Psal. xl. 7—9. with Heb. x. 5—7.; in Amos. ix. 11, 12. with Acts xv. 15, 16.; in Matt. xv. 8, 9. compared with Isa. xxix. 13.; and in Hos. xiii. 14. compared with 1 Cor. xv. 55. But a particular examination of these passages justifies the assertion that the Hebrew text, as it now is, was the same in the time of the Septuagint translators, except perhaps in Amos ix. 11, 12., where corruption may have existed. And in regard to the Greek text of the New Testament, Matt. xxvii. 9, 10. from Zech. xi. 13., and Heb. i. 12. from Psal. ci. 26., it cannot be charged with corruption. The words *Ἰερεμίου* and *ἐλλείξει* must stand as those originally written. Thus the texts of good modern editions of the Hebrew, the LXX., and the Greek Testament, may be fairly taken as a basis of comparison between citations and their originals. Whatever difficulties lie in the subject, and there are many, they cannot be resolved by recourse to this expedient. The texts are good as we have them.

The degree of accuracy with which quotations adhere to their originals depends on various circumstances.

It is apparent that the sacred authors never intended to cite passages without omitting a word or syllable. They were by no means

scrupulous in that respect. They were not careful to preserve the external form of Old Testament places. Had they been otherwise, they would not have quoted from memory, as they usually did. Copies of the Scriptures were rare in the time of the Apostles. And as those inspired men were intent on *the sense* in its application to certain purposes, they did not confine themselves to the *exact words* of Scripture. They quoted freely and loosely because they quoted from memory. But it is improbable that they relied solely and in all cases on memory. No doubt they sometimes consulted a MS. of the Greek version. In consequence of this usage on the part of the New Testament writers, we are prepared to find great variety in their modes of citation. They alter and transform the Old Testament in different ways without material alteration of the sense.

1. The writers often add to their citations some words from another passage. Thus Matt. xxi. 5., *εἶπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ*, are taken from Isa. lxii. 11. and prefixed to Zech. ix. 9. So also in Acts i. 20., xiii. 22. Or, they write various parallel passages in one to give greater clearness and force to their thoughts, as in Rom. ix. 33.; 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7. Compare also Rom. xi. 8. 26, 27.; 2 Cor. vi. 16—18.

2. Sometimes they abridge a passage, or cite only as much of it as is necessary for their purpose, John xii. 40., xv. 16, 17. 25.; 1 Cor. i. 31.

3. They frequently invert the order of words, Rom. xi. 3., Matt. xix. 18., 2 Cor. vi. 17., Luke x. 27. Or, they add some words, as Heb. viii. 5., Matt. xxvii. 9. where there is both transposition and addition of terms.

4. They substitute synonymous or equivalent expressions for those in the original text. Thus Mark iv. 12., Luke iii. 6., Matt. xxi. 16., Rom. ix. 27.

5. They also alter a passage by retrenching words or whole phrases and adding others, so that it appears very unlike the original. This is done that it may be more suitable to the end they have in view, as in Rom. x. 6. But notwithstanding such extensive changes, it can be shown that they do not knowingly pervert a text, nor wilfully misapply it. This will appear from the fact that though they *commonly* follow the Greek version, they also deviate from it. And these deviations, in many instances, give a more faithful translation. We cannot affirm that they do so *always*; for the Greek is also retained in cases where the sense might have been better given by recourse to the original, or by different words in Greek. It is certain that some of the writers were acquainted with the Hebrew text and employed it to advantage. Their alterations of the Greek text, whether arbitrary or otherwise, resulting from the state of their memory or not, show that all were not so dependent on a version as to follow it when it was positively and essentially incorrect. To a considerable extent they were independent of it. This is exemplified in the usage of Matthew, John, and Paul; Luke being more dependent on the LXX. It is evident that Matthew, or at least his translator, or both, knew the Hebrew in addition to the Greek. Thus in ii. 15. the words *τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ* of the LXX. are displaced

by τὸν υἱόν μου, which approach the Hebrew. In iv. 15, 16. the passage of Isaiah is otherwise rendered than the Greek, which is unintelligible. In xii. 18. the Evangelist shows that he was acquainted with both the Hebrew and the Greek. There are other places in which his citations approach the Hebrew, as Matt. xiii. 35., xxi. 5., xxii. 37., xxvi. 31. The free character of Matthew's citations—an absence of literal adherence to the original words whether Greek or Hebrew—may be observed by the careful reader. He mostly follows the former in preference to the latter. But in Messianic passages, the original seems to have been uniformly consulted, so as to bring them into greater conformity to it. Credner, who has examined at great length the quotations in Matthew's Gospel to ascertain their bearing on the original language of it, supposes that the Apostle everywhere follows the Greek version, but after a text which in Messianic passages, and in them only, had been collated with the Hebrew, and also in some places, according to Gesenius, with an ancient Targum, and altered in conformity to such documents.¹ But the assumption of this systematic alteration in the text of the LXX., existing merely in a certain class of passages, rests on no solid foundation. It is better to say, that in Messianic places, the Hebrew is followed more than the Greek. With respect to John, in xix. 37. he renders the Hebrew of Zech. xii. 10. by the words ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, while the LXX. give a false translation. Other passages are similar, as xii. 15., xiii. 18. The independence of John in his citations of the Old Testament are obvious; for he not only departs from the Greek version, but is unlike the other Evangelists in theirs. Had he used the so-called *Urevangelium* or *Protevangeliium* of his time, in which it has been supposed that the texts of the Hebrew original and the LXX. had been already blended together, as Credner assumes of him and Matthew², the citations of both must have been pretty much alike; whereas they are not so. In like manner, the Apostle Paul often deviates from the LXX. when they translate improperly. Examples are found in Rom. x. 15.; 1 Cor. xiv. 21., xv. 54. It is true that the Apostle sometimes quotes the Greek version where it is faulty; but the faults are so small as to have no material influence on the sense of the passage. See Rom. xv. 12., where עָמַר עָמַר לְיָם עַמִּים is translated by the LXX. ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, followed by the Apostle, though the words properly mean, *standing as a banner for the Gentiles*; and also where the Hebrew לְיָם עַמִּים is translated ἐλπιόσσω. In like manner, in the same Epistle, x. 18. where מִן הַלֵּן is rendered φθόγγος by the LXX., that word is followed by the Apostle, though the Hebrew term is properly applied only in the sense of a *measuring-line*. See Hengstenberg on Psal. xix. 4. On the whole, it may be safely affirmed that Matthew, John, and Paul were independent of the Septuagint, freely deserting it when it failed to render the original Hebrew in a way not pertinent to their purpose.

As to Luke, and him who penned the Epistle to the Hebrews, the

¹ See Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament, vol. ii.

² Beiträge, p. 512. *et seqq.*

case seems to be otherwise. They probably were ignorant of Hebrew, and were therefore obliged to employ the Greek version solely. All the citations of Luke appear to be derived from the LXX.; and the slight variations from it that occur may be attributed to tradition which had given a stereotype form to certain passages, or to memory not retaining the exact words. This has led to the adoption of the Septuagint rendering in some cases where it would have been abandoned had the evangelist known Hebrew. Some mistakes are retained because they are in the Greek version. But they are not important. They do not affect the general sense, though it must be confessed that they are greater defects than such as are to be found in Paul, John, or Matthew. Thus, instead of קֹדֶשׁ הַקֹּדֶשׁ, Isaiah lxi. 1., the Septuagint has *τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν*, which is followed by Luke. The Divine Spirit, however, notwithstanding defects in the form of quotations, led the sacred author into the meaning of the Old Testament. Almost all the citations in the Acts, which are much more numerous than those in the Gospel, are from the Greek. It is impossible to tell whether the departures from that version which they present, are owing to the Apostles and others who delivered the discourses in which they occur, or to Luke himself.

Though Mark usually quotes the Greek version, occasionally supplying from it clauses and words which are wanting in the other Gospels, yet he does not appear to have been entirely dependent on it. There are some traces of his acquaintance with the Hebrew. What have been thought appearances of his dependence on Matthew, show rather that the translator of Matthew into Greek used Mark's Gospel, and countenance the supposition of some that Mark himself translated the first Gospel from the Hebrew.

He who committed to writing the Epistle to the Hebrews, whether Luke or another, has followed the Septuagint exclusively, even where it differs materially from the Hebrew text. He was wholly dependent upon it. Hence he could not but follow it where it gave an erroneous representation of the Hebrew. Tholuck even thinks that the writer participated in the Alexandrine view respecting the inspiration of the translators, because passages where God is not the speaker are cited as the words of God, or of the Holy Ghost. Compare i. 6, 7, 8., iv. 4. 7., vii. 21., iii. 7. 10. 15.¹

We have thus seen that the New Testament writers, less solicitous about the form than the substance of Scripture, quoted freely from memory, altering, abridging, adding, condensing, where they wished to make a passage more suitable to their purpose; and commonly following the Greek version. Some were more dependent on the LXX., others less so. Some occasionally departed from it and followed the Hebrew in preference; while others adopted the Greek, where a different course might have been better. The knowledge and attainments of the sacred writers were different—their mental habitudes and tastes dissimilar—and the external form of their citations differ accordingly.

In addition to these circumstances, the form of their quotations was influenced by the persons whom they addressed. Matthew wrote

¹ See *Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament*, Beilage I., p. 57., fourth edition.

his Gospel principally for the use of Jewish converts. Mark had Gentiles more than Jews in view. The design of Luke embraced chiefly the former. Thus from a comparison of Matt. xix. 18, 19.; Mark x. 19.; Luke xviii. 20., we infer that the discrepancies of quotation arise in part from the state of the persons addressed. Matthew alone has, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," in opposition to the contracted notions of the Jews. In Mark alone is the clause "defraud not." The Romans were addicted to injustice.

In like manner in the different Epistles, the same passage is quoted from the Old Testament in a different manner, even by the same writer, as in Eph. vi. 1—3.; Col. iii. 20. The apostle sets before the Ephesians as a motive to the performance of the duty, the promise annexed to its observance. But in writing to the Colossians, whom he had not himself instructed and who were not well acquainted with the Old Testament, he does not allude to the law.

The same truth is exemplified by a comparison of Rom. ix. 33.; 1 Pet. ii. 6., where the words are adapted to the state of the different parties addressed.¹

The *different objects* the writers had in view, had also much influence on the form of their citations. According to the nature of their arguments or illustrations, do they quote passages. If they design to make a comment or criticism on the language of the original, the author's name is usually mentioned, or a specific reference inserted to the work in which the passage is contained. The words also are closely followed. An example may be seen in Heb. iv. 7. from Psal. xcvi. 7, 8., where the writer's object is to show that the rest offered to believers is of a spiritual nature. But if the object be to introduce variety into a train of argument, the original is cited less exactly. So in Heb. xii. 20, 21., where the general sense only of the passages referred to is given. So too in 2 Pet. ii. 22., where a proverbial saying from the Scriptures is introduced into an illustration for the sake of variety, the meaning is given without any express reference to the Old Testament Scriptures.

Propositions of a general nature, or such as express abstract truths, may be incorporated into various trains of reasoning. On them very little change can be made, although their application is as diverse as the connexion in which they occur. Thus Hab. ii. 4. is cited three times, always in a different argument. Yet it is quoted in the same manner.

In quoting passages to show the fulfilment of prophecy respecting the Saviour, it was not needful to adhere verbatim to the Old Testament. It was enough to present the true meaning, though in different words.

In short, when we examine cited passages we perceive that every mode of quotation has been employed, from the exactest to the most loose—from a strictly verbal form to the widest paraphrase. Considerable liberties are taken with the original, whether it be the Greek version, or the Hebrew. But with all these phenomena, it cannot be said with truth, that the Old Testament has been *falsified*. No where has a passage been *interpreted contrary* to the sense it was intended to bear. Places have been differently *applied*.²

¹ See Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics, pp. 466, 467.

² Ibid.

We have seen a classification of all the quotations of the New Testament according to their external form. In the first place, an enumeration is given of those taken from the Hebrew Scriptures arranged under various heads according to the state of their agreement with the original. In the next place is given a like classification of those taken from the Septuagint version, similarly arranged under different heads in proportion to their accordance with the original. Randolph has given two classifications of this kind, and Horne followed him. But we are persuaded that such classifications are wholly useless. And not only are they useless—they give an erroneous idea of the state of the case. To arrange quotations in the way indicated is simply an *impossibility*. Whoever attempts to do so, proceeds by conjecture, and must be as often wrong as right. The writers cited for the most part from memory. They often reproduced passages in the form which they had received from tradition as delivered orally from one to another. Some of them, as Paul, altered passages more or less, to bring them nearer the Hebrew, or to adapt them to his purpose. The Hebrew text few of them were probably acquainted with. They neither had it before them, nor could they have understood it if they had. They were accustomed to the Greek version. But since they usually quoted it from memory, it is worse than useless to arrange their citations as they happen to agree more or less nearly with the Greek. There must have been some arbitrariness in the use of such words as they gave the quotation in, since they depended on memory. If so, it is assigning an importance to this arbitrariness which it should not have, to adjust its phenomena by a fixed standard. Hence we shall not attempt an enumeration of quotations according to their external form as Randolph did, who classified them thus:—

1. Citations agreeing exactly with the Hebrew.
2. agreeing nearly with Hebrew.
3. agreeing in sense with Hebrew, but not in words.
4. giving the general sense, but abridging or adding to it.
5. taken from several passages of Sacred Scripture.
6. differing from Hebrew, but agreeing with Septuagint.
7. Citations where we have reason to suspect that the Apostles either read the Hebrew differently, or put some sense upon the words different from what our Lexicons express.
8. Places where the Hebrew seems to be corrupted.
9. Not properly citations, but references or allusions.
 1. Agreeing verbatim with Septuagint, or only changing the person, &c.
 2. Taken from Septuagint, but with some variation.
 3. Agreeing in sense but not in words with Septuagint.
 4. Differing from Septuagint, but agreeing exactly or nearly with Hebrew.
 5. Differing both from Septuagint and from Hebrew, and taken probably from some other translation or paraphrase.¹

When we look at the lists under these, we see them full of incor-

rectness. No one could have avoided this; and therefore with all his carefulness in the matter, the whole is a failure. Great fallacy pervades the entire arrangement.¹

CHAP. XXXII.

ON THE INTERNAL FORM OF QUOTATIONS.

HERE we shall first speak of the use made of the Old Testament by Jesus Christ and the apostles.

Neither Jesus nor the apostles have laid down principles on which they proceeded in the interpretation of the Old Testament. It may therefore appear impossible at first sight to discover their hermeneutics. But we may judge from the sense which they give to the citations of the Old Testament, the manner in which they apply them, and their view of the value of the ancient dispensation as intimately connected with the new, how they interpreted the former. To borrow an epithet from Beck², theirs may be called the *pneumatic* interpretation. It is neither the *grammatico-historical* which stops at the letter, endeavouring to ascertain the local and temporary physiognomy of a passage; nor is it the *allegorical* which finds accidental analogies in and derives hidden senses from the written words, proceeding arbitrarily and without fixed principles. The *pneumatic* or spiritual penetrates into the interior sense. Rejecting the notion that there are several senses in one and the same passage, it is not satisfied with the one application which it has received under the ancient economy, but fixes the universal type which gives it a normal signification for all ages, and determines the value belonging to it in relation to the time of the *πλήρωσις* in Christ Jesus. Christ and his apostles showed what application the word of God confined within the narrow limits of a preparatory dispensation received in the new and spiritual one. Agreeably to their method of interpretation, precepts under the old economy contained the germs of eternal and universal laws—promises, a secret purpose which should be discovered at the time of the accomplishment. All history becomes a *type* which is realised in all ages; and every institution a *symbol* representing an eternal truth. There is thus an organic, essential unity between the Old and New Testament providentially linking together all parts of Scripture, and giving each its theological character. Its due proportion and rank are assigned to every passage viewed in relation to the economy of salvation accomplished and perfected in Christ Jesus the chief corner-stone. By virtue of this organic parallelism of both Testaments, the historical authority of Scripture is preserved, on the one hand; and on the other, the idea

¹ See Dangler's *Examen des Citations Messianiques*, pp. 4, 5.

² Versuch einer pneumatisch-hermeneutischen Entwicklung des 9 Capitels im Br. an die Roemer. Appendix.

of arbitrary Jewish allegorising and Jewish accommodation obviated. It maintains a just medium between both.

In adopting this *spiritual, organic* view of the quotations in the Old Testament, we are countenanced by theologians of different creeds. De Wette, Bleek, Billroth, Olshausen, Hofmann, Hengstenberg, Beck, Otto von Gerlach, Teichler, Tholuck, Weiss and other recent divines maintain it in a variety of forms.

We shall now give some examples of the interpretation specified, which may serve to make it more obvious to the apprehension of the reader.

In Matt. xxii. 31.—33., Jesus proves to the Sadducees the resurrection of the dead, from a passage in Exod. iii. 6., where God said to Moses: "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob." When Jehovah addressed Moses at the burning bush, he did not mean to speak of the resurrection of the dead. But yet that idea is involved in the declaration. God cannot enter into an intimate connexion with men in which he is said to be *their* God, if they be merely transitory, short-lived beings. The communion he holds with them, like all divine communion, is not bounded by time. It is everlasting. Hence the patriarchs with whom he deigned to hold near fellowship, were regarded as immortal by that very circumstance. Accordingly Christ justly inferred from this passage the doctrine of the resurrection; since God is not the God of the dead, *i. e.*, of uncleanness and corruption, but of the living. The full sense of the words is educed in this interpretation.

In John, x. 34, 35., Christ replies to the charge of the Jews against him that he made himself God, by quoting Psal. lxxxii. verse, 6., "I have said, ye are gods," adding, that the Scripture cannot be broken. He educes a profound sense from the words. The saying "ye are gods," must be fully realised like all Scripture. It is realised in my person. I am the son of God, like to him in every respect. If judges are *gods and sons of the Most High*, surely the title much more belongs to me.

In Eph. v. 32., the apostle Paul looks upon marriage as a symbol of the communion existing between Christ and his church, applying to the latter the passage in Gen. ii. 23. By virtue of an interpretation which connects the Old Testament with the New in divinely intended parallels he means to express the idea, that marriage, in which earthly love attains its culminating point, is but an imperfect type of a sublimer union existing between Christ and his church.

In 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10., a parallel is drawn between the ox that was not to be muzzled while treading out the corn, and the apostles who laboured in the church of Christ. The passage in Deut. xxv. 4., referred to by Paul, is considered and applied in its general aspect. The truth it involves is shown to refer to apostles and preachers of the gospel, as well as to the lower animals.

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews follows the same method of interpretation. Thus in xi. 13., he infers from the expression of the patriarchs, "we are strangers and pilgrims in this land" (Gen. xxiii. 4., xlvii. 9.), that they hoped to arrive at the heavenly country

after death, Doubtless the patriarchs in uttering such a sentiment had a vague longing for a better inheritance.¹

But it is impossible to discuss the subject satisfactorily as long as Christ and the New Testament writers are considered together. The difficulties inherent in it are either hidden or increased by such a method. It is necessary to distinguish the hermeneutical procedure of Christ, the apostles, Paul, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. For while all may be grouped together in their general mode of dealing with the Old Testament, they can also be separated. The use they make of the Old Testament is not exactly the same. The application of it, for example, by Paul, is far inferior in depth, comprehensiveness, and spirituality, to that which characterises the Saviour. Again, there are a subtilty and insight into the Old Testament—a perception of the internal connexion between it and the New, in Paul, which are not found in the evangelists. The parallels drawn by the latter between various parts of the two economies, and the divine intention they find in these parallels are peculiar. On the other hand, there is a difference between the customary application of the Old Testament in the Epistle to the Hebrews and that found in the Pauline Epistles. It is inferior to the Pauline, because the historical sense is less regarded. It is *homiletic* and *practical* rather than strictly *exegetical*.²

In the evangelists, we commonly find quotations of *prophecies* properly so called, or of *typical parallels*. In them an objective connexion between some declaration or event in the Old Testament and a corresponding fact in the New Testament is intimated. They bring both into a union resulting from the divine purpose. Regarding them as thus linked together in providence, they show the adaptation of the one to the other. Thus they join together the harmonising parts of one system.

With respect to citations introduced by the formula *ἴνα* or *ὅπως πληρωθῆ*, which are frequent in the Gospels, either a *direct prophecy* or a *ὑπόνοια* is indicated. The fulfilment in such cases is regarded as the effect of divine intention, for the conjunctions *ἴνα* and *ὅπως* are *telic* not *ecbatic*. Whether *prophecies*, or *typical parallels* be meant, can only be determined by a minute attention to each particular citation. We believe that *prophecies* are referred to in Matt. i. 22., iv. 14., xxi. 4., xxvii. 9, 35; John, xii. 15. 38—40., xix. 24. 37. And here let us remark, that it *not* necessary, as Palfrey argues, to cite *the precise words* of a prophecy, when its fulfilment is pointed out in the New Testament. In explaining away predictions out of these places in Matthew and John, we find great stress laid by him on this circumstance. But it is not by any means of the importance he attaches to it. It is sufficient if the true sense of a prophecy quoted be given in words adequate to that object. If the terms be such as plainly show its meaning, *that is enough*. The New Testament authors were not accustomed to cite the precise words of the Old Testament. They quoted freely, and from memory. Nor can it be

¹ See Weiss's Examen des Citations de l'ancien Testament, p. 31., *et seqq.*

² See Tholuck's Das Alte Testament, u. s. w., §§ 3, 4, 5.

shown that they should have departed from their customary method in cases where they pointed out the fulfilment of prophecies. It is unreasonable to expect it of them. The conditions of the case were satisfied by citing the prophetic passages in words sufficiently obvious to show their right import. And this is what they uniformly did.

On the other hand, *typical parallels*, in which a *ὑπόνοια* is concealed, are in Matt. ii. 15. 23., viii. 17.; John, xi. 51., xviii. 9. How little perception of a divine *ὑπόνοια*, or of typical parallels such superficial writers as Palfrey have, is obvious from his remarks on Matt. ii. 15. "So clear is this case that I consider the text as having the highest importance in its bearing on the general argument respecting the force of quotations from the Old Testament in the New. If Matthew, calling to mind a passage of Hosea, in which, in terms so plain that Matthew could not misunderstand them, the exodus of the people was referred to historically, could quote the words in reference to an event seven or eight hundred years subsequent to the quoted writer, then it is as certain as any thing of the kind can be, that Matthew did not intend to represent that event as accomplishing a prediction contained in those words. And if, in such a case as this, when the supposition of prediction accomplished is absolutely preposterous and out of the question, the Evangelist could introduce his quotation with the formal words, "*that it might be fulfilled* which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet," then it follows that in no case whatever does the formality of that introduction permit us to infer that the Evangelist points to the words which he quotes as containing a prediction, of which events have brought about the accomplishment." (pp. 41, 42.)

From the frequent use of *ἵνα* or *ὅπως πληρωθῆ* in this manner, we see the *teleology* of the evangelists. They were accustomed to refer to an overruling providence, whereby God brings events to pass so as to fulfil his designs. They rise above *the bare sequence* of events. Each important result is regarded as ordered and intended of God. They view events and circumstances with constant reference to the divine arrangements. Hence they frequently use *ἵνα* or *ὅπως* where man, looking only at the surface and beholding mere secondary causes, would have employed *ὅστε*. The *telic* use of *ἵνα* or *ὅπως* with the subjunctive *πληρωθῆ*, is now so well established, that it would be unnecessary to turn aside from the subject to discuss and defend it. When it is maintained by Fritzsche, Winer, De Wette, Meyer, Olshausen, Bretschneider, Wahl, Tholuck, as it was formerly by Bengel too, we need scarcely stop to notice the contrary opinion of Tittmann, Stuart, Robinson, and Palfrey, who cling to the *ecclatitic* usage. Nothing can be feebler than the philological analysis of *ἵνα* and the corresponding *יִשְׁבֹּל* given by the last-named writer; for his examples, as far as they are really such, clearly imply intention on the part of the Divine Being; and he should have known that Gesenius has examined and shown the *telic* usage of the Hebrew conjunction on all occasions. Nothing can be farther from the truth than to resolve this kind of citations into "legitimate rhetorical accommodations," without any thing superna-

tural being meant. Extended remarks on the point will be found in Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics, to which the reader is referred.¹

Here a question has been raised, whether the writers being Hebrews and attached to the Hebrew teleology, did not sometimes carry their own *subjectivity* into these matters. In their disposition to find parallels in the Old Testament—outward prefigurations of spiritual things connected with the divine economy,—did they not occasionally confound *consequences* with divine *designs*? The spiritual mind is prone to *such typology*. It makes parallelising applications by the very force of religious feeling. Looking at single phenomena in nature and in history, it is liable to attribute to them *direct objects* in the divine mind; whereas, nothing is designed to serve one solitary purpose, but all events are so connected with one another as to serve various ends in their mutual relations. What may be thought by us *the* purpose intended to be accomplished, may not even be *the nearest* much less *the sole* one. The question resolves itself into the extent of the apostles' inspiration, which it would be out of place to discuss here. The only test that can be used to determine whether in any instance the *ὑπόνοια* supposed to lie in an Old Testament passage be *objectively true*—a divinely intended thing—must be sought in the circumstance of the supposed spiritual prefiguration *harmonising with* or *contradicting* the historical sense. If it refuse to coincide with the right meaning of the passage, it is of a purely *subjective* character, having no reality except in the writer's own ideas. But if the true historical sense be preserved, the parallel is *objective* and was divinely intended. According to this criterion, Tholuck and others find in John, xi. 51., xviii. 9.; Matth. viii. 17. a *ὑπόνοια* created by the writers' own subjectivity.

In the writings of Paul, quotations from the Old Testament are not introduced by the formula *ὡς ἀναπληρωθῆναι*; but either by *καθὼς γέγραπται*, or *εἶπεν*, or by no preface. Most of them are not *predictions*, as Rückert and Fritzsche supposed, but simple accommodations serving as a substratum for the writer's own ideas. They are interwoven with his own argumentation for the purpose of illustration and ornament. Examples may be found in Rom. ii. 24., iii. 4. 10. 18., viii. 36., ix. 13. 15. 33., x. 7, 8. 11. 13. 18., xi. 8., xv. 3. 21.; 1 Cor. i. 19. 31., ii. 9., iii. 19. 20., xiv. 21., xv. 25. 54, 55.; 2 Cor. iv. 13., vi. 2. 16. 18., viii. 15., ix. 9.; Gal. iv. 27.; Eph. iv. 8. 26. 31. In these instances the apostle commonly alters the words of the text that they may be applicable to his purpose. But 1 Cor. xv. 27. appears to be quoted as a prophecy.²

In thus employing the Old Testament a question has been raised in relation to the historical accuracy of the Pauline hermeneutics. It cannot be denied that he has extracted more from places in the Old Testament than the historical sense *appears* to allow. But it will be found, on attentive examination, that he has put no idea into a passage which does not lie in it *in germ*. He has always developed the fundamental idea with profound insight into the mani-

¹ See Palfrey's Relation between Judaism and Christianity, pp. 19., *et seqq.*

² Tholuck, pp. 34., *et seqq.*

fold applications of which it is capable. Though his analogies in the Old Testament may sometimes appear far-fetched and arbitrary, they are not really so. The original and true sense is simply *restricted* or *enlarged* in his application of it, without being injured. Thus in interpreting the blessing, Gal. iii. 8.; in the argumentation founded on the fact that the patriarch received circumcision as the seal of his faith, Rom. iv. 11.; in the proof founded on the name "father of many nations," Rom. iv. 17.; and in showing the calling of the Gentiles from passages which refer to apostate Israel, Rom. ix. 25, 26.; as well as in the direct reference of the *stone of stumbling* to Christ, Rom. ix. 33.; there is no improper or arbitrary turning of the original passages to things with which they have not a real analogy. The apostle develops and applies the original ideas inherent in the Old Testament in a way which shows his deep insight into their manifold applications.¹ The *form* indeed of his interpretation is such as evinces the Jewish dialectician. The influence of Rabbinical training and cultivation may be observed in the *mode* in which he brings forth the ideas contained in the Old Testament. Spiritual depth and sagacity of mind were sharpened by an ingenious logic which extracted fanciful notions out of words. But the *essence* of the interpretation is not injuriously affected by Rabbinical learning. *That* is free from the charge of arbitrary and tasteless allegorising.

It must not be concealed, however, that the charge of falling into the subtleties of Rabbinical interpretation has been made against the apostle of the Gentiles. It has been thought by commentators like Rückert, Meyer, and De Wette, that he sometimes insisted too much on the letter so as to extract from it a sense both far-fetched and unnatural. In proof of this such passages as 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10., x. 5.; Gal. iv. 24., iii. 16. are referred to. But in 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10. a *ὑπόνοια* is evidently presupposed by the apostle in the Old Testament passage referred to. We cannot believe with De Wette, that the historical sense is taken away from the injunction recorded in Deuteronomy, xxv. 4.; that sense is *enlarged* or *generalised*, as Kling² rightly holds. In x. 5. he follows no Jewish legend, as has been asserted, for the existence of a legend among the Jews purporting that the water from the rock followed the Israelites forty years through the wilderness, is visionary. The apostle's thoughts simply pass from the type to the antitype—from the water that gushed out of the flinty rock, to the spiritual water it prefigured, and of which the people in the wilderness partook. Palfrey³ understands the word *follow* in this place to denote *repeated occurrence*. "The rock followed them because they drank from it at different times." The Greek word *forbids* this sense. It is *ἀκολουθέω*, which the apostle uses, meaning *to accompany* or *attend*. Granville Penn⁴ also mistook the true import of the verb. With regard to Gal. iv. 24., we find in it an example of *typical* interpretation. It is *allegory*, not in the *technical* sense of the word, but simply in the New Testament sense

¹ Tholuck, p. 37.

² Studien und Kritiken for 1839, p. 834.

³ Relation between Judaism and Christianity, p. 270.

⁴ Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant, p. 358.

of it, *i. e. a type*. Hence the comparison should not be carried out, as though there were a correspondence in all points.¹

But Gal. iii. 16. has greater difficulty. The charge of Rabbinical interpretation applies more plausibly to it than to any other passage. Indeed Winer, Usteri, Rückert, Meyer, and De Wette say that the apostle has given an erroneous interpretation, such as was not unusual with the Jews. Two faults are here attributed to Paul's citation and reasoning; first, that he has erroneously referred the collective noun עַרְוֹ in the prophecy made to Abraham, to one individual, *viz.* Christ, and secondly, that he has insisted on the singular עַרְוֹ as if it could mean nothing else but an individual; whereas both in Hebrew and in Greek it is very often employed collectively. To these allegations it may be briefly replied that the apostle was not ignorant of the fact that σπέρμα denotes *a collection of individuals*, as may be seen in Romans, iv. 16., ix. 8. But he also knew that it can only denote *a collection of individuals belonging to one and the same species*; whereas to designate individuals of different species, אַרְבֵּים, or σπέρματα was employed. It is thus that the Chaldee word אַרְבֵּים has often in the plural אַרְבֵּים in the sense of *race* or *posterity*. The apostle wished to say, that the σπέρμα does not apply to all the descendants of Abraham of whatever kind or character they be; not τοῖς σπέρμασιν; but solely to those to whom the promise was made — those of like faith with Abraham himself, *i. e.* his spiritual offspring, τῷ σπέρματι. But why does the apostle limit the σπέρμα to Christ? Why does he not explain it of *Christians*? Because χριστός is here regarded as the believing prosterity of Abraham. Christ is taken as their representative inasmuch as with him they form as it were but one person. They are included in him as part of his mystical body. The apostle did not mean to take Christ as an individual; but he mentions him as the chief of the Church which is his body. This interpretation is favoured by what is written in this very epistle, for in the 28th and 29th verses of the third chapter it is said, "If ye be Christ's, ye are Abraham's seed and heirs according to the promise." Those who wish to see a full and ample justification of the apostle deduced from a lengthened explanation of the quotation before us may be referred to Tholuck's essay, where it is excellently illustrated. De Wette indeed still objects to his explanation as untenable; but his arguments are not formidable, for he allows that Paul proceeds on the true idea that the promises made to Abraham were fulfilled in Christ. We can see no real difficulty in that which this commentator stumbles at, *viz.* that whereas *Christians* are the σπέρμα in verse 29. and also in Romans, iv. 13. 16., *the personal Christ* is here the σπέρμα. For *Christ*, χριστός, is not taken apart from his spiritual body, but as the head and representative of it; just as עַרְוֹ in the singular number in Genesis, iii. 15., denotes *Messiah* including all believers.

There is nothing analogous to this interpretation of the apostle in the writings of the Rabbins. A wide difference exists between it

¹ Tholuck, p. 39. *et seqq.*

and any example capable of being adduced as similar. How unlike to it is the following, brought forward by Hartmann and Doepke¹ as entirely akin to it. In the San. cap. iv. § 5. it is prescribed with relation to criminal proceedings, that the witnesses should be exhorted not to bring forward an accusation unless they knew it to be well-founded; for in other proceedings a fault may be expiated, but in criminal ones the crime is transmitted to all eternity to the descendants of him who has committed it, because it is said in Scripture (Gen. iv. 10.) "the voice of thy brother's blood crieth to heaven." The author rests on the plural אִשֵּׁי to signify that it is the blood of Abel and that of his descendants; otherwise Moses would have put אִשׁ. This is a mere play on words. Ingenuity is thus exercised in drawing from the letter of Scripture what is not contained in it. How different from the manner of the apostle, even in the passage in the Galatian epistle. He finds in the Old Testament a profound truth implied in the promise made to Abraham—a truth which ought to be derived from it according to the divine intention; though the writer of Genesis did not see in the singular אִשׁ the idea discovered by Paul at the time of the accomplishment of the promise.

With regard to the types and parallels of the Old Testament which are employed by the apostle, the question whether they were so arranged in the divine purpose as to intimate the connection which he makes between them and New Testament phenomena, is not of difficult solution. Amid the various uses which the apostle makes of the Old Testament and the parallels he draws, we cannot believe that all his parallels are true types so designed of God. In some cases they must be attributed to the *subjectivity* of the apostle himself. They are his own applications of the Old Testament. This is not obscurely intimated by himself in Eph. v. 32. in the words, "but I speak concerning Christ." So too in Rom. xv. 3., he gives his own idea, justifying it by the remark that every thing contained in the Old Testament serves for our instruction. In 1 Cor. x. 6., *τύποι* does not mean what is now commonly understood by *type*, but *sign*, warning-example.

The author of the epistle to the Hebrews makes as much use of the Old Testament as the apostle Paul. Nor is his method of employing it *essentially* different. There *is* indeed a perceptible difference; but it is not so great as has sometimes been represented. His hermeneutics have often been compared with Philo's, so that even the *direct* influence of the latter upon them has been asserted by Bleek and others. But this is incapable of proof, as Tholuck has well remarked.² There is a certain Alexandrine complexion about his use of the Old Testament as well as his style which distinguishes them from Paul's; but that is far from a direct use of Philo's writings. Rabbinic dialectics cannot be traced in it as in Paul's method. It is more *Hellenic* than *Jewish*—more ideal and arbitrary than the Pauline. It is evident that the writer was dependent on the Septuagint; and since he could not have recourse to the Hebrew, as the

¹ Hermeneutik, p. 177.

² Page 51.

apostle had in the case of important differences between it and the Greek version, he employed the latter even where it is incorrect, as in ii. 7., x. 5.

Some of his citations are very remarkable and puzzling. Perhaps those which will strike the expositor as most singular are chap. i. 6., and 10—12.; the former taken from Psal. xcvi. 7., and the latter from Psal. cii. 25, &c. In regard to the words "and let all the angels of God worship him," we must believe that they are a direct application of the words "worship him, all ye gods," in Psal. xcvi. 7., to Christ. The writer cites them as one of his proofs of the dignity of Messiah. Any attempt to regard the passage as an accommodation of the Psalmist's language appears to us utterly nugatory. One of the latest commentators on the Psalms appears to us to explain the citation most arbitrarily and incorrectly. "These words," says he, "are not applied to Christ directly in Heb. i. 6. It is merely said that when God sends his Son into the world, he may be understood as saying again (*πάλιν*) of him, what is here said of himself, to wit, that even the false gods are required to worship him, much more the angels who have real existence. The passage was no doubt suggested to the mind of the New Testament writer by the fact that the Septuagint renders *gods* by *angels*." ¹ In opposition to these remarks, we are convinced that every unbiassed reader will conclude that the New Testament writer adduces the words *as proof*. We explain the citation of Psal. cii. 25. &c. in Heb. i. 10—12., in the same manner. The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews directly applies the words to Christ, adducing them as a proof of His superiority to the angels. How the original can be properly employed in this manner, it is very difficult to see. Tholuck, who is quite aware of the puzzling nature of both citations, mentions as a conjecture that the subject of the two Psalms (xcvi. and cii.) was assumed by the Jews to be Messiah, and that therefore the writer counts upon the assent of his readers in so using them; in other words, that he employs the *argumentum ad hominem*. But he does not approve of it. Rather does he hold the Messianic Exposition of the Psalms to be the writer's own peculiarity, to be accounted for by the rhetorical and homiletical character of the epistle. ²

These observations will prepare the reader for believing that the types, prophecies, and parallels which the writer of the epistle finds in the Old Testament are more frequently of a *subjective* character than the Pauline. The Old Testament is commonly employed as a vehicle of his own ideas—a substratum of his own thoughts. The historical sense is less regarded. Passages are applied *homiletically*. Penetrated as he was with a profound sense of the depth of meaning lying in the Old Testament or deducible from it, he does not consider whether direct prophecy or typical parallel or subjective application, should be carefully distinguished, but assumes a *divine intention* in the passage if it be capable of a *Christian application*. He converts the subjective application into an objective and divinely

¹ See Alexander on the Psalms, vol. ii. p. 337.

² Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament, p. 54.

intended one, as is apparent in xi. 15, 16., iv. 8. This is not done by Paul.¹

Those alone who have minutely investigated the quotations found in the New Testament are sensible of the difficulty attending a classification of them according to their internal form. Indeed they are so diverse from one another—those in the Gospels, in Paul, and in the epistle to the Hebrews being clearly distinguishable in their general character, while individual ones even in the same writer or epistle have their characteristic peculiarities—that it is impossible to classify them. Any list we have seen so arranged has appeared to us to convey very erroneous ideas; the texts grouped together under one head being very often most diverse. It is better to refrain altogether from classification than to present such an one as has been given by Rosenmüller, or the better one elaborated by Horne, with his enumeration of all the texts belonging to each head. The absolute hopelessness of the task forbids censure of these well-meant efforts.

We can hardly however refrain from decided objection to the recent classification by Palfrey, which arranges quotations thus:—

1. “Passages which really were supernatural predictions, and really are referred to as such.” He considers every instance of this class of references to be to the Pentateuch and not to any other part of Old Testament Scripture. But such an hypothesis is arbitrary and false.

2. In the second class “nothing but a legitimate rhetorical accommodation is designed.” We object decidedly to his putting places like Matt. i. 22, 23., into this class.

3. The third class “consists of those which are produced as references to, or proof of, the opinions entertained in ancient times concerning the Messiah who was eventually to appear.”

4. The fourth class “consists rather of references to the general tenor of the Old Testament.”²

Were we disposed to attempt any classification we should make the following:—

1. Prophecies direct or typical.
2. Typical parallels.
3. Parallels in which a passage is applied or adapted to a particular end by the New Testament writer for the purpose of illustrating or enforcing a sentiment advanced.
4. Mere allusions or references to the Old Testament, without express or formal quotation.

To range *all* the passages *properly* under one or other of these heads would be a task requiring the separate examination of each in the light of the most recent comments made upon them, and the very various expositions they have received, with a refutation of the unfavourable view taken of the procedure of the writers in some cases, by able interpreters. And after the best attention that could be given to them individually, considerable doubt would exist as to

¹ Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament, p. 56.

² See Palfrey's Relation between Judaism and Christianity, p. 18. *et seqq.*

some whether they should belong to the first or second head; while others would perplex the critic in assigning them either to the second or third. We shall give an example of each class.

1. The 2nd and 110th Psalms contain prophecies of Christ and his kingdom. Both are applied to Him in the New Testament in such a manner as shows that they are *properly* interpreted in that method. Whether they are *directly Messianic*, as most commentators believe, or *typically Messianic* only as Bleek supposes, is of no consequence at present. In either case they belong to the Messianic class as prophetic. Hence in Acts, iv. 25, 26.; Heb. i. 13., x. 13., the citations consist of prophecies whose fulfilment is shown. Matt. iv. 14. affords an example of the same class. So also Matt. i. 22., though there are difficulties connected with this passage not yet perhaps fully solved. These are inherent in the context of the original, Isa. vii. 14.; and though since Hengstenberg; Drechsler, Reinke, Ewald, Hofmann, Meier, Alexander (Commentary on Isaiah) have attempted to resolve them, all have been unsuccessful.

2. According to Matt. xiii. 35., a typical parallel is pointed out. The evangelist supposes that a *ὑπόνοια* intended by God lies in the words of Psal. lxxviii. 2. In Gal. iv. 24., another example occurs. In like manner Matt. ii. 15. is an example. From Isa. xlix. 3., we see that Israel was a type of Messiah. Messiah the antitype is the absolute son and servant of God. This Son of God, as well as the antitype, must go to Egypt.

3. An example of quotation belonging to the third class occurs in Rom. ii. 24. Several words are added to the Septuagint version by the apostle, in order to adapt the passage to his purpose. The original and proper sense of the passage is, that Jehovah's name was blasphemed through the oppression of the Jews. But here it is altered so as to express the idea that Jehovah was blasphemed among the Gentiles because of the vicious conduct of the Jews. Other examples are found in 1 Cor. i. 19. 31.

Into this third class, many put various passages which have the formula *ἵνα* or *ὅπως πληρωθῆ* prefixed. But all such belong to the second, at least in the view of the writers quoting them. We do not infer this merely or solely from the verb *πληρώω*, to *fulfil*; but from the conjunction associated with it, bearing as it always does a *telic* signification. Even a quotation with *τότε ἐπληρώθη* prefixed we believe to have been a typical parallel in the view of the writer, as in Matt. ii. 17, 18., cited from Jer. xxxi. 15. The prophet represents in figurative language Rachel deploring the loss of her children and indulging in inconsolable grief on their account. When Herod imbrued his hands in the blood of the innocents in Bethlehem and its vicinity, the New Testament writer, quoting Jeremiah's words, wishes it to be understood, not merely that he applies those words by way of pertinent illustration to such a cruel scene, but that the one event foreshadowed the other. The full meaning of the prophet's language was not educed till the later occurrence took place. The one was connected with the other as a *σκιά* indicates the substance. The evangelist thus adapted the words of the Old Testament to

another event, because he believed that they were intended to adumbrate it.¹

If it be asked, do all citations having the phrase *was fulfilled* indicate on the part of the writer divine *adaptation* of one thing to another or *realisation* which he believed to be providential, we should reply in the affirmative. Such is *the theology* of the evangelists. As to the explanation of *was fulfilled*, which regards it simply as a *rhetorical accommodation* implying no more than that *words used by an ancient writer might be adopted as applicable to circumstances afterwards occurring*, we look upon it as defective and therefore erroneous. The transition is easy to include in the same explanation *that it might be fulfilled*, which many expositors consistently do; and then the way is clear for holding that *real predictions* so introduced are not predictions at all, but fall under the head of *rhetorical adaptations*. Palfrey is consistent in following out the explanation to its legitimate extent, and in boldly denying such places as Matt. i. 22, 23., xxi. 4, &c., to be *prophecies*. Supernatural predictions almost disappear from the New Testament under the influence of this convenient device of rhetoric. And why do not other interpreters proceed as far? Doubtless they are afraid to do so. Startled at the appalling length to which they may be carried by their favourite expedient, they stop short with saying that the word *fulfilled* means the accomplishment of a prediction or the completion of a symbolical occurrence by its full realisation under the New Testament, *in some places*; while *in others*, it means no more than Jerome had in his mind when he wrote, "In us is that Socratic saying *fulfilled*: This little I know, that I know nothing." (Epist. 103. ad Paulin.) It would be a very desirable thing if these expositors would clearly show *when the one or the other* interpretation should be adopted. If they cannot, they *may and ought* to clear away with Palfrey supernatural predictions respecting Jesus from the prophets and the hagiographa. The word *fulfil* will not stand in their way. It has only to be resolved into "rhetorical accommodation."

It is vain to quote Rabbinical writers to show that *they* applied the term *fulfilled* to the happening of a *similar* event merely, as Surenhusius and Doepke have done profusely. We know that the writers of the New Testament were Jews, and that their conceptions and language must have been Jewish to a great extent; but they wrote in Greek and were under the Spirit's influence. If the Rabbinical mode of citation be the rule to try them by, how far shall we apply it, for there are many absurdities connected with it from which all sober-minded persons will ever revolt? Shall we apply it to the *internal* as well as the *external* form, to the *nature* as well as the *mode* of the quotation in the New Testament? Or shall we confine it to the latter? Wiseman² also adduces two passages from the Syriac in which the verb *fulfilled* refers to mere *similarity*. But this is aside of the object. Let it be shown by some clear example in the New Testament itself that $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\acute{o}\omega$ is employed of *accomplishment by mere simi-*

¹ See Davidson's Hermeneutics, p. 491.

² See Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion, vol. ii. pp. 224, 225.

larity, and then something is gained. Till that be done, the accumulation of Syriac and Hebrew authorities, as well as the phrases taken from Ælian, Cicero, Plutarch, Eusebius, and Jerome given by Palfrey, are nugatory.¹ Does the Old Testament contain types or adumbrations of things in the New; and were the evangelists totally in the dark as to the connection of the one with the other? Had they no right to connect them? And did they not mean to indicate an organic harmony when they used such words as *πληρώω*? We conclude that such was their idea. It is only a supposed *ὑπόνοια* on the part of the writers that justifies their use of words like *πληρώω*, the true meaning of which so many, from Kidder and Sykes down to Palfrey, try to fritter away by insisting on *mere similarity* or *accommodation, pertinent illustration, &c. &c.* The sacred authors had a higher idea than this—that of an internal, necessary, providentially arranged connection. Whether they were *always* right in thinking so, is a question relating to the infallibility of their inspiration, a question very important and very difficult withal.

4. The following is a list of the places comprehended in this class:—

MATTHEW, V. 5. Psal. xxxvii. 11.: verse 21. Exod. xx. 13.: verse 27. Exod. xx. 14.: verse 31. Deut. xxiv. 1.: verse 33. Exod. xx. 7.: verse 38. Exod. xxi. 24.; Lev. xxiv. 20.: verse 43. Lev. xix. 18. VIII. 4. Lev. xiv. 2. X. 35, 36. Mic. vii. 6. XI. 5. Isa. xxxv. 5., xxix. 18.: verse 14. Mal. iv. 5. XII. 3. 1 Sam. xxi. 6.: verse 5. Numb. xxviii. 9, 10.: verse 40. Jonah, ii. 1.: verse 42. 1 Kings, x. 1. XIII. 14, 15. Isa. vi. 9. XVIII. 15. Lev. xix. 17., xxi. 44.; Isa. viii. 14.; Zech. xii. 3.; Dan. ii. 34, 35. 44. XXIII. 35. Gen. iv. 8.; 2 Chron. xxiv. 21, 22.: verse 38. Psal. lxix. 26.; Jer. xii. 7., xxii. 5.: verse 39. Psal. cxviii. 26. XXIV. 15. Dan. ix. 27.: verse 29. Isa. xiii. 9, 10.; Joel, iii. 15.: verse 37. Gen. vii. 4. XXVII. 43. Psal. xxii. 7, 8, 9.

MARK, I. 44. Lev. xiv. 2. II. 25, 26. 1 Sam. xxi. 6. IX. 44. Isa. lxvi. 24. X. 4. Deut. xxiv. 1. XIII. 14. Dan. ix. 27.: verse 24. Isa. xiii. 9, 10.; Joel, iii. 15.

LUKE, I. 10. Lev. xvi. 17.: verse 33. Mic. iv. 7.: verse 55. Gen. xxii. 16.: verse 73. Gen. xxii. 16. II. 21, 22. Lev. xii. 3, 4.: verse 34. Isa. viii. 14, 15. IV. 25, 26. 1 Kings, xvii. 1. 9., xviii. 44.: verse 27. 2 Kings, v. 14. V. 14. Lev. xiv. 2. VI. 3, 4. 1 Sam. xxi. 6. X. 4. 2 Kings, iv. 29.: verse 28. Lev. xviii. 5. XI. 31. 1 Kings, x. 1.: verse 51. Gen. iv. 8.; 2 Chron. xxiv. 21, 22. XIII. 35. Psal. lxix. 26.; Jer. xii. 7., xxii. 5. XIV. 8. Prov. xxv. 6. XVII. 3. Lev. xix. 17.: verse 27. Gen. vii. 7.: verse 29. Gen. xix. 15. 24.: verse 32. Gen. xix. 26. XX. 18. Isa. viii. 14.; Zech. xii. 3.; Dan. ii. 44. XXIII. 29. Isa. liv. 1.: verse 30. Hosea, x. 8.

JOHN, I. 52. Gen. xxviii. 12. III. 14. Numb. xxi. 8, 9. VI. 49. Exod. xvi. 15. VII. 22. Lev. xii. 3.: verse 38. Isa. lv. 1., lviii. 11., xliv. 3.; Zech. xiii. 1., xiv. 8.: verse 42. Psal. lxxxix. 4.,

¹ See Palfrey's Relation between Judaism and Christianity, p. 25. *et seqq.*

cxxxii. 11.; Mic. v. 1. VIII. 5. Lev. xx. 10.; Deut. xxii. 21. IX. 31. Prov. xxviii. 9. XII. 13. Psal. cxviii. 26.: verse 34. 2 Sam. vii. 13.; Psal. lxxxix. 30. 37., cx. 4. XVII. 12. Psal. xli. 10., cix. 8. 17. XIX. 28. [Psal. lxix. 22.]

ACTS, II. 30. 2 Sam. vii. 12.; Psal. lxxxix. 4. VII. 8. Gen. xvii. 10.: verse 9. Gen. xxxvii. 28., xxxix. 1.: verse 17. Exod. i. 7.: verse 20. Exod. ii. 2.: verse 24. Exod. ii. 11.: verse 30. Exod. iii. 2.: verse 38. Exod. xix. 3.: verse 45. Josh. iii. 14.: verse 46. 2 Sam. vii. 2.; Psal. cxxxii. 5.: verse 48. Isa. lxvi. 1. X. 34. Deut. x. 17.; Job, xxxiv. 19. XIII. 17. Isa. i. 2.; Exod. xii. 37.: verse 18. Deut. i. 31.: verse 36. 1 Kings, ii. 10. XVII. 31. Psal. ix. 9., xvi. 13., xviii. 9.

ROMANS, I. 22. Jer. x. 14. II. 6. Prov. xxiv. 12.: verse 11. Deut. x. 17.; Job, xxxiv. 19. III. 8. Jer. xvii. 6. IV. 11. Gen. xvii. 10. IX. 20. Isa. xlv. 9.; Jer. xviii. 6. XI. 1. Psal. xciv. 14.: verse 35. Job, xli. 11. XII. 9. Amos, v. 15.: verse 16. Isa. v. 21.

1 CORINTHIANS, I. 20. Isa. xlv. 25. V. 13. Deut. xvii. 7., xix. 19., xxiv. 7. IX. 13. Deut. xviii. 1. X. 1. Exod. xiii. 21., xiv. 22.; Numb. ix. 18.: verses 3—6. Exod. xvi. 15., xvii. 6.; Numb. xi. 4., xx. 11., xxvi. 64, 65.: verses 8, 9, 10. Numb. xxv. 1. 9., xxi. 4., xiv. 2. 36.; Psal. cvi. 14. 19. XIV. 34. Gen. iii. 16. XV. 3. Isa. liii. 8, 9.; Psal. xxii.; Psal. xl.: verse 4. Psal. xvi. 10.

2 CORINTHIANS, V. 17. Isa. xliii. 18, 19. VI. 2. Isa. xlix. 8. XI. 3. Gen. iii. 4.

GALATIANS, II. 16. Psal. cxliii. 2. III. 6. Gen. xv. 6.: verse 17. Exod. xii. 40. IV. 22. Gen. xxi. 2. 9., xvi. 15.

EPHESIANS, II. 17. Isa. lvii. 19. VI. 9. Deut. x. 17.; Job, xxxiv. 19.

PHILIPPIANS, II. 10. Isa. xlv. 23. IV. 5. Psal. cxix. 151., cxlv. 18.

COLOSSIANS, II. 11. Deut. x. 16. III. 25. Deut. x. 17.; Job, xxxiv. 19.

2 THESSALONIANS, II. 4. Dan. xi. 36.: verse 8. Isa. xi. 4.

1 TIMOTHY, II. 13. Gen. i. 27.: verse 14. Gen. iii. 6. VI. 7. Job, i. 21.; Eccl. v. 14.; Psal. xlix. 18.

2 TIMOTHY, III. 8. Exod. vii. 11. 22.

HEBREWS, III. 2. Numb. xii. 7.: verse 17. Numb. xiv. 35, 36. V. 4. 1 Chron. xxiii. 13. VII. 1. Gen. xiv. 18. IX. 2. Exod. xxv., xxvi. 36., xl. 3.: verse 13. Lev. xvi. 14.: verse 14. Numb. xix. 2. X. 12, 13. Psal. cx. i.: verse 27. Isa. lxiv. 1.: verse 28. Deut. xvii. 6. XI. 3. Gen. i. 1.: verse 4. Gen. iv. 4.: verse 5. Gen. v. 24.: verse 7. Gen. vi. 8. 14.: verse 8. Gen. xii. 1. 4.: verse 13. Gen. xlvii. 9.; Psal. xxix. 13.: verse 14. Hosea, xiv. 2.: verse 17. Gen. xxii. 1.: verse 18. Gen. xxi. 12.: verse 20. Gen. xxvii. 28.: verse 22. Gen. l. 24.: verse 23. Exod. ii. 2.: verse 28. Exod. xii. 18.: verse 29. Exod. xiv. 22.: verse 30. Jos. vi. 20.: verse 31. Jos. ii. 1., vi. 17. 23.: verse 32. Judg. vi. 4. 15. 11.; 1 Sam. vii.; 2 Sam. ii.: verse 33. 2 Sam. viii.; Judg. xv.; Dan. vi.: verse 34. Dan. iii.: verse 35. 2 Kings, iv.

20.; 2 Maccab. vi. and vii. XII. 9. Numb. xxvii. 16.: verses 12, 13. Isa. xxxv. 3.; Prov. iv. 26.: verse 15. Deut. xxix. 18.: verse 16. Gen. xxv. 31.: verse 18. Exod. xix. 16.: verse 29. Deut. iv. 24. XIII. 11. Lev. iv. 12. 21., xvi. 27.; Numb. xix. 3.: verse 14. Mic. ii. 10.

JAMES, I. 19. Prov. xvii. 27. II. 1. Lev. xix. 15.; Prov. xxiv. 23.: verse 21. Gen. xxii. 9.: verse 25. Josh. ii. 1., vi. 17. 23. V. 3. Prov. xvi. 27.: verse 11. Job, i. 21. 22., xlii.: verses 17, 18. 1 Kings, xvii. 1., xviii. 41.

1 PETER, II. 3. Psal. xxxiv. 9.: verse 4. Psal. cxviii. 22.: verse 10. Hosea, ii. 23.: verse 17. Prov. xxiv. 21. III. 6. Gen. xviii. 12.: verse 20. Gen. vi. 3. 12. IV. 18. Prov. xi. 31. V. 5. Prov. iii. 34.: verse 7. Psal. lv. 23.

2 PETER, II. 5. Gen. vii. 23., viii.: verse 6. Gen. xix.: verses 15, 16. Numb. xxii. III. 4. Ez. xii. 21.: verses 5, 6. Gen. i. 1, 2, 6. vii. 21.: verse 8. Psal. xc. 4.: verse 10. Psal. cii. 26, 27.: verse 13. Isa. lxv. 17., lxvi. 22.

1 JOHN, I. 8. Prov. xx. 9. III. 5. Isa. liii. 4.: verse 12. Gen. iv. 8.

JUDE, verse 5. Numb. xiv. 35.: verse 7. Gen. xix.: verse 11. Gen. iv. 8.; Numb. xxii. and xvi. 1. 31.

REVELATION, I. 6. Exod. xix. 6.: verse 7. Zech. xii. 10—14.: verses 14, 15. Dan. x. 5. 6., vii. 9., viii. 2. II. 14. Numb. xxv. 2., xxxi. 16.: verse 20. 1 Kings, xvi. 31., xxi. 23.; 2 Kings, ix. 33. III. 7. Isa. xxii. 22.; Job, xii. 14.: verse 9. Isa. xlv. 14.: verse 19. Prov. iii. 11, 12. IV. V. Ex. xxiv. 9—11.; Isa. vi., iv. 6.; Ez. i. and x. V. 11. Dan. vii. 10. VI. 8. Ez. xiv. 21.: verse 12. Isa. xxiv. 18—23., xxxiv. 4.: verse 14. Psal. cii. 27.; Isa. xxxiv. 4.: verses 15, 16. Hos. x. 8.; Isa. ii. 10. 19—21. VII. 3. Ez. ix. 4. VIII. 3. Ex. xxx. 7, 8.; Lev. xvi. 12. IX. 3. Joel, i. 6., ii. 4.: verse 14. Dan. x. 13. 20.: verse 20. Psal. cxv. 4., cxxxv. 15. X. 2. Ez. ii. 9, 10.: verse 3. Jer. xxv. 30.: verse 4. Dan. viii. 26., xii. 4. 7. 9.: verses 9, 10, 11. Ez. ii. 8—iii. 4. XI. 4. Zech. iv. 2, 3. 11. 14.: verse 5. 2 Kings, i. 9—12.: verse 6. 1 Kings, xvii. 1.; Exod. xvii. 19, 20.: verse 7. Dan. vii. 7, 8.: verse 10. Esth. ix. 22.: verse 15. Dan. ii. 44., vii. 27.; Psal. ii. 2. XII. 1. Mic. iv. 9, 10., v. 2.; Gen. xxxvii. 9, 10.: verse 5. Psal. ii. 9.: verse 7. Dan. x. 13. 21., xi. 1., xii. 1.: verse 14. Dan. vii. 25., xii. 7. XIII. 1. Dan. vii. 3.: verse 10. Gen. ix. 6. verse 14. Dan. iii. XIV. 8. Isa. xxi. 9.; Jer. li. 8.; Dan. iv. 27.: verse 10. Psal. lxxv. 9.; Isa. li. 22.; Jer. xxv. 15.: verse 14. Dan. vii. 13.; Isa. xix. 1.: verse 15. Joel. iii. 18.: verses 19, 20. Isa. lxiii.; Lam. i. 15. XV. 3. Exod. xv. 1.: verse 4. Jer. x. 7.: verse 8. Exod. xl. 35.; 1 Kings, viii. 11.; Isa. vi. 4. XVI. 2. Exod. ix. 8—12., vii—x.: verse 12. Isa. xi. 15, 16. XVII. 1. Jer. li. 13.: verse 3. Isa. xxi. 1.: verse 4. Jer. li. 7.: verse 12. Dan. vii. 20. 24.: verse 15. Isa. viii. 7.; Jer. xlvii. 2. XVIII. 2. Isa. xxi. 1—10.; Jer. li.; Isa. xiii. xiv. xxiv. 11. 13.; Jer. l. 3. 39, 40.: verse 3. Jer. li. 7.; Nah. iii. 4.: verse 4. Isa. xlviii. 20., lii. 11.; Jer. l. 8., li. 6. 45.: verse 6. Jer. l. 15. 29.; Psal. cxxxvii. 8.: verses 7, 8. Isa. xlvi. 7—9.; Jer. l. 31.: verse 11.

Ez. xxvii. ; Isa. xxiii. : verse 18. Isa. xxxiv. 10. : verse 20. Isa. xlv. 23., xlix. 13. ; Jer. li. 48. ; Dan. iv. 14. : verse 21. Jer. li. 53. 64. : verse 22. Isa. xxiv. 8. ; Jer. vii. 34., xxv. 10. : verse 23. Isa. xxiii. 8. XIX. 2. Deut. xxxii. 43. : verse 3. Isa. xxxiv. 10. : verse 4. Psal. cvi. 48. : verse 6. Psal. ii. 2. ; Dan. ii. 44, vii. 27. : verse 13. Isa. lxiii. 1. : verse 15. Psal. ii. 9. ; Isa. lxiii. 3. ; Lam. i. 15. : verses 17, 18. Isa. xxxiv. 6. ; Ez. xxxix. 17—20 : verse 20. Isa. xxx. 33. ; Dan. vii. 11. 26. XX. 4. Dan. vii. 9. 22. 27. : verse 7. Ez. xxxix. 2. : verses 8, 9. Ez. xxxviii., xxxix. : verses 11, 12. Dan. vii. 9, 10., xii. 1, 2. ; Ez. xxxvii. ; Isa. xxvi. 19, 20. XXI. 1. Isa. lxv. 17., lxvi. 22. : verse 2. Ez. xl., xlviii. : verse 3. Ez. xxxvii. 27. : verse 4. Isa. xxxv. 10. : verse 5. Isa. xliii. 19. : verse 10. Ez. xl. 2. : verse 11. Ez. xlviii. 31. : verse 15. Ez. xl. 3. : verse 19. Isa. liv. 11, 12. ; Exod. xxviii. 17. : verse 23. Isa. lx. 19. ; Ez. xlviii. 35. : verses 24, 25. Isa. lx. 3. 11. 20. XXII. 1. Ez. xlvii. 1. 12. ; Zech. xiv. 8. : verse 3. Zech. xiv. 11. : verse 5. Isa. lx. 19. ; Ez. xlviii. 35. : verse 10. Dan. viii. 26., xii. 4. : verse 16. Isa. xi. 1. 10. : verse 17. Isa. lv. 1. : verse 19. Deut. iv. 2., xii. 32.¹

¹ This enumeration has been taken from Knapp's "Recensus Locorum Veteris Testamenti in Novo," appended to the second volume of his edition of the Greek Testament, in connection with the concluding part of a beautifully printed pamphlet entitled "Passages cited from the Old Testament by the Writers of the New Testament, compared with the original Hebrew and the Septuagint version. Arranged by the junior class in the Theological Seminary, Andover, and published at their request, under the superintendence of M. Stuart, Assoc. Prof. of Sac. Literature." Andover, 1827, 4to.

PART II.
BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

BOOK I.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY.

THE meaning of all language whether written or spoken is ascertained by the application of certain general principles. These principles in their relation to Scripture are called *Sacred Hermeneutics*. The application of them has received the name *Exegesis*. The former is the science; the latter its practical application. After the *criticism* of the text has been settled, the *interpreter* enters upon his office, which includes two things; first, to associate in his own mind with the language of the Bible the precise ideas it was designed to convey; and next, to excite the same ideas in the minds of others, by spoken or written signs. He tries to apprehend the meaning of Scripture; and when he has apprehended to exhibit it intelligibly. This is no easy task. A book like the Bible is unique in character. It comes to man divinely attested and with authoritative claims. Hence it should not be negligently or rashly meddled with. Certain qualifications are necessary to him who would rightly expound it. These are twofold, *intellectual* and *moral*. We shall briefly refer to them, premising that no small measure of the success attending the interpreter's work depends on their possession. They are of far more consequence than some appear to suppose.

Let us first refer to those qualifications which may be termed, for distinction's sake, *intellectual*.

Here a sound *judgment* will suggest itself at the outset as a thing indispensable.

This faculty enables one to compare as well as to examine; to separate things that are similar, and to distinguish the true from the false. By the aid of it, the right signification of a word in a particular place will be selected from among others. The adaptation of particular instructions to the state and circumstances of those originally addressed by the sacred writers, and their connection with the neighbouring paragraphs, will be more readily apprehended. The comparison of parallels will be better conducted. The degree of importance belonging to the various parts of Scripture will be more nearly adjusted. The temporary and the permanent—the human

form and the divine substance—will be discriminated. The exact ideas of the original authors will be seized. That a good judgment, exercised to discern the true and the false, the real and the fanciful, is necessary to a good interpreter is almost self-evident; for it, more than anything else, will prevent him from falling into errors with which even the learned are often entangled. What groundless theories will it reject without ceremony? There are things too high for human comprehension; it will refrain from searching into these. Thousands attempt to be wise above what is written; but strong, vigorous sense will refrain from adventuring into the mysterious that lies beyond the reach of the human intellect. It will not attempt to be overwise and expose its possessor to the compassion of all sober-minded expositors. It is almost impossible to overrate the benefit of a faculty such as that we are trying to describe, in the province of interpretation. If it does not always discover the safe path, it keeps the expositor near it, untempted by the delusions to which he is exposed on every side, amid the innumerable degrees of moral evidence with which he has to deal. His judgment must be strong, vigorous, clear, to realise all the parts and points of the high themes to which it is applied, while it endeavours to apprehend the very ideas embodied by the sacred writers.

Imagination is also requisite. The language of the Bible is highly coloured. The style is full of images. The original readers were accustomed to the language of poetry. Their fancy was actively employed in assisting them to apprehend religious and abstract truth. They inhabited countries where the outward and material were powerful elements in cultivating the emotional part of men's nature. The writers themselves as orientals, partook of the same temperament and wrote out of the depth of the same mental habits. Accordingly a degree of imagination is necessary to enter into the feelings of the writers as well as their first readers—to surround oneself with the influences under which they thought and acted. Instead of analysing their language as a formula, it must be warmly seized as a vehicle of impressive ideas, and brought home to the apprehension as a living thing. A cold and formal tribunal to which the learned theologian may bring it will fail to perceive its proprieties and beauties. The style will be denuded of its glowing, breathing character. The soul will be extracted from it. The colours will be taken away by a deteriorating analysis. Imagination will doubtless prevent the expositor from frequent mistake.

But while a chastened imagination is necessary to the interpreter, the excess of it is very pernicious. An unlicensed imagination has produced disastrous effects in the interpretation of Scripture. Who has not heard of the allegorising processes in which many of the fathers indulged, to the perversion of the true sense? In like manner, the hidden senses of mystics have been put forth as the divine utterances of the text. The manifold senses of Cocceius and his followers, the metaphorical dreams of Keach and Gill, the philosophical reveries of Hutchinson, have been propounded as the mind of the Spirit. In all such cases imagination has been the dominant

faculty rather than sound judgment; whereas the latter should regulate and control the exercise of the former. The excessive development of the imaginative faculty may be seen in Jeremy Taylor, whose fancy wandering amid the glories of nature, and selecting the finest images which it shed forth in luxurious exuberance, was scarce restrained within the boundless universe. It is well known that he had a very defective view of various important doctrines. But the man of vigorous judgment will naturally check his imagination when it tempts him beyond the boundaries of safe excursion. On the other hand, a weak judgment in alliance with a florid imagination is unable to resist the allurements. Fascinated by the spell of the higher faculty, its voice will be disregarded amid the pomp and music of beautiful creations.

Secondly, among the *moral* faculties necessary for the interpreter has been placed *sensibility of heart*.¹ Though it be difficult to *define* what is meant by this, all know what is implied in it. Many things in the Bible are addressed to the sensibility of the reader, and as such are fitted to make a striking impression upon him. If therefore he be destitute of the faculty, he will have but a confused idea of these things. He will neglect them as unimportant, or misapprehend their true character. And yet they are often the sublimest expressions of a mind under the influence of the divine Spirit. Those passages which can only be felt by the sensibilities of our nature are among the best evidences of the supernatural origin of the Scriptures. They come direct from hearts in sympathy with the divine, and can only be appreciated by the sensibilities of hearts in unison with them. Absurd as they appear when analysed by a cold logic, they are sublime as soon as the heart seizes and appropriates them. Indeed, Scripture generally is written for the heart as much as the intellect. The great mass of mankind are not theologians. They are not habituated to logical inquiries, nor are their minds much cultivated. They are affected and led by the emotions rather than the intellect. Accordingly divine revelation speaks to them as such. And they receive from it a just and powerful impression. They may not comprehend it logically. They are probably unable to analyse its meaning with any tolerable degree of exactness; but though it be vaguely and incompletely understood, it moves the susceptibilities of their hearts. In this manner, through the medium of their sensibilities, Scripture becomes the comfort of the disconsolate, the light of the ignorant, the patrimony of the poor. The book of Psalms will occur to every one as an illustration of this fact—that admirable monument of piety which reveals so much of the soul's hidden springs of feeling. In interpreting it, he that regards the heart of the prophet king and his own will not go far astray. But if he digests it into precise and logical formulas for the purpose of intellectual apprehension, he will miss the life and spirit of it. His interpretations will often be absurd or ridiculous. Sensibility of soul is needful by the side of a sound judgment and good imagination.²

¹ Cellerier, Manuel d'Hermeneutique, p. 58.

² Ibid. pp. 58, 59.

Love of Truth.—Truth will be sought after. It must be loved supremely. But in his present state, man is disinclined to subordinate all other interests to it. Many things combine to suppress and extinguish this noble disposition. The soil of human nature is not well prepared for its growth. Passions and prejudices spring up and choke it. Anterior opinions stand in the way. Preconceived sentiments injuriously affect it. But an interpreter animated by the sole love of truth will come to the Bible with a mind as free as possible from sentiments already formed as to doctrines and duties. In reading and endeavouring to understand a passage or book, he will try to forget opinions previously cherished about it, that he may derive from it with sincere and conscious desire all that is meant to be taught. He must be prepared either to abandon former ideas or to modify them as far as an impartial examination directs. Wherever the authority and sense of Scripture conduct, he should be ready to go.

This disposition to forego all previously entertained views from attachment to truth alone as far as it can be honestly discovered, must not be confounded with that scepticism which appears under the name of impartiality and is indifferent to or rejects everything, even good evidence. It should be judiciously limited. But such exaggerated impartiality is far less common than the disposition which finds in the Bible what it already wishes. Hence religious sects holding very different creeds appeal to the Book as their support. Trinitarians and Unitarians, literalists and spiritualists, Calvinists and Arminians, rest upon the same writings as the basis of their respective creeds. Even philosophical schools do the same.

It is very difficult to find this conscientious love of truth in active and faithful exercise among professed interpreters. For it happens unfortunately in many cases, that they are too much saturated with systems to allow Scripture to change or modify them at will. They are unconsciously fettered by existing opinions, and are unable to shake them off in obedience to the teaching of divine truth. Examples may be found in abundance in systems of theology and in commentaries.

By virtue of the disposition we are speaking of, two extremes will be avoided, that of putting into the Bible, or into a passage, what is not there; and that of taking away something which really exists. Divine teaching may be exaggerated, or it may be attenuated. It may be unduly exalted or depreciated. Thus, when Paulus explains the words of the evangelists in Matt. xiv. 26., Mark vi. 49., John vi. 19., as denoting that Jesus did not walk upon the sea but on the bank or shore; or when Bishop Pearce supposes that by the words of Jesus to Martha "one thing is needful," *one dish only is required*, the passages are enfeebled and disfigured. On the other hand, such as explain the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer mystically of the gift of the Holy Spirit, mistake the idea conveyed by the Saviour, and ignorantly exalt Scripture at the expense of its true interpretation.

Everything must be subordinated to the investigation of truth. Interests and prejudices which have warped the heart as well as the

understanding, must give way before it. Fondness for hypothesis must be repressed; the desire of reputation kept in abeyance; the secret wish for proofs or indications favourable to a system, silenced within. Great is the responsibility attaching to the scholar or the theologian in view of the truth; and unless he keep it steadily before him he becomes the slave of passions or interests which effectually blind the spirit. The nobleness of his task is at an end; for what nobler pursuit can be conceived than a calm, impartial investigation of revealed truth, that the relations of God and man may be seen in their high aspects, and the duties which the creature owes to the Creator comprehended in all their range? Penetrated and purified by love of the true and virtuous, the interpreter rises to the height of his vocation. But when other interests intrude and rule, he must fail in the performance of his appropriate work.¹

Another moral qualification closely allied to the preceding, is *spirituality of mind*. The Bible brings us into contact with holy men. To understand their language aright *we must be holy ourselves*. What communion of spirit can the selfish sinner have with the sacred writers? A poetic taste is requisite for him who would apprehend aright the poet's creations. To relish or understand the profound speculations of the mental philosopher, a kindred spirit of investigation is necessary. So is it with the interpreter of the Bible. He comes into the society of holy men. He mounts up into a region of purity where eternal truth reigns. How then can such association be suited to the mind of him who cherishes no sincere desire to follow the leadings of perfect goodness? If his heart be not open to receive the lessons of supreme wisdom, he cannot hope to be initiated into the full sense of Scripture. There is no connecting element between the ungodly man and the genius of the Bible; for a current of holy feeling pervades the latter. Aversion to godliness naturally shrinks back from the spiritual revelations of heaven, and refuses to sympathise in their quickening power. Knowledge therefore without piety is insufficient. Let there be a combination of both. "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." Consistent walking with God has a great influence upon the religious faith. This is the secret of the success attending many expositors who possess little learning. The mind tinges language with its own colours. If therefore it be corrupted by vicious habits or pernicious dogmas, the purity of revelation must suffer.

It has often been a subject of surprise, that conflicting opinions should be founded on the same words and derived from the same passage. Men neither deficient in judgment nor slow in perception take opposite views of what is plain in itself. But were the peculiar qualifications we are speaking of sufficiently insisted on, the wonder should soon cease. Men rely too much on their own wisdom. They are not taught of God. They do not banish the selfishness which stands between them and the communications of the most High. The corrupt nature that is in them is unsubdued.

¹ See Cellier's *Manuel d'Hermeneutique*, p. 60. *et seqq.*

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the connection between religious conviction and interpretation. They act and react mutually, so that the progress of both is continuous. The expositor setting out with a general conviction at least of the attributes of Deity, the divine origin and authenticity of the Bible and his own need of the salvation provided, will be able to adjust the general teachings respecting Christ and what He has effected on behalf of mankind. And wherever there is religious conviction there is religious sensibility bringing the interpreter into harmony with the thoughts and affections of the sacred authors. An irreligious interpreter is wholly incompetent, for his heart furnishes no key to the Bible revelations.¹

In coming to the Scriptures with the faculties and dispositions just enumerated, the interpreter will perceive that God has wisely condescended to make use of such language as we can understand. His revelation is suited to our modes of thought and utterance. He has accommodated Himself to our finite capacities. The language employed by the inspired writers is such as we can readily apprehend. Hence *the Bible is to be explained on the same principles as other books*. Words should be taken in their ordinary acceptation, unless something to the contrary be expressed. Men have agreed to employ certain written signs as expressive of their inward emotions; and therefore the will of Deity is conveyed through the same medium.

We are quite alive to the importance of the maxim, obvious as it appears, that the meaning of Scripture should be sought in the same way we discover the sense of any other book. God speaks in it to men as they do to one another, else he could not be understood. Yet we cannot go all the length of those who insist on the fact *absolutely and unqualifiedly*. Though it be a fundamental axiom that the Bible should be interpreted in the same manner as other books, there are exceptions to its universality. A peculiarity belongs to many of the prophetic parts. The prophets describe events indistinctly. They use language which is sublime, but not very clear. Events really distinct in time, though similar in character, appear to be blended together in the same diction. Hence the terms in which they are narrated have more than a single reference. One application of them does not include all that was designed; they look towards various objects. They must often be considered as symbolical. It was divinely purposed that the one should foreshadow the other. The coming of Christ in glory might have been regarded by many of the Jews as almost coincident with his appearance in humiliation, until He was born of a woman; for the one is sometimes pourtrayed in the Old Testament as connected in time with the other. But in the Gospels they are separated. The destruction of Jerusalem and the general judgment appear co-existent in the Gospels; but in the book of Revelation they are apart. As prophecy advanced, the predictions of seers assumed a clearer form; and the readers of these inspired effusions were able to avoid the chronological mistakes into which their predecessors must have fallen.

¹ See my Sacred Hermeneutics, p 5. *et seqq.*

These observations have an intimate connection with various passages quoted from the Old Testament in the New, especially those to which the verb *πληρῶω* is applied. There the events are related as symbol and thing symbolised. There is not merely a similarity; but that similarity is viewed by the sacred writers as intended. There is an established relation between them. The points of resemblance are described in the same language. The Hebrews were taught to look forward to the Redeemer and his reign through offices and events belonging to their national history. The features of the theocracy were employed by the prophets as prominent images in drawing out a picture of future blessings, or as representations of the characteristics belonging to the Messiah and his kingdom. But we shall revert to this subject again, and need not anticipate our remarks.

The science of Biblical Hermeneutics is not so plain as has been represented. It is not a thing of mere philology. According to Chalmers, it is "a pure work of grammatical analysis. It is an unmixed question of language. . . . We admit of no other instrument than the vocabulary and the lexicon. The man whom we look to is the Scripture critic, who can appeal to his authorities for the import and significancy of phrases; and whatever be the strict result of his patient and profound philology, we submit to it. . . . The mind and meaning of the author who is translated is purely a question of language, and should be decided upon no other principles than those of grammar or philology. Now, what we complain of is, that while this principle is recognised and acted upon in every other composition which has come down to us from antiquity, it has been most glaringly departed from in the case of the Bible: That the meaning of its Author, instead of being made singly and entirely a question of grammar, has been made a question of metaphysics, or a question of sentiment: That, instead of the argument resorted to being, 'such must be the rendering from the structure of the language, and the import and significancy of its phrases,' it has been, 'such must be the rendering from the analogy of the faith, the reason of the thing, the character of the divine mind, and the wisdom of all His dispensations.' . . . The authority of the Bible is often modified, and in some cases superseded, by the authority of other principles. One of these principles is the reason of the thing."¹

According to these extracts the interpretation of the Bible would appear, on the surface of the matter, to be a simple and easy process. It is a question of grammar and lexicon, all antecedent or accompanying considerations being rigorously excluded. But we remark,—

1. That the thing is impossible. Let us see. The lexicon exhibits a number of meanings belonging to each important word. The grammar teaches the various modifications of meaning which some change in the form of a word causes it to express. It also shows the relations of words to one another. Here then from the

¹ See Works, vol. iv. ch. 4. p. 432. *et seqq.*

two instruments we only learn what words *may* signify; whereas our task is to learn what they *do* signify. There are sentences, and those not a few, which may express different meanings in different relations with equal propriety. What is determined by lexicon and grammar as to the actual meaning of such sentences in particular positions? Surely their interpretation is not made manifest by such philological instruments. This will appear from an example. In 2 Cor. ix. 9. we read, "His righteousness abides for ever." Does *his righteousness* signify, here, His happiness resting upon righteousness, or His liberality, or the fruits of His liberality? And what is the sense of *abides for ever*? Does it mean that God will not forget this thing; or that the fruits of it abide for ever? In order to see the sense of the sentence, we must have recourse to something more than grammar and lexicon. Hence it will not do to exclude the reason of the thing, as Chalmers prescribes. What a reasonable man may calmly think and say upon a point, should have its due weight. The reason of the thing and many other circumstances which determine and modify our judgment, must and should be attended to.

2. God has inscribed certain laws and principles on the mind of man which he cannot wholly discard in the business of interpretation. Neither should he attempt to discard them. Their testimony is valuable. It comes from God. They act in many cases as a test. They control, guide, and modify philology. By means of them we are prevented from believing certain things. They weigh the moral beauty and fitness of the truth. Now we affirm that these internal considerations, implanted in the bosom of every one, cannot be practically dissevered from the process of philology. They join with and affect it usefully or otherwise, just in proportion to their antecedent nature and cultivation. Man comes to the Bible with his lexicon and grammar, having a mind already written upon by the finger of God, not a *tabula rasa* or blank book without laws or principles intellectual and moral. He has formed notions respecting God's nature and the general character of a revelation coming from Him through the instrumentality of men to the world at large. He has a prior knowledge and experience which he necessarily and rightly brings into the exegesis of the Bible, to guide, correct, and contribute to a successful elucidation of the divine counsels contained in the Sacred Volume. There is a natural theology which leads to Christian theology, and lightens up the path of the interpreter through its spiritual chambers.

3. A philology such as that recommended,—a mere adherence to the grammar and lexicon,—would bring out nothing but a most jejune and sapless analysis of words. It could never educe the spiritual sense of the Bible; and, in reality, no philology has confined itself within such narrow range. All philology worthy of the name has been accompanied and pervaded by philosophy. It has embraced the general structure of language; the *usus loquendi* of a people and nation; the entire scope of a book; the modes of thought which give rise to certain forms of speech. History and philosophy

are constituent elements of a true and broad philology, such as is capable of explaining the language of an author. And sure we are that the philology which would interpret the Bible must likewise comprehend much more than the instruments of vocabulary and lexicon. For the diction of this sacred book is peculiar. It is highly figurative, oriental, parabolic, poetic. A unique imagery pervades it. Here then if anywhere, must the philologist bring all his philology to bear. All ulterior tests will be resorted to. Reason in its widest sense will be applied as a collateral guide.

We are quite aware of the fact, that our knowledge of right and wrong and all the ineradicable perceptions of moral fitness we possess, may be misapplied in interpreting the Bible. Our own conceptions may be introduced, to the subversion of doctrines or tenets which the Bible truly inculcates. But this is merely to say that we may destroy the sense of Scripture by wrongfully using the instruments God has given us. It is to reason against the legitimate use of a thing from its abuse. Our own conceptions, *properly applied*, stimulate and assist the process of interpretation. *Improperly used*, they nullify or pervert the true sense of Scripture. When we carry our previous habits of mind and antecedent knowledge into interpretation, we are obeying both Scripture and reason, instead of subverting the one and misapplying the other.

In fine, whatever may be said in favour of the philological process recommended by Chalmers, we are sure that no commentator could possibly adhere to it without signal failure. No successful expositor has ever followed it. In reading the pages of the Bible, he has not exploded the principle of "What thinkest thou?" and substituted in its place "What readest thou?" as the eloquent writer recommends; but has diligently availed himself of both. While perusing holy Scripture, he has judged of its meaning as much, if not more, by his antecedent conceptions and doctrines, than by his grammar and lexicon. Examining the reason of the thing, he has been materially assisted in ascertaining the correct interpretation. The more he has studied the nature and works of God by the light of those intellectual and moral powers implanted within him,—the more he has investigated the laws of the material world,—the more he has exercised his understanding and sharpened his moral perceptions,—the more likely is he to arrive at the true meaning of divine revelation when he sets himself honestly and humbly to inquire into it. The man who has cultivated his reasoning powers, and listened to the voice of conscience, is likeliest to make the most successful interpreter of the Bible. Reason and philology are not mutually subversive. The former is the handmaid of the latter. Our inherent ideas of what is right and reasonable are not antagonistic to the true sense of Scripture; nor have they been rendered so by the fall. Amid all their deterioration, the Great Source from which they proceed may still be perceived in them. They still show that their Original is divine and good. In direct opposition to Chalmers, we hold that the truths of religion are *not* thoroughly beyond the cognisance of the human faculties. Else

how is man capable of religion, or why is religion adapted to his nature? Why has God given a revelation to a race of creatures totally incompetent to apprehend it. It is marvellous to find men who, in thus depreciating the religious capabilities of man, or in setting them all in direct array against the Bible, do not or cannot see that they are doing injury to a book in which God himself has written equally with the book without; that in despising the internal revelation they are despising Him who gave the external which they extol at the expense of its correlative.¹

CHAP. II.

GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION.

IN unfolding the problem of Sacred Hermeneutics, it is necessary to resolve it into successive parts. Various elements which enter into the business of the interpreter must be considered separately, though they are not so entirely distinct as they may appear by the treatment of them. Rather do they act and react mutually upon one another.

The expositor commences with the study of the *grammatical* sense of the text aided by sacred philology.

This task is by no means so easy as might seem to one who had not attempted it. The science of words has much uncertainty and vagueness, especially in relation to the languages of Scripture; for it must ever be difficult to fix with precision a leading idea, abstract and complex as it usually is. One might suppose that a dictionary would render the work very easy, inasmuch as it gives the significations of words. But all dictionaries are liable to error, and should be followed with discrimination. Besides, they can only furnish the general signification, whereas the interpreter wants the *precise sense* with its exact shade as determined by the particular position in which it stands.

The difficulties inherent in studying the grammatical sense arise from various causes, such as differences in the significations of words, want of sufficient analogy between languages, special nature of the languages of the Bible and the books themselves, and the influence of doctrinal tenets upon hermeneutics.

(a.) Words often vary in signification, when they possess an abstract sense. Thus ψυχή, πνεῦμα, רִּיבּוֹן, &c. Here the diversities are not *essential*. The *signification* is substantially the same, but the *sense* is different.

(b.) Words, however, are often taken in totally different significations, as ἀνομος, a transgressor, and ἀνόμως, without receiving a law; αὐτάρκεια, contentment of mind and necessities, ζήλος, zeal and envy, &c.

¹ See the British Critic for January, 1837 p. 103., *et seq.*, and Norton's Statement of Reasons, p. 110.

(c.) Sometimes words are modified by shades of expression, as hyperboles, or merely by usage, as ἀδελφός, a *Christian*.

(d.) Figures are a fruitful source of new varieties in the senses of words. Thus some are taken both literally and figuratively, while others occur in two figurative senses, e. g. γρηγορέω, καθέυδο.¹

Besides, there is not exact identity of sense between the corresponding words of different languages. Thus, *God* does not correspond exactly to אלהים, neither do Θεός in Greek and *Deus* in Latin. To these difficulties should be added that which arises to the interpreter from his having to do with two different languages, neither of which is perfectly homogeneous in its own nature. Some parts of the Old Testament are written in Chaldee. Others exist in a degenerate Hebrew which has many Chaldaisms. The Hebrew varied at different epochs and in different places. It has many words that occur but once. The Greek of the New Testament has its peculiar idioms. It is strongly impregnated with a Hebrew colouring. The syntax too of the Greek Testament is often negligent and confused. It is less exact in consequence of the emotions of the writers or literary inexperience. When we reflect, moreover, that both the Old and New Testaments proceed from various writers different in culture and individual character, the peculiar diction of each has to be studied with minute care.

But the influence of a doctrinal system on Hermeneutics is the most fruitful source of embarrassment. And yet the former should come after the latter. Hermeneutics ought to precede Dogmatics. The duties of the one department should be performed independently of and prior to the other, for Hermeneutics are the basis of Dogmatics. How often the reverse has been exemplified in practice we need not say. Doctrines have been deduced from Scripture without the aid of hermeneutical science; or they have been based on a very imperfect Hermeneutic. Theological terms have had their meaning assigned to them before the voice of impartial and accurate interpretation pronounced it. Important passages have been used as speaking men's own sentiments in relation to a system, in defiance of the science of interpretation. In this manner, various scriptural words, now stereotyped in ecclesiastical creeds, have come to be used in senses by no means accurate, or at least, in senses conveying inaccurate ideas to the minds of many. Their meaning has been fixed in theological controversy or in an age of party strife, when the interests of contending sects precluded calm and clear investigation. It mattered little to the interests and passions of such, whether the leading terms they seized upon as the symbols of definite ideas varied according to times, occasions, and the writers who employed them; that was a point they did not carefully investigate. The terms *faith, justify, works*, are not employed in the same sense by Paul and James. Luther took them in an acceptation somewhat novel because he wished to use them against the Romish Church. Since the days of Luther the terms have been a little altered in sense. They have

¹ See Cellierier, § 37. pp. 76, 77.

been restricted and cramped, compared with the psychological acceptance given to them by Paul. Both Calvinism and Arminianism have employed various terms, altering their true sense more or less, in accordance with the previous tenets of dogmatic theology. In consequence of the stereotype character which has been given to a variety of leading and technical words, the difficulties of a free Hermeneutic are greatly increased. For it must bring them back to their original and biblical significations, disregarding the current character they have long received.¹

Such are the chief sources of difficulty that lie in the way of grammatical Hermeneutics. They are formidable enough at first sight. But with the intellectual and moral qualifications that have been described, they may be overcome. Though the task be hard, it is not insurmountable. Effort must be put forth commensurate with its magnitude. And there are resources both numerous and practical at the disposal of the interpreter. What are they? What means does the grammatical interpreter employ for ascertaining the sense of words? The following are the principal. They are derived—

1. From the text itself.
2. From the context.
3. From parallel texts.
4. From sources foreign to the text.

CHAP. III.

STUDY OF THE TEXT ITSELF.

1. THE original texts should be understood and employed. This duty, though obvious, is often neglected by the sacred interpreter, who fails to consult the text itself through indolence or incapacity. He may imagine that, however necessary or important it may have been once, it is of less consequence at the present day because good lexicons and excellent versions exist in sufficient numbers. These he relies upon as generally correct. But as such aids are merely human and fallible, the professed expositor can hardly be exempted from blame if he rests upon them alone. An ordinary reader of the Bible may do so, since he peruses its pages chiefly for his own edification; but the instructor of others stands in a different position and has different responsibilities. Without using his own judgment on the original he must go astray. The best lexicons have mistakes. The ablest versions fail to express the right sense. They do not exhibit the precision and clearness of the originals. The theologian, therefore, who employs the text itself has an immense advantage over the others. He discerns new coincidences, unexpected allusions, precious elements of thought, hidden beauties of expression, to which ignorant or incompetent interpreters, relying on a version, are strangers. His ideas are clearer and stronger,

¹ Comp. Cellerier's *Manuel d'Hermeneutique*, p. 74. *et seq.*

because he has a consciousness of security respecting the results of his labour. His confidence is strengthened. A few examples will show the necessity of independent inquiry founded on the original on the part of an interpreter.

In Deut. xxxiii. 25., our English version has, "And as thy days, so shall thy strength be." This is evidently taken from the Septuagint version. But it is incorrect. The Vulgate translates, "As the day of thy youth, so too thine old age," followed by Luther, who gives "Thy age be as thy youth." By studying the original words it will appear, that the right meaning is "As is thy life, so thy rest or death." The term $\eta\sigma\tau\eta$, so much misunderstood, signifies *rest* or *death*, not *strength*, nor yet *old age*.

Again, a preacher once discoursed upon Ps. lxxii. 20., "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended." Not knowing that this sentence was appended by the person who gathered together those compositions included in the book that terminates there, and ignorant of the proper meaning of the Hebrew verb לָבַן , he took it in the signification *consummated*, *crowned with their highest sentiment*, *raised to their highest conception*, with reference to the universal diffusion of Messiah's kingdom predicted in the Psalm itself. But the idea of *consummation* or *completion* in this sense is not in the verb. It simply denotes *finished*.

In the New Testament how often is it taken for granted that in Acts xxvi. 28., "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," gives the true sense? But $\epsilon\nu\ \delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$ cannot mean *almost*. It denotes *in a little time* (sarcastically) "you will persuade me at this rate to become a Christian."

Again, in Ephes. i. 17., $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ cannot be taken, as a recent commentator contends, to mean the Holy Spirit.¹ A knowledge of the Greek article teaches this; but he who is not acquainted with the doctrine of the article may very probably, in a mistaken zeal for what appears to be orthodoxy, affix the signification of *the Holy Spirit* to $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ in this place. Undoubtedly the noun in question would have had the article had such been the meaning. The want of the article with $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ in Matt. xii. 28., Rom. i. 4., 1 Pet. i. 2., and in Mark i. 8., Luke i. 15. 35. 41. 67., proves nothing in relation to the present case, for it is more than doubtful whether in the first three passages $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ signify the Holy Spirit; and those adduced from Mark and Luke are not parallel. And even if the first two passages *did* refer to the Holy Spirit, $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ after a preposition might readily be anarthrous, which is not the case here. But indeed in all three, $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ does not denote the Holy Spirit as a person. Neither is it so taken in Ephes. i. 17. It means that disposition of mind characterised and defined by *σοφίας*, as also by $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\psi\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\iota\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

In studying the original texts we inquire first into the *usus loquendi* of the languages employed. How is the *usus loquendi* of a dead language ascertained?

¹ See Eadie's Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle, p. 76.

1st, From the works of those who lived when it was current and to whom it was vernacular. For example, in investigating the meaning of a term we naturally consult the writer himself by whom it was employed. He may give a definition of it. Or its connection may show the signification; or again, parallels may indicate with sufficient clearness the idea expressed by it. But if the signification cannot be found in the author who uses it, we have recourse to some other writer who employed the same language.

2nd, From the traditional knowledge of the *usus loquendi* retained partly in ancient versions, partly in commentaries and lexicons.

3rd, From writers who employed a cognate dialect.

These principles are common to all languages. They are the true means of discovering the legitimate usage of every tongue which has ceased to be spoken. Let us speak of them in their bearing upon the original languages of Scripture.

1. It is well known that a sacred writer sometimes furnishes a definition or explanation of a word he uses, either at the place where it first occurs or in another position. Thus in Gen. xiv. 14. יְלִידֵי בֵיתוֹ is explained by יְלִידֵי בֵיתוֹ, *domestics born in his house*. In like manner in Mark's Gospel, *Talitha kumi* are both explained, *Maid, arise*.

Again, a parallel passage in the work of the same author may afford the proper signification of a term.

2. In relation to the Hebrew we have the Septuagint, the Chaldee versions, the Old Syriac, the Latin version, and some others; besides the Greek fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, the Venetian Greek, and the works of the Jewish Rabbins Jarchi, Abenezra, Kimchi, and Tanchum of Jerusalem.

In the New Testament we have the two Syriac versions, the Latin and some others; Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, Herodian, &c., and the Greek writers generally who employed the *κοινή διάλεκτος*; Josephus and Philo; the Scholiasts and early Lexicographers; the catenæ and commentaries of the Greek fathers.

3. A knowledge of the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrew language may be derived in part from authors who wrote in cognate dialects, such as the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic.¹

Of these three sources the first is the most important and trustworthy. After ascertaining the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrew language, and noting its features, constructions, and laws, we should next observe the *usus loquendi* belonging to different periods of its history. Among the sacred writers there are diversities of language arising from various causes, such as diversities of epoch and place in relation to the Old Testament. Thus the times of Moses, of David and Solomon, of the later prophets and Chaldaising writers, may be distinguished from one another by words, style, and even grammar. Another cause of diversities in the language arises from the nature of the subjects treated, which necessitates diversity of style. The points of view also from which the writers set out contributed to the same result; while their individualities caused them

¹ See my Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 227. *et seqq.*

to prefer certain words and to attach to them certain senses. Thus when we compare the author of the book of Job with Moses, Isaiah with Amos, Ezekiel with Micah, we may observe idiosyncrasies of thought and the form of it by which they are separated. Many examples have been collected by Hävernicks to show the varieties of language and style which prevailed at different periods. But some of them are not appropriate, and his inductions are occasionally hasty.¹

In the New Testament also, the writers are characterised by their own peculiarities of diction. Take for instance Paul, John, and James, and words characteristic of each may be selected from their writings, as Credner's examples show.²

The very same ideas are expressed by Paul and John in different terms, *e. g.* παράκλητος in John, πνεῦμα ἄγιον in Paul; μένειν ἐν τῷ θεῷ in the former, καὶνὴ κτίσις in the latter. In like manner Paul places ἄρα at the commencement of a clause; John never employs the optative, &c.

Such are the means employed in acquiring a knowledge of the two languages in which the Bible was originally written.

In the study of the text itself, a complete knowledge of grammar, including etymology and syntax, is implied.

Etymology is a very useful expedient, and may furnish considerable assistance in tracing the right sense of a word. But it must be admitted that it is often treacherous. Sometimes terms deviate widely from their original import. Thus the English word *villain* in old writers means *a slave; hostis* in Latin, according to Cicero, *a stranger*; זָרָה and the feminine זָרָה mean an unchaste youth and a harlot, though both derived from קָדַשׁ, to *consecrate* or *be holy*. These examples show how slippery the use of etymology is—how easily it may mislead. And it *has* misled many, for by the aid of fanciful etymologies, systems of theology have been supported which have no foundation except in the imagination of men. The Lexicons of Parkhurst are disfigured by a most injudicious use of it. But although it has been much abused, it has its right place and utility notwithstanding. Judiciously and skilfully applied, it aids the interpreter. He should have recourse to it however, only when other means fail, or simply for the purpose of verifying and confirming results otherwise obtained. He should also distrust etymologies which are far-fetched or not verified, as when Augustine derived the word πάσχα from πάσχω, to suffer, whereas it is from the Hebrew פָּסַח, *passing* or *passage*. The derivation of ἐπιούσιος from ἐπιούσα, *i. e.* ἡμέρα, belonging to the coming day or the morrow, is far-fetched and improbable (Matt. vi. 11.). Some have derived שָׁמַיִם, *heavens*, from מַיִם, *there (are) waters*, erroneously, since the true root occurs in Arabic. The adjective αἰώνιος is generally used in the New Testament in the sense of eternal or everlasting. But it is affirmed by some that it is derived from αἶων, *an age*, and should therefore be

¹ See his Einleitung, Erster Theil, p. 177. *et seqq.*

² Comp. his Einleitung ins Neue Testament.

understood of limited duration, *having an age*. Such is the danger of reasoning from mere etymology.

A legitimate application of it is useful; but the way in which it is often applied vitiates all benefit that might be derived from it. A good example of its right application is the verb *προγνωσκαω*, which denotes simple foreknowledge. We are not aware that it is ever taken in another acceptation. But because many Arminians have reasoned from this signification, their theological opponents have discovered that it is sometimes equal in strength of meaning to the English word *foreordain*, and they appeal to Rom. viii. ix., Acts ii. 23., 1 Pet. i. 20. All this is vain. Whether the word favour Arminian dogmas or not, it simply denotes *foreknowledge*, and is always used of God in the New Testament.

We observe, before leaving the subject of etymology, that the primitive sense alone should be sought from it. That of the derivatives should not be inferred from the primitive, without a strict examination.

Besides etymology, a knowledge of syntax is implied in grammatical interpretation. Both are constituent parts of grammar, and none can know either the Hebrew or Greek language without acquaintance with the grammatical principles of each.

The syntax of a language is subject to variations in consequence of the different influences that modify speech. Such variations increase the difficulty of an interpreter's work, though they are one of his available resources at the same time. They belong to time, place, people, dialect; that is, they are peculiar idioms. Or they refer to negligences and incorrectness of language; that is, they are anomalies. Or they modify the construction without changing the sense; that is, they are exceptions of form. Or lastly, they modify the sense without changing the construction, that is, they are augmentations of the sense.¹

(a.) Idioms. The Hebrew language, as we find it in the books of the Old Testament, exhibits special constructions in great variety. These it is impossible to translate literally, even if they could be understood or appreciated in that manner. For example, in universal and negative propositions the Hebrews separate the symbol of negation from that of universality, instead of presenting them united. Thus Psal. cxliii. 2., *לֹא יִצְדַק לְפָנָי כָּל הָי*; literally, *every living one shall not be justified in thy sight*, for, *no living one shall be justified in thy sight*.

Again, 1 Sam. ii. 3., *אַל תִּרְבּוּ תְרַבְּרוּ גְבוּהָ גְבוּהָ*; literally, *do not increase (that) ye talk very proudly*, i. e., *talk no more so very proudly*.

In Isa. xiv. 30., *בְּכוֹרֵי רְגִלִים*; literally, *first-born of the poor*, i. e., the poorest people, the second noun being qualified superlatively by the first.

In 1 Sam. ii. 3., *אַל תִּרְבּוּ תְרַבְּרוּ*; literally, *do not multiply, do not speak*, i. e., *do not multiply words*, a kind of Hendiadys. An improper example of Hendiadys is in Gen. i. 14., where Gabler

¹ See Cellier's *Manuel d'Hermeutique*, p. 91.

and Gesenius render, "and let them be for signs of seasons and days and years." The sense is, "let them be as signs both for seasons and for days and years."¹

In Psal. civ. 16., הַיְתִיבֵי הַצֵּץ, trees of Jehovah, *i. e.*, the finest trees, an instance of the absolute superlative in Hebrew. A similar example may be found in Gen. x. 9., הַבּוֹר צִידֵי לָקֵי הַיְהוָה, *a most mighty hunter.*

Many Hebrew idioms have been transferred to the Greek Testament. There they occupy an important place in modifying the sense, so that the interpreter must be well acquainted with them.

Thus John iii. 15., ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων . . . μὴ ἀπόληται, *that none believing should perish, &c.*, borrowed from the Hebrew.

A Hendiadys occurs in Luke xxi. 15., δώσω ὑμῖν στόμα καὶ σοφίαν, *I will give you a wise mouth.*

A false example is in James iii. 14., where μὴ κατακαυχᾶσθε καὶ ψεύδεσθε does not mean "boast not in lying," but, "boast not (of your wisdom) and lie against the truth."

(*b.*) In respect to anomalies, they are most observable in the authors that wrote during the decay of the language. Thus אֶרֶב, which is masculine singular, after a considerable interval is connected with the plural, and afterwards with the feminine singular, Jer. xlv. 21. But the anomalies of the Hebrew language are not of much extent or utility to the interpreter. In the New Testament they are frequent and of far more importance. It is unnecessary to inquire whether they be owing to the want of education which characterised most of the writers, or to some confusion of thought, or to forgetfulness. Sometimes there is a change of subject, as in Mark ix. 20., ἰδὼν αὐτὸν . . . καὶ πεσών, or the discourse is changed from the indirect to the direct and *vice versa*, as in John xiii. 29. Sometimes a substantive is joined with an adjective to which correctly speaking the latter is inapplicable; or a verb is connected with several nouns, whereas it can only agree with one of them, as in 1 Cor. iii. 2., where the verb ἐπότισα is scarcely applicable to βρῶμα. Not unfrequently a sentence is begun in one manner, and the writer, forgetting it, terminates in a way that does not correspond to the commencement, as in Luke xiv. 5., τίνος υἱὸς ἢ βοῦς . . . ἐμπροσθεῖται, καὶ οὐκ εὐθέως ἀνασπᾶσει. A false example is in 1 Tim. ii. 15., where ἡ γυνὴ σωθήσεται . . . ἐὰν μείνωσιν is no anomaly. The plural shows that the sex is meant, women in general, and therefore it is quite appropriate though the singular precedes.

(*c.*) Exceptions of form or incorrectness arising from the rapidity and liveliness of the writer's thoughts are of various kinds. Thus 2 Cor. v. 19., κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ, μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς.

Such *anacolutha* as Rom. xvi. 25, 26.; Gal. ii. 6., spring from the same cause. Hence too the indirect discourse is changed to the direct, and *vice versa*, as Luke v. 14.; Mark xi. 32.

Examples of *ellipsis* are frequent in languages popular and animated like the biblical ones. They are owing to rapidity of thought or force of mental power which extinguishes superfluous words. Thus

¹ See Tuch's Kommentar, p. 25.

Deut. xxxiii. 6., a negative must be supplied, "of his men let there be no number." So too in 1 Sam. ii. 3., a negative is wanting. In the New Testament, Paul writes in the Epistle to the Romans, xi. 21., "For if God spared not the natural branches, *take heed* lest he also spare not thee;" where *δέδουκα* or *ὀρᾶτε* is understood. In 2 Cor. v. 13. there is also something left to be supplied.

Paronomasias arise from the same cause. Words analogous in sound but not in sense are brought together. Thus Psal. xviii. 8., וּתְרָעַשׁ וּתְרָעַשׁ הָאָרֶץ, *the earth quaked and shaken*; Gen. xviii. 27., עָפָר וְאָפָר, *dust and ashes*; Micah, i. 10., לְעִפְרָה עָפָר; Ezek. vii. 6., מִמֶּיִן הַמַּיִן.¹ In the New Testament we have *πορνεία, πονηρία . . . φθόνου, φόβου . . . ἀσυνέτους, ασυνθίτους*, Rom. i. 29, 31.; ἄρα γε γινώσκεις, ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις, Acts, viii. 30. In *ὄνατιμην*, Philemon, 20., there is an allusion to the name Ὀνήσιμος.²

Besides exceptions of form, there are *augmentations of sense*. The sentiment of the writer expresses itself very forcibly without causing any alteration in the words. This occurs in *hyperbole*, a figure to the use of which the orientals are much more prone than the occidentals.

An instance of hyperbole may be found in Gen. xi. 4., "a tower whose top reaches to heaven;" where Whately erroneously explains "*dedicated* to the heavens," as if a temple were intended to be built on it to Bel or Jupiter.³ In like manner we read in Deut. i. 28., of cities "walled up to heaven." In the New Testament, we read in the last verse of John's Gospel, that the whole world could not contain the books that should be written recounting all the deeds of Jesus Christ.

The opposite peculiarity is termed *Meiosis*, in which a word or phrase expresses more than appears to be said. Of this we find an example in Heb. xiii. 17., "for that is unprofitable to you," meaning that is *pernicious* to you. So Paul said that he was *not ashamed* of the gospel of Christ, *i. e.*, he gloried in it.

With respect to *emphasis*, which belongs here, it brings some accession to the ordinary signification of a word in point of force. Thus in Acts, ii. 21., the word *call upon* or *invoke* is emphatic, for it signifies *believing prayer*. In the book of Psalms the pronoun is often emphatic, as in ii. 6., and *I* have constituted my king, &c. *I, on my part*, have set my king, &c., while you pursue your course.

False emphases are very frequent in writers. Thus in Mal. iii. 16., the adverb *then* is said to be peculiarly emphatic; but unnecessarily so. So also Ephes. v. 27., "That it (the Church of Christ) should be holy and *without blemish, ἄμωμος*." The adjective rendered in this manner has been explained, "so free from all censure, that even Momus himself (the fictitious diety of mirth and ridicule) could find nothing to carp at or ridicule"! All such emphasising is worthless and nonsensical. There is no peculiar emphasis on *ἄμωμος* any more than there is on the adjective to which it is appended.

¹ Comp. Nordheimer's Hebrew Grammar, vol. ii. § 1117. p. 317.

² Comp. Winer's Grammatik, § 62., fourth edition, p. 479. *et seqq.*

³ Introductory Lessons on the History of Religious Worship, p. 58.

Having thus noticed different figures and forms which affect the sense of words, it may be useful to give some general directions regarding them to the interpreter.

1. The natural, received signification of a word should be retained, unless weighty reasons require an alteration. It should be taken for granted that a writer does not change the ordinary meaning of the words he employs without giving some indication of his so doing. Hence the literal meaning of *daily bread* in the Lord's prayer should be retained. Hence also the received sense of *πλεονεξία*, *covetousness* or *greediness*, Col. iii. 5., may be followed although the connection in which it stands might seem to favour another acceptation.

2. The received signification of a word may be modified, and an hyperbole or emphasis assumed, when a physical or moral impossibility would result from the literal sense, as also when it would disagree with the context or clash with a doctrine revealed in the Scriptures. Thus in Isa. liii. 9., it is said in the English version "And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death, *because* he had done no violence, &c." Here the usual signification of *ἄ*, *because*, disagrees with the context. His wicked contemporaries the Jews did not appoint him his grave with the wicked *because* he had done no violence, but *although* he had done no violence, &c. The words, "this is my body, this is my blood," cannot be literal, because that would contradict the evidence of the senses. Hence *body* must be regarded as *body in emblem*—and *blood*, *blood in emblem*. Here great care must be taken lest the ordinary signification be altered without necessity or sufficient reason. For example, it is needless to depart from the received version of *ἄ*, *because*, in 1 Sam. ii. 25., and to render *therefore*, as has been proposed. No doctrine of Scripture is contravened by the usual rendering, however it might appear so.

Connected with the preceding we may refer at the present stage of our inquiry to *phrases* in which the general sense is modified. These are concise and sententious, arresting attention by some paradox or apparent contradiction. Thus in Matt. x. 39., "He that findeth his life shall lose it." This is called *oxymoron*, affecting the *sense* as *paronomasia* affects the *sound*. Besides *oxymoron*, we also meet with *irony* in the Scriptures, in which some one is turned into ridicule under disguise of appearing to praise or speak well of him. Numerous instances of this are to be found, of which the following may suffice. Thus Elijah speaks ironically to the priests of Baal: "Cry aloud, for he is a God: either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked" (1 Kings xviii. 27.). So too in Job: "No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you" (xii. 2.). In like manner Paul writes to the Corinthians (1 Cor. iv. 8.), "Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us; and I would to God ye did reign, that we also might reign with you." On the other hand, false examples are given in Gen. iii. 22., "And the Lord God said, Behold the man is become as one of us to know good and evil¹; and in Eccles. xi. 9., "Rejoice, O young man, in thy

¹ See Tuch's Kommentar, p. 95.

youth, and let thine heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the way of thine heart and the sight of thine eyes."¹ Even the words addressed by the Saviour to the rich young man have sometimes been regarded as ironical, but most erroneously; "but if thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments." (Matt. xix. 17.)

Interrogations also modify the sense without being always indicated by a change of construction. To know when there is a question and when not, is a difficult problem, especially in the New Testament. In James, ii. 21., there is an example of interrogation materially affecting the sense. The writer either denies or asserts justification by works, as the phraseology is understood positively or negatively. The context indicates that there is an interrogation; and therefore justification by works is asserted.

CHAP. IV.

STUDY OF THE CONTEXT.

AFTER a good knowledge of the original languages is acquired, including etymology and syntax by means of which peculiarities belonging to grammar in its widest sense are readily detected in the texts of the Bible, the next source of interpretation is the context. By means of it we ascertain the significations of a word, and choose the one which alone is applicable in a certain place. We need hardly direct attention to the fact, that most terms are used in more senses than one. They may not have separate *significations*, so much as various *senses*, or diversities of one and the same general signification. The idea expressed may be vague or obscure. It may be precise or indefinite. In such circumstances it will be the chief duty of an interpreter to ascertain the proper meaning in a particular locality, and afterwards to explain combinations of terms in a given sentence, as the author himself intended. In selecting the true sense of a word from among others, it is supposed that the *primary* as distinguished from the *secondary* meaning is already known. It is implied that the etymological one has been found and placed at the head of others merely derivative. The significations should be genealogically disposed agreeably to the natural laws of association, before they be well applied in given circumstances. Here we are materially assisted by the labours of Gesenius in the Old Testament; and Bretschneider, Wahl, and Robinson in the New, who have had regard to the genealogical arrangement of significations, though not so much as they ought.

Context may be divided into the *immediate* and the *more remote*.

I. *Immediate context*.—Under this may be included the following particulars.

¹ See Stuart's Commentary on Ecclesiastes, p. 274.

(a.) Sometimes the writer himself subjoins an explanation by an equivalent expression or what is tantamount to an equivalent.

(b.) The subject and predicate of propositions mutually elucidate one another.

(c.) Antithesis, contrast, opposition, or parallelism illustrates the sense.

(d.) The adjuncts, *i.e.*, such as stand in the relation of secondary to primary, including oblique cases, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and other nouns with which it is connected.

(e.) Examples appended, or the outward operation of the quality, principle, or idea involved in a word, show the signification belonging to it.

In speaking of context it is not needful to settle the limits within which it lies. It has no definite boundary. It is idle to look for exactness here. Precision does not belong to many parts of the hermeneutical furniture. The pauses implied by what is commonly termed context—the range it takes in—the marks of its cessation—depend in a great measure on the view of expositors themselves. Perhaps it is sufficient for every useful purpose to speak of the *nearer* or *immediate*, and the *remote* context, according as the range included is small or wide. Both should be consulted and considered for the purpose of obtaining as much security as possible.

(a.) We have said that the writer himself occasionally appends the definition, or rather explanation of a term. Thus in Gen. xxiv. 2., *וְזָקֵן בֵּיתוֹ*, *the elder of his house*, is explained by the succeeding *וְהָיָה לְךָ כְּרֵגֶל*, *that ruled over all that he had*. In Isa. vii. 20., the figurative word *razor*, said to be “hired beyond the river,” is immediately explained of *the King of Assyria*. Whether the explanation be a gloss or not, it is manifestly correct. Again in Heb. v. 14., the *perfect* or *τελειοί* are interpreted “such as by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.” In Heb. x. 20., the *veil*, *καταπέτασμα*, is explained “his flesh.” In Heb. xi. 1., faith is said to be “the confidence of things hoped for, the manifestation of things not seen.”

(b.) The subject and predicate of a proposition mutually illustrate one another. But how are they known in a proposition? The arrangement of words and certain grammatical phenomena indicate them.

In the Hebrew language, when a substantive is the predicate, the most common order is, subject, verb, and object; but sometimes the predicate comes first, then the verb, and last of all the subject. (See Gen. xxvii. 39.) But when an adjective is the predicate, it usually stands first and wants the article, as Psalm xxxiv. 9., *good* (is) *Jehovah*. An emphatic or antithetic word which requires prominence is put first, whether it be object or subject, and then the verb is removed from its ordinary place at the commencement to the middle position. But there is little difficulty on this point in the Hebrew language. The only case in which some ambiguity may arise is such an one as occurs in Psalm civ. 4., where the translation may be “making his angels winds, his ministers flaming fire;” or

“making the winds his angels, the flaming fire his minister.” In the former case, *angels* and *ministers* are subjects; in the latter they are predicates. Here the context and the whole Psalm must determine; showing that the idea is, *he makes the winds his messengers, and the flaming fire his servant*. This is consistent with and favoured by the quotation in Heb. i. 7.¹ With respect to the Greek language, the subject commonly precedes the predicate as in Hebrew, as, *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, John, i. 14. The former has the article, the latter, being a substantive, wants it. Thus in 1 Tim. vi. 5., “supposing that godliness is gain.” These positions, however, are not invariable, for the predicate also comes before the subject as in John, iv. 24.; Matt. v. 3.; Rom. iii. 13., x. 4., xiii. 10. Both too may have the article, as in 2 Cor. iii. 17., 1 John, iii. 4.; or both may be anarthrous, as in Matt. xx. 16., xxii. 14. It is necessary to examine the connection, especially that which precedes. This is particularly required when the subject is a pronoun, relative or demonstrative. In 1 John, v. 20., *οὗτος* is ambiguous. It may either refer to *τοῦ θεοῦ* or to *Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ*, which is the nearest antecedent. The case is somewhat difficult, but on the whole the former is the more probable.

As an example of subject and predicate mutually throwing light on one another, we refer to John, i. 10., where *ἐγένετο* should be taken in its literal sense of *being made*, to correspond with *κόσμος*, *the world*, to which it refers. Hence *κόσμος* must mean the *material* world. In Matt. v. 13., *μωρανθῆ* means, to be *tasteless* or *insipid*, corresponding to *salt*, *ἅλας*.

(c) Antithesis, contrast, opposition, or parallelism illustrates the signification. The distinguishing characteristic of the Hebrew poetry has been called *parallelism*, denoting a certain equality or resemblance between the members of each period in a sentence, so that in two lines or members of the same period things shall answer to things and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of measure. Different species of it have been specified, such as the *cognate*, the *antithetic*, and the *synthetic* or constructive.

The first thing incumbent on the interpreter is, to discover the fundamental idea of the sentence in which parallelism appears. By the aid of this the parts or members should be carefully examined. Two extremes are to be avoided. Each hemistich must not be understood as having a peculiar meaning *distinct from* the other. Diversity of sense must not be urged; for repetitions of the same essential sentiment are not unbecoming the wisdom of the Divine Spirit. Neither should a mere tautology be assumed; as though the same idea, without perceptible variation or modification, were exhibited in the parallel members. Exact identity was not intended. The *exegetical* use of parallelism, with which alone we have now to do, consists in giving a general apprehension of the meaning of a word or clause, rather than a precise or minute specification. By the antithesis existing between the members, or the gradation observable in them, or by their homogeneous structure, it is easy to perceive the general sentiment contained in a passage. But it can

¹ See Alexander on the Psalms, vol. iii. pp. 31, 32.

hardly furnish to the interpreter the exact modification of idea which the writer meant to convey by a leading term. It gives an indeterminate apprehension of the sense, rather than an accurate conception of the particular aspects in which it is presented. It tells what the meaning cannot be, better than what it is. We should also look which of the two parallel members be the more intelligible, otherwise a vain attempt may be made to throw light from the darker or the more difficult upon the less obscure. When a word is well known, the sense of its correspondent or opposite will not be obscure; and when one parallel is figurative, the other literal, the latter may be taken to elucidate the former.

In Isa. xxvi. 14. מְתֵימִים corresponds to מְתֵימִים, *the dead*. The latter is obvious. Hence the former word must denote something analogous. The LXX. render it *λαττοι*, but this is incorrect. It may be translated *shades*, equivalent to מְתֵימִים, with the accessory idea of incorporeity and debility.

Isa. xli. 11. "Calling from the east, *the eagle*; and from a distant land, *the man of my purpose*." The *eagle* is explained by *man of my purpose*. Hence it is a figurative appellation of Cyrus.

Psal. vii. 14. כְּלֵי־מָוֶת, *instruments of death*, is explained by הַצֵּיִן, *his arrows*, in the corresponding member.

Prov. viii. 36. חֲטָאִי, *he that misses me*, is interpreted by מוצאי, *he that finds me*, in the preceding verse. And this is the radical signification of the verb חָטָא, to miss (a mark).

Prov. xxix. 8. בָּרָחֵנוּ must mean *set on fire* or *kindle sedition* (in a city), as it is contrasted with יִשְׁבּוּ אָפָה *cause wrath to cease*.

Ezek. xxi. 3. לָחַד signifies *green* and *fresh*, as is shown by its opposite יָבֵשׁ, *dry*. So also in Isaiah, xlv. 2. מְרֻרִים signifies *rough* or *elevated places*, from the opposition implied in the verb אָנַשׁר, *I will make plain* or *level*.

Psal. xvi. 9. לִבִּי signifies *my soul* or *spirit*, as is seen from לִבִּי, *my heart*, preceding. See also Gen. xlix. 6.

Psal. cxix. 29. 163. אֶפְסָרֶךָ signifies *a false religion*, as it is opposed to תּוֹרַתְךָ, *the law*, the true religion.

Psal. xxii. 20., the word נַפְשִׁי, *my soul* or *my life*, throws light upon the difficult term corresponding to it in the parallel member, יְהִי־רַחֲמֶיךָ. It is evident that it means *life*, whether it be rendered *my only* (life), "the only one I have to lose;" or *my lonely one*, or *my darling*.

Psal. xxxiv. 10. כְּפִירִים is contrasted with יְהוֹנָה, *young lions*. Hence as the latter refers to men, *the seekers of the Lord*, the former term, *young lions*, is figurative, denoting *men of strength and violence*. It must not be taken *literally*.

In the New Testament the apostle John often states the same idea both positively and negatively, the one explaining the other. Thus, i. 20., "he confessed and denied not." Or, he contrasts two opposites, as in his first Epistle, v. 12. "He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life." So too 1 John, iii. 5, 6.; 2 John, 9.

An analogous case of affirmation and negation expressive of the same idea is found in 2 Tim. ii. 13., "He abideth faithful, he cannot

deny himself." Πιστὸς μένει, *abideth faithful*, illustrates ἀρνούμαι ἑαυτὸν, *deny himself*, showing the meaning, *to be inconsistent with his own character*, although the same phrase elsewhere denotes, *to sacrifice personal interests and gratifications* (Luke, ix. 23.).

Matt. xi. 29. "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me." Here *learn* throws some light on the phrase, *take my yoke upon you*, showing that it relates mainly to doctrine in contrast with the law of Moses, which was a heavy yoke to the Jews. *Submit to me as your teacher and guide, and then you will learn of me, &c.*

In Luke, i. 35. there are two parallel and corresponding expressions, viz., "the Holy Ghost," and "the power of the Highest." Though there is a general similarity between these expressions, they are not exactly tautological. The power of the Highest, δύναμις ἁγίου, is rather the influence or effect of the presence of the Holy Ghost, though Morus and De Wette appear to regard them as identical expressions. In 2 Cor. v. 21. ἁμαρτία means *sin*, not *sin-offering*, as many understand it. This is shown by the contrasted word *righteousness*, δικαιοσύνη. Christ was made *sin* that we might be made *righteousness*. Here the *abstract* terms are much more forcible than the *concrete*.

1 Cor. iv. 5. "Who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts." The former phrase expresses *generally* what is more *specifically* taught in the latter.

1 Cor. xv. 50. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." Here *corruption*, φθορὰ, explains the sense of *flesh and blood*, σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα, showing that the latter does not mean *carnal passions*, but *our corruptible body* consisting of flesh and blood.

Psal. xvii. 15. "I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness." The term likeness is illustrated by the corresponding expression in the parallel member of the verse, *thy face*. It means *visible appearance or form*, not *moral likeness*.

Psal. cxxxix. 15. "The lowest parts of the earth," is explained by the corresponding "in secret" in the verse. And as the latter is shown by the context to mean "in the womb;" so the former refers to the same.

Rom. v. 18. "As by one offence judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by one righteousness the free gift came upon all men to justification of life." In the first clause of the verse all men signifies all mankind without exception; hence it must denote the same in the second clause. Such is the clear, unequivocal explanation, as Tholuck has perceived, to whose lengthened examination of the passage we gladly refer.¹

A like example to that just given occurs in 1 Cor. xv. 22., where the second πάντες is explained by the first. "In Adam all die; in Christ all shall be made alive." The one term is co-extensive with the other, as is rightly maintained by De Wette.

(d.) The adjuncts of a term or phrase serve also to point out its sig-

nification. Most words are restricted or modified by oblique cases of nouns and other adjuncts. Thus *οικοδομή* signifies *building, edification*, but *θεοῦ οἰκοδομή* *God's building*, a building of which God is the author—a soul enlightened, comforted, and strengthened with right principles by God. In such examples as the present, words have not properly a new signification, but that particular *sense* which the writer meant to convey in a given passage. They have the same *signification* but a different *sense*. It is useful to recollect this, lest we follow the example of those who assign a new signification to the same term wherever it has different adjuncts. The latter modify without altering the generic signification.¹

Psal. xxvii. 4. הִיָּה בְּבֵית יְהוָה, *in the house or palace of Jehovah*, his earthly residence, applying alike to the tabernacle and the temple. In Isa. i. 10. we have “rulers of Sodom,” “people of Gomorrah,” indicating *the character* of the rulers and people.

Psal. xxvi. 6. “I will wash my hands *in innocence* :” the adjunct, *in innocence*, determines the character of *the washing*. The Psalmist declares that he would cleanse himself from all that would defile his soul and so unfit him for the service of God.

Examples in the New Testament are, Matt. v. 3., “the poor *in spirit*,” τῷ πνεύματι, specifying wherein the poverty consists. It is *in spirit*. It is wrong to consider *in spirit* as an adjunct to *blessed, μακάριοι*. Gal. vi. 16. “The Israel of God.” τοῦ θεοῦ shows that the true worshippers of God, *the spiritual* seed of Jacob, whether Jews or Gentiles, are meant. Col. ii. 9. “The fulness of the Godhead,” the divine perfections of the Godhead. The genitive *θεότητος* shows that τὸ πλήρωμα, the fulness, does not mean *the church* in this place. Col. iii. 1. “If ye then be risen *with Christ*.” The expression *with Christ* appended to the verb, determines the nature of the resurrection. It is a *spiritual rising* or *elevation of the soul*. 1 Tim. iii. 15. οἶκος θεοῦ, *house of God*, meaning the true church, those in whom and among whom God graciously dwells. In 1 Tim. iv. 10., and v. 7., the adverb *μάλιστα* indicates a special distinction. In 1 Tim. v. 3. widows *indeed, ὄντως*, such as were really destitute. 2 Tim. i. 9. a *holy* calling, κλήσει ἁγία, indicating that the call was *special* and *effectual*. 1 Peter, ii. 2. τὸ λογικὸν γάλα, *the milk of the word*; ii. 5. a *spiritual* house, οἶκος πνευματικὸς, defining the nature of the household by an epithet. 2 Peter, iii. 18. “in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” Heb. xiii. 15. sacrifice of *praise*, showing the kind of sacrifice, or wherein it consisted.

(e.) Examples subjoined, or the outward operation of certain qualities and principles.

In Gal. v. 19—21. *the works of the flesh* are enumerated in their various manifestations, showing the comprehensive sense of the phrase ἔργα σαρκός. In the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews many examples of *faith* are given, from which we learn that it is a principle pervading and powerfully influencing the whole life.

¹ See my Sacred Hermeneutics, pp. 238, 239.

In James v. 10, 11., the prophets and Job are adduced as examples of *suffering affliction* and of *patience*.

A false example, or one at least partly false, is in Gal. iv. 3., where Paul uses the phrase *στοιχῆία τοῦ κόσμου*, *elements of the world*, at first without an explanation, but is said "to give an example of the meaning of it in iv. 9., where it is used of the religion and philosophy of the Jews and Gentiles, which preceded the Christian dispensation." But the expression in question means *the law*, as affording a mere elementary education in religion. Of the contents of the *στοιχῆία*, examples are given at the tenth verse, but they have no connection with *heathen philosophy*.¹

II. *More remote Context.*

This is merely an extension of the preceding, separated from it by no particular boundary. As it is of less benefit in the elucidation of single words and phrases than in the explanation of propositions and sentences, we shall defer some general remarks upon it till we come to the interpretation of passages or paragraphs viewed in the light of context generally.

Here though the interpreter proceed as cautiously as possible in adjusting the context and partitioning off distinct paragraphs or sections, he will be often disappointed. He will be forced to take in a wide range before discovering a real pause in the discourse. He must extend his analysis backwards and forwards even beyond what may be regarded as a distinct section. To assist in this investigation of the sense and sequence of context, another mode of proceeding may be recommended, the opposite of that which we have been describing. Both should be frequently adopted because of the numerous cases of doubt and obscurity which arise. They will assist and confirm one another. This latter method is the more important. It must be adopted at some stage of exegesis, else no comprehensive survey of the contents of a book can be obtained. Hence it is desirable to undertake it towards the commencement; for in this manner the future progress of the interpreter will be facilitated. It cannot be neglected without injury.

Agreeably to the latter method, let the student of Scripture read over an entire book at once, disregarding the arbitrary distinctions of chapters and verses which often impede the continuity of a discourse. Nor will it be sufficient to read it once in the present way. A single perusal may be inadequate for the purpose of a right appreciation of the whole, especially in the case of *argumentative* and *didactic* writings. Prophetic and poetical books also require repeated perusals. The epistles of Paul demand lengthened study. All these are not readily divided into distinct sections. The language of poetry, animated, impassioned, abrupt; the communications of the prophets, frequently dim and hazy in relation to future events, just as the future was seen by them; the logic of Paul peculiar, oriental, Judaic, wanting repose, often strange to the western mind, cannot easily be dismembered into larger or smaller portions to be looked at

¹ See my *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 231. *et seqq.*

in that context-way. But the historical books are readily distinguished into larger or smaller sections, according to the events or biographies described. This is especially the case in the Old Testament, where the transitions from one fact to another are easily seen. It is less so in the life of Jesus as recorded by the different evangelists, because none of them has given more than fragments of his public ministry.

Mr. Locke has found fault with the division into chapters and verses in relation to the study of Paul's epistles. In strong terms he has inveighed against it as one great cause of preventing a proper understanding of those writings. "They (Paul's epistles) are so chopped and minced, and as they are now printed stand so broken and divided, that not only the common people take the verses usually for distinct aphorisms; but even men of more advanced knowledge in reading them lose very much of the strength and force of the coherence, and the light that depends on it."¹ But it may be questioned if he has not gone too far in his accusations against such divisions. While they have perplexed some they have facilitated other students of Scripture. With all their incorrectnesses and disadvantages, ordinary readers are on the whole benefited by them; but professed interpreters and those acquainted with the original ought to discard them.

In holding that the communications of the prophets cannot in many cases be properly parcelled out into paragraphs because of their indistinct and general nature, we must not be supposed as concurring in the ideas of Alexander with regard to the manner of Isaiah's writing in the later prophecies of his book. According to it the prophet loses himself in a sea of indefiniteness, floating onward in a continued desultory discourse, without perceptible distinction, pause, or division of subject. Little is specific. Almost all is general, incapable of application to one series of events or to precise historical persons and occurrences. His effusions may suit Hezekiah and Messiah alike. They are so wide as to comprehend many things. The same great topics continually follow one another from beginning to end in a vagueness which forbids or excludes specific application. A sound idea lies at the basis of this view, but it is here carried so far as to become extravagant and arbitrary.²

That the ordinary chapters and verses occasionally interrupt the sense and must be disregarded, is easily shown. Thus Isaiah 51st chapter should not terminate where it does, but run on as far as the twelfth verse of the 52nd inclusive. The subject of the whole paragraph is the glorious deliverance of the people. So also the remainder of the 52nd chapter, together with the 53rd forms a connected whole, describing the sufferings and exaltation of Messiah.

The Psalms usually form distinct subjects, and the divisions can seldom be improved. The Hebrew MSS., the Seventy, and the Vulgate occasionally differ from the printed Hebrew text in num-

¹ Preface to paraphrase on Paul's Epistles.

² See Alexander's Introduction to the Later Prophecies of Isaiah.

bering them. In many MSS. the first Psalm is numbered with the second, the forty-second with the forty-third, and the one hundred and sixteenth with the one hundred and seventeenth. On the other hand, a new Psalm is begun with cxviii. 5.; indeed cxviii. is divided into three Psalms in some MSS. The Seventy join together the ninth and tenth; while they separate the hundred and forty-seventh into two. They unite cxiv. with cxv., but immediately afterwards divide cxvi. into two. We do not agree with those who regard the forty-second and forty-third as one Psalm, though both Noyes and Rogers speak very positively on the subject. It is easier to account for their having been put together in more than forty MSS., than for their separation in the rest.

The commencement of a new section or subject may be known,

First, from inscriptions, as in the Psalms; Isaiah, ii. vii.; Prov. x. We do not hold with Hengstenberg that the inscriptions of the Psalms always proceeded from the writers themselves, and therefore do not implicitly rely on their correctness.

Secondly, from particles or formulas which point out the commencement of a new topic. Thus, *Hear ye this*, Isa. xlvi. 1.; *Listen*, xlix. 1.; *Hearken*, li. 1.; τὸ λοιπὸν, Ephes. vi. 10.

Thirdly, from a change of place or persons, either speakers or those addressed, indicating that the same discourse is not continued. Thus in Isaiah, chap. xvi. 6., "We have heard of the pride of Moab," &c., the speakers are changed. In the third, fourth, and fifth verses, the trembling Moabites are represented as begging shelter from the Jews. The answer of the latter begins at the sixth verse.

Fourthly, it often happens in the prophetic books that a section terminates with the announcement of prosperous times. Hence a new paragraph may be distinguished by promises of good preceding. The divine oracles begin with a declaration of punishment, are continued in tones of threatening, and terminate in joyous strains. In this way they have a generic conformation. Thus, Amos i.—ix. 10. contains threatenings; ix. 11—15. promises.

After distributing a book into larger sections, subdivisions may be conveniently effected.

With respect to the prophetic books of the Old Testament, some are simple in arrangement and regular in plan. Those relating to one nation, people, or city, are easily resolved into separate paragraphs. Those again which describe the destiny and foretell the downfall of various nations in connection with the fortunes of Judah and Israel, are more complicated in structure. The separate predictions belonging to individual nations must be considered by themselves and resolved into their component portions.

As an example of regular prophecies respecting one people, we may quote Nahum, who foretold the doom of Assyria. His prophecy is one poem consisting of

1. A sublime exordium in the first chapter.
2. The preparation for the destruction of Nineveh.
3. The destruction itself.

Minuter divisions are the following. Chap. i. 2—8. containing a description of Jehovah severely punishing his enemies, but doing good to his people. Verses 8—14., threatenings against the Ninevites; the 12. and 13. being parenthetically inserted to console the Israelites with promises of future rest. Verse 15. is an apostrophe to the Jews, announcing glad tidings to them. Chap. ii. 1—9. depicts the siege and capture of the city, with the fearful consternation of the inhabitants. Verses 11, 12. contain a sarcastic exclamation of the prophet over the fallen city. Verse 13. introduces Jehovah speaking, declaring himself to be the author of the calamities inflicted upon the Assyrians. Chap. iii. 1—8. describes the utter ruin of Nineveh and the various causes that contributed to it. In verses 8—11. the prophet introduces the example of No-Ammon, a city of Egypt, as a witness to the Assyrians of the truth of his predictions concerning them. No-Ammon was stronger than Nineveh, yet it was destroyed. In verses 11—19. it is predicted that Nineveh should be cut off, notwithstanding all her warlike preparations and the multitude of her citizens.¹

Again, let us take the first part of Zechariah, viz. chap. i—viii. which must evidently be separated from the remainder of the work. This portion consists of three general divisions.

I. The introduction, i. 1—6.

II. Chapters i. 7—vi. 15., containing a series of visions.

III. vii. viii., a series of admonitions and promises.

The subdivisions under these are, i. 7—17.; i. 18—21. (the second chapter should begin with i. 18.); ii. 1—13.; iii.; iv.; v.; vi. 1—8.; vi. 9—15.; vii.; viii.

In Isaiah, chapters xxiv—xxvii. form one section relating to the desolation of the land, the return of the Jews from exile, and the destruction of Babylon. It may be subdivided thus: xxiv. 1—23.; xxv. 1—5.; xxv. 6—12.; xxvi. 1—14.; xxvi. 15—19.; xxvi. 20, 21.; xxvii. 1—5.; xxvii. 6—13.²

In the New Testament epistles there is generally an introduction, a conclusion, and a body consisting of two parts, the doctrinal and the practical. The first two portions are usually short and indivisible into context-sections; while the body of the epistle itself exhibits various partitions. Thus in the epistle to the Galatians, chap. i. 1—5. forms the preface; vi. 6—10. the conclusion at first intended, but afterwards continued till the end that now is. There is something like a double conclusion. The intervening part constitutes the letter itself, containing the arguments and exhortations of the apostle. It consists of two divisions, viz. :—

I. Chap. i. 6—v. 13., which is argumentative or doctrinal.

II. Chap. v. 14—vi. 10.

The following are the subdivisions of each:—I. i. 6—ii. 21.; iii. 1—5.; iii. 6—17.; iii. 18—25.; iii. 26—29.; iv. 1—11.; iv. 12—20.; iv. 21—v. 1.; v. 2—12. II. v. 13—26.; vi. 1—5.; vi. 6—10.

¹ See my *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 245.

² Comp. Hitzig's *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten erklart*, u. s. w., p. 292. *et seqq.*, first edition.

An epistle of John will naturally differ in its conformation from one of Paul's. Let us take his first epistle and see its plan.

It may be divided in this manner:—

I. Chap. i. 1—4. Introductory.

II. i. 5—ii. 28. A general admonition carried out.

III. ii. 29—iv. 6. A second exhortation.

IV. iv. 7—v. 21. A third admonition.

The sub-divisions are these: i. 5—7.; i. 7—ii. 2.; ii. 3—11.; ii. 12—28.; iii. 1—3.; iii. 4—10.; iii. 11—18.; iii. 19—24.; iv. 1—6.; iv. 7—21.; v. 1—13.; v. 14—21.¹

In most cases, it will be desirable to investigate context in this latter method as well as the former. In all instances of difficulty it will be necessary to resort to it. By means of both processes we shall be able to discover the proper context of a verse or sentence, and consult it with high benefit to the general sense. But let not the dismemberment of the Scripture books be carried out too rigidly and logically. It is injurious to discourses and writings not methodically composed, to reduce them to logical order. Here the followers of Baumgarten erred. In splitting down into sections, subsections, and propositions, the productions of prophets and poets, they introduced a sameness and system into them, which were never intended by the writers themselves. Under an artificial dismemberment the spirit and vigour of the inspired authors evaporate. But the biblical writers must not be trammelled by measured rules.

Dogmatic theologians and preachers in particular have been in fault for neglecting the context. They isolate propositions and sentences. How many of them detach a phrase or verse from the paragraph to which it belongs and dress it up to suit a purpose. They are captivated perhaps with the sound more than the sense; or if the phrase in question is likely to captivate others, they forthwith employ it in their argument. How often such disjointed, dishonest expositions are met with need not be told. They are the bane of theology, homiletic and controversial. Thus when the text 1 Cor. xii. 7. is adduced to prove universal grace, because it is there stated that "a dispensation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal," the entire context proves that the Apostle makes no allusion to the matter of universal grace, but to the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, which many in the Corinthian church then possessed.

CHAP. V.

STUDY OF PARALLELS.

PARALLELS have been variously divided. Gerard makes four classes:—

1. Passages in which either with or without a quotation, the same

¹ Compare De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch.

thing is said in the same or nearly the same words, as Exod. xx. 2—17., parallel to Deut. v. 16—18.

2. Passages which relate the same *facts* in different terms.

3. Passages in which the same terms or expressions are used in speaking of different things.

4. Passages which treat of the same subject in different expressions.

But it is more usual and convenient to divide them into two kinds, viz., *verbal* and *real*. The former refer to words and phrases, the latter to facts or doctrines. When the same words, their conjugates or synonymes, occur in different places, they are *verbal* parallels. *Real* parallels contain a correspondence in the thought or subject, although the words may be different. In the latter case, the knowledge of things rather than the meaning of words is sought after. Verbal parallelism again has been subdivided into three kinds: *first*, where the same thing is said in the same words, as Exod. xx. 2—17., Deut. v. 6—18., Psal. xiv. and lii., Isa. ii. 2—4., and Mic. iv. 1—3; *secondly*, where the same facts are related in similar and some identical words, as in Exod., Levit., Deut., and in the Gospels; *thirdly*, where the words or idioms are used in different connections, as the phrase "sound doctrines," in 1 Tim. i. 10., vi. 3.; 2 Tim. i. 13., iv. 3.; Titus, i. 9., ii. 1. 2. 8.

This subdivision is unnecessary and useless. For with respect to the *first* there is no example in the Bible of any one connected passage where the same thing is said in the very same words; and if there were, no illustration of the one by the other could take place. Identity destroys the means of mutual explanation. In relation to the other two particulars, it is unnecessary to distinguish them, for in so doing, the element of context is introduced, with which the interpreter should not embarrass himself in comparing *verbal parallels*, unless there be some urgent need.

Real parallelism has been subdivided into *historic* and *didactic*, according as the same events are related, or the same doctrines set forth. The Gospels, especially the first three, are full of *historical* parallels. One evangelist supplies what another omits, furnishing some circumstance of time, occasion, or place which illustrates the entire transaction. *Historical* parallelism is also exemplified abundantly in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. *Didactic* parallelism is chiefly exemplified in the New Testament epistles, and in the poetical and prophetic books of the Old. But this subdivision is of little use. We shall therefore consider the subject under the twofold division of *verbal* and *real*. In verbal parallels it is necessary that the word or phrase whose sense we wish to know be less obscure in one of the places than in another. This may arise from the addition of a synonymous term to that which is doubtful, or from an explanatory adjunct, or the occurrence of a *conjugate*¹ surrounded by a like context. Of course the briefer and less

¹ *Conjugates* are words of connected formation. Thus βάπτισμα and βαπτίζω are conjugate terms, in regard to which, when the meaning of the one is explained, the meaning of the other follows of course. See Terrot's Translation of Ernesti's *Institutio Interpretis*, vol. i. p. 68.

perspicuous should be illustrated by the clearer and more extended.

Another circumstance which should be attended to is, that one parallel should not be *subordinated* to another. The meaning of a word or phrase in one place should not be used as a test to try the correctness of its meaning in another. Parallels should be *harmoniously adjusted*, not *unduly subjected*, the one to the other. Again, parallelisms should not be pressed beyond their due force. More should not be deduced from them than what they properly contain. They may give probability, not certainty.

In many cases it is unnecessary to resort to verbal parallels. Words which occur often and are well understood do not need the aid of this source for the educement of their meaning. But when terms or phrases are rare or obscure, when they possess a variety of senses, leaving it difficult to decide upon the right one in a particular case, this kind of comparison is useful. It may also confirm such significations as have been obtained from other sources. In this manner we reduce the uses of parallels to two,—first, to assist in discovering the proper sense of rare or obscure terms, or the right meaning of a word having numerous senses, in a particular locality; and, secondly, in confirming significations already found, but still partially uncertain.

These remarks are applicable to both languages of the Bible, more to the Hebrew than the Greek, from the few remains of the former which have descended to our time.

In this study of parallel words and phrases, it is best to proceed systematically, beginning with those occurring in the same book, proceeding thence to such as are found in compositions of the same writer, and thence to those occurring elsewhere.

Psal. lxxvi. 11. “The remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain.” The verb *פָּתַח* is here rendered *restrain*. It occurs also in Psal. xlv. 4., where it is applied to the girding on of a sword. It is used in the same sense in Judges xviii. 11., 1 Kings xx. 11., 2 Kings iii. 21. Hence the figure of a girdle or sword-belt used here in connection with *the remainder of wrath* or the *last wrath* implies that God would employ it as a weapon to coerce and punish rebellious man.

Psal. lxxxix. 8. “God is greatly to be feared in the assembly of the saints, and to be had in reverence of all them that are about him.” Here *קְדוֹשִׁים* is translated *saints*. But who are meant by the term? Men or angels? The corresponding phrase *all about him*, in the parallel member certainly applies best to God’s heavenly attendants, his angels. The word before us occurs too in the preceding and subsequent verses, where *the holy* (ones), as it should be translated, agrees best with angels. But on comparing Psal. xvi. 3. we find it applied to *men*. Hence we must go out of the Book of Psalms, and observe its usage in Dan. viii. 13., Zech. xiv. 5., Job xv. 15., where it denotes angels very clearly. In this way we draw the conclusion that *the holy* (ones) in verse 8. and in the context too refer to *the angels*.

Dan. ix., *קְדוֹשֵׁי קְדוֹשִׁים*, *holy of holies*. The same expression occurs

in Ezek. xlv. 3., Exod. xl. 10., and other places, where it always denotes a *place* not a *person*, the most holy place. Hence those interpreters who apply it to Christ, in Dan. ix. 24., as C. B. Michaelis and Hävernack, are mistaken.¹

Psal. xxx. 12. "To the end that *my glory* may sing praise to thee, and not be silent." A parallel to this is in Psal. xvi. 9. "Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth." This serves to explain the sense of the obscure expression *glory*, in the former verse. It means, in Psal. xvi. 9., *the soul*, or nobler part of man, not *the tongue*. Hence we adopt the same sense in Psal. xxx. 12. This is preferable to Alexander's interpretation, *every thing glorious* in a wide sense because the pronoun *my* does not accompany it.

Psal. xix. 5. "Their line is gone out through all the earth," &c. Here the word קוֹ is taken by many to signify *sound* produced by the string of a musical instrument. It occurs also in Jer. xxxi. 39., where it means a *measuring line*. This it must signify in the present passage.

Heb. i. 3. "When he had *by himself* purged our sins," δι' ἑαυτοῦ. In Heb. ix. 26. is the full form of the phrase διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ, *by the sacrifice of himself*. Hence *by himself* in i. 3. denotes, *by the sacrifice of himself*.

Col. i. 16. "For by him were *all things* created," &c., τὰ πάντα. Some explain τὰ πάντα of "the whole multitude of the regenerated." But in 1 Cor. viii. 6. the same expression denotes *all created things*, or *the universe*. Hence we explain it so in the Epistle to the Colossians, especially as the context requires this sense.

In Luke xvii. 1. the word ἀνένδεκτον compared with the parallel in Matt. xviii. 7. signifies *impossible*. Its conjugate ἐνδέχεται with οὐκ in Luke xiii. 33. proves the same thing.

Real parallels are of much greater importance than *verbal*. They too may be divided into the following:—

1. Parallels in the same book or composition.
2. Parallels in the same author's writings.
3. Parallels in any other part of Scripture.

Here tables of parallels are very useful. But as we are only treating at present of the *usus loquendi* by comparison of words and phrases, we shall reserve them till the consideration of sentences comes before us.

The following are examples:—

Prov. xxix. 13. "The poor and *the deceitful man* meet together; the Lord lighteneth both their eyes." Parallel to this is Prov. xxii. 2., where, instead of עַשְׂרֵי אֲרָבִים, *a man of oppressions or exactions* (not a *deceitful man*), the simpler עֲשִׂירֵי, *rich man*, occurs. The clause *lightens both their eyes* is equivalent to *make* or *create*; and is synonymous with "is the Maker of them all," in xxii. 2.

Psal. cxix. 62. "At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee because of thy *righteous judgments*." To this is parallel cxix. 7. Hence the "judgments of thy righteousness" cannot be different in

¹ See Stuart's Commentary on Daniel, pp. 272, 273.

meaning in the two places, as some have supposed. The *judgments of God's righteousness* are *his manifestations of that quality of his nature*, whether displayed by precept or by punishment. Hence it is incorrect to take the expression in different senses in both passages.

There is some indistinctness in the division usually made between *verbal* and *real* parallels, showing that it is nearly useless for all practical purposes. In the former case it is not *necessary* that the context be similar, or that the same sentiment be inculcated. The sense of a word may be determined either by itself or one of its conjugates, though the context be different. In the latter again, it is not *necessary* that the same words, their conjugates, or synonymes be used in both the parallels. But it is highly *desirable* that verbal and real parallelism should always occur together. The meaning of words and phrases will seldom be elucidated without the conjunction of both in one place. That the one is for the most part useless without the other will appear by some examples. In Isa. iii. 18. we find the word שְׂהַרְגִים. All that can be gathered from the context is, that it denotes some female ornament or part of the dress; and from the etymology it is inferred that it was moon-shaped. In Judges viii. 21. the same word appears, where we learn that it was an ornament about camels' necks. But this does not explain what kind of female ornament it was, except that it was probably worn round the neck. In like manner, in Isa. iii. 22. מְקַצְחוֹת is compared with the same word in Ruth iii. 15., from which, however, it cannot be clearly defined. These two examples of verbal parallels are given by Meyer¹; and it will be seen from them how little *verbal* parallelism avails to determine the meaning of ambiguous, rare, or difficult words apart from *real* parallelism. The same inference follows from Ammon's examples in his notes to Ernesti.² ἐν γνώσει, 2 Cor. vi. 6. is explained, according to Ammon, by γνώσις in 2 Pet. i. 6., where it means *moderation of desires*. But we cannot perceive that any light is thrown by γνώσις in the latter passage on it as occurring in the former. Neither does it mean *moderation of desires*. Equally nugatory is Ammon's other example, in Acts ix. 31., παράκλησις ἁγίου πνεύματος, illustrated by Acts xx. 12., where it means *confirmation in the faith*. It never means, in our view, *confirmation in the faith*.

Psal. xxviii. 9. "Feed them also, and *lift them up* for ever." The last verb here is ambiguous in sense. It may either denote *carry* or *exalt*. On comparing the parallels in Isa. lxiii. 9. and xl. 11., the former is shown to be the preferable acceptance, because the same figure occurs in both.

Gen. xviii. 10. "According to the time of life," בְּעֵת חַיָּה. The meaning of this phrase is illustrated by the parallel 2 Kings iv. 16, 17., where we have לְמַעַן הַיָּה בְּעֵת חַיָּה, which is fuller. The sense is, in the spring of next year, next spring, literally *in the living time* or *season*.

Matt. viii. 24. "And behold there was a great σεισμός." The word σεισμός properly means an *earthquake*; but on comparing the

¹ Versuch einer Hermeneutik, vol. i. p. 184.

² Terrot's Translation, vol. i. p. 68.

parallels in Mark and Luke (Mark iv. 37., Luke viii. 23.) which have *λαίλαψ* instead of it, it must here denote a *tempest* or *storm*.

Rom. xii. 20. "For in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head." Here the apostle adopts words from the Greek version of Prov. (xxv. 21.) to express his own ideas. Compare, therefore, the passage in Proverbs, in order to see the sense of the phrase *heap coals of fire on the head*. It cannot mean *vengeance*, but the opposite, *melting down enmity by undeserved kindness*. The clause added in Proverbs, "and the Lord shall reward thee," is consistent only with the sense now given. The opinion of Grotius and Hengstenberg, who think that the reward is one of punishment not of good, is antichristian, and inconsistent with the preceding (21.) verse.

In Eph. ii. 3. the word *φύσει*, *by nature*, with its concomitants, *children of wrath*, has given rise to much discussion. The parallel in Rom. ii. 14. serves to throw some light upon it. It does not mean *by birth*, as Edwards asserts. It denotes *innate tendency*. And when we read that all are *by nature children of wrath*, whatever be the precise meaning of the words, it cannot convey the sentiment "that we are totally corrupt, without anything good in us;" for this is contradicted in the parallel in the Epistle to the Romans, where it is asserted that the Gentiles might do *by nature*, by the innate tendency of their minds, the things contained in the law. The idea of *absolute, total depravity*, in Eph. ii. 3. is annihilated by Rom. ii. 14. Hence *children of wrath* can mean no more than *liable to punishment*. To say as Eadie does, that *we were through our very birth actually under the awful wrath of God*, as if that were the proper sense of Eph. ii. 3., is to put one's rigidly Calvinistic theology into the passage, and to fall besides into an error of interpretation.

Phil. i. 10. "That ye may approve things that are excellent," *εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα*. The sense of the Greek words is somewhat uncertain. The parallel is in Rom. ii. 18. "and knowest his will, and *approvest the things that are more excellent*, being instructed out of the law." The context of the phrase in the latter place, not only the preceding, *knowest his will* (in connection with which the version "approve things that are excellent," is tautological), but also the succeeding, *being instructed out of the law*, favours the sense "prove things that differ," or discernest the difference between right and wrong. Hence the phrase has this same sense in Phil. i. 10.

Eph. vi. 17. "And the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." In order to discover the meaning of *the word of God*, *ῥῆμα θεοῦ*, here denominated "the sword of the Spirit," it is desirable to compare the expression not only with itself in other connections, but with a parallel passage in Heb. iv. 12.: "For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and Spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart." In all the places where *ῥῆμα θεοῦ* occurs, viz., Rom. x. 17., Heb. vi. 5., xi. 3., it refers to the commands, promises, or comminations of God, according to the modification of the context it belongs to. In like manner the equivalent *ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*, in Heb. iv. 12. alludes

chiefly to the divine threatenings. In every case it is *the gospel*, in some aspects of it, *as preached*, which is meant. The passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews plainly indicates thus much. Hence, as a parallel to Eph. vi. 17., it confirms at least the uniform sense of $\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. It is the doctrine, especially that part of it that bore against sin and sinners, which is described as the *sword of the Spirit*. A recent interpreter of the Epistle to the Ephesians grievously errs therefore in affixing to it the sense of *the Bible*. He does not tell us how the apostle could exhort the Christians at Ephesus to take the Bible, when it is all but certain that they had not the Greek Old Testament in their hands, and did not possess the books of the New Testament, some of which were not then written. They had not the written Bible at all. Every one will see then that the "word of God" cannot mean the "Holy Scripture."¹

Improper examples of parallels are such as these:—Gal. iii. 27. "As many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ." In Rom. xiii. 14. the same expression occurs, *put on Christ*, but that explains nothing, for though opposed to *making provision for the flesh*, yet the latter is as obscure as the phrase itself. In Col. iii. 10., again, we have the phrase, "putting on the new man," implying renewal in knowledge after the image of Christ, kindness, humbleness, meekness, and above all, charity. From this comparison of parallels, no clear explanation of the word translated *put on* is deduced. It denotes *intimate union*. This intimate union with Christ is not identical with kindness, humbleness, meekness, charity. The latter are the effects of the former. When the soul enters into true and intimate sympathy with the Redeemer, it becomes kind, humble, meek, and charitable. Soul-sympathy with Christ produces this disposition.

Gal. vi. 17. "From henceforth, let no man trouble me; for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." 2 Cor. iv. 10. "Bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus." This phrase throws no light upon *the marks* of the Lord Jesus. 2 Cor. xi. 23—27. This passage is not parallel, nor does it explain what these marks were. And what might at first sight appear to render it a very questionable illustrative place, is the fact that the Epistle to the Galatians was written some years *before* the second to the Corinthians. There is no difficulty in understanding what the marks refer to.

Another improper example of parallels—improper because the one throws no light whatever on the other—is Psal. xxxviii. 10. compared with 1 Sam. xiv. 26. 27. In the latter place, it is related that Jonathan's eyes were enlightened, having taken some honey by way of refreshment. This, however, does not enable us a whit the more readily to apprehend the force of the Psalmist's complaint, that *the light of his eyes was gone from him*. It is true that the eyes of a person in good health are *sometimes* so strong as to sparkle with the rays of light; and that when the constitution is worn by sickness or grief, they lose their vigour and brilliancy. All that the Psalmist

¹ See Eadie on Ephes. vi. 17.

refers to is *dimness of the eyes* induced by great weakness; a fact which is rendered no plainer by the contrast expressed in the case of Jonathan's eyes being enlightened.

Equally nugatory is another parallel which has been adduced thus: "In like manner, if we compare 1 Thess. v. 23. with Jude, ver. 19., we shall find that the *spirit* mentioned in the former passage, does not denote any *third* constituent part of man, distinct from the soul and body, but that it means the spiritual strength bestowed through the grace of the Holy Spirit, in our renovation and sanctification; for the Apostle Jude, speaking of false teachers, describes them as *sensual*, NOT HAVING THE SPIRIT, that is, as persons abandoned to follow their own evil ways, unrenewed and unsanctified by the Holy Spirit."

All this is endeavouring to explain parallels which are not so. There is no doubt that spirit, soul, and body, are mentioned in the Epistle to the Thessalonians as three constituent parts of man's person, the same division which appears in Plato and Philo, viz., the animal nature, the rational or spiritual nature, and the external body. The term here rendered *spirit* never means *spiritual strength*, nor could it be taken in that sense without a manifest solecism, since ἀμέμπτος would not be applicable.¹

Another example improperly adduced, and yielding by that means an erroneous sense, is Matt. xvi. 18. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." With this has been compared 1 Cor. iii. 11., where Christ is declared to be the only foundation of the church. Hence the passage has been explained thus:—"Thou art Peter or a rock, and upon myself, the rock of ages, will I build my church." Others regard Gal. i. 16., John vi. 51., 1 John iii. 23., iv. 2, 3., as parallel passages, agreeably to which, the rock means *Peter's confession*. But this interpretation is equally arbitrary. The passages quoted as parallel are not so. The meaning of the text is explained by the words themselves, their immediate context, and the subsequent history of Peter. The apostle himself is the rock; and the only passage approaching to the nature of a parallel one, or at all explanatory of the present is Ephes. ii. 20., where it is said of the Ephesian believers, that they were built upon *the foundation of apostles and prophets, i. e. upon the foundation they themselves were*, not upon that which they laid.

We have thus given examples of two important sources of interpretation, the context and parallels. They are properly one and the same. The one is an expansion of the other. Beginning with a word or phrase, its vicinity or context is consulted. The examination is continued, till a section or paragraph be included. The sphere of inquiry is gradually enlarged till a chapter or more be consulted, mechanical divisions being disregarded. That the result may be more secure and satisfactory the comparison is prolonged, till the book or epistle under examination be gone over. The entire body of

¹ See Olshausen's Opuscula, vi., De Naturæ Humanæ Trichotomia N. T. Scriptoribus recepta, p. 145. et seqq.

the Scriptures is embraced. A universal collation is made. Thus the one is an extended application of the other. One general source is all that has been hitherto considered. But it is useful to separate it into different compartments, and to view it in various aspects.

CHAP. VI.

EXTERNAL SOURCES OF GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION.

BUT while we readily avail ourselves of the rule which enjoins a comparison of one part of revelation with another, the business of interpretation is not completed. Other sources of exposition must be consulted. The Bible is a self-interpreting volume to a great extent. All the fundamental truths of religion may be discovered by means of itself. An ordinary reader may attain to a proper acquaintance with the great doctrines on which his spiritual life depends through the Scriptures alone. But the professed interpreter needs something besides. Regulating, as he does to some extent, the religious faith of others, he should not be satisfied with the book itself as its own expositor. Other helps must be resorted to. As much learning has been brought to bear on it, it were folly to ignore the results which learning has arrived at. We know that the truths of the Bible have been perverted and mystified. Great pains have been taken to make it speak in favour of things foreign to its genius. Violence has been done to its meaning. Were it only to counteract these processes, it would be desirable to employ the very weapons which have contributed to such perversion. True learning should become the handmaid of true religion, where alone it is sanctified. While we hold therefore, that the Bible can be understood in all its leading features by the Bible itself, we must maintain at the same time that all its parts cannot be explained by the same process. Many are dark and ambiguous. Even in ascertaining the correct sense not less than in defending the truth, other resources are required. We must go to helps external to the Scriptures.

How insufficient a mere collation of the Bible itself apart from external aids is, to furnish the right sense of many passages, may be seen from such commentaries as "the self-interpreting" notes of the excellent John Brown. Thus in Gen. vi. 3., he gives the sense, "God's Spirit strove with them by his inward good motions, by the checks which he caused their consciousness to give them, and by the counsels and warnings given them by Noah, the preacher of righteousness." Here the meaning of the two important words *strive with*, or rather יָרַן and *spirit*, רוּחַ, is misapprehended. The former denotes *be subjected*, be lowered or humiliated, as a comparison with the verb in the Arabic language shows; the latter does not refer to the Holy Spirit, but to that higher energy in man, that principle of life,

which was implanted in the mortal body immediately by Jehovah himself, and is therefore called his *spirit*.¹

In like manner in Job vii. 20., "I have sinned; what shall I do unto thee, O thou preserver of men?" the same commentator mistakes the sense when he interprets, "I cannot satisfy thy justice for my sins, O thou observer of men." The true meaning is, "If I have sinned," εἰ ἐγὼ ἤμαρτον, as the Septuagint translates, with which agree the Syriac and Arabic. "If I have sinned, what have I done to thee, O thou watcher of men?" i. e., what injury have I done to thee, O thou spy upon men?

Again, in Job v. 7., "Man is born unto trouble as the sparks that fly upwards." We learn from the LXX. and Vulgate that the expression in the original literally denoting "sons of lightning" means *swift birds*. It is common with the author of the book of Job to refer to the lower animals for illustrations, and more probable that man should be compared to living creatures than to *sparks*.²

I. The most important source of interpretation out of the Scriptures themselves is found in ancient versions.

In applying ancient translations to the elucidation of Scripture it is necessary to be acquainted with the character of the particular one we intend to use. The time when it was made, the fidelity with which it adheres to the original, the general ability of the translator or translators, and the present state of its text, are points with which the interpreter should be familiar.

The benefits of consulting these documents consist in discovering unknown senses of words and phrases—in confirming what is uncertain—and in determining the particular sense which is applicable where various meanings belong to the word itself.

They are useful in resolving what is either unknown or little understood. Thus ἅπαξ λεγόμενα or terms that occur but once, are often illustrated when other helps fail.

They may be also employed to confirm the signification of a word which has been ascertained by other means. When several versions agree, there is strong evidence of its truth.

Again, versions may be consulted with advantage for the purpose of determining what particular sense should be preferred out of many. Here they show the traditional knowledge of the language, as it existed when they originated.

In some cases also an ancient version may give to a known word a rare signification. Many terms are obscure, though the usual method has been adopted to ascertain their signification. When an ancient translation explains them satisfactorily, we should not hesitate to adopt the solution, unless it appear that the author of it indulged in conjecture. Sometimes the primary or fundamental signification occurs in a version when it could not be discovered otherwise.

We shall now refer to the most important versions of the Scriptures made in ancient times, giving examples of their use in interpretation.

¹ See Tuch's Kommentar, p. 156.

² See Noyes' Version of Job, second edition, p. 100.

THE SEPTUAGINT.

The Greek version usually called the Septuagint presents a very ancient specimen of translation, inasmuch as it belongs to a time not far distant from the extinction of the Hebrew as a living tongue. Its antiquity must always give it considerable importance, the traditional knowledge of the Hebrew being then comparatively pure. It shows the sense attached to the Old Testament at an early period. And it was highly valued by the Jews as a people, till polemic zeal, in the first times of the Christian religion, turned their minds against it. The New Testament writers also have commonly quoted from it, a sufficient proof that it is substantially correct in general. To the Christian interpreter it is peculiarly serviceable, since it explains the Messianic passages so clearly of the Saviour that their sense cannot well be mistaken.

This version is useful in interpreting the New Testament as well as the Old, because the diction of the former nearly resembles it. Both are in the same kind of Hebraised Greek, and present accordingly the same idioms. Hence in explaining the Greek Testament it is usual to consult the Septuagint. It is also the parent of many others versions, such as the *Versio Vetus*, the Arabic, besides Egyptian and Syrian ones. The influence exerted by it either directly or indirectly upon others has been very considerable. That there are defects in it none will deny. It has many errors and imperfections which the expositor must carefully note. Time has lessened its hermeneutical value. Yet it will always be an interesting document to the lexicographer, the grammarian, and the commentator. Thenius has unduly exalted it as a source of *criticism* in regard to the text of the Old Testament; a modern commentator has most extravagantly lauded it in an *expository* view. "I had proceeded," says he, "but a short way in it before I was convinced that the prejudices against it were utterly unfounded, and that it was of incalculable advantage toward a proper understanding of the literal sense of Scripture."¹ This is gross hyperbole.

The version is useful in correctly explaining ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, words of unusual occurrence, or those whose signification cannot be easily determined either from their having various senses or being otherwise obscure.

Exod. viii. 9. (viii. 5. in the Hebrew). מְהִלָּה occurs only here. Our English version translates it "glory over me," as if Moses, seeing signs of relenting on the part of Pharaoh, was ready to humble himself in his presence, foregoing the honour accruing to him from performing his miracles, and laying it at the feet of the king by allowing him to appoint a time when he should entreat the Lord for the removal of the plague. But this is far-fetched. The LXX. translate the verb along with the adverb ἕνδεκα, τάξαι πρὸς με. The Vulgate coincides, *Constituē mihi quando*, &c.; *appoint me a time when*, &c.

¹ See Dr. Adam Clarke's Preface to his Commentary.

Deut. xxvii. 9. שָׁמָּה. This word occurs but once. The LXX. rightly render it *σιώπα*, *be silent*.

Isa. v. 25. בְּפִתְחָהּ, *ὡς κοπρία* LXX., *quasi stercus* Vulg., *like dung*. Our English version renders the word *torn*, which is incorrect.

Gen. xx. 16., the phrase עֲיִנַּי עָלֶיךָ rendered by the LXX. *τιμὴ τοῦ προσώπου*, *a propitiary gift*, termed metaphorically *a covering of the face*. Abimelech makes Sarah a present to appease her in lieu of the wrongs she had been compelled to suffer. The expression must not be referred to a *veil*, as Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Dathe, Von Bohlen, and Baumgarten suppose. The *τιμὴ* of the Septuagint, denoting *price*, suggests the figurative sense, which is adopted accordingly by Gesenius, Schumann, Tiele, Tuch, Knobel, and De litzsch.

Num. iv. 20. כָּבַלְתָּ is well translated *ἐξάπινα*, *suddenly*. It refers literally to the swallowing of the spittle, and was used as a proverb.

In Gen. xlix. 6. עָקְרוּ שָׂרִי is translated *ἐνευροκόπησαν ταύρον*, *they houghed oxen*. Not only did Simeon and Levi murder the men of Shechem, but they rendered useless what they could not conveniently take with them. Others, as the Syriac, Chaldee, Vulgate, Aquila, Symmachus, the English version &c. render, *they digged down the walls or a wall*; but this is quite arbitrary. The best interpreters, as Herder, De Wette, Tuch, Knobel, &c., follow the Septuagint rendering.

Gen. iv. 1., אִשָּׁה יְהוָה, *διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*, *by the help of God*. So too the Vulgate *per Deum*. This is preferable to the English version *from the Lord*, which is contrary to Hebrew usage. Those who render *I have gotten a man*, *Jehovah*, as if Eve thought she had given birth to the promised seed, attribute to her more than she herself thought.

Lev. xviii. 18. “Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness beside the other in her life-time.” Here the phrase אִשָּׁה אֵשֶׁת אֵשֶׁת has been taken by some idiomatically, *i. e.*, *one woman to another, one wife to another*, according to which polygamy is prohibited. But the Septuagint confirms the other sense, *a wife to her sister*, according to which it implies that while two sisters should not be married at the same time to one husband, the one might be married after the decease of the other. The LXX. have *γυναῖκα ἐπ’ ἀδελφῆ αὐτῆς οὐ λήψῃ*, κ. τ. λ. Thus marriage with the sister of a deceased wife is allowed in the passage.²

VULGATE.

This version has been highly esteemed by the most competent judges. In general it is literal and faithful. Jerome was taught Hebrew by the Jews of his day, and therefore the Vulgate embodies their traditional interpretation. Hence its general agreement with the Chaldee paraphrases. It also coincides often with the LXX, even where they differ from the Hebrew. Doubtless it has been interpolated and corrupted in the progress of centuries. In the Old Testament part it is of most value, and there too its aid is most required.

¹ See Jahn's *Einleit. in die Göttlichen Bücher des Alten Bundes*, ii. Theil, pp. 661, 662.

² Other examples may be seen in Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 621. *et seqq.*

Gen. viii. 11. The word $\eta\eta\eta$ is not very clear in meaning. The English version has for its equivalent *plucked off*, with which Onkelos and Saadias agree. But the Vulgate properly renders it, "*portans ramum olivæ virentibus foliis.*" It means a *fresh, green leaf*.

1 Sam. ix. 20. $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$, and to whom shall all the valuable things in Israel belong? So the Vulgate rightly translates: *cujus erunt optima quæque?* Our English version with Tremellius and Münster have erroneously, "And on whom is all the desire of Israel?"¹

1 Pet. v. 13. Here there is an ellipsis, which requires to be filled up in order to complete the sense. The Vulgate has "*salutat vos ecclesia quæ est in Babylone.* But Schott and others supply *uxor*. In conformity with the Vulgate some MSS. have $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ in the text, but not from the writer of the epistle himself. The Vulgate has the right supplement.

Col. ii. 9. The adverb $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\pi\kappa\omega\varsigma$ has been differently explained. Some render it *truly, really*, as do Grotius, Michaelis, Pierce, Schott, and others. But the Vulgate has *corporaliter, bodily*, which is better. The fulness of the divine perfections dwelt in the person of Christ *bodily*, because he was the human impersonation of Deity to man.²

OLD SYRIAC OR PESHITO.

In the interpretation of the Scriptures this version furnishes important aid, especially in explaining words that occur but once, and in resolving grammatical forms and constructions which are obscure. Thus in Gen. xxii. 9. the verb $\eta\eta\eta$ is expressed by $\eta\eta$, *to bind*.

In Hos. vi. 8., $\eta\eta\eta$ is translated $\eta\eta\eta$, *sprinkled or soiled*. This is preferable to Hitzig's *hilly, heaped up as with hills of blood: gehügelt von Blut*.

In Hos. xi. 3. $\eta\eta\eta$, which is the infinitive absolute with the nominal suffix, is rightly explained by $\eta\eta$, *I took them up*.

Matt. vi. 11. The word $\epsilon\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is confessedly difficult. The signification given to it by the Syrian interpreter seems to be the best, $\eta\eta\eta$, *the bread of our necessity, the sustenance which is necessary*.

Rom. ii. 18. $\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \delta\iota\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha$ is a phrase ambiguous in sense. The Syriac gives $\eta\eta\eta$, *and thou separatest the things which are proper, i. e., distinguishest between right and wrong*.³

TARGUMS.

The Jewish paraphrases commonly called Targums are chiefly useful at the present day in interpreting Messianic passages. They may be employed to refute the Jews when they deny that parts of the Old Testament unquestionably relating to the Messiah belong to him.

They are useful in elucidating $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\grave{\xi}\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ and difficult words and phrases. Thus in Jeremiah x. 17. occurs $\eta\eta\eta$. This the Tar-

¹ See Thenius on the verse.

² See Stuart in the American Bib. Rep. for October, 1836, pp. 414, 415. Other examples may be found in Davidson's Sac. Herm., p. 625. *et seqq.*

³ For other examples, see my Sacred Hermeneutics, pp. 634, 635.

gum explains by כְּחֹרֶתֶךָ, *thy wares*, with which the ὑπόστασις of the LXX. agrees. But the Vulgate has *confusionem*. In Isa. ix. 18. we have the verb עָתַם, which the paraphrast translates כְּחֹרֶתֶךָ, *is consumed or burnt up*. The LXX. correspond, σὺγκέκασται. Abenezra, Kimchi, Michaelis, Doederlein, Umbreit, Paulus, and the English version render it, *it is darkened*; and in the Arabic language the verb عَتَمَ, *to be darkened*, does occur. But there is also a word in the same language غَمَمَ, *a suffocating heat*, which Gesenius here compares. In Gen. xv. 2., the difficult term מְשִׁיבָה is explained, *the son of this governor who is over my house*. In Gen. xlix. 10. all the Targumists explain the word מְשִׁיבָה by *King Messiah*.¹

AQUILA, SYMMACHUS, AND THEODOTION.

Nothing more than fragments of these Greek versions exist. Hence they cannot be of extensive use. Aquila is very literal. He is therefore valuable in the interpretation of single words. Symmachus is free in his renderings. Hence he assists chiefly in the exegesis of clauses and passages. Theodotion on the other hand resembles the Septuagint in the character of his version.

Gen. i. 2. The two words תְּהוֹ וְרֵקָה have been explained somewhat variously. They are translated by Aquila κένωμα καὶ οὐδέν, *emptiness and nothingness*. There can be little doubt that this is the true sense, though the Septuagint has ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, *invisible and unfurnished*, with which Philo and Josephus agree. But the best expositors, Tuch, Knobel, and others, understood the words of *complete desolation and vacuity*.

Gen. iii. 16. תִּשְׁנָאָה. This word, translated *desire* in our English version, seldom occurs. Symmachus renders it correctly ἡ ὄρμη, which is consistent with its etymology from שָׁנָא, *thou shalt vehemently long after him*.

Psalms xvi. 4. The word which we translate *sorrows*, עֲצֻבוֹתַי, is translated *idols* by Fischer, Gesenius, Winer, Ewald, Olshausen. But the majority of versions favour *sorrows*, Aquila translating the word διαπονήματα. This is expressed by the LXX., Vulgate, Syriac, and another Greek version. *Idols* would be expressed in Hebrew עֲצֻבִים. Here Symmachus differs from Aquila. But the meaning *sorrows* is adopted by Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, De Wette, Alexander, and Stuart.

Psalms xlv. 7. The word אֱלֹהִים is taken by some in the nominative not in the vocative. But the ancient translators take it as the vocative. Aquila renders it θεέ, with whom agree Symmachus, Theodotion, and the LXX.

Isa xxvii. 8. בְּכִסְאָהָּ. This is a difficult word, and various explanations of it have been proposed. It is commonly regarded as made up of כִּסֵּה repeated, as if contracted from כִּסֵּה כִּסֵּה with dagesh forte conjunctive, *in measure (and) measure, according to measure, moderately*. This construction is sanctioned by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, whom Le Clerc, Gesenius, Lowth, Eich-

¹ Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 632.

horn, De Wette, Winer follow. But Hitzig, Ewald, and Knobel make the word an infinitive pilpel, and point it differently from the Masoretes.¹

SAADIAS.

Much assistance need not be expected from the Arabic version of Saadiah. It is often paraphrastic, and even adds many things for which there is no equivalent in the Hebrew. Its testimony may be used to confirm in cases of doubt or difficulty what can be otherwise discovered.

In Isaiah xxviii. 25. נִקְמָן is interpreted, *the place marked out*, which agrees with the Targumist and Kimchi. Our English version erroneously makes the word to agree with יִשְׁעָרָה, *barley, appointed barley*, whereas it refers to the field in which the barley is sown.

Gen. xlix. 21. אֲמָרֵי טֵבֵר. This phrase is confessedly uncertain. Our English version renders, *goodly words*, and so Saadiah with most of the ancient versions. Others render *beautiful branches*, regarding Naphtali as here compared to a spreading tree. But though this construction is favoured by the Septuagint, and adopted by Bochart with many recent critics, we prefer abiding by the Masoretic punctuation with Rosenmüller, Stähelin, Schumann, Gesenius, Tuch, Knobel, and Delitzsch. Harris is incorrect in saying that the rendering of Bochart agrees with the Arabic. Both Saadiah and the Arabic of Erpenius give the other sense.

The Arabic version of the Acts, Pauline and Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse printed in the London Polyglott is of little use to the interpreter. But it may not be amiss to compare it with the original in important places. We shall merely give one example from it.

In Acts xvi. 13. προσευχῆ is taken to mean *a place of prayer*, an oratory, which is the right sense. It does not mean *the act or exercise of prayer*.²

The utility of ancient versions has diminished in proportion to the advancement of sacred philology in modern times. The valuable materials furnished by them have been incorporated into the best lexicons and commentaries.

MODERN VERSIONS.

In addition to ancient versions, modern ones may also be consulted. Of these many have been published since the beginning of the sixteenth century, differing greatly in value. Such as combine fidelity, accuracy, and elegance in the largest proportion, are of highest merit.

We shall refer very briefly to the principal modern versions in different languages.

Latin versions may be divided into those made by Romanists and Protestants. The former are generally modelled after the Vulgate, are literal and bald in character, destitute of freedom and elegance. The latter are freer and smoother, evincing more mastery of the original languages. Among Romanist versions of the Bible are those

¹ Comp. my Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 628. *et seqq.*

² Davidson's Sac. Herm., pp. 630, 631.

of Pagninus published at Lyons in 1528, which is very literal, but in Simon's opinion obscure, barbarous, and filled with solecisms. Erpenius, Buxtorf, and others, pronounce a more favourable judgment of it. In a revised state it was published by Robert Stephens at Paris 1557; and by Arius Montanus in the Antwerp Polyglott, who took great pains in amending it (1572). The versions of Cardinal Cajetan and Thomas Malvenda appeared, the one in 1639, the other in 1650, both at Lyons; but they do not embrace the whole of the Old Testament, and are not of much value. Houbigant, in his critical edition of the Old Testament published at Paris in 1753, gives a good Latin version; but as it merely represents his own text, the version is of no value. Erasmus translated into good Latin the Greek Testament to accompany his text, of which the first edition appeared in 1516. Of Protestant versions, that of Sebastian Schmidt, published at Strasburg 1696; of Leo Judae, 1543; of Castalio, Basil 1551; of Sebastian Münster, 1534, 1535 Basil; of Imman. Tremellius and F. Junius, Frankfurt on the Main 1579; and of John Piscator, Herborn 1601—1615, deserve mention. Schmidt's is nervous, terse, succinct, usually rendering the Hebrew word for word. It contains the New Testament also. The translation of Leo Judae is free and somewhat paraphrastic, but on the whole faithful. Theodore Bibliander completed the Old Testament, which the author did not live to finish; and the New is Erasmus's version revised by Gualther. Castalio, who translated both the Old Testament and the New, has been greatly censured for the softness and effeminacy of the style, from which all Hebraisms are carefully removed through an affected imitation of Ciceronian and Catullian Latin. What his version gains in elegance it loses in force. Münster studied to give the sense of the text clearly and briefly, without the literality of Pagninus and Arius Montanus. In his interpretations he followed for the most part the Jews. The version of Tremellius and Junius, embracing only the Old Testament, can scarcely be commended as faithful or accurate. They took too great liberties with the text, and produced a paraphrase rather than a true version.

The version of Piscator, extending only to the Old Testament, is founded on that of Junius, which it corrects in many places, rendering it more accurate and conformable to the Hebrew verity.

The Latin version of Dathe (1773—1789), extending to all the books of the Old Testament, is valuable and faithful, representing the state to which the school of Michaelis had advanced criticism and exegesis. The Latin is good, and often elegant. It is surpassed, however, by that begun by Schott and Winzer (1816), which stopped with the Pentateuch. The Latin versions of the New Testament by Thalemann (1781), containing the Gospels and Acts; by Jaspis (1793, 1797), containing only the Epistles; by Reichard (1799), and by Schott (1839, fourth edition), belong to the school of Ernesti, and exhibit in consequence a good Latinity; but their interpretations might be improved. Schott's may be regarded as, on the whole, the best of them. Naebe's (1831), accompanying his edition of the Greek Testament, is an eclectic Latin version, com-

piled from preceding ones. Goeschen's, likewise accompanying the Greek text, is close and accurate (1832). Sebastiani's is made *professedly* but not *really* from the text of the Codex Alexandrinus, and is of little value (1816). The last is the production of a Romanist. Of older Latin translations of the New Testament Beza's has been most valued.

Of German versions, that of Luther has always maintained a high reputation. It is the oldest and most celebrated of all Protestant versions, and the mother of very many others. It was begun and published in parts from 1517 till 1534, when the whole work was completed, containing the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha. A new and complete edition appeared in 1534. The second edition was published in 1541, 1542. Both are without the division of verses and adorned with numerous woodcuts. That of De Wette, of which the third and last edition appeared at Heidelberg in 1839, is altogether the best version which has yet been published in any language. Learning, taste, and exegetical tact, combine to exalt it above all. The French Protestants received their first French version from Olivetan, a relative of Calvin, and minister of the Gospel in Geneva, whose work appeared in 1535, under the name of the Geneva Bible. It appears not to have satisfied the expectations or desires of Calvin, for he revised it, and endeavoured to improve the rough and too often unintelligible style. The edition containing Calvin's corrections appeared at Geneva in 1540. But the principal revision was made by a number of Geneva professors and preachers, the chief of whom were Bertram, Hebrew professor, and Beza, 1588. Many other editions and revisions of this version appeared in succeeding years. That of Ostervald is best known. A free and good version was made by Charles Le Cene, which was not published till thirty-eight years after his death, at Amsterdam, 1741. The New Testament was well translated by Le Clerc (Amsterdam, 1703); and afterwards by Beausobre and L'Enfant (Amsterdam, 1718). This last has been much used and highly valued.

Almost all existing Spanish and Portuguese translations proceeded from Protestants or Jews, and were printed in other countries. The first complete Spanish Bible was published at Basil in 1569, made by Cassiodore de Reyna, a Protestant, chiefly based upon Pagninus. That of Cyprian de Valera is founded chiefly on the Genevan French Bible, and was published at Amsterdam in 1602. A Portuguese translation was made by John Ferreira, of Almeida, preacher at Batavia, and printed at Tranquebar 1719—1738, by the Danish Mission press. The New Testament part appeared first at Amsterdam in 1712.

Italian versions by Protestants were all printed abroad. The oldest was made by Massimo Theofilo, formerly monk in the monastery of Mount Cassino, who fled to Geneva with other Italian Protestants, and published his translation at Lyons in 1551. Far superior to this, and indeed to any other Italian version, is that of Diodati, published at Geneva 1641. This version is distinguished for its accuracy, fidelity, and want of rhythm. A *revision* of it has

just appeared (1855) by Count Piero Guicciardini. In it the translation is made far more idiomatic and exact as to Italian expression; while as to scholarship, the accomplished editor has availed himself throughout of the learning of men thoroughly competent. The improvement of Diodati is here both conspicuous and considerable. Some Italian translations of the New Testament, published in Germany for the use of Italian Protestants, hardly found their way into Italy, such as those of Berlando de Lega (1711), and Glück (1743).

In the Dutch language, the first independent version is that made by order of the Synod of Dort, the work of various persons, 1628—1632. A better than this is that of Van der Palm, which has met with great acceptance, 1818.

The first Danish version taken directly from the original was that of Resenius, Bishop of Copenhagen, 1607. It is too literal, and consequently often unintelligible. A new one was undertaken not long ago by the members of the theological faculty, under the presidency of the celebrated Bishop Münter, of Copenhagen.

The first Swedish version from the original was made by Lorenz Andreae, Chancellor to Gustavus the First (1526). A better appeared at Upsala in 1541, the work of the celebrated reformer Olaus Petri, and his brother, Lorenz Petri. In it the version of Luther was carefully used. The most valuable and thorough revision of this version was made by the learned Bishop Gezelius, which appeared in 1711—28.

The New Testament was first published in Polish by John Selucianus 1551. During the Unitarian disputations, the entire Bible was published in 1563, under the patronage of Prince Radzivil. Not satisfied with the Unitarian tendencies in it, the Reformed party made a new one, which was published in 1632 at Danzig. This was the work of three individuals. Several new versions were also made by the Socinians.

Of Hungarian Bible versions, the first made from the original was that of Caspar Karolyi, published at Visoly, 1590. The new revision of it by Molner was highly esteemed. Another was subsequently made by George Esipkes, a reformed preacher, which was printed at Leyden 1717. But its introduction into the country was violently opposed; and most of the copies were suppressed or destroyed. Jerome of Alphen had also a beautiful Hungarian Bible printed at Utrecht during the same period of persecution.

The Bohemian Bible was translated from the original by eight Bohemian brethren, Protestants, who had studied at Wittenberg and Basil. It appeared at Kralitz in six parts, 1579—1593.

It is unnecessary to particularise the English versions made by Tyndale, Coverdale, and Cranmer. The Geneva Bible, published in 1560, is a most valuable and excellent version. The Bishop's Bible, that is Parker's, appeared in 1568. King James's Bible, the present authorised version, appeared in 1611, the history and merits of which are well known. Geddes, however, prefers the Geneva version. Since its publication, no good translation of the entire Bible has appeared in English. Different books and parts have been

well translated; but not the whole Scriptures. The most important work of the kind was the new version of Dr. Geddes, with critical remarks and notes, published at London 1792—1800. Death prevented the completion of it. This work has more merit than is generally allowed; though the principles of the learned critic were neither sound nor safe.

The value of these modern versions, and of others to which we might have referred, is less than that of the ancient ones for purposes of interpretation. Some of them, however, will bear favourable comparison with their old predecessors. De Wette's is more useful than any other, ancient or modern. Since the revival of Hebrew literature by the labours of Gesenius, and of New Testament literature by the younger Planck and Winer, modern versions made by learned and competent scholars are very serviceable in exegesis. Indeed, they cannot well be dispensed with by the professed interpreter. No one, for example, can dispense with Ewald's version of the poetical and prophetic books; with Gesenius's version of Isaiah; with Meier's of the poetical books; and others which have appeared in Germany within the last twenty years. Neither can Meyer's new German version of the New Testament be wanting to the apparatus of the interpreter. A specimen of a new version from the original Greek into English, on the basis of the received translation, recently appeared at New York, containing the second Epistle of Peter, the Epistles of John and Jude, and the Revelation (1854). Should any doubt the superior utility of modern versions in exegesis, he has only to take an important and difficult passage and compare the renderings given of it in the LXX., Vulgate, Old Syriac, and De Wette. Let him take, for example, Dan. ix. 24—27., and carefully note the difference. In Stuart's able commentary on Daniel, this passage is printed in various translations, ancient and modern, so that they may be compared with the original text, and with one another. See pp. 309—311.

II. In addition to versions, the *usus loquendi* is retained traditionally in the earlier commentaries and lexicons. The chief commentators on the Old Testament belonging here are Jarchi, Abenezra, Kimchi, and Tanchum of Jerusalem. The first generally follows the Chaldee version, and is almost wholly a traditional-Talmudic interpreter, as Gesenius remarks.¹ On this account, he gives, not unfrequently, absurd elucidations. Abenezra is much more independent, and of sounder judgment. While he did not reject exegetical tradition, he saw through the ordinary prejudices of his nation, and by the aid of a profound acquaintance with the Hebrew language, endeavoured to avoid them. Kimchi again was a more skilful grammarian and industrious compiler.

The lexicons relating to the present point are those of Rabbi Jonah or Abulwalid, Judah ben Karish, R. David Kimchi, and Pagninus. The first two wrote in Arabic.

"In order," says Gesenius, "to read these Jewish interpreters

¹ Dissertation prefixed to his *Manual Hebrew Lexicon*, third edition, 1828, translated by Robinson in the *American Bib. Rep.* for 1833.

with ease, whether they wrote in Hebrew or Arabic, some practice is certainly necessary; and especially the latter, whose manuscripts are all written with Hebrew characters, and contain many grammatical expressions which are not found in the lexicons. But the labour expended in this way does not often remain unrewarded. The hermeneutical value of these writers depends in general on the sources from which they draw, viz. tradition; Talmudic, Chaldaic, and Arabic usage; and the connection: and then in particular, it depends on the greater or less degree of sagacity and sound judgment in the individual; in which respect R. Jonah or Abulwalid holds the first place, while the so renowned Jarchi can properly claim only one of the lowest."¹

We do not think it necessary for an interpreter in the present day to consult these commentators and lexicographers respecting the *usus loquendi* of the Old Testament. They are difficult of access, some being in MS. Even those which have been published can be read only by a few. The most important explanations they can furnish are given by Gesenius in his *Lexicon* and *Thesaurus*; and though that celebrated critic has not extracted all the valuable matter they contain, he has given the best part of it.

For the *usus loquendi* of the Old Testament, the chief among the fathers is Jerome, whose commentaries should not be neglected. Next in value are perhaps those of Origen. The interpretations of Theodoret are excellent, furnishing much aid. The few writings that are extant of Theodore, the master of Theodoret, should be carefully studied.

In the New Testament, the chief sources after ancient versions are the works of scholiasts and early glossographers; the *catenæ* and commentaries of the Greek fathers; Josephus and Philo; together with those profane writers who used the *κοινή διάλεκτος*, such as Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, Herodian, &c.

Scholia are short notes on ancient authors, elucidating the sense of words and phrases in their writings. They are of two kinds, *exegetical* and *grammatical*, the former explaining very briefly the sense of passages, the latter illustrating the force and significancy of terms by means of others better known. The latter alone belong here.

There are many *scholia* on the New Testament, the nature of which may be illustrated by an example taken from Eph. iv. 14. where *ἐν τῇ κυβείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* occurs. The word *κυβεία* is explained by the author of a scholium *ἐν τῇ ἀστάτῳ περιφορᾷ ὡς νῦν μὲν τοῦτο, νῦν δὲ ἐκείνο διδάσκειν*, i. e., in unsteady tossing about so as to teach now this and now that thing. But Theodoret has, *κυβείαν τὴν πανουργίαν καλεῖ*, i. e., he (the apostle) calls *craftiness* *κυβείαν*. In like manner in Eph. iv. 12., *πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἀγίων*, a scholiast has *εἰς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ὠφελείαν*, i. e., for the edification and utility, explanatory of the word *καταρτισμὸν*, *perfecting*.

1. Some are taken from the Greek fathers, who often briefly explained the force of a word in their commentaries and homilies.

¹ Dissertation prefixed to *Manual Hebrew Lexicon*, third edition, 1828, translated by Robinson in the *American Bib. Rep.* for 1833.

Chrysostom's homilies in particular abound with scholia. From his works and those of Origen, sometimes from the writings of others besides, later Greek writers extracted what was said briefly on the sense of a passage. Thus Theodoret's commentary on Paul's fourteen epistles contains a collection of brief grammatical explanations of this sort taken from Chrysostom, omitting what was rhetorical and dogmatic. Theophylact made a similar collection from the same father, in his commentary on the four Gospels. Euthymius followed the same course, with more judgment than Theophylact. When these scholia contain the explanations of various writers and follow the order of the New Testament books they are termed *catenæ*. We owe the publication of many such scholia to Matthæi in his edition of the Greek Testament, and more recently to Cramer.

2. Other scholia were written in the margin of MSS., within their text, or at the end of them. Many of these may be found in Wetstein's Greek Testament, but especially in Matthæi's.

3. Exegetical scholia are chiefly doctrinal, and belong rather to sentences and passages than words.

The testimony of these scholiasts generally resolves itself into the authority of older writers. Very few now extant are original, proceeding from the writers themselves by whom they are given. Almost all are compiled from Chrysostom, Origen, and other writers of the third and fourth centuries. In judging of their value we must therefore consider whether they have been taken from a good writer or commentator. On the character of the original author their worth ultimately rests. But sometimes the source is not stated. In that case we must judge of the scholium solely by itself. At other times, the source is marked in the margin of MSS.

The testimony of scholiasts is more valuable, other things being equal, in proportion as either they or those from whom they borrow are nearer in time to the age of the author they interpret. Morus however asserts that antiquity adds nothing to the value of a scholiast, except that he may probably have a better knowledge of ancient manners, rites, and history than a more recent writer would have. But this limitation is too great. The nearer he be to the age of the original author interpreted, the greater is the probability of his being better acquainted with the language and meaning of that writer. Antiquity is therefore of some value, though of course many circumstances may overbalance it. In certain cases the age of a scholiast is entitled to considerable weight, such as where his testimony is the only evidence.

In proportion as it appears from sufficient evidence that a scholiast was well acquainted with the language in which he writes is his interpretation entitled to greater weight. It must be admitted that few scholiasts understood the Hebrew language. Hence their perception of the Hebraistic colouring of New Testament Greek must have been very inadequate. Their notes too are often mere ascetic reflections of no value. In some cases they confuse by a multitude of various opinions, a fault from which commentators too are not free. In like manner much benefit cannot be derived from the substitution

of one Greek word for another, which can hardly be styled interpretation. In short, there are many drawbacks to the utility of scholiasts. After considering their character, age, circumstances, and opportunities of knowing the truth, we must still judge of their qualifications as interpreters by that which they produce. In some cases their explanations are good and skilful, in others trifling and worthless. They are successful in many instances; unsuccessful in more.

A *glossary* is a collection of *γλῶσσαι*, i. e., of such words as require explanation because they are somewhat difficult or obscure. It differs from a lexicon in not giving all *the* words of the Greek language, but only those which really need interpretation. And it differs from scholia or short notes only in *form*.

The principal ancient glossarists are Hesychius, Suidas, Phavorinus, and the authors of the Etymologicum Magnum, Photius, Zonaras, and Cyril of Alexandria. Out of Hesychius, whose work was published by Alberti and completed by Ruhnken at Leyden (1746, 1766), Ernesti extracted such as glosses as belonged to the New Testament, and illustrated them with notes (1785). The Lexicon of Suidas holds a middle place between scholia and glosses, and has been published under the editorship of Kuster, Gaisford, Bernhardt. The Lexicon of Phavorinus is similar to the Glossary of Hesychius, and is of limited use. It was published at Venice in 1712, The Etymologicum Magnum contains very few glosses belonging to the New Testament. It is chiefly occupied with giving the etymology of words. Out of these three Ernesti also took what belonged to the New Testament and published it in a separate work (1786). The Lexicon of Zonaras was first published by Tittmann (1808). The Lexicon of Photius was published by Hermans (1808); and also from a transcript from the *Cod. Galeanus* made by Porson, in 1822, after the death of this eminent scholar. The Lexicon of Cyril was published in part by Matthæi. The same scholar also published glosses on the Pauline and other epistles taken from Moscow MSS., in his *Glossaria Græca Minora et alia Anecdota Græca* (Moscow, 1775) and his *Glossæ in Epistolas Apostol.* (Lips. 1779). Alberti published a Glossary on the books of the New Testament, the contents of which were afterwards introduced into the Lexicon of Hesychius (Leyden 1735).

The testimony of these glossographers to the *usus loquendi* of the Greek Testament is not so valuable as some might suppose. Their explanations of words are often loose and inexact, obscure or mutilated. The substitution of one term for another cannot be called *interpretation*. Their value must be estimated in the same manner as that of scholia, i. e., according to age and internal goodness. By age; for the nearer a commentator lived to the apostolic times the more likely is it that he was able to unfold the *usus loquendi*. As to internal goodness, that may be discovered by comparing their expositions with such as are well known.

A few examples will now be subjoined.

αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός, to usurp authority over the man, 1 Tim. ii. 12. The verb *αὐθεντέω*, derived from *αυθέντης*, one who puts hands on

himself (Wisdom xii. 6.), is explained by Hesychius ἐξουσιάζειν, to have authority over.

Εὐτραπελία, which properly and primarily means *wittiness, facetiousness*, is explained in the Etymologicum Magnum *μωρολογία, κουφότης, ἀπαιδευσία*, i. e. foolish talking, lightness, coarseness. Eph. v. 4.

ἐπιούσιος ἄρτος, Matt. vi. 11., daily bread. Origen explains the adjective ἐπιούσιος, τὸν εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν συμβαλλόμενον ἄρτον, the bread that contributes to subsistence. Chrysostom gives as the equivalent of ἐπιούσιος, ἐφήμερος, daily. Suidas has, ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν ἀρμόζων ἢ ὁ καθημερινός, that which is fit for our subsistence, or daily. Theophylact has, ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν καὶ τῇ συστάσει τῆς ζωῆς συμβαλλόμενος, that which contributes to our subsistence and to the sustentation of life.

Βαττολογέω. Hesychius explains the noun denoting the action implied in this verb, viz. βαττολογία, by ἀργολογία, ἀκαιρολογία, idle speaking, unseasonable speaking; Suidas by ἡ πολυλογία, much speaking.

Chrysostom is accustomed to subjoin to an obscure word τί ἐστι τοῦτο; what does this mean? and then to append an explanation. Thus at ἐν τῷ φωτί in Coloss. i. 12., after putting the question, what means this? he adds ἐν τῇ γνώσει as the equivalent of ἐν τῷ φωτι, i. e. *by knowledge* while the light of the mind arises. In the same way he interprets δόκιμοι, εὐάρεστοι, *virtuous, desirous of virtue*. Hesychius however explains it by χρήσιμος, τέλειος, *useful, profitable, perfect*.

We cannot aver that these glossarists and Greek fathers were usually very accurate. They give the general sense, not the nicer shades of meaning which evince sagacity, tact, and skill.

There is an excellent Lexicon of ecclesiastical Greek in which the most valuable explanations of words and expressions given by the fathers have been incorporated. We refer to *Suicer's Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, in two volumes folio, 1728. With this and the best modern lexicons, such as Schleusner's, Bretschneider's, Wahl's, and Robinson's, where glossaries and scholia have been industriously used, the New Testament interpreter need scarcely have recourse to the separate and scarce works themselves.

III. Next to versions and early writings we may mention the *analogy of languages* as an important help in ascertaining the *usus loquendi*, or sense of words. Here two kinds of analogy may be distinguished, viz. analogy of *cognate languages* and analogy of *all languages* or of *universal language*. But the latter is of a nature not to be learned from rules, and we shall therefore confine our remarks chiefly to the former. In one view, analogy of cognate languages might be treated as involved in a thorough knowledge of the languages in which the Scriptures are written. He who is well versed in Hebrew and Hellenistic Greek, which every professed interpreter should be, is supposed to be so far acquainted with the cognate languages as to know their assistance and use in determining the significations of words and phrases belonging to Hebrew and Greek. But in another view, this analogy may be treated separately and as an external

source, like ancient versions. We propose at present to discuss it in the latter method.

ANALOGY OF LANGUAGES.

The languages most closely connected with Hebrew are the Arabic, Syriac, Chaldee, and Samaritan. All these are properly cognate dialects, as is proved by history and exemplified in their internal structure. All lead back to one primitive tongue, from which they proceeded by gradual development, while receiving elements from foreign sources. An essential harmony exists between them not only in respect to single words, but characteristic peculiarities. All have three radicals; and in forming the persons of the verb, the pronouns are either added to the root, or prefixed to it, making with the verb a single word. The possessive pronouns are likewise closely attached to the substantive in the form of suffixes. Nor are these the only features in which they coincide; their idiomatic phrases and connected modes of expression are frequently identical.

The Ethiopic is also kindred to the Hebrew, but in a more remote degree. The Talmudic-Rabbinic is likewise a distant offshoot from it.

Such are the dialects commonly compared with Hebrew. They are not all equally useful and important for this purpose; the degree of their relationship, the period of their duration as living languages, and the extent of the literature belonging to them, necessarily affecting the results of collation.

In using them towards an explanation of the Hebrew language, the interpreter should proceed with caution, as their application is liable to abuse. Many have made mistakes from an excessive solicitude to discover novelties. Affectation of acquaintance with the Shemitic languages, the desire of finding new senses, and the love of singularity, have led several critics astray in this department. Some have brought into juxtaposition words consisting of similar letters or pronounced by the same organs of speech, which are really different. Certain letters in the Shemitic dialects regularly correspond to one another, and are frequently interchanged. There is a known relation of some letters to others, in adhering to which the philologist is safe; but, when it is forsaken, danger arises.

A comparison of these cognate languages is of less importance to the interpreter since the use made of them by Gesenius in his Lexicons. Before his time, they had not been judiciously applied. But he collated them very advantageously, incorporating the results into his lexicographical works. Most expositors will be satisfied with what he has done in this department, though it would be idle to assert that he has exhausted the subject. As our knowledge of languages increases through the labours of many independent inquirers, fresh light will be thrown on many words. Whenever another Hebrew Lexicon shall be published in Germany by a truly competent scholar,—by such men, for example, as Hupfield, Ewald, and Roediger, or by promising disciples trained under them,—we may expect this department to be advanced. In the meantime, the Lexicons of Gesenius will suffice for the majority,

especially as the comparison of cognate languages is needed only in certain cases where sufficient materials do not exist in Hebrew itself or in ancient versions, for an accurate knowledge of words.¹

The Arabic claims the first place among the dialects that contribute to a right understanding of the Hebrew language, inasmuch as it is the richest of all the Shemitic dialects. It is reasonable to employ the richer in explaining one of which so little remains, and that little often obscure. There is greater certainty in our knowledge of the Arabic. In proportion to the time that has elapsed since a language became extinct is there less certainty as to the signification of its words. The nearer it has advanced to our own time, there will be less liability to err in fixing their meaning. So is it with the Hebrew and Arabic respectively. The former has long since ceased to be vernacular; the latter continues to be spoken.

Various German writers of the last century unduly magnified the importance of the Arabic language as an auxiliary to the interpretation of the Old Testament. In this respect they were influenced by the Dutch school founded by Schultens. Schnurrer, Michaelis, and Eichhorn were infected with the desire to employ it too much. But Gesenius set limits to it. The cautious and sober application of Arabic presented in his Lexicons is a distinguishing feature, which may serve as a model for future lexicographers. His Thesaurus especially is rich in Arabic illustration skilfully employed. In like manner, Lee has availed himself of the Arabic in his Hebrew Lexicon. These indispensable books lessen the obligation of the Biblical interpreter to betake himself to the study of this cognate language, for the purpose of becoming an accomplished Hebraist. Besides, the student who is familiar with the German language, and has access to continental commentaries, may find the oriental languages extensively applied in expositions of separate books. Thus, in Gesenius's Commentary on Isaiah, Umbreit on Job, Ewald on certain books of the Old Testament, the parts of the Exegetical Handbook, a work nearly completed, Rosenmüller's Scholia and others, the reader will meet with Arabic illustrations. By such means, the necessity of learning the language is in a great degree removed. Yet the field is by no means exhausted. It is ample enough to admit numerous independent cultivators. To rely on a few lexicographers and critics savours of indolence or incapacity. All who aspire to reach the laudable eminence of *promoting* the exegesis of the Bible must at least ascend the heights whence others have taken a survey, and look out for themselves.²

SYRIAC, CHALDEE, &c.

The Syriac is also cognate to the Hebrew. A great number of words are the same in both; while the similarity in forms, constructions, and syntactical principles, cannot be mistaken. Besides, the Syriac continued to be vernacular after the other, and must therefore have preserved words and phrases which throw light upon Hebrew. But it is matter of regret, that the majority of books

¹ See Davidson's Hermeneutics, p. 643. *et seqq.*

² *Ibid.* 648. *et seqq.*

written in Syriac are still latent in libraries. Many are yet unprinted. Such as have been already published furnish valuable help in attaining a better knowledge of Hebrew.

In regard to *Chaldee*, it should scarcely be separated from Syriac as another dialect. *Essentially* they are not different dialects. Yet they are now separated by characters, and by various peculiarities, such as the forms of words, their terminations, and the pronunciation of single terms. In progress of time the Chaldee in Palestine became corrupt by the admixture of foreign elements; so that the Babylonian was purer than the Jerusalem form of it. The chief memorials of Chaldee proper, *i. e.* the Babylonian dialect, are the few chapters of Daniel and Ezra preserved among the Biblical books. The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan belong to the same. In like manner the Babylonian Talmud, particularly the Mishna or text, may be added. Syriac and Chaldee have contributed to the best modern lexicons, equally with the Arabic. The best German commentators have also applied them. Hence what has been said of the Arabic applies to them also. They are less difficult and copious than Arabic, and are therefore more easily learned.

As to Samaritan and Ethiopic, they are of little utility in explaining the Hebrew language. We shall therefore omit them in this place.¹

The uses of cognate languages are the following:—

1. They discover roots or primitives whose derivatives alone are found in the Bible, and by doing so clearly point out the significations of these derivatives.

לָפַל comes from a root unused in Hebrew, but appearing in Arabic, لَفَلَ, to spit out. Hence the word means *unsavoury*, Job vi. 6. Metaphorically, *insipid, vain, foolish, false*, Lament. ii. 14. The noun لَفْلَفٌ, from the same root, *folly, impiety, absurdity*, Job i. 22., xxiv. 12.; Jer. xxiii. 13. لَفَّافٌ, from the Arabic root لَفَفَ, to be continuous and unceasing, especially spoken of flowing water; then to be assiduous, permanent, enduring. Agreeably to this etymology it means constant or perennial flow, Exod. xiv. 27., improperly rendered *strength* in the English version. In Psalm lxxiv. 15. it has the same sense, where it is inaccurately rendered, both in the text and margin of the English Bible, *mighty rivers, rivers of strength*. In Job xxxiii. 19., Numb. xxiv. 21., Jer. xlix. 19., Micah vi. 2., it is applied to other things in the same sense of *perennial, enduring*. The transition from this, the primary meaning, to *strength*, which is a second sense attached to the word, is easy. Gen. xlix. 24., Jer. v. 15.

Schultens gives four senses of the Arabic root, viz. 1. to continue running as water; 2. to continue (in general), to endure; 3. (metaph.) to be fat; 4. (metaph.) to be inexhaustibly rich; and arranges the passages in which the Hebrew derivative occurs under the significations enumerated.² But we remark that these are not all the senses which the Arabic word has, and that the first and second are one, as also

¹ Davidson's Hermeneutics, p. 656. *et seqq.*

² Origines Hebrææ, T. i. c. 8.

the third and fourth. Instead of bringing Micah vi. 2. under No. 2. we class it under the first sense as given by us above. Job xxxiii. 19. does not mean "multitude of his fat bones," but *perpetual* strife or pain in his bones; and in Job xii. 19. the translation is not "*the rich and prosperous*," but "*the strong*," or "*mighty*."¹

2. They determine the significations of roots which might otherwise have been fixed only by conjecture.

קָדַח occurs four times in Hiphil. It is not used in Kal, and we derive the primary signification from the Arabic كَدَحَ, *to shine like the morn, to smile or to be cheerful, to be exhilarated*. This explains all the passages in which it occurs in the Old Testament, as Amos v. 9., where the meaning is "who *commands* devastation to arise suddenly (like the dawn) upon the powerful," not "*that strengtheneth*," as the English has it. Psal. xxxix. 14., "let me cheer up or be exhilarated," not "that I may recover strength," as in the English. Job ix. 27., "I will be cheered," not as in the English, "I will comfort myself." Job x. 20., "that I may be cheered up or exhilarated, not "take comfort," as in the English. The shining of the dawn is transferred to the shining of the face, indicative of cheerfulness or exhilaration of spirit. In Ezek. xxiii. 3. 8. קָדַח has the unusual signification *comprimere*, as the Arabic كَسَمَ, *tegere, inire*, shows.²

3. They discover the primary signification of roots, whose secondary senses alone have been noticed, though the primary would elucidate some passages.

גָּדַל, *to grow, become great*. The primary signification of this verb we learn from the Arabic جَدَل, *to twist*. Hence גָּדְלִים, *twisted threads or fringes*, Deut. xxii. 12.; *festoons*, 1 Kings vii. 17. As the Arabic verb signifies secondarily *to be brawny, sinevy, compact*, Gerard after Schultens would render it in one case (Exod. xv. 16.) "*by the brawniness or firmness of thine arm*."³ But this is quite unnecessary. And as it also denotes *to wrestle or strive*, the same critic thinks that it is used thus in Job vii. 17., "What is man that thou shouldst *struggle* with him?" But here the English is correct, "*magnify* him," or "*make such account of him*," as Noyes translates it.

קָדַח. The primary signification of this word is derived from the cognate Arabic and Syriac كَدَحَ, *to draw together, contract, bind up, roll together*. The verb occurs once, viz. Isa. xxxviii. 12., where many render after the Chaldee קָדַח, *to cut off*. "I have cut off like a weaver my life." But it is better to follow the primary meaning, "*I have rolled up like a weaver my life*;" or, "my life has been rolled up as by a weaver," intransitively.⁴

An improper example is given by Schultens⁵ from קָדַח, the primary meaning of which he says is in Arabic *to be stiff, inflexible*.

¹ Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 64, 65.

² See Schultens and Gerard.

³ Institutes, &c. p. 69.

⁴ See Gesenius's Thesaurus, s. v., and Knobel's Commentar.

⁵ De Defect. Ling. Hebr. § 217.

According to this assumption he explains Isa. xlix. 24., *the inflexible or strenuous warrior*, who, according to Gerard, is *the devil!* and Eccles. vii. 16., *be not too rigid or inflexible*. But the primary signification is rather *straight*, than *stiff, inflexible*; and it is unwarrantable conjecture to render the words both of Isaiah and Ecclesiastes otherwise than by *just*. In the former, the phrase employed means, *the prey of the just one*; not *lawful captive*, as the English version has it. In the latter, *be not righteous or just over much* refers to a person who sets too high a value on his personal virtue or righteousness; who thinks too much of it.

4. The kindred languages afford important aid in determining the meaning of such words as occur but once or very seldom in the Bible, especially where the ancient versions vary in translating them.

בָּשָׁב, Psal. cxix. 131., *to desire*. This word occurs but once. Compare the Syriac ܒܫܒܐ occurring in Luke xvi. 21., which explains the signification.

בָּרֶךְ, which elsewhere means *food, prey*, denotes in Ezek. xvii. 9. *green leaves*, as is shown by the Syriac ܒܪܝܚܐ, which corresponds to φύλλα in Mark xi. 13. and the Chaldee ܒܪܝܚܐ. The idea implied in the verb from which it is derived is, *something plucked or torn*, which will apply equally to leaves *plucked off the tree*, or to *an animal divided or torn for prey or food*.

סֹלֵמַת, *a ladder*; Gen. xxviii. 12. Arabic سُلَّم.

סֹלֵמַת, Job vi. 10. صَلَدَّ Arabic, *he leaped*, applied to a horse. This, together with the rendering of the Septuagint ἠλλόμην, and the *saliebam* of the Vulgate, leads to the sense *exult*: "*I exult in grief which does not spare.*" This is the meaning adopted by Gesenius, De Wette, Hirzel. Other interpretations may be seen in Gesenius's Thesaurus.

5. They lead to the meaning of idiomatic phrases, the precise idea of which cannot be discovered by the Bible itself.

וַיִּגַּל אֶת קִסְיָהּ יְהוָה, Isa. xxii. 8. The proper sense of these words is somewhat obscure. But the Arabic comes to our aid in discovering it. *To remove or rend the veil* was used by the Arabians to express extreme ignominy and distress. *To tear off the veil* from modest virgins and matrons was reckoned a high insult which the most wanton alone would dare to commit. Accordingly in the history of Timur or Tamerlane we find these words, قبل أن يندكشز العطا "*before the veil be taken off*, and not a remnant left you," implying the extreme disgrace and misery that would be inflicted on Egypt unless the Sultan surrendered. In Abulfaraj's history of the dynasties, the same words occur in a context showing their true meaning. When therefore the veil of Judah is removed, the meaning is, that Judah is visited with the greatest disgrace and wretchedness.

יָד לְיָד, Prov. xi. 21. "*Hand to hand the wicked shall not go unpunished.*" The meaning of this phrase may be ascertained from the Syriac ܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ, *one after another*. Accordingly we understand it to be *from generation to generation* the wicked, &c. So Schultens,

proverbial and tropical, but not wholly so, in the context of the Corinthian epistle. The fire of the day of Christ's coming is specifically meant, and should not be annihilated by the assumption of a mere proverb. At all events, the phrase, even though it be understood as a proverb, is better illustrated by comparison with the Greek *ἐκ μέσου πυρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σώξεν* in Aristid. in Apell. quoted by Robinson.

Another example entirely irrelevant has been given by Ammon in his notes to Ernesti.¹ In Matt. viii. 20. we read that Christ *had not where to lay his head*, an expression sufficiently intelligible without the help of illustrative examples. "A clearer light," says Ammon, "may be thrown upon the text by a passage from Bar Hebræus, p. 406., where Saladin exciting his soldiers to the storming of Tyre says, that no place on the coast now remained to the Franks, where they might lay their heads, except Tyre. And again, at p. 591., it is related that the Arabs stormed the city of Acre, and left not to the Franks, on the coasts of this sea, where they might lay their heads. From both these passages it is clear that the meaning in Matthew is, that Jesus had no where a safe and settled abode."

Syriac and Greek are not cognate languages. And besides the passage in Matthew is as clear apart from these examples as by the side of them. They do not illustrate the meaning.

To the analogy of cognate languages may be added that of all languages, or of language in general. There is a universal affinity of languages. Certain principles of construction are common to them, making what is termed *universal grammar*. A general congruity may be traced throughout the entire circle, indicating that they have a common basis and origin. The application of language in general to the interpretation of the Bible requires peculiar qualifications, especially a mind capable of philosophising. Ammon in his notes to Ernesti shows no symptoms of true philosophy, and therefore he has given a false example, to illustrate the analogy of languages, from Rev. xv. 2., *νικᾶν ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου*, which cannot, he says, be construed *vincere ex animalī*, or "to conquer the animal," because the analogy of every language is repugnant to such a construction. In his view it means, *to be pure from the animal*, as appears from the Syriac version and from the Septuagint version of Psal. li. 6.² All this is irrelevant and incorrect. The meaning of the phrase is, *to conquer the beast, to obtain the victory over it*; and the construction is the well-known *constructio prægnaans*, examples of which are not infrequent in the New Testament. Ammon's interpretation cannot be sustained.

A false example is given by Morus from Ernesti³, when he refers to Gen. xlix. 10., as illustrated by Greek writers. The illustration of the obscure phrase, *nor a lawgiver from between his feet*, derives no light from the expression in the Greek writers alluded to. In the age of Plato it is said that we have *ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν ἀποχωρήσομεν*. In other writers the expression is, *ἐκποδῶν* or *ἐκ ποδῶν γένεσθαι*, which is equivalent to *e medio discedere, e medis evadere, e conspectu abire*,

¹ Terrot's Translation, vol. i. p. 90.

² Ibid. vol. i. p. 87.

³ *Acroases Academicæ*, vol. i. p. 181.

that is, to *disappear*. Hence it is thought that the general meaning of Moses may be, that a native lawgiver or expounder of the law, teacher or scribe (intimating the ecclesiastical polity of the Jews), should not be wanting to that people, until *Shiloh* come.

All this is entirely irrelevant, and fails to elucidate the expression, which we need not at present attempt to explain. We believe that the correct interpretation of it has been given by Schmidt, Justi, De Wette, Schumann, Von Bohlen, Baumgarten, Maurer, Knobel. The other expositions may be seen in Knobel's Commentary.

We do not attach importance or utility to the general cautions and admonitions given by Eichstädt with respect to the analogy of languages in general. No interpreter will be much, if at all, benefited by them. Yet as some readers may wish to see them, we shall merely mention them by way of conclusion to the present section.

1. It is not sufficient to have in the memory a stock of words with their significations as given in the Lexicons; but we should have a good knowledge of the universal genius and usage of languages, derived from the best writers in each, as well as their interpreters.

2. Words, phrases, and tropes of any ancient language are to be judged of by the internal character of the language itself in which they occur; not by that of more recent languages, which are separated from each one of the more ancient, both by an interval of time and their own peculiar nature.

3. Since even ancient languages differ in many respects, we should not imitate the superstition of those interpreters who have endeavoured to explain the origin and signification of words from terms entirely different, being led astray by a similitude in sound and letters often very slight and precarious.

4. When the sense of words can be ascertained in any particular language by the means which itself furnishes, it is wrong to rest upon the analogy of various languages, except for the purpose of confirmation. Analogy should be resorted to only when the direct and ordinary means furnished by the testimonies of writers themselves, by versions, and by the annotations of scholiasts and lexicographers, prove inadequate.

5. We should take care in every case that *real similitude* exists. Hence we ought to compare not merely similar writers of different languages, but also similar modes of speech—such as show in themselves some similarity of idea, and which are employed either about the same things or things closely analogous.¹

These cautions will not teach much; but they are the dictate of common sense notwithstanding. The philosophical critic and interpreter will unconsciously proceed in the path they prescribe; the mere verbal expositor will scarcely be prevented by them from numerous errors, because his mind is not fitted to think in the direction they indicate. Some intellects are too narrow to spread out into such comprehensiveness.

Josephus and Philo have also been used for the purpose of illustrating the *usus loquendi* of the Greek Testament. But as the lan-

¹ Mori *Acroases*, vol. i. p. 182.

guage of the former is good Greek, and has little resemblance to the Hebraistic diction of the New Testament, it cannot afford much benefit to the sacred interpreter. Yet Ernesti says that here and there words and phrases occur which may be compared with the Greek Testament. The same however holds good with regard to all Greek writers. Krebs has extracted the most appropriate examples in his *Observationes e F. Josepho (1755)*. Of less value is the *Spicilegium s. Excerpta ex Fl. Josepho ad N. T. Illustrationem*, made by Ottius, and inserted in the second volume of Havercamp's edition. We cannot perceive much utility in them, as far as they contribute to a better understanding of expressions in the New Testament. In interpreting *things*, the case is otherwise. Similar remarks apply to Philo, who also wrote in good Greek, after the model of Plato and Demosthenes, and therefore there is little relationship between his diction and that of the Greek Testament. Some similarity however may be observed, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as Carpzov long since pointed out. The most useful phrases for comparison were extracted and published separately by Loesner, in his *Observatt. ad N. T. e Philone Alex. (1777)*, to which may be added the remarks of Kühnius (1785).

We shall give a few examples from these two writers.

2 Tim. ii. 4. *ἵνα τῷ στρατολογήσαντι ἀρέσῃ*, that he may please him who has called him to be a soldier. The verb *στρατολογέω* here used is often employed by Josephus in the same sense, viz., *to call to arms, to stir up to fight*.

The word *ἑφημερία* in Luke i. 5. 8. means a family or class of priests which ministered daily in the temple for eight days in succession. Josephus calls them *πατρίας*, where he explains the arrangement. This is the word which is also used as the interpretation of *ἑφημερία* by Suidas. (See *Jos. Antiq. vii. 14. 7.*) In the Septuagint it is taken in another acceptation, viz., *the daily service* of these priests in the temple.

In Luke xiv. 8. and 2 Tim. ii. 25. *μήποτε* should be translated *perhaps*. Examples of this occur in Philo, and are given by Loesner. Profane writers too use it in the same sense as Kypke has shown.

Φυλακτήριον, phylactery. For the meaning of this word see Josephus, *Antiq. iv. 8. 13.* It occurs in *Matt. xxiii. 5.*

In Acts xxvii. 9. we read of *the fast, τὴν νηστείαν*. For the explanation of the word in this connection we must refer to Josephus, from whom we learn when it was kept, viz., in the autumn of every year, or the great day of expiation, the tenth of the month Tisri. Hence it is termed, by way of eminence, *ἡ νηστεία*, both in Josephus and Philo.

In relation to the principal writers among the so-called *κοινοί*, viz., Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Arrian, collections have been made by Raphaelius from Polybius and Arrian, and from Xenophon and Herodotus besides; by Munthe from Diodorus Siculus; and by Elsner, Palairat, and Kypke from several Greek authors. But good lexicons and commentaries, since the publication of these works, have generally incorporated the best materials so collected. Hence the works themselves have been well nigh superseded.

Mark xiv. 72. ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν, "when he thought thereon he wept." Here the participle has been explained in numerous ways. But the sense given in our English translation comes very near the right one; *when he had taken it*, i. e., the saying of Jesus, *into consideration, he wept*, &c. Sometimes the verb in this sense has τὸν νοῦν or τὴν διανοίαν connected with it; sometimes it is used absolutely. Examples occur in Asterius with νοῦν; in Galen with διανοίαν; in Polybius, Theophrastus, Olympiodorus, and others, without a noun appended. They may be seen in Wetstein. All other interpretations of the word are wrong.

Acts xvii. 31. πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσι, "having procured faith from all," i. e., having caused all to believe. This phrase, πίστιν παρέχειν τινι, is found in Polybius iv. 33. 7., and in Josephus, Antiqq. ii. 9. 4. in the same sense. "Giving assurance to all" is an incorrect interpretation of it.

1 Tim. ii. 10. and vi. 21. ἐπαγγέλλομαι is employed in the sense of *profess*, which the verb has not elsewhere in the New Testament. But it occurs in the same acceptation in Xenophon, Mem. i. 2. 7., and in Diogenes Laertius, Proœm. § 12.

Luke xii. 58. δὸς ἐργασίαν, "give diligence" or *endeavour*. This is a mere Latinism, *da operam*. Hence Salmasius, Tittmann, and others are wrong in explaining it *give tribute* or *tax*.

Care must be taken in applying this source of illustration, else mistakes will be readily made, as has been done in John v. 5., ἔχων ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ, which means in classic Greek *to be ill*. But the right construction is to take ἔτη as the object of ἔχων in this passage; not to connect it closely with ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ. Had the latter been intended, the article would not have been before ἀσθενείᾳ; and it is doubtful whether the participle ἔχων would have been employed.

Another improper example is ἔχε με παρητημένον, Luke xiv. 18., *have me excused*, which Morus, Kuinoel, and others have pronounced a Latinism, *habe me excusatum*. But it is not so.

We cannot believe that Pagan writers have been of much use in elucidating the phraseology of the sacred writers. The works of Raphelius, Munthe, Elsner, Palaiet, and Kypke have contributed comparatively little to that result, though they have been frequently held up as of great importance. Still less have other classical productions, not compared by these writers, tended to throw light on the phraseology either of the Old or New Testament. The examples given by Lowth and Grotius are of no use. We freely allow that Pagan writers "use words and phrases coincident with or analogous to those of the sacred writers," but entirely demur to the assertion that they also "enable us to ascertain the meaning of the sacred writers, or show us the force and propriety of their expressions." Take an example of what has been stated here, viz., Isa. i. 5. :—

On what part will ye smite again? will ye add correction?
The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.

LOWTH'S Translation.

Here we are informed that the sentiment and image are exactly the same with those of Ovid deploring his exile to Atticus :—

Ego continuo fortunæ vulneror ietu:
 Vixque habet in nobis jam nova plaga locum.
Epist. ex Ponto, lib. ii. ep. vii. 41, 42.

The prophet's sentiment and image are also said to be illustrated by the following line of Euripides:—

Γεμω κακῶν ὄη· κ' οὐκετ' εἶθ' ὄπη τεθῆ.
 I am full of miseries: there is no room for more.
Herc. Furens, v. 1245.¹

As far as we can see, the meaning of Isaiah is as clear by itself as in the light of these parallels. They add nothing to the force, significance, or illustration of it. They express a similar idea, and that is all.

Neither is it at all obvious, from any examples furnished by Lowth, that the images employed by Pagan writers “throw light on the import” of the same images as used by sacred writers. Thus in Isa. ii. 4.

They shall beat their swords into ploughshares,
 And their spears into pruninghooks:
 Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
 Neither shall they learn war any more.

The description of well established peace by the image of beating their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruninghooks is poetical and has been employed by the Roman poets. Thus Martial has an epigram (lib. xiv. ep. xiv.) entitled *Falx ex Ense*—the sword turned into a pruninghook.

The prophet Joel has reversed the image, applying it to war prevailing over peace (iii. 10.), and so has Virgil.

Non ullus aratro
 Dignus honos: squalent abductis arva colonis,
 Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.
Georg. lib. i. 506—508.

Dishonour'd lies the plough; the banish'd swains
 Are hurried from the uncultivated plains;
 The sickles into barbarous swords are beat.²

How Martial's *Falx ex Ense* or these lines of Virgil “throws light on the import of the image” it is difficult to see. They elucidate nothing respecting it. Nor are Lowth's additional examples more significant or useful. They amount in reality to nothing.

With these ideas we reckon it superfluous to quote the cautions which Beck gives, in applying the productions of the Greek and Latin writers to discover the *usus loquendi*, especially as they seem to us worthless in themselves. As a specimen of these cautions take the first, and surely it will suffice to show what they may be valued at.

1. Any profane writers are not to be promiscuously used.³

The benefit to be derived from Pagan authors in elucidating the Scriptures does not lie in their application to the ascertaining of the *usus loquendi*, nor in contributing to the interpretation of passages. It consists in throwing light on their truth and credibility. These works belong to the department of the evidences, where they may sometimes be applied to advantage. In other respects, with a few

¹ See Lowth's Note on i. 5.

² See his Note on ii. 4.

³ See Beck's Monogrammata Hermeneutices Librorum Novi Fœderis, p. 148.

exceptions such as those already specified, they do not enable the interpreter to ascertain the force, meaning, or propriety either of expressions or images. Of much greater use and importance in the interpretation of words and phrases is the Septuagint version. The truths of revealed religion were first expressed in Greek by it, and therefore the LXX. must be the basis of a correct knowledge of the Hebraised idiom in which the New Testament is written. The first Christian authors used the version in question. They were more or less acquainted with its diction, which they copied or imitated in many instances. As the Apocrypha belongs to this version, our remarks apply to it as a part of the Septuagint, for there is little doubt that the language and ideas too of the New Testament writers have been influenced and modified by these books to some extent. Reminiscences of them appear in the Christian writings, as has been proved by various writers, by Stier, Nitzsch, and Bleek.

In comparing the LXX. with the New Testament, we now possess an excellent and copious collection of passages which has superseded former attempts of the same kind, viz. Grinfield's *Novum Testamentum Græcum, editio Hellenistica*, 2 vols. 1843, where the successive verses are illustrated.

חֲסִידִים, which is the Hebrew representative of *δικαιοσύνη*, has given rise to a peculiar sense of the Greek word in one or two instances in the New Testament, as in Matt. vi. 1.; 2 Cor. ix. 9, 10., upright-ness or piety as manifested in acts of beneficence or bounty, liberality. The Greek word is so employed in the LXX., in 1 Sam. xii. 7., Psal. xxiv. 5., Tobit ii. 14., Baruch v. 9. In other places *ἐλεημοσύνη* is used by the translators.

Ἀπέναντι in Acts xvii. 7. signifies *contrary to or against*, taken from the Hebrew לְקִרְבָּה, which is translated by it in 2 Sam. x. 17., Sirach xxxvii. 4. *Εὐλογία* is sometimes used in the New Testament for *gift or bounty*, as in 2 Cor. ix. 5. This is taken from the LXX., who employ it in the same way as the representative of חֲסִידִים, Gen. xxxiii. 11., 1 Sam. xxv. 27. The epithet *πρωτόκοκος* in the New Testament is taken from the LXX., who employ it to express the meaning of חֲסִידִים, and apply it both properly and tropically, just as the Christian writers do. It is an epithet applied to Christ in various epistles, just as the LXX. use it of Messiah in Psal. lxxxix. 27.

In explaining words and phrases in the New Testament by means of the Septuagint care must be taken not to press the comparison to excess, nor to use it in cases where the context or some other thing appears to stand in the way. Thus in 1 Cor. ii. 9. the verb *συνκρίνω* means *to connect or put together*, and the sense of the phrase there is "connecting a spiritual form with spiritual things;" or giving spiritual things a form which is spiritual, and therefore suited to them, instead of enunciating them in words of worldly wisdom. But some expositors take from the Septuagint use of *διακρίνω* another meaning, and apply it here, viz. *interpret or explain*. See Gen. xl. 8. 16. 22., xli. 12. 15.; Dan. v. 12., and the Hebrew פָּתַר. In this case it is unnecessary to have recourse to the Greek. The other meaning, which is the ordinary one of the verb, is sufficient.

The word *ἰλαστήριον* is used by the LXX. as the representative of

כפרת, the lid of the ark or the mercy-seat. It has the same sense in Hebrews ix. 5. But when some expositors apply it to Romans iii. 25., they appear to us in error. It rather denotes *expiatory sacrifice*. Hence we do not translate it in the latter place *propitiatory*, with Hammond and many others.

All the best lexicons have made use of the LXX. in explaining the diction of the New Testament, especially Bretschneider's and Robinson's. There is also a considerable collection of passages and materials towards comparison in Schleusner's. With these instruments in his hands accompanied by Grinfield's work already mentioned, and the most recent commentaries as De Wette's and Meyer's, the interpreter need scarcely have recourse to the Septuagint and apocryphal books for himself. The field has been carefully traversed and reaped by others; and he has only to use with judgment the abundant harvest collected.

In addition to these sources of the *usus loquendi* in the Greek Testament the apocryphal productions of the Old Testament may also be consulted, such as the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Psalter of Solomon*. So also the like apocryphal works connected with the New Testament, as the *Acts of Thomas the Apostle*, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the *Protevangelium of James*, &c. These spurious writings have been published more or less fully by Fabricius, Birch, Thilo, and Tischendorf. Bretschneider has partially used them in his lexicon. But they have not been fully applied as yet. Those recently printed by Tischendorf have not been employed by any lexicographer. But their value is inconsiderable.

The following principles founded on the preceding chapters are taken from Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics.¹ If they do not lead the interpreter to the correct sense in every case, they may at least prevent him from falling into error.

Apart from versions, the usual signification of a word or phrase should be followed except there be some necessity for deserting it. This necessity becomes apparent,—

1. When the context obviously rejects the current signification.
2. When a sentiment inconsistent with one parallel place or more would arise from adhering to the ordinary acceptation.

When the vicinity and parallel passages coincide with common usage there is strong evidence that no other *usus loquendi* should be sought.

Taking versions into account, it may be affirmed,—

1. That the signification of a word found in only one version, if agreeable to its general usage and to the context, should be admitted.
2. The signification of a word given in none of the ancient versions, provided it be the usual one and recommended by the connection, should be adopted.
3. A signification supported by all the versions, but contrary to the *usus loquendi* and the context, must be rejected.
4. The signification belonging to an ἁπαξ λεγόμενον in all or in a majority of versions, should be received as correct.

¹ Page 641.

5. When parallels, context, and versions agree in restricting a term or phrase to a certain sense, that sense should be received.

6. When a signification attached to a word in all other places of the Bible is opposed to the connection in a particular place, it cannot be admitted, though sanctioned by the best versions.

7. Where context, parallels, and versions appear to disagree among themselves relative to the meaning of a word in a certain place, the context should have greater weight than either of the other two, provided it testify *clearly* and *explicitly* in favour of a certain sense. The next authority is due to parallels; and the third to versions. But the three seldom clash in one place; and where two agree in opposition to the third, they should be followed.

The signification sanctioned by parallels and versions cannot be opposed to the context. It can only *appear* contradictory to it.

CHAP. VII.

BIBLICAL EXEGESIS.

HAVING ascertained the signification of single words and phrases we have next to inquire into the meaning of several joined together making a proposition or period. This is done in the same manner and by the same appliances. But there are some things to be attended to before the direct interpretation of sentences and paragraphs, which may be regarded as preliminary, but nevertheless essentially contribute to the process itself.

In the first place, the expositor should settle the right construction of a sentence. This includes the proper punctuation and division of the separate clauses it is composed of, the supplying of necessary ellipses and marks of interrogation, with the adjustment of all the parts in relation to the subject and predicate. If subordinate clauses be attached to the subject and predicate, they must be carefully noted, and the whole arranged in proper order for finding the writer's meaning. In thus preparing a sentence it should be borne in mind, that punctuation is no part of Scripture itself, the original MSS. being without it; that some word or words are often left to be supplied which are required to fill up the sense; that marks of interrogation were not in the autographs, readers being left to their own judgment in finding where statements are made in the form of questions; and that minor clauses, forming short propositions in themselves, are often put around the body or trunk of a sentence.

In the Old Testament text, there is a punctuation ready to our hand, which was elaborated long ago by many learned Jews. The Masoretes have given their ideas of the mode in which the Hebrew Scriptures should be understood, by means of certain marks and accents. In the Greek Testament also, there is a system of punctuation, differing, it is true, in various respects in different critical editions, but *substantially* alike in all. Able and pious men have

contributed to the formation of both. Hence neither should be hastily abandoned. Important and imperious reasons must call for and justify a departure from either.

In the case of ellipses, we should also be well assured that they are necessary before they be supplied. If there be obvious chasms in the construction or meaning, they ought to be filled up; but the frequent assumption of them should be avoided. Sober expositors will not readily fall into the error of multiplying ellipses.

In like manner, interrogations must be cautiously introduced. It will not satisfy the demands of a right exegesis to insert them where they seem to intrude. Even in difficult cases they must be sparingly resorted to. If the words themselves or their vicinity give no indication of an interrogation either by their character or position, it is hazardous to call it into existence.

After these preliminary cautions we proceed to give illustrative examples.

Hos. vi. 5. Here the sense of the common reading is obscure, for it means literally, "and thy judgments, the light goeth forth." But by dividing the words thus, $\text{וְיִשְׁפֹּטֵי הַלְלוּ וְיִשְׁפֹּטֵי הַלְלוּ}$, "and my judgment shall go forth as the light," an appropriate sense is presented. This division is sanctioned by the LXX., Chaldee, and Syriac; and by it the connection of ideas is well preserved. It is also adopted by KenNICOTT and Hitzig.

John vii. 21, 22. "I have done one work and ye all marvel. Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision," &c. Here *διὰ τοῦτο* is joined with the following words *Μωυσῆς δέδωκεν*, "therefore Moses gave you circumcision." But according to this division there is nothing to which *διὰ τοῦτο* can well be referred. The reason is not apparent. It is much better to connect *διὰ τοῦτο* with the preceding word *θαυμάξετε*: "I did one work and ye all marvel on account of it." Thus we abandon the old punctuation with Theophylact, Knapp, De Wette, Lachmann, Theile, Tischendorf, and others.

Epistle to the Romans ix 5. *ὧν οἱ πατέρες, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.* Ἀμήν.

"Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen."

The common punctuation of the verse has just been given. But there are two other methods of dividing it, viz.

τὸ κατὰ σάρκα. Ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ κ. τ. λ. and,
ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων. Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς κ. τ. λ.

According to these the rendering would be,

"Of whom is Christ according to the flesh. God who is over all be blessed for ever."

"Of whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is over all. God be blessed for ever."

Agreeably to the second and third methods a doxology to God the Father is contained in the latter clause. But there are valid objections to this. In almost all doxologies, the predicate, *i. e.* the adjective *blessed*, stands first in order, preceding the subject. This

usage is observed in the LXX., the Apocrypha, and the Greek Testament. So Luke i. 68., 2 Cor. i. 3., Ephes. i. 3., 1 Pet. i. 3. In like manner the opposite formula *cursed be &c.*, ἐπικαταρατός, stands first, as in Gal. iii. 10—13. The only exception to the order uniformly observed is in Psal. lxxviii. 20.; for Fritzsche's other Old Testament examples are not apposite, as Tholuck has shown.¹ This argument is drawn out by Flatt² and Harless.³ That it is weighty we must believe with Tholuck; though Köllner, Olshausen, Rückert, and Fritzsche regard it as worthless.

Again, the position of *θὸς* should be different according to this proposed punctuation. In other doxologies where the word occurs it follows the adjective *ἐυλογητὸς* immediately. Compare 2 Cor. i. 3.; Eph. i. 3.; 1 Pet. i. 3.

Still further, it should have the article prefixed. In the passages already quoted and other similar ones, it has the article.

For these and other reasons the punctuation which converts the sentence into a doxology cannot be admitted. They lie against both methods of division. The usual punctuation which prevailed in the ancient church, with Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, and which is pronounced the most natural in a grammatical point of view by Usteri, Beck, Olshausen, and De Wette who reject it, must be followed.⁴

In the following places the usual punctuation has been unnecessarily disturbed, and a worse proposed in its place.

Psal. xvii. 4.; בְּלִמְפָּצֵי וּפְתֵי בֶל יַעֲרֶר בִּי: לִפְעֻלוֹת אֲדָם בְּרַבֵּר שִׁפְחָתֶיךָ, "I am purposed *that* my mouth shall not transgress. Concerning the works of men by the word of thy lips I have kept me, &c."

Bauer⁵, neglecting the accents and separation of verses, translates thus: "Thou hast not found crimes against me; my mouth does not pass to the evil deeds of man;" *i. e.* I do not approve of the crimes of others. But the usage of *בר* does not justify this sense. The meaning is much better with the Masoretic punctuation than it would be by any alteration: "As to the works of man (*i. e.*, sinful man), by the word of thy lips I have kept away from the paths of the violent."

Mark ix. 23. "Jesus said unto him: Τό, εἰ δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ πιστεύοντι." Here Knatchbull proposes to separate *δύνασαι* from *πιστεῦσαι*, and to render the words thus: "If thou canst? Believe, &c." This is too artificial.

In Rom. viii. 20, 21., the present ordinary punctuation is ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ κ. τ. λ. To facilitate the sense many prefer to join ὅτι closely with ἐλπίδι, so as to give the meaning *in hope that*. Notwithstanding the weighty names in favour of this punctuation, we should hesitate to abandon the common one for it. The conjunction may well begin a new sentence, as Tholuck has shown.

¹ Kommentar zum Briefe Pauli an die Roemer, p. 492., ed. 1842.

² Opuscula, p. 394.

³ Commentar ueber den Brief Pauli an die Ephesier, p. 4. *et seqq.*

⁴ See Tholuck's Kommentar, p. 433. *et seqq.*, and Philippi's Commentar, p. 141. *et seqq.* zweite Abtheilung.

⁵ Critica Sacra, p. 180.

1 Tim. iii. 16. "But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth. And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, &c."

Many have disturbed the old and usual punctuation here, according to which *the pillar and ground of the truth* is a predicate of the *Church*. But after repeated consideration of the new division proposed, viz., "the pillar and ground of truth, and confessedly great is the mystery of godliness," &c., we prefer the ancient division. It appears to us that the predicate consisting thus of two substantives, viz., *pillar* and *ground*, and then of an adjective subjoined *great*, which is much weaker than *pillar* and *ground*, creates a difficulty in the way of the construction proposed. It is awkward and drawing.¹

Besides adjusting the punctuation, ellipses should be supplied.

Psal. xlix. 18. "Though while he lived, he blessed his soul: and (others) will praise thee," &c.; that is, (others) *will praise thee because thou doest good to thyself*, sarcastically.

Psal. xvi. 2. "Thou hast said unto the Lord," my soul, פְּדֹה־נַפְשִׁי understood, as the second feminine of the verb suggests.

Isa. xlvi. 11. לֹא יִכָּלֵם אֱלֹהִים בְּכִי, "for how should it be polluted," *i. e.* my glory, יְהִיבֶנְךָ.

Psal. xc. 13. "Return, O Lord; how long" (wilt thou forsake us)?

Eph. i. 13. "In whom ye also (have obtained an inheritance). The verb ἐκληρώθητε is supplied from what precedes.

Rom. iii. 8. To the verb βλασφημούμεθα supply ποιῶν.

Eph. v. 14. Διὸ λέγει. Supply γραφή, "the *Scripture* saith."

Ellipses have often been supplied where there is no need of them.

Psal. x. 3. "For the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and blesseth the covetous, whom the Lord abhors." Here *whom* should not be supplied in the English version. It ought to be translated, "The covetous blesses, despises Jehovah," *i. e.*, in thanking Jehovah he despises him.

Prov. xiii. 11. Some understand *gotten* or *acquired*. So our English translators, and in the same manner Bertheau and Stuart. But this is aside from the true sense, which is, "wealth is lessened by vanity, but whosoever gathers into the hand increases it." So C. B. Michaelis and De Wette rightly translate, without supplying any ellipsis. Noyes² goes far astray in rendering, "wealth dwindles away sooner than a breath," &c.

Prov. xxx. 15. "The horseleech has two daughters;

'Give;' 'Give.'"

Here *saying* has been improperly supplied. *Give, Give* is the name of the two daughters.

John i. 10. "He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not." ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. Some

¹ See De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch.

² New Translation of the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles. Boston, 1846.

Unitarians understand *πεφωτισμένος* after *ἐγένετο*, as if the meaning were, "the world by him was enlightened." The preceding verse describes Christ as the light which lighteneth every man, *φωτίζει*; and it is therefore supposed that a participle may be borrowed from this verb and supplied here. In support of such construction parallel cases are adduced, as Acts xxii. 28. The tribune who apprehended the apostle Paul was surprised at the prisoner claiming the privileges of a Roman citizen, and observed to him, "For a great sum obtained I this freedom;" to which the apostle replied, "But I was even so born," *ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γεγέννημαι*. The example is not analogous. The predicate of the preceding clause is never so understood except when it might be appropriately expressed in English by the particle *so*.

Heb. ix. 10. "*Which stood* only in meats and drinks, and divers washings," &c. Here the words *which stood* need not be supplied. The correct translation of the passage is, "During which (time) were offered gifts and sacrifices, that were not able to make the worshipper perfect with respect to conscience, being imposed in addition to meats and drinks and divers washings — ordinances of the flesh — only until the time of reformation."

With regard to interrogations, their right insertion or omission often contributes much to the general sense of a passage.

John xii. 27. "Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour? But for this cause came I unto this hour." Here a mark of interrogation after *ἐκ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης* greatly improves the interpretation; *save me from this hour?* So Knapp, Theile, and Lachmann punctuate, according to the idea of Grotius; and so Campbell translates. The common version does not consist with the known character of Jesus.

Sometimes interrogations have been improperly substituted, as in Gen. iv. 23., where Onkelos has, "Have I slain a man to my wounding," &c. Meaning that he had *not*. It is impossible to clear Lamech of the guilt of murder in this manner. It is also unnecessary to read Micah v. 1. interrogatively, as the Syriac version and Newcome do; "Art thou too little to be among the thousands of Judah," &c. The English version supplying *though* is preferable.

In adjusting the punctuation and ellipses, we should be guided by the connection, parallel passages, grammatical considerations, quotations, and ancient versions. Grammatical considerations and the context are the most important. The process is rather preparatory to the actual interpretation of a passage; yet it involves some exposition. The general sense of the place we wish to interpret is brought to bear upon the punctuation. Considerations which we might desire to keep in abeyance so that we should be perfectly free and impartial are interwoven with the exposition itself, modifying and affecting it to some extent. The powers and habits of man are such that he cannot divest himself of certain things which must give a direction to his interpretations of Scripture.

Having settled these preliminaries, the next business is to ascertain the proper construction of a period — the subject and predicate

with their adjuncts, the clauses attached to the body of the sentence, and the modifying links of connection.

We have already spoken of the subject and predicate, in finding which a knowledge of the grammar of the Hebrew and Greek languages is required. Let us take some examples.

Psal. xc. 11. Here we have one short interrogative sentence, implying a strong negation. The sentence is, "Who knows the power of thine anger?" For the sake of emphasis, it is repeated with a stronger term than that rendered anger, viz., *wrath*, outburst of wrathful feeling; but without the repetition of the verb *knows*, "Who knows thy wrath?" There is however a modifying clause annexed to the sentence, *according to thy fear*, i. e., "Who knows thine anger to such a degree as reverence for God requires." The English version, by making *two* separate propositions in the verse, exhibits *one* proposition which cannot be explained intelligibly, *even according to thy fear so is thy wrath*. There is but one expressed in the form of an interrogation, with a modifying clause appended.

Psal. lxxxiv. 5—7. These three verses form a passage confessedly difficult. Bishop Jebb endeavours to elucidate it by means of the *introverted* parallelism in Hebrew poetry, according to which the first and sixth lines come together thus:—

Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee,
He shall appear before God in Zion;

while the intermediate four lines may be accounted parenthetical; the second being constructively parallel with the fifth, and the third with the fourth.¹ But we are persuaded that this artificiality of construction was not thought of or designed by the sacred writer. The proposition at the commencement, *Blessed the man who has strength in thee*, is a general sentence applicable to all the pious, and serving as a key-note to what follows. The remaining clauses are subjoined as descriptive of the pilgrim-journeys to Jerusalem, in order to worship Jehovah in his temple. The sense is continuous and gradational, each line carrying forward the delineation of the travellers advancing to the holy city. Clause is added to clause to denote their progress. First, *the ways leading to Jerusalem are in their hearts*; they think of undertaking the journey, and long for the time when it is to be undertaken. Next, when they have actually begun, *passing through the valley of tears they make it a spring*; so little do they regard the obstacles that the parched and sandy desert becomes a watered valley; *also the rain covers it with blessings*. God does not withhold rain from the valley. There is no want of water or of pastures for the beasts of burden. *They shall go from strength to strength*. Instead of being weary they make continual advances, increasing in strength as they draw nearer to the end of their course. Finally, *they shall appear before God in Zion*, attaining to the summit of their desires, and enjoying the immediate presence of Jehovah. Thus the construction is so framed as to furnish a continuous and progressive sense. Whatever difficulty lies in one clause, viz., *the*

¹ Sacred Literature, p. 55.

rain covers it with blessings, there is no difficulty in the general arrangement of the whole passage, the sudden change of number, first from singular to plural, and then from plural to singular, showing nothing more than that the singular is generic or collective. Setting out with a general proposition, which constitutes the body of the sentence, clause after clause is accumulated upon it, until the full force of the happiness mentioned is vividly seen and realised.

Psal. xvi. 3. The obscurity of this verse is well known. We look upon it as a sentence or proposition itself, and do not join it closely to the preceding one as Alexander does; nor to the following one with Ewald. The speaker says—and this is the trunk of the sentence—*My delight is in the saints.* These are further specified as *the excellent ones or nobles*; they are also *in the land*, the holy land, of which they are the Israel. The sentence however is peculiarly constructed, viz., *As to the saints who are in the land, even the excellent, all my delight is in them.*

Rom. xi. 33—35. “O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his counsellor? Or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again?”

The apostle's exclamation of adoring wonder regards three things, the depth of Jehovah's riches or rich mercy; the depth of his wisdom; and the depth of his knowledge. The latter part of the thirty-third verse contains an additional exclamation, embodying the same idea as the preceding; *how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!* The thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth verses illustrate the same particulars by way of interrogative negation, in language taken from the Old Testament. But the order is inverted. The first question, “Who hath known the mind of the Lord?” refers to the knowledge; the second question, “Who hath been his counsellor?” applies to the wisdom; and the third, “Who hath first given to him and it shall be recompensed to him again?” enlarges upon the riches of God. The first two questions are taken from Isaiah; the third from Job.

The subject is first proposed thus: “O the depth of the riches, and the wisdom, and the knowledge of God!” which consists of three distinct sentences; the riches of God are deep, the wisdom of God is deep, the knowledge of God is deep, combined into one forcible and grand proposition. The idea of depth thus attributed to the three perfections of God is then expanded, How inscrutable are his judgments, and untraceable his ways! after which comes the epanodos taking up the three in the inverted order.¹

Rom. ix. 3. “For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh,” &c. The naked sentence here is, *ἠὺχόμεν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *αὐτὸς ἐγὼ* being the subject, *ἠὺχόμεν* the copula, and *ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* the predicate. *I would that I were separated from the enjoyment of Christ for the sake of my brethren, &c.*

¹ See Jebb's Sacred Literature, pp. 119, 120.

It is arbitrary and unnatural to put the words in a parenthesis, and to translate the imperfect *ἠύχόμεν* as referring to the past period of Paul's life when he was still a Pharisee, *I wished to be accursed from Christ*. In this case, *ἵπερ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου* is connected with *τῆ καρδίᾳ μου* in the second verse.¹

Heb. v. 7, 8, 9. "Who, in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared; though he were a son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him."

Two closely connected statements form the body of this long sentence, viz., Christ learned obedience; and He became the author of eternal salvation. The former is modified by the following particulars: *Christ learned obedience* in the days of his flesh; *he learned obedience* though he were a Son; *he learned obedience* by the things which he suffered. The qualifying statement of the second general proposition is simple, *he became the author of eternal salvation* to all them that obey him. Accompanying the first qualifying statement appended to the first general proposition is a parenthetic clause, viz., *when he had offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared*.

CHAP. VIII.

EXAMINATION OF THE PASSAGE ITSELF.

AFTER ascertaining the proper construction of a sentence or passage, we come to examine its meaning more minutely, so as to see the entire extent of it.

It may have the means of elucidation within itself. Parallelism, contrast, antithesis, or some other peculiarity, may present the proper key to unlock the sense. Here parallelism of members is equally important, as in the case of single words or phrases; for if it does not furnish precisely the true sense, it may at least remove obscurity, indicate the right meaning where various ones are admissible, or confirm what was already probable.

Psal. cxxxix. 8, 9. "If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me."

In these words the speaker means to express the idea, that in whatever direction he should go, in whatever place he should sojourn, God's presence would surround him. The words rendered, "dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea," are ambiguous. But the antithetic clause, *take the wings of the morning*, serves to elucidate them.

¹ See Tholuck's *Kommen'tar*, p. 477. *et seqq.*

“Should I flee *eastward*, as on the wings of the morning, or sojourn in the extreme parts of the *west* (here, as elsewhere, termed the *sea*), even there God would be present. The two quarters of the heavens, *east* and *west*, are denoted by the contrasted clauses, *take the wings of the morning*, and *dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea*. The first direction spoken of is *upward* and *downward*, “ascend I to heaven;” “make my bed in the underworld, or lie down in the grave.” The sense of the passage is quite misapprehended by Hengstenberg, who supposes that in the eighth verse guilty flight from God is spoken of; and in the ninth, anxious flight from other enemies.

John iii. 6. “That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.” What is descended from man with his fleshly sinful nature is also carnal and sinful. In contrast with this, it is said, “That which is born of the Spirit is spirit;” the subjects of the Spirit’s regenerating power possess a spiritual nature. Two births are set over against one another. The Spirit is the author of the one, man is the instrumental cause of the other. The children born in the one are carnally minded, because those from whom they spring have a sinful nature; the children born in the other are holy, because the Spirit who produces their nature is holy.

CHAP. IX.

EXAMINATION OF CONTEXT.

THE meaning of a sentence may be perceived from the context. It is unnecessary to divide the subject again into *the immediate* and *remote* context. Both run into one another, and cannot be separated by any palpable boundary. The following observations refer especially to the latter, the former having been already illustrated at sufficient length in the case of *terms* and *phrases*.

In considering the connection existing between the parts of a section and the amount of meaning they express, there is much need of critical sagacity. It may be easy to understand each word by itself, or each sentence individually, without proper comprehension of an entire argument. A capacity for verbal analysis does not presuppose or imply a like talent for exposition. *Interpretation* is not *verbal philology*, though it may include it. There are delicate distinctions of thought, links by which ideas are associated, sequences and successions, transitions and intertwining which are not easily detected or appreciated by many minds. Some original ability as well as culture is necessary for their true apprehension. The idiosyncrasies of various writers, exhibited in their compositions, demand not only careful attention, but a philosophical spirit. To note the commencement of new topics, the propriety of their position, interruptions, digressions, pauses, nature of argumentation, and all the characteristic peculiarities of the sacred books, belongs to the business of an interpreter; and how complicated it often is,

he best knows who is skilled in it. Acuteness, tact, learning, and logic are called into requisition. Sympathy with the spirit of the writer whose meaning is to be investigated, ability to place oneself in the circumstances he was placed in, and to set out with him from the same point of view, are among the things that put the expositor in a favourable position for understanding the proportions and parts of a connected discourse.

The vicinity of a phrase or sentence should be enlarged till it be found that a different argument is introduced or a new topic presented.

Should a line of proofs or a series of illustrations be adduced in the treatment of a subject, each proof or illustration should be separated into a distinct section of itself. Let the divisions be as small as the nature of the case will allow. Here, however, it is not always easy to find a proper pause, or to detect the interlacings of kindred topics and the transitions which serve as bridges from one to another. The prophets, in particular, frequently pass from one theme to another so suddenly, as to present no definite or perceptible boundary between statements relating to different topics. Their declarations are often singularly intermingled and fused together. The Epistles of Paul resemble in some respects the prophetic writings. The thoughts of the apostle flowed on in a continuous stream, without formal intimation of the introduction of new arguments. More intent on matter than method, he disregarded artificial distinctions. Not that either the prophet or the apostle of the Gentiles were confused or irregular, without coherence and consequence of thoughts; but they were not educated in the schools of rhetoricians. They wrote in popular language for *man-kind*, not for an educated class only. Hence they should not be judged by formal rules. They were too full of their great themes to attend to technicalities, or to exhibit such partitions and pauses as study produces. Hence it is scarcely possible in some cases to divide their discourses into distinct sections without doing violence to the connection of the language.

If these observations be correct, it will be evident that *the nature of the connection* in which a passage stands is a matter of primary importance. Whether the clauses it consists of express genus or species, the whole or a part, cause or effect, antecedent or consequent, things similar or opposite, may be known by the vicinity. The ideas to which utterance is given depend for their elucidation upon the manner in which they are related to what precedes and follows their representation. In relation to this point, a knowledge of the laws of association will greatly facilitate interpretation; for the mode in which ideas were suggested to the writers will be found in harmony with the natural operations of the human mind. Contiguity in time and place, contrast, causation, resemblance, regarded as the laws of association of ideas, must be taken into account. Nor should the succession of events be neglected, although the natural order is often departed from, both in the Old and New Testament books. The order observed by the prophets is not uniformly chronological.

tree and like the useless chaff. Nordheimer incorrectly understands it here in another sense, *moreover*.

It has been said that *then* is emphatic in Malachi iii. 4., but this is not correct. It is simply וְ , *and*. But וְאַתָּה , *then*, is emphatic in Malachi iii. 16.

בְּשֵׁבַע , *on account of, in order that*, indicates design before a verb, as in Gen. xxvii. 25.; Exod. iv. 5. It is not used, as Nordheimer affirms, to point out result without the idea of design. Hebrew teleology does not comport with that assumption. In the examples he gives from Jer. vii. 19., Hos. viii. 4., Amos ii. 7., design is latent, though the actors may not have been aware of it.

In 1 Thess. iv. 17., ἐπειτα , translated *then*, marks succession. First the dead in Christ shall rise, and then the living will be changed. It is not said that *the dead in Christ* rise before *the rest of the dead*, but that they rise before the living are changed.

The conjunction $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ in the Pauline writings presents much difficulty in many places. Thus in Rom. v. 17. it is not easy to ascertain its exact use. It may be explicative, referring back the seventeenth verse to the fifteenth, the sixteenth being then parenthetical. This view, which is that of Rothe, yields good sense. It may also be taken as giving a reason for the $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\mu\alpha$, *justification*, of the sixteenth verse, *justification* having the adjunct idea of *life, ζωή*. But even thus, the main idea of the fifteenth verse must have been in the apostle's mind. This latter is Tholuck's explanation of $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$. In like manner $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ in the epistles of the same apostle is not always easy of exact explanation, as marking a peculiar connection.

The context is peculiarly affected when the line of thought or argument is interrupted by parentheses and digressions. These will create some difficulty. After such interjected remarks, the sense or sentence proceeds as if no interruption had taken place.

Exod. xii. 15. literally translated stands thus: "Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses (for whosoever eateth leavened bread, that soul shall be cut off from Israel), from the first day until the seventh."

2 Chron. xxxii. 9. "After this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send his servants to Jerusalem, (but he himself laid siege against Lachish, and all his power with him,) unto Hezekiah king of Judah," &c.

Isa. lii. 14, 15. "As many were astonished at thee (his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men), so shall he sprinkle many nations."

2 Cor. viii. 8, 9, 10. "I speak not by commandment but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love. (For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich.) And herein I give my advice," &c.

Heb. vi. 1, 2. "Not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God (the doctrine of baptisms, and the laying on of hands), and the resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment." Here the four great doctrines of the Gospel are

mentioned, repentance, faith, the resurrection of the dead, eternal judgment. The parenthetic clause is thrown in as explanatory of repentance from dead works and faith in Christ. The former was symbolised by the various baptisms under the Mosaic dispensation, pointing to the necessity of repentance; while faith in God was significantly taught by the imposition of hands on the head of the sacrificial victim. These observances foreshadowed repentance and faith, which were clearly revealed under the new economy.

Parentheses in the New Testament are often introduced by *γάρ*, *for*; sometimes by *ὅτι*, *that*, as in 1 Cor. xvi. 5., 2 Thess. i. 10.

False examples of them have been given from Romans i. 2., ii. 13—15.; 1 Cor. ii. 8.; 2 Cor. i. 12.¹

Digressions are longer than parentheses. They consist of departures from the line of argument pursued into subordinate or collateral particulars. They slide into or suggest another train of ideas; whereas parentheses do no more than interrupt by a few words the construction of a sentence or the regularity of a passage. The writings of the Apostle Paul abound in them. He frequently digressed from one train of thought to another, carried away by the ardour of his feelings and the rapidity of his conceptions. A remarkable example of digression occurs in the Epistle to the Ephesians, where the train of thought in the first verse of the third chapter is broken off and not resumed till the fourteenth verse. Some have even thought that the entire chapter is parenthetic, as if *ἐγὼ ὁ δεσμίος* (iv. 1.) was a resumption of *ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ δεσμίος* in iii. 1. But this is less probable.

Heb. v. 10—vii. The writer of the epistle having introduced the mention of Melchizedek, turns aside from the subject for the purpose of reproving the Hebrew Christians for the little advancement they had made in the divine life. At the commencement of the seventh chapter he resumes the topic of Messiah's priesthood as compared with that of Melchizedek.

Zech. vii. 8—viii. 18. The captives inquire whether they should continue to observe fast-days now that the temple is restored. The prophet however, instead of immediately answering the question, turns aside to speak of the causes which brought calamities on the people and the conduct God required of them in prosperity. A special answer is first given to the question at viii. 18.

Sentiments are put into the mouths of different speakers, without formal mention of the parties; as in Isa. lii. 13, 14, 15., Jehovah is the speaker; in liii. 1—10., the prophet; lii. 11, 12., Jehovah.

In Rom. iii. 3., the apostle adduces an objection; in the fourth verse he replies to it. In the fifth verse is another objection; to which he replies in the three succeeding verses.

In this manner some have been disposed to treat various passages in the book of Ecclesiastes which express sentiments obnoxious to sound reason as well as Scripture, and are contradictory to other places. In discussing his theme, which is one of practical ethics, the writer is

supposed to refer to the sentiments of objectors, without express mention of the fact that they are the sentiments of others, not his own settled opinions. We do not think, however, that attention to this fact will satisfactorily elucidate the work; or that without it the alleged sceptical views, uttered by the writer, will cause inextricable confusion to the interpreter, so that he will see no plan, unity, or consistency in the treatise. There is a better method of expounding iii. 18—20., ix. 5, 6., and other passages.¹

In regard to responsive Psalms, of which xxiv. xv. xx. civ. are given as examples, we must be allowed to doubt the assumption of their being designed for alternate choirs of singers. The writer himself uses rhetorical interrogations, and answers them either in his own name, or sometimes in that of Jehovah, just as all animated writers do.

We have already referred to the nature of prophetic utterances by means of which distant events are brought into juxtaposition. Even in plain historical narration we meet with the same phenomenon, as Exod. ii. 10, 11.; Matt. ii. 23—iii. 1.

In examining the context of a passage or the nature of the connection it stands in, whether it be loose or compact, interrupted or not, it is also of importance to observe the design of the writer, or the object he has in view. This has been technically called the *special scope*, that which was in the writer's mind to describe or demonstrate in the particular portion in question. Here it will be most convenient to speak of the entire subject of scope, as the *special* cannot be adequately treated without considering the *general* scope.

It is reasonable to suppose that the sacred authors had some object in view. They had some design in writing. In prosecuting that design they followed a certain method. Whatever topics they were prompted to treat of, they adopted certain modes of inculcating their sentiments. The object which each author proposed to himself in his work or book, is denominated the *general* scope. On the other hand, that particular design which he had in sections, paragraphs, or passages of his treatise, is called the *special* scope. Let us attend to both in order.

The first question which arises respecting the general scope is, how it may be known. To this we answer *first*, from express mention by the writer himself. This is usually done at the beginning or toward the end. It may even be intimated in other parts of the book, though somewhat obscurely. Thus the author of Ecclesiastes announces his theme at the beginning and end of his treatise: "Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity," i. 2., and xii. 8. Hence the book is occupied with a discussion tending to show that nothing worldly can furnish true and lasting happiness. At the commencement of Proverbs the object of the writer is also set forth: "The Proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel;—to know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding; to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment, and equity; to give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion." (i. 1—4.)

¹ See Stuart's Commentary on Ecclesiastes, New York, 1851.

The Apostle John announces his object in writing the fourth Gospel towards its close: "But these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through his name." (xx. 31.)

Luke states his design in writing his Gospel at the commencement of the Acts: "The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach until the day in which he was taken up, after that he," &c., in connection with what he says at the commencement of the Gospel itself. (i. 1—4.)

The beginning of the Apocalypse in like manner intimates what was the leading design of the writer, or of Jesus Christ by whom he was inspired: "The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass," i. 1.; and, "Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter, i. 19. An incorrect example of general scope or design is to affirm that the design of the Bible itself is told in Rom. xv. 4., and in 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.; for both passages refer merely to the Old Testament, not to the New.

This rule is also applicable to the *special* scope, which is merely a subdivision of the *general*. In other words, a particular section or paragraph may be elucidated in the same manner.

1 Cor. vii. Here the apostle replies to certain questions which had been proposed to him by the Corinthian converts. In the first verse he lays down the general proposition that *it is good not to marry*, which is illustrated and recommended in some of the subsequent verses. But abstinence from the married state is not treated of in the entire chapter, collateral questions being also introduced. At the twenty-sixth verse, it is stated that this is *good for the present distress*, or on account of impending calamities. The apostle thought therefore that a single life was preferable in view of the sufferings then approaching to the Corinthians and others. He does not recommend a state of celibacy *absolutely*, nor does he say that matrimony was not in itself good; but he merely intimates that it was not *relatively* good, or prudent in the circumstances of the Corinthian believers.

In Rom. iii. 28—31., the apostle gives the conclusion to which his reasonings from i. 18., where he had announced his subject had brought him, viz., justification by faith alone. But yet in this compass various sections and subdivisions may be distinctly traced. Thus, i. 18—iii. 20. and iii. 21—30. are paragraphs. The conclusions of such subordinate divisions are sometimes indicated by the conjunction *therefore*. But let there be no implicit reliance on a single word, because neither *therefore* nor *wherefore* indicates the result of successive arguments in many instances. Compare Eph. iv. 17. 25.

Many of the prophets announce the subject of separate predictions at the beginning of the section or paragraph which contains them. Thus, in Isa. xxiii. 1., *the oracle concerning Tyre*; in xxi. 11., *the oracle concerning Dumah*; xxi. 13., *the oracle against the Arabians*.

In Ezek. xix. 1. a lamentation for the princes of Israel commences, as there stated; while the end of it is marked in the fourteenth verse of the chapter.

Secondly, the scope may be ascertained from the known occasion which gave rise to a book or treatise.

Thus there are titles or inscriptions to many Psalms indicating the occasions on which they were composed, or the historical circumstances which gave rise to them. These inscriptions, however, should be used with caution, since they cannot be regarded as proceeding from the original writers themselves. They are of later date than the compositions they characterise, and are often incorrect besides. We cannot subscribe to the sentiment expressed by Alexander from Hengstenberg, that "in every case the inscription is in perfect keeping with the Psalm itself, as well as with the parallel history."¹ As there is no reason for doubting the correctness of the inscriptions prefixed to the 18th and 34th Psalms, showing the occasions on which they were written, the scope of the writer is illustrated by means of them. But the 51st and 90th can scarcely be regarded as having correct titles. Some have supposed that the Psalms headed "Songs of degrees," *i. e.* 120—134. were written for the Jews to be sung during their journeys to Jerusalem, and have tried to explain the meaning of occasional verses in them by this fact; but the opinion is now justly exploded by every good commentator, except Hengstenberg and his follower Alexander. In like manner, the predictions of the prophets become clearer when we know the historical circumstances among which they were uttered. Their general scope is indicated and affected by the occasions which gave rise to them. This applies especially to Ezekiel and Jeremiah, who were contemporaries, and whom it is impossible otherwise to understand.

Several of the parables of Jesus originated from misapprehension on the part of his disciples. To correct their mistakes he employed this manner of address. Or, he defended his own conduct by a parable. The Apostle Paul, exposed to accusations from the Jews and Judaisers, wrote some of his Epistles or parts of Epistles to refute their calumnies, and to point out the dangerous errors which they inculcated in mixing up the observances of Judaism with the free grace of the Gospel. The Epistle to the Galatians is of this nature.

Thirdly, connected with the preceding and properly speaking included in it, is the rule which teaches that we should look to the persons addressed. He who writes an epistle or book to instruct or edify others, in the name of God, is influenced, at least in part, by the sentiments and character of the persons to whom he writes, as well as by the general circumstances in which they are placed. Thus various arguments employed by the Apostle Paul are mere *argumenta ad homines*. Of this nature is the allegorising illustration or argument in Gal. iv. 22—31. So also the argumentation employed in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, from the beginning till the tenth verse.

Fourthly, a knowledge of the time when a book or epistle was written may indicate the scope of an author in writing it. Thus a knowledge of the history of the times when the Old Testament prophets lived, is necessary to an acquaintance with the scope of their

¹ Commentary on the Psalms, vol. i. p. 21.

books, as well as of detached passages in them. Some of the apostles wrote at a period when doctrinal errors began to be developed; and therefore portions of their works were directed to the refutation of them. The time when the second Epistle to the Thessalonians was written, viz. 52 or 53 A. D., shows that Hammond's application of *the Man of Sin* and *the wicked one* to Simon Magus must be erroneous. It also proves that the Emperor Caligula was not *the Man of Sin*, as Grotius conjectured he was.

Fifthly, where the general scope of a book is not apparent, we should peruse it again and again, carefully observing the successive details and comparing them as a whole. In this manner reflections of the same kind may reappear in the book at intervals, showing that some one prevailing sentiment pervaded the mind of the writer. That such recurring reflections are an index of the leading design is apparent from the fact that, when there is an announcement of the scope in addition, both coincide. General reflections interspersed through the Gospel of John, to the effect that he wrote to establish the faith of Christians in Jesus the Son of God (ii. 11.; vi. 64. 71.; vii. 30. &c.), agree with what is plainly declared at the close (xx. 31.). In attending to such reflections, however, the interpreter should see that they be really interspersed through the entire book, and be of a nature to exhibit the leading design of the writer. Thus Schneckenburger is wrong in supposing that the general scope of the Acts is *apologetic*.

In books which present a degree of regularity, order, and depth of thought, the scope appears from the evidences of method, and the organisation of the whole. This is exemplified in the book of Job, and in the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews. But in the case of such treatises as are simple and popular, it is more difficult to apprehend any general scope. The special scope also of particular sections and passages comes upon the reader irregularly and is often obscure. This holds good in poetical writings likewise. Here we must depend mainly on the details of the book itself, judging from them both when they are isolated or strange and when they are analogous or similar to one another. Thus the general scope of the book of Ruth lies in the concluding genealogy (iv. 17—22.). The Epistle of James appears irregular and loose in plan, without any definite object. But viewed in its successive parts, it discloses a leading design running through the whole and presented under a variety of forms, viz. the opposition between a living and profound religion which penetrates heart and conduct, and a religion external, superficial, consisting in intellectual notions and conceits.

Sometimes the comparison of a book with other analogous ones assists in determining the scope. Thus when we put together Leviticus and Deuteronomy, we see that the design of the one was ecclesiastical, that of the other hortatory and popular. A comparison of Kings and Chronicles shows the Levitical or sacerdotal design of the latter, the prophetic of the former. In this manner John's Gospel may be compared with the other three, whence its scope as announced at the close may be confirmed.

The preceding observations apply to the *general* and *special* scope alike.

In investigating scope, there is much danger of missing the right interpretation. It is never difficult to tell whether the immediate or special scope of a passage or the general scope of it is to be regarded; but sometimes several explanations *appear* to agree with a writer's design. This, however, can only be *apparent*. Nothing but one meaning can *really* agree with his design. Of course the context must always be taken along with the bearing of such scope on a particular passage. In doubtful or uncertain cases this must in a great measure decide, for no two interpretations can agree both with the scope and the general context. An example to show that the general scope of a book and the special scope of a passage both yield consistent and probable interpretations, between which it is difficult to choose, has been given from the parable of the prodigal son in Luke xv. According to the general scope, the older and younger son represent the Jew and the Gentile; but according to the special, the Pharisee and the sinner. There is little doubt that the Pharisees and publicans are aimed at in the parable, either directly or indirectly. The immediate scope is always more valuable and weighty than the general, for many passages may have a very remote bearing on the latter, or none that is perceptible; while no one general design may pervade and unite all parts of a treatise.

The general scope must not be relied upon for the interpretation of particular sections or passages. Nor can it be satisfactorily applied to remove such a contradiction as appears to exist between Paul and James, because the general design of these writers cannot be regarded as *one thing*, admitting of no collateral discussions and followed out with uniform consistency. In the case of these writers a general design has been derived from two parts of their Epistles, which refer most explicitly to justification by faith and justification by works, as if the one meant to show that man is justified by faith alone, and the other that he cannot be justified by a faith which does not tend to holiness. Yet this latter is scarcely the general scope of James's Epistle. In the same manner we might show that the general scope of the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans is useless in resolving an apparent contradiction between Galat. iv. 10, 11., and Rom. xiv. 5. The context in either case is sufficient to show the writer's meaning. The apostle does not *absolutely* forbid or allow the observance of days. In Rom. xiv. 5. &c., he gives no decision, but lays the whole stress of the point on inward conviction. If that be conscientious and pure, he would not interfere. But when the Galatians observed days and months in a slavish, superstitious method, with self-righteousness of spirit, he blames them. Thus the spirit and motive with which such days are observed determine whether they are right or not in the sight of God. In themselves they are indifferent. The character of the persons too, Jewish or Gentile, makes no difference in itself. All this is shown not by the general scope but by the context of the passages. A parallel passage may also assist in the determination, for when it shows that another should be taken

in a particular sense, *that sense* ought to be adopted, though the scope may appear to support a different sense. To show how necessary it is in some cases at least to take the entire context along with the scope into account when there is some uncertainty in deciding between two interpretations which appear equally to harmonise with the latter, let us look at the 42nd Psalm, in which the speaker exclaims, "When shall I come and appear before God?" This phrase, *appear before God*, or *see the face of God*, may mean, *see his face in glory, enjoy a state of blessedness with God in heaven, as seeing God* sometimes denotes. And such a sense would harmonise tolerably well with the scope and series of the composition. The writer wishes for death that he may the sooner enjoy the immediate presence of the divine Being. Oppressed and desponding, overwhelmed with the billows of adversity and surrounded with enemies, he looks forward to a better state with longing desire. The general scope of the Psalm cannot be discovered. Probably it was composed during the times of the Babylonian exile or later, for it does not belong to David. The writer in the fourth verse mentions the pleasure with which he had accompanied the multitude to the house of God; and this determines the sense of the second verse, in which, far from the holy land, he expresses his fervent desire of returning to Jerusalem and worshipping God in the temple.

In Matt. v. 25. we read, "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison." This passage has been interpreted either literally or figuratively. According to the latter, it refers to reconciliation with God in view of future retribution. The adversary is God, the judge Christ, the officer death, the prison hell or purgatorial fire. According to the former, it refers to conduct in this life in relation to our fellow-men. The doctrine which inculcates the duty of being easily and quickly appeased is here enforced. In a civil lawsuit, it is best to compromise it; for if the plaintiff prosecute it and the judge be severe the uttermost farthing will be exacted. Both senses *seem* to agree with the scope. But when the parallel passage in Luke is compared, we see that the present one has no reference to a future state nor to the punishment to be inflicted there. It refers to a suit in a court of justice: "When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate, as thou art in the way, give diligence that thou mayest be delivered from him, lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison. I tell thee thou shalt not depart thence till thou hast paid the very last mite." Luke xii. 58, 59.

Both the general and special scope have been abused. The former has been misapplied through forgetfulness or neglect of the latter. When a whole book from first to last has been reduced to one point of view whence the writer set out, and by which all was regulated, violence is done it. This rigorous unity is very rarely found. All parts have not invariably a strict connection with the general scope. Many are mere *obiter dicta*. They are quite foreign

to it. The Biblical writers, like all ancient and popular authors, were not very methodical; and to reduce every part of a discourse or writing emanating from them to one general design, as though it were logically related to it, is preposterous. The influence of the general scope, therefore, has often been exaggerated. This has been the case with respect to the prophets. Interpreters, misapprehending the nature of their style, the state of mind in which they saw their ecstatic visions and uttered their oracles, have reasoned most erroneously in regard to them. As if the strains of Ezekiel or Hosea, clouded in mystery as they often are, should be digested like a code of laws or an algebraic treatise.

Again, the special scope has been abused by such as suppose that it ought always to be direct or immediate, no interpretation being admissible except it be of a kind that could be readily apprehended by the writer's contemporaries. But it is injurious to the predictions of prophets and the teachings of Jesus Christ, to reduce them to a state in which they might be supposed to present a distinct, clear idea to such as listened. The discourses of the Saviour were intended for future ages, in which their full spiritual significance might be gradually evolved by the faith and hope of believers. They were dark to those before whom they were first uttered. After his resurrection and the gift of the Spirit they began to be apprehended. The Biblical books, though addressed to certain readers at the first, were intended for all mankind. They contain many things which, faintly apprehended at first, will be better understood in proportion as the spiritual experience of humanity is developed.

In the case of the general scope, it will be desirable to interpret many things here and there, not by their connection with it, but by the subject treated of in the place where they occur. And in the case of the special scope, we must not limit the exposition of particular sections and passages by what the first readers or hearers thought, but regard wider and more general considerations, while we look at the commencement and close for indications of a topic complete in itself, though subserving it may be a general purpose, or forming an independent link in the chain of an argument. The general scope assists in ascertaining the special; and the special scope of a place may also elucidate the general.¹

In treating of the special scope which could not well be separated from the general scope, we have been examining the subject of context, for the whole design of a passage lies in the context interpreted by the ordinary rules used for discovering the *usus loquendi*. In applying the scope of a passage to the interpretation of it, we apply the context.

It must also be observed, whether the premises and conclusions of arguments be stated or suppressed; and whether an objection to which an answer is given be merely implied. From any such suppression difficulty arises.

In Rom. v. 12. the words, "As by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men," &c., form the

¹ See Cellerier's *Hermeneutique*, § 104. p. 84. *et seqq.*

first member of a parallel or comparison instituted between the salvation proceeding from Christ and the misery proceeding from Adam. But we look in vain for the corresponding member. It is suppressed. It is left for the readers, to be supplied from the one enunciated, which can be readily done by the aid of the succeeding verses down to the eighteenth. We do not agree with the interpreters who find the corresponding member of comparison in "who is the figure of him that was to come," ver. 14. Our English translators, who appear to have placed it in the eighteenth verse, enclosing 13—17. in a parenthesis after Grotius, Wetstein, Reiche, and Flatt, certainly err.

In Gal. iii. 20., "Now a mediator is not of one, but God is one," the conclusion is left to be drawn. Since a mediator presupposes two parties, and God is eternal unity, the promise made to Abraham is dependent on God alone. Both promise and fulfilment are alike his free gift. It is therefore above the law in which the separation between two parties requires a mediator, and the fulfilment is dependent on the Jewish people as one of them. The promise differs from the law, being thus a superior arrangement to it. It belongs *absolutely to the eternal one.*¹

In Heb. iii. 4., "For every house is builded by some one, but he that built all things is God," some think that the conclusion is suppressed, others the minor premise. The former is the opinion of Piscator, Cramer, and Stuart. "He who founded the house of God is God; but Christ founded the house of God; therefore Christ is God, and consequently greater than Moses." So Piscator draws out the argument. But we are persuaded that this interpretation is incorrect. That given by Bleek is the best.

In using the context, it will be found that the evidence of a certain interpretation deducible from it does not often amount to certainty. A degree of probability is all that can be reached by it. It is a very valuable aid, but it is not always decisive in its testimony. The following examples may suffice to show the legitimate application of it.

Psal. cxviii. 24. "This is the day the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it." Here what is meant by *the day* can only be gathered from the context. We look back to the twenty-third verse, further still to the verses (15—18.) where the people are described as entering the sanctuary to give thanks, and still further to what precedes (5—14.), where it appears that Jehovah has delivered Israel from great distress, and so proved himself worthy of confidence. Accordingly the expression in question must denote *the prosperous time which Israel was now permitted to enjoy through the divine favour.* Jehovah *made the day*, as being the author of the happy change in the circumstances of the people. There is no allusion to the *weekly sabbath*, as has been often assumed.

In 1 Kings xxii. 15. Micaiah says to the king of Israel, "Go and prosper, for the Lord shall deliver it into the hand of the king." This flattering promise seems strange at first sight, and appears to

¹ See De Wette's Exeget. Handtuch.

contradict what is related elsewhere. But it was made ironically, as the next verse shows. Ahab himself regarded it as such.

In John v. 39., it is well known that the verb search, *ἐρευνάτε*, may be either imperative or indicative, *search the scriptures*, or *ye search the scriptures*. The context shows that the former sense is the more probable, because our Lord reproaches his hearers with their unbelief and their reluctance to acknowledge his claims.

Again, in Titus i. 15., "All things are pure to the pure," can only be explained from the context. It must be taken *relatively* not *absolutely*. Where the conscience is pure, human ordinances, whether they relate to the use of food or to the relations of life, do not defile the man. If his conscience be clean in the use of life's enjoyments, he may freely partake of them.

In Luke xxi. 15., we read, "For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist." To whom does the Saviour here refer? The context shows that his disciples are the persons. Persecutions threatened them; and he fortifies them beforehand for suffering.

In relation to particles, those of similitude are frequently wanting, as in Psal. xi. 1., xii. 6. They are easily supplied; and are properly so for the most part, in the authorised English version.

In Isa. lii. 14, 15., we read, "As many were astonished at thee; his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men: so shall he sprinkle many nations," &c. Here *כַּמְּאִי*, *as*, has *כֵּן*, *so*, for its correlative, the intermediate words being parenthetical. The antithesis is between "*many* being astonished at him," and, "his sprinkling *many* nations."

In Titus iii. 8., we read, "This is a faithful saying, and these things I will that thou affirm constantly, that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works." The conjunction *ὅνα* prefixed to the verb *φρονιζοῦσι* signifies *in order that*. Titus was enjoined by the apostle Paul to inculcate certain doctrines, that *by means of* them his hearers might maintain good works. There is an inseparable connection between the reception of these doctrines and the practice of good works. The latter cannot be without the former. The necessary result of evangelical truth believed is holy conduct.

The following examples refer to context generally. Isa. i. 5. 6., "Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt more and more: the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment." This figurative description borrowed from a wounded body denotes the utter desolation of the state. The words of the seventh and eighth verses that follow show this, for there the desolation is *literally* described. Hence it is unwarrantable to refer the terms in question to the state of sinful humanity. To use them in that manner is neither right nor scriptural.

Zech. iii. 3. "Now Joshua was clothed with filthy garments, and

stood before the angel." The next verse seems to intimate that the garments denote *sins*, for they are represented as *forgiven*.

Zech. xiv. 1, 2. "Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, and thy spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee. For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle; and the city shall be taken, and the houses rifled, and the women ravished; and half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city." These two verses leave it doubtful whether the description is literal or figurative. But the third and fourth verses show that the whole is highly figurative. "Then shall the Lord go forth and fight against those nations, as when he fought in the day of battle. And his feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives which is before Jerusalem on the east, and the mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west," &c. &c. The feet of Jehovah fighting against the enemies of his people denotes, that his power shall be conspicuously manifested.

Jer. xxxi. 3. "I have loved thee with an everlasting love; therefore with lovingkindness have I drawn thee." The context shows that these words refer to Israel, or the deliverance of the ten tribes. God assures them of protection on account of the love he bore them in ancient times. In days of old he had shown his love to them, as in the deliverance from Egypt; hence they might learn that he would not forsake them again for ever. The passage has no reference to the eternity of the divine purposes in the conversion of the elect. It should not have been drawn into the domain of dogmatic theology on the Calvinistic side, for it has nothing to do with God's eternal decrees, as a literal translation would plainly show.

The 110th Psalm describes the victorious progress of a great king highly honoured of God and exalted to his right hand. The first three verses might probably be applied to David, as the language is highly figurative. But the fourth verse especially shows that David is not meant, but a greater than he. "The Lord hath sworn and will not repent. Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." David was not a priest. Messiah alone was king and priest at the same time. Hence the entire Psalm is directly and properly *Messianic*, which cannot be said of the 16th or 22nd, or some others usually classed with these two.

Matt. xxii. 14. "Many are called, but few are chosen." The context of this difficult passage in its widest sense should be consulted. Christ does not speak in it of sovereign election, as many have supposed, but rather of the general invitation to the gospel feast, and the comparatively few who are admitted to the privilege of participation, because they neglect the necessary qualifications.

In interpreting the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, verses 1—24., it is very important not only to consider the whole section in its connected form, but to look at the context. Indeed the inherent difficulties cannot be resolved without the context. Whoever tries to explain the chapter by itself, without special regard to what precedes and follows, will probably mistake the true

sense of it. For example, what is stated at chap. v. 20., vi. 14—23., before; and again, vii. 25., viii. 1—8. after, must be carefully inspected. In the latter portion there are antitheses to parts of the seventh chapter, which indicate the view to be taken of the other. Thus viii. 1. should be compared with vii. 6. Compare too vii. 25. with verse 24., viii. 2. with vii. 23., viii. 4. with vii. 14. 18., and viii. 8. with vii. 5. An attentive and minute examination of these points together, will be the surest guide to the right meaning of the apostle in a passage so much discussed as the present and, it must be confessed, so embarrassed with difficulties. It is well known that there are three leading views which have been taken of the chapter in question. The preceding, and especially the succeeding context in the commencing verses of the eighth chapter, appear to us to disprove the opinion so elaborately advocated by Fraser, viz. that the conflict between flesh and spirit belongs to a believer who has attained to life in Christ.¹

Rom. ix. 14—21. form a connected paragraph. But some expositors have overlooked the immediate connection subsisting between the verses, especially between verses 16. and 17. with 18., in consequence of which they have resorted to a harsh sense of the verb translated, *I have raised thee up*. The three verses are closely joined; and verse 18. throws special light on 14—17., for it brings together and deduces the general result that flows from them. Two opposite examples are given for the purpose of illustrating the divine procedure, viz. Moses and Pharaoh. From these the general conclusion is drawn that God shows mercy, without room for the admission of any claim on the ground of human volition and effort; while on the other hand, he hardens such as oppose him, using them as instruments in the accomplishment of his purposes. Men may dispute about what is meant by *God's hardening the heart*, bringing their metaphysics to bear upon it from opposite points of view; they may refer it to an internal act or operation of God on the mind, or to the arrangement of external circumstances which will unavoidably produce obstinacy against what is right in states of mind already predisposed to rebellion; but the apostle's language is direct, *He shows mercy and He hardeneth*.² Paul never attempts to reconcile the great problem implied in this language; why then should we rashly plunge into the abyss? Both are true: God purposes, and he influences the minds of men according to his purposes; man is individually responsible.

Sometimes the remote context is associated with a verse or passage, when the immediate one ought to be taken. This is exemplified by such as join Rom. ii. 16. with verse 12., taking the intermediate verses parenthetically; as well as by those who join it to the 13th verse. In the former case, *in the day* is attached to the verb *shall be judged*, ἐν ἡμέρα with κριθήσονται; in the latter, it belongs to *shall be justified*, δικαιωθήσονται. But both are objectionable, as interrupting the connected train of thought in 12—14. *In*

¹ Comp. Theluck's Kommentar, p. 347. *et seqq.*

² *Ibid.* p. 509. *et seqq.*

the day belongs to verse 16., and should be attached to the phrase *when he shall judge*, ὅτε κρινεῖ.¹

An improper example of explanation by context, whether immediate or remote, shall be given in the words of the writer himself who adduces it. "Let us bring to the contextual touchstone another passage—the well-known paragraph in Rom. v., which seems to assert a direct causal connection between Adam and his posterity." "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for all have sinned." "By one man's offence death reigned by one." "By the offence of one judgment came upon all to condemnation." "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners." Pelagians affirm that all intended by these remarkable statements is, that Adam gave the first example of sinning, and that *somehow* his posterity walked in his steps. They compare the phraseology with expressions like these: "By Sir Robert Walpole, bribery and corruption entered the British Parliament;" "By Lysander luxury entered Sparta;" which, according to them, only mean that the evils mentioned began with these persons. Without dwelling on the violence done to the words by this gloss, or the fact that their own phrases clearly denote not only a chronological but a *causal* connection, let the student look at the whole series of discourse that follows; in which the apostle, with an emphasis and accumulation of synonymous expressions which show how intently his mind was working with the thought, draws a parallel between Adam and the Redeemer. If he does not mean to say that there was a similitude between them in official character and relations, almost perfect, there is no meaning in language. The inference is irresistible. Christ was not the first who received salvation, but is the immediate *author* of it. In the same sense our guilty progenitor is the immediate author of sin and misery to our world."²

As far as we are able to judge, no light is thrown upon the section Rom. v. 12—21. by the remote context. Nor is *the nature* of the connection between Adam and his posterity shown by the immediate context. A parallel is drawn between Adam and Christ at the head of humanity viewed in different aspects, but it is not intended to assert that *the kind of connection* in both cases is just the same. All that can be rightly adduced from the parallel is, that there is a *general* likeness—that *as* sin came by the one, the free gift came by the other; but *the precise connection* is not indicated, nor should it be transferred from the one to the other, provided it be more intelligible in one case. If the parallel be rigidly carried out, it will teach universal restoration, and indeed it has been maintained that such doctrine is really asserted in it. All that we wish to show by allusion to it is, that "the contextual touchstone" does not in the least illustrate any thing in it. Its difficulties cannot be resolved by the application of this remedy. It should not be drawn into the controversy between Calvinists and Pelagians, for it furnishes little assistance to either party when rightly understood.

¹ See De Wette's Exeg. Handbuch, ii. 1. *ad. vers.*

² McClelland's Manual of Sacred Interpretation, pp. 45, 46.

Another example of contextual explanation, which appears to us no example at all, has been given from 1 Peter, ii. 8. "Some expositors," it is said, "have explained 1 Peter, ii. 8. as meaning that certain persons were *absolutely appointed* to destruction; a notion not only contradicting the whole tenor of Scripture, but also repugnant to every idea which we are there taught to entertain of the mercy and justice of God. An attentive consideration of the context and of the proper punctuation of the passage alluded to would have prevented them from giving so repulsive an interpretation." We are unable to perceive how the proposed punctuation and the context throw light on the expression "to which also they were appointed," in the way of removing from it the doctrine of predestination to destruction. According to the new punctuation, which is a decided improvement on the old, the text runs thus: "They stumble, disbelieving the word, to which also they were appointed." They were not appointed *to be disobedient*, it is argued, but to the *punishment of disobedience*. The phrase *to which they were appointed* (of God) must refer either to the verb *to be disobedient* or to the verb *stumble* understood as implying punishment, or perhaps to both. The adducer of this contextual example would refer it to the second. "They were appointed to stumble against the word, but not to be disobedient," says Macknight. But we should refer the phrase to both, *to the disobedience and to the punishment*. Those who are acquainted with the Pauline theology know that the idea so conveyed is a biblical one; and it is useless to attempt softening it down. In the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, at the twenty-first and following verses, there is the same doctrine. There is an intimate connection between the idea of appointment to destruction *as* disobedient, and appointment to destruction *as the punishment of* disobedience. In ordaining men to the punishment of disobedience, God ordains them to disobedience. What he does, he wills to do. We need not perplex ourselves with the consistency of all this with human responsibility. The apostle *asserts* both. So do we. Both must be true. Why such morbid shrinking from affirming what Paul unhesitatingly declared? The entire example as relating to the explanation of a passage by its context is nugatory.

Psal. lxxx. 17. "Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand, the son of man whom thou madest strong for thyself." Here it is evident from the parallelism of members that *man of thy right hand* is equivalent to *son of man*. The meaning of the whole verse is not obscure in the light of the context. It is illustrated by what is said of the vine in the fourteenth and fifteenth verses, as well as by the eighteenth verse. Indeed it is meant for an illustration of the figurative description given in the preceding context. The *man of thy right hand* is the same as *the vine*, i. e. the people of Israel; and the sense of the whole verse is, "be favourable to thy people whom thou didst nourish and make to grow into a strong nation for thine own honour and praise." This is confirmed by that which immediately succeeds, *so will not we go back from thee*. It is therefore by no means doubtful, as Alexander imagines, whether the petition, *let thy hand be*

upon him, means in favour or in wrath. Nor can both senses be applied at once, as the same commentator assumes, referring the words most arbitrarily to the Messiah, with whom they have not the slightest connection.

Psal. xvii. 15. "As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness." The meaning of this verse may be seen from the context, not to be that the Psalmist refers to future blessedness after the resurrection. For in the whole Psalm his petitions refer to present aid and temporal deliverance. "Show thy marvellous loving-kindness," &c. "Deliver my soul from the wicked, from men which are thy hand, O Lord," &c. Had he expected and confidently looked for a blessed resurrection, he would not have presented such petitions. The confident anticipation of that felicity had rendered unnecessary requests such as those in the second, seventh, eighth, ninth, thirteenth, and fourteenth verses.¹

John iii. 3. "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." The nature of the change intended in these words of our Saviour is elucidated in the context, especially the fifth verse, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." The change was one of a spiritual kind. It was purifying and renewing, as indicated by the expressions *water* and *the Spirit*, the one the Old Testament term, and the other the New, but both referring to renovation of heart. What was designated by the washing with water under the Jewish dispensation was described as a change effected by the Spirit in the new dispensation. It is entirely contrary to the context, and indeed to the whole discourse of the Saviour with Nicodemus to say, with Bishop Terrot, that the phrase *born again* is here employed in the technical sense of Jewish theology, or as a familiar trope expressive of the change which took place in a proselyte from heathenism to Judaism.² In that case Nicodemus, who supposed our Lord to speak literally, would not have wondered at his language, nor indeed would he have understood his words literally. We disapprove of Bretschneider's rule which has been applied to this text by Terrot, "Every text must be interpreted in that sense in which it may be shown by historical proofs that the original hearers or readers could and must have understood it."³ That there is some truth in the rule is unquestionable; but that it requires considerable limitation, and is here expressed far too strongly and unguardedly, is apparent to every sound interpreter.

Matt. xviii. 17. "If a man neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." Here the context shows that the Saviour is speaking of *private offences* or injuries. "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of one or two witnesses every word may be established.

¹ See Hengstenberg's Commentar, vol. i. p. 371.

² See Terrot's translation of Ernesti's *Institutio Interpretis*, vol. i. pp. 50. 136.

³ *Historisch-dogmatische Auslegung*, p. 209.

And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church." 15, 16 verses. "If a man have injured you, first admonish him privately of it." If that prove unavailing, tell the church, that particular congregation of worshippers to which both you and he belong. And if he will not amend after the church's exhortation, but refuse to obey, have no more religious fellowship with him, but regard him as one without—destitute of the privileges and debarred from the blessings that belong to the faithful.

One should have thought that this text was sufficiently plain. Yet it has been grievously misinterpreted and abused. *The church* has been expounded of *the Catholic Church*, which again has been identified with that outward ecclesiastical organisation called *the Roman Catholic Church*. Even then the expression has been limited to "the prelates and chief pastors," as if they alone had jurisdiction to bind and loose offenders, by their decisions, when met together in councils and synods. All this is totally irrelevant to the text, as the preceding context clearly determines.

1 Cor. ii. 9. "But, as it is written, eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."

These words are often referred to the felicity and glory of the heavenly state, which are not yet fully revealed, and are moreover incomprehensible and unutterable by the children of God on earth. But the context proves that this sense is erroneously attributed to them. In the sixth verse it is written, "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom;" and in the tenth, it is predicated of these very things, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, that "God has revealed them to us by his Spirit." The apostle therefore refers to things which, having been formerly concealed from the faithful, were revealed to himself and his fellow-apostles. Hence they consist of, or include, those elevated doctrines of Christianity which are suited to the apprehension of advanced believers—such views of God and salvation as are unfolded especially in the Epistle to the Romans, and in those addressed to the Ephesians and Colossians. Among these are justification, the representative character of Adam and Christ, predestination, the nature of Christ's person, and such intimations regarding the scheme of redemption, in its extent and results, as are given in the former parts of the two Epistles written to the believers at Ephesus and Colosse.

However valuable and important in the work of interpretation the context is, care must be taken not to assign an undue power to it. Many use it imperiously where it does not sanction their demands upon it. No more determining value should be attributed to it than what it fairly possesses.

We look upon the way in which some have employed the words in the Epistle to the Hebrews vi. 9. as an abuse of context: "But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak." This language has been brought to bear upon the preceding description (ver. 4—6) so as to speak in favour of a certain view of it, viz., that which refers it to

persons unregenerate still, though partially awakened, convinced, and enlightened. But this is an illogical conclusion. It does not follow legitimately from the ninth verse, that the characters portrayed in the fourth, fifth, and sixth, had not attained to true spiritual life. The force of the latter passage cannot be set aside or modified in this manner. On the contrary, every unprejudiced reader recognises in the description, "it is impossible for those who were once enlightened," &c., persons truly enlightened and converted by the Holy Ghost. The language is strong, clear, decisive. Hence it cannot be overridden by context, even if that context were apparently more favourable than it is to the restricting view which some take of the remarkable passage in question. Some theologians are singularly blind. They will not take a *comprehensive* view, but look only at one side of a subject. The passage before us should be viewed both *objectively* and *subjectively*; or in other words, persons are delineated objectively according to the gracious blessings they had experienced, but at the same time as not fulfilling the subjective conditions required, and therefore falling away in the end. Having been introduced into a state of grace, they do not continue in it, becoming unfaithful to the requirements demanded of those so situated, and ceasing to fulfil the conditions necessary to their abiding steadfast.

Another example of the abuse of context may be found in the application which some make of Heb. ii. 10. In the ninth verse it is written that Jesus, by the grace of God, tasted death *for every man*. No phrase could be more comprehensive than this for *man-kind without exception*. But because the context speaks of God bringing *many sons* unto glory through Christ, it has been inferred that Christ died merely to save such as become sons—that his death was intended to open up the way of salvation to no more than a part of the human race. This is totally incorrect. There is no ground for taking a restriction out of the tenth verse and putting it into the ninth. The unequivocal meaning of the words of the latter rejects it.

Psal. vii. 8. "Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness; and according to mine integrity that is in me." This language has been unduly restricted and modified by the context. It has been referred to the speaker's innocency in reference to the charge of Cush the Benjamite. But this is incorrect; first, because the Psalm is later than David; secondly, because though it even belonged to him, Cush a Benjamite no where appears in history; and thirdly, because it is arbitrary to explain Cush either of Shimei or of Saul. The title is here incorrect. Hence any restriction of the sense of the eighth verse founded on the title must be rejected. Equally arbitrary is it to qualify and explain the verse, with Alexander, by the confession of unworthiness in the sixth Psalm. For in the first place, it can neither be proved nor made probable that the writer of the sixth is identical with the author of the seventh. Hence the assumption that the two views which the Psalmist takes of himself, in the two Psalms, should be suffered to interpret one another, is gratuitous. In the second place, *righteousness* and *integrity*, according

to which the speaker prays to be judged of God, though they cannot of course mean absolute perfection and innocence, presuppose ideas of moral rectitude on his part which could only arise from an imperfect apprehension of the divine holiness and the divine law. When one expects acquittal or justification on the ground of his innocence, he has not proper notions of the extent to which he needs God's sovereign mercy. This can be learnt only under the gospel dispensation.

The context in the Epistle to Rom. vii. 25., and viii. 1. has been employed to show that the passage preceding, viz., vii. 7—25., describes the experience of the regenerate and sanctified, both of Paul himself and all holy Christians. So Fraser paraphrases the twenty-fifth verse, "The conclusion of the whole is: With my mind, that good and most prevailing law, which divine grace hath put in my mind and heart, I my very self do (if imperfectly, yet) truly and sincerely serve the law of God; though, alas, with the flesh," &c.; and in viii. 1., the same writer observes, "if from the fourteenth verse of the preceding chapter, the case of a person is represented who walked not after the flesh but after the Spirit, which is the truth of the matter, then the comfortable inference and description in this text are very properly introduced."¹ Here the mere force of one phrase, "serve the law of God," and of one particle, "therefore," is used and urged most unwarrantably. "Therefore," in viii. 1., as appears from the next verse, is intended to exhibit a contrast to vii. 25. Instead of being favourable to the view which regards the eighth chapter as descriptive of persons in the same state as the seventh, it is employed by the apostle for the purpose of marking a decided difference between the description with which the eighth chapter begins and the last two verses of the seventh. And if with the last two verses, the contrast extends to the entire passage from vii. 7., it cannot be shown, nor made in any degree probable, that vii. 7—25. delineates the condition of the apostle and of all sanctified ones. It is intended to exhibit, out of Paul's own experience, the feelings and condition of an Israelite struggling sincerely and earnestly to obey the law of God—of one in whom the *πνεῦμα χριστοῦ* does not dwell. Any part of the context brought to bear against this view is impotent.²

CHAP. X.

PARALLELS.

PARALLEL passages only should be properly denominated *real* parallels. Those which are employed simply to ascertain the *usus loquendi* might all be termed *verbal* parallels. This would in some measure simplify the task of a writer on Hermeneutics, though it be

¹ See Fraser's *Scripture Doctrine of Sanctification*, pp. 317, 318., ed. Edinburgh, 1813.

² See the commentaries of Tholuck and De Wette on Rom. vii.

in opposition to established usage. But nice distinctions cannot be carried out, because the rules and principles of Hermeneutics run into and intersect one another. It is impossible to keep them rigidly apart. *Verbal* parallels are therefore in one sense *real* parallels and *vice versa*. If therefore there has been any deficiency in our previous exhibition of parallels in connection with the *usus loquendi* of the Bible, we wish the reader to supplement it from the present section. He may easily carry back from this to a former place whatever may throw additional light upon the *usus loquendi*, or complete its development.

The comparison of *real* parallels, or parallels consisting in ideas, is based on the fact of a substantial and continued unity in the Biblical teachings. We expect parallel ideas in the Scriptures, because the Scriptures reveal the same truths, and inculcate the same doctrines. But there are certain limitations which should be taken into account by the interpreter who employs this principle of comparison. True parallelism of ideas belongs to the Biblical teaching only so far as it relates to fundamental truths. It applies to the essentials of religion alone; for in relation to the remainder, there is constant variation. All that part of the Bible which does not pertain to the essential truths of revelation presents diversities. In the Old Testament, the teachings are elementary and incomplete, presented in modes suited to an imperfect human apprehension. There the human element is considerable, because the ideas meant to be conveyed had to encounter minds unable to rise to the higher aspects of the divine. In the New Testament, the revelation begun in the Old is completed in a manner adapted to the highest human intelligence, and therefore in the diviner aspects of it. Yet even in the latter, much more in the former, there appears the impress of individuality which must belong to a revelation addressed to men through the instrumentality of other men like themselves. Hence it is easy to see that there cannot be a *complete* and *entire* unity between the two Testaments. In the Old Testament itself, this complete unity does not exist. There is a gradual development of doctrines and ideas. The prophets unfold more precisely the divine ideas with which they were entrusted, the nearer they approach the advent of Messiah. How different are the sentiments of David, for example, from those propounded by Isaiah. And in the New Testament too, though the writings contained in it are separated so little in time from one another, there is a gradation. The teachings of Christ differ from those of the apostles. The character of the former is comprehensive, wide, eternal, informal. Great truths are enunciated without the least approach to systematic classification. But in the apostolic writings, these are given in details and particulars. They are applied specifically. The individuality of the writers, the nature of the circumstances and influences in which they happened to be, and other things which will readily occur to the mind, give rise to a partial and unequal development of the same general truths. It is vain, therefore, to look for statements exactly alike in all parts of the sacred Scriptures. The details will necessarily differ. It cannot

be expected that books separated by many centuries should exhibit the very same ideas where they treat of the same subject. Whoever believes that parallels consisting in ideas must be entirely similar, is certainly in error, because he mistakes or ignores the successive nature of the divine teachings, and their adaptation to different ages of the world.

The first duty of an interpreter is to classify these parallels. As there is a gradation among them, the proper province of him who wishes to compare them is to form a graduated scale, whereby their values may be determined. They should be arranged in different categories. It is manifest that all analogous passages cannot be applied to the explanation of one another with equal confidence. The entire task of comparing such parallels is one resting on probabilities, for there is no mathematical demonstration or certainty in theological evidence. When two places are brought together and are seen to have a certain likeness of form, language, and subject-matter, it is reckoned *probable* that they express the same idea; and therefore the more obscure is elucidated by the plainer. There is thus a calculation of probabilities. Certain things lead to the probable inference that there is a parallelism of idea. The evidence tending to the conclusion is merely *probable*. Now there are two things which affect the character of the probability, viz., the number and nature of the passages on which it is founded, and their distribution in the Bible. In estimating the former properties belonging to the passages supposed to be analogous, it is impossible to draw exact lines of demarcation. Critical sagacity must be mainly relied on. The number and nature must be left indeterminate, each interpreter judging for himself how far both should be taken into account in making up a certain amount of evidence. In regard to the distribution of passages, much will depend on the fact that the writers of compared texts present a resemblance in the individuality of their persons, and in the occasions that gave rise to their works. The closer their likeness in these respects, the greater is the probability that the passages really enunciate the same idea. Here then is a principle, on which it is possible to make a classification in the variable and unequal probability determining texts to be parallel. According as passages approach one another in *certain respects*, may one be explained by the aid of another. Cellerier, who has discussed this subject with much judgment, classifies the degrees of probability under the following heads.¹

1. The lowest kind of probability attaches to parallel passages taken here and there throughout the Bible, without regard to the nature of the writings to which they belong, or the ages and authors producing them. Here much will depend on the matter treated of in the passages. If it be of a fundamental nature, or belong to the essentials of religion, the parallels in question are important. The probability will be great that they express the same idea. On the other hand, if the passages refer to points on

¹ Manuel d'Hermeneutique, p. 209.

which the teaching of the Bible has varied, there is less probability that they are parallel in idea.

2. Texts taken from the Old Testament alone, without regard to the writings, epochs, and authors to which they belong, have a greater degree of probability attaching to them. It is more likely that they are parallel in idea. This arises from the general sameness of the revelation contained in the Old Testament books. It is altogether provisional and preparatory. Doubtless it partakes at the same time of a *successive* character, and has therefore varied in the course of ages. But the variation is inconsiderable and gradual, since the Jews were slow to apprehend new truths.

3. Parallels gathered from contemporary authors not alike situated, or from authors placed in similar positions without being contemporary. Here two elements of resemblance are taken into account, viz. those of time and of situation or office. Thus Isaiah and Ezekiel, though not contemporary, were both prophets, and may therefore be compared in respect to furnishing parallels. In like manner Ezra and Malachi, though not called to fulfil similar duties, were contemporary, and as such may exhibit parallels consisting in ideas.

4. A still higher degree of probability will belong to texts taken from writers not only contemporaneous but also similarly situated, such as Isaiah, Joel, and Hosea. So too in the New Testament in relation to Peter and Paul.

5. Parallels taken from different writings of the same author must be put in a still higher category; for example, such as are found in the Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians. This will include the discourses of our Lord reported by different evangelists.

6. Parallels in one and the same work, or in analogous compositions of the same author, come next in the ascending scale of probability. To this head belong the Psalms of David that treat of the same topics, the pastoral epistles, &c. The discourses of Christ reported in one Gospel, fall in like manner under the present head.

7. The highest probability of all belongs to parallels taken from one paragraph or piece of the same work; for example, from one chapter or division of the book of Isaiah. A discourse or discourses of Jesus Christ belonging to one fragment of the same Gospel belong here.

Such are the gradations, as to evidence, of parallels in idea. A greater or less probability attaches to their parallelism; and therefore they are more or less useful in mutual explanation in proportion to their place in these different categories.

For facilitating the comparison of parallels tables have been made, which save time and trouble. The following table will be found useful.

1 Chron. i. 1—4.	-	-	-	-	Gen. v.
i. 5—23.	-	-	-	-	x. 2—29.
i. 24—27.	-	-	-	-	xi. 10.
i. 29—31.	-	-	-	-	xxv. 13—15.
i. 32, 33.	-	-	-	-	xxv. 2—4.
i. 35—54.	-	-	-	-	xxxvi. 10—43.
ii. 3, 4.	-	-	-	-	xxxviii. 3—30.

1 Chrcn. ii. 5.	-	-	-	-	Gen. xlvi. 12.
ii. 6—8.	-	-	-	-	Josh. vii. 1. 17, 18.
ii. 10—12.	-	-	-	-	Ruth iv. 19.
ii. 13—17.	-	-	-	-	1 Sam. xvi. 6., &c.
iii. 1—9.	-	-	-	-	2 Sam. iii. 3—6., v. 14.
iii. 10—19.	-	-	-	-	Books of Kings.
iv. 24.	-	-	-	-	Num. xxvi. 12.
iv. 28—31.	-	-	-	-	Josh. xix. 2—5.
v. 1—10.	-	-	-	-	Gen. xlvi. 9.; Num. xxvi. 5.; Josh. xiii. 15, 17.
v. 30—41.	-	-	-	-	Ezra vii. 1—5.
vi. 39—66.	-	-	-	-	Josh. xxi. 10—39.
vii. 1—5.	-	-	-	-	Gen. xlvi. 13.; Num. xxvi. 23.
vii. 6—12.	-	-	-	-	Gen. xlvi. 21.; Num. xxvi. 38—40.; 1 Chron. viii. 1., &c.
vii. 13.	-	-	-	-	Gen. xlvi. 24.
vii. 14—19.	-	-	-	-	Num. xxvi. 29., xxvii. 1.
vii. 20—29.	-	-	-	-	Num. xxvi. 34—38.; Josh. xvi. 5., &c.
vii. 30—40.	-	-	-	-	Num. xxvi. 44—47.
viii. 1—28.	-	-	-	-	Num. xxvi. 38—40.; 1 Chron. vii. 6., &c.
viii. 29—40.	}	-	-	-	1 Sam. ix. 1.; xiv. 49—51.
ix. 35—44.					
ix. 2—34.	-	-	-	-	Neh. xi. 3—24.

The above list has been taken from De Wette, who gives similar examples from the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. But for these we must refer the reader to his Introduction to the Old Testament.

In the comparison of the Gospels, the tables of Harmonists will be serviceable, such as the Greek harmonies of Roediger and Robinson, with the English ones of Newcome and Robinson.

Illustrative examples are such as the following.

Isa. lxxv. 25. "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock; and dust shall be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord." This is a parallel to Isa. xi. 6—9. The latter is figurative, as is shown by the termination of the ninth verse. Hence the present language must also be figurative. It refers to the Gospel dispensation, and to a period of it still future, when mutual animosities shall cease and noxious influences be known no more, men living together in a state of peace and concord.

Rom. vii. 5. "For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins which were by the law did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death." Here the expression *to be in the flesh*, which is variously explained, receives light from the parallel viii. 8., "So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God," they who are in a state of spiritual death, in whom the *πνεῦμα* is not active. This is required by the context, especially the sixth and seventh verses. Hence it determines the meaning of vii. 5. "when we were in the flesh," *i.e.*, in our natural state, *not when we understood and observed the law in a bare literal sense, without looking further for a spiritual intention in it*, as Locke interprets.

1 Cor. xiv. 34. "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law." Here what is meant by *speaking in the churches* might appear doubtful. But it is ex-

plained by the parallel passage, 1 Cor. xi. 5., where we read of a woman *praying* and *prophesying* with her head uncovered. Taking the two places together, we learn that the Apostle Paul blames women for having their heads uncovered in meetings of the church; and also for publicly teaching, or taking the lead in religious exercises.

The 112th Psalm appears to have proceeded from the same author as the 111th. In the fourth verse of it we read, "Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness: *he is* gracious, and full of compassion, and righteous." It is doubtful whether the second clause, *He is gracious*, &c. be said of *the righteous man*, or of *God*. Let us therefore compare the parallel in the 111th, where we read, "the Lord is gracious, and full of compassion." Hence the last is the probable meaning, especially as the same language is elsewhere descriptive of God. Hengstenberg however, and his follower Alexander, refer it to *the righteous man*. Olshausen rightly takes the opposite view.

Num. xiii. 1, 2, 3. and Deut. i. 22. are parallel, and mutually illustrate one another. In the former passage, Moses is said to have sent forth spies to search out the land of Canaan by the express commandment of God; but in the latter the people themselves spake to Moses to send the spies. God commanded it. The people desired it. The wish of the latter coincided with the command of the former. Thus the places are not contradictory, as De Wette supposes. They *supplement* without *contradicting* one another.

Exod. xx. 1—17. is parallel to Deut. v. 6—21. So also Num. xxxv. 24—30. with Deut. xix. 12—18.; Num. xxvii. 14. with Deut. iii. 26, 27.

Eph. ii. 5. "Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, (by grace ye are saved;) and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." To this is parallel Col. ii. 13., "And you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses," &c. From the latter passage, it is evident that *the sitting together in heavenly places* in Christ Jesus is a state belonging to the present life, a state of high spiritual privilege and enjoyment, equivalent to the forgiveness of all sins, or rather consequent upon it.

Col. iii. 16. is parallel with Eph. v. 18, 19. "Filled with the Spirit; speaking to yourselves," is equivalent to, "in all wisdom teaching and admonishing one another."

Gen. xxxii. 24—30. is parallel with Hosea xii. 3—5., both passages referring to the same transaction. In Hosea the character of the person with whom this remarkable conflict by night was conducted, is clearly defined. The prophet styles him an *angel*, *God*, *Jehovah*, *God of hosts*; and, *Jehovah is his memorial*. In Genesis he is less plainly indicated, though even there Jacob appears to recognise him when he requests his blessing.

Isa. xxxvi. 14—20. is parallel to 2 Chron. xxxii. 13—15.

Col. i. 16. has John i. 3. for a parallel. Hence *ἐγένετο* in the

latter should not be rendered *done*, as though the apostle meant to say that all things connected with the gospel dispensation were *done* by him. The verb *κτίζω*, in the Epistle to the Colossians, can only mean *create*, and therefore both state that *all things were created by Christ*.

A few examples of mistakes committed with respect to parallels will now be adduced.

Psal. cv. 28. "He sent darkness, and made it dark; and they rebelled not against his word." Many refer to Exod. x. 22. as the parallel to this, where the plague of darkness is noticed. But there are objections. It disturbs the order of the plagues which is elsewhere observed, and it admits a contradiction of the history, which expressly affirms that the Egyptians *did* resist the word of God after the plague of darkness. This latter objection cannot well be evaded by referring the last clause to Moses and Aaron. Hence the darkness spoken of in the Psalm must be figurative for *distress*, and so Exod. x. 22. is not parallel. Olshausen however still maintains the contrary.

John xxi. 17., 1 John ii. 20. *The knowledge* spoken of in these two passages is not similar, and therefore they are not parallel. In the former, Peter alludes to the knowledge of the heart, and therefore he ascribes omniscience to Christ. "Lord, thou knowest all things." But in the latter, the apostle refers to the knowledge of doctrines: Ye know all things, *i. e.*, ye know all evangelical truth. This is not omniscience, as the former is.

We cannot avoid thinking that Psal. li. 5., "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me," has been injudiciously brought into parallelism with Eph. ii. 3., where it is written, "And were by nature the children of wrath, even as others." We do not hold with some, that the iniquity mentioned in the verse was that of the writer's mother. It was his own. But the point lost sight of appears to us to be the individuality of the writer. He speaks for himself and of himself, if it be thought that the title is correct in ascribing the psalm to David. Even if the title be erroneous in this case, and the composition be of much later origin than David, as is probable; supposing too a national reference in it, as Hitzig and Olshausen maintain, its inapplicability as a parallel to Eph. ii. 3. is not the less perceptible. For the writer is a poet, expressing strong personal emotions. Whether he speaks for himself or for the nation generally, it is unauthorised to take his words as the literal language of prose. They should not be urged, in a strict metaphysical sense, as if they uttered a *theology of the intellect*; they are rather *the theology of the feelings*. The poet expresses *very strongly* that he had been an early, habitual sinner. Hence we cannot regard the verse as the *locus classicus* of the Old Testament in reference to the doctrine of original sin.

Parallels are most easily derived from concordances, such as Fürst's to the Hebrew Bible, and Bruder's to the Greek Testament. But these works are better fitted to supply *verbal* than *real* parallels. The best lexicons are also serviceable, those of Gesenius, Bret-

schneider, Wahl, and Robinson. There are also editions of the Scriptures, especially English ones, with copious marginal references. But parallels taken from the margins of translations should not be trusted. The originals themselves are the only sure source. An attentive perusal of the Bible, or of separate books perused at short intervals of time, will furnish parallels. In the course of repeated examinations of biblical books they may be noted on the margin of the copy used.

Although passages quoted in the New Testament cannot be properly styled *parallel* to their originals in the Old but rather identical with them, their mutual relation bears great resemblance to that of parallels. The interpreter should therefore compare words occurring in the two parts and two languages of the Bible. A statement in the Old Testament would often be obscure apart from its recurrence in the New. The latter presents the substantial verity which had been dimly shadowed in the ancient dispensation. In examining passages in the Old Testament which are cited in the New and using both like parallels for mutual illustration it should be borne in mind, that the apostles and evangelists did not adhere verbally or strictly to the text cited. They quoted loosely and from memory. Hence some caution must be employed in dealing with their citations, lest certain significations be attached to words and phrases under their guidance, which the original Hebrew will scarcely bear. All that they seem to have attended to was the substantial idea of the passage. It would be wrong, for example, to interpret מַלְאָכִים, in Psal. xcvi. 7. by *angels*, because the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews has ἄγγελοι as its representative, Heb. i. 6. It refers to false gods, whose existence is assumed that they may be treated with greater contempt. It would, in like manner, be hasty to think that the word *bed* in Gen. xlvii. 31. should be *staff*, because it is represented in Heb. xi. 21. by ῥάβδος, *staff*, which is the Septuagint rendering. Such particulars were regarded as unimportant. Although the LXX. may not have translated correctly, yet if the passage in their version was sufficient for the writers' purpose, it was used without hesitation just as the words stood.

If citations be not placed in the category of parallels, they may be considered as an appendix and help to them in the business of interpretation.

The method of interpretation by parallels is most important. Its utility indeed is admitted by all, for all are more or less accustomed to examine Scripture in this manner. Every one practises it, the simple reader who knows nothing of criticism or science, as well as the scholar. As passages remote and apparently dissimilar come together under its operation, a beautiful harmony between the parts of revelation is brought to light; and the mind is prompted to pursue the inviting path opened up to view, in quest of other analogies. But however attractive the method of interpretation by parallels may be, it is often unskilfully used. Many apply it both ignorantly and unthinkingly. Not perceiving that it rests on a calculation of probabilities which have very different degrees of value, they are misled by

the instrument in question. They are not in a condition to see that certain things must exist, in order to give it a weight in exegesis. The utility of it when prudently employed is great; but it has been much abused.

1. The chief thing which should be sought is, that the parallel ideas be clear, positive, and closely resembling one another, *i. e.* that the highest probability exists of their being really parallel. In this case an obscure passage receives light from a plain one; or the obscurer from one that is less obscure.

2. This instrument serves to give a critical and full view of historical facts described or referred to in different places. It does so by bringing into palpable light all the details of a transaction, showing their occasional inexactness, by confirming the truth of certain facts, and completing all the circumstances. Examples of each of these have been given from the three accounts of the miracle wrought on blind Bartimeus at Jericho; from the various accounts of Paul's conversion on the way to Damascus; and from the history of Mary coming to anoint Jesus and drawing upon herself the censure of Judas Iscariot. The Gospels are placed in a new light by minute comparisons of parallels like these referred to.

3. Another aid rendered by such parallels is in showing both the development and fulness of the biblical teachings. In no other way can a complete view be obtained of the divine communications which appear several times in the Bible because they are of importance. When the parallel texts containing these communications are brought together, the ideas meant to be taught are seen under different aspects, accompanied with diversities of detail, described under various metaphors, in their just relations and successive developments.

4. Parallel texts serve to point out the nature of the evidence attaching to the sense of a passage, whether it be full and complete, highly probable, less probable, or obscure and uncertain. These different degrees of evidence are the result of the number, unanimity, and clearness of passages compared. Where such constituents appear together in high proportions, the parallels coincide with the elements of the analogy of faith. An example has been given from Rom. iv. 25., where it is written, that "Christ was delivered for our offences." The same doctrine is found in many other places with new developments and enunciated in plain terms, not only in the same epistle, but also in the other writings of Paul, in other parts of the New Testament, and likewise in the Old. Here the evidence is complete and convincing; so that the doctrine belongs to the analogy of faith. Inferior degrees of evidence are regulated by the same standard. In like manner, these parallels render an important service by pointing out the obscurity attaching to the biblical teachings in many cases.

We do not know whether cautions and admonitions can be of utility to the interpreter in his use of the present instrument. But as some have been laid down by Hermeneutical writers, it may not be amiss to give what appear to us the best.

1. Parallelism of words alone should be avoided. The same thing as well as the same or similar terms should appear in parallels, else a safe judgment cannot be formed. The substitution of parallel words for parallel ideas has been often practised, and proved a fruitful source of error. Thus if one were to compare Jonah iv. 10., where Jonah's gourd is termed *son of the night*, with 1 Thess. v. 5., where Christians are called *children of the day* (the opposite phrase), it would be a spurious parallel.

2. *Apparent* parallels should be carefully separated from *real* ones. This has been frequently omitted by theologians. A leading word has appeared in two or more places, surrounded perhaps by analogous expressions, and forthwith it has been inferred that the passages in which it appears express parallel ideas. An external resemblance has been mistaken for an internal and real likeness. It is easy to fall into this mistake. Such as are satisfied with a mere superficial study of the Scriptures, or biassed in favour of some doctrinal system for which they are seeking proofs in the Bible, will readily err in the direction mentioned. An example may be found in John i. 3., where the apostle affirms that "all things were made by the Word." The Saviour is declared to be the Creator of the worlds. Parallel to this is adduced the passage in Psal. xxxiii. 6., "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made." But "the word of the Lord" in the latter place does not mean "the Personal Word or Logos." Hence there is no parallelism.

In the same way the words of Psal. xlv. 6, 7. have been brought into comparison with Isa. xxxii. 1, 2., as if the two places were parallel.

"Behold a king *shall reign in righteousness* and *princes shall rule in judgment*. And a man shall be as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place; as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

"Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; *the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre*. *Thou lovest righteousness* and hatest wickedness; therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."

Here the passages should not be reckoned parallel simply because a few words in them are similar. They refer to different subjects. In Isaiah, Hezekiah is the king indicated; in the Psalm, Messiah. When Alexander regards the promise as general and indefinite, as if it included both Hezekiah's reign and that of Messiah, the improvement under the former being a foretaste of that under the latter, he sins against all fixed principles of interpretation.¹ It is entirely arbitrary to comprehend both.

In like manner, Prov. viii. 22, 23. has been brought into comparison with John i. 1—18. *Wisdom* is said to correspond to the Word or Logos of John; the phrase, "The Lord" (or Jehovah) "possessed me in the beginning of his way before his works of old," to be equivalent to the clause in the Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God All things were made by him,

¹ See Alexander's Commentary on Isaiah.

and without him was not any thing made that was made;" the term "possessed" to convey the idea of the generation of the Son; and, "possessed in the beginning," the idea of the eternal generation, and to answer to the only-begotten Son who was in the bosom of the Father.¹ But this parallel is nugatory. The attribute of wisdom is personified in the Proverbs; whereas the Logos is a person, not an attribute. Wisdom is said to be with God, but she is not said to be God as the Logos is. Wisdom did not become incarnate, but the Logos did.

We believe that many pious men of warm imagination are wont to employ false parallels of this nature. Led by appearances and devoid of critical power, they are unconsciously betrayed into the use of spurious proofs and arguments. But the word of God should not be misapplied in the manner indicated. Love of truth and respect for the character of revelation forbid it. All necessary precautions ought to be taken by the interpreter against falsifying Scripture.

We greatly doubt if parallels can be properly employed in the logical method pointed out by Cellerier. Exactness and formality cannot be attained in any great degree in their combination and application. No doubt we can judge of doctrines very clearly by means of them, deducing from all parallels the doctrine in its manifold aspects; but logic is at fault in attempting to introduce definite lines of demarcation.

3. Recollecting the progressive nature of revelation, and the consequent differences between the Old and New Testaments, the interpreter should not attempt to bring into *exact harmony* the religious knowledge and feelings of those who lived under the two dispensations. There is indeed a *substantial* unity between them, inasmuch as God was the author of both; but their *form* and *spirit*, in part, are dissimilar. They were suited to different degrees of civilisation and culture. Hence the expositor should not attribute to Abraham, Moses, David, or Job, the same views and motives with those which actuated New Testament believers.

This rule has been often violated or neglected. Thus where it is written that Abraham "believed God and it was counted unto him for righteousness," for the sake of avoiding the plain proposition that his *faith* was reckoned for righteousness, one expositor brings forth this sentiment: his *faith* means *the object* of his faith; that was the righteousness of Christ; and the preposition *eis* with *δικαιοσύνην* signifies, *unto* righteousness, unto the receiving of righteousness, unto the receiving of the righteousness of Christ. This is most unnatural and forced.²

Again: Where it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrews xi. 26., that Moses "esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt," some interpreters have taken into the Old Testament narrative of Moses the idea that he "deliberately reckoned reproach, derision, and persecution for the sake of Christ, and in

¹ See Four Sermons, by the Rev. J. J. Blunt, B. D., pp. 62, 63.

² See Haldane's Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans.

communion with him and his people, more valuable than all the wealth and honours that the kingdom of Egypt could afford;" whereas this is taking the view given of Moses by the writer of the Epistle—the view which a Christian translating the transaction into New Testament language and viewing it in a New Testament aspect presents to his readers, rather than the precise view Moses himself took.

The same remarks apply to many things uttered by David and other Psalm writers. See for example Psal. lxxxvi. 2.

4. The interpreter in comparing parallels should remember that the writers of Scripture were not *alike* inspired. What they utter is correct to the extent it is expressed. They speak nothing that is erroneous or improper. But they were not all enlightened by the Spirit *to the same extent*. They had not equally profound and comprehensive views of all spiritual subjects.

This observation will assist in reconciling Paul and James where both treat of the one subject—*justification*. It is by no means probable that the method of their conciliation on the topic is, that the former treats of justification in the sight of God; the other of justification in the sight of men. Both held the same doctrine of justification; but they looked at it from different aspects, agreeably to the stand-point of their hearers or readers, and perhaps also to their own subjectivity. The one looked at the subjective side; the other at the objective one. We do not think, however, that James had *exactly the same* view in every respect; else he would scarcely have employed the expression respecting Abraham that "faith wrought with his works," *it cooperated with them*. He does not say that the works were nothing else than *the consequence of his faith*. The words plainly go beyond that. Their efficacy *went along with the other*.¹

5. Care should be taken not to convert *the same* transactions into *similar* parallels.

This error has been committed by some interpreters, particularly in the Gospels. Because events or discourses are related by different evangelists in words not the same but similar, and inserted in a different place or connection, they have been looked upon as different but alike. It has been said of them, that a discourse was repeated or a miracle performed twice.

An example may be found in the sermon on the mount as related by Matthew and Luke. Thus Greswell and others consider the discourse in Matt. v. 1—viii. 1. to be different from that related in Luke vi. 12—49. They are placed in different years, and inserted in different connections. This is incorrect. The two are identical, notwithstanding the varieties existing between them in the narratives of the two evangelists. Luke states in an abridged form and in different connections sometimes, what Matthew relates more fully and more in order. The connection in Luke is not so well preserved; while he has brought into the sermon a few things additional

¹ See Neander's Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w., p. 858. *et seqq.*, fourth edition.

to Matthew which create great difficulty to the interpreter. But in whatever way the two accounts are to be explained in their mutual relation to one another, almost all the best critics are agreed that they are different accounts of one and the same discourse uttered at the same time.¹

In the same manner, Greswell has separated into two miracles what is related in Matt. xx. 29—34., Mark x. 46—52., Luke xviii. 35—43.; supposing that one blind man was healed as Jesus entered Jericho, that other as he departed from it.² But very great difficulties lie against this view. There was but *one miracle* performed either on two blind men together, or on one. This miracle was wrought either at the entrance to Jericho, or on leaving the city.

6. Another caution to be observed respecting parallels is, that two similar transactions should not be converted into one and the same. This is the opposite of what has just been alluded to.

The error in question has been committed by several recent critics in relation to the Gospels, especially by Strauss. Even De Wette has *occasionally fallen* into it. Thus the miracle of feeding five thousand men related in Matt. xiv. 13—21. and the similar miracle of feeding four thousand recorded in the next chap. (xv. 29—39.), have been resolved into one and the same fact originally. This is wholly incorrect. Matt. xvi. 9. *et seqq.*, and Mark viii. 19. *et seqq.*, present an insuperable difficulty in the way of such an explanation. The mythic theory applied to both Testaments will easily give rise to assumptions like the present, all which must be rejected at once as derogatory to the sacred writers and inconsistent with the inspiration they possessed.

The last two cautions should be applied not only to the Gospels, but to the parallel histories in Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and other books.

7. An obvious rule is, that when two parallel passages present themselves, the clearer and more intelligible should be taken to illustrate that which is more obscure. And as the shorter is generally the less plain, it ought to be elucidated by the longer. This however does not always hold good.

Phil. iii. 9. explains in a sentence the doctrine of justification by faith. With it may be compared the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, where the doctrine is copiously treated.

Gal. ii. 19. is parallel to Rom. vii., especially to the fourth verse of the chapter. It is clearer however than the chapter, and throws some light upon it.

8. It is desirable to repeat the exercise of comparison. Indeed it is only by practice that ease and skill in interpretation can be attained. There is a harmonious spirit pervading the books of the Old Testament which cannot be perceived or æsthetically felt without the renewed exercise of comparison. The same observation applies to the New Testament, all the parts of which must be viewed in

¹ Compare Tholuck's *Bergpredigt*, Einleitung, § 2. p. 17. *et seqq.*, ed. 1845.

² See *Harmonia Evangelica*, pp. 245, 246., third edition, and the same author's *Dissertations on the Gospels*, vol. iii. p. 45.

their relations to one another that a correct view of the whole may be gained. And then there is unity between the Old and New Testaments—*substantial unity*—with many diversities arising out of times and persons. The *essential spirit* of both dispensations is the same. Hence the repeated comparison of parallels will not only elucidate parts and paragraphs of books, but entire treatises, and even the genius of the whole Bible. No interpreter is fitted to expound the Scriptures aright who has not repeatedly compared parallels in the widest sense.¹

9. In all passages where there is difficulty, it is of importance to compare as many parallels as possible. In relation to doctrines it is especially desirable. Dogmatic theology can only be advanced by the careful and repeated comparison of many analogous places.

Matt. v. 34. "But I say unto you, swear not at all: neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great king. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."

In order to understand the nature of the prohibition of oaths here intended by the Saviour, we compare James v. 12. "But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation."

The latter passage is very little plainer than the former, except in so far as the serious threatening, *lest ye fall into condemnation*, in the mouth of a writer like James standing so near the Old Testament dispensation where oaths were in some cases not only permitted but enjoined, may be supposed not to indicate the absolute prohibition of all oaths. We have recourse therefore, on the difficult point involved in these passages, to other places, such as 2 Cor. i. 23.; Rom. i. 9.; Phil. i. 8.; 1 Cor. xv. 31., where the example of Paul sanctions the taking of an oath on some occasions; and to Matt. xxvi. 64., where the example of Christ himself appears to the same effect in the *σὺ εἶπας*, equivalent to the Hebrew *amen*. After this we repair to the Old Testament, where it is found that an oath is commanded of God; that God swears by Himself. Looking at all these passages together, whether they are simply preceptive, or preceptive by example, we derive the conclusion that an oath was not absolutely prohibited by the Saviour; and therefore it is right and proper on some occasions. What these occasions are follows from the extent of the prohibition. And the extent of the prohibition is gathered from the contexts of the two passages Matt. v. 34—36., and James v. 12. Oaths used in common life and conversation without due reverence and solemnity, lightly, hastily, profanely, in any way which implies an absence of right feeling and proper respect for the divine Being to whom appeal is made, are forbidden by the Saviour.

10. The interpreter should not expect doctrinal clearness and dis-

¹ See Stuart's translation of Ernesti, p. 70, Henderson's improved edition.

tinctness on many points. The truths of religion are necessarily obscure. Coming from the Deity himself, whose nature we know so very imperfectly as to have scarcely a distinct conception of his attributes, and conveyed through the imperfect medium of human language, they must be dim and shadowy to us. Comparison of parallels is most useful in showing where there is obscurity, and where it is unreasonable to expect the absolute, precise, and certain. The objectivity of many theologians has led them to find a corresponding palpableness and plainness in the doctrines of the Bible, which do not belong to their nature. They find exactness of statement where it does not and cannot exist. How many points are defined by metaphysical theologians which the Bible leaves undetermined? For example, much has been written respecting the atonement for sin effected by Christ, its *nature* and *extent*, whereas there is considerable obscurity in all the parallel passages on these two points. The fact itself is certain, because it is stated in so many texts widely distributed and harmonious; but the precise nature and extent of the atonement or expiation cannot be plainly learnt from those texts. Why then should divines try to be wise above what is written, speculate on mysterious points, and revile one another when they disagree about them?

A careful attention to the preceding observations may serve to show the dangers with which the unwary interpreter is surrounded in his employment of parallels, as well as the folly of the inexperienced and ignorant in entering upon the department in question. So many limitations are necessary to be observed, that the task requires critical tact, sagacity, and judgment beyond the range of the novice. And yet many, furnished with what are termed reference Bibles, set about the work with a confidence that amazes the wise expositor. A host of such parallels as are heaped together in some Bibles, without order, is poor furniture in the hands of the Bible student. It were better to discard it altogether; for it is pervaded by no right principle of selection. It rests on a false view of inspiration, putting all passages wherever they are found in the same category, to the neglect of the individuality of the sacred authors. Every word and phrase is supposed to be inspired to such an extent as to overshadow the human form and colour unquestionably belonging to the divine teachings. Diversities of idea and expression are overlooked. But there is a method in the comparison of parallels, founded upon a wide induction of particulars, having respect to the circumstances, epochs, and individuality of the writers, as well as to the context and fundamental truths of revelation, which must be observed by the enlightened theologian and interpreter. Nothing has done greater injury to theology than the exclusive and imprudent use of parallels.

11. Tables of parallel passages are very useful, especially where the examples have been carefully selected. Such tables should contain none except those which may be profitably compared. Plain and perspicuous places sufficiently clear in themselves should not be accumulated; neither should parallels equally dark and ambiguous be inserted. Little discrimination has been employed on this point

by most English writers who have collected parallel references. There has been an unnecessary accumulation of examples which throw no light upon one another. Every interpreter should find out his own parallels from attentive and repeated perusals of the Scriptures. This task will require both time and study. If however it be impracticable, he must have recourse to reference Bibles, which will undoubtedly afford assistance, but at the same time may grievously mislead. The best edition of the Hebrew Bible with parallels is that of J. H. Michaelis, with which may be joined Jahn's; the best Greek Testaments with similar parallels are those of Theile and Alford. Of English Bibles with marginal references and parallels there are many editions; but few of them are really valuable and trustworthy. There is too much indiscriminate accumulation in them. The best is one now in the press by the Messrs. Bagster of London.

CHAP. XI.

ANALOGY OF FAITH.

As an auxiliary to interpretation by parallel passages, or rather as a part of it, the analogy of faith remains to be discussed. When a passage is explained, not by one or more parallels, but by the *general tenor of Scripture*, it is said to be interpreted *according to the analogy of faith*. "The whole tenor of the Bible" is therefore designated *the analogy of faith*.

The expression is borrowed from the Epistle to the Romans, xii. 6., where the Apostle of the Gentiles exhorts such as prophesy "to prophesy according to the *proportion* or *analogy* of faith," *κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως*. But the phrase in this place does not mean an *objective rule of faith*, as many have understood it. According to what is stated in the third verse of the chapter, it means *that proportion* or *measure* of faith which each prophet possesses. He is forbidden to go beyond what God had made known to him; or to mix up his own natural impulses and notions with what he had received by *revelation*. Neither can the proposition stated in 2 Peter (i. 20.) that "no prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation," belong here: because whatever be the sense of "private interpretation," it cannot be equivalent to *self-interpretation*, implying that the sense of a prophecy is not to be determined by an abstract consideration of the passage itself, but by taking it in conjunction with other portions of Scripture relating to the subject. Bishop Horsley and those who have followed him in this explanation are in error.

It is of special importance accurately to define what is meant by the *analogy of faith* in hermeneutics, because of the different views which have been taken of it, regarded as a principle of interpretation. We should object to a definition that has been given of it, viz., "*the constant and perpetual harmony of Scripture*

in the fundamental points of faith and practice, deduced from those passages in which they are discussed by the inspired penmen, either directly or expressly, and in clear, plain, intelligible language." This is what the analogy of faith as a hermeneutical principle is founded on; but it is not the analogy of faith itself. The analogy of faith rests upon the fact of the divinity and unity of the revelation contained in the sacred books. If this revelation be true and real, if the Bible be in a measure the word of God, its fundamental verities remain unchangeable, though the details are modified by times and circumstances. As soon as revelation is accepted as divine, the principle in question is just. It holds good with regard to every thing *fundamental and important*.

In constructing the analogy of faith, or in putting together the materials of which it consists, different expositors will probably vary from one another. Some will make it of greater, others of less, extent. The greater the range of doctrine it embraces, the less useful it is likely to be. By putting together such statements only as are clearly and obviously taught in Scripture, it will be more secure. All the texts relating to one subject should be compared and arranged, so that the plain, incontrovertible teaching of Scripture on that subject may be fairly arrived at. Into the range of these topics none should come except fundamental ones. When they are all properly derived from the direct teaching of Scripture and joined together in a body, they will make a *scriptural* analogy of faith. It is useless to take at once, without much examination, a large system or creed, and hastily reject every interpretation which does not harmonise with all the particulars included in it. Let the constituents be the great verities of revealed religion, and the principle may be extensively useful. But if it be unduly lengthened out to embrace the peculiar dogmas of a sect or party, there is little probability of its useful application. In that case, the narrow adherent of a creed may be kept by it from falling into inconsistency; but he will be allowed to follow *his* analogy of faith without the concurrence of others. It ceases to be a scriptural analogy, and becomes a *party creed*. Every sect may have its own analogy. It is easy to see the reasons why many have objected to the analogy of faith as a principle of interpretation. So liable is it to abuse, and it has been so much abused in reality, that it has fallen into discredit among many. Various interpreters have used it without logic, independence, and impartiality, by which means mere exaggerations have been presented to the view. But the fault is with the interpreters, *not with the thing itself*. The chief accusation against it is, that it is based on a false circle of reasoning, inasmuch as every passage is explained by the general teaching of Scripture, which general teaching is determined by all the passages so explained. But here the main point is left out of view. The more difficult and obscure are interpreted by the plain and incontrovertible put together. This is a dictate of common sense which men follow every day. Were all passages alike in their intelligibility or obscurity, the charge would be well founded; but as long as the opposite is true it falls to the ground.

The teaching of the Bible embraces a great number of places which are clear, precise, and direct. The statements contained in such texts constitute the analogy of faith in consequence of their clearness, their number, their importance, and harmony. But there are many other passages more or less obscure and doubtful, which must be explained, within certain limits and conditions, by the analogy of faith so constituted.

The value and weight of what is termed the analogy of faith depends on the fact, whether it be *derived more or less directly* from the Scriptures. Degrees of importance belong to it according to the manner in which it is constituted. These have been divided into four; two higher, and worthy of all confidence; two lower ones, having no real claim to the name. These four degrees, arising out of the point of view in which analogy of faith is looked at in regard to its origin, have been termed by Cellerier¹, analogy *positive* and analogy *general*, analogy *deduced* and analogy *imposed*. The last two may well be discarded, as they have no title to be considered in any sense *scriptural* analogy. The first two alone come legitimately under the appellation, differing merely as to the way in which the principle is evolved. The last two coincide with a sectarian analogy. We shall therefore omit them, or refer to them solely with the view of exemplifying the abuse of what we are now discussing.

1. *Analogy positive* is that which is really, positively, and immediately founded on the teaching of the Bible. It is based on numerous and concordant statements of a direct and positive nature, showing at once to the reader that the sacred writers attach importance to it, and that therefore it belongs to truth of a higher order. Thus it is plainly taught in the Scriptures that God is spirit; that he is omniscient, supreme, the creator and governor of all things; that there is a future life and retribution; that the Saviour loved the world and gave himself up to death for its salvation; that sin exists; that pardon of sin is offered. Hence all passages which appear to represent the Deity in any other light, as material, local, limited in knowledge and power; or seem to teach that there is no future state of rewards and punishments; or apparently contravene the intense love of the Saviour, the existence of sin in the world, and the free offer of pardon, must be interpreted in accordance with these primary truths. In this manner the analogy of faith based on what is incontrovertibly taught, is fitted at once to silence all opposing interpretations. Any passage which looks otherwise must be brought into harmony with it.²

2. *Analogy general*. This is derived not so much from the constant and repeated teachings of the Bible as from their scope and tendency. The frequent recurrence of the same tendency or impress shows what God intended in giving us his revelation. The whole strain of the New Testament, for example, produces on the

¹ Manuel d'Hermeneutique, p. 192.

² See Stuart's Elements of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, by Henderson, p. 44.

susceptible heart a certain unmistakeable impression, leading us to feel what ought to be the result of the truth upon our minds. And in proportion as the tendency or tendencies of Scripture are positive, perspicuous, and constant, does the analogy of faith appear in its real worth.

There are three elements which lie at the basis of the analogy of faith whether *positive* or *general*. The passages on which it is founded must be numerous, unanimous, and plain. The degree of authority attaching to it will vary according to the number, unanimity, and clearness of these passages. Number is essential. The analogy of faith must rest on *the habitual* teaching of the Bible. Frequent repetition of the same thing is necessary. The less frequent that repetition, the less evidence is there of truth. Thus the existence of God rests on more passages than the personality of the Spirit. The evidence for the one is therefore stronger than for the other. In like manner, the passages which treat of a certain subject must be *harmonious*. Their united voice must agree in giving forth the same utterance. But the general harmony may be presented notwithstanding in a variety of aspects. It may not be so exact or precise in the case of some doctrines as others. Thus the universality of sin rests upon a stronger analogy than the weakness of humanity to do any thing good. And in proportion to the degree of clearness inherent in the passages collated, will the authority of analogy be greater or less. Wherever doubts may be readily entertained as to the sense of all the places brought together or some of them, the general evidence of analogy is so far weakened. Thus the eternity of future punishment, though taught in the Bible, can scarcely belong to the analogy of faith, because the sense of the passages on which it reposes are not very clear. In addition to these elements belonging to the analogy of faith, the *distribution* of passages must not be overlooked. Unless a doctrine be found in various books written by different persons at different epochs, it does not belong to the analogy of faith. Or, should it be considered as properly belonging to such analogy, the latter cannot have the same degree of evidence and authority. In forming the analogy of Scripture we should look to the individuality of the sacred writers, the difference of their respective missions, and the degree of importance which different books of revelation have for us. It is of consequence to observe whether a truth be clearly deduced from almost all the sacred authors, from some, or from one; from the Old Testament and the New, or from one of them only; from authors widely separated by time, position, and nature of composition, or from such as belong to the same age and class. In proportion as the passages whence a doctrine is deduced are distributed over various ages and authors, through books more or less important, will they constitute an analogy more or less sure. Thus an analogy of faith derived from Isaiah alone would be less certain than if it were founded on Isaiah and Jeremiah; and by adding other books, as well as enlarging the time within which they were written, we should gradually increase its authority. A doctrine resting on the

teachings of Paul's Epistles alone is of less weight than if it were deduced at the same time from other Epistles and the Gospels. In short, a doctrine must be pretty well distributed to make it belong to the analogy of faith. One book, one person's writings, one period, are not sufficient to entitle a truth to a place in a scriptural analogy. Agreeably to these remarks, we should be disinclined to put the doctrine of eternal punishment into those biblical teachings which constitute together the analogy of faith, because it is not distributed. It is not in the Epistles, where the teachings are more dogmatic and positive than in the Gospels. It is deduced from the latter alone, and from places too in them, where the statements are figurative, indefinite, informal.¹

We have thus seen that number, harmony, clearness, and distribution of passages are required in such as constitute the basis of scriptural analogy. And as there are degrees in all these, the authority of analogy will vary accordingly. They are together *essential*. The passages must be tolerably numerous; they must be concordant, plain, and distributed among various books proceeding from writers living at different epochs. But in relation to the precise number of passages, the exact degree of harmony, the measure of perspicuity, and the extent of distribution, nothing can be positively fixed. Different interpreters will entertain different opinions as to these particulars, and draw the line between the constituent elements of analogy somewhat differently. We should be disposed to require a large measure of these elements in its composition. It ought to be founded on *many* passages; on *very* harmonious ones; on such as are *obvious* and *incontrovertible*; as well as on such as are *widely* scattered through *many* parts of the Old and New Testaments written by authors distant in time and position. In this manner we should have an analogy all the more certain and authoritative. By lessening the proportions in each element, the analogy becomes weaker.

The following observations relate to the analogy of faith in the higher degrees of it arising from the nature of its constituent elements. We shall refer, in the first place, to its utility, and next to its consequences.

Its *uses* in the interpretation of Scripture may be summed up under the following heads:—

(a.) It places the primary truths of revelation in a most satisfactory light, so that they appear at once beyond the reach of all reasonable opposition. Bringing together the essence of the biblical teaching, it imparts a character of universality and certainty to it which readily convinces the reader. The honest seeker of truth obtains that divine treasure on which he can repose with absolute certainty, and feel secure in prospect of eternity. He gets beyond the region in which human passions have free scope, tarnishing and obscuring the revelation God has given, into the domain common to all sects and belonging to all confessions, where light is diffused

¹ Cellerier. p. 196. *et seqq.*

around, preventing him from stumbling. Confident that he has perceived the general teaching of the Bible, he can more easily satisfy himself in regard to the details, when they are brought forward into the vicinity of the leading truths which Scripture uniformly assumes or asserts.

(b.) The analogy of faith enables the interpreter to separate the teachings of the Bible according to their importance or certainty. It assists him in distinguishing those which are plain, obvious, and frequently asserted from those which are only probable—the clear from the vague and obscure. There is a necessary connection between the importance and the frequency of what is taught. The frequency of a biblical instruction leads to a perception of its importance. Primary and secondary truths are separated from one another. The leading design of God in giving a revelation to men is apprehended. Subordinate doctrines are not exalted into the place of primary, nor primary ones lowered from their proper rank. Thus the interpreter is delivered from narrow views of the Bible, while he is able to attach *proportionate* weight to its various teachings. By assigning a primary value to the evident and incontrovertible, he will not fall into the error of giving an undue place to minor and secondary statements which appear but seldom in the biblical writings.

(c.) The analogy of faith enables the interpreter to estimate aright the value of isolated statements, while it prevents him from understanding them in a sense contrary to the general teaching of the Bible. Things enunciated but rarely, possibly once or twice, are of no weight in opposition to others repeatedly and plainly advanced, and must be qualified in such a manner by the general tendency of the biblical doctrine as to fit in with it. Thus the sin against the Holy Ghost should be so explained as not to infringe on the doctrine of pardon offered to all however vile their character.

(d.) The analogy of faith will lead the interpreter to reject at once many hypotheses which have been made in connection with passages in the Bible—many ingenious and subtle explanations which have been put upon paragraphs and books. What far-fetched ideas have been put into Scripture by the ingenuity or perverseness of the human mind is known to every one. But such vain conjectures or idle sophisms are soon dissipated in the light of the present test.

(e.) The analogy of faith is also useful in enabling the expositor to subordinate certain historical facts or mysterious dispensations of God to the general doctrine of his perfections and love. Thus the extirpation of the Canaanites must be viewed in such a light as not to trench upon or tarnish the divine goodness. The Divine Being is *uniformly* described in Scripture as good to all his creatures; and the arrangement in question must not be allowed to throw any dark cloud over the lustre of His infinite goodness.¹

The consequences or principles resulting from the analogy of faith may be described under the following heads:—

¹ See Cellerier, p. 199. *et seqq.*

(a.) A doctrine supported by the analogy of faith cannot be weakened or set aside by a passage which appears to teach the contrary; for in this case the passage must be unique, obscure, or ill-understood. Wherever such discrepancy appears, the interpreter's duty is to reconcile it as naturally as he can. But if he cannot introduce harmony between the statement in the passage and the primary doctrine, he ought to give the preference to the latter, inasmuch as it rests on a plain and positive basis. The *former* can weigh nothing in opposition to the *latter*.

Thus the goodness of God to all men is a doctrine resting on the analogy of faith. It is derived from the general and uniform teaching of Scripture. Such passages as the following imply or assert it, viz., Deut. v. 29., Ezek. xviii. 23. 32., xxxiii. 11., Psal. cxlv. 9., Matt. xxiii. 37., John iii. 16., 1 Tim. ii. 4., Titus ii. 11., 2 Peter iii. 9. But in Prov. xvi. 4. there is a statement which appears to contradict this doctrine. "The Lord hath made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil." Supralapsarians conclude from the words in question, that the wicked were created to be condemned, in order that God's absolute sovereignty might be exalted and glorified. But this view of predestination, involving the reprobation of the impenitent, as far as it is based on the text, must be incorrect, because the text so understood militates against the analogy of faith in regard to the paternal goodness of God. Hence the sense must be brought into harmony with the latter, which some manage to effect by another rendering, "The Lord hath made all things to answer to themselves (*i. e.*, aptly to refer to one another), yea, even the wicked for the evil day" (*i. e.*, to be the executioner of evil to others), on which account they are called *the rod of Jehovah* in Scripture (Isa. x. 5.). But this version is little if at all better than the received one, though many critics adopt it. The correct rendering would be, "Jehovah has made every thing for its end; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil;" and the meaning must be that God has so ordained or arranged every thing to answer its purpose that the wicked cannot escape the punishment inevitably following sin. God has so connected sin and suffering (here called the evil day), that there is no escape for the impenitent sinner. The passage therefore merely states a fact or principle in the moral government of God. He is glorified in all things which can possibly happen.¹

Another example of the same kind is in 1 John iii. 6. "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin because he is born of God." Here the impeccability of believers appears to be broadly asserted. But this is contradicted by the analogy of faith, as well as by the context itself of the same Epistle (1 John i. 8—10.). It is the general doctrine of Scripture that no man, however holy, is free from sin in this life. "If we say," says the Apostle John, "that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." Hence such a sense must be attached to the passage in iii. 6., as is consistent with the

¹ See Stuart's Commentary on the text.

tenor of the Bible teachings, as well as with John's own statements in the same letter. "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin (habitually); for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin (habitually as long as that seed remaineth in him) because he is born of God." The inspired writer does not allude to *occasional* sins, but to *the habit of sinning*.

(b.) A doctrine supported by the analogy of faith cannot be weakened or set aside by a *few obscure passages*. Thus the doctrine of a future state and future retribution is plainly based on many incontrovertible passages of Scripture. It rests on the analogy of faith, or the general teaching of the Bible. Accordingly a few vague and difficult passages which have been adduced as teaching the opposite, must not be allowed to weaken or set aside our belief in the other; such as the following, "I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath, so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast; for all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again." (Eccles. iii. 18—20.) Again, "For to him that is joined to all the living there is hope; for a living dog is better than a dead lion. For the living know that they shall die, but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward, for the memory of them is forgotten. Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the sun" (ix. 4—6.). Of the same import is Psal. xlix. 12. "Man being in honour abideth not; he is like the beasts that perish." Perhaps the two passages in Ecclesiastes contain doubts that *once* passed through the mind of the writer, not his settled convictions. They are a part of his former meditations, before he had attained to settled sentiments. The twelfth verse of the forty-ninth Psalm refers to the destruction of rich fools who die miserably, like the beasts that perish; but it neither affirms nor denies their punishment in another state of existence.

(c.) No doctrine can belong to the analogy of faith which is founded on a single passage. Thus the sacrament of extreme unction is made to rest on James v. 14, 15. In like manner, the doctrine of auricular confession, founded by the Roman Catholic church on James v. 16., cannot belong to the analogy of faith.

(d.) When a doctrine is clearly contained in one, or at most in two passages, and is not opposed to the analogy of faith, it should be admitted, though it cannot be important or of primary significance. Thus, in Eph. vi. 11, 12., the Apostle Paul asserts the pernicious influence of *demons* or *wicked spirits* on the souls of men. Hence the doctrine of diabolical agency exercised on the human mind must be true. But the analogy of faith does not assert it. Neither, it must be admitted, does it contradict the doctrine in question.

(e.) When a doctrine which, if true, would be of great importance, but has no support from the analogy of faith, is deduced from a

passage, it will generally be found that the doctrine in question is false, incorrectly derived from the passage. Thus the sacrament of extreme unction is founded on James v. 14, 15. But the passage should be explained in such a manner as neither to contain nor favour the doctrine that extreme unction saves the soul.

(*f.*) All the teachings of Scripture that enter into the analogy of faith, though important, are not of *equal* importance. Indeed it is very improbable that any two doctrines are of equal importance. But whatever be the relative importance of doctrines, it is incumbent on the interpreter to assign its due weight to each. Every one has its own position and value.

(*g.*) Various doctrines supported by the analogy of faith appear to be contradictory. Such discrepancies are not uncommon in Scripture. In explaining them, the interpreter must not have recourse to an unnatural and forced exegesis. It is vain to attempt their *violent* conciliation. All the opposition they present should be fairly and frankly admitted. But we are sure that the opposition cannot be real. It is only apparent, and may be removed by patience, diligent endeavour, and honest desires to arrive at a solution that shall be satisfactory. Of this nature are justification by faith and the necessity of good works; the divine power of the Son and his subordination to the Father; the work of God in man and the necessity of man's personal and real efforts. In all cases like these, the true purpose of interpretation will be gained by looking at the apparently conflicting teachings of Scripture, as the two elements that make up one complete doctrine or principle—as the two sides of a complex picture presented to view in the Scriptures. When brought into their proper juxtaposition and considered together, they modify and supplement one another, giving a full representation of some primary doctrine which admits of various, and to the superficial reader conflicting views.¹

Before leaving the subject, we would earnestly caution the expositor against taking any system of doctrines now currently received as supported by the analogy of faith or constituting a part of it. He must first look to the basis on which analogy rests, testing every part of it by the evidence of Scripture. When he has carefully collected together all that he supposes rightly to belong to it, he will then use it as a principle of interpretation with great satisfaction and security. He will have little difficulty in applying it. The difficulty lies in ascertaining what does and does not belong to a scriptural analogy. There too much circumspection cannot be employed. It is of immense importance that the basis be well laid. We cordially join with Gerard in thinking that “the analogy of faith, as applicable to the examination of particular passages, ought to be very short, simple, and purely scriptural;”² but we fear notwithstanding, that a short, simple, and purely scriptural analogy will scarcely be made up of the same parts and proportions in the hands of any two expositors. The habitudes of men's minds are so different,

¹ See Cellerier, p. 202. *et seqq.*

² Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 161, 162.

their systems so diverse, their prejudices so numerous, that agreement on theological topics of the most transparent nature is not often realised. Exegetical impartiality is rare. The Bible is made to teach many opposite things under the manipulation of its professed expounders.

Although the analogy of faith falls under the head of parallels, yet when it is treated separately it should be carefully distinguished from exposition by the aid of parallel passages. But this has not been done by writers on hermeneutics, who have confounded both together in their treatment of analogy. Various general observations that belong to parallels have been brought under the present head, and so tended to confuse the learner. For example, when it is propounded that an obscure, doubtful, ambiguous, or figurative text must not be interpreted in a sense to make it contradict a plain one; that passages expressed with brevity are to be explained by those where the same doctrines or duties are stated more largely or fully; or that the sense naturally belonging to a plainer passage must regulate the interpretation of another which appears contradictory to it; such rules scarcely belong to the present subject. The analogy of faith is a particular aspect of parallels, a peculiar extension of them. It is more comprehensive, more definite, more certain, than the usual method of interpretation through them. It has to do with a wider and surer range of observation. And if the interpretation of *particular places* by its means be not more satisfactory, it is at least eminently salutary in preventing false senses being affixed to certain places of Scripture, in checking the manifestations of sectarian exposition, and in liberalising the mind by large views of the consistency of revelation, the character of God, and the individual responsibility of man, even amid grace reigning through righteousness.¹

CHAP. XII.

ANCIENT VERSIONS.

THE assistance furnished by ancient versions in ascertaining the signification of words and phrases has been already spoken of and exemplified. It remains that we speak of these documents at present as furnishing valuable aid to the interpreter in the explanation of sentences, passages, and sections. Perhaps their assistance here is not so great as in the case of single terms. We believe that it is not of equal value or importance. But it should not therefore be neglected. Versions are auxiliary to context, scope, parallels, and the analogy of faith. They may confirm explanations derived from these primary sources, especially where there is difficulty, doubt, or obscurity. In ordinary cases it is unnecessary to have recourse to them. But though there is a very large class of passages whose

¹ See Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations to the Gospels, Diss. IV.

sense is obvious and incontrovertible, there is another class neither small nor insignificant, in relation to which all available helps should be put in requisition. The Bible is a difficult as well as a plain book. And it is chiefly to this latter class that we refer when treating of ancient versions. To it they are legitimately and wisely applied.

Job xx. 11. "His bones are full of the sin of his youth, which shall lie down with him in the dust."

The meaning of the first part of this verse is difficult and disputed. Hence the latter part depending on it, is also ambiguous. The LXX. have *ὅσα ἀυτοῦ ἐνεπλήσθησαν νεότητος αὐτοῦ*, *his bones are full of his youth* or youthful vigour, with which agree the Syriac and Chaldee. We should therefore translate, "his bones are full of the strength of youth, which sinks down with him in the dust." Many understand the first clause, *his bones are full of secret sins*, which is favoured by the Vulgate, not by Psalm xc. 8. as Rosenmüller and many others have thought. The English version is undoubtedly erroneous.

Job xviii. 2. "How long will it be ere ye make an end of words?" &c. Here the Vulgate leads to the true sense, *ad quem finem verba jactabitis?* For what purpose will ye throw words? or, how long will ye hunt after words? *i. e.* merely try to get something to say, though it be ever so wide of the mark. The English version, though adopted by many expositors, is incorrect.

Job xix. 27. "Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another," &c. The expression *and not another* is ambiguous, for it may be either the nominative or accusative. With the LXX., Targum, and Vulgate, it is better to take it as the nominative. The party adverse to Job is designated by it, who would not see God stand on their side. Job is confident that *he* should behold him appearing for *him* and vindicating *him*; but that *his opponents* should not be so favoured.

CHAP. XIII.

ON HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

HISTORICAL circumstances constitute an important aid to the interpreter. They either contribute to the discovery of the sense of a passage, or render a certain interpretation more probable. The following hexameter line comprehends the various particulars included under what are termed *historical circumstances*.

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?

We shall consider the different technical words in their order.

Quis, who? This term may be regarded in three aspects:

1. *Who* is the writer of a book or epistle?
2. *Who* is the speaker?
3. *Who* is the party addressed?

The circumstances belonging to man and determining what he is, are both *external* and *internal*. To the former belong such as are social, political, geographical, natural, habitual, including the character, origin, and number of the association or Church to which he belongs. To the latter belong the intellectual and moral character, religious circumstances, habitudes of thought, prejudices, &c. Both classes of circumstances shape and colour to a great extent the nature and form of writings. The external will chiefly influence their form and arrangement, their general complexion and tone. The choice of arguments and images will be somewhat regulated by them. The internal will affect the nature as well as the form of such writings.

Here a wide field is opened up to the interpreter. By this method—by studying the idiosyncrasy of the writers themselves—he will obtain a key to many things in their works. All the outward and inward influences which made them what they were and none other, should be studied. The individuality of the sacred authors, notwithstanding their inspiration, was controlled by the degree of knowledge they possessed, by the natural force of their minds, and consequently by the habits of generalising facts and ideas which they possessed. The intellectual development of a particular writer must be attended to by the interpreter. Inspiration did not elevate all to the same height. Thus in Luke we can perceive the literary habit of the man. The discourse of Paul at Athens we could not suppose to come from Peter. James is meditative and practical; but Christian dogmatics scarcely appear in his Epistle. In Paul we perceive the educated Jew as well as the logical reasoner; in Peter, the bold and vehement preacher. Besides, *the intellectual and moral character* of the writers should be studied—the special mental and moral tendencies belonging to each. Few traces however of these can be discovered in the case of various authors. But we can see from their writings such men as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and John. David and Paul are clearly reflected in their works.

And not only should the expositor study *the personal*, but also *the social* circumstances of the sacred writers, those common to themselves and their contemporaries. These embrace things geographical and natural, as the nature of the country, vegetation, climate, indigenous animals, usages and customs. Nor is *the political position* of less consequence. This will illustrate many parts of the Gospels, such as the reserve of our Saviour in plainly declaring himself to be the Messiah, and his injunctions to his disciples and others not to noise abroad his miracles. In like manner the prevailing religious opinions and even current prejudices, both which are included under social circumstances, will aid the interpreter; for there is little doubt that they have left their traces in the works produced. Such outward and social circumstances may have given rise to institutions and precepts which an expositor must know, as for example, to the Mosaic legislation. They may also have led to an accommodation, on the part of the writer, to current ideas and sen-

timents. In like manner they may have induced an author to combat dangerous or impious doctrines. And doubtless they frequently suggested images, figures, and allusions, especially in poetry. We need not stop to give examples of each position now advanced respecting the varied effects and modifications resulting from social circumstances: the Bible abounds with instances of them.¹

When the characteristic peculiarities of any sacred writer are ascertained in the comprehensive and accurate way now indicated—when his true individual stand-point so constituted is properly seen—the interpreter must be materially assisted in his exegesis. His mode of writing clearly and certainly gathered from all the individual manifestations which are presented in it will prevent at least certain expositions of particular passages. Thus the method of the Apostle Paul is well known. Ardour, emphasis, abrupt transitions, large views, profundity of thought, logical and rhetorical ability, tinged with a Judaic colour, appear in his Epistles.

The author of a book, treatise, or epistle is known by external and internal evidence. Uniform and credible testimony may refer a composition to a certain individual, as in the case of the greater part of the book of Proverbs, the prophecies of Isaiah, of Jeremiah, together with his Lamentations. This is true of the New Testament books, of all at least which were anciently put in the first class or *Homologoumena*. But it may happen that external evidence fails or is defective. It fails in several of the Old Testament books, whose authors are unknown. So in the case of Job; for it does not at all follow that books were written by those whose names they bear. It is also imperfect in relation to Ezra, Nehemiah, the Epistle to the Hebrews. In all instances, this external evidence should be subjected to an enlightened criticism, as indeed it has been in these latter times; for it may not be correct. A book may have been assigned by tradition, for several ages, to a wrong author.

In addition to external evidence, we must look to indications in the book itself. These may be either at the commencement, as in Canticles, i. 1., or at the close, as in Cor. xvi. 21. Inscriptions, however, are not always to be relied on, especially in the Psalms, where they do not proceed from the writers themselves of the Psalms, but were prefixed at a subsequent time. So too with respect to the titles of works, such as those now before the Gospels, which are evidently later than the evangelists themselves. In like manner, subscriptions are uncertain criteria. Those annexed to the New Testament epistles were posterior to apostolic times. They should be examined before being adduced as proof; for some of them are undoubtedly incorrect. Like the inscriptions or titles, they merely show the traditional belief. It is possible, perhaps probable, that the evangelists themselves may have given the title *εὐαγγέλιον*; but *κατὰ Ματθαῖον κ. τ. λ.* was added afterwards.

The style, views, sentiments, peculiarities in a book itself may

¹ See Cellier, p. 123. *et seqq.*

indicate the author. The Gospel of John, for instance, is said to have been written by *the disciple whom Jesus loved*; and all the attacks made upon its authenticity in recent days have not been able to shake this evidence. The language, structure, and internal conformation of the work bear the impress of John's mind.

How much depends on a knowledge of the author; how intimately this question affects whole books, as well as paragraphs, passages, and particular expressions, can be thoroughly appreciated only by him who has watched the progress of critical discussion in Germany respecting the Sacred Scriptures during the last quarter of a century. Internal evidence has been used for the purpose of setting aside an authorship well established, as in the case of the fourth Gospel, which Baur and his school wrongly endeavour to take from the Apostle John; while on the contrary authorship has been applied to justify the rejection of some passage or expression which appears strange or unusual. Here however great caution should be exercised. In dealing with evidence based on diction, style, and general manner, ingenuity and acuteness may readily run into excess. An example or two may be given here. The phrase עֲבָרָה יְהוָה, in the second division of the book of Isaiah's prophecies, is adduced as having considerable weight in assigning a different authorship to that part from the authorship of the first forty chapters. According to Gesenius, De Wette, and others, the phrase in question denotes Israel as a people, especially the pious part of them, above all the prophets. Undoubtedly it has a collective sense, and refers to Israel the chosen people. But the only sense which meets all the requirements is *the Messiah in connection with his Church*, the person of the former or the body of the latter being more or less prominent in particular cases. We admit that the word *servant* in relation to Jehovah certainly occurs in the first part of Isaiah, though it has not there the *collective* sense. But why its having that collective sense in the second part should affect the authorship, contributing to show diversity, we are unable to see, especially as one person, the head of the body collective, is the prominent one, almost exclusively so, in some places in the second division. The authorship of the first division when admitted to belong to Isaiah, or at least the greater portion of it, must be carried into the second, unless there be more cogent reasons than any we have seen derived from diction, or from other internal considerations.

Again in Heb. xiii. 23. the meaning of the word ἀπολελυμένον has been variously determined. There are many indications of an authorship *substantially* Pauline throughout the so-called epistle, though abundant proof at the same time that the style is not Paul's. But as the word before us relates to a matter of fact connected with the writer's personal history, we think it preferable to render it *sent away*, especially as there is no indication of Timothy's imprisonment during Paul's life, while the context implies imprisonment on the part of the author of the epistle (see the 19th verse).

2. Who is the speaker?

Sometimes the name of a speaker is expressly stated, preventing all uncertainty. In the book of Job the names of his three friends are given at the commencement of their discourses. What Elihu says is also assigned to him. The prophets often introduce Jehovah as making certain announcements. In other cases he is described as speaking, without mention of the name.

In the New Testament, especially in the Gospels, it is easy to mark the various speakers. When Jesus reasons with the Jews, answers objections, refutes allegations, the sentiments belonging to his opponents can hardly be attributed to another party. Cavils and replies are at once separated. But in John's Gospel cases occur where there is more danger of confounding things that differ, and so misapprehending the correct sense. Thus in i. 16. it is not clear whether the Baptist's testimony be continued, or whether the evangelist himself utters his sentiments, as is more probable. The testimony of the Baptist and that of John the apostle himself, it is not easy to distinguish at one part of the chapter. A like example occurs at iii. 30., where it has been questioned whether the words of the Baptist or of the evangelist himself begin after the verse. We are inclined to suppose that *the evangelist* continues the discourse of John the Baptist, carrying forward the thoughts and words of the latter to a higher stand-point. There is an insensible transition at the beginning of the 31st verse from the words of John the Baptist to those characteristic of the apostle himself. Alford's objections to this view are of no weight.¹ The prophets in the Old Testament and the Pauline epistles in the New present most difficulty in relation to the point before us.

Isaiah xvi. 1—6. The first verse contains the words of the Moabites to one another, not those of the prophet nor of the Edomites. The third verse is also the language of the Moabites supplicating the aid of Judah. The sixth verse gives the answer of the Jews, refusing assistance because of the pride of the Moabites.

As examples of the frequent change of persons in the Psalms, the 91st and 100th may be selected. In some, however, different speakers have been gratuitously assumed, as in the 24th, where the interrogations and replies are simply *rhetorical*.

In the New Testament, especially in the Epistle to the Romans, objections are adduced for the purpose of replying to them. Here there is no formal introduction of speakers. The writer himself states arguments such as the Jews or his opponents would naturally urge, in order to refute them.

In the first part of the third chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, language is thus put into the mouth of the Jew.

Verse 1. is a question of the apostle himself.

Verses 2, 3, 4. are the reply and its confirmation.

In verse 5. a Jew is supposed to speak, drawing a conclusion from what has just been advanced by the writer, favourable to indulgence in sin.

¹ See Lücke on versè 30, vol. i. p. 566, *et seq.*, third edition.

Verse 6. contains the apostle's refutation of the sentiment in the preceding verse.

Verse 7. follows out the objection of the 6th verse, in order to show that the idea involved in it would subvert the faithfulness of God as well as all morality in man (verse 8.).

Verse 9. Paul speaks in the name of the Jews.

Verse 10. The apostle, from this to the end of the chapter, reasons in his own name, without introducing Jewish objections.

Such is a view of the passage, according to our best judgment. But it should be mentioned, that the verses have been variously assigned and distributed by the ablest expositors.¹

In the 22nd chapter of the Apocalypse, the right interpretation of verses 6—17. depends materially on assigning the words to their respective sources. From the 6th verse and onwards an angel is represented beside the writer. At xxi. 9., he came to John and talked with him, having been sent by the Lord God of the holy prophets. But in the seventh verse the discourse of the angel slides insensibly into that of Christ who sent him. Christ himself speaks, as the tenor of the verse itself proves: "Behold I come quickly; blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book." The eighth verse contains the words of John himself, who states that he "fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which showed me these things." Who the angel was that "showed him these things," is apparent from the sixth verse: "The Lord God of the holy prophets *sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly be done.*" This angel cannot be identified therefore with the speaker in the seventh verse, who is Christ himself. If that were so, Christ would plainly disallow of worship offered to himself, which he never does. The angel spoken of in the eighth verse refuses worship, in the ninth. In the tenth he still speaks: "Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand." The eleventh verse contains a continuation of his discourse. But in the twelfth there is another insensible transition from the angel to Christ who sent him, as at verse 7. In 13, 14, 15. the words of Jehovah are given through Christ; and in the sixteenth he himself speaks in his own person. The seventeenth verse is added by the writer.

Sometimes an objection is perceived only from the reply given to it, as in Rom. ix. 19.

The best direction that can be given, for the purpose of distinguishing the speaker or speakers, is to study the context, for a true knowledge of the point can be gathered only from that.

The interpreter should guard against the speaker's words as expressing his own deliberate sentiments on every occasion. In the book of Ecclesiastes, opinions are enunciated which the writer did not hold at the time. They are either what sceptical men of the world held, or rather what had passed once through his own mind when he looked upon present things with a different eye, and lived

¹ Compare the Commentaries of De Wette and Tholuck.

like an Epicurean, disbelieving a future state of rewards and punishments. There are also examples in the Scriptures where the first person is used merely *for illustration*, to establish a general principle. This is often done by the Apostle Paul. The Apostle James does so also in the third chapter of his Epistle. The writer puts himself in idea in place of another, personating a character in certain circumstances. A notable example of this occurs in Rom. vii. 9—24., where Paul speaks in the person of a Jew struggling honestly to obey the law and describing his experience of the law's efficacy. He does not record there his experience as a Christian—his state at the time he wrote the Epistle; but the state in which he had been once, the general experience and feelings of an upright Judaism striving under the law.¹

3. An interpreter should be acquainted with the person or persons to whom a writing, an oracle, or an epistle was first addressed.

The character and circumstances of the hearer or reader influenced the expressions and thoughts employed. If the writer intended to affect his readers favourably, he must have had some regard to their individual state and relations.

The *degree* of influence exerted by all the circumstances in which the original readers moved and lived is very different in different compositions belonging to the canonical collection. It is more observable in the New Testament Scriptures than those of the Old, though this may not arise from the absence of the thing itself, but rather from our greater unacquaintedness with the peculiarities of the Jewish people at different epochs. But in the case of the writer of Job, we believe that the work was very little affected or influenced by the persons for whom it was written. He rose far above these considerations, designing his wonderful production for no nation, people, or class mainly. It was brought forth more as a universal and original work, standing out in all time. His own personality appears so strongly in it as to throw entirely into the background that of his first readers. This remark applies to the Psalms also, though in a less degree than to Job. These inspired compositions were often designed as vehicles of religious feeling and experience generally. They were therefore less moulded and modified by the peculiarities of the first readers of them. In those portions of Scripture which were *especially revealed*—where the writers were chiefly *passive* recipients of the divine communications—little of the influence arising from the circumstances of the first readers will be observable. But it is not wanting even there; for the Deity adapts his communications to the state of those to whom they are addressed, no less than man himself. Agreeably to this observation, the interpreter should familiarise himself with the sentiments, feelings, prejudices, characteristics of those to whom the different books or epistles were addressed. In the Old Testament, Jewish history in all its extent and minuteness, embracing civil, political, sacred, private and domestic life, should be well known. All the relations of

¹ See the Commentaries of Tholuck and De Wette.

the Jews should be ascertained as far as possible, since these will be partly reflected in the sacred books composed for their use. In the case of the New Testament the interpreter must likewise study the various sects, parties, and peoples to whom the books refer. It should be known who were the Pharisees and Sadducees; who were the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, &c.

Books belonging to the Old Testament collection were generally intended for the Jews of that particular time in which they appeared. Instead of being addressed to a particular church or society, they were meant for contemporaries. Hence the general nature of their contents, as Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles. Sometimes the prophets name the persons or people to whom their predictions refer. Thus there are prophecies respecting Babylon, Edom, Moab. The forty-eighth chapter of Jeremiah is against Moab; the forty-ninth concerns the Ammonites. The second chapter of Malachi begins, "And now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you." Occasionally, the people are indicated by certain traits political, religious, or civil, without being named, as in Isa. xviii. 1. 2., where Ethiopia is meant. Or the context may show who are specially addressed, as Matt. v. 1. compared with chap. viii. 28., where we see that Jesus addressed *the multitudes* and not merely *the disciples*.

On this head little can be relied upon apart from Scripture itself. When we wish to know the persons, peoples, or communities specially addressed in any book or part of a book, we must have recourse to the Bible itself. Little that is positive can be gleaned from other sources; and what is so gleaned will often be indeterminate, sometimes uncertain. Where shall we find a better account of what the sects and persons mentioned in the Bible believed, except in itself? Here at least we have certain information. For this purpose it is necessary to compare the various books. The persons introduced, for example, into the Acts of the Apostles appear also in Paul's epistles. Several kings and personages are introduced into several historical books.

The importance of being well acquainted with the characters addressed in the biblical writings, both as to their external and internal circumstances, can be rightly appreciated only by the interpreter who has studied the subject. By means of it he can distinguish between teachings in the Bible which are merely *relative*, belonging to one class of persons or one epoch, from those which are *absolute* and *universal*; promises made to some only, from such as belong to all Christians; arguments merely *ad hominem*, from such as are universally valid and obligatory; precedents temporary and partial, from those of general tendency and application.

Thus the command given by the apostles at Jerusalem to abstain from things strangled and from blood, as well as from idolatry and impurity, was only a precept for the simple-minded Gentile converts in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, at that time. It has no permanent or universal force, being addressed merely to certain persons in peculiar circumstances. And yet some commentators have shown such servitude to the letter of Scripture as to interpret the precept in

question in a universal and absolute sense. Nothing can be clearer, both from the persons and the occasion, that it is merely relative and temporary.

In like manner, promises of personal inspiration made to the apostles by Jesus Christ should not be extended, so as to apply to all Christians. Thus Matt. x. 19., Mark xiii. 11., Luke xxi. 14., John xiv. 26., xvi. 13., belong to the apostles alone, to whom they were first addressed. There is no warrant to extend them to other men in different circumstances. Yet the mistake has been committed. On the other hand, the command in Matt. xxviii. 19, 20., "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.," was addressed not only to the apostles but to others besides; to all the disciples of Christ—the *Church* at that time, and in it to the Church of God thereafter. The command must not therefore be restricted to the apostles as some have cramped it. It belongs to the *Church of Christ*.

By this means we shall also dissever arguments merely *ad hominem* from those universally valid. In reasoning against the Jews, Paul often employed such arguments. They were accustomed to this method of argumentation. To them it would have all the efficacy of the soundest logic. In becoming all things to all men, the apostle became as a Jew to the Jews in this respect. He employed a form of reasoning which is almost indispensable in popular writings. He uses Rabbinical accommodations. The same argumentation occurs also in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Of course it is of no force to us, having lost its applicability with the disappearance of the persons to whom it was at first addressed. *Contemporaries* understood and appreciated it. *They* felt its point and purpose. But *we* are in other circumstances and relations at the present day; it was not intended for us.¹

Mistakes have frequently been made in reference to the persons addressed. Thus Taylor supposes that the Apostle Paul speaks to the unbelieving Gentiles in 2 Cor. v. 20, 21., whereas believers are meant. The Epistle is inscribed to the latter, and they are spoken of in the verses. The saints sin daily, and therefore daily need remission of sin. Hence the propriety of the language in question even in relation to them. There is no ground for believing that any other class is spoken to than the persons addressed in the commencing verses of the following chapter, *i. e.* the Corinthian Christians. Our translators have rightly supplied the pronoun *you* in the 20th verse, as the person of the verb, *be ye reconciled*, warrants and requires.²

Quid, what?

The interpreter should also consider the nature of a book or writing. Is it historical, didactic, oratorical, poetical, sententious? This study will be attended with good results in the Old Testament. It will lead us to discern something connected with the writers. Thus the books of Kings show that their writer or writers belonged to

¹ See Cellier, Manuel d'Hermeneutique, p. 175. *et seqq.*

² See Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 320. *et seqq.*

the prophetic class. The Chronicles, again, betray their Levitical or priestly origin. And if this be so, the details given will relate more to the prophets in the one, and to the priests in the other. Hence it is unreasonable to expect precisely similar details in the Kings and Chronicles, as Gramberg and De Wette, in their attacks on Chronicles, appear to have done. In historical books, many secondary and apparently insignificant particulars appear, which the interpreter should observe, inasmuch as they show the personality of the writer and the authenticity of his narrative in a way most convincing to the reader. When he sees the brief, simple, unpretending tenor of these old Bible histories, his confidence in the honesty of their authors will be enhanced. How true and life-like are the statements of Mark in his Gospel! How vividly does he bring out minor circumstances which add value as well as force to his descriptions! Were the historical books of the Old and New Testaments studied in an impartial spirit, their authenticity and genuineness would be more readily acknowledged.

In didactic books or writings, which are principally designed to instruct, revealed truths should be found in the greatest number. There *the word of God*, properly so called, is most seen. Cellerier has well remarked, that in this sort of writing the theologian must distinguish between the teachings themselves and the arguments employed by the sacred writers to set them forth.¹ The latter are the vehicle, the former the divine subject-matter itself. Hence the arguments which serve as the means used for causing the Divine teachings to be accepted are of less importance than the ideas themselves to which these arguments are subordinate and auxiliary. *They* may be relative; but the essential teachings themselves must be absolute and permanent. They may be shaped in some measure by times and circumstances, having a force in the eyes of contemporaries which they cannot have in the view of posterity. Indeed all arguments in the matter of a divine revelation are a condescension to the weakness of the readers. It were enough that God should simply *command and assert*. Man has only to hear and obey. But God has adapted his divine instructions to us by means of expostulations and arguments which are necessarily relative. Sometimes these arguments are historical, as when James bases the precept respecting prayer on the prayers of Elias. Here there is a striking appeal to the Jews, rather than a solid basis for the duty. The argument for a future life contained in Matt. xxii. 31—33. is of the same nature. It was meant to convince the persons originally addressed. Both are popular and impressive, rather than convincing and conclusive. They were uttered with a view to the hearers, rather than to all men in all times. Instead of being drawn from the supreme will of God and the essence of revelation itself, they are outward, and therefore unsatisfying to every one

Another difficulty attaching to the didactic portions of the Bible is the absence of a strictly didactic method. The form in which

¹ See page 170.

revealed truth is conveyed is not the exact form which is suited to it according to the rules of human rhetoric. This is especially the case in the New Testament. Thus the Epistles present the truths unfolded in them in a style becoming an epistle,—familiar, unsystematic, and in part unmethodical. The discourses of the Saviour frequently assume the form of dialogue. Here the great business of the interpreter is to ascertain the *ideas* meant to be conveyed, while he looks upon other particulars as secondary. These ideas he should put in a logical order and method, whereby he may perceive their true relation and dependence one on another. He may adjust them as premises and conclusions, antecedents and consequents, causes and effects. This is to set them in a didactic form such as we should now consider adapted to their nature, which was designed for all mankind, and not merely for one class or generation.

The oratorical species of writing is prompted and pervaded by emotion. In it the language swells out, figures increase, arguments become *personal* rather than *real*. The affections and feelings of the inspired writers are unusually excited, so that they bring themselves into closer connection with the individuals addressed. In this case the interpreter must identify himself with the writers. He should invest himself with their affections, entering into intimate sympathy with them. Peculiar difficulties however arise from this species of writing, in consequence of the rapid movement of the style, the richness of figures, and the complexion of the details introduced. Many examples occur in the Scriptures. The book of Job abounds with the oratorical; so also the latter part of Isaiah. Deuteronomy is replete with it. Among the prophetic writings it often occurs. The New Testament exhibits it to a very large extent. The chief business of the interpreter is to seize the principal idea, and separate it from secondary ones. Unless the precise sentiment is extracted in a clear form from a passage or paragraph, the exposition will be confused and imperfect. Where this oratorical species of writing borders on poetry, as it often does, the imagination leads along and controls the other faculties; and imagination is required of the interpreter properly to appreciate and understand it. As it is addressed to the heart, the heart must be its chief expounder; but the heart cannot well analyse ideas, or separate the principal ones from such as are merely accessory. It feels their combined force, and receives a strong impression or impulse from it; but it must summon the aid of judgment when the task of analysis begins. The theology of the heart is *impulsive*; that of the intellect *logical*. In speaking of the oratorical kind of writing, that sublime passage in Paul's Epistle to the Romans will readily occur to the mind, "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect?" &c. &c. viii. 33—39.

The poetic kind of writing is analogous to that of which we have just spoken. In it the imagination is more active; and perhaps the form is more modified by circumstances and emotions than the form of the oratorical. The interpretation of the poetical parts of the Bible is difficult, not merely because the language of poetry is more difficult

generally, but because Oriental poetry presents various features unlike the poetry of the West. It is more highly coloured; the diction is more exaggerated, because of the greater luxuriance of the eastern imagination. The chief task of the expositor lies in distinguishing the form from the substance and giving to each its due place and value. It has been justly observed¹, that the poetry of the Bible performs a twofold office. It assumes a prophetic character; and is intended to enwrap the religious idea or ideas, so as to overshadow and disguise the details surrounding it till a definite time arrive. It serves as an envelope concealing the particularities of divine verities and preserving their haziness to the mental apprehension till the appointed period arrive. This is exemplified in Isaiah's descriptions, especially the second part. It is also seen in the discourses of Christ respecting his coming, recorded in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew's Gospel. At other times poetry is essentially didactic and symbolic, being intended to carry home certain ideas to the mind and heart with greater force and effect. So it is in most of the Psalms. Whichever of these two purposes a particular piece of poetry is meant to serve, the religious ideas inculcated must neither be diluted nor obscured. They will be subjected to the one process, if their poetic form be treated too arbitrarily and negligently, as though it were of no moment. In separating the form and the substance, the form must have its proper place, and he who overlooks it will not evolve the substance it enwraps with the force and energy belonging to it. Perhaps Hengstenberg has erred thus in various parts of his commentary on the Apocalypse. But on the other hand, the form should not be rigorously or minutely insisted on, in a slavish spirit of adherence to the letter, else the religious truths embodied in it will be darkened. Too great importance is assigned to it in this latter case. In this respect Elliott has greatly erred, in his *Horæ Apocalyptice*.

The address of Lamech to his wives, Gen. iv. 23, 24., is poetic. The object of the brief poem is to show the immediate consequences of the invention of arms. No sooner had they been forged than Lamech triumphs in the mode of his revenging an injury. If Cain, he boasts, be avenged sevenfold, Lamech will be avenged seventy-and-seven times. A young man had wounded him, and had been slain. Only one murder is committed by Lamech. From rigidly adhering to the form and mistaking the parallelism, some have erroneously supposed that allusion is made to two murders.²

As to the sententious kind of writing, it is found throughout the Old Testament. We see it especially in those didactic instructions which were originally delivered *viva voce*. It is also abundantly exemplified in Proverbs. Where it occurs, of whatever kind the teaching be essentially, *the sense* is always pregnant and rich. This characteristic excites attention and takes hold of the memory. The sententious form in which ideas are clothed must be separated from the ideas themselves. It is an echo in a great degree of the times, modes of

¹ Cellier, p. 173.

² See my Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 328.

thought, local peculiarities, and current sentiments amid which it was employed. It commends truths, of which it is intended to be the expressive vehicle. Hence it was of value only to the men of a certain epoch; for its use was to bring them into immediate contact and sympathy with great truths. For us it is of no moment. This is apparent from parables and allegories.¹

Ubi, where?

A consideration of the place where a book was written will often facilitate its historical interpretation, especially if locality be taken in its wide sense. Under place we include,

1. Where a book was written;
2. Where a thing was said or done;
3. The nature of the place, comprehending geographical and natural circumstances, political position.

The place may be discovered—

(a) From express mention, as Matt. v. 1., John i. 29., Acts xvii. 22. Here it is needful to remember that subscriptions to the New Testament books cannot be relied on.

(b) From internal circumstances compared with other accounts. These furnish more or less probable evidence, according to their nature. In the book of Job they are not very palpable or clear; but some believe that when carefully put together, they indicate its composition in Egypt, not in Arabia or Palestine. Thus the descriptions of the hippopotamus and crocodile appear to show an eyewitness, while various images manifest an acquaintance with the Nile, as in ix. 26., viii. 11. &c., vii. 12. &c.²

The sixty-third Psalm was written by David when he fled before Absalom and was in the wilderness. Hence the expressions were suggested to him, "My soul thirsteth for thee . . . in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is." This is inferred from several of the same expressions being here used which occur in the history of Absalom's rebellion, recorded in the Second Book of Samuel, as well as the internal analogy of the psalm to some others which refer to the same event.

In the Pauline Epistles, we may learn from the salutations, the names of persons, and various other particulars, where the apostle was. Thus the Epistle to the Romans was written from Corinth, towards the close of Paul's second visit to that city. This conclusion arises from a comparison of Rom. xv. 17—32., xvi. 1. 23., with 2 Cor. x. 15, 16., Acts xix. 21., 1 Cor. xvi. 1. &c., 2 Cor. viii. 9., Acts xx. 22., and 1 Cor. i. 14. The Epistles to Philemon, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians were written at Rome during the apostle's captivity, as the following passages indicate:—Eph. iii. 1., iv. 1., vi. 20.; Philemon 9.; Col. iv. 3. 10. 18. Accordingly, *Cæsar's house* is mentioned in the Philippian Epistle. The *open chains* also show that he was allowed some liberty, in contrast with his imprisonment at Cæsarea where he had been kept in close confinement. The word *πραιτώριον* (Phil. i. 13.) also points to Rome not Cæsarea.

¹ See Cellier, pp. 173, 174.

² Compare Hirzel's Commentar, p. 12, first edition.

The parable of the good Samaritan, recorded in Luke x., must have been spoken near Jerusalem, as the scene is laid on the road from it to Jericho,—a road infested with robbers.

Our Lord's discourse recorded in the sixth chapter of John's Gospel is said to have been delivered in the synagogue at Capernaum. It was therefore spoken in a public place of that city, where so many miracles had been wrought. This explains Matt. xi. 23: "And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell: for if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day." The circumstance of place increased the guilt of his hearers.

In Matt. vi. 28—30., we are told that the lilies of the field, which appear so beautiful to-day, are cut down and cast into the oven to-morrow. A custom practised in Palestine is referred to, of heating the ovens with the luxuriant grass and flowers of the field. John the Baptist lives in the desert on *locusts* and wild honey. The poor have fed upon locusts for many centuries in Palestine and Arabia. Thus also the nature of the Arabian desert through which the Israelites journeyed leads to a correct understanding of various passages in the Pentateuch.

There can be little doubt that geographical and natural circumstances exerted an influence upon the minds of the sacred writers, and consequently on the expressions and style in which their ideas were bodied forth; and if this be so, a knowledge of such circumstances is necessary to the interpreter who would fully understand what they wrote. Hence the geography of Palestine in particular should be known, as there are so many allusions to it. Thus by a knowledge of the situation of Tabor and Hermon respectively, we can realise the proper and full sense of Psalm lxxxix. 12.: "The north and the south, thou hast created them; Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name." These two mountains are on the two sides of the Jordan, east and west; and they represent in this place the east and west. Accordingly all the quarters of the heavens are specified—north, south, east, west. *All the world* shall rejoice in the name of Jehovah.

The general aspect of a country, its climate, vegetation, natural productions, wild animals and domestic ones, agriculture, usages, should in like manner be studied, as they influenced the writers' thoughts and diction. The scenery and outward phenomena among which they lived and acted impressed the imagination and heart. Poetry particularly, is enriched with images drawn from these external phenomena, as the book of Psalms abundantly testifies. In like manner the Gospels give evidence of an analogous influence. Thus the kingdom of heaven is compared to a grain of mustard seed. The prognostics of the weather are alluded to in Matt. xvi. 2, 3. The custom of fishermen to count the fish they have caught after the nets are brought to shore, is referred to in John xxi. 11.

Neither should the *political* position be neglected in connection with *place*; for the political circumstances of Palestine at the time

when the books of Scripture were composed are reflected in part in those Scriptures. This influence is peculiarly observable in the New Testament. Judea at that time was under the Romans. The Roman laws and Jewish rights still exercised may be clearly traced. The dynasty of the Herods presents itself in striking colours—cruel, dissolute, ambitious. On the one hand we can perceive Roman toleration; on the other, Jewish fanaticism. The readiness of the Jewish people to rebel against their conquerors, especially as those conquerors were represented by such governors as the Herods, may be readily traced. By means of these political circumstances, we can explain the contemptuous expression *publicans*, which was used synonymously with *vile persons*. Those Jewish tax-gatherers who collected tribute for the Roman conquerors from their countrymen were odious in the eyes of their countrymen, especially as they were often guilty of extortion. We can also explain the frequent injunctions of the Saviour to his disciples and others who witnessed his doings, that they should be silent respecting his miracles and person. He did not wish to be recognised prematurely as the Messiah, or the fame of his mighty deeds to be blazed abroad, lest the spirit of the Jews, impatient of a foreign yoke, should break forth, and, making him a king, attempt to conquer the Romans by force of arms.

Quibus auxiliis, with what helps?

Under this head are included the various circumstances that conspired to bring about an event, the means by which impediments were removed and obstacles surmounted. The weapons of the apostles' warfare were *spiritual* weapons. They had promises of divine aid, by which they were encouraged in their works of faith and disinterested labours. The Holy Spirit was given to them, to lead them into all truth. If then their resources were such, we should interpret their writings accordingly. Hence it is wholly incorrect, as well as impious, to explain the miraculous cures wrought by the apostles on natural principles. For example, Thies says of the lame man healed by Peter, "This man was lame only according to report. He never walked at all; so the people believed he could not walk. Peter and John, however, being more sagacious, threatened him. 'In the name of the Messiah,' said they, 'stand up!' The word *Messiah* had a magical power. He stood up. Now they saw that he could walk. To prevent the compassion of men from being turned into rage (at his deceit), he chose the most sagacious party, and connected himself with the apostles."

Cur, why?

This coincides with *scope*, which has been already described.

Quomodo, how?

In historic facts, the mode in which a thing is effected, or the way in which it still operates, should be observed. This mode depends on a variety of circumstances. As the Deity adapts his methods of working to the apprehension of his creatures and the epoch in which they live, a knowledge of their prevalent sentiments and modes of speech is necessary. The manner in which a thing is brought about is of less consequence than the thing itself. *The result* is the end

aimed at, whereas the means of its attainment, being variable, are worthy of notice only so far as they were adapted to secure the result. They were the best which could be employed in the circumstances; but being relative they cannot be regarded as an essential or permanent part of divine truth. Yet it has been very common to look upon them as such—to attach to them even as much value as belongs to the things themselves to which they were subservient. The modes in which events were brought about under the Old Testament, or truths enunciated, have been rigidly associated with the facts themselves, so that to deny the historical character of the one is deemed tantamount to a denial of the other. This is unphilosophical. It is to confound *accessory* with *essential* points, to mix the changeable and temporary with the ever-during. But while we thus protest against an interpretation that is indiscriminating and erroneous, it must not be supposed that we intend thereby to lessen the authority of the miraculous, far less to deny the existence of supernatural means. When it is clearly ascertained that a miracle or miracles have been employed, the sacred writers not having been allowed to fall into the current error of believing and narrating as such what was merely natural, we should then adhere firmly to the miraculous. God in that case employed unusual means for the accomplishment of his purpose. But it is quite possible that the writers being Jews and not wholly exempt from the current notions of their day, may have been left to describe modes and means very much as they were then viewed, though they were surely guided in all that was important and essential. While they did not relate as miraculous what was not so, they may have described in an oriental method—in a form characteristic of the Eastern mind—events that took place, or truths which the Deity meant to inculcate.

The manner in which Sennacherib's army was destroyed may be taken to illustrate these observations. The destruction of it was effected by a pestilential wind whose effects in the East have been described by many travellers. It is no objection to this view that the *simoom* is now ascertained not to be deadly or pestilential, and that the reports of various travellers such as Ker Porter and Bruce respecting travellers being instantly destroyed by its suffocating breath, are gross exaggerations. For God is said to have employed the wind as his agent; and therefore it was charged with such qualities as were sufficient to accomplish the Divine purpose. We must always distinguish between its ordinary effects and those described as *special*. Accordingly it is said in Isa. xxxvii. 7. "I will send a blast upon him." But in 2 Kings xix. 35. this event is related in the Hebrew Oriental manner: "The angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred four score and five thousand."

We are inclined to suppose that the transaction recorded in Gen. xxxii. 24—30. should be explained on the same principle, not literally and historically.

It is an abuse of the method here recommended to the interpreter, when Eichhorn and Bauer attempt to account for the extraordinary

occurrences that took place at the promulgation of the law by natural means, affirming that when a violent thunderstorm, such as are frequent in the neighbourhood of Sinai, happened, Moses seized upon the phenomenon to give sanction to his laws. The entire narrative is opposed to this supposition. Still less is such interpretation of miraculous occurrences on natural grounds applicable in the New Testament. The conversion of Paul, for example, must not be resolved thus. That the occurrence was pictured in his imagination, or represented in a dream, cannot be adopted. Here the *psychological* interpretation fails to account for the phenomena. Neither can the *mythic* interpretation be applied to the events and personages of the New Testament. It was not the era of the mythic. Enlightenment had removed the influences which might have tended to it. Whatever plausibility the mythic may have in the Old Testament, it has certainly none in the New.

Quando, when? At what time, and on what occasion?

The time when a book was written has come to exercise a most important influence on its exegesis. This is especially the case with the Old Testament Scriptures. It is possible by bringing down the date of their composition to a later period than the true one, to do away with prophetic foresight. This has been done; and therefore much perversion has been introduced into the exegesis of the text, repugnant to the nature of inspiration and derogatory to God.

It is unhappily the case that several parts of the Old Testament cannot easily be assigned to their proper period. Thus the books of Job, Chronicles, Esther, the Psalms in part, are difficult to appropriate in point of time. What increases the perplexity in some cases, is the variety of pieces employed in the composition of a book, and the stages through which it passed before it was finally set forth as we now have it. Besides, the *general* date may be apparent, though the *precise* one be obscure.

The Gospels are placed in different years by different commentators. But at the greatest interval which can possibly exist between all the times assigned to their composition, the origin of one could not have been far distant from that of another.

The time may be known,

First, from express mention, as Hosea i. 1., Isaiah vi. 1.

Secondly, from expressions containing in themselves notices of the time of writing. Thus it is apparent from Rom. xv. 19., that the Epistle to the Romans was written after the occurrences in Acts xx. 3. and the first letter to the Corinthian Church. Compare 1 Cor. xvi. 4. 9., xii. 2. A proper use of the time when a book was written has been employed to confute Grotius attempting to show that Caligula was the *man of sin* and Simon Magus *the wicked one*; whereas the second Epistle to the Thessalonians was written *after* the time thus required. It was composed after A. D. 38., the date assigned by Grotius, as can be made evident from internal considerations.

A false use of this principle has been made when the solemn adjuration in 1 Thess. v. 27. is explained by it. Some say, that "from the beginning of the Christian dispensation, the Scriptures of the

Old Testament were read in every assembly for divine worship. Saint Paul, knowing the plenitude of the apostolic commission, now demands that the same respect should be paid to his writings which had been given to those of the ancient prophets; this therefore is a proper direction to be inserted in the *first* Epistle written by him: and the manner in which it is given suggests an argument that the first Epistle to the Thessalonians was the earliest of his Epistles." But the adjuration does not depend on what is here stated. It has nothing to do with the time of the Epistle's composition. The apostle was very anxious that the instructions and admonitions contained in the Epistle should be acted upon by the Thessalonians and tend to their real benefit. Hence arises his solemn adjuration.¹

It cannot well be doubted that the circumstances of the epoch in which a writing originated determined something of its character and form. All the events and religious influences characteristic of it left their impress on the minds of the writers. Religious circumstances in particular are reflected in the sacred books. Doctrines and sects have moulded the language of Scripture. Hence what was clear to contemporaries of the authors is obscure to us. Sects have passed away with their theories; idolatry and its rites are forgotten; while the Scriptures have many allusions to these religious ceremonies and aberrations. Hence in order to understand the genius of the Mosaic legislation, Egypt should be known as it then was, with its laws and usages. To comprehend the Mosaic books as well as those written after Joshua's conquest of Canaan, the impure idolatries of the Canaanites and other neighbouring peoples should be known by the interpreter. So too in the New Testament we find numerous traces of Pharisaism, Sadduceism, and even Essenism. In like manner the elements of Gnosticism are distinctly traceable in some of the Epistles, and in the writings of John. Such are the religious influences which have affected the character and method of the biblical books. The very prejudices and popular sentiments of the time have modified the language of Scripture, though the writers may not have shared them.

The general circumstances of the epoch have often led indirectly to the origin of a book. They have been the *indirect* occasion of it. But it is necessary for the interpreter to seek out the *immediate* and *direct* occasion. Indeed, without a knowledge of it, many books cannot be comprehended. Thus the occasion of Paul's writing to the Galatians was their having been seduced by Judaizing teachers who had tried to undermine the apostle's authority by affirming that he believed circumcision necessary, and that Christians should observe the law of Moses. He wrote therefore to vindicate his apostolic dignity, and to show that the ceremonial law was not obligatory on Christians. Hence the detail respecting himself at the beginning, proving that his calling to be an apostle was directly from God; and that Peter, so far from being superior to him, was even on one occasion the subject of his censure. In like manner the occasion on

¹ See De Wette.

which the second Epistle to the Corinthians was written will explain the peculiarities of it. They had acted in obedience to his injunctions delivered in the preceding Epistle. But he had learned that some among them had indulged in unworthy accusations against him, by whom his authority was greatly weakened at Corinth. Hence he had both to praise and to blame—to praise them for their ready compliance with his command to exclude the incestuous person, and to censure their divisions as well as to defend himself against unworthy charges. It is apparent that there was a conflict of sentiments in his mind, amid which he refrained from administering the severe rebukes he was warranted by the circumstances in dealing forth, lest the minds of his readers should be provoked to anger against him. He tempers moderation with severity in consequence of the peculiar state of affairs in the Corinthian Church—the different parties who stood differently affected towards himself and the cause he represented.

The words of our Lord in John iii. 20, 21. receive a peculiar emphasis from the occasion on which they were uttered. It was when Nicodemus had come to him by night to inquire of his doctrine that the Saviour said, “For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh he to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov’d. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.”

The interpreter should beware of relying on the titles of the Psalms as giving the occasions on which they were composed. Some may be correct; but others are not so. Internal circumstances must be trusted to more than they. Thus the title of the forty-second Psalm, in which the sons of Korah are mentioned apparently and most probably as the authors, expresses nothing definite. As those sons are separated from the chief musician and occupy the place where we usually find the author’s name, the title appears to give them as the authors. But it is possible that they were merely the performers. In this latter case, we are compelled to find out the occasion from the Psalm itself. And here many think that David was the writer, at the time when he was excluded from the sanctuary by Absalom’s rebellion. See 2 Sam. xv. 25. This view is copiously illustrated by Randolph.¹ But it is exceedingly uncertain. Judging from internal circumstances, and considering that the writer expresses the feelings of his contemporaries and fellow-countrymen, we are inclined to place the composition in the Babylonish exile, a time of oppression and despondency to the Jews. Ewald attributes it to King Jehoniah.²

¹ See Randolph’s *View of Christianity*, 1784, vol. i. Appendix.

² Compare his *Die Psalmen*, second edition, p. 185.

CHAP. XIV.

EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

IN the preceding chapter, which we have entitled *Historical Circumstances*, it will be observed that the points embraced cannot be properly called *internal* helps, as lying within the Scripture itself. Neither can they be denominated *external*, as lying out of Scripture. They are partly *internal* and partly *external*. They are gathered from itself as well as from other sources. In all cases, the interpreter should conduct his explanations as much as possible by the aid of the Bible itself. But this is impossible if he desire to be a scribe well instructed. He must draw his knowledge of persons, places, and things not merely from the sacred books, but also from other records. And this external assistance goes along with the internal. Both unitedly contribute to bring out the full meaning. They cannot and ought not to be separated. It is in consequence of this fact—the perpetual intermixture of both in exegesis—that we have not been able to find a proper place of insertion for the distinct description of general history, geography, chronology, &c., &c. in the foregoing chapter. The facts of history, civil, sacred, and natural, of geography in its twofold division, of chronology, as well as the manners and customs of eastern nations, belong to all the heads which have just been considered. All that follow in the present chapter pertain to the contents of the preceding one. Doubtless they are more prominent and efficacious in some heads than others; and therefore they might have been put perhaps under such as are most affected by them. For example, they might have been placed with *quis*, the first historical particular considered. But in that case, they would have had too much the appearance of belonging to it, and the other historical particulars would have suffered. The latter might have seemed dissociated from the influence of such facts, or at least *dissociated unduly* from them. Had they been placed with one class, the remaining classes might have had a very distant aspect towards them. On this account, we have thought it better on the whole to present a separate enumeration of the circumstances in question, although in themselves they interweave and accompany all the historical circumstances already enumerated. Standing out by themselves, their value will be better apprehended. But the reader must ever bear in mind that they are arranged thus for convenience, not because they admit of a separate application. On the contrary, they must ever enter into and influence all investigations respecting the *quis*, the *quid*, the *ubi*, the *quibus auxiliis*, the *cur*, the *quomodo*, the *quando*. They are an essential ingredient in such discussions; and the latter cannot lead to any sure result without them.

History, Profane and Ecclesiastical.

(a.) Profane history.—This yields various assistance. Thus other historians may relate the same facts which are narrated in the Bible,

and so confirm the latter; or they record circumstances omitted or merely hinted at by the sacred writers; or, again, they relate events connected with such as are recorded in the Bible, though not spoken of there. Especially is light thrown on the events mentioned in the Scriptures, when they are predicted as future, and history can show the fulfilment of prophecies even in minute circumstances. In all these instances, as well as other analogous ones which will readily suggest themselves to the mind, other historians aid greatly in the elucidation of Scripture history.

Thus Nahum foretels that Nineveh should be taken and destroyed, and various facts connected with its destruction may be illustrated from Diodorus Siculus. We assume as incontrovertible that the destruction of the city by Cyaxares is referred to, which took place about 606, B.C., according to Clinton, not the previous capture of it by Arbaces, referred to by Diodorus Siculus, ii. 26., &c.¹ The prophet says that the inhabitants should be drunk (i. 10.), and this is confirmed by Diodorus. In chap. ii. 6. he predicts that the gates of the river should be opened, and the palace dissolved. Accordingly the historian relates, that the river broke down twenty furlongs of the wall, and overflowed part of the town, and the king burnt himself with his palace. "The spoil of silver and the spoil of gold" (ii. 9.) are the "many talents" of Diodorus. Its destruction was also to be total, as we see from i. 8, 9., ii. 11. 13., iii. 17, 18, 19.; and therefore the oldest historians, Strabo, Herodotus, Arrian, and others, did not know exactly the place where it had been.

The account of Herod's death given by Luke, in Acts xii. 20—24., is confirmed and corroborated by Josephus. The place, Cæsarea, is the same; the assembly, the oration, the gorgeous robe, the impious exclamations of the people, the sudden death, are in both. The *set day* of Luke, we learn from Josephus, to have been the second day of the public games. The *royal apparel* was a robe richly covered with silver, reflecting the rays of the sun falling upon it.

In Acts ix. 31. the churches are said to have had rest from the persecution they had suffered since Stephen's death. The cause of that rest is found in Josephus. Caligula at this time ordered his image to be set up in the temple, which excited great opposition from the Jews. Hence the Christians were left unmolested by the Jews, since the latter were engrossed by another matter. So Lardner, De Wette, and others.

The prophecy of the Saviour respecting the destruction of Jerusalem, recorded in Matt. xxiv., is strikingly and minutely explained by the history which Josephus gives of the siege and capture of Jerusalem.

Again, the existence of altars at Athens dedicated to an *unknown God*, Acts xvii. 23., is well attested by Philostratus and Pausanias. The former writes, in his life of Apollonius², "It is wiser to speak well of all the gods, and especially at Athens, where also are erected altars of unknown gods." Pausanias in his description of Attica³, says, that "altars of the unknown gods" existed at Pha-

¹ See Nineveh and its Remains, by Layard, vol. ii. p. 127. *et seqq.* New York, 1852.

² vi. 2.

³ i. 1.

leron, one of the harbours of Athens. These writers, speaking of the altars collectively, use the plural, "*to unknown gods,*" whereas the apostle refers to a single altar, with its inscription.¹

(b.) Ecclesiastical history.—This is of less utility than profane history, because of the very short period embraced in the New Testament history, and various other circumstances obvious to all. Occasionally however it may confirm and illustrate what is found in Scripture.

Thus the accounts given by Tertullian, Eusebius, and others respecting Peter's death *by crucifixion*, illustrate John xxi. 18, 19., "When thou shalt be old, *thou shalt stretch forth thy hands*, and another shall gird thee," &c., referring to the death of the cross, and the girding about the loins with a cloth. The divisions in the Corinthian church, which the apostle in both his letters laments and censures, appear to have existed for a considerable time. They were not entirely healed by the influence of Paul. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, still extant, shows a state of affairs in the same church essentially similar. Thus the later Epistle confirms the account given in the earlier ones.

In the same manner, we learn from church history, that both appellations, *presbyters* or *elders* and *bishops* (*πρεσβύτεροι*, and *ἐπισκοποι*), were at first synonymous. This appears from Jerome, in the fourth century, and Hilary of Rome. It is also to some extent sanctioned by the Apostolic Constitutions, by Chrysostom, and Theodoret. Such testimony has the greater weight, inasmuch as custom had set in strongly in an opposite direction, bidding fair to annihilate all traces of their original equality.

Chronology.—This is employed in ascertaining the order and dates of events in history. A knowledge of it is necessary for understanding some parts of Scripture, while it is useful in elucidating others. Perhaps the most important duty it serves is the ascertainment of the accomplishment of prophecies. It tells both when an event was foretold and when it took place.

Every nation has some remarkable date from which all computations set out. Thus the Romans reckon from the building of Rome, A.U.C. The Greeks have their Olympiads, the first of which is 776 years B.C., *i. e.*, the 33rd of Uzziah. These points are termed *epochs*. Hales has given a list of them.²

Various remarkable events are recorded in Scripture, which fix the proper division of sacred chronology. Thus the Jews reckon from the creation, the flood, the exodus, the building of the temple.

The first epoch begins with the creation and terminates with the deluge. The duration of it can be gathered only from Scripture itself. But here we have no other marks of time than the age of each patriarch at the birth of the son mentioned; and the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint differ from one another in some of the

¹ See Winer's Realwörterbuch, vol. i. p. 111. *et seqq.*, third edition; and Hackett on the Acts, pp. 244, 245.

² Chronology, vol. i. p. 211. *et seqq.*

particulars. The first has 1656 years; the second 1307; the third 2262. Josephus again, has 2256.

The second period, reaching from the deluge to the birth of Abraham, can be determined only by the Scriptures. In it also the Hebrew, Samaritan, and LXX. differ widely; the first making it 292; the second 942; the third 1072. Josephus has 993.

The third, reaching from the calling of Abraham to the deliverance from Egypt, is clearly determined from Scripture; and all agree in it, viz. 430 years.

The fourth period extends from the exodus to the building of the temple by Solomon, and must also be determined by Scripture. But considerable difficulties are connected with it. In 1 Kings vi. 1. it is expressly stated to be 480 years. But this plain testimony has been invalidated on various grounds. The LXX. have 440. In the parallel passage, 2 Chron. iii. 2., there is no date. Josephus, Theophilus, Clemens, Africanus, and others seem to have been ignorant of the computation 480, for they have different numbers. Eusebius, in the fourth century, first mentions it, and he does not adopt it. The computation of St. Paul (Acts xiii. 20.) *appears to be against it*; for by assigning 450 years as the time from the division of the lands till Samuel the Prophet, he makes 579, viz., Saul 40 + David 40 + Solomon 3. In consequence of these and other considerations, most chronologers have assumed a longer computation than the 480 in 1 Kings. Thus Petavius has 519, De Tournemine 500, Greswell 549, Jackson 579, Serrarius 680, Pezron 962, Des Vignoles 648, Clinton and Cunninghame 612, Seyffarth 880. It is apparent, however, that many of the considerations stated as unfavourable to the period 480 are nugatory. The LXX. have 440 by a mere mistake of interchange between the letters $\nu=80$, and $\rho=40$, as Winer and Thenius have observed. The *omission* of a date in Chronicles proves nothing. Nor can any weight be attached to Josephus; since he has various accounts of the period 592, 612, 632. His detail of the particulars gives 609 years, in which he makes a mistake by omitting the 20 years of the ark at Kirjath-jearim, and putting no more than 12 between Eli and Samuel. He should be corrected by striking out the year of Shamgar, and adding the 20 years of the ark, which makes 628 years.¹ Hales² is wrong in assigning 621 years to Josephus, as Clinton has shown. That Eusebius first mentions the 480 years is no argument against it. It is not true that he himself does not adopt it; for though he has 600 years as the interval in one place³, and though his detail on another occasion gives 613⁴, there is no doubt that his own date is that exhibited in his tables, which is 480. Nor can any conclusion unfavourable to 480 be deduced from the 490 of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; from the silence of Origen, who adduces the passage without any computation; or from the 592 of the Chinese Jews, which is taken from Josephus. The only real circumstance against

¹ See Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. p. 311.

² *Chronology*, vol. i. p. 299., second edition.

³ Chron. i. p. 73.

⁴ *Præp.* x. 14. pp. 502, 503.

the Hebrew in 1 Kings vi. 1., is the computation of St. Paul in the Book of Acts. But does Acts xiii. 20. give the computation of the apostle from the division of the lands till Samuel as 450 years? Certainly, *according to the common text*. But Griesbach has, in his inner margin, *ὡς ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ πενήκοντα. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδωκε;* and Lachmann has these words in the text. When we look at the authority for this reading, we find that it consists of the three oldest and best MSS., in addition to other evidence—authority sufficient to recommend it as the original one. Accordingly, as the passage then stands, the apostle does not say that from the division of Canaan till Samuel was 450 years. To reject the reading of A, B, C, with the remark that it arose from an attempt to remove the chronological difficulty, seems to us contrary to all sound criticism. It is a mere begging of the question.

In reckoning up the periods named in the history of the Judges, there is great uncertainty. There is a chasm after the death of Moses. We are not told what was the duration of the government of Joshua and the elders. It must be supplied by conjecture. There is also a chasm between the death of Samson and the election of Saul, which must be supplied in the same way. The duration of Shamgar's rule is not given. Neither is the interval between Gideon's death and Abimelech's accession. In the same manner the period of Israel's renewal of idolatry previous to their oppression by the Ammonites is unmentioned. It is probable, also, that the numbers are given *summarily and roundly* in some instances, for we find 40 three times (iii. 11., v. 31., viii. 28.). Some judges also who are commonly considered successive were probably *contemporaneous*. These and other considerations which might be adduced, show the extreme uncertainty attaching to any chronology of the period embraced in the Book of Judges. And we are free to confess, notwithstanding all the calculations of Hales, Clinton, Jackson, and others, who make the period much longer than 480, that the latter time is as probable and well supported as any of theirs. It is adopted by Ussher, Thenius, and Keil. The last two writers have rendered it very probable. Doubtless the authority of Josephus has contributed largely to throw suspicion on the short date; but his authority is worth little against the Masoretic text. It is admitted by Hales and Clinton, that Josephus has made mistakes. To say with the former, that "the period of 480 years is a forgery, foisted into the text" of 1 Kings, is rash and arbitrary. Yet Clinton assents to the asseveration. We adhere to the text of 1 Kings, since it is not contradicted by the Apostle Paul in the Acts, as has been commonly assumed; and since it is impossible to prove from the history in the Book of Judges that a longer time elapsed from the exodus to the foundation of the temple. No computation which we have looked into is *on the whole* more likely than the Hebrew one.¹

The fifth period, reaching from the foundation of the temple by Solomon to the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, is gathered from Scripture and the LXX., which agree in making it

¹ See Thenius on 1 Kings vi. 1.; and Keil in Dörptsche Beiträge zu den Theologischen Wissenschaften.

476 years. But Josephus, as given by Hales, makes it 493, which is less probable.

The sixth period reaches from the restoration of the Jews to the birth of Jesus, and is collected almost entirely from profane authors. Ussher makes it 536 years. This does not differ from the Septuagint.

It will be seen from the preceding statements that there is a more extended chronology founded on the Septuagint and confirmed by Josephus, and a shorter one derived from the Masoretic text. The latter is that adopted by the English translators and placed in the margin of our Bibles, whose most distinguished advocates are Ussher, Clinton, and Greswell. The longer chronology has been supported with great learning by Hayes, Jackson, and Hales, to whose arguments nothing has been added by the superficial dissertation of Russell, prefixed to his "Connection of Sacred and Profane History from the death of Joshua to the decline of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah." The chief difference between the two schemes is found in the first period, from the creation to the deluge, and from thence to Abraham. While the Hebrew makes 1656 from the creation to the flood, the Septuagint has 2262. And while the former has 292 from the flood to Abraham's birth, the latter has 1072. In consequence of these variations and a smaller one in the interval from the exodus to the foundation of Solomon's temple, the time that elapsed from the creation to the birth of Christ is about 4000 years in the one scheme, and not far from 6000 in the other.

In favour of the shorter or Hebrew computation, the following considerations have been urged.

1. No designed corruption of the Hebrew text can be reasonably charged upon the Jews in other places. We have reason to believe that the Palestinian Jews carefully watched over and preserved its genuineness. They guarded it with jealous care. Hence there is a strong presumption in favour of its accuracy in the passages which record the years of the antediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs.

2. The transmission of divine truth was easier and more speedy on this computation than it could have been on the longer one. Lamech was 56 years contemporary with Adam, and 100 with Shem. Shem was contemporary for several years with Abraham and Isaac. In this manner only two persons are necessary to connect Isaac with Adam, viz. Shem and Lamech. According to the longer chronology, the transmission of truth was neither so rapid nor so secure.

3. It has been shown, that the date of the creation, 4004 B. C., coincides very nearly with a remarkable astronomical epoch when the major axis of the earth's orbit coincided with the line of the equinoxes.

Were there nothing in the shorter chronology intrinsically to recommend it to our adoption we should naturally abide by the Hebrew text till it had been proved corrupt. As we adhere to it in all other cases until considerations sufficient to show its erroneousness be adduced, so it is our duty to adhere to it in its chronology. The

following are the principal reasons for adopting the longer computation.

1. The Jews had a motive for altering the dates of their ancient chronicles. After the rapid progress of Christianity awakened their enmity to the adherents of the new religion, it is probable that certain persons among them, doubtless the learned, devised a method of weakening the arguments of their Christian opponents by shortening the period between the creation and the birth of the Messiah. But the makers of the Greek version could not have had this motive for lengthening the period, nor indeed any motive adequate to induce them to do so at first; and after the version was in circulation, it could not have been altered, since it was in the hands of Christians as well as Jews; a fact inapplicable to the Hebrew text, which was almost confined to the Jews themselves. Thus as there is an appearance of design in the mode of shortening or lengthening, it is argued that the alteration proceeded from the Jews, rather than the Jewish translators at Alexandria. The Jews of the second century are generally supposed by such as argue for the extended chronology, to have altered the registers of their nation in the manner they now stand in the Masoretic copies.

We confess our inability to perceive the pertinence or cogency of such reasoning. What benefit would have accrued to the Jews from shortening the genealogies? Would the contraction have had the effect, as has been said, of making it appear that the time their expositors had fixed for the appearance of Messiah was not yet passed? Certainly not. The Jews of the second century were not so weak-minded as to have entertained any such idea. It is impossible to assign any adequate motive. This is admitted by Jackson himself, the ablest advocate of the long chronology. But we can assign a very obvious motive for the Greek translators enlarging the chronology. "The Chaldeans and Egyptians (whose histories were about that time published by Berosus and Manetho) laid claim to a remote antiquity. Hence the translators of the Pentateuch into Greek might be led to augment the amount of the generations by the centenary additions and by the interpolation of the second *Cainan*, in order to carry back the epochs of the creation and of the flood to a period more conformable with the high pretensions of the Egyptians and Chaldeans."¹

2. The length of time assigned by the Septuagint, the Samaritan, and Josephus to the postdiluvian period, *i. e.* from the deluge to the birth of Abraham, is reckoned much more probable, *because the shorter generations are repugnant to the course of nature.* If human life be divided into three periods, the generative powers continued in full vigour during the second period. Hence the age of puberty among the antediluvians began at 160 or 170 years of age; and by the same rule, Terah's eldest son Haran was born near the commencement of his second period, 70 years.

This argument against the Hebrew chronology, which militates

¹ Clinton, vol. i. p. 297.

equally against the antediluvian and postdiluvian genealogies in it, is of no weight. It assumes without proof that the age of puberty did not commence till a third part of life had been passed; whereas the contrary may be gathered from the Scripture accounts themselves. Thus in the period from Jacob to Moses, the average length of life was from 120 to 150; and yet within the period, the age of puberty was the same as at present. Judah could not be more than 48 years of age at the descent into Egypt; and yet he had four successions in his line before that epoch. His son Pharez was born after the marriage and death of the eldest son; and yet Pharez had children before the descent into Egypt. The years of these generations could not have been more than these: Judah 15 + Er 15 + 2 (the widowhood of Tamar) + Pharez 16 = 48. The same inference may be drawn from the case of Benjamin. Hence the age of puberty was the same in the patriarchal times as at present, although the duration of life was longer.¹

3. It is also argued against the shorter scheme that Shem survived all his eight descendants except Heber, and lived till the 148th year of Abraham and the 73rd year after the call. Noah himself survived his fifth descendant Peleg, his eighth descendant Nahor, and lived to the 158th year of Terah. Salah survived Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nahor, Terah. Heber survived Abraham himself. The first four patriarchs after the flood, Shem, Arphaxad, Salah, Heber, were all living at the time of the call which was addressed to the tenth descendant of Shem. The remark of Scripture, that Haran died before his father, would not have been thought necessary if the same thing had happened to all the preceding patriarchs.

In answer to this it may be observed, that the first patriarchs survived their descendants because the duration of human life was suddenly shortened by the will of God. The fact that Haran died before his father is not mentioned as a remarkable occurrence, but as necessary to be known to explain the following narrative.

4. Again, the shorter computation is improbable, because the country of Abraham was overspread with idolatry before the call. But the worship of celestial bodies and of deified dead men would scarcely have begun in Chaldea while Noah, and Shem, and Arphaxad, and Salah, and Heber were still living.

This idolatry is not surprising when the multitudes of mankind and their dispersion are considered. The Israelites, even in the time of Moses, fell into idolatry.

5. The shorter time is insufficient for the great multiplication and wide dispersion of Noah's posterity over immense tracts of country; for the establishment of such organised monarchies as Babylon, Nineveh, and Egypt; and for the dukedoms of Canaan, founded by Ham's descendants on the expulsion of earlier inhabitants.

The increase of population is dependent to some extent on the age of puberty. And if the latter was the same as now, as we have shown, then the numbers of a people may be doubled in from ten to

¹ See Clinton, vol. i. p. 294.

fifteen years. In 375 years from the flood, the population, supposing fifteen years to be the period of doubling, would reach two hundred millions.

“The circumstances of the dispersion of mankind,” as Clinton justly argues, “are in favour of the shorter computation of the Hebrew copy. That dispersion was effected by the immediate interposition of providence in opposition to the inclinations of mankind, who desired to dwell together, and were averse to the dispersion. Their object was to remain collected in one city. They built the tower *lest they should be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth*. It is manifest, then, that the dispersion was commanded while they were yet few in number. It was directed prospectively with a view to prevent the evils that would arise from crowded numbers in a limited space. But at the time assigned to this event by the longer dates, more than 500 years after the flood, it is evident that this was no longer the condition of mankind; since their numbers would increase in the common progress of things to many millions, their dispersion would then have been no longer a matter of choice, but of necessity. It could not have proceeded from a divine command providing against a future evil, but would have been forced upon them by the actual presence of that evil. The dispersion, then, in the days of Peleg, took effect at an earlier period, while the members of mankind were yet a few thousands; and Peleg was born where the Hebrew text places him, 101 years after the flood. It is not likely that the numbers of mankind, when they received the command to separate, and prepared to inhabit one city, would exceed 50,000 persons; and this number they would certainly have reached within 160 years of the flood.”¹

The early state of Canaan assumed in the argument is solely hypothetical.

6. The average length of generations in the first ten patriarchs after the flood is shorter than in succeeding periods when the duration of life was shortened, whereas it should naturally be longer. Thus the proportion is not well adjusted in the shorter chronology.

There is little strength in this argument. The proportions in the duration of generations are variable, inasmuch as they depend on many circumstances. They can hardly be measured by a definite standard.

Looking at all the arguments which have been advanced against the Hebrew chronology, we are bound to confess that it possesses far more intrinsic probability than any of the extended schemes which have been proposed in place of it.

There are various peculiarities in the reckoning found in Scripture which may appear at first sight to occasion difficulty.

Thus, a part of a year, an entire year, and a part of another, *i. e.* parts of two years and a whole year, are reckoned as three years. The current year is reckoned as a complete year in the case of several kings, as Jehoshaphat (1 Kings xxii. 41.), who is said to have

¹ *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. pp. 295, 296.

reigned 25 years, when he reigned only 24 complete. Compare also 1 Kings xv. 9. with 25., xv. 25. with 33., xvi. 8. with xv. 33.; 2 Kings xiv. 1. with xiv. 17., &c. In the same manner two parts of two days and one entire day are counted as three days; for our Saviour is said to have been three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.

Fractions or smaller numbers are omitted, the principal numbers only being given; or *round* numbers are given when others might be more accurate.

Sometimes different methods of reckoning are applied to the same transaction. In this manner some reconcile Gen. xv. 13. with Gal. iii. 17. 400 years are mentioned in the former passage, dating from the birth of Isaac and reaching to the deliverance from Egypt; whereas 430 are specified in the latter, because the date is from the call of Abraham, and the period reaches down to the giving of the law at Sinai.

Many difficulties, however, notwithstanding all the attempts that have been instituted to place the chronology of the Scriptures on a sure footing, and to elucidate the obscure parts of it, still remain. They will always do so, in our opinion. The kings of Judah and those of Israel, it is very difficult to adjust chronologically. There are dates in their reigns which are erroneous, as they now stand in the Hebrew text. And some of the methods adopted to lessen the difficulties are objectionable. Thus the association of son with father is often assumed, and then the time of the reign of each is sometimes made to include the time of the other, and sometimes to exclude it, as in the case of Jotham, who is said to have reigned 16 years, 2 Kings xv. 33., while immediately before, his 20th year is mentioned (verse 30.). This expedient has been carried to a great length by Seyffarth, who assumes no fewer than seven such joint-reigns in the kingdom of Judah, and eight in that of Israel. But there is no proof that any one of the children of the monarchs of Israel and Judah was ever associated with his father, or if he were, that the notice of his reign was dated from that association, and not from the actual death of his predecessor. Greswell¹ is right in laying it down as a rule, that no king's rule bears date except from the demise of his predecessor. Too much anxiety has been evinced by many on this subject. Mistakes are found in the text of the Bible, as is patent to all. After accounting for their existence, partly from the errors of transcribers, who in copying figures readily mistook one for another, the question still remains, did the inspiration of the writers secure their infallibility on matters of this kind. Doubtless we may suspect our own ignorance in many cases; but yet we are sure that intricacies and contradictions cannot be removed without attributing a larger share of blame to copyists than justly belongs to them. It is unnecessary to be over-solicitous respecting the chronological accuracy of the writers. Chronology is no part of *religious truth*.

In investigating chronology, the best method is to get the precise

¹ See his Dissertations on the Gospels, vol. iii. p. 489, second edition.

date of some remarkable fact, and from it to reckon upwards or forwards as from a centre well established. Thus the destruction of the temple is determined both by sacred and profane testimony to July 587, B.C. Thence we ascend to the birth of Abraham, and thence upwards still to the time antecedent to the patriarch's birth. From the destruction of the temple, we descend, on the other hand, to the return from the captivity, and thence onward to the birth of Christ. In the New Testament we proceed in the same manner. The death of Herod Agrippa is the best ascertained date in the Acts of the Apostles, viz., 44 A.D. This date determines that of other events, both before and after. In like manner, the recall of Felix as procurator, and the arrival of Festus in his stead, is another important event in the history of the Acts, which can nearly be determined to A.D. 60; from which we proceed backwards and forwards. Unfortunately the date of Paul's conversion can hardly be discovered satisfactorily; while the precise epoch of our Lord's birth is also liable to doubt, though it is the great centre-point of all history. Very properly, astronomy has been associated with chronology. Indeed this is necessary to accuracy. It tests and corrects conclusions obtained independently, or it assists in bringing out certain conclusions. All the most recent and best writers have applied astronomy to chronology, Hales, Ideler, Greswell. It was less successfully applied by Newton, Kennedy, and Playfair.

Geography is divided into *historical* and *physical*, and contributes much to a better acquaintance with the Bible.

The principal country is Canaan, as being the theatre of almost all that is recorded in the Scriptures. This therefore is of great importance to the interpreter. Its boundaries at different times, its seas, rivers, mountains, plains, cities, should all be distinctly and clearly marked. In studying its geography we must carefully attend to periods. At the time of the patriarchs this country was occupied by the Canaanites. These, however, were not the primitive inhabitants. Eleven tribes of such Canaanites are specified in Gen. x. 15—19., of whom the Amorites were the most powerful, and therefore they are put for the Canaanites generally, in Gen. xv. 16. In Exod. iii. 8., xxiii. 23., Deut. vii. 1. a twelfth tribe is mentioned. We are not to suppose that the list in Gen. x. 15—19. is complete, since tribes elsewhere mentioned as belonging to Palestine are not given (compare Gen. xv. 19., &c.), neither should it be supposed that in Gen. xv. 19—21., Exod. iii. 8—17., *Canaanites alone* are given. Several of the earlier inhabitants are here enumerated along with Canaanitish tribes. And it is a most erroneous view to take of the matter, that the eleven mentioned in Gen. x. 15—19. had afterward dwindled down to the seven specified in Gen. xv. 19—21.¹

The country presented a different aspect before it was entered by the Israelites, and subsequently. The early history of it is obscure, and the localities of the Canaanitish tribes by which it was possessed prior to the time of Joshua cannot be determined. But when the

¹ See Tuch's Commentar on Genesis xv. and x., and Winer's Realwörterbuch, s. v. Canaaniter.

Israelites had gained a settlement in it, its geographical features became more distinct. Joshua divided it into twelve portions, giving one to each tribe, Ephraim and Manasseh being included among the rest.

In the reign of Solomon the kingdom was most extensive, for then was fulfilled the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xv. 18. That monarch appointed twelve officers, who had twelve districts under them. See 1 Kings iv. 7., &c.

Under Rehoboam the tribes separated, ten having revolted from the king, and formed a kingdom named Israel. The remaining two tribes, Judah and Benjamin, with some towns of Dan and Simeon, formed the kingdom of Judah. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that *Israel* and *Judah* were now for the first time contrasted with one another. The names were employed after Saul's death, when the tribe of Judah alone adhered to David crowned king over Israel, and the other tribes under Ishbosheth called themselves Israel. Israel was subverted after it had continued 254 years. At the downfall of Judah, which continued 387 or 388 years, another phase of the country appears. After the return of the Jews from captivity, and the rebuilding of the temple, the aspect is again changed, until at length it fell into the hands of the Romans, under whose dominion it was in the time of our Saviour, and by whom it was annexed to the province of Syria. It was then divided into five provinces, Galilee, Samaria, Judea, Peræa, and Idumea.

To an accurate knowledge of Palestine, should be added an acquaintance with the neighbouring countries, as well as those distant ones with which the people of God came in contact. Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Phenicia, Egypt, Media, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Spain, the Islands of the Mediterranean, &c. present a wide field of research to the biblical student.

To show the uses of historical geography, how it clears up apparent contradictions, solves difficulties, exhibits the meaning, propriety, and force of expressions and passages in the Bible, the following examples may be given.

The river of Egypt, the southern boundary of Palestine in its best and most powerful times (Num. xxxiv. 5., 2 Kings xxiv. 7., Isa. xxvii. 12., Josh. xv. 4.) is not the Nile, but Wady El-Arisch which runs into the Mediterranean, in Arabia. In 1 Chron. xiii. 5. it is called *Shihor of Egypt*; and in Josh. xiii. 3., "Sihor which is before Egypt." But in Isa. xxiii. 3., Jer. ii. 18., Sihor means *the Nile*. We are disposed to think, that the expression in Gen. xv. 18., *river of Egypt*, refers to the same, though the word rendered *river* be there נָהָר, not נַחַל, as usual. The term נָהָר is elsewhere applied to small rivers or streams. Hales wrongly argues that *the river of Egypt* and *Sichor* are always equivalent, meaning the Nile.¹

Cush is often mentioned in Scripture. Some always refer it to *Ethiopia*, as Schulthess and Gesenius; others, as Wells², fall into the

¹ Chronology, vol. i. pp. 413, 414.

² The Geography of the Old Testament, vol. i. p. 192. London, 1711.

opposite extreme by affirming that it always means Arabia Petraea, or a part of it. The name was originally of extended and indefinite meaning, being applied by the descendants of Shem to all the southern known to them, viz., the inhabitants of southern or south-western Arabia (Yemen) and Ethiopia. Afterwards this common appellation was restricted to Ethiopia. It is easy to see that many passages in the Old Testament in which the inhabitants of Cush are mentioned, can only refer to an African people—to the Ethiopians. And although we allow to Gesenius that all other passages militate nothing against restricting *Cush* to Ethiopia; yet Gen. x. 7., where some Arabian tribes are mentioned among those descended from Cush, is decidedly adverse. So also is Gen. ii. 13., unless it be attributed to mythical geography. Hab. iii. 7., and Num. xii. 1., do not present the objections to Ethiopia which Wells supposes.¹

In Isa. xxi. 1. Babylonia is called *the desert of the sea*. It was a great flat plain watered by *the sea*, i. e., the Euphrates, as the Nile is also termed *a sea* in Isa. xix. 5. Before mounds and dikes were made by Semiramis, the country was often inundated by the river, and resembled a sea. Abydenus quotes a tradition: "It is said that the whole region at first was water, called *a sea*."

In Psal. xlii. 6. mention is made of *the Hermons*, not *Hermonites* as our version has it. The plural is used because Hermon is properly *a chain of mountains*, not a single one.

Psal. cxxxii. 6. "Lo, we heard of it at Ephratah: we found it in the fields of the wood." The last clause means in the fields of *Jahar*, the same as Kirjath-jearim. The ark was found in the neighbourhood of *the city of the woods*, *Forest-town*. The ark was for a considerable time in Shiloh.

Deut. i. 1. "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red Sea, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab."

It is difficult to explain this passage. The Israelites were now in the plains of Moab opposite Jericho, and yet they are said to be "in the plain over against the Red Sea." Perhaps a solution of the difficulty may be gathered from a knowledge of "the plain" or rather *the 'Arabah*. This immense valley extends from Banias at the foot of Jebel-esh-Sheikh to the Red Sea. The Dead Sea, situated about the middle of it, divides it into two parts. The Israelites were now in the part of the 'Arabah opposite the Red Sea, or towards the opposite end of it.²

Isa. xlv. 2. "gates of brass." Both Herodotus and Abydenus say that Babylon had 100 such gates. The "broad walls" of the city (Jer. li. 58.) exactly agree with what Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say, viz., that they were 87 feet broad and could contain six chariots abreast.

Two places named Bethsaida are referred to in the Gospels. Hence some commentators, such as Macknight, have been perplexed in

¹ See Gesenius's Thesaurus, and Winer's Realwörterbuch, s. v.

² See Robinson's Palestine, vol. ii. p. 600.

regard to the position, because they were ignorant of the existence of any other than one. One was in Galilee, on the shore of the Lake of Gennesareth, not far from Tiberias, Mark vi. 45., viii. 22.; John xii. 21. The other, also termed Julias, was north-east of the same lake, and is referred to in Matt. xi. 21. It was in lower Gaulonitis. It is difficult to identify the sites of these two places, and assign to one or other certain events mentioned in the Gospels which took place in their vicinity. We do not believe that Robinson, Winer, Arnold¹, or the commentators De Wette and Meyer, have cleared up the intricacies connected with them. More satisfactory is the account given by a writer in the Journal of Sacred Literature, whom we have followed.²

In Luke xxiv. 50. it is stated that the ascension of our Lord took place at or near Bethany. But in Acts i. 12. it is written that after the ascension "the disciples returned unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet." Here there is no contradiction. Bethany was connected with or a part of the Mount of Olives, Mark xi. 1.; Luke xix. 29. Compare also Matt. xxi. 17.; Mark xi. 11., xix. 20.; Luke xxi. 37. Luke uses Bethany and the Mount of Olives as nearly synonymous, because the former lies on the eastern slope of the mount.

In Acts xvi 6, 7, 8., we are informed that Paul and Silas, when in Galatia, wished to preach the gospel in proconsular Asia, but were forbidden. When they had come down to the frontier of Mysia, the first province they reached, they were prevented from preaching there. They then attempted to go into Bithynia, adjacent to Mysia, but were likewise restrained. Accordingly they passed by it, and proceeded to Troas, the city of that name. Hence the Troas district was distinct from Mysia. At one time it may have belonged to Mysia; but now it formed a separate territory, having the rights of Roman freedom.

Whoever wishes to see the great utility of geography must carefully trace the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness for 40 years, and the several journeys of the Apostle Paul. These will especially teach the importance of being acquainted with it.

Mistakes in explaining Scripture by the aid of geography are common. We shall give an example or two.

In the third verse of Obadiah is a description of Edom as *dwelling in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high; as exalted like the eagle, and setting her nest among the stars.* These words have been incorrectly supposed to apply to Petra, the capital city of Edom, whose remarkable site and ruins have been described by various travellers, since they were first visited in modern times by Burckhardt. But the description refers to the country generally, which was high and rocky, intersected with clefts and valleys.

In Psal. lxxxix. 13., where Tabor and Hermon are mentioned together, Reland and others assume another Hermon than that which forms a part of Lebanon—a little Hermon in the neighbourhood of

¹ In Herzog's Encyclopæd. Art. Bethsaida.

² No. for October 1854, p. 162. *et seqq.*

Tabor. Tradition does point to Jebel ed-Duhy, mount Duhy, as the little Hermon; but the tradition does not seem to have been as old as Eusebius; and no mountain except one, Jebel esh-Sheikh, is ever called *Hermon* in Scripture. The context of the place does not require a neighbouring, but a *conspicuous* and *notable* mountain.¹ In Acts xvi. 13. a river is mentioned *outside the gate* of Philippi. This was the stream Gaggitas or Gangitas, not the Strymon. Yet the latter is specified as the river meant, by Meyer and De Wette.²

Physical Geography.—This includes climate, weather, seasons, &c., and contributes as well as historical geography to the elucidation of Scripture. But as it has been already treated of in the third volume of this work, we may here omit it, especially as examples of its application to the explanation of the Bible are given.

Manners and customs.—These include a great portion of what is termed Biblical antiquities, such as habitations, dress, food and meals, taxation, modes of reckoning, marriage ceremonies, &c., which have been already discussed.

In like manner, *natural history*, including zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, geology, which belong to the third volume of the work, may be employed in explaining several passages.

A *knowledge of the religious opinions* current among the people mentioned in the sacred volume, will also assist the interpreter. The Israelites came in contact with various nations at different times, such as the Egyptians, the Canaanitish tribes, the Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, and others. A knowledge of the religion of these may therefore assist in illustrating some places of Scripture.

It has been usually thought that many of the ceremonial laws of the Hebrews, and other laws besides, have a reference to the religious opinions, and rites of worship founded on these, that prevailed among the neighbouring idolatrous nations; and that they were given in opposition to them. We are not disposed wholly to deny such reference. Thus in Exodus xxiii. 19. Moses prohibits the seething of a kid in its mother's milk. The reason of such prohibition was, because there was a Gentile superstition connected with this custom. The Zabii, in their sacred rites after harvest, were wont thus to boil a kid in its mother's milk, and then to sprinkle fields, trees, and gardens with the milk, accompanied by magic ceremonies. Thus the lawgiver rebukes a superstitious usage then existing. He discountenances the opinion that the parts sprinkled with the milk so prepared would be more fruitful the following year, as was believed. In like manner when it is said, "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore or the price of a dog into the house of the Lord thy God for any vow" (Deut. xxiii. 18.), this language is directed against what was done in the worship of some gods, and was reckoned acceptable to them among heathen nations. We know that the Phenicians did what is here prohibited.

Allusions to the opinions and worship of idolatrous nations may

¹ See Robinson's Palestine, vol. iii. pp. 171, 172.

² See Conybeare and Howson on Paul's Epistles, vol. i. p. 316. On this whole section relating to Geography, compare Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 666. *et seqq.*

be discovered in Jer. xlv. 17, 18., where worshipping *the queen of heaven* refers to the worship of the planet Venus, *i. e.* Astarte or Ashtaroth. The Hebrew women derived this worship from the Phenicians, and it was connected with the idea of fruitfulness. The queen of heaven was revered as the means of procuring fecundity.

Psal. xvi. 4., "drink-offerings of blood." Libations of human blood were offered to their deities by many of the idolatrous nations. Here the Psalmist expresses his horror or detestation of such offerings.

Some have supposed that a Persian tenet is alluded to in Isa. xlv. 7. "I form light and darkness—peace and evil." The leading principle of Persian philosophy was *dualism*, or the doctrine of two independent coeternal causes, *Light* and *Darkness*, Ormuzd and Ahriman. Jehovah claims authority over them both in his prophetic address to Cyrus. But notwithstanding the names in favour of this reference we are doubtful of it. It is better to understand the language apart from it. It is general, and obvious of itself.

The present source of illustration has been abused. Allusions have been discovered to opinions and superstitions which do not exist. Thus Spencer erred in finding so many references to heathen rites. The majority of his deductions are wholly unfounded. For example, there is no reason to suppose that in Exod. xii. many circumstances of the passover were appointed in opposition to Egyptian superstitions; that the "eating no part raw," "not carried forth," were directed against what was usual in solemn festivals; that the "no bone broken" alludes to being pulled asunder in enthusiasm; that the "not sodden" refers to magical purposes; that the "roasted with fire" is opposed to roasted by the heat of the sun; that "to be eaten with its purtenance" is against reserving the intestines for divination; and that "no part to remain, but the fragments to be burnt," is in opposition to being kept for charms and superstitious purposes.

In like manner, in the choice of the heifer described in Num. xix. 2. &c., it is unnecessary to have recourse to Egyptian rites or opinions, as though that animal referred to the heifer worshipped as sacred to Isis, and was of a red colour as most adored.

Of the same kind are Levit. xix. 29.; Deut. xxii. 5.; Levit. ii. 11.; Isa. xlv. 19.¹ Nor is Hengstenberg free from excess in the same direction as Spencer, though he is by no means so extravagant. More judicious and satisfactory is the admirable work of Selden, *De Diis Syris*.

Ancient learning and philosophy.—At a very early period the Egyptians were eminent for wisdom and learning. Other eastern nations were also remarkable for the science they possessed, as the Chaldeans, Syrians, and Persians. Indeed one philosophy in essence appears to have prevailed throughout most of the eastern nations of antiquity, modified in various ways among different peoples. There is little doubt that the speculations of this philosophy gave origin to some of the religious opinions and rites belonging to the nations attached to it; and that these again were copied by the Israelites, who in their intercourse with others

¹ See Rosenmüller's Scholia on these texts.

were so prone to follow what was corrupt. Such cultivated Jews especially as were of a speculative temperament adopted the principles of this philosophy, accommodating them to their own religious doctrines. In this manner tenets of a peculiar kind were formed, whereby the simplicity of revealed truth was perverted. Abstruse points were discussed, ideas were disseminated, and doctrines taught, which were remote from the common apprehension and derogatory to the nature of revelation. To such there are various references in Scripture; and in the opinion of some, an example occurs in Isa. lxvi. 17., "that sanctify themselves *behind one in the midst.*" The supreme god, the same as Jupiter and the sun, was called *one*, and never appeared but surrounded with many æons or inferior spirits, who would be worshipped along with him. But we much doubt the correctness of this interpretation. Simpler and more natural is that of Gesenius, De Wette, and Knobel.

Many Christians who were imbued with the oriental philosophy brought the tenets of that philosophy into connection with the doctrines of Christianity, and so corrupted the latter. Such were the Gnostics, who however did not appear so early as the time of the apostles. But the germs of their principles were then in existence. The seeds of Gnosticism had been sown in the apostolic age. Thus some supposed that Jesus had not assumed a real body, but only the shadow or representation of one. These persons were afterwards called *Docetæ*. Against them John evidently wrote such passages as, i. 1, 2.; ii. 22, 23.; iv. 2, 3. 14, 15.; v. 6, 7, 8. of his first epistle.

Paul refers to the Platonic-Alexandrian philosophy of Philo respecting the first and second Adam, in 1 Cor. xv.

In the Acts of the Apostles we are informed that Paul encountered the Epicureans and Stoics at Athens. He came in contact with Greek philosophy in the centre of Grecian refinement. The Epicureans admitted the existence of gods, but looked upon them as indolent beings who did not trouble themselves with the affairs or actions of men. They had no belief in a providence, in human responsibility, or in a future retribution. The Stoics, on the other hand, extolled virtue, and insisted on bringing the passions under reason's control, that men might become independent of the ordinary sources of enjoyment. In the speech delivered by the apostle on Mars' hill, both sects are referred to and confuted by implication. Not that he "alternately rebukes their errors" or "reveals to them the great doctrine of the atonement;" but that in a most skilfully disposed and able apologetic discourse, he advances sentiments *tending* to overthrow the views of both together.

Hammond and Burton have greatly erred in finding so many allusions in the New Testament to the Gnostics—a sect which did not exist as such, so early as the apostles.

Coins, inscriptions, medals, and such like ancient remains, may also be employed as hermeneutical auxiliaries.

The following examples will illustrate the kind of aid they afford in interpretation.

Acts xix. 35. Commentators have been somewhat at a loss con-

cerning the office and functions of the *γραμματεὺς*, *town-clerk*, of Ephesus. It is clear that he was a magistrate of great authority, occupying a public position. His original function was to register the public acts and laws, or to keep the record of them. He presided over the archives. Letters sent to the people of Ephesus were addressed officially to him; and it was he who read what related to the affairs of the city generally, before the senate and assembly. Hence his name often appears on the coins of Ephesus. He may be called *the recorder* of the city, rather than *the town-clerk*. That the office was most honourable has been inferred from a coin of Nysa in Caria, on which Tiberius Cæsar is called *γραμματεὺς* of that city.¹ Several coins are extant in which the same man is described as both *ἀρχιερεὺς* and *γραμματεὺς*, *High-priest*, *scribe*. This does not prove, as has been thought by some, that he was a *sacred* not a *civil* officer. It merely shows that he sometimes held a kind of sacerdotal position, probably from being elected Asiarch. We know that the Asiarch presided over the games annually celebrated at Ephesus in honour of Diana, and consequently occupied a sort of sacerdotal position. And that the same person was occasionally both *γραμματεὺς* and Asiarch, follows from an Ephesian inscription in Bœckh.²

Acts x. 1. Here Cornelius the centurion is said to have belonged to the *Italian* cohort, *σπείρης Ἰταλικῆς*. How or why an *Italian* cohort should be at Cæsarea, it may not be easy to perceive; because cohorts were usually levied from the country itself in which they were stationed. But Luke here leads us to suppose that the cohort consisted of *native Italians*. An inscription in Gruter³ confirms the accuracy of the sacred historian, from which we learn that volunteer *Italian* cohorts served in Syria. The soldiers, Italian or Roman, enlisted of their own accord. And as Cæsarea was the residence of the Roman procurator, it was important that he should have trustworthy troops precisely at that place.

Coins and inscriptions are chiefly useful in strengthening the credibility of the sacred writers. They belong to the department of *evidence* rather than to that of *interpretation*. Or, they furnish illustrations of meanings already ascertained. They should not be *unnecessarily* applied, as they have been, to show that the verb *χορημαρίζω* in Acts xi. 26. means *to call by divine appointment*. For in the first place the meaning of the verb is sufficiently obvious from its usage in the New Testament and Septuagint; so that it is quite superfluous to appeal to its occurrence on an ancient votive tablet found at Rome, formerly seen in the temple of Esculapius on an island in the Tiber, where it denotes the *oracular response* of a god; and secondly, it means simply *to name* in the passage in Acts, as it does in Romans vii. 3., also in Josephus, Philo, and later writers. There is no evidence that the name *Christians* was first given to the disciples at Antioch by *divine appointment* or *by an oracle from God*. The heathen, either Greeks or Romans, or both, called them *Christians* for the first time.

¹ See Akermann's Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament, p. 53.

² No. 2990.

³ Copied in Akermann's Numismatic Illustrations, p. 34.

Bishop Münter applied this source of illustration to the New Testament; and since his time it has been employed with more effect by Akermann. Conybeare and Howson have also used it.

Natural history has produced various changes in current interpretations of the Bible, and is destined in all probability to affect exegesis in a still more salutary way hereafter. Thus it has taught us to see that all animals in every part of the globe could not have been shut up in the ark. The number of distinct species to which mammalia, reptiles, insects, and animalcules can be reduced by the greatest possible contraction, renders it utterly impossible. The ark was not capacious enough to contain pairs and septuples of all the animals now existing on the face of the earth. Besides, animals have their appropriated regions to which they are adapted by nature, and cannot live in others. When, therefore, it is considered that above a thousand species of existing mammalia are known, more than five thousand of birds, more than two thousand of reptiles; of insects an immense number, more certainly than one hundred thousand; of animalcules countless millions; and that all have congenial climates; the impossibility of the ark holding them is obvious. Hence the language of the narrative must be restricted. The newly created animals of *that region* which was the cradle of the human race were alone brought into the ark and preserved. With this is connected the *partial* character of the deluge—not its universality.¹

In like manner *geology* has affected the exegesis of Scripture. It has taught us to disconnect the second verse of the first chapter of Genesis from the first, in relation to immediate sequence of time. It supposes a separating interval, how long none can tell; but long enough for all geological requirements. The whole account of the Mosaic cosmogony has received valuable illustration from this important science.²

In like manner *medicine* has contributed to the elucidation of the Bible. Thus it has explained the diseases of Job and Nebuchadnezzar; has made the descriptions of leprosy more intelligible and obvious; and thrown light upon the case of the diseased persons spoken of in the Gospels as demoniacally possessed.

We might thus traverse the wide field of nature, science, and art, for the purpose of showing that every part of it illustrates and confirms the biblical records. The language of the sacred writers is diversified. It is borrowed from every thing around them. It is therefore the interpreter's duty to know the objects of the eastern world, so interesting to the student of Scripture; as well as the various manners, usages, and customs peculiar to the people or peoples described. We shall then see the adaptation of the language employed to set forth the religious doctrines and moral truths which the Bible inculcates; the propriety of figures that may seem exaggerated or uncouth; the truth and naturalness of the representations given. If the sacred historians, prophets, and poets have fetched their descriptions from the wide domain of nature, it is the dictate of

¹ See Smith's *Scripture and Geology*, p. 155. *et seqq.* third edition.

² See my *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 670. *et seqq.*

reason to study the scenes and objects to which they refer. To obtain a comprehensive acquaintance with the Bible, it is needful to call in the aid of all science, natural and moral.

We have reserved the opinions of Jewish writers for a separate chapter; though they might have been introduced under several of the heads just described.

CHAP. XV.

ON JEWISH WRITINGS AS AIDS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

WE have already alluded to the Jewish writings as sources of illustrating the *usus loquendi* of the Scriptures. They serve to explain the grammatical force and meaning of words, and so contribute to what has been termed *grammatical* interpretation. But they may be legitimately employed in interpretation generally; in throwing light on the facts of Scripture, on opinions, manners, and customs alluded to there.

Among these Jewish writings we may refer first to the Apocryphal books as the oldest. These works form a valuable and important link of connection between the Old and New Testaments. Having been written by Jews, though not in general Palestinian ones, they show their manner of thinking, sentiments, and usages in a variety of aspects. They reflect the tone and spirit of Alexandrian Judaism after the completion of the Old Testament canon and before the coming of Messiah. We join with those scholars who regret the disuse into which these writings have fallen in many quarters; especially among those churches which draw a wide and strict line of separation between them and the Old Testament books from a conviction that the one collection is *inspired*, the other *not* so. For even when this position of inferiority is conceded, no reason necessarily arises out of it why the Apocryphal books should be neglected and despised. They contain Jewish history, ethical philosophy, dogmatic precepts, didactic and practical lessons, deserving of attentive and frequent perusal. They have even affected the tone and form of various places in the New Testament; for it is undeniable that several of the sacred writers were acquainted with them and exhibit the influence they had upon their teachings. As documents bearing on the history, philosophy, and dogmatics of the Alexandrian Jews, they appear to us very valuable. The Jewish mind as influenced by Alexandrian and other causes is seen in them. Accordingly these books have supplied many illustrations of the New Testament to commentators like Kuinoel, and to lexicographers like Bretschneider. Of the Targums or Jewish paraphrases we have already spoken under the head of versions. We regard them as less valuable than the Apocryphal books, in the province of interpretation. Yet they are not without their use, specially in elucidating the Hebrew *usus loquendi*.

As to the Talmud, consisting of two parts viz. the Mishna or text and Gemara or commentary, its contents are multifarious, and need not be described here. The Babylonian Talmud, *i. e.* the Mishna with the Gemara of Babylon, is most esteemed. The Jerusalem Talmud, consisting of the same text, but with another Gemara, is in much less repute. This great work is useful for the illustration of manners and customs mentioned or referred to in the Scriptures. Passages from the Old Testament are also cited and commented on in it after the manner of the Jews. It would be idle to deny that the Talmud contains many things which contribute to a better acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments. The traditions of the Jews which it embodies, some of them reaching up to a period prior to the advent of the Saviour, are founded in part on the canonical books. They exhibit the workings of many Jewish minds upon the revealed Scriptures, showing how the letter was interpreted, evaded, overridden, arbitrarily used, that a certain meaning might be brought forth. Piety and superstition are both apparent. The Mishna is of much greater utility than the Gemara. It is older and less trifling. Hence it has been much more applied to Scripture illustration than the other.

A few examples may be given.

“Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.” (Matt. v. 19.)

Our Saviour did not refer to the commandments of *the ceremonial* but *the moral* law. How then could he call the latter *least* commandments? He spoke according to the sense of his hearers, not according to his own mind. His hearers had been taught to speak so of the moral precepts of the law. And in the words there is a latent allusion to something that had been said before.

“Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and then rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.” (Matt. v. 23, 24.)

Here some law or custom is referred to which is not explained in the Bible. What the gift is, and what the altar, we cannot learn from the context. But in the Talmud there are certain doctrines and observances of the Jews which being well known to them the Saviour left to be understood. The Hebrew lawyers speak much of the causes which may justify a man in putting off the offering he was about to present at the altar. These are principally some blemish in the sacrifice, or some uncleanness in the votary. But the Speaker tells his hearers of another cause unnoticed by the lawyers, viz. that if a person recollects not merely any uncleanness or outward disqualification in himself, but that his brother hath ought against him, he is to delay his sacrifice till reconciliation be made.¹

“Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s; and unto God the things which are God’s.” (Matt. xxii. 21.)

¹ See Lightfoot’s Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Matthew, vol. xi. p. 110. *et seqq.* of his collected works by Pitman.

“The calmness and dignity of our Saviour’s answer has been often remarked, but its full and exact significance cannot be collected from the words of St. Matthew. In his reply our Lord evaded the dilemma on which the Pharisees had hoped to fix him; but according to our notions it contained no answer, either direct or indirect, to the question proposed; for the common currency of a coin with Cæsar’s head and name upon it was no proof, as we should think, of his lawful claim to tribute. But, as addressed to the Pharisees, our Lord’s words had a signification which they do not immediately convey to our minds. Lightfoot tells us that it was one among the determinations in their schools, that ‘wheresoever the money of any kind is current, there the inhabitants acknowledge that king for their Lord. Hence is that passage of the Jerus. Sanhedr. r.: *Abigail said to David, What evil have I done, or my sons, or my cattle? He answered, Your husband vilifies my kingdom. Are you then a king? to which he replied, Did not Samuel anoint me for a king? She replied, The money of our Lord Saul is current; that is, Is not Saul to be accounted king, while his money is still received commonly by us all?*’ It would seem, therefore, that our Saviour, in his reply to the Pharisees, not only turned aside the snare which was laid for him, but made it dangerous for them to attempt any rejoinder, lest they should fall into the difficulty they had prepared for him.”¹

Next to the Talmud may be mentioned the writers of *Rabboth* or commentaries on the five books of Moses, to which are subjoined the *Megilloth*. The *Midrashitic* writings, containing allegorical interpretations of several books in the Old Testament, are of less value than the *Rabboth*. Besides these, we have the Jewish books called *Siphra*, *Siphri*, and *Mechilta*, exhibiting something of the nature of a commentary on Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, and some chapters of Exodus, respectively.²

The book called *Sohar* may be also mentioned here, which is a cabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch, but containing discussions respecting the Deity, his essence, attributes, and names; respecting the Messiah; good and bad angels; the nature of man, his origin, his condition; with practical and ritual matters. Some Jews ascribe the book to R. Simeon Ben Jochai, who lived at the commencement of the second century; while others attribute its composition to *his disciples*. All of it seems to be of later origin than R. Simeon’s time. Different writers at different times have contributed to it. It is a piece of patchwork, many portions being later than the Talmud and the Masoretic age. Hence the value of the work is inconsiderable. In interpretation it is of little use. In various cases it may be advantageously employed to show what was thought by the Jews of former times respecting passages in the Pentateuch relating to the Messiah and his person; but these are merely incidental things, as the general subject is neither the coming of the Messiah, nor the events foretold concerning his reign, nor any

¹ Lyall’s Preparation of Prophecy, pp. 80, 81. second edition.

² See Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa, vol. ii.

single topic. Being a cabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch, it treats of many particulars as they occur.¹

The chief English commentators who have applied the Talmud and other Jewish writings to the elucidation of the Old Testament are Ainsworth in his notes on the Pentateuch, Gill and A. Clarke on all the books. In the New Testament, the last two have also applied them extensively. Wetstein has supplied many illustrations from the same sources. But they have been more used by Lightfoot, Schoettgen, and Meuschen. The works of the two Cappells², with the *Myrothecium Evangelicum* of Cameron, are of less extent, but written with the same object. And Koppe in his edition of the New Testament has made a good selection from all preceding writers.

There can be little doubt that these Jewish writings have been too extensively applied to the interpretation of the Scriptures generally. This holds good especially in the case of Gill and Lightfoot, who with immense erudition heaped up passages from their favourite authors. Yet we cannot avoid thinking that much of their time and labour was wasted on these Rabbinical lucubrations. Very often illustrations derived from Jewish sources and applied by these two scholars are useless lumber. It is quite unnecessary to resort to them when the sense can be ascertained by other means. Where the context or parallels are sufficient aids in eliciting the sense, it is superfluous to apply to Jewish writers. Ammon has laid it down as a rule, that in the New Testament wherever religious rites are treated of, as well as forms of teaching and prayer, illustrations may be found in the Jewish writers.³ But a rule of this nature is of little use. It is not sufficiently exact or precise. And we gravely suspect, that the propounder himself would employ it very injuriously to the true sense when he affirms, "that St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans often writes as might be expected from a scholar of Gamaliel." It is better to refrain from Jewish authors except when they are absolutely needed; and cases of necessity must be judged separately, as they occur. Perhaps the following admonitions may be useful on the point before us.

(a.) Where there is no written narrative in the Old Testament respecting historical matters, but merely a tradition handed down orally, there Jewish writers may be profitably consulted. Thus Paul, speaking of the magicians of Pharaoh, gives the names Jannes and Jambres, which are not in the Mosaic but in Jewish books. So too Luke states, that there was no rain in the time of Elias for three years and six months. This number does not appear in the Books of Kings. And in the speech of Stephen there are several particulars derived from tradition.

(b.) We must refer to these sources where no other historical sources of rites mentioned in Scripture exist. Various rites after-

¹ See Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa, vol. i. p. 1134. *et seqq.*

² Observationes in N. T., by James Cappellus, edited after his death by Lewis Cappell, to which he subjoined his own *Spicilegium Notarum in N. T.*, 1657.

³ See Notes to Ernesti, vol. ii. p. 180., Terrot's translation.

wards practised are not prescribed in the law of Moses. They are of later origin. These can be learned only from Jewish books. Of this nature were several particulars relating to the sanhedrim, the synagogue, and the conduct of private life.

(c.) Wherever it can be clearly shown that the manner of teaching and argumentation used by the New Testament writers is analogous to that of Jewish authors, the latter may be used for illustration. An example occurs in Matt. xxii. 31., where the doctrine of the resurrection is proved from a passage in the Mosaic law.

In like manner, the form of many citations from the Old Testament in the New resembles that used by Jewish writers, as Surenhusius and Doepke have abundantly shown.

Great care must be taken in applying Jewish writers to the explanations of certain subjects. If they belong to a more recent period they must not be adopted as expositors of passages in the Old Testament, for they are frequently fanciful, allegorical, cabbalistic, and minutely etymological. Nor can they be trusted where they expound the doctrines of revealed religion. There they are wont to mix up their own opinions with the statements of Scripture, so that rabbinical rather than biblical teachings are evolved.¹

How far the matter of the New Testament is to be pronounced distinctively Jewish, inasmuch as the writers were Jews, or whether it is to be regarded in any sense as such, is a question exceedingly difficult to answer. It is certain that *the form* of the New Testament teachings must be resolved, in many cases, into the Jewish origin and mental habitudes of the writer. *Modes* of reasoning and proof are often Jewish. And we are disposed to think that *the matter* was sometimes owing to the same fact, and adapted to the Jewish mind. But it is impossible to tell how far this accommodation extends. Certainly not so far as Semler and his followers supposed. In their hands, the New Testament was made essentially a Jewish book—a Jewish appendix to the Old Testament, rather than a distinct, clearer, higher, more spiritual revelation, of universal import and utility. That was a dangerous excess into which Semler ran. We must not merge the character of the New Testament teachings in a meagre thing like this, else their genius will be misapprehended and destroyed.

We have reserved the works of two learned Jews for a separate paragraph, because they differ materially from the talmudical and rabbinical writings. Philo and Josephus are more valuable than other authors of their nation. Their works throw more light on the manners, customs, and opinions of their countrymen.

We need not state here such particulars as are known respecting the life of Philo, especially as they are few and uncertain. We know that he was an Alexandrian Jew, well acquainted with the Old Testament in the Septuagint version, though entirely ignorant of it in the original Hebrew, as Frankel has shown.² We know that he was of a philosophical cast of mind, and eloquent withal, but at the

¹ See *Mori Acroases*, vol. ii. p. 174. *et seqq.*

² *Vorstudien zu den Septuaginta.*

same time mystical, ingenious, fanciful, allegorical in his comments and influences. Imbued with the Platonism then current among the cultivated men of Alexandria, he endeavoured to penetrate beneath the letter to the spirit of the Old Testament. On this account, he is useful in illustrating various parts of the Pauline Epistles; for it is apparent that the Apostle of the Gentiles sometimes reasons in a manner similar to Philo's allegorical method. In the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he has been often employed towards the elucidation of it. That Epistle presents more analogy to his writings than any other part of the New Testament. What has attracted most notice in Philo is his doctrine of the Logos, which bears much resemblance to that of the Apostle John. So close indeed is the likeness, that many eminent commentators assume the influence of Philo's Logos-doctrine on that of John. Others, however, deny the assumption. The passages of Philo relating to the Logos were industriously collected long ago by Bryant.¹ Since his day, most of these passages have been reproduced by Pye Smith.² His doctrines have also been elucidated by Grossmann.³ But these attempts are superficial and unsatisfactory, leading to no definite or certain result. Recourse must be had to the more extended treatises of Gfrörer⁴ and Daehne⁵; to the introductions to the commentaries of Lücke and Tholuck on John; to Dorner's admirable remarks⁶; and to those of De Wette at the commencement of John's Gospel. We believe that the writings of Philo are more useful in elucidating *the opinions* of the Jews than their customs. As he has many quotations from the Old Testament we see how he understood many passages in it. Even in explanation of the New Testament he may be usefully applied. Thus it has been supposed, not without reason, that the remarks of Paul upon the earthy man and the heavenly man in 1 Cor. xv. 44—47. were written with relation to Philo's doctrine, and in refutation of it. The passage in the first Epistle to the Corinthians is very similar to one in Philo's *De Allegor. Leg.* i. 12, 13., where the Jewish-Platonic writer comments on Gen. ii. 7. According to the latter, the heavenly man is the archetypal man, incorporeal, immortal, the ideal denizen of the ideal world; the earthy man or Adam being only the prototype and ignoble representation of him. The heavenly man abounded with the divine spirit; but the earthy man, created with a mortal body, had only a faint breath of the immortalising and vivifying spirit, which being added constituted him a living soul.

Now *the earthy man* or Adam of the apostle is identical with the earthy man in Philo's phraseology. In describing his body, both agree. It was created. But Philo's *heavenly man* differs from Paul's.

¹ "The sentiments of Philo-Judæus concerning the Λογος or Word of God, together with large extracts from his writings, compared with the Scriptures on many other particular and essential doctrines of the Christian religion." 1776.

² Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i. p. 364. *et seqq.*, fourth edition.

³ Quæstiones Philonææ, 1829.

⁴ Philo und die jüdisch-alexandrin. Theosophie, 1835.

⁵ Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie, 1834.

⁶ Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi, vol. i. 1839.

The former is a mere Platonic idea existing in the Word or Reason of God, having no individual existence. The latter is the true personal Logos, the pattern after which all heavenly men should be moulded. When the apostle directly affirms that "that was *not first* which was spiritual, but that which was natural: *afterwards* that which was spiritual," he seems directly to oppose the doctrine of Philo, who supposes that the heavenly man, the generic pattern of the earthy race, was formed *first* of all.

The coincidence between the language of both writers is very striking. They agree too in sentiment up to a certain point. But in regard to *the order* in which the two men were produced, as well as *the nature* of the heavenly man, the apostle directly refutes Philo. In consequence of this coincidence, and at the same time express refutation of the one writer by the other, it is probable that the apostle had in view the passage of Philo. This is more likely than that both drew their phraseology from a common source.¹

Wetstein long ago thought that Paul saw the writings of Philo, a supposition involving nothing extravagant. Whether the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews saw them is a question connected with the authorship of that Epistle. A compendious view of the passages in Philo applicable to the illustration of the New Testament is given in Dahl's *Christomathy*.² This is better than the collection of terms and doctrines in Clarke's commentary on the New Testament, at the end of the first chapter in John's Gospel.

The writings of Josephus are better known than those of Philo, his elder contemporary. They also contribute more to the elucidation of Scripture. He mentions many customs and rites belonging to the Jews. He describes the sects that prevailed among his countrymen. We learn much from him respecting the civil and religious condition of the Jews at the time of Christ. He describes, with the graphic minuteness of an eyewitness, the Jewish war and siege of Jerusalem, thus furnishing interesting matter to show the fulfilment of our Saviour's prediction respecting the destruction of the metropolis of Judea. It is therefore impossible for the interpreter to neglect the writings of Josephus without detriment. We have already seen that his diction does not throw much light on that of the Greek Testament, because it is formed on classical models. But with respect to rites and customs, as well as the history of his own times, he possesses authority and value. Where his credit is chiefly vulnerable is in his representations of ancient Jewish history. The purpose with which he wrote his *Antiquities* led, in this instance, to a one-sided picture of his ancestors — a picture by no means accurate or complete. It was intended for the Romans, and therefore he made it as favourable as he could.

It has been justly remarked by Ernesti³, that the authority of the Rabbins should not be preferred when it contradicts that of Philo and Josephus. The latter authorities are earlier and more learned

¹ See Mr. Babington in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, No. 1. p. 47. *et seqq.*

² *Chrestomathia Philoniana*, 1800.

³ Vol. ii. p. 182, English translation.

than the former. When the temple, or the religious rites connected with it, are under examination—when the passover or the holy places are under review—a higher degree of credit should be given to those who saw and took a share in these things, than to those who lived after the temple was destroyed, and the rites connected with it laid aside. As an instance of discrepancy between the two authorities, take the paschal lamb, which, according to the Talmudists, was sacrificed by the priests; whereas Philo asserts that the sacrifice was performed by each father of a family. There is one drawback to the credit of Philo even in relation to Hebrew customs and manners, viz., that his accuracy cannot be relied upon when he describes such as were ancient. Regarding the old Hebrew rites he cannot be trusted implicitly. But of the *later* Jewish usages and opinions he may be considered a faithful narrator. Probably where he is inaccurate in the matter of rites and customs, he did not know the truth. Many mistakes are owing to ignorance, not to misrepresentation. Those critics who lay much stress on his sentiments are hardly aware of the extent of his ignorance, and the self-sufficient ideas he entertained respecting his own inspiration. Eclectic philosophy made him less solicitous about such things as a strict Pharisee would dwell upon.

CHAP. XVI.

OF THE ASSISTANCE TO BE DERIVED FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE GREEK FATHERS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

It is unnecessary to examine on the present occasion who are meant by the fathers of the Christian Church. Who are to be accounted such, and who are not, cannot be exactly settled because of the indeterminate nature of the question itself. We may include all the theological writers belonging to the first six centuries; or we may terminate the list with Theophylact in the eleventh century. Perhaps it is more appropriate to confine the appellation to such as flourished till the close of the sixth century, at which time learning and religion grievously degenerated.

The authority which should rightly be attached to the works of the fathers of the Christian Church has been very variously estimated. While they need not be depreciated unduly, neither need they be excessively extolled. A just medium should be observed. Taking them as a body of interpreters, we cannot place them in a high rank. They had learning, piety, and zeal. They did much to recommend the truth to the acceptance of others. But their learning was by no means extensive, accurate, or profound. It was superficial and shallow. They did not understand the Scriptures in their original languages. With a very few exceptions, they were ignorant of Hebrew. Hence they were compelled to rely on the Greek version of the Old Testament, which, being by no means a good one,

failed to represent, in many instances, the true meaning of the original. Inaccurate as this version is, they assigned an inordinate value to it, as though it were an equivalent substitute for the original. Besides the defectiveness of their learning, we cannot commend their judgment and skill as interpreters. Both qualities are necessary to a successful expositor; and both they certainly did not possess in any considerable degree. In short, they were zealous preachers rather than able expounders of the word.

Yet they are valuable in some respects. They state facts connected with Christian antiquity, which may be received on their testimony without gainsaying. They show what views of Christian doctrine were commonly entertained in their day. Current opinions in the Catholic church they report faithfully. We learn from them what was commonly believed among the orthodox Christians of antiquity. They explain customs and practices founded upon or developed out of the Bible, which it cannot but be useful to know. In expounding the New Testament, the Greek fathers appear to most advantage, because they were familiar with the Greek language. A few of them may even be termed good interpreters of the New Testament. Where they are less reliable is in the region of polemics. When giving the sentiments of opponents, they must be read with caution; for it is beyond a doubt that they had too warm an imagination to weigh calmly and state impartially the views of adversaries. Little points were magnified by them; persons who differed from them were too readily reviled or excommunicated. They were not fair controversialists, generally speaking. They wanted calmness, judiciousness, philosophy, logic, a profound love of the truth; qualities necessary to the unprejudiced disputant. Hence in speaking of heretics, they cannot be safely followed. The great fault of their interpretation is the *allegorising* method they were so prone to follow. Giving scope to an active fancy, or carried away by the spirit of a speculative philosophy, they ran into excess in regard to prophecies and types, parables and comparisons. Yet with all the serious drawbacks which their works present, there is much to interest and instruct the men of after times in these very writings. Christian curiosity is naturally excited to know the meaning which the generation immediately following the apostles and evangelists attached to their inspired writings. We desire to learn what men who conversed with some of the apostles or their immediate followers thought of the great Christian verities revealed for the salvation of the human race. What sense the early fathers put upon parts and passages of the sacred books, is a question which every student of Scripture is likely to ask. Surely they were in a position to know the leading doctrines of the Bible as well as modern interpreters, if not in some respects better than they. Surely their writings as a whole will afford some clear idea of what they thought about Christ's person, mission, and work, in relation to the divine purpose and the interests of mankind. Accordingly it is commonly observed that Christians of all sects have wished to get the fathers on their side. Weight has been attached to their testimony on many important points by almost

every denomination. Few have ventured to despise and neglect their verdict, except those who have reason to believe that the verdict is adverse to them. The importance of studying the fathers is enhanced in our view by the fact, that *the germ alone* of certain primary truths is contained in the Bible, to be developed thereafter by the spiritual intelligence and consciousness of the true church. The New Testament contains Christian doctrine and duty *in essence*, but they are not fully developed there. Believers, penetrated by the Spirit of Christ, were to unfold them by degrees, in proportion to their attainments in the divine life and knowledge. Those who have studied such a work as that of Dorner on the person in Christ, will readily perceive the full force of this observation.

In another book¹ we have largely examined all the leading fathers as interpreters of the Bible, giving numerous specimens of their exegesis. There the merits of each have been discussed and settled. It has been made to appear, that Origen and Jerome, Chrysostom and Theodoret, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Augustine were the best interpreters; to whom Diodore of Tarsus should be added, were not his writings unfortunately lost.

But there is a value in the works of such fathers as are not professed commentators. Incidental notices may illustrate Scripture equally with more formal expositions. Especially may they throw light on doctrines and duties, by exhibiting the view taken of them at an early period. Interpretations of passages will accordingly be discovered in several of the ante-Nicene fathers, which are most important in a doctrinal aspect. Such interpretations have been collected from the writings of Barnabas (so called), Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and others, by Burton; with the view of setting forth the general evidence of the early fathers on the divinity of Christ. The same learned writer has followed a similar course in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of the Holy Ghost. The following examples of interpretation are given from him.

“Diognetus had asked Justin to solve some doubts and difficulties which he entertained concerning Christianity. In compliance with his request, Justin wrote this letter; and speaking of the special revelation of his will, which God had made to Christians, he says, “This is no earthly invention which has been handed down to them, neither is it a mortal notion which they are bent on observing so carefully, nor have they a system of human mysteries committed to them: but the omnipotent and all-creative and invisible God hath Himself from heaven established the truth amongst men, and the holy and incomprehensible word, and rooted it in their hearts: not, as you might suppose, by sending to men any of his servants, either an angel, or a prince, or one of those who administer the affairs of earth, or one of those who have the management of heavenly things entrusted to them, but the Framer and Creator of the Universe, himself, by whom He created the heavens, by whom He shut up the sea in its own bounds.”

¹ Sacred Hermeneutics, 1843.

We have here an express declaration that Jesus Christ was the *Framer and Creator of the worlds*. God created them by Jesus Christ, as is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews i. 2.; and if the words quoted above are not sufficiently strong to exclude the idea of God having employed any subordinate agent, we find in the very next chapter the expression of "God the Lord and Creator of the Universe, who made all things and arranged them in order." Thus according to Justin's own words, God created the worlds by His Son; and His Son, by whom he created them, was God.¹

The Epistle to Diognetus was not written by Justin, as is here assumed; but it was written at an early period notwithstanding.

Another example adduced by Burton to show that the doctrine of the Trinity was believed by the ante-Nicene fathers is given from Clemens Alexandrinus. That ancient writer breaks out into the following exclamation: "O mysterious wonder! The Universal Father is one; the Universal Word also is one; and the Holy Spirit is one, and this same Spirit is every where." Beside the testimony here borne to the doctrine of a Trinity," says Burton, "the reader will observe, that ubiquity is ascribed to the Holy Spirit."²

These examples will serve as a specimen of the manner in which the learned writer lays the early fathers under contribution towards proving such important doctrines as those already mentioned. Their mode of interpreting certain passages shows what their belief was respecting the distinctions in the Godhead. But without wishing to lessen the weight of Burton's method of proof, we cannot help thinking that it is liable to exception, in certain aspects of it. Like his illustrious predecessors in the same department, Waterland and Bull, he has given a one-sided view. This is an unavoidable result of the polemic purpose he had before him. The ante-Nicene fathers unquestionably believed in the divinity of Christ and in the Trinity; but they do not seem to have had precise or definite notions on the subject, like such as prevailed among the orthodox after the Nicene council. It is subjecting these early fathers to undue pressure, when the formal and metaphysical distinctions which became current afterwards are extracted from their incidental notices. *Our modern ideas* of Christ's divinity, and of the Trinity, shaped as they have been to a large extent by Athanasian formularies antagonistic to Arianism, should not be assigned to these ante-Nicene authors. Bull, Waterland, and Burton do this to some extent; and so far their treatises are neither comprehensive enough, nor exhaustive. The true method has been followed by Dorner, whose work constitutes an era in the treatment of the doctrine respecting Christ's person.

An example of a different kind to the preceding we take from Epiphanius³ and Tertullian⁴, who informs us that the Cerinthians

¹ See Testimonies of the ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ, p. 53. *et seqq.* in Theological Works, vol. ii.

² *Ibid.* p. 54. in Testimonies of the ante-Nicene Fathers to the Trinity

³ *Hæres.* xxviii. 7.

⁴ *De Resurrectione*, 48. and *Advers. Marcion.* v. 10.

and Marcionites had a practice among them of allowing Christians to be baptized in the room of such as had died unbaptized, in order that the latter might become partakers of the resurrection and eternal life. It would appear that the practice was earlier than the Cerinthians; since Paul refers to it in the first Epistle to the Corinthians xv. 29.; "else what shall they do which are *baptized for the dead*, &c." The apostle uses the *argumentum ad hominem*; and in appealing to a certain belief does not think it necessary to his purpose to censure it, which in other circumstances he would undoubtedly have done. Tregelles's alteration of the common punctuation, for the purpose of bringing out another meaning, appears to us unnatural.¹

There are two extremes in relation to the subsidiary sources of knowledge we have been referring to, which appear to be equally erroneous. One is to consider every thing as interpreted by the Bible itself, and so to reject all illustration from other sources. The other is that of trusting too much to the light which these may throw upon it. In the former case, the Bible is unduly exalted; in the latter, it is unjustly depreciated. In the one, every thing enunciated is supposed to be fresh, new, original, divine; in the other, old things are also reasserted and explained. Great havoc has been made by the latter, in the hands of the Rationalist party; for by means of it the Bible is divested of its supernatural character. When all illustrations of the divine Book are sought outside of itself, it sinks down to the level of contemporary records. Jesus and his apostles become Jews, more enlightened perhaps than others of their day, but still Jews, resembling the men of their generation in many respects, and speaking like them to a great extent, as they uttered sentiments in current language adapted to the apprehension of the people. All this is a most deplorable depreciation of the Scriptures and of Him who inspired the writers. Yet with all such perversion, we should not be justified in rejecting the aid afforded by the sources in question. All contribute to cast some light on the sacred text. Many passages are either unintelligible, or dimly apprehended, without them. The sermon on the mount, for example, is but imperfectly understood without a knowledge of the Jewish opinions, proverbs, and practices current at the time when it was delivered, and which it was intended in a great degree to counteract. Our Saviour took the texts of the old law in the narrow interpretations within which Scribes and Pharisees had confined them, put them in a new and broad light suited to the spirit of the dispensation he came to found, and amended familiar phrases current among the teachers of the people by putting into them a higher and spiritual significance. He gave a peculiar turn and beauty to proverbial expressions, which riveted the attention and secured the confidence of the people.²

¹ See Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, pp. 216, 217.

² See Wiseman's Essays on various subjects, vol. i. p. 114. *et seqq.*

CHAP. XVII.

LIMITATIONS AND CAUTIONS IN THE EXEGESIS OF THE BIBLE.

IN connection with the objects of natural science, such as astronomy, geology, botany, natural history, physiology, and the like, it ought to be observed,

1. That they are described or touched upon *popularly*, not according to scientific accuracy. The language employed in speaking of them must be viewed in the light of that knowledge of them which prevailed at the time. It is founded upon and consonant with the ideas which men then entertained—to the rude, imperfect, and probably erroneous conceptions formerly held. “If it was not unworthy,” says an estimable writer, “of the Adorable Majesty of God to permit HIMSELF to be described in terms *infinitely beneath* him, and which require our watchfulness and pious care, lest we take up with conceptions far remote from the spirituality of the Divine Nature and the purity of Christian worship, MUCH MORE may it be regarded as consonant with the honour of his word that its references to *natural objects* should be, in the character of thought and expression, *such as comported with the knowledge of the age in which they were delivered.*”¹

The principle in question is simply an accommodation to the infantine knowledge of God’s rational creatures, without which certain parts of Scripture would have conveyed no information to the persons to whom they were first addressed. It is an adaptation to crude or incorrect conceptions.

Agreeably to this method of representation, the clouds are called *the bottles or vessels of heaven*, which are emptied when rain descends. In like manner *the foundations* and *corner-stone* of the earth are spoken of. *The pillars* of the earth are also mentioned (comp. Job xxxviii. 37. 6., ix. 6.). The earth was thought to be an extended plane. The firmament was supposed to be a solid, concave hemisphere, in which the stars were fixed as lamps. It contained openings (*windows*, Gen. viii. 2.; Isa. xxiv. 18.), which were opened or closed as occasion demanded. Hence the appellation *firmament*, in the LXX. *στέρωμα*.²

We are aware that Turner has objected to this explanation, conceiving that all this kind of language is satisfactorily accounted for by the principle that the Hebrews, employing popular language, spoke of things as they appear, rather than as they are, just as we do ourselves; and by the fact that such imagery is *poetic*.³ In a like strain Alexander attempts to answer Gesenius and Knobel attributing to the early Hebrews the opinion that there were windows in the solid vault of heaven. “In the same way,” says he, “it might be proved that Milton held the stars and planets to be

¹ Dr. Pye Smith’s *Scripture and Geology*, p. 268, third edition.

² See Gesenius’s *Thesaurus*, s. v. *שָׁמַיִם*.

³ Companion to the Book of Genesis, p. 172.

burning lamps, and that Gesenius himself, when he speaks of a *column* of smoke, means a solid piece of masonry. It seems to be a canon with some critics, that all the prosaic language of the Bible is to be interpreted as poetry, and all its poetry as prose."¹ But neither of the facts here mentioned, nor both together, suffices to explain the use of the diction referred to. Possibly the expressions quoted from the book of Job may be accounted for on the hypothesis of poetic ornament. But the word *firmament*, and the language associated with it, are in plain prose. They cannot be resolved into poetic imagery, for *the historian* is giving a simple, unadorned account of the cosmogony. Nor can they be resolved into popular, optical description, such as we often employ still; for we neither think of a solid, concave, transparent dome, in which the stars are fixed as lamps; nor do we employ diction in any way consonant with the notion. It is plain that the meteorology of the Hebrews was very imperfect; and surely it can scarcely be denied that language regarding it was suggested by their erroneous belief. Turner himself concedes the point when he affirms that "the Hebrews were unacquainted with the true theory of physical nature." The writers used language in harmony with the current ideas, *that they might be understood*. These observations are strengthened by another fact.

2. Sometimes the diction employed respecting natural things is neither scientific nor optical, nor popular in any sense except as involving erroneous conceptions on the part of the people and partaking of them. For example, we read in Proverbs iii. 20., "The clouds drop down the dew." But it has been well established by the beautiful experiments of Wells that, so far from clouds distilling the dew, they are unfavourable to its formation. After a cloudy night, little or no dew is seen in the morning; after a cloudless one, especially succeeding a day of heat, dew appears in profusion. A similar example, belonging to natural history, occurs in Job xxix. 18., where we have the words, "I shall multiply days as the *phœnix*,"² alluding to the fabulous notion of the phœnix reviving out of its own ashes, after living to a great age and dying in its nest. The bird itself is now considered fabulous.

3. If, as we have just seen, there was an accommodation on the part of the writers to the ideas of their times respecting the objects of nature, the possibility of their not being so far enlightened or inspired as to have correct, infallible knowledge on points of natural science, on chronology, archæology, geography, &c., suggests itself to the reflecting mind. It may be asked, why extend their inspiration of correctness beyond what is properly *religious* and *moral truth*? Why not suppose that their knowledge of the subjects to which we have been adverting as secondary sources, was not always perfect or accurate—that they were "led into" *religious* not *natural* truth? The mission and office of the writers was a religious one. They were

¹ Commentary on Isaiah, pp. 383, 384, Glasgow edition.

² That this is the correct explanation is shown by Hirzel and Ewald, in their Commentaries on Job.

the media employed of God to make known his will to men respecting His nature; His modes of dealing with His responsible creatures on this earth; their condition, duties, and hopes as immortal beings. They wrote to show in various ways what the history of the human race has been in relation to God, the Creator, Ruler, and loving Parent. All their communications bore upon Messiah and his salvation — the only-begotten Son of the Father in his humiliation, functions, and exaltation. They were *religious* and *moral* teachers. But they were not teachers of geography, astronomy, botany, physiology, or history. Their commission did not extend so far.

The truth of these observations becomes more apparent as soon as the interpreter attempts to grapple with the serious difficulties, and even contradictions, that appear in the parts which do not properly come under the head of *religious* and *moral truth*. For we believe, that none can doubt of the existence of contradictions in the records. It is not surprising that there should be difficulties in a divine revelation. If there were none, we should suspect its divinity. But it is surprising that there should be irreconcilable contrarieties in a divine revelation. Indeed a divine revelation cannot contain them. Hence when we see certain things in the secondary matters of history, of natural philosophy, of chronology and geography which cannot be brought into mutual concord, the natural inference is that they are not of a character to warrant their absolute correctness.

The point now under consideration is a delicate one. To moot it at all is to tread on slippery ground. Yet when we see the mode in which the evangelists have narrated the leading events of the Saviour's life; the absence of chronological arrangement in them; the transpositions and dislocations occurring in their records of discourses and actions; we feel how likely it is that this was a matter on which their minds were not fully or infallibly enlightened. Some of them have certainly related things in an order in which they did not occur. And if they did not possess *a full* knowledge of such things, it need not be supposed that they had a *perfectly accurate* knowledge.

But here a question will be put by the conscientious though timid theologian, how can you draw a line between the region of religious and moral truth and the lower region you are now referring to? Show me the clear boundary that divides the one from the other. If it be not a definite, it is a dangerous one. Where do you stop? To these interrogatories we would humbly reply, that there is assuredly danger in placing the boundary line too *near*, much more in pushing it *into*, the pure and holy region where no error lies. The distinction may be injudiciously made or perverted to an improper purpose. But all things are liable to abuse. Fallen man is prone to pervert every thing right and good. In subjects of this nature where mathematical evidence is out of place, it is impossible to draw clear and palpable lines of demarcation. They do not admit of scientific exactness. Religious knowledge itself is not always accompanied with religious certainty. Moral truth does not carry with it irresistible infallibility to the mind. There is no infallible interpreter. There is no living oracle perpetually declaring what is certain truth,

and what is not. If therefore all our knowledge partake of degrees of uncertainty, even the highest religious truths; if their evidence coming to minds like ours produces very different effects upon them; it need not be thought strange that a palpable and self-evident boundary-line between moral and historical, or spiritual and scientific truth, cannot be clearly drawn. God does not deal thus with his rational creatures. Yet we are inclined to believe, that the honest mind calmly seeking after God's truth in the spirit he approves, will not be at a loss to make sufficient distinction between religious or ethical truth, and departments that belong to the natural and human. A pious and pains-taking interpreter, using as he ought all requisite caution, will have little difficulty in seeing the two separate spheres, even though he "walks by faith, not by sight." He who wishes to confound them, will easily succeed in doing so.

In endeavouring thus to separate two portions of the Bible, we feel that we are doing a service to Revelation which, had it been performed long ago, would have cut away a great part of the ground under the feet of its adversaries. But the friends of Revelation did not see the matter in the light now presented, and therefore they contended for untenable positions by arguments weak and forced. No wonder they failed to convince, when they took a vulnerable standpoint. And all modern writers who occupy the same ground as they, battling earnestly for the infallibility of each and every part of the written Scriptures, though sentiments uttered in some parts of Job are expressly censured afterwards, give a great advantage to the opponents of Revelation. Nothing will serve more effectually to demolish the stronghold of sceptics than to deprive them of this point of attack. When we recede from it as one that cannot be maintained, and entrench ourselves within the citadel of religious truth, their weapons will be aimed against us in vain. Like the feeble javelin of aged Priam, they will fall to the ground without piercing the shield of faith.

The view now humbly proposed is not novel in this country. It has been advanced by able and evangelical theologians, who, looking at the insuperable difficulties of the question in the same light as ourselves, have perceived it to be the only expedient whereby all that is truly called the *word of God* in the Bible can be preserved intact. Thus the author of the *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah* writes: "When I reflect upon the difficulties, using the mildest terms, which arise from an endeavour to convert passages containing matter merely genealogical, topographical, numerical, civil, military, fragments of antiquity domestic or national, presenting no character whatever of religious matter, into a rule of faith and manners,—I feel it impossible to accept the conclusion: I can find no end of my anxiety, no rest for my faith, no satisfaction for my understanding, till I embrace the sentiment that the qualities of sanctity and inspiration belong only to the *religious and theological element* which is *diffused through* the Old Testament; and that, where this element is absent, where there is nothing adapted to communicate "doctrine, reproof, correction, or instruction in righteousness," nothing fitted to "make

the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work ;"—there, we are not called to acknowledge any inspiration, nor warranted to assume it. Thus I regard as inspired Scripture, all that refers to *holy things*, all that can bear the character of "oracles of God ;" and admit the rest as appendages, of the nature of private memoirs or public records, useful to the antiquary and the philologist, but which belong not to the rule of faith, or the directory of practice. To this extent, and to this only, can I regard the sanction of the New Testament as given to the INSPIRATION of the Old. In other words ; the quality of inspiration, forming the ground of faith and obedience, inheres in every sentence, paragraph, or book, which, either directly or by implication, contains religious truth, precept, or expectation. This, I humbly think, leaves us every thing that a Christian can wish for ; and it liberates us from the pressure of difficulties which have often furnished the enemies of revealed truth with pretexts for serious objections. Inspiration belongs to RELIGIOUS objects ; and to attach it to other things is to lose sight of its nature and misapply its design."¹

The sentiments of Dr. Arnold were similar. This may be inferred from what the author of the "Phases of Faith" says respecting him. "It was a novelty to me that Arnold treated *these questions* as matters of indifference to religion." The questions referred to are such as the whole human race proceeding from one Adam and Eve in 6000 years, the longevity of the patriarchs, the geology of the Mosaic cosmogony, the account of the deluge, &c.²

To the same effect Mr. Miall, in his excellent work "The Bases of Belief," says: "If it should be found that these faithful witnesses (the evangelists) have delivered their testimony in not wholly unexceptionable Greek—or that in some matters, not touching their main object (matters, it may be geographical, ethnological, or philosophical), they are not enlightened above the common standard of their times and station—or that they have adopted habits whether of thought, of speech, or of action, which, perfectly innocent in themselves, might yet be smiled at, as founded in misapprehension, by such as have profited by the lengthened subsequent experience of the world, and by the progress of science—if, in a word, it should appear that the historic writers of the New Testament were really men of the age in which they lived, men of the country in which they were born and educated, men subject to the then limitations of general knowledge, men of individual tendencies, tastes, temperaments, passions, and even prejudices—and if, in transmitting to distant generations, by means of their writings, a perfectly accurate historical portraiture of the Messiah in whom they trusted, and whom they loved unto death, they must be admitted to have so far exemplified the above suppositions as to render the fact cognisable to every diligent student of their works—wherein is the world the worse for this, and, in what respect could our reason have wished it otherwise? We protest, we do not see."³

¹ See Dr. Pye Smith in the Congregational Magazine for July 1837, p. 422.

² Phases of Faith, pp. 67, 68., fourth edition.

³ Pp. 335, 336.

The Rev. B. Powell, professor at Oxford, writes: "Even those divines who adopt the most approved views of the nature of inspiration may and do allow, that an inspired teacher might, in irrelevant points, be left to his own unassisted convictions, and on such matters would be no more enlightened than his contemporaries. . . . It may also be contended that in general any notion of a divine communication implies *adaptation* to the ideas, language, habits, dispositions, and opinions of the parties addressed; since words, and existing notions, and prevalent modes of belief, of necessity form the only means and channels of communicating the religious truths intended to be conveyed. Thus, in such a case the introduction of views in themselves at variance with truths since elicited, is compatible with the veracity of the inspired teacher, and the absence of such a knowledge as has since been obtained of facts which did not concern the tenor of his particular commission, is without difficulty reconcilable with his inspired and infallible knowledge of the truths which it was his province to communicate."¹

This is the view so well exhibited by Coleridge: "If in that small portion of the Bible which stands in no necessary connection with the known and especial ends and purposes of the Scriptures, there should be a few apparent errors resulting from the state of knowledge then existing—errors which the best and holiest men might entertain uninjured, and which without a miracle those men must have entertained; if I find no such miraculous prevention asserted, and see no reason for supposing it—may I not, to ease the scruples of a perplexed inquirer, venture to say to him: 'Be it so. What then? The absolute infallibility even of the inspired writers in matters altogether incidental and foreign to the objects and purposes of their inspiration is no part of my creed.'"²

Authorities might be multiplied. Tholuck has shown, that the view of inspiration which regards Holy Scripture as the infallible production of the Divine Spirit not merely in its *religious* but in its *entire* contents, and not merely in its *contents* but also in its very *form*, did not originate either among Lutheran or Reformed divines earlier than the seventeenth century. With sufficient fulness he has proved that the more liberal aspect of inspiration which distinguishes the *essential truths* of religion and *non-essential points*, found advocates in all ages of the church, and was involuntarily developed as soon as one reflected on the peculiarities of the text. We refer therefore to his essay as a depository of facts and opinions all leading to the important conclusion that *the absolute infallibility* of the sacred books throughout was set up by Protestantism as a counterpoise to the infallible authority asserted and claimed by the Romish Church. Protestantism sought to recover by means of the *outwardly authoritative and entire infallibility* of books, what it had lost by rejecting inspired councils and popish infallibility.³

¹ See the Connection of Natural and Divine Truth, pp. 256. 258.

² Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit, pp. 83, 84.

³ See Tholuck's Essay, "*The Doctrine of Inspiration*," translated from the German by the Rev. T. Nicholas.

CHAP. XVIII.

COMMENTARIES.

EXPOSITORY works on the Scriptures have been divided into various classes according to their characteristic nature.

We may arrange them under the following heads, viz. *Scholia*, *Commentaries*, and *Paraphrases*. All have the same object, viz. to conduct their readers to a right understanding of the authors they undertake to explain. In doing so, they must remove obscurities, reconcile discrepancies, point out the sequence of discourse, and make plain the true sense intended to be conveyed by the original writers. Whatever causes doubt in the mind of the reader as to the meaning of the Bible, should be taken out of the way.

Scholia.—We have already said that these are short notes on Scripture. They explain words and phrases by others that are clearer, especially such as present some obscurity or difficulty. External sources, such as history, geography, and archæology, are applied to the elucidation of the sacred writers. In the case of difficult passages, different interpretations are detailed and discussed, and that which appears the most probable one indicated. The connection of one verse with another, marking the sequence of thought in the authors of Scripture, is usually omitted. The scholiast deals with single words and expressions, as also with the most important passages, rather than with each and every thing continuously as it comes before him in the text. Aiming at condensation and brevity, he does not touch every point which might be treated. But he passes by nothing material, striking, or intricate, whether words or sentences, showing the true meaning in as few terms as he thinks sufficient to exhibit it.

There are many scholia on the Greek and Latin classics, whose labours have been gratefully recognised and applied by modern scholars. But we have not to do with them at the present time. We are concerned solely with scholiasts on the Bible. Here the ancient ones were much more sparing in their remarks than the modern. The former restricted themselves almost entirely to the elucidation of words and phrases; whereas the latter have taken a wider range. The prominent and usual idea associated with *scholia* is grammatical and historical interpretation; though the title has been given to some works which embrace more than this. Thus Maurer's *Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus in vetus Testamentum* would correspond tolerably well to what was the older notion of scholia, though the writer does not so designate his work. The best scholia on the Old Testament are those of Rosenmüller. These again approach nearly to what is called a *commentary*. They scarcely answer the proper notion of *conciseness and brevity* attaching to scholia. A good specimen of scholia on the New Testament are Grotius's *Annotationes*. Those on the Old Testament are similar in character.

Commentaries.—The line distinguishing these from scholia has been gradually becoming indistinct. They differ in the present day more in their length than any other particular. Instead too of attending chiefly to words and phrases, the commentator traces the train of thought and argument pursued by the sacred writers. He examines every thing more fully than the scholiast; and instead of omitting any part or passage, his explanations run on *continuously*. Every thing is brought to bear fairly and largely upon the sacred text, so as to bring out all the meaning intended, and the precise method pursued by the original author to attain the object he had in view. Nothing is passed by that can possibly tend to throw light upon the Holy Scriptures. Whatever is dark is rendered clear; whatever is obscure is made plain. And in passages where it is not easy to arrive at the right explanation amid conflicting views, the commentator will not merely state the sense he considers on the whole the most probable, but he will canvass and sift the leading opinions respecting it, showing in what manner they are objectionable or otherwise. He gives the grounds and reasons for adopting one and not another view of a controverted passage.

Commentaries will necessarily differ in character according to the peculiar genius and qualifications of those who make them. Every one has his own method. Some pursue a critical method. Others run out into practical remarks and inferences. Others indulge in spiritual meditations which they educe from the text. Others unite critical, philological, spiritual, and practical observations. Of late these different methods have been kept apart much more than before. The critical and philological commentator has confined himself very much to the one mode, leaving other things to such as write with another design. The practical commentator again has confined himself chiefly to the meaning of Scripture as bearing on the conduct of men. It is impossible, however, for any man to be a competent and able commentator without possessing the varied qualifications and attainments evinced by all these. His acquirements and skill must be ample and thorough. Hence no one man can be an able commentator on all Scripture. Life is too short for that. He may indeed *traverse* all the books of the Bible, writing upon them what others have said, and adding something of his own; or he may write upon them the independent thoughts of his own mind regarding the true sense, with some after glances at different views on many passages; but in neither way will he produce an able and exhaustive commentary unless he were to live to the age of an antediluvian patriarch with all his faculties fresh and vigorous. We have had *perfunctory* commentaries in abundance; what is wanted is a thorough one on each separate book or on separate books of Scripture, from well-qualified scholars.

A *paraphrase* requires that we speak first of a *version*, as it is a kind of version. The latter is a rendering of the words and ideas of a sacred writer faithfully, perspicuously, and completely into a different language from that which he employed. The first thing which demands the care of a translator is to give a just representation

of the sense. The second is to convey the spirit and manner of the original into his version as far as he can consistently with the genius of the language he writes. The third is to see that the version appear natural and easy, reading very much like an original performance. These duties, essential to a successful translator, require a competent knowledge of the two languages about which he is employed, as well as a perfect mastery of the sense of the original author or authors. In the business of translation there are some peculiar difficulties. To attain all the things mentioned as belonging together to a good version, is by no means easy. Sometimes indeed, one or two of them must be sacrificed to the other, as Campbell has well shown.¹

There are two methods of translation, which may be called two extremes. One is the literal and close; the other, the loose and free. Both have advantages and disadvantages. If either should be exclusively followed in relation to the Scriptures, we should prefer the literal, even though there be greater risk of unintelligibility and obscurity. But perhaps it is possible to combine the advantages of both in a happy medium, as De Wette appears to have done.

Having thus explained what kind of exposition a *version* constitutes, we are prepared to speak of *paraphrases*. These differ little from loose and free versions. In them the meaning of the sacred authors is expressed with greater latitude. The words are not so strictly followed as the sense, which latter is brought forth in an ampler manner than is expressed by the original terms themselves. The paraphrast therefore inserts whatever is necessary to elucidate the connection or show the coherence of thought. He fills up chasms; and on the other hand abridges what is capable of abbreviation without injury to the sense. He substitutes two or more words for one, where occasion requires. He removes obscurity and intricacy by skilful use of other language and judicious alteration of construction. These are liberties which the paraphrast takes with the original text; but it is always understood that they are resorted to only when necessary. We do not think highly of paraphrases, because Scripture is generally diluted by them. The force and vigour of the original is liable to be weakened. They often convert wine into water. Even when skilfully made, which seldom happens, they immerse the genuine sense of the Bible in a floating sea of words. This is exemplified by Guyse in his paraphrase of the New Testament, especially in passages capable of two or three meanings. Doddridge has succeeded best, though various defects are observable in his work. On the whole, paraphrases can scarcely be considered popular, in public opinion. And public opinion in this respect appears to be right. Their utility is not great. They cannot be compared with versions in the benefit they afford the reader. Indeed versions have almost superseded them.

Homilies are another kind of interpretation, in which portions of Scripture are familiarly explained and practically applied. They

¹ Preliminary Dissertations to the Gospels, Dissertation 10, part i.

are expository and hortatory sermons. The Latins called them *sermones* or *tractatus*, and the authors *tractatores*, *i. e.* as we should style them *lecturers* or *preachers*. Ammon asserts that homilies were often filled with pious fables and the philosophy of the age. But this is too strong and sweeping an affirmation, one made from his own rationalist point of view. They contained what the writers believed, and had certainly little philosophy in them. Origen and Chrysostom were the best homily writers in ancient times. The appellation is now antiquated, having been supplanted by *sermon* or *lecture*. But *the thing* has been well exemplified by Jay in what he calls his "Exercises." The absence of formal division and logical sequence is usually included in the idea of a homily; and in this respect it may be said to differ from the ordinary sermon founded on a detached text.

In addition to the preceding expository works we may mention books containing observations or notes illustrative of the sacred writings. These productions, of which many have been published within the last fifty years in England, contain explanations either grammatical and philological, or historical, or geographical, or miscellaneous. Of this kind are Priestley's Notes on the Bible, which relate chiefly to its natural history, geography, and chronology; Harmer's Observations, revised by Clarke; Burder's Oriental Customs, and Oriental Literature; Paxton's Illustrations; Sharpe's Historic Notes, and many others. But such works are not often published now, because the prevailing tendency is towards commentaries on separate books which, being complete, contain explanations of the theology, ethics, philology, history, geography, and archæology of the sacred writers. Commentaries full and exhaustive are chiefly prized.

All reflecting readers of the Holy Scriptures are agreed that commentaries and expositions cannot be dispensed with by such as desire to obtain an intelligent apprehension of divine revelation. However learned and accomplished the student of the Bible be, he is conscious of the need of other men's labours upon it. It is only the sciolist who will despise the numerous expositions which have appeared. From a mistaken apprehension of the injury they may cause, he may neglect their aid; but he is certainly unwise in doing so. Afraid of their abuse in his hands, he turns away from the use of them altogether. No wise man will do so. He will diligently avail himself of the help they afford, endeavouring not to follow them slavishly; not to found his faith on the opinions of fallible beings like himself; but to employ them with discrimination. It is one thing to have recourse to them in the spirit of a reverential inquirer everywhere judging for self, and another to follow them implicitly, having no independent opinions. The reader of commentaries must always use the right of private judgment, just as the commentators themselves did. What renders the help of human expositions desirable if not necessary to the right understanding of Scripture is, the nature of Scripture itself. It is often asserted that the Bible is a plain book; the wayfaring man, though a fool, may not err therein. It is level

to the capacities and apprehension of the humble, the poor, the unlettered. If he has only a teachable disposition, and simply desire to know the sense of what is written, he will easily discover it for himself. This is true to a certain extent, and no more. Some portions are easily and readily understood. The most important parts are of this nature, being patent to the judgment and feelings of a common reader. The way of salvation is clear. But the Bible is likewise a difficult book. Many parts of it are unintelligible to the majority of unlettered readers. It is a *learned* book, and therefore obscure. Amid its multifarious contents, there are allusions to geography, history, customs and manners, botany, antiquities, sects and creeds, which require explanation to most. It is a great mistake therefore to affirm that the Bible is an easy book. The opposite asseveration would be much nearer the truth. The men who have devoted most time and attention to its elucidation all say that it is difficult. Out of this difficulty arises the feeling of the need of commentaries. And whatever be the extent of one's erudition, acquirements, or genius, he cannot safely neglect them. Knowing that he must be benefited by their perusal, he betakes himself to such as seem likely to render most assistance. In relation to the choice of commentaries, much depends on the previous knowledge and habits of the person who wishes to use them. Ministers of the gospel and students should not of course resort to such as are most suitable for unlettered readers. Those who read the Bible mainly for edification will refrain from critical and philological expositions. They will take up with Matthew Henry, the greater part of whose remarks are mere preaching, not *proper interpretation*; or perhaps with Scott, who preaches less, though he paraphrases too much and really expounds but little. But ministers of the gospel, and such as are studying with a view to qualify themselves for the more efficient discharge of their duties, will go to Hammond, Whitby, Macknight, Campbell, Elsley, and Slade. Not that we are now recommending these latter as sufficient or the best. Far from it. They are specified as likely to be among the exegetical helps of the professed interpreter.

We would recommend none to collect many commentaries. They will perplex rather than guide him. Let every one choose two or three of the best and most recent. We say *the most recent*, since it is likely, *ceteris paribus*, that the last expositor is the most successful, having the benefit of all preceding ones. Let the ordinary reader of the Bible procure the Comprehensive Family Bible published by Blackie of Glasgow, joining with it Barnes's Notes on the New Testament, and they will suffice for him. Again, let him whose office it is to expound the Scriptures to others, procure De Wette, Meyer, and Olshausen on the New Testament, with the Exegetical Handbook on the Old, and he will be tolerably well furnished. Only in the case of the Old Testament, he must select some other good commentaries on the most important books, such as Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, Job; for here the Exegetical Handbook is insufficient and unsatisfactory. The commentary of Alexander on Isaiah is excel-

lent; those of De Wette and Hengstenberg together are immensely superior to Olshausen on the Psalms; while Tuch and Delitzsch must be added to Knobel's on Genesis; Ewald to Hirzel on Job.

Ernesti propounds a twofold use of commentators and interpreters.

The first is, that we may derive from them the right method of interpreting for ourselves. Of course this applies only to those who are designed for the office of the ministry. The student of theology should fix upon some one or two of the best interpreters, by whose careful and repeated perusal he may gradually form himself to their method of exposition. While thus occupied, he ought occasionally to consult others in difficult passages. We cordially approve of this counsel given by the accomplished Ernesti. But when he particularly recommends Grotius, especially his Notes on Matthew's Gospel, we, who live in Great Britain, and have in our hands later and better editions, cease to follow. Grotius is too grammatical. He does not bring out the theological teachings of the sacred authors. On the other hand, Bengel in his *Gnomon* is not grammatical enough. Yet he commonly educes the sentiment and theology of the writers with skilful brevity.

A second use of expositors is to help us in understanding difficult and obscure passages. This is the principal use of them, especially to a theologian, who can easily perceive of himself the sense of all the more obvious places. Here it is where commentators fail most. Into what is really perplexing they do not enter fully and thoroughly, looking at all the obscurities which fairly lie in many sentences and paragraphs. A commentary which should really grapple with these places alone would be very valuable. If the whole mental strength of an accomplished and judicious interpreter were laid out upon *them*, his work would be a welcome acquisition to many. It is a good practice to devote *excursus* or separate essays to these difficult passages, as some have done. Thus greater space is allotted to their discussion, without materially interrupting the thread of continuous commentary. The only commentary in English with which we are acquainted that is professedly limited to the difficulties of Scripture, is that published by Carpenter in 1828, undertaking to elucidate nearly seven hundred passages in the Old and New Testaments. But it is perfunctory and worthless. The old work of Dr. Richard Coore, called "The Practical Expositor of the more Difficult Texts that are contained in the Holy Bible," can hardly be pronounced a commentary on the obscure places, for it is confined to comparatively few. And the book of O. St. John Cooper, published towards the close of the eighteenth century (1791), and professing to explain four hundred texts of Holy Scripture, is a very meagre and unsuccessful attempt to grapple with some difficulties, not the greatest ones, nor in the true method of a master-critic. One should have expected that the obscure places would be well expounded in a condensed commentary, such as Cobbin's. But this is not done in it. There the really difficult passages receive no light. A number of diverse opinions exclude the light which is wanted.

We can give no rules on the subject of commentaries. Perhaps

the following hints may be useful to such as wish for guidance or information:—

1. Each one should be careful to choose what are the best for the purpose he has in view. Probably this may be considered an easy thing amid the variety and goodness of such helps as exist. But the very number of them renders it the more perplexing to make the best selection. Those who are inexperienced may be readily misled, for we believe that the great bulk of what are called *commentaries* in English are of little use, and undeserving of the name. They are not proper expositions. They are a collection of miscellaneous remarks, some relevant, others not, with sermonising matter to supply the place of a clear and full exhibition of the meaning intended by the sacred authors. *Good* commentaries are rare. Indifferent ones are plentiful. Hence the necessity of caution in the selection. He who desires to know the sense of Scripture must look out for such works as were written by learned, skilful, judicious, large-minded men, who devoted their best years to the perusal of the books which they have interpreted. A very few such are more valuable than a thousand superficial productions, proceeding from incompetent writers.

2. In following the counsel now suggested, the student will do well to avoid expository works which are largely compiled or transcribed from others. It is better to go to the originals themselves than to repetitions of them by a later writer. Under compilations we include abridgments and condensations, as well as those not professedly taken from former works, though really so. Thus D'Oyley and Mant's is a compilation, and a very meagre and insufficient one. A. Clarke's is little better than a compilation gathered out of many heterogeneous sources. Dodd's is still more so, and inferior. There is also a commentary from Henry and Scott, manufactured by George Stokes, and published by the Religious Tract Society. The very extensive one of Jenks, in America, is chiefly from Scott, Henry, and Doddridge. We recommend the student carefully to eschew all such, for he can easily procure far better; and his time will only be wasted in their perusal. Compilations are comparatively worthless. They proceed from inferior men, who very often do not know the best works to take as the basis of their extracts.

3. In using commentators, we earnestly advise the reader not to lean unduly upon them. Do not employ them as a school-boy studying the Greek and Latin classics does translations. They should be kept in their proper place, which is that of *assistants*, not perpetual guides. Our Saviour enjoined his disciples to call no man master on earth. When therefore Cyprian was accustomed to call Tertullian by the name *magister*, and to say to his secretary *da mihi magistrum*, he transgressed the spirit of the precept. And so does every one who relies implicitly on one or two commentators, *virtually* erecting them into an infallible standard to himself. Such slavish submission of the understanding is opposed to the genius of Christianity. It fetters the mind, effectually preventing all right exercise of its powers. The man who follows the course in question is weak, and he will

assuredly become feebler in mental vigour by continuing in it. *Prove all things*, says the Apostle Paul. Prove and judge the very best commentators; they are fallible like yourself.

4. Do not neglect the Scriptures themselves. Read and peruse them diligently while commentaries are employed. Indeed it is only thus that one can possibly use the latter aright. Test them by the Bible itself, searching there whether things be so as they are represented. The Bereans acted thus with regard to the first teachers of Christianity; and Christians must do the same in relation to expositions. If they can understand the Scriptures in the original languages, it will be so much the better. But if they cannot, they will be much more at the mercy of their guides. Every one who is dedicated to the sacred office of the ministry ought to know the original Scriptures. How can he judge in all cases for himself without this knowledge? But even the mere English reader should not fail to study the text as he has it in the authorised version, independently of commentators, and form his own opinion of the meaning; for if he waits till he sees what others think and say, he may as well cease to care about all separate examination, and resign himself contentedly to his approved masters.

5. *Ceteris paribus* we should rely more on the exposition of a pious than of a frivolous man, for he is far more likely to arrive at the truth. Deep-toned piety is necessary to educe all the meaning of the Scriptures, especially their spiritual teachings. See how such men as Luther, Calvin, and Melancthon penetrated into the true theology of the Bible, unfolding its divine stores of truth; while some later interpreters, possessed of infinitely greater advantages, having all the appliances of learning within their reach, have signally failed notwithstanding. And why? Because they lacked the right spirit—the spirit of sanctity moulding and guiding all their resources. How has Hitzig failed in the Psalms! How has Paulus failed in the Gospels! Material views clouded and clogged their minds. Even Macknight, with his numerous excellences, is comparatively dry and sapless, so much so that we should have strongly suspected the depth and extent of his piety, had he not been removed from the tribunal of earthly criticism. Of the same dry character is Meyer, judging at least from some of his expositions, especially that on John's Gospel. But Stier is fresh, vigorous, original, evincing the spirit of an active and warm piety. There is little doubt that the nature and degree of a man's devotional habits will tinge his comments on the Bible.

6. Having selected a commentator to be chiefly studied, his strong points should be observed and noted. His peculiar excellences should be marked in the mind. Every one has some characteristic qualities by which he is best known, and in which his preeminence lies. Let the most valuable features of each expositor be carefully attended to, for they are entitled to command a more ready assent and to challenge a warmer approbation. On the other hand, the weak points of each will also require attention, that they may be avoided. Most commentaries have their frailties as

well as their excellencies. Let the student be aware of the points in which his favourite expositor is most likely to betray his weakness, and he will not be misled. Thus Hammond's failing is his leaning towards the Gnostics, whom he finds far oftener than the sacred writers ever intended.

7. Beware of those interpreters who love to be singular in their explanations, or run into ingenious novelties. The minds of some are naturally prone to this. They like to be different from their predecessors. Dr. A. Clarke had something of this. Hence his *ape* for the *serpent* that tempted Eve; his inclination to think that Elijah was not fed by *ravens* but by merchants or *Arabians*; his adherence to Bishop Pearce in interpreting "one thing is needful" to mean *only one dish is necessary*. We have great distrust in one who affects singularity. He is often singularly foolish.

It would be easy to exemplify the preceding hints and cautions by means of passages taken out of commentators. But it is unnecessary and would be ungracious. If they shall prove of the least advantage to the inquiring student, plain and obvious though they be, they will serve their purpose.

BOOK II.

THE SPECIAL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

HAVING stated the general principles of interpretation, we proceed to notice what is termed special interpretation. Under this topic is included the interpretation of the figurative language of the Bible, of its poetry, of its types, prophecies, doctrinal and moral parts, its promises and threatenings, of passages said to be contradictory. A fitting close to the whole will be the consideration of that inferential reading and practical application of the Scriptures without which they can be of no permanent benefit to the heart.

#### INTERPRETATION OF THE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE.

Figurative language has its origin not merely in the difficulty of finding suitable words to express various mental states and emotions, but in the constitution of the mind itself. Like all other books, therefore, the Bible exhibits images and metaphors. It could not be intelligible without them. But it has more of them than many productions. It *abounds* in figurative language. The images are not only appropriate but frequent. And while they are necessary they are also ornamental, imparting life, emphasis, and beauty.

The language in which the Old Testament is written is a very ancient one. Hence it partakes of a character somewhat different

from that of modern compositions. Having the stamp and air of the antique, the style varies from that found in later works. The Hebrew was comparatively poor in forms and flexions. Accordingly terms are used for various purposes, giving rise to a multitude of topics. Blair describes figures to be that language which is prompted either by the imagination or by the passions.<sup>1</sup> By rhetoricians they are usually divided into two great classes; figures of words and figures of thoughts. The former, commonly called tropes, consist in a word's being employed to signify something different from its original and primitive meaning; so that by altering the word the figure is destroyed. Thus when God is termed *a sun*, the trope lies in the word *sun*, which is turned aside from its original and proper meaning to denote what gives mental illumination, warmth, and comfort. At the same time He is termed *a shield*, in the same tropical manner. Figures of thought again, suppose words to be used in their literal and proper meaning, and the figure to consist in the turn of thought, as in exclamations, interrogations, apostrophes, &c., where the same figure may be preserved in the thought, though the words employed be varied, or translated from one language into another. Blair speaks slightly however of the distinction in question and suggests another, viz. figures of imagination and figures of passion. But this is not much clearer than the former, neither could it always be carried out in practice.

According to some authors figure and trope differ as *genus* and *species*. Others again would make them different things by saying that trope is a change of *sense*, while figure is any ornament except what becomes so by such change. But these distinctions are useless. We shall employ them interchangeably, as also the adjectives *tropical* and *figurative*. *Tropical* is opposed to *improper*; *figurative* to *literal*. The proper sometimes coincides with the *primitive* or *original* signification, and therefore its synonyme *literal* has been taken as equivalent to *primitive*. But this is not always the case. The original signification may have gone out of use, and then the *literal* assumes the place of the *primary*, as far as relates to usage. When however the *primary* is still in use, the tropical commonly belongs to the secondary senses.

In the interpretation of tropical language two things are to be considered, first, to distinguish it from what is proper; secondly, to exhibit it in corresponding and appropriate terms. The first is preparatory to the second. The first ascertains and determines what is really figurative and so introduces the other, which is *the proper interpretation* of the figurative diction ascertained.

To discover whether an expression be tropical or proper, certain rules have been laid down by hermeneutical writers. As far as we have examined them or can understand their nature, they do not appear to be of much use. Indeed they can scarcely be termed *rules*. They are general observations whose tendency is more negative than positive. Various authors, such as Dannhauer, Calovius, &c. recommend that the proper sense should be retained till some

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, Lecture xiv.

evident cause or necessity be pointed out; but as they do not define the necessity or explain what they mean by an evident cause, the rule is practically useless. Doubtless they are correct in their ideas; the admonition itself shows that they are; but the *very general language* employed renders it all but valueless in practice. The *evident cause* needs to be defined and specified. The *necessity* requires precise explanation; for what one expositor may think such, another may not. A necessity may be created by one, where another does not see it. Ernesti, who has noted the deficiency of the maxim in question, has given a very obscure rule himself. When he states that the tropical may be generally distinguished "by referring the thing spoken of to our external or internal senses, that is, by recalling its external or internal perception,"<sup>1</sup> he enunciates what is darkly metaphysical. Nor can we perceive that such observations as, "the literal meaning of words must be retained, more in the historical books of Scripture, than in those which are poetical," are of any practical utility, because of their extreme generality.

In examining whether language be tropical or otherwise, we necessarily carry with us those ideas which spring out of innate tendencies in the mind, and are common to rational men. We refer to the original intuitions in man which proceed from the Deity, and all the ideas which natural religion inculcates. This is no more than what is done in every part of exegesis. We come to the Bible with a certain belief respecting the nature and perfections of the Deity. We have fundamental notions of what he can do, and of what is contrary to his attributes. We can judge of what is conformable to the infinite mind, and what is not. We are so constituted as to have apprehensions of right and wrong, of evidence which cannot be resisted and of that which is simply probable. Hence it may be laid down in general terms,—

That whenever the literal meaning of words involves an impossibility, an absurdity, a contradiction, it must be abandoned. Under this we include all that violates the intuitive perceptions of mankind, or the great principles of natural religion on which the common reason is agreed. Whatever is contrary to the irresistible evidence of the senses; to the moral sense which all have by nature from the hand of their Maker; to the notions of congruity, fitness, and propriety which form an essential ingredient in the constitution of the human mind, must be taken as *improper* language. Whenever the broad principles or laws, intellectual or moral, which are essential to humanity, are violated by the literal meaning of words, it should be given up. By virtue of this, we instinctively separate from the nature of the Deity whatever is *material* or *finite*. *Bodily* parts and *human* passions are excluded. In reading all that language in which He is described as having hands, arms, feet, eyes, nostrils, face, &c., and as feeling anger, hatred, repentance, wrath, vengeance, we must take it as tropical. So, when we read of heaven as a city having streets, walls, and gates; of a throne or thrones there, on which the Father and the Son *sit*; of golden harps and vials, with all similar

<sup>1</sup> Principles of Biblical Interpretation, translated by Terrot, vol. i. p. 139.

expressions portraying the heavenly world and its furniture, the diction is evidently figurative. The nature of the subject, with our own inherent belief of the Deity and his operations, forbid any other assumption. In like manner, the descriptions of the day of judgment and the world of misery must be construed tropically. Such expressions as *their worm dieth not, the fire is not quenched, everlasting fire*, are figurative. If the language which relates to the heavenly state be so, that which regards the day of judgment and the state of woe must consistently be understood in the same manner. Mr. Stuart says very truly, that one of the things which the human mind learns very slowly, is to detach itself from conceptions which arise from material objects, and to perceive that in *all* the descriptions of a future state, words are *necessarily* employed which originally have a literal sense, because language affords no other.<sup>1</sup> Such things could not have been described to us otherwise than in diction taken from outward, material objects. Had purely abstract phraseology been employed, we should have received no ideas of their nature. In that case the wisdom of Deity would have been at fault, since a spiritual vocabulary, unborrowed from external nature, is not in use among us; nor could we understand it, if it were. As long as we are the beings we are, with five senses serving as the inlets to knowledge, and using language to express our ideas, taken from the outer world, the wisdom of God is apparent in giving a revelation in which terms are employed respecting himself and his operations, as also the eternal future state in both aspects of it, which are directly taken from sensible things.

Provided with such internal apparatus, the interpreter comes to his task of distinguishing the *tropical* from the *proper*. By means of it he determines in a general way what is impossible, absurd, contradictory, irrational—every thing which forms a necessity for departing from the literal and proper.

Let us give some examples.

In the 91st Psalm, fourth verse, we read of Jehovah covering his protected saint with *his feathers*, with which *his wings* are associated. But this is impossible; for God is wholly spiritual. The sufferer in the 22nd Psalm, sixth verse, says, "I am a worm." This is absurd, if taken literally; it is obviously figurative. In Isaiah i. 25., the Lord is represented as promising, "I will turn my *hand* upon thee, and purely purge away thy *dross*, and take away all thy *tin*." Here also the literal sense is evidently inapplicable. Of the same nature is the phrase in Zechariah, "Open thy *doors*, O Lebanon" (xi. 1.). When our Lord says, in Matt. viii. 22., "Let the dead bury their dead," it is obvious that *dead* in the first case cannot mean literally *dead*; for in that case the thing were impossible. The command of Christ related in Matt. xviii. 8, 9., viz. to cut off the hand or the foot, or to pluck out the eye, if taken literally, is contrary to the teaching of natural theology, which instructs us that there are certain duties we owe to ourselves, as well as repugnant

<sup>1</sup> See Elements of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, &c. edited by Henderson, p. 109.

to sound reason. Hence the language must be tropical. Another example belonging here occurs in the words of Christ, "This is my body . . . this is my blood" (Mark xiv. 22. 24.). Every view of these expressions shows that the literal sense is impossible, absurd, repugnant to the evidence of the senses. Jesus could not take his body and blood literally in his hands, and holding them out to his disciples say, *eat* and *drink*. The one had not yet been broken; the other had not yet been shed. The doctrine of transubstantiation, founded upon the literal and proper acceptation of such language, contradicts the evidence of the senses, and cannot therefore be true. Had the apostles believed that the bread and wine were really converted into the veritable body and blood of Christ who then spoke to them, they would doubtless have been amazed and horrified. The bread and the wine were merely symbols or outward representations of the broken body and shed blood. The *sign* is put for the *thing signified*, as is done in most if not all languages, and frequently in the Scriptures themselves.

Akin to this are the words in John vi. 53.: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;" a command repugnant, in its literal acceptation, to the moral sense of mankind, and in the sight of God a heinous crime. Hence it should be understood figuratively.

But the general precept which has been given and exemplified, helps us forward only a little way in actual exegesis. Simple as it appears, and satisfactory as it may be considered, it furnishes little assistance in determining what is figurative on subjects and points to which it might be deemed most applicable. This might be shown by the word  $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon\acute{\omega}$  and its corresponding Greek  $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon\acute{\omega}$ , *beget*, as used in Scripture in relation to Christ. Ernesti too positively affirms that the word *beget* is as *properly* used in theology as in human affairs.<sup>1</sup> It must have somewhat of a figurative sense in the connection before us. The inception of the filial relation was a peculiar, mysterious thing. When the divine consciousness connected itself with humanity, the Son was constituted. We believe that Gesenius and Robinson, in their Lexicons, have failed to perceive the sense of the word. They have not seen that it conveys a profound idea connected with the divine Being in communicating his divine nature, or in the divine and eternal consciousness manifesting itself, so to speak, to man through the medium of a human veil.

Besides, the fundamental principles of reason are liable to so much obscurity in fallen man, that many fail to apply the maxim to the extent it legitimately reaches to, or are insensible to perceive its successful application in the hands of others. The moral sense of the mass of mankind is dull, blunt, degraded beneath the superincumbent load of passions and prejudices. They do not reflect or reason. They live lives of *sense* not of *rationality*. Hence, even with regard to the Deity himself, many scarcely conceive of him as a purely spiritual Being, but attribute to him *literally* those bodily

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 141.

parts and human passions which are abhorrent to sound reason. They rest in the gross sense, even in relation to that infinitely holy God who has written a law on the heart which his creature is sometimes too brutish to understand. Even such as have opportunities of enlightenment as well as incentives to reflection, come far short of realising in practice the value of the precept or general maxim we have given, and so fall into absurdity or contradiction in the broad light of truth. They hold by the literal meaning, as in transubstantiation, when it is manifestly repugnant to the evidence of sense, of reason, of moral propriety and fitness. We may cease to wonder at the Jews taking so many things literally, and falling accordingly into gross errors, when we consider the belief of many professing Christians as doing equal violence to human reason. *They* had little light compared with *ours* now. They were purposely instructed like children, by outward, material, visible objects. We may cease to be surprised even at the disciples, who were little better than Jews before the ascension of their Master, when they are observed to mistake the literal for the figurative. It was then the twilight of Christianity; the day has long ago dawned. But gross-minded man is prone to convert the figurative into the literal in relation to that very Being who is *spirit* and emphatically declared to be such as well by the book without as the book within him,—the *objective* equally with the *subjective* revelation.

We are not left, however, to the generality of the maxim, useful as it is in practice to him who exercises his reason. Not because it fails to be useful in the hands of the ignorant, but notwithstanding this and over against it, do we set in array other precepts more particular in character, though not more extensive in applicability than itself. The usual means of ascertaining the *usus loquendi* of terms and phrases, as also of discovering the meaning of sentences and paragraphs, are appropriate here. They are sufficient to guide the expositor in this respect also. The context immediate or more remote, parallel passages, the scope of a writer, the nature of his composition, the analogy of faith, historical circumstances, all lead to a separation of the tropical from the proper. *The entire science* of interpretation employs the same apparatus. The same principles regulate the whole process, whatever be the kind of diction employed by the sacred writers. Hence some examples of the *figurative* sense have been given in the preceding part of this work. But as it is usual to separate the present topic, and subject it to an independent investigation, we now do the same. In reality it is *somewhat* peculiar and unique. Indeed its very importance would seem to justify a distinct treatment.

Generally speaking, we employ the same means both for discovering tropical language and interpreting it. Figures are explained by the aid of the principles which serve to render them apparent. The materials used in both processes are the same, and both are commonly done together. As soon as the tropical sense is discovered, it is interpreted by means of corresponding and appropriate terms. We take both together.

Whether a word or expression be figurative or proper, and what sense it bears, is determined,

I. By the adjuncts united with it. If it be the *subject* of a proposition the *predicate* may determine it, or *vice versâ*. Thus the tropical sense must be taken where the subject and predicate are heterogeneous or opposite in their nature, as for example, where the one is animated, the other inanimate; the one material, the other not; the one rational, the other irrational.

“The valleys shout for joy; they also sing” (Psal. lxxv. 13.).

Here the subject is an inanimate thing, whereas the predicate involves the act of a living being. Hence the verbs *shout* and *sing* are tropical.

“Hear this word, *ye kine of Bashan*, that are in the mountain of Samaria” (Amos iv. 1.).

The princes and leaders of Israel are so styled because they were fat, well fed, luxurious, prepared for destruction.

“I am the door” (John x. 9.).

Christ is the medium of access to the divine favour and eternal life.

“And that rock was Christ” (1 Cor. x. 4.).

In like manner adjuncts, adverbs, epithets which limit and determine the nature or mode of the subject, serve the purpose of discovering tropical language and explaining it.

Thus “the wells *of salvation*” (Isa. xii. 3.). Here *wells* is interpreted by *of salvation*; sources of spiritual life and comfort.

“Circumcision *of the heart*” (Rom. ii. 29.), *i. e.* new and spiritual motives, purposes, emotions, desires, defilement and impurity being removed.

“Born *again*” (John iii. 3.); regeneration, renewal of the inward nature.

“Risen *with Christ*” (Coloss. iii. 1.); habitual exaltation of the soul in sympathy with the purposes and operation of Christ.

The epithets *μονογενής* and *ἰδιος* joined with *υἱός*, meaning the Son of God, are also indicative of something tropical in the sense, though from the peculiarity of the nature belonging to the Saviour it is very difficult to define the exact idea intended.

II. The general context determines words and phrases to be tropical.

“Behold I will *melt* them and *try* them” (Jer. ix. 7.).

Here the latter verb explains the former.

“Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts; all thy waves and thy billows are gone over to me” (Psal. xlii. 7.).

This language is determined to be figurative by the fifth and sixth verses. The soul of the speaker is overwhelmed with deep distresses; troubles upon troubles sink his spirit downward.

“Because thou sayest, I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked” (Rev. iii. 17.).

The following verse shows this to be tropical, referring to a state of the soul, to spiritual destitution.

## III. Parallels.

In different passages, different terms are employed to express the same idea. This facilitates the distinction between tropical and proper. In the parallel passage or passages, the same thing may be expressed properly or literally; or the same word occurs in a connection which indicates its meaning.

“I came not to send peace, but a sword” (Matt. x. 34.).

Here *sword* is ascertained to be tropical by the parallel in Luke xii. 51., where *division* is used.

Context is of much greater service than parallels in pointing out and interpreting tropical words and phrases. A general acquaintance with the philosophy of language and a careful consideration of the context are in most cases sufficient. Parallels will not contribute much aid. The chief reason of this is the difficulty of knowing and applying what are *really parallel*, in which process an amount of interpretation is involved by no means inconsiderable. One figurative expression is usually insufficient to explain another figurative one; and should the same thing expressed properly and literally be selected, the very selection implies an explanation of the phrase to which it is termed a parallel.

From single terms and phrases we pass to sentences, sections, paragraphs, and apply to them the usual means of elucidation. Here difficulty arises. In the case of words or single expressions there is little doubt or ambiguity when they are viewed in connection with the place in which they occur. They are at once discovered to be tropical, and may be explained by appropriate corresponding terms without difficulty. But when the field is enlarged, and in proportion as it is so, perplexity is felt. Figurative sentences are sometimes difficult, figurative paragraphs are more so; entire books poetical, prophetic, symbolical, place great difficulties in the path of an expositor. Hence the numerous and conflicting opinions of able and accomplished interpreters respecting those parts of the Bible in which tropical language abounds. Not only do they differ in many instances as to the true sense of figurative passages, but even in regard to the fact itself, whether they *are* literal or figurative. When therefore we look at the whole subject in all its extent and obscurity, we feel that general rules and principles of exposition are either less useful in it than in other departments, or that they have been less regarded. Perhaps both have happened. There is a class of readers who in perusing the Bible systematically despise general canons of interpretation. They take texts or chapters by themselves, and look no farther. With narrow vision they inspect verses and sentences *singly*. It is not surprising, therefore, that they fail egregiously. Incapable as they are of taking a comprehensive view, or unwilling at least to do so, they derive *singular fancies* from the pages of Scripture, which they dignify with the name of *Bible truth*. They feel the force of few difficulties, because they are really ignorant of their existence, and also because they have a miracle at hand to which they have recourse in any emergency. We do not wonder that such unsystematic, unphilosophical ex-

positors, misunderstand the prophecies as they do, and become dogmatical in their assertions. Dogmatism is not the child of learning and knowledge. Yet we are free to confess at the same time, that all our principles and canons are insufficient to afford that security in the interpretation of figurative language which we should desire to possess. That they are of signal benefit is unquestionable. That they contribute much to the understanding of Scripture cannot be fairly denied. But the very nature of figurative diction, especially as applied to spiritual subjects or abstract truths, involves peculiar obscurities. We cannot attain exactness in the illustration of many figures, or a high degree of probability in the elucidation of poetic and prophetic passages.

The means by which sentences and sections are known to be tropical are the context immediate or remote, and parallels.

#### I. Context.

“Why should ye be stricken any more? Ye will revolt more and more. The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment.” (Isa. i. 5, 6.) This language, descriptive of the Jewish people, is tropical, as is shown by the preceding and succeeding context.

In Isaiah xi. 6—8. the context shows that the description of Messiah's reign, or rather the effects of it, is tropical. It is *preceded* by language of this character in the fourth and fifth verses. It is also *succeeded* by expressions which are meant as a brief explanation without figure: “they (men generally) shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.” Even admitting, which is not likely, that the subjects to the verbs *hurt* and *destroy* are the animals before mentioned, the last clause of the verse evinces the figurative nature of the description; for it asserts that the extension of the knowledge of the Lord is the cause of the remarkable changes mentioned. Hence the changes are moral, wrought upon *men*, not on the irrational creation, because men alone are capable of knowing and serving Jehovah.

In Revelation xx. 4, 5. is a description of the first resurrection. The introductory context indicates that it is figurative, not literal. Thus John is represented as seeing an angel come down from heaven having a key and a great chain in his hand; laying hold of the dragon and binding him; casting him into the bottomless pit; shutting him up; setting a seal upon him. Here it is obvious that a real key, seal, &c., are not to be understood. Hence the description of the first resurrection should be taken in a figurative and spiritual, not a material and literal sense.

#### II. Parallels.

Acts xv. 14—17. These words of Amos show that the original must not be taken in a literal, but figurative acceptation. The family of David is not to be literally restored to the throne of Judea, as a superficial reader might suppose. The spiritual dominion of

Christ with reference to the conversion of the Gentiles is designated. The expressions respecting the rebuilding of David's tabernacle and setting it up again are figurative, not literal.

The analogy of faith taken in its wide sense will sometimes lead to the determination of the tropical as distinct from the literal acceptance of passages. When the general tenor of Scripture doctrine is known, it may be applied as a test for this purpose.

After discovering tropical diction, the next thing is to explain it. This is effected by the same means and in the same manner. The nature of the subject, the context, the general and particular scope, parallel passages, the analogy of faith, contribute to this end. Here the most difficult problem lies before the interpreter. He enters now on most delicate and debatable ground, where his powers are tasked to the utmost. The highest moral and intellectual qualifications are called into requisition. Imagination, guided and controlled by sound judgment, exalted sympathy with the great purposes of God revealed in the Bible respecting the glorification of Himself in man's redemption, strong faith, extensive knowledge of sacred things in their various bearings, experience in exegesis, caution, circumspection, are imperatively demanded in him who would be successful. They are necessary in all parts of the science; most necessary in this practical part of it.

The foundation of tropes is *similitude* or *conjunction*, a resemblance real or supposed between two things. This mutual relation is divided by Morus into physical and intellectual.<sup>1</sup> To the former belongs the *container* for the *contained*, a *part* for the *whole*, as a cup for the wine in it, *flesh* for the whole body, &c. The latter, *i. e.* intellectual or ideal junction, is when the cause is put for the effect or *vice versâ*, the sign for the thing signified. The distinction made by Morus is virtually useless in practice. In all figures there is a point, or points, of agreement between the subject from which a comparison is taken and the thing described. It matters not whether the similarity be real or ideal; whether it exists in fact or merely in the imagination of the writer. It is sufficient to know that such analogy lies at the basis of every figure. Two things are supposed to agree in some quality or qualities, which have been called the *tertium comparationis*, the mutual features of that from which the trope is taken and the thing described.

As an example we may refer to spiritual idolatry, the moral and mental attachment to certain things of which the Scriptures frequently speak. This is termed *adultery* in the Bible. Here the points of agreement are infidelity and deceit.

Now it will be seen, that a knowledge of this similitude must often depend upon a knowledge of the things from which it is derived, and the ideas attached to them in the East, the countries of the Bible. The inhabitants of the East have far livelier imaginations than ours. In the exercise of such imaginations their comparisons appear to us far-fetched, extravagant, hyperbolic. By the aid of them they

<sup>1</sup> Hermeneutica, vol. i. p. 261.

bring together for comparison things which appear to us to present no analogy. Their mental habits were very different from ours. And not only so, but their outward habits and modes of life were dissimilar. Things familiar to them are unknown to us. What they esteemed useful and looked upon as honourable, may be differently regarded by us. Those which are mean and contemptible in the West, were commended by them. Hence we should not transfer our ideas to things which they viewed according to the genius of a remote age and the diverse circumstances necessarily belonging to it. It is obvious that there must be a wide difference between the metaphorical expressions of the Jews and those current among us; and therefore theirs may often seem to convey another idea than what we are wont to entertain, one which is even harsh and repulsive. Accordingly, biblical tropes taken from certain animals, though they may appear degrading to us, are truly dignified and honourable as originally meant. They are adapted to the sentiments of those for whom they were at first written. Thus Issachar is compared to a strong ass. Joseph's beauty is celebrated as that of a first-born bullock. Judah is compared to a lion's whelp. These and similar comparisons are honourable. So far from being mean and degrading, they are expressive of dignity. Oxen and asses were not the same in size, strength, shape, and habits in the East, as they are among us; and it was not reckoned disgraceful to be compared with them. Kings and princes rode on asses. It will therefore be proper to carry along with us a knowledge of the objects whence the biblical writers derive metaphors, as well as the peculiar ideas prevailing among the people to whom the Scriptures were at first addressed, lest we substitute our own notions for theirs, or at least ingraft them upon theirs; and instead of contemplating the things that passed before them from their point of view take our own standpoint, from which they will assume a new attitude.

What then is the great object of the interpreter, who desires to explain figurative language? It is to find out the *tertium comparationis*, the points of similitude which the sacred writers meant to set forth. There may be, and often are, various points of comparison; and the danger is of making them fewer or more numerous than they should be. The business of the expositor is to exhibit just those analogies which are intended; to attain the true medium between deficiency on the one hand, and excess of similitude on the other. It is his province to set forth *the particular idea or ideas* conveyed by tropical diction.

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## CHAP. II.

### ON THE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE METONYMIES OCCURRING IN THE SCRIPTURES.

**METONYMY** is a trope in which one name is substituted for another, as the cause for the effect, and *vice versâ*; the subject for the adjunct,

and the contrary. Hence, according to Glassius<sup>1</sup>, there are four species of metonymy, viz. a metonymy of the cause, of the effect, of the subject, and of the adjunct.

METONYMY OF THE CAUSE.

Metonymy of the cause takes place in a threefold manner,—when a person acting is put for the thing done, when the instrument is put for the thing done by it, and when a thing or action is put for the effect produced. Let us exemplify these respectively.

(a.) The person acting for the thing done.

Parents and ancestors are put for sons and posterity. Thus Shem and Japheth are put for their posterity (Gen. ix. 27.); Jacob and Israel for the people generally (Exod. v. 2.; Numb. xxiii. 21., xxiv. 5. 17.). Obed-Edom is put for his posterity (2 Chron. xxv. 24.), who were porters, and keepers of the sacred treasures.

A writer is put for his work or book. So in Luke xvi. 29., “They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.” Examples also occur in Luke xxiv. 27.; Acts xv. 21., xxi. 21.; 2 Cor. iii. 15.

(b.) The cause or instrument is put for the thing effected by it.

Thus the mouth, the tongue, the lip or lips, are put for speech (Deut. xvii. 6.; Matt. xviii. 16.; Psal. v. 10., Gen. xi. 1.; Prov. xii. 19.). The palate also stands for speech or words in Prov. v. 3. The throat is put for strong-speaking in Isa. lviii. 1.: “Cry with the throat.”

The hand is put for the writing done by it (1 Cor. xvi. 21.; Col. iv. 18.).

The sword is put for war or slaughter effected by it (Exod. v. 3.).

The word *rope*, מִדְּבַר, is put for the territory or field measured by it, as Joshua xvii. 14., xix. 9.

Silver is put for the thing compared to silver (Ex. xxi. 21.).

(c.) The thing or action, instead of the effect arising from that thing, or produced by that action. Thus fir-trees are put for arms or lances made of that wood (Nahum ii. 4.), brass for brazen fetters (Lament. iii. 7.), gold and silver for things made out of them (1 Chron. xxix. 2.).<sup>2</sup>

METONYMY OF THE EFFECT.

The effect is often put for the cause, which is the opposite of the preceding. Thus God is termed *thy life and the length of thy days*, *i. e.* the cause or author of life and longevity (Deut. xxx. 20.). The God of patience and consolation, *i. e.* the author of these qualities in believers. So Christ is called *the way, the truth, the life* (John xiv. 6.). Faith is called our “victory which overcomes the world,” *i. e.* the instrument of victory. “This is the condemnation” (John iii. 19.), *i. e.* the cause of the condemnation. “Is the law sin?” (Rom. vii. 7.), that is, the cause of sin.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Philologia Sacra, ed. Dathe, p. 814.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 839. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 815. *et seqq.*

## METONYMY OF THE SUBJECT.

(a.) Sometimes the subject is put for the adjunct.

The heart is put for understanding or wisdom (Prov. vi. 32., vii. 7.). The heart and the reins stand for the inmost thoughts, desires, and affections (Psal. lxxiii. 21., li. 8.). The old and the new man denote different states or conditions of the same man (Rom. vi. 6.; 2 Cor. v. 17.).

(b.) Sometimes the container is put for the contained, and the place for what is placed.

A basket or canister is put for the bread or food carried in it (Deut. xxviii. 5.). A house stands for the inhabitants of it (Gen. vii. 1.); a horse for the things carried by that animal (1 Kings x. 28.); islands for their inhabitants (Isa. xli. 1. 5.); a table for the meat placed on it (Psal. xxiii. 5.); a mountain for things or persons upon it (Josh. xiii. 6.; Jer. iii. 23.); the world for its inhabitants (John iii. 16.); a nest for the young birds in it (Deut. xxxii. 11.); a cup for the drink or wine in it (Jer. xlix. 12.); a sepulchre for those buried in it (Isa. xxxviii. 18.).

(c.) The possessor is put for the thing possessed.

To possess nations greater and mightier than thyself (Deut. ix. 1.), *i. e.* the region occupied by nations, &c.

(d.) Sometimes the object is put for that which is conversant about it.

A burden stands for a prophecy respecting divine punishment (Isa. xxi. 1.). Sin is put for the sacrifice offered for the expiation of sin (Exod. xxix. 14.).

(e.) The thing signified is put for the sign.

Thus desolation denotes a mourning garment, the symbol of it (Ezek. vii. 27.). Redemption means the sign of redemption (Exod. viii. 23.).<sup>1</sup>

## METONYMY OF THE ADJUNCT.

(a.) Sometimes the accident of, or what is additional to, a thing, is put for its subject in kind.

Thus the abstract stands for its concrete (Gen. xxxi. 3.). A shield stands for a soldier shielded (Ezek. xxvi. 8.); power for an army, or for military forces (Exod. xiv. 4.); light and darkness for the enlightened and the ignorant (Ephes. v. 8.).

(b.) Sometimes the thing contained is put for the thing containing it, and a thing placed for the place itself.

“This stone which I have set for a pillar shall be God’s house” (Gen. xxviii. 22.), *i. e.* this place on which I have set up a pillar of stone shall be, &c. Springs of water (Josh. xv. 19.) denote a portion of land in which springs of water exist. “And when they had opened their treasures” (Matt. ii. 11.), *i. e.* the vessels containing them.

(c.) Time is put for the things done or happening in time.

This is to be understood both of the word *time*, and of the nouns

<sup>1</sup> Philologia Sacra, ed. Dathe, p. 849. *et seqq.*

which express parts of time, whether divided by nature or by man's appointment. Days are said to be good or evil according to the events which happen in them (Gen. xlvii. 9.; Eccles. vii. 10.).

(d.) The opinions of men are put for things themselves. Things are described as they appeared and were thought of, not as they really were. In Ezek. xxi. 3. the righteous means him who seemed to be righteous. See too Matt. ix. 13. "The foolishness of preaching" (1 Cor. i. 21.), because the preaching of the gospel was thought to be such by many. "I wonder that ye are so soon removed to another gospel" (Gal. i. 6.), *i. e.* false teaching is called *another gospel*. "His enemies shall lick the dust" (Psal. lxxii. 9.), *i. e.* appear to do so because of their being prostrate on the ground. The expressions denote utter subjugation.

(e.) Sometimes an action or affection conversant with or employed about any object is put for the object itself.

Thus the senses are put for the objects perceived by them, as hearing for doctrine or speech (Isa. xxviii. 9., liii. 1.). *Ακοή* in John xii. 38., Rom. x. 16., Gal. iii. 2. 5., literally *hearing*, signifies *report* or *speech*. So the *eye*, *אֵי*, stands for the colour seen by the eyes (Numb. xi. 7.; Lev. xiii. 55.; Prov. xxiii. 31.; Ezek. i. 4., viii. 2., x. 9.). *Faith* denotes the doctrine received and believed, *i. e.* its *object* (Acts vi. 7.; Gal. i. 23.). *Hope*, signifying the object of itself, means God (Psal. lxxi. 5.; Jer. xiv. 8.). It means Christ (Acts xxviii. 20.; Col. i. 27.; 1 Tim. i. 1.). *Love* stands for the person or thing loved (Jer. ii. 33., xii. 7.). In like manner *desire* stands for the person or thing desired (Ezek. xxiv. 16. 21.). *Fear* is also put for the objects feared (Psal. liii. 6.; Prov. i. 26.).

(f.) The sign is put for the thing signified.

Thus sceptre, crown or diadem, throne, stands for regal authority or power (Gen. xlix. 10.; Isa. xiv. 5.; Psal. lxxxix. 5.; Ezek. xxi. 26.). War is denoted by the bow, spear, chariot, sword, &c. (Psal. xlvii. 9.; Ezek. xxi. 3, 4.). To open and shut, none opposing, denotes the possession of full and free power to administer any thing (Isa. xxii. 22.). To lift up the eyes is to worship and pray (Psal. cxxi. 1., cxxiii. 1.). To bow the knees is to worship (Isa. xlv. 23.; Phil. ii. 10.; Ephes. iii. 14.). To give the hand, or to strike hands, signifies voluntary subjection, supplication, swearing, joining in covenant, becoming surety for another (1 Chron. xxix. 24.; 2 Chron. xxx. 8.; Lam. v. 6.; Job xvii. 3.; Gal. ii. 9.).

(g.) The name is sometimes put for the person or thing named.

The name of God denotes God himself (Deut. xxviii. 58.; Psal. xx. 2.). Name stands for person (Acts i. 15.; Rev. iii. 4., xi. 13.). It stands for the thing itself (Acts iv. 12.; Ephes. i. 21.; Phil. ii. 9.).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Philologia Sacra, ed. Dathe, p. 870. *et seqq.*

## CHAP. III.

## ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE METAPHORS.

ACCORDING to the definition of Glassius, a metaphor is a trope by which a word is transferred from its proper signification to another cognate one, on account of a similitude between them.<sup>1</sup> It is founded on the resemblance which one object bears to another. Hence it is allied to simile or comparison. It is a comparison expressed in an abridged form.

The chief thing to be attended to in the metaphor is the *medium comparationis*, or resemblance which lies at the foundation of it.

The sources of Scripture metaphors may be classed under five heads, viz., natural, artificial, sacred, historical, and fabulous.

1. Metaphors are taken from natural objects more frequently than from any other source.

Thus the images of *light* and *darkness* are commonly employed in all languages to denote prosperity and adversity. But the Hebrews make use of them more frequently, and with less variation, than other peoples. (See Isa. xiii. 10., lix. 9., lx. 19, 20.). In many cases *light* comprehends both outward and inward illumination, prosperity accompanied with knowledge and joy; while *darkness* in the same manner includes outward calamity and internal blindness or ignorance. They are so used in Isa. ix. 1.; Matt. iv. 16.

In eastern countries, with their peculiar climate so different from ours in Great Britain, rain, dew, rivers, springs, are exceedingly grateful. In consequence of the prevailing dryness and heat, the ground becomes parched; the grass and flowers wither and decay. Hence a variety of metaphors is taken from these objects to represent blessings and favours. Moderate rains or copious showers, gentle streams and flowing springs, running waters, nightly dews, denote spiritual blessings descending from the Father of Spirits. (See Hosea vi. 3.; Isa. xxvi. 19., xxvii. 3., xlv. 3., xxxv. 1. 6, 7., xli. 18.) On the contrary, sudden and great calamities are expressed by a deluge of waters. This metaphor was immediately taken from the nature and state of the country. The river Jordan, which annually overflowed its banks in some places, not in all, was immediately before the Hebrews' eyes. The country generally, being chiefly mountainous, was exposed to frequent floods rushing with violence along the valleys and narrow defiles, after tempests of rain which took place periodically. But Lowth is mistaken in supposing that the prophet (David) "seems to have depicted the face of nature exactly as it appeared to him, and to have adapted it to the figurative description of his own situation, when from the banks of Jordan, and the mountains at the head of that river, he pours forth

<sup>1</sup> Philologia Sacra, ed. Dathe, p. 916.

the tempestuous violence of his sorrow with a force of language and an energy of expression which has seldom been equalled :

Deep calleth unto deep, at the noise of thy waterspouts.  
All thy waves and thy billows are gone over me. (Psalm xlii. 7.)" <sup>1</sup>

David cannot allude here to the waterfalls of Lebanon, for the word rendered waterspouts never denotes cataracts or waterfalls; and besides, the preceding context (verse 6.) describes the country east of Jordan or Peræa. Desolating and destroying enemies are compared to overflowing rivers, inundations, or torrents, in Ezek. xxvi. 3, 19., xxvii. 26.

Plants and trees are particularly used as the sources of metaphorical expressions, so that Michaelis asserts that Hebrew poetry might be almost called the *botanical* poetry.<sup>2</sup>

There is a species of metaphor derived from natural objects, altogether peculiar to the Hebrews. Among the mountains of Palestine the two most remarkable are Lebanon and Carmel. Each suggests a different general image according to their respective forms, aspects, and features. This image the Hebrew poets adopt for different purposes. Thus Lebanon is used for the whole state of the Jews, or for the state of the church, for the temple, even for the king of Assyria and his army; in a word, for whatever is remarkable, august, and sublime.

In a similar manner, whatever possesses much fertility, wealth, or beauty, is called Carmel. So too insolent and cruel tyrants of the Gentiles are denoted by the fat rams, heifers, and bulls of Bashan; by the wild beast of the reeds, or the lion of Jordan.<sup>3</sup>

In respect to the derivation of its imagery from natural objects all poetry is alike, though the Hebrews took their metaphors from this source in greater abundance than other nations. Hence the natural history of the country of Judea in connection with the situation and habits of the writers should be well known to the interpreter of the Old Testament books.

2. The Hebrews derived many metaphors from arts, manners, and common life.

The whole course and method of common or domestic life among the more ancient Hebrews was simple and uniform. That variety of studies and pursuits, of arts, conditions, and employments observable among other nations, did not exist among them. Separated from the rest of mankind, and not addicted to commerce, they were contented with such arts as were necessary to a simple state of life. Thus their principal employments were agriculture and the care of cattle. The lands had been originally parcelled out to the different families, and could not be alienated by sale. The produce of each man's hand and labour constituted the wealth of each. Hence the Hebrew writers derive most of their metaphors from those arts in which they were brought up from their earliest years.

Thus from one thing, the barn or the threshing-floor, an object

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, vi. p. 55. ed. Stowe, Andover, 1829.

<sup>2</sup> Notes to Lowth, p. 339. ed. Stowe.

<sup>3</sup> See Lowth, p. 56.

which some might reckon low and mean, sublime images are taken. "Jehovah threshes out the heathen as corn, tramples them under his feet, and disperses them. He delivers the nations to Israel to be beaten in pieces by an indented flail, or to be crushed by their brazen hoofs. He scatters their enemies like chaff upon the mountains, and disperses them with the whirlwind of his indignation." Here belongs the sublime delineation of the divine vengeance expressed by imagery taken from the winepress. Isaiah depicts Jehovah or the Messiah coming to take vengeance on his enemies; and similar metaphors are used by other sacred poets.<sup>1</sup>

Nor are pastoral images confined to the Old Testament. They are numerous in the New also. Thus the world is compared to a field; the children of the kingdom or believers are the wheat; the children of the evil one are tares. (Matt. xiii. 38.) The seed sown is the word. A preacher is the sower. The heart of man is the ground. The thorns are the care of this world and the deceitfulness of riches. The harvest is the end of the world. The reapers are the angels. The church is God's husbandry. Apostles and others are fellow-labourers with God. The wicked are stubble. Repentance and resolution of amendment are ploughing and breaking up the fallow ground. (Matt. xiii. 38, 39.; Mark. iv. 14. &c.; Matt. xiii. 3.; Luke viii. 14, 15.; 1 Cor. iii. 9.; Isa. xlvii. 14.; Hosea x. 12.)

3. Metaphors derived from the rites and ceremonies of religion.

The religion of the Hebrews embraced a very extensive circle of divine and human economy. It not only included all that regarded the worship of God, but extended to the regulation of the state, the ratification of the laws, the forms and administration of justice, and almost all the relations of civil and domestic life. The state and the church were coextensive.

Many metaphors were derived from the system of Hebrew rites with all their splendour and magnificence, especially after the building of Solomon's temple. From one thing, viz. the priest's magnificent attire and ornaments, a variety of appropriate imagery was borrowed. Isaiah has a beautiful example of this kind.

I will greatly rejoice in the Lord.  
My soul shall be joyful in my God:  
For he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation,  
He hath covered me with the robe of righteousness;  
As a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments,  
And as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels. (Isa. lxi. 10.)

Here the prophet describes the church in her universality and glory. He decorates her with the vestments of salvation, and clothes her in the robe of righteousness. He then compares her to a bridegroom dressed for marriage, employing a term taken from the apparel of the priests. Jehovah himself is introduced by the Psalmist as "clothed with glory and strength;" he is "girded with power;" which are the terms appropriated to describe the dress and ornaments of the priests. The angels are clothed like priests. (Ezek. ix. 3., Dan. x. 5.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Lowth, Lecture vii. pp. 58, 59.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Lecture viii.

Much of the Jewish law is employed in discriminating between things clean and unclean; in removing and making atonement for things polluted or proscribed; under which ceremonies a meaning the most important and sacred is concealed. Among the rest are certain diseases and infirmities of the body, and some customs indifferent in themselves, but important when the reasons of them are properly ascertained. Accordingly the sacred poets have recourse to these topics for imagery, as when they set forth the depravity of the human heart, or censure the corrupt manners of the people, or deplore the abject state of the virgin daughter of Sion, polluted and exposed. (Isa. lxiv. 6., i. 5, 6. 16.; Ezek. xxxvi. 17.; Lam. i. 8, 9. 17., ii. 2.) "If," says Lowth, "we consider these metaphors without any reference to the religion of their authors, they will doubtless appear in some degree disgusting and inelegant; if we refer them to their genuine source, to the peculiar rites of the Hebrews, they will be found wanting neither in force nor in dignity."<sup>1</sup>

4. The Hebrews derived many metaphors from remarkable transactions recorded in the sacred history.

Thus the destruction of Israel is depicted by a return to ancient chaos (Jer. iv. 23—26.). So too Isa. (xxxiv. 11.). The same event is sometimes expressed in metaphors suggested by the universal deluge (Isa. xxiv. 18—20.), and also the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Isa. xxxiv. 9, 10.).

The emigration of the Israelites from Egypt is applied in a metaphorical manner to many events which bear some resemblance to it. It represents deliverance, assistance, liberty, and security. (Isa. xliii. 16—19., xlvi. 21., li. 9, 10.) In the New Testament the Christian redemption is described metaphorically by allusions to this same event.

The Apocalypse is full of imagery of this nature. Egypt, Sodom, Jerusalem, Babylon, a new Gog and Magog, reappear there.<sup>2</sup>

5. Some metaphors are derived from poetic fable.

The cherubim of the Hebrews are of this nature. They are allegorical figures, not real existences, as is clearly deducible from the various descriptions given of them in the Old Testament. Such imagery is adopted in condescension to our feeble apprehension as creatures of sense, to give us some ideas of the glories of the invisible world and the inexpressible majesty of Jehovah. Cherubim support Jehovah's throne, and bear his chariot when he rides in the clouds. (Psalm xviii. 11.; Ezek. i. 10., x. 14.; Revel. iv. 6.) The seraphim, beings mentioned but once, are similar. (Isa. vi. 2.) We also find some malicious beings introduced by the prophets, which are probably fabulous. Thus Isaiah mentions *Satyrs*, mischievous fiends, with heads and breasts like men and the lower parts like goats, who are supposed by the orientals to inhabit the woods and solitary places, amusing themselves by dancing and shrieking; who mislead travellers, murder them, and devour their flesh.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lectures, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lecture ix.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the Notes of Michaelis and Stowe on Lowth, p. 362. *et seq.*

## CHAP. IV.

## ANTHROPOPATHY AND PERSONIFICATION.

WE have reserved to this place the metaphor *anthropopathy*, although it might have been noticed under the class of metaphors derived from natural objects, because it requires a more extended description. In it things belonging to creatures and especially man, are ascribed to the Deity. This manner of speaking is employed in condescension to our weak apprehensions, which cannot form a proper idea of God in his abstract nature as pure spirit existing every where throughout the universe.

In the consideration of anthropopathies we must carefully adhere to the following canon.

Whatever things are transferred from the creatures to God must be purged of all imperfection and limitation, and their concentrated excellence alone attributed to Him.

Thus when the parts and members of the human body are ascribed to Him, we must only understand such qualities in perfection as those parts and members in our frame are the instruments of. The face or countenance is his manifestation (Psal. xxxiv. 16.). His eyes are his most exact knowledge (Psal. xi. 4. ; Job xxxiv. 21.; Heb. iv. 13.). They also represent his watchfulness and supervision (Psal. xxxii. 8. ; Deut. xi. 12.). Ears are also attributed to him, signifying gracious acceptance of prayer (Psal. xxxi. 3.), or the exact notice he takes of the sins of others (James v. 4.). By his mouth we are to understand the expression of his will (Josh. ix. 14. ; 1 Sam. xv. 24.). His arm denotes power and strength (Exod. xv. 16., Job xl. 4.). In like manner we read of his right hand, his fingers (Exod. xv. 6. ; Psal. viii. 3.). Feet denote his omnipresence, as well as his operation in destroying enemies (Psal. lxxiv. 3., cx. 1. ; Lament. iii. 34.). Bowels denote his compassion (Isa. lxiii. 15. ; Jer. xxxi. 20.).<sup>1</sup>

When human affections are attributed to Him, they must be freed from all imperfection which belongs to them in man, from all perturbation and limitation, and assigned to him in an infinitely pure and holy state. Thus when anger, vengeance, hatred, joy, grief, repentance are predicated of him, we must carefully separate from them all manner of imperfection. (Jer. ix. 9. ; Nahum i. 2. ; Psal. v. 6. ; Isa. i. 14., lxiii. 10. ; Deut. xxviii. 63. ; Gen. vi. 6.) With respect to repentance on the part of God, it does not imply any change of mind or purpose. The ideas and purposes of the Most High are immutable. "I am the Lord, I change not." (Mal. iii. 6.) His disposition towards good and evil continues the same, but varies in its application, as its objects vary. Repentance intimates no more than that he suits his dispensations to the alterations which take place in the characters of men.<sup>3</sup>

With a boldness peculiar to the oriental world metaphors taken

<sup>1</sup> Glassii Philol. Sacr. ed. Dathe, p. 924 *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 942. *et seqq.*

from the vices of men are applied even to the Deity. Thus God in his anger is compared to a *mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine*. (Psal. lxxviii. 65.)

In the same manner we must explain all passages in which *human actions* are ascribed to God. Thus he *goes down* to see what is done in Sodom (Gen. xviii. 21.), intimating orderly and just procedure in destroying the inhabitants. *Coming to a person on His part* is the manifestation of his favour or of his displeasure. When *human relations* are attributed to him, they express *the properties* of such relations, as when he is called a father, a husband, a king, a shepherd. (Psal. ciii. 13., Rom. viii. 15., Isa. liv. 5., Psal. xc. 3.)<sup>1</sup>

Of the *prosopopœia* or *personification* there are two kinds. One is when action and character are attributed to fictitious, irrational, or even inanimate objects; the other, when a probable but fictitious speech is assigned to a real character. The former of these is a kind of metaphor; the latter can scarcely be called so. The former is a daring figure, and is used very frequently by the Hebrew writers. Thus the personification of the divine attribute *wisdom* is admirably introduced in Prov. viii. 22—31. In like manner, the divine attributes are personified in Psal. lxxxv. 10.

Mercy and truth are met together;  
Righteousness and peace have kissed each other.

In the same manner the pestilence is described as marching before Jehovah when he is about to punish. (Hab. iii. 5.) Destruction and death say of wisdom that her fame only had come to their ears. (Job xxviii. 22.) Hades extends her throat and opens her immeasurable, insatiable jaws. (Isa. v. 14.)<sup>2</sup>

The second kind of personification is that by which a probable though fictitious speech is assigned to a real person. This is, according to Lowth, possessed of great force, evidence, and authority; though it does not excite admiration and approbation like the former, by its novelty, boldness, and variety.

We shall give the example selected by that scholar with his remarks. He thinks that it is impossible to produce one more perfect. It is expressive of the eager expectation of Sisera's mother. (Judg. v. 28—30.)

The mother of Sisera looked out at a window  
And cried through the lattice,  
Why is his chariot so long in coming?  
Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?

Here we have a striking picture of maternal solicitude in words and actions; of a mind suspended between hope and fear.

Her wise ladies answered her,  
Yea, she returned answer to herself,  
Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey?

Impatient of his delay, she anticipates the consolations of her

<sup>1</sup> Glassii Philol. Sacr. ed. Dathc, p. 946.

<sup>2</sup> Lowth's Lectures, xiii. p. 104. *et seqq.*

friends, and her mind becoming giddy, she boasts with all the levity of a fond female.

Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey?  
 To every man a damsel or two;  
 To Sisera a prey of divers colours;  
 A prey of divers colours of needlework,  
 Of divers colours of needlework on both sides?

Here she takes no account of the slaughter of the enemy, of the valour of the conqueror, of the multitude of the captives, but

Burns with a female thirst of prey and spoils.

Nothing is omitted which is calculated to attract the passions of a vain and trifling woman—slaves, gold, and rich apparel. Nor is she satisfied with the bare enumeration of them; she repeats, she amplifies, she heightens every circumstance; she seems to have the very plunder in her immediate possession; she pauses and contemplates every particular.<sup>1</sup>

The fullest and most wonderful example of the figure is in Isa. xiv. 4—27., where are examples of almost every form of proso-pœia. Nothing can be more sublime than that short poem. Lowth's observations upon it are equally just, appropriate, and beautiful.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAP. V.

### ALLEGORY.

THE term allegory is variously employed by critics and interpreters. It has been used very vaguely and loosely. Sometimes an allegory is said to be a continued metaphor, as Cicero explains it, in which he is followed by Lowth, Blair, and others. According to this view, it is difficult to ascertain where metaphor terminates and allegory begins. Some would confine the former to a word, and then whatever exceeds is an allegory. Lowth enumerates three forms of allegory<sup>3</sup>; but their limits are not well marked. We apprehend that some confusion would be avoided by attaching the same meaning to the word wherever it occurs, and so separating it from other figures. In an allegory as in a metaphor two things are presented to view. Yet there is a difference between them. "The term allegory, says Marsh, according to its original and proper meaning, denotes—a representation of *one* thing which is intended to excite the representation of *another* thing. Every allegory therefore must be subjected to a *twofold* examination: we must first examine the *immediate* representation, and *then* consider what *other* representation it was intended to excite. Now in most allegories, the *immediate* representation is made in the form of a *narrative*; and since it is the

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, p. 107. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 108—110.

<sup>3</sup> See Lecture x.

object of an allegory to convey a *moral* not an *historic* truth, the narrative itself is commonly *fictional*. The *immediate* representation is of no further value than as it leads to the *ultimate* representation. It is the *application* or the *moral* of the allegory which constitutes its worth.

Since, then, an allegory comprehends two distinct *representations*, the *interpretation* of an allegory must comprehend two distinct *operations*. "The first of them relates to the *immediate* representation; the second to the *ultimate* representation."<sup>1</sup>

From this description it appears, that a continuation of metaphors, or a prolonged metaphor, never becomes an allegory. In the metaphor there is but one meaning; in the allegory there are two, a literal and a figurative. In the former, the principal object is prominently presented; in the latter it is concealed, while the secondary is exhibited. The metaphor asserts or supposes that one thing is another, as "Judah is a lion's whelp;" but allegory never affirms that one thing is another.

Examples of allegory commonly given are a succession of metaphors, or even a single comparison. Thus Morus improperly makes 2 Tim. ii. 20. an allegory; and in like manner, Matt. xxi. 43.; John vi. 51.; 1 Pet. v. 8.<sup>2</sup>

Allegory has been divided into the pure and impure, or perfect and mixed. The former does not mention any part of the principal object, but carefully conceals it. This rarely occurs in the Scriptures. Most of the Bible allegories are mixed; and therefore their application is more easily seen, because proper expressions are introduced by which the principal object is indicated. The parable of the prodigal son is an example of the pure allegory; the eightieth Psalm presents an instance of the impure or mixed.

The whole book of Canticles is supposed by many to be an extended allegory in which the love existing between Christ and his church, or between an individual believer and Christ, is shadowed forth under the outward veil of nuptial love. The commencement and conclusion of the book furnish no aid in explaining it thus; and all that can be done by the interpreter who takes the view in question is to compare other places where the relation of God to his church is described under the figure of connubial love.

The following observations (they can scarcely be called rules) will be serviceable in the interpretation of an allegory proper, or an allegory defined as a succession of metaphors. They apply to both; and we shall give examples of both indiscriminately.

1. The proper or literal meaning, *i. e.* the immediate representation, should first be examined.

This is, generally speaking, an easy matter. Thus the plain and primary meaning of the eightieth Psalm respecting the vine is apparent. Indeed the propriety and force of the figure depend in a great degree on the plainness of the narrative-words that serve as the covering of another sense, and at the same convey it.

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on the Interpretation of the Bible, pp. 343, 344.

<sup>2</sup> Aeroases, vol. i. p. 306.

2. The context, both that which precedes and follows, should be chiefly looked to in the interpretation of allegory. The purpose for which it was introduced, or intimations of its import subjoined, commonly suggest the true sense. Thus in verses 2—7 of the 80th Psalm, the use of the pronoun *us* and the language of the speakers, show that Israel, the ancient church, is represented as uttering a lamentation or complaint respecting her condition. Hence we are naturally led to think of Israel as the vine pourtrayed. This is further and more clearly shown by the termination of the allegory. Thus the fifteenth verse: "And protect what thy right hand has planted; and the son thou hast reared for thyself;" where by the son is meant the Hebrew nation or church, elsewhere so termed (Exod. iv. 22.; Hosea xi. 1.). But the seventeenth verse is more explicit. "Hold thy hand over the man of thy right hand—the son of man thou madest strong for thyself." Israel is individualised and called *the man of God's right hand*, because the power of God had been remarkably manifested on its behalf. Alexander incorrectly applies the words to the Messiah. "Let thy hand fall not on us but on our substitute.<sup>1</sup> This is putting something into the text which was not intended.

"In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour." (2 Tim. ii. 20.) In the preceding verse the apostle writes, "Nevertheless, the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his. And, let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." Here it is intimated that *the great house* signifies the Christian church, in which are various classes of Christians, genuine and nominal ones. In the twenty-first verse again we read, that if a man has purged himself from *these, i. e.* from vessels of wood and of earth which are to dishonour, he himself shall be a vessel unto honour. The false teachers and their errors are the vessels here specified. The vessels of gold and silver are different classes of Christians. In the external Christian church are both Christians and false teachers; and Timothy is encouraged by this fact, while the apostle supposes that he keeps himself free from false teachers and their erroneous doctrines.

Isa. xxviii. 23—29. Here is a continued metaphor. The husbandman wisely suits his method of treatment to the nature of the soil he works upon. He sows in particular spots the seeds which exactly suit them. He employs the instruments for separating the grain from the chaff and straw which are best adapted to accomplish the end. If we look to the preceding verses, especially the seventeenth and twenty-second, we shall perceive the general purport of this metaphorical language. The concluding verse also assists (29.). God adopts such providential modes of procedure towards men as are exactly suited to their states. His forbearance is not wholly inactive. It is attended with a preparatory process, after which he punishes severely or gently according to the capacity and guilt of the sinner.

In Eccles. xii. 2—6. we have a succession of metaphors to describe the human body in old age. Different parts and members are described in different images. The first verse, which introduces the description, shows to what it alludes. "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them."

In John vi. 25—65. many things are said respecting the eating of bread. The occasion of the discourse about eating and drinking is given in the 31st verse: "Our fathers did eat manna in the desert, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat." But this explains little, and the metaphors must be taken to explain themselves, especially as *proper* words occur here and there. There is little doubt that when Christ styles himself *the true bread, the living bread, &c.*, he refers to *the great truths respecting himself as the Saviour of the world in which the work of redemption mainly consisted* as appropriated by faith. The spiritual food is not the doctrines of Christ; this is too vague and general; but the mystery of his redemption in which we participate by faith, and so have our souls nourished and strengthened—the assimilation to ourselves of the truths signified and expressed in his laying down his life on behalf of sinners that they might live for ever.

As the allegories of the Bible are mixed, and the metaphors succeeding one another in a passage are also impure, there is frequently some word or words which help towards an explanation. But we believe that the preceding and following context will prove most useful, either by showing the occasion, the scope, the design of the figurative passage, or by giving some explanation of it. As to parallels they should also be employed wherever it is possible; but they will be of little value, because *true parallels* can scarcely be found to such places.

3. According to Morus, historical circumstances should be consulted in the explanation of an allegorical passage.

The same writer gives an example of this from Matt. xiii. 31—34., where the kingdom of God is likened to a grain of mustard seed, which though very small at first, springs up, grows, and becomes a large plant.<sup>1</sup> History shows that the church, having arisen from small beginnings, is spreading itself throughout the earth. We believe that the reader who knows nothing of the history of the church except from the Bible itself understands the parable as well as any other expositor. The parable is *not* illustrated by history.

Another example, which is also said to be illustrated by history, is Prov. v. 15—18. It is asserted that "the inhabitants of the East are accustomed to compare their wives to a cistern or pool whence rivers flow." This is questionable. The meaning is sufficiently apparent from the context; and the figurative expressions applied to connubial enjoyment are not at all *illustrated* by history. They are as plain apart from as in connection with it. The young married man is exhorted to confine himself to his own lawful sources of en-

<sup>1</sup> Acroases, vol. i. p. 312.

Other examples under this head are still more irrelevant, as John xxi. 18., which is not an allegory in any sense.<sup>1</sup>

Another rule for the explanation of allegory is, that *the nature of the thing* should be considered.

Under this head Morus<sup>2</sup> adduces Luke v. 36.: "No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old." Here what precedes throws more light on the sense of the metaphorical passage than the nature of the subject. The Pharisees had asked Christ why his disciples did not fast. He replied in the words quoted, showing that fasting and austerity were not adapted to the state of his disciples at that time. He acted therefore towards his disciples as men do in the business of ordinary life, where things are accommodated to circumstances.

A more appropriate example occurs in Matt. v. 13.: "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men." Salt has a seasoning, anti-septic power; to which the disciples are compared, because they were appointed to make corrupt humanity sound. But should they lose the life and character of genuine piety, how could they be re-awakened to their true vocation as the teachers and guides of mankind?<sup>3</sup> Even here the connection of the passage is of more use in interpreting the metaphorical expressions than any thing else, especially when the parallels Mark ix. 50., Col. iv. 6., are taken into account.

After the context has been carefully used, and other parts of the Bible collated, a question of no small importance remains, viz. How far should the expositor run a parallel between the circumstances mentioned in the figure and the object or objects they were intended to depict? Here the precept has been propounded,

That comparison should not be extended to all the circumstances of the allegory.

This rule, if it can be called such, is just and proper; but it is only negative and vague. Comparison holds good only to a certain extent. A minute parallel was not designed by the sacred writers. Each feature should not be insisted on as if it had a corresponding counterpart. It is commonly observable, that one fact or principle is meant to be illustrated by a lengthened comparison, and that various traits are added to fill up the picture. These impart variety and ornament to the description, having no separate significancy. They are solely *subordinate* and *secondary*, serving to give life and fulness to

<sup>1</sup> Morus, vol. i. p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313.

<sup>3</sup> As the salt in use in this country is not liable to chemical change from exposure or moisture, it has until now been difficult to understand the circumstance alluded to in this passage, on which the metaphor is founded, "but if the salt have lost his savour." The salt used in the United Kingdom and the north-western countries of Europe is nearly pure chloride of sodium, which may easily be dissolved, but never becomes insipid. The salt of Syria, however, is chloride of sodium mixed with a large proportion of sulphate of lime, a salt not soluble in less than 800 times its weight of water. Hence if the salt of Palestine were exposed to rain or dew, the chloride of sodium would be dissolved, and the *insipid* and very slightly soluble sulphate of lime would remain. This gypseous residuum is the salt which *has lost its savour*, to which the description is precisely appropriate.

solely subordinate and secondary, serving to give life and fulness to the description. Without them the portrait would be bare and rugged. Hence those interpreters who have insisted on each particular of an allegory as significant have greatly erred. They have indulged in fanciful circumstances alien to the spirit of the passage, and so brought Holy Scripture into disrepute. By such procedure, the enemies of truth have been encouraged and aided. Let all expositors therefore beware of giving scope to their imagination in this department of exegesis.

It is impossible to give any rule which will teach the interpreter to know *how far* the comparison should be extended. It is of no use to say, *just as far as the inspired writer indicates*; because he does not indicate it exactly or definitely. We must therefore be contented with looking out for the design of the allegory. What fact, principle, sentiment, or idea, does the author mean to illustrate? What object led to the introduction of the allegory? Here we are brought back to the context. The vicinity will lead to an acquaintance with the purport of the comparison. And when that is perceived, the interpretation of the whole should be regulated by it. Let the main idea guide and modify the general explanation.

Another rule has been laid down, viz.,

That one part of the allegory should not be explained literally and another figuratively.

Almost all the allegories of Scripture are mixed or impure. They contain literal expressions or explanations, as well as figurative ones. Hence this precept is almost valueless respecting them. Taking it as applicable to a metaphorical passage generally, it is just and proper, *provided* the passage itself be all figurative, without admixture of other expressions. Thus 1 Cor. iii. 9—13. is metaphorical. The Apostle Paul and other teachers of religion are compared to builders. He himself declares that he laid the foundation, and others built upon it. But the materials employed are different. Some put gold, silver, marble; others wood, hay, stubble. The former are precious, valuable, firm; the latter of inferior worth and easily destroyed. The building is the Christian church. Some teachers inculcate the evangelical doctrine in its true substance and form. Such teachings are the gold, silver, precious stone. Others inculcate what is useless or erroneous. But the *day of the Lord* will declare and prove the nature of the spiritual superstructure which has been built on the sure foundation. It will show clearly whether the doctrines have been right, or whether they have been useless and untenable dialectics tending to no practical benefit. In the time of danger, in the fiery testing process which shall take place, the teacher who has promulgated erroneous and trifling doctrines will lose his reward, though as a true believer he himself shall be saved. He shall be punished by the loss of that reward which he should otherwise have obtained. This will be a kind of chastisement upon himself. The trial will affect him injuriously. There is no ground for taking *the fire* literally, as the Church of Rome does, applying it to *purga-*

*tory.* The whole passage being metaphorical, the fire should be interpreted in accordance with the surrounding context, since no intimation appears to the contrary.

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## CHAP. VI.

### ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE PARABLES.

THE English word *parable* is derived from the Greek *παραβολή*, meaning according to its proper, etymological sense, *comparison*, *similitude*. It is a comparison taken from things natural to represent things spiritual. But although the term properly mean *comparison*, yet it is employed in a more restricted way, and bears various senses. It has its original, broad signification in Mark iv. 30. and in Heb. xi. 19., which becomes more specific in Heb. ix. 9., where it is nearly equivalent to *symbol* or *type*. It is most frequently used in the New Testament for a short discourse or comparison. (See Matt. xiii. 24. &c. &c.) It is also employed in the sense of an obscure figurative discourse, a dark saying (Matt. xiii. 35.). Hence it comes to denote a proverb or sententious saying (Luke iv. 23.). The corresponding Hebrew term *מִשְׁלָּה* bears the same senses, as may be seen from the Lexicons of Gesenius.

Parables may be called *historical allegories*. They differ from allegories *only in form*. A fictitious narrative is used to represent and illustrate what is real. There are usually two representations, the one concealing the other. But in the allegory there is an interpretation of the thing signifying and the thing signified, the qualities of the first being attributed to the last, and so the two blended together instead of being kept distinct, as is the case in the parable.

The parable differs from the *fable*. The former moves in the spiritual world alone; the latter in the region of worldly morality. Hence the latter, as Trench justly remarks, has no place in *the word of God* (not *the Scripture*, as he says); for the two apparent exceptions (Jud. ix. 8—15. and 2 Kings xiv. 9.) belong to men speaking from an earthly standing-point. Besides, fables transgress the established laws of nature by making inanimate or irrational creatures speak and act, which parables never do.

The parable also differs from the *proverb*, though there is but one word for both in the Hebrew, and the two are often used interchangeably in the New Testament. Both indeed rest on a comparison; but the parable is further carried out and *necessarily* figurative; while the proverb is only *accidentally* so.<sup>1</sup>

The use of parables is very ancient. To a rude and ignorant people they had peculiar adaptation. Unfitted as the minds of men were in the early ages of the world for the reception of abstract truth or a right apprehension of reasoning, the parable had advan-

<sup>1</sup> See Trench on the Parables, chap. i.

tages in arresting attention and impressing the mind. They were moved by the outward and sensible, rather than the inward. Indeed this is the case with the mass of mankind in all ages. The parable of Nathan addressed to David is well known. So also is that of the woman of Tekoah (2 Sam. xii. 1—4., xiv. 1—13.). The prophets availed themselves of this mode of instruction because of its suitability to their purpose. Ezekiel seems to have used it most. It was well fitted to excite attention, to be at once understood and felt, to allay prejudice by insinuating itself into the mind imperceptibly, to disarm opposition, and to convey reproof in a manner not at all disagreeable, but disguised, lively, irresistible. Hence our Lord, the great teacher and prophet, availed himself of it. His parables excel all others as far as he excelled other prophets, for in them we see every quality that combines to produce the highest excellence, simplicity, perspicuity, elegance, wisdom, utility.

Although we have seen that a parable is properly a historical allegory, and as such might have been treated under that head, especially as the method of interpretation is alike, yet it is preferable to consider it by itself, that it may be more clearly understood.

According to Bishop Lowth, the first excellence of a parable is, that it turns on an image well known and applicable to the subject, the meaning of which is clear and definite.<sup>1</sup>

The parables of the prophets correspond to this rule. They are founded on such imagery as is frequently used. Examples are found in the parable of the deceitful vineyard (Isa. v. 1—7.), and of the useless vine (Ezek. xv. and xix. 10—14.). So too in that of the lion's whelps falling into the pit (Ezek. xix. 1—9.); that of the cedar of Lebanon lofty and flourishing, cut down and neglected (Ezek. xxxi.), exhibiting the height and fall of Assyria. The same prophet has depicted the love of God to his ancient church, and her fidelity to him, under the parable of a marriage covenant (Ezek. xvi. and xxiii.). To the taste of a western the imagery is carried out too far in the latter parable, especially in the 20th verse of chapter xxiii.

All the parables of Christ have this excellence. They are representations of natural and common occurrences. They were founded on things before the eyes of his hearers, or such as they were familiar with. The parable of the ten virgins, of the sower, of the householder who planted a vineyard and let it out to husbandmen, going away himself into a far country, are taken from well-known occurrences.

Another excellence of a parable is, that it be founded on an image not only apt and familiar, but elegant and beautiful in itself.<sup>2</sup> This is also exemplified in the parables of the prophets, and in a higher degree in those uttered by the Saviour. Exceptions may readily suggest themselves to the mind, or at least apparent exceptions. Some of Ezekiel's in particular appear less elegant. They may even be thought mean and degrading. Lowth, however, exculpates these on the ground of their dignity and grace being lost to us, though they were wanting in neither quality to people of the same

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. x. p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 85.

age and country. Thus he explains the boiling pot and scum flowing over into the fire, by the circumstance that it was taken from the priestly rites; and nothing could be disgusting or inelegant connected with the holy ministration of the temple.<sup>1</sup> But whatever may be thought of this defence of some parables, there can be no doubt that the great majority of those in the Old Testament have the excellence required. And here again, our Lord's are preeminent.

Further, all the parts and appendages of the imagery should be perspicuous and pertinent. When the similitude runs directly, naturally, and regularly through every circumstance, it is productive of the greatest beauty. This however is not necessary. Neither will the nature of the subject bear it in some cases.<sup>2</sup>

Another excellence which Lowth thinks the criterion of a parable is, that it be consistent throughout, and that the literal be never confounded with the figurative sense.<sup>3</sup>

In a parable there are three things requiring attention.

First, the thing which illustrates, or the primary representation.

Secondly, the thing illustrated, or the true sense.

Thirdly, the *tertium comparationis*, or similitude existing between them.

1. The illustrative example or immediate representation is of no other use than to convey the secondary representation or sense intended.

2. The object to be illustrated, or the sense intended. This is called by Vossius *ἀνταπόδοσις*, and by Quintilian *redditiō contraria*. It is improperly styled *the mystical* or *internal* sense.

The right interpretation of a parable chiefly depends on our seizing the central truth around which all the parts are arranged, and towards which they all tend. The prominent idea must be first determined and fixed. Unless the central point be perceived, all will be confused. It is this leading doctrine or truth which illustrates the whole. There may be other individual truths which appear of equal importance; but there is always one which comes out into the clearest light, conspicuous above them all. This is the grand truth which forms the central point, and gives consistency to the rest. In endeavouring to ascertain the prominent idea which serves as the key to a parable's right explanation, we must examine,

(1.) The context preceding or following—the introduction and application.

(a.) The occasion on which it was introduced may illustrate the nature and bearing of a parable. Thus in Luke xviii. 2—8., the parable of the unjust judge is prefaced by, “And he spake a parable unto them to this end, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint.” In like manner the parable of the Pharisee and Publican (Luke xviii. 10—14.) is preceded by these words, “And he spake this parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others.” So Luke xvi. 19—31. is explained as to its scope by the 14th verse preceding; and Matt. xx. 1., &c. by xix. 27., &c.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 85, 86.

(b.) Certain phrases at the commencement also indicate the general design as, *the kingdom of heaven is likened* (Matt. xiii. 24. 31. 33.).

(c.) A knowledge of the person or persons to whom the parable was addressed serves to explain its scope.

The parable of Nathan was addressed to King David, the guilty person himself (2 Sam. xii. 1—7.). The parable of the beneficent Samaritan to the lawyer who was willing to justify himself (Luke x. 29—37.).

(d.) In a few cases a full explanation is subjoined. Thus our Saviour himself explains the meaning of Matt. xiii. 3—8. in 18—23. But he did not usually condescend to do this, and left the application to those he meant to instruct. Nathan explains and applies his parable (2 Sam. xii. 7. &c.).

(e.) Some phrase or declaration is subjoined which serves to point out the general scope of the parable. For example, we have a sentence prefaced by *so is* or *so shall it be* (Matt. xiii. 49., Luke xii. 21.). To the parable of the ten virgins is annexed the sentence, "Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh" (Matt. xxv. 13.). To that of the unjust steward is appended, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations" (Luke xvi. 9.). Sometimes a parable has explanatory circumstances both at its commencement and close, as that of the unfeeling servant (Matt. xviii. 23.). Comp. verses 21. and 35. Other examples are Matt. xx. 1—15. and Luke xii. 16—20.

(2.) Another parable of parallel import may serve to explain it. So Luke xv. 3—7. compared with Matt. xviii. 12—14. Little benefit however is derived from this source.

It must be admitted that the explanation of some parables is attended with much difficulty. Even where the great central truth may be intimated by a declaration at the commencement or at the end, the interpretation itself is attended with uncertainty. This is much more so where no such declaration is prefixed or subjoined. In such a case we are apt to look at the connection in which it stands—the place it occupies in a narrative or between narratives. Yet when we reflect that the discourses in the Gospels do not stand in chronological succession, but that things spoken at different times and places are sometimes brought together by the writers as if they were closely connected, even the introductory context will throw little light on the meaning. Where the context fails to afford any indication of the intent of a parable, it is usual to propound the rule *that the subject-matter should be studied*. We fear, however, that little satisfaction can be derived from this.

Let us examine some of this class.

The parable of the prodigal son (Luke xv. 11—32.) has no declaratory or explanatory phrase prefixed or subjoined. It is without a preface; nor is there any thing at the close to show its application. It has no *προμύθιον* or introduction; it has no *ἐπιμύθιον* or application. But two shorter parables precede which *have* such adjuncts; and there is no reason for supposing that the present one coming

immediately after them was spoken at another time or intended to serve another purpose. Hence we may fairly conclude, that the joy in heaven at the return of penitent sinners to God, and the relation of the legally righteous to that joy, is depicted. Here are portrayed with masterly skill and simplicity as well as with true naturalness, the course of sin and of repentance, the joy existing in consequence of the latter, and the internal relation of the self-righteous to such a scene. The younger son is the sinner, who after a course of iniquity repents and turns; the elder one is he who thinks himself righteous because of his works. The publicans and pharisees respectively are not *especially intended*, though they come under the general description, which fairly applies to them as to all possessing certain characteristics. That the Jews and Gentiles respectively are not designated by the elder and younger sons, as some have supposed, may be inferred from verses 1, 2. 7. 10.<sup>1</sup>

Again, the parable of the fruitless fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6—9.) has no introductory or concluding explanation. No sentence is attached to it to point out its general design. But our Saviour had just before inculcated the necessity of repentance in order to avert destruction. He showed that the divine punishment should overtake *all* that would not repent. Hence it is intimated by the fruitless fig-tree, that the long-suffering of God would not continue towards the Jews who had already proved unfruitful; that the Messianic visitation of mercy would be the last—that on it their destiny depended. Unless they repented and embraced the Messiah, they should be speedily destroyed.<sup>2</sup>

3. With respect to the *tertium comparationis* or relation between the primary and secondary representation, the same observations are appropriate which were advanced in the case of allegory. All the circumstances stated in the immediate representation do not find their corresponding features in the ultimate. Every word and phrase should not be insisted on as if it were meant to teach a distinct thing. Some particulars are essential; others were added merely to give beauty or vivacity to the picture. They are the colouring which sets forth the fundamental lines. They serve for ornament and completeness. That this observation is just may be proved by the expositions which Christ himself furnishes of some parables. In the parable of the tares he does not explain the circumstance “while men slept” (Matt. xiii. 25.); neither that in the 27th verse, “so the servants of the householder came and said unto him.” In the parable of the unjust steward (Luke xvi. 1. &c.), he does not give any thing corresponding to a part of the third verse, “I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed.” There was nothing in the secondary representation which suited or was meant to suit these particulars.

It is impossible to give any definite precept or rule which will enable an expositor to separate things that are significant from such as are merely ornamental. Tholuck says, “that in treating the parables of Christ the expositor must proceed on the assumption

<sup>1</sup> See Meyer's *Kommentar* on Luke, p. 376. second edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

that there is import in every single point, and only desist from seeking it, either when it does not result without forcing, or when we can clearly show that this or that circumstance was merely added for the sake of giving intuitiveness to the narrative. We should not assume any thing to be non-essential except when by holding it as essential the unity of the whole is marred and disturbed." Perhaps this language embodies the best rule that can be given. Yet it will not go so far in actual exegesis as would at first appear. The interpreter must rely on his own judgment, his natural sagacity, and spiritual perception. Imagination must be regulated by sober reason. The propriety of the rule given by Tholuck, and repeated by Olshausen in various places of his commentary, is confirmed by the exposition which Christ himself gave of the parables of the sower and the tares, from which we see that few incidents of the outward narrative are without a proper significancy. Most details are not treated as mere ornament—meaningless except so far as they serve to render the picture complete—but as having a spiritual import. The birds which pick up the seed sown represent Satan who takes away the good word out of the heart; and the thorns correspond to the cares and pleasures of life. (Matt. xiii. 19. 22.)

Here then are practical directions for the explanation of parables, which are too important to be overlooked. We believe that they are embodied in the method recommended by Tholuck. They are also recognised by Olshausen affirming that "we must on the whole maintain it as a canon, that no incident is to be lightly passed by unless by insisting upon it the figure as a whole should be manifestly obscured."<sup>1</sup> Whether this commentator has not made too many details significant, in actual exegesis, may be a question. It appears to us that he has erred occasionally in that direction, as might have been expected from the peculiar cast of his mind.

Of the two extremes, that which treats all the minute parts of a parable as significant, and that which resolves very much into non-essential imagery, taking parables in the gross and setting aside the details, the latter is the more objectionable. For it leaves them bare trunks without foliage and branches, depriving them not merely of beauty and interest, but of their moral import also. It is true that this method has been greatly abused, till it appears mere capricious allegorising or ingenious trifling. It was so by Augustine and Origen in ancient times; more recently by Cocceius and Gill. But is not the other method also an exaggeration and abuse of the true? Consider what it is in the hands of Storr, jejune and barren; and see how the fulness of Scripture vanishes. We shall exemplify the one excess of parabolical interpretation by the following from Gill. Luke xv. 8—10.

"By the *ten pieces* of silver are designed all the Jews or the whole body of that people. By the *woman*, the proprietor of them, is meant Christ. The *nine pieces* design the scribes and Pharisees; and the one lost piece, expressed in the next clause, *if she lose one piece*, intends the elect among the Jews, who chiefly consisted of publicans and sinners; and the regard had to these is signified by

<sup>1</sup> *Biblischer Commentar*, vol. i. p. 603.

the following expressions: *Doth not light a candle*; by which is meant, the gospel itself, which like a candle is lighted up in the evening of the world, and may be removed, as it sometimes is, from place to place: now Christ is the lighter of this, and from him it has all its light; who is the maker of it. *And sweep the house*, which phrase designs here the preaching of the gospel and the power that goes along with it, to the effectual vocation of the elect. The *house* in which Christ's lost piece of silver, or his chosen ones were, may design the nation of the Jews, who are often called the house of Israel: and about this time the Lord was about to break up house-keeping with them; yet as there were some few among them that were to be looked up and called, therefore this house must be swept, as it was by the ministry of John the Baptist, by Christ himself, and by his apostles: and this suggests what must be the state and condition of God's elect, being in this house, before it was swept and they found out; they were out of sight, in great obscurity and darkness, with a deal of rubbish and dirt upon them, and pollution in them; and as in sweeping of an house a great stir is made, a dust raised, and things are moved out of their place; so by the preaching of the gospel an uproar is made in the sinner himself; and great stir and opposition is made by Satan to hinder the preaching of the gospel, as much as in him lies, and persons from coming to hear it. Moreover when the gospel is preached in purity and with power, and souls are converted, there is a great stir and uproar in the world, and among the men of it; and there is also a stir and an uproar made by it among carnal professors of religion: and all this bustle is made for the sake of a single piece of money. *And seek diligently till she find it*. This diligent seeking and finding are to be understood of Christ's converting sinners, through the preaching of the gospel, both in his own person and by his ministers, his Spirit making their ministrations effectual: the diligence, care, and circumspection of Christ, to find out lost sinners, while the gospel is preaching, are here signified; 'tis not the preacher that looks out for them. . . . Christ's eye is upon his lost piece: he perfectly knows the persons of the elect, as they are his Father's choice and gift to him; he knew them in the counsel of peace, and covenant of grace, in the fall of Adam, and their natural estate; he knows the places where they all are, and the time when they are to be converted; and distinguishes them amidst all the filth that attends them, and the crowd among which they are; and he continues seeking till he finds them; which shows the perpetuity of the gospel ministry, the indefatigableness of Christ, and his sure and certain success."

What anxiety is here shown about every phrase and word! What adaptation of each and every part, even the minutest, to some spiritual correlative! What superstitious adherence to the letter! Instead of looking chiefly to the applicatory part—to the great central truth, round which all others are ranged and to which they are subordinate—all are adduced with equal copiousness of diction; or rather the minutest details instead of falling into the shade are most unduly insisted on and exalted. Every thing becomes significant, in con-

sequence of which an interpretation is furnished in which *nothing* is significant or striking.

Olshausen says truly, that "no certain boundary-line can be drawn, since the penetration required to apprehend the more remote lines of resemblance depends on the expositor's state of advancement in the spiritual life. Only, a due reverence for the words of our Lord will naturally lead to the most careful application possible of every particular incident, since the completeness of the similitude depends upon the fulness of the parallel resemblances which lie enclosed in it."<sup>1</sup>

We shall now illustrate Luke xvi. 1—8. separating the incidental from the essential circumstances of the parable. It is addressed to Christ's disciples, as expressly stated in the first verse; and the leading design is, to use the goods of this life in such a manner as to contribute to spiritual and eternal happiness. Prudence in the employment of earthly possessions is inculcated; which prudence is best exemplified in deeds of charity and mercy, so that when the disciples of Christ die, friends who have gone before may receive them with joy into the heavenly mansions. As worldly men are shrewd in acting for their own worldly interest, so spiritual men should also be shrewd in turning to their spiritual benefit that very mammon of unrighteousness which the worldly turn to their advantage. The rich man as well as his steward are children of the present world. But this does not necessarily prevent us from interpreting the former to represent in the secondary representation the Almighty possessor of all things; and the latter, spiritual stewards. The whole parable is taken from the world and the characters in it. As the lord of the steward praised him, not for his dishonesty but his shrewdness in looking after his own interests; so the great Ruler of all will commend his true stewards for attending to their spiritual interests with such prudence as to make even worldly possessions conducive to them. The idea corresponding to the announcement of the lord to his steward, that he could not retain his office longer, is that of the certainty of death which God announces within every one by the voice of conscience. The rest of the parable is mere scenery or colouring having no special significancy. The 5th, 6th, and 7th verses are of this nature. In applying this as well as other parables we must not suppose that certain actions are proposed for imitation, such as dishonesty or robbery. These actions are given only as the expressions of dispositions—worldly qualities—which qualities are to be imitated in themselves, by the spiritual man. Prudence, shrewdness, forethought, even though the worldly exhibit them in the performance of unjust or immoral actions, are to be followed by believers in the doing of good actions. Believers should have a regard to the highest interests those qualities are capable of promoting, similar to that which unbelievers show towards their selfish ends.<sup>2</sup>

It now remains for us to allude to various observations which have been frequently classed under the head of *canons* or *rules* for interpreting the parables.

<sup>1</sup> *Biblischer Commentar*, vol. i. p. 789.

<sup>2</sup> See Alford's *Greek Testament in loc.*

1. "The parables may not be made first sources and seats of doctrine. Doctrines otherwise and already established may be illustrated or indeed further confirmed by them; but it is not allowable to constitute doctrine first by their aid."<sup>1</sup> The propriety of this observation is apparent. The literal is plainer than the figurative. All doctrines of moment are unfolded in clear, unfigurative expressions. Hence parabolical theology is not argumentative. It forms no part of the analogy of faith. On the contrary, the analogy of faith must regulate its contents so far that they should harmonise with or illustrate it.

2. It is contended by Unger in his treatise on the parables<sup>2</sup>, that the interpretation of each parable is one. This is correct, if the writer mean that the sense intended is one, viz. that which is conveyed by the primary representation, or in other words the partially concealed sense. Some general truth, principle, or fact is inculcated. But if the writer in question mean, that Christ while openly inculcating important truths by this method of instruction never tacitly condemned the opinions or conduct of the Jews, he does not seem to be correct. For, when a parable bears a general aspect or exhibits a general truth, it is capable of various applications. It is suitable to men in a variety of circumstances. Hence the real sense of a parable while it is comprehensive may fairly admit of being applied to scribes and Pharisees, Jews and Gentiles. These indeed may not be specially intended by the speaker; but if he has enunciated a general principle, these applications of it to particular cases are legitimate. Hence it is probable that our Saviour had a *tacit* reference to opinions and practices current among the Jews of his time, though it be hidden under the general sense.

3. It has been said that persons should not be compared with persons, but things with things, as when we read in Matt. xiii. 24., "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field;" and in verse 45th, "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a merchantman seeking goodly pearls." The similitude is not with the men, but with the *seed* and the *pearl*. This may be true in some cases; but in the explanation of a parable it is necessary to compare *persons* with *persons* as well as *things* with *things*. The whole parable may refer to persons more than to things, or quite as much so. Thus in the parable of the sower, we must compare the sower to the teacher. In that of the tares and the wheat, the enemy that sowed the latter is the devil, represented by the enemy of him who sowed the wheat. It is even expressly affirmed that "the good seed are the children of the kingdom." (Matt. xiii. 38.) Here a *thing* is compared with a *person*.

4. Another rule respecting the interpretation of parables is,

*That attention should be given to historical circumstances.* — But we believe that history contributes nothing to the explanation of parables further than the Bible itself furnishes the history. If the context or parallels or other parts of Scripture do not exhibit the means of in-

<sup>1</sup> Trench on the Parables, pp. 39, 40.

<sup>2</sup> De Parabolarum Jesu Natura, &c. p. 87.

terpretation, the guidance of church history will be of no avail. History may *confirm* an interpretation given, but it can scarcely be said to aid in the development of it. Let us look at the examples in which it is said to afford benefit. Matt. xiii. 31, 32. contains two parables. In the one the kingdom of heaven is compared to a grain of mustard-seed; in the other to leaven hid in measures of meal. What then does ecclesiastical history contribute to the interpretation of these, which the New Testament itself fails to furnish? The Christian church was small in its beginnings, and is ever increasing till it reach as far as it was intended. If this be what the parable inculcates, surely it is unnecessary to have recourse to ecclesiastical history. Another example classed under the same head is in Luke xix. 11—27., where a nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return. It may be true, that our Lord here alludes to a case which had occurred not long before in Judea, to that of Archelaus, as Meyer thinks; or to that of Herod the Great, his father. We do not think it probable that he *did* allude to either of these or both, though they may have readily suggested themselves to the minds of the hearers at the time. But on the assumption that there was such special reference, we ask, what part of the parable is better explained by it? How does it contribute to the right interpretation? We cannot see the aid given.

Again, in the parable of the compassionate Samaritan, a knowledge of the facts connected with the way from Jerusalem to Jericho, viz. that it lay through a wild solitary part of the country infested with robbers, shows that the scene is laid with a due regard to historical propriety—that the road is one where such a casualty was likely to befall a traveller. But the circumstance is only incidental. It contributes nothing to the elucidation of the meaning intended. A knowledge of the spot and of its being then infested with banditti, merely shows historical accuracy in the selection of the place.

5. Of a little more utility perhaps is another precept, viz. to *attend to the nature and properties of the things whence the comparisons are taken*, since the explanation may be assisted by that means. “It helps very much,” says Keach<sup>1</sup>, “in the understanding of parables, if men know the *natural* properties of such things, arts, or mysteries, as are proposed in the similitudes.”

In Matt. xiii. 31. the progress of the church is compared to a grain of mustard-seed which is very small when cast into the earth, but which afterwards grows up and becomes a large tree with branches in which the fowls of the air make their nests. In North-West India is a large shrub or tree of moderate size called there *Kharjal*, in botany the *Salvadora Persica*. This is the mustard-tree here referred to, a specimen of which Irby and Mangles met with, while advancing towards Kerek from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. They say that its seeds had a pleasant though strongly aromatic taste, resembling mustard. The seed has a name *khardal*, equivalent in Greek to *σινάπι*, and used by the Talmudists. It is

<sup>1</sup> On the Metaphors, p. 240.

small and produces a large tree with branches. We cannot say however, that this knowledge facilitates the understanding of the parable.

Perhaps a knowledge of the properties of leaven throws some light on Matt. xiii. 32. It is incipient corruption spreading through a mass of dough and making the whole sour. But the kingdom of heaven is not compared to this *in itself*. As leaven spreads through a mass of dough and assimilates the whole to itself, *so* the kingdom of heaven, *i. e.* the external church, will grow and increase, spreading throughout the nations until it shall have accomplished all the purposes of God.

6. Another rule given is this: "Whereas it is frequently said that *the kingdom of heaven is like this or that thing*, we are not to understand that it is so in all its parts, or in every respect, but only in such things as are declared in the similitude. So Christ is compared to a thief only in this respect, because he cometh in a time when unlooked for or when unexpected, Luke xii. 39."

This *canon*, as it is termed by Keach, in whose words we have given it, comes under the head of Locke's "trifling propositions." A thing is said to be like *only* in such things as are declared in the similitude. Who would carry the resemblance further? *Christ is not*, properly speaking, *compared to a thief*. Certainly not in Luke xii. 39., nor even in Rev. iii. 3. It is *his coming* that is compared to the *coming* of a thief, as it will be sudden, unlooked for. Hence we read elsewhere in Scripture, "*the day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night.*"

Although it belong not to Hermeneutics to show the utility of parables, but rather the method of ascertaining their meaning, yet it may not be amiss here to append a few particulars bearing on the point. Their utility will show why they were so frequently adopted by our Lord. If the nature of a parable be considered, it will be perceived that no mode of teaching, or of illustrating a subject, is so well adapted to illiterate men unaccustomed to abstract truths; for,

1. It was a common method of instruction in the country, and at the time our Saviour appeared.

2. Being of the nature of history or narrative, it excites the attention, interests the hearer or reader, and vividly impresses the mind.

3. It is accommodated to the apprehension of men whose knowledge comes chiefly through the senses, because abstract truth or doctrine is presented in the garb of history. Minds so carnal as those of Christ's immediate disciples, hearts averse to the truth like those of the Scribes and Pharisees, could both receive more instruction by this vehicle than any other. It was adapted to the diversified character of his assembled hearers — to the various degrees of moral elevation they presented. All occupied a low spiritual stand-point, and were incapable of apprehending a discourse destitute of imagery.

4. It is easily retained in the memory, and therefore if the sense be not at once apprehended, reflection on the circumstances so graphically depicted may afterwards evolve it.

5. The brevity of this method makes it most effectual when rightly used; for in a few lines truth of the greatest importance may be set forth far more successfully than in an entire philosophical treatise.

6. Our Lord himself states one reason why he spoke to the Jews in parables, *that hearing they might hear and not understand*. They were so perverse and wicked as to unfit them for the reception of truth. They were *unwilling* to learn the heavenly doctrines he came to promulgate. Hence he spake to them in this manner as a punishment for their wilful obstinacy against him. They had closed their eyes and hardened their hearts; therefore he employs a method of instruction which veiled the truth from their view, *not in order that they might become more blind*, but because he knew that in their existing perverseness they *would not* hear and understand in whatever way he spake to them. As a righteous retribution, they were addressed in a method which to them would be more dark. The veiling of the truth was thus an act of judgment for the perverse state of their hearts towards Him who "is the way, the truth, and the life." The design and the effect coincided in the one result of hardening the Jews still more in unbelief.

The parables of the Old Testament are but few. They are Nathan's spoken to David (2 Sam. xii. 1.); that of the two brothers contending (2 Sam. xiv. 6.); of the prisoner who escaped (1 Kings xx. 39.); the vineyard which yielded wild grapes (Isa. v. 1.). The parables of our Lord, which are all contained in the Gospels, are numerous, and admit of different classifications, according to the view which authors take of their general scope and design. Thus Gray adopts a threefold division: 1. Such as represent the nature and progress of the gospel-dispensation, together with the opposition which it had to receive from the malice of Satan, and from the folly and perversity of men. 2. Those which set forth the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles. 3. Those delivering moral instruction. The last is again subdivided into two classes.

This division is erroneous in principle, inasmuch as it proceeds on an incorrect view of various parables. Still more inadequate and objectionable is Greswell's classification into *the prophetic and the moral*. Many are placed in the first class which are not prophetic; and the division is too general to be of any practical benefit.

Another classification is that of Lisco, which is certainly preferable to either of the preceding, but too artificial. It cannot be recommended as adequate or just. Dividing them into *three classes*, he puts into the *first* those representing the heavenly kingdom as containing truth and powers divine in their origin and blessed in their effects. As an example we may take the parable of the sower in Matt. xiii. 3—9. *Secondly*, those representing the heavenly kingdom founded on these truths, such as the barren fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6—9.); and the fish-net (Matt. xiii. 47—50.). *Thirdly*, such as represent the heavenly kingdom in the faith, love, and hope of its members; for, example, that of the labourers (Matt. xx. 1.).<sup>1</sup> It is easy to see the

<sup>1</sup> Lisco on the Parables, translated in the Biblical Cabinet, vol. xxix. p. 33 *et seqq.*

defectiveness of this division as soon as it is attempted to put all the parables under one or other of the three heads. Indeed it is impossible to do so without violence. The cause of failure in all the divisions mentioned has been the striving to make a *very general* classification, one having very few heads, a thing manifestly impossible in the case of so many and informal narratives. Whatever division be adopted, it must be longer and more minute to be worth making. But none is of use in actual explanation.

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## CHAP. VII.

### ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE PROVERBS.

PROVERBS are nearly allied to parables; indeed, the same word both in Hebrew and Greek means *parable* and *proverb*. לִמּוּטָה in Hebrew, and *παροιμία* in Greek, both signify *proverbs*. The idea of *comparison* or *similitude* lies at the basis of each. Yet there is a clear distinction between them in the present day. A proverb may be either in prose or poetry. It refers to *the matter*. But among the Hebrews, *proverb*, לִמּוּטָה, might refer to *the manner* even more than the matter. The *comparison* or *similitude* might be in the *poetic parallelism* or outward adjustment of measure. It is for this reason that the title *Proverbs* is given to a book in the Old Testament.

In the infancy of nations, the usual mode of instruction was by proverbs, *i. e.* by detached aphorisms or sententious sayings. Those who were qualified to communicate knowledge to others were desirous to condense it into the most compendious form, into general maxims, few in number but authoritative in form — abrupt, commanding. That it might not however repel, but persuade men, it began to be adorned with comparisons and rendered more attractive.

The Proverbs of the Old Testament are placed by Lowth among the didactic poetry of the Hebrews, of which many specimens are extant, especially the book called the Proverbs of Solomon. At present we have to do only with such as are expressed in tropical language. The majority of our English proverbs are in prose; those of the orientals in poetry.<sup>1</sup>

The prime excellence of a proverb is brevity. This indeed is a necessary condition. If it be not expressed in a few words, ten or twelve at most, it ceases to be a proverb. Nothing superfluous should be admitted into it. Only the most necessary, strong, and direct words are to be received. This is expressed by the writer of the book of Proverbs himself: —

The words of the wise are like goads,  
And like nails that are firmly fixed,

<sup>1</sup> See Stuart on the Proverbs, pp. 12, 13.

That is, they should prick sharply and hold firmly. But this great brevity is also attended with a degree of obscurity—an obscurity which serves to whet the understanding and stimulate the mind to discover the meaning.

Another excellence belonging to a proverb in the sacred writings is neatness or elegance. This quality respects the sentiment, imagery, and diction. If it have not what amounts to elegance, it must at least possess a degree of compactness or roundness which entitles it to be called *neat*. Such is the maxim quoted by David,—

Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked (1 Sam. xxiv. 13.);

and that found in Proverbs x. 12.,—

Hatred stirreth up strifes,  
But love covereth all sins.

Entire proverbial sentences which are expressly stated to have passed into proverbs, may be found in Gen. x. 9., xxii. 14., &c.

Examples of proverbial phrases which have been taken from common life and incorporated into sentences, but are not expressly called *proverbs*, occur in Deut. xxv. 4., 1 Kings xx. 11. &c., Psalm cxi. 10., Prov. i. 7.

Many occur in the book of Proverbs, as might be expected: Prov. i. 17., iii. 12. &c. So also in Ecclesiastes, i. 15. 18., iv. 12.; and in the prophets, Jer. xiii. 23., xxiii. 28. &c.; Micah vii. 5. 6.; Hab. ii. 6.; Mal. ii. 10. &c.

The proverbs occurring in the New Testament are generally easy of explanation. Many of them were in use among the Jews, and were therefore adopted from common life. In the hands of Christ and the apostles, they acquire a new application and higher significance. With admirable sagacity and propriety, they are adapted to the spiritual and higher teaching of the new dispensation. They acquire an originality and elegance which the letter-loving Pharisees could never have given them. Thus the proverb, “It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle,” which Christ utters, as recorded in Matt. xix. 24.; Mark x. 25.; Luke xviii. 25., is found in the Talmud, and had been current before the time of our Lord in a slightly different form: the *elephant* is the animal mentioned instead of the camel. It describes an impossibility. In like manner, *to cast the beam out of one’s eye*, and *to pull the mote out of another’s eye* (Matt. vii. 3. 4.), occur in the Talmud in the same sense. To strain out a gnat and swallow a camel (Matt. xxiii. 24.) is also a Jewish proverb. The best work on the proverbs of the New Testament is still that of Vorstius, *De Adagiis N. T. Diatriba*, from which many examples are taken and inserted by Dathe in his edition of Glassius. The two books of Drusius, chiefly on the proverbs of the Old Testament, are in the ninth vol. of the *Critici Sacri*. The work of Schottus on the proverbs of the New Testament is inferior to that of Vorstius; and that of Zehner is lumbering, though laborious. Illustrations of the New Testament proverbs are given by Lightfoot and Schoettgen in their *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, and also by Buxtorf in his *Rabbinic and Talmudic Lexicon*.

## CHAP. VIII.

## THE INTERPRETATION OF THE POETICAL PARTS OF SCRIPTURE.

In this chapter we shall endeavour to be as brief as possible, because there are no peculiar canons applicable to the interpretation of poetry. Prose and poetry must be explained by the same method. It will be necessary however to glance at the nature and characteristics of Hebrew poetry.

Most of the characteristics of Hebrew poetry are the same as belong to all poetry. These therefore need not be stated. The distinguishing feature is found in the peculiar form in which it expresses ideas. This is commonly called *parallelism*. Rather should it be termed, with Ewald, *thought-rhythm*<sup>1</sup>, since the sentiment is so distributed that the full import does not come out in less than a distich. The peculiarity is in the substance more than in the mere form,— or rather the substance gives rise to the form as a suitable vehicle in which it embodies itself. We shall retain the common appellation *parallelism*.

The rhythmical form of Hebrew poetry has given rise to many discussions and treatises. De Wette<sup>2</sup> arranges the different opinions under the following heads:—

1. It has been maintained by many, that Hebrew poetry possesses metrical feet and versification, which they attempt to define and restore; but in describing the character of the metre, they are not unanimous.

(a.) Some asserted a versification analogous to the Greek and Latin metres. Here Philo, Josephus, Eusebius, Jerome, Isidore of Spain, are referred to. Considerable weight has been supposed to belong to the affirmations of Josephus, who terms the versification of Moses' song of triumph at the Red Sea *hexameter*, as also the farewell song of Moses; and represents the Psalms of David as consisting of trimeter and hexameter verses. Jerome's opinion too has led others after him. He represents the Psalms as consisting of iambic, alcaic, and sapphic verse, like the odes of Horace and Pindar, while the verse of Job is hexameter and pentameter.

The various attempts to define the laws of Hebrew metre have proved utter failures. Gomar, Meibomius, Hare, Sir W. Jones, Greve, Saalschütz, have signally failed.

(b.) Others maintained that the Hebrew poetry possesses a free versification, as Sir. I. D. Michaelis.

(c.) Another class thought they found rhyme or something like it, in Hebrew poetry. Among others, Augustine and Le Clerc believed so. All that can be conceded to them is, that instances of rhyme *do* occur in the Old Testament; but that does not prove their position.

<sup>1</sup> Die poetischen Bücher des Alten Bundes, Erster Theil, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to the Psalms, translated in the American Biblical Repository for 1833, p. 479. *et seqq.*

(d.) Others, though denying the existence of a proper metre, held at the same time that the poetry was adapted to certain melodies, which would still imply the necessity of some sort of syllabic measure. Pfeiffer, Van Til and others thought so. It is useless to show the erroneousness of this view, as it is apparent.

2. Others allowed that the Hebrew poetry possesses a versification which is lost to us and cannot therefore be defined. This is the view of Carpzov, Lowth, Bauer, Jahn, Meyer, and others. It has been refuted by De Wette<sup>1</sup> and Wolf.<sup>2</sup>

3. Others again maintained that Hebrew poetry is destitute of metre and feet. This is the view of various learned Jews, and of Joseph Scaliger, G. J. Vossius, R. Simon, Wasmuth, Herder, Jebb, De Wette, Ewald, and many others. According to these writers Hebrew poetry consists in *parallelism*.

What then is meant by *parallelism*? What is the nature of that rhythmical form assumed by Hebrew poetry? It is a symmetrical proportion between the larger sections or members of a period, the smaller being neglected. Lowth defines it, a certain equality, resemblance, or relationship between the members of each period.

Parallelism is of different kinds. It will differ, for example, according to the different laws of the association of ideas. Thus the laws of resemblance and contrast produce the *synonymous* and *antithetic* parallelisms, as they are called by Lowth. A third kind, the *synthetic*, is based on a resemblance in the form of construction and progression of the thoughts. Thus we have the synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic.

1. The *synonymous*. In these parallel lines there is a correspondence of one to another, in terms nearly equivalent and expressing substantially the same sense. For example,

Seek ye Jehovah while he may be found,  
Call ye upon him while he is near.

(Isa. lv. 6.)

This species of parallelism is said to be the most frequent of all, prevailing chiefly in the shorter poems, in many of the Psalms, and often in Isaiah. Bishop Jebb<sup>3</sup>, after criticising Lowth's definition of it, proposes another appellation as more suitable, viz., *cognate*, to which we see no good objection. The name, however, is of little moment, provided it be borne in mind that *synonymous* does not imply *exact* sameness in idea and form. There is a *general* resemblance between the parallel lines. But we object to another proposed emendation of name, viz., *gradational*<sup>4</sup>, as conveying an idea which is not generally found, an ascent from *species* to *genus*, or a descent from *genus* to *species*. There is not usually an ascending in the second clause above the first, as Jebb has asserted and endeavoured to show by examples. His explanations of the passages adduced are ingenious, but artificial and far-fetched.

2. Parallel lines *antithetic* are those in which two lines correspond

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the Psalms, &c. p. 486. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> The Messiah as predicted in the Pentateuch and Psalms, p. 6. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Sacred Literature, p. 34. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Proposed by a writer in the British Critic for 1820, pp. 585, 586.

with one another by an opposition of sentiments and terms, when the second is contrasted with the first, sometimes in expressions, sometimes in sense only, as

Faithful are the wounds of a friend,  
But deceitful are the kisses of an enemy.

(Prov. xxvii. 6.)

3. Parallel lines *synthetic* or *constructive* are when the parallelism consists only in the similar form of construction; when there is a correspondence and equality between different propositions in respect of the shape and turn of the whole sentence and of the constituent parts; such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, interrogative to interrogative. Thus,

The law of Jehovah is perfect, converting the soul;  
The testimony of Jehovah is sure, making wise the simple;  
The precepts of Jehovah are right, rejoicing the heart;  
The commandment of Jehovah is clear, enlightening the eyes;  
The fear of Jehovah is pure, enduring for ever;  
The judgments of Jehovah are truth, they are altogether righteous;  
More desirable than gold, and than much fine gold;  
And sweeter than honey, and the dropping of honey-combs.

(Psal. xix. 7—10.)

Respecting each of the three species Jebb observes, that it admits many subordinate varieties; and that in combinations of verses, the several kinds are perpetually intermingled; circumstances which at once enliven and beautify the composition, and frequently give peculiar distinctness and precision to the train of thought.<sup>1</sup>

4. Another variety of parallelism pointed out by Jebb<sup>2</sup>, and elevated by two or three writers after him into a *distinct class*, the fourth, is called *introverted*. Here the stanzas are so constructed, that whatever be the number of lines, the first line shall be parallel with the last, the second with the penultimate, and so throughout in an order that looks inward, as

My son, if thine heart be wise;  
My heart also shall rejoice;  
Yea, my reins shall rejoice;  
When thy lips speak right things.

(Prov. xxiii. 15, 16.)

With regard to this fourth species, we view it simply as the offspring of ingenuity. We do not believe that it was ever intended by any of the sacred writers that his lines should be read and constructed in that manner. All the examples given by Jebb are simply examples of line following upon line. And we may say of the other three, with the numerous subdivisions under them which Lowth and Jebb have given, that they are of no importance. It is doubtful whether the poetical parts of Scripture can be classified in any distinct or useful manner in relation to the nature of the rhythm observable in them. The rhythmical proportion in the parts of periods, and in periods themselves compared with one another, is so multifarious and varied that we can perceive no benefit from attempting to classify it. It almost eludes classification.

<sup>1</sup> Sacred Literature, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 53.

De Wette has given a different classification from that of Lowth, with many minor divisions under each, after Lowth's example.

I. The original, perfect kind of parallelism of members, coinciding with metre and rhyme without being the same with them. Here there is a perfect resemblance or antithesis of thoughts, so that the words are equal at least in their number, and sometimes there is also a certain resemblance of sound.

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice !  
Wives of Lamech, receive my speech !  
If I slew a man to my wounding,  
And a young man—to my hurt :  
If Cain was avenged seven times,  
Then Lamech—seventy times seven.

(Gen. iv. 23.)

Here all is nearly equal except the places marked with a dash, where the words must be supplied from the preceding member. The rhyme is necessarily omitted in the translation.

II. The external proportion of words may be unequal, as

Ye kings of the earth, sing God:  
Harp to the Lord !

(Psal. lxxviii. 33.)

Here no less than five species of the unequal parallelism are enumerated and illustrated by De Wette.

III. Out of the parallelism which is rendered unequal by one of the members arises, in the case of a still greater fulness of thought, another, in which the equality is restored by both members becoming complex. Here richness of matter is combined with perfect proportion of form. Under this head also are various subdivisions.

My life is spent in grief,  
And my years in sighing ;  
My strength faileth by means of my punishment,  
And my bones are consumed.

(Psal. xxxi. 11.)

IV. The rhythmical parallelism is that which has a simply external rhythmical form, such as rhyme is, without any correspondence in the ideas. It consists simply in the form of the period. Here again are various subdivisions.

Moreover by them was thy servant warned;  
In keeping of them there is great reward.

(Psal. xix. 12.)<sup>1</sup>

Those who attach importance to the subject of parallelism will probably see that De Wette has carried out the system of Lowth and others in an improved form.

We cannot but think, however, that all such attempts amount to little else than ingenious efforts to introduce classification and order, or at least something like order, into a subject whose very nature rejects them. We believe that the poetry of the Hebrews has

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the Psalms, &c. p. 496.

a certain rhythmical form shaped for the most part by the nature of the thoughts; that it is distinguished by this peculiarity, if by any one characteristic, from the poetry of other peoples; but its varieties were never meant to be reduced to rule, and are incapable of it. The sacred poets were commonly trammelled by no artificial distinctions and measurements. Their ideas took a certain shape more frequently and observably than the poetry of other nations. There is a *kind of rhythm* in all poetry; in that of the Hebrews it is somewhat marked and prominent. But it cannot be brought into the operation of rules. It was free, untrammelled, unconscious of such regular proportions as have been assigned to it. Many prose writings furnish as good specimens of several subdivisions under the leading classes of parallel lines as are given by Lowth, Jebb, and De Wette.

In the year 1831, Koester attempted to show that the parallelism of lines in a period may be carried further; and that there is a parallelism of *verses* with one another. In other words, he tried to show that Hebrew poetry is of a *strophical* character. As verses consist of parallel members, strophes consist of parallel verses, which latter he endeavoured to point out.<sup>1</sup> In the same year, the author just mentioned published the books of Job and Ecclesiastes in a German translation strophically arranged. Here we cannot but admire the ingenuity displayed, though believing that it has been all but wasted. The strophical character of all Hebrew poetry for which he contends, and which he believes himself to have discovered, is imaginary. As well might one try to exemplify the strophical characteristic of all English poetry. The Hebrew poets never dreamed of such symmetry as would thus be introduced into their compositions. It exists only in the imagination of the critic; so far at least as it can be called a feature of Hebrew poetry.

In 1839 Ewald published his Introduction to Hebrew Poetry, in which, among other topics connected with Hebrew poetry, its form is also investigated. Here he enters into the nature of verse-rhythm and the modifications of verse-structure connected with it. There can be no doubt that there are various profound remarks on the nature of rhythm in the little treatise; yet it is pervaded by the obscurity and fancifulness which run through all Ewald's writings. A perusal of it is sufficient to show that it is impossible to ascertain the different kinds of rhythm which had arisen in Hebrew poetry. The critic perceives a sort of *strophical* structure occasionally, when he exemplifies a *rhythm of several verses*. Where he affirms at the conclusion that he has given a complete exhibition of the Hebrew versification with all its numerous variations and licenses, it is surprising that he did not perceive "the licenses" to be the *rule*. The verse-rhythm is characterised by freedom. Rules cannot be properly applied to it. Whatever kinds one may think he sees in it are owing to the free play of the writers' mind inspired from above. Ewald has mistaken the whole matter in asserting that after the different kinds of rhythm had arisen, "art could at length survey

<sup>1</sup> See the Studien und Kritiken for 1831, Heft. i. p. 40. *et seqq.*

them all and make a free selection in applying each respectively according to any special object. That this was actually done, the little book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the other alphabetical songs furnish a remarkable evidence; for in them we find the three rigidly discriminated main species of rhythm—as they were developed in the sixth century—for the first time designedly and sedulously carried out with minute accuracy throughout all the verses.”<sup>1</sup>

The rhythm of the Hebrews was simple and unfettered. The rhythmical art of the Hebrews is seen only in the artificial arrangement of the Psalms; and that is but little. Thus Psalms xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. cxi. cxii. cxix. cxlv., Proverbs xxxi. 10., and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, except the last chapter, are alphabetically arranged by the initial letters of the verses. But very few of these poems are perfectly alphabetical. In two only, *i. e.* Psalms cxi. cxii., are the lines or half-verses alphabetically arranged. The usual rule is that each verse should begin with a new letter. This is often violated. In Psalm xxxvii. every other verse so begins, but with interruption and change; in Psal. cxix. and Lam. iii. there are series of verses having the same initial letters. To attempt to amend the irregularities and deficiencies, as if they originated with transcribers, is wholly unwarrantable. Whatever purpose the alphabetical arrangement was intended to serve, whether to assist the memory, as Lowth conjectured, or whether it was merely a contrivance of the rhythmical art, as De Wette thinks, the few specimens of it extant, and those too irregular in various respects, show that we cannot carry into Hebrew poetry generally a similar art to that which gave rise to these artificial structures. It would be illogical to infer from them that the verse-rhythm was regularly subjected to certain laws, and that therefore the various species of it may be defined. The alphabetical arrangement, so far from evincing rhythmical art to be a rule in Hebrew poetry, proves it to be an exception. Such contrivance is a sign of inferior taste, as if the outward form could compensate for the life and spirit. If the rhythmical art were more observable than it is, the poetry would be *so far* inferior in all the qualities—force, fire, beauty, and sublimity—by which it is commonly characterised.

The existence of parallelism in the New Testament as well as the Old, has been largely developed by Bishop Jebb. Some critics had observed the poetical style and structure in small portions and single verses before his time: it was reserved for him to point out the great extent to which it pervades the New Testament. There can be no question that in quotations from the poetical parts of the Old Testament the same parallelism will appear. The hymns in Luke's Gospel (chap. i.) are essentially Hebraic, and partake in consequence of the same rhythmical form as the ancient poetry. In like manner the Apocalypse, which is a Hebrew poem in conception, imagery, and form, has much of the rhythm of Old Testament poetry. But when Jebb proceeds to show that quotations

<sup>1</sup> Page 86.

of a complex kind, in which fragments are combined from different parts of the poetical Scriptures and wrought up into one whole, are reducible to the laws supposed to regulate rhythm in the Old Testament; or that "the sententious" parallelism pervades all the component members (original or derived) of a passage consisting of quotations mingled with original matter, in which portions of the Hebrew Scriptures are so connected and blended with original writing that the compound forms a homogeneous whole; that is, when passages like Rom. xi. 33—35. and Rom. x. 13—18. are brought into the same category with regular poetical verses in the Old Testament, and distributed like them into parallel lines; we demur to the proceeding as entirely fanciful, artificial, unnatural. It was never intended that quotations of either kind should be treated as having regular parallelisms. Yet the ingenious writer does not stop there. He believes that the New Testament generally is pervaded by *original parallelisms*, and these he accordingly proceeds to distribute into various classes, such as parallel couplets, parallel triplets, quatrains, stanzas of five and six lines, stanzas of more than six parallel lines, exemplifying each by copious extracts from the New Testament Gospels and Epistles. The whole is mere fancy. The Gospels and Epistles are prose; and as prose alone they should be treated. If it were necessary, we could select many prose writers and arrange extracts from them in the same manner as Jebb does with the prose of the New Testament. There is no foundation for parallelisms in the Gospels and Epistles; their very nature and structure repudiate it. They partake no more of the rhythmical form of Hebrew verses than do the writings of Dr. Johnson. It is matter of regret therefore that Jebb should have thrown away so much ingenuity and taste in deciphering various kinds of parallel lines in the New Testament. He was capable of better things. The attempt made by him to carry into the New Testament the principles illustrated by Lowth in the Old Testament poetry was soon followed up by another writer, Boys, who, in his *Tactica Sacra*, has arranged four of the Epistles in parallel lines. In that work, and afterwards in his "Key to the Book of Psalms," he tried to show that parallelism extends to whole *paragraphs* which are arranged so as to present a mutual correspondence similar to that which single lines exhibit to each other, and even that entire books or compositions are arranged in the most systematic form. Bad taste will find precedents to imitate. The books of Boys show ingenious trifling. They attempt to find in the Bible what is not in it but belongs merely to the region of the imagination. Nor has the mania for finding parallelisms in the New Testament died out, as we had hoped; for, quite recently, Forbes, in a work entitled "The Symmetrical Structure of Scripture," has carried it much farther than Boys, into the entire Sermon on the mount, the Decalogue, and other passages of Scripture. The writer also attempts to point out a parallelism of *numbers* "which enters much more largely into the arrangements of Scripture than has been generally suspected." Of course strophes and stanzas are frequently

discovered. One example may satisfy our readers. It is from 2 Cor. xi. 22—27.

22. { Are they Hebrews? So am I.  
Are they Israelites? So am I.  
Are they the seed of Abraham? So am I.
23. Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more.
- (a) { In labours more abundant,  
In stripes above measure,  
In imprisonments more abundant,
24. (b) { In deaths oft;  
Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one.  
25. (b) { Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned,  
Thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep:
26. (b) { In journeyings oft;  
In perils of rivers, in perils of robbers,  
In perils from mine own countrymen, in perils from the heathen,  
In perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness,  
In perils by sea, in perils by false brethren:
27. (a) { In labour and painfulness,  
In watchings often,  
In hunger and thirst,  
In fastings often,  
In cold and nakedness.

This is supposed to be an example of parallel lines synthetic.

“In verse 23., the three lines marked (a) end, in the original, each with adverbs, and are evidently intended to form one group, as the first and last end with the same comparative (*περισσότερος*, more abundantly). The two central stanzas (ver. 24, 25. (b), and 26. (b)) as evidently correspond, each beginning with the general heads, ‘In deaths oft,’ ‘In journeyings oft,’ under which respectively are ranged several special instances of each sort of suffering. Under the first head we have (ver. 24 and 25.) a triplet or stanza of three lines, connected by the recurrence of numeral adverbs (‘five times, thrice, once,’ &c.). Under the second we have (ver. 26.) a quatrain or stanza of four lines, marked as forming one group by the constant recurrence of the word ‘perils,’ and each line will be observed to consist of two similarly constructed members, ‘In perils *of* rivers, in perils *of* robbers’ (*κινδύνοις ποταμῶν, κινδύνοις ληστῶν*, two genitives), ‘in perils *from* mine own countrymen, in perils *from* the heathen,’ (*κινδύνοις ἐκ γένους, κινδύνοις ἐξ ἐθνῶν*, where the connection between the first and second substantives is made by the preposition *ἐκ*, from, &c.) Of the four lines thus formed, the first and fourth are parallel, since in each the first member specifies perils by *water* (‘perils of rivers,’ ‘perils by sea’), and the second by *enemies*, whether open (‘robbers’) or concealed (‘false brethren’); while in the two central verses, journey whither the apostle may, among *Jews* or *Gentiles*, in the crowded *city* or tenantless *wilderness*, all persons and places seem to conspire against his peace and safety.

The last stanza (a) recurs to the subject with which the first (a) began, and which is thus placed first and last, as forming the strongest evidence of the sincerity of his zeal as a servant of Christ,—the

voluntary and self-imposed labours (*ἐν κόποις* 'in labours,' v. 23. *ἐν κόπῳ* 'in labour,' v. 27.) which he underwent in furthering the cause of the gospel. The alternate lines in this five-lined stanza (*a*) correspond exactly in structure. The three odd lines, the 1st, the 3d, and the 5th, consist each of a couple of singulars, while the 2d and 4th are plurals, with the adverb 'often' appended to each.<sup>1</sup>

It is marvellous to see good and excellent men losing themselves in such fanciful vagaries, as if the sacred writers really intended to arrange their writings according to artificial minutiae. The Bible is dishonoured by every such rack applied to it. The Boyeses and Forbeses, in following Jebb, have out-Heroded Herod.

All Hebrew poetry is of four kinds, lyrical, gnomic, dramatic, and epic. The first is the oldest and most comprehensive. Its essential peculiarity consists in the form. A perfect lyric song is intended to be sung and played to a fixed rhythm and time. There are fine examples of lyrical poetry in the book of Psalms, as Psal. xviii. lxviii.

Gnomic or sententious poetry proceeds from the motive *to instruct*, and is therefore calm and tranquil. The book of Proverbs furnishes many examples.

Dramatic poetry is exemplified in Job and Canticles. It is distinguished by interchange of speakers and action.

Epic poetry, the rudiments of which like those of the gnomic and dramatic lie in the lyrical, was not developed till after the close of the canon. It is exemplified in some of the Apocryphal books, especially Tobit and Judith.

There can be no doubt that the great excellence of Hebrew poetry consists in its consecration to religion. Its truthfulness, life, energy, and power are *divine*. The loftiest religious element enters into and pervades it. All its pre-eminence may be traced to the source whence the lofty conceptions embodied were derived; that source being the uncreated, inexhaustible fountain of all that is high and holy.

The poetry of the Bible must be interpreted like all other poetry. Only the interpreter should constantly bear in mind that it comes from Him who is true and holy. It is necessary also that he should know its character. It is not occidental, but oriental. Its imagery is eastern. The writers were surrounded by influences and customs different from those which prevail in the west. The objects of nature and art were dissimilar. Their imagination too was more vivid and luxuriant, in accordance with the climate and productions amid which it was nurtured. Their temperament was *essentially* more poetic. Oriental poetry is marked by bolder metaphors and stronger figures than occidental. Hence the expositor should explain it in the light of the country and habits where it was produced. Points of resemblance should not be carried too far. Comparisons ought not to be unduly extended. Glowing descriptions, impassioned diction, should be treated as such, and not interpreted like prose. A specific meaning must not be given to phrases which are signifi-

<sup>1</sup> See pages 15 17.

cant only so far as they contribute to the symmetry and completeness of one harmonious whole. This is to bring down poetry near the region of prose. It is marvellous to see the bad taste and dullness of perception displayed by several expositors in this respect. They undertake to expound highly poetical works like mere prose. Canticles have been tortured in this matter. In like manner, the book of Revelation has been perverted by such commentators as Elliott, who cannot or will not distinguish between poetic costume or drapery and essential features having a distinct significance in themselves.

Before commencing to interpret a poetic book, it is desirable, if not necessary, that the expositor should have surveyed the whole to obtain a general view of its scope, structure, and outlines. When he can distribute it according to the mode in which the subject or subjects are treated, he may proceed to the separate and continuous illustration of all the parts. The leading design, peculiarities, and form should first be attended to, and then other circumstances will more readily appear. General maxims applicable to all poetical works are of little or no benefit. Each book must be judged and examined by itself.

## CHAP. IX.

### ON THE INTERPRETATION OF TYPES.

BEFORE proceeding to speak of typical interpretation, we may notice some phrases of cognate import, which require a word of explanation.

*Allegorical interpretation* is very different from *the interpretation of allegory*. Its distinguishing characteristic is to assume another sense *in addition to* that sense which is indicated and required by the connection, and to which for this very reason even the tropical expressions of the discourse appear to point as the proper meaning. It presupposes that another and higher sense than the obvious and literal one lies in the words. In its wide acceptance *allegorical* has been called *symbolical* interpretation, which appellation is preferable as distinguishing it from *allegorical* interpretation in *the specific* acceptance. It is aptly named *symbolical*, inasmuch as in it the verbal sense is merely a *symbol* or outward representation of another sense besides. Hence symbolical interpretation comprehends the entire genus of the tropical interpretation-method, *typical*, *moral* or *tropological*, and *anagogical* or *mystic* sometimes called *spiritual*. Truth lies at the basis of it; something corresponding to the leading design and import of the Bible.

But *allegorical interpretation* is also used in a *restricted* sense as nearly synonymous with *typical*. Properly speaking, it refers merely to *quid credas*, and thus all dogmatics find their material in it. Thus understood, *typical* interpretation is included in it. The *wide*

sense of allegorical or symbolical interpretation includes, *quid credas*, allegoria — *moralis*, *quid agas*, — *quid speres*, *anagogia*; but the specific sense relates solely to the *quid credas*; under which is classed *typical* interpretation. Let us first explain what a type is.

A type is a person or transaction in which some later person or transaction is portrayed beforehand or symbolically represented in essence.

This definition necessarily involves the fact, that there is a spiritual connection between the Old and New Testaments. In the Old Testament history appear persons and transactions which have a foreshadowing relation to persons and transactions in the New Testament. Here then is the province and sphere of typical interpretation. It is easy to see how a type is distinguished from mere doctrine, prophecy, or even allegory. Prophetic discourse consists in announcing something beforehand *in words*. Allegory, in the form of an allegorical prophecy, is a picture of the prophetic imagination, consisting of symbols. But a type is a person or thing which *adumbrates of itself* a corresponding person or thing, and of which it may be the symbol. Hence it is something *historical*. *Totus historicus est*, says Flacius.

It has been thought by not a few, of whom Rau<sup>1</sup> may be regarded as the representative inasmuch as he was the first who boldly avowed the opinion, that typical interpretation is an imaginary thing invented by expositors themselves. But this is a mistake. Typical interpretation rests on a biblical foundation and coincides with the view taken of the Old Testament by the primitive Christians. It is justified by the New Testament itself; in which a similar view is given of various Old Testament persons and things. The spiritual connection between the entire Bible is recognised in the earliest Christian interpretation. The following passages lay a clear and unmistakable basis for typical interpretation.

In Mark ix. 13. Elias is presented as a type of John the Baptist. In Luke xi. 30. 32. Jesus places himself along with Jonas as a sign to lead to repentance. As the prophet was a sign to the Ninevites, so he was a sign to the Jews of that generation. According to John iii. 14., compared with Numb. xxi. 9., the elevation of the brazen serpent in the wilderness, which when looked at with the eye of faith healed the serpent-bitten Israelites, was a fact betokening the death of Christ and its effects. In Rom. v. 14. Adam is termed a type (antithetic) of Christ — the one being the means of corruption and death, the other of salvation. In 1 Cor. x. several circumstances belonging to the passage of the Israelites through the wilderness are adduced as types of particulars in the Christian economy. The rock whence water flowed was Christ; its water was therefore spiritual drink. The manna was spiritual meat. The external sensible object is to be considered in relation to the spiritual. In Heb. vi. 20—vii. 22. there is a copious description of Mechizedek as a type of Christ. In the same Epistle, ix. 9., the first

<sup>1</sup> Freimüthige Untersuchungen über d. Typologie, 1784.

tabernacle is termed a *figure* adumbrating a greater tabernacle not made with hands under the new dispensation. In Rev. xi. 8. a great city is spoken of which is spiritually called Sodom and Egypt. The latter were types or symbols of the city to whose overthrow John refers. The entire Epistle to the Hebrews shows that the sacrifices of the Mosaic economy, which were only to last for a time and had no efficacy in themselves to make the conscience of the worshipper perfect, pointed to a future effectual redemption from sin. The various words indicating a typical significancy which occur in the New Testament are *τύπος*, *παραβολή*, *πνευματικός*, and *ἀλληγορούμενον*. This last is found in Galat. iv. 24., where it is loosely used for type. Sarah and Hagar are set forth as types; and as they were historical persons not imaginary ones, they are properly so termed. The history there referred to is not an *allegory*, nor is it treated as such.

These passages sufficiently show, that typical exposition is well founded. On this basis accordingly, interpreters soon began to build, and to extend the idea of types. They set themselves to find out many such; and by the aid of a pious ingenuity they succeeded in their attempts. All persons and facts which seemed to present some correspondence were treated as typical. A coincidence in *external circumstances* was chiefly sought. It was from this excessive and absurd multiplication of types that the reaction took place which rejected them altogether. The Old Testament history had been treated and tortured so arbitrarily by the older exegesis, that the modern threw aside all typical exposition in disgust, as something baseless or imaginary. But this was a precipitate step, as we have seen. There is the very highest authority for real types. Jesus himself expressly sanctioned them. And his example is the best guide.

It is an unquestionable fact, that by the susceptibility which the human mind inherently possesses of recognising God as a Creator and Ruler of all, man has a peculiar spirit and life implanted within him. Wherever one inner life and one leading idea manifest their operation in a number of persons, the latter have a common history in which a development of the common spirit takes place. But this development may not reach, in any of its stages, the highest and the complete. All steps of it are strivings after fulness or perfection, without satisfaction. Hence when we consider the relation of individual persons or the individual facts of history, we see mirrored in them a representation of the life and spirit fulfilled even before its actual realisation, not indeed in its full-orbed character, but in *certain aspects*. Persons and occurrences present themselves now and again, prefiguring what will finally bring about full rest to the cravings and aspirations of a common humanity; so that the idea of fulfilment already appears in them. Such spirit was implanted in Israel. By its operation a continued longing after something which might give rest to the soul was felt. And there is a *unity* of the religious spirit under the Old and New Testaments. The history, *considered as one whole*, is closely connected in the manner of a great economy

or arrangement on the part of God. There is an internal bond of union between all the parts of it. Indeed all history tends to the same point—the manifestation of the divine favour, and the glorifying of God in his people. All reached forward to fulfilment in Christ. The idea lay in the bosom of the people He had selected from others, that all salvation can come from God alone; and this idea manifested itself in prefigured fulfilment in the case of various persons, institutions, and events. The latter were the means by which it gave expression to itself

From these remarks it will appear that the idea of types is necessarily involved in the whole spiritual process of antecedent humanity as it unfolds itself, till it find its completion and resting point in Christ. The idea of redemption and the relations of redemption to the world, which shows its fulfilment in the Saviour, gave expression to itself beforehand in the relations, situations, characters, and operations of individual men and facts belonging to Old Testament history. This is the *typical* nature of them.

A type is not constituted by the coincidence of *external* historical circumstances. There must be an *internal* union and resemblance. In looking for a type we must find some manifestation of the idea of fulfilment or completion. The spirit at least of fulfilment must be mirrored in a person or fact more or less largely. If *the total* significance of fulfilment realised by the redemption of Christ does not appear, a *considerable portion* of it must. The brazen serpent comes up to the greater part of the significancy; others are much less complete.

Remembering then that Christ is the sum and substance of the law and the prophets — that the entire development of the spiritual process in man reached after and tended to its fulfilment which was finally realised in his redemption — let us see where we are to stand that we may be able to get a right view of the types belonging to the Old Testament. We must look at the antitype. The stand-point of the interpreter must be the New Testament, not the Old; he surveys the former dispensation as depicted in the Jewish Scriptures, from the platform of the Christian Scriptures.<sup>1</sup>

We shall arrange our observations on types and typical interpretation under the following heads.

What is included in a proper type?

1. *Resemblance*. — There must be a likeness in certain respects between the person or thing prefiguring, and that which it foreshadows. Similarity must lie at the foundation of a type in all cases.

2. That resemblance *belongs to the divine arrangement*. It is inherent in humanity viewed as possessing a religiousness from the hand of God. A people having certain elements of character implanted in them were so dealt with by the Almighty, that the outward manifestation of those elements necessarily gave origin to types. Thus the correspondence between type and antitype may be

<sup>1</sup> See Lutz, *Biblische Hermeneutik*, § 72.

traced to the divine intention. It was not accidental. No merely accidental or outward similitude can constitute a true type. It is possible that many points of accidental similarity may present themselves. Persons and things in this world may be classified under a few general heads, by virtue of real or imaginary analogies. But the similarity between types and antitypes must enter into their very nature. Internal correspondence referrible to the Deity himself must appear.

3. But though *divine intention* in the manner now explained must belong to the relation between type and antitype, consciousness of such a relation in the mind of the sacred writer is not necessary. He need not know or feel that there is an established correspondence between the thing foreshadowing and that which is prefigured. Consciousness of the existence of a type on the part of the writer who speaks of it does not enter into its nature.

4. Neither is it needful that a typical person should have the idea that he was designed to be such, or that he was manifested as bearing that relation. In like manner it is unnecessary that a typical action or institution should have taken place with a consciousness on the part of the agents that such was its character.

5. Types have respect to what is future. They shadow forth good things to come. They were not appointed to represent *present* but *future* realities. They were a temporary mode of instruction, pointing to another and clearer way of educating humanity in the highest truth. They were the shadows *preceding* the substance.

But though they had respect to what was future, they probably served other purposes to the Jews. They may have been intended to signify to them *present duties and responsibilities*. This could only have been subordinate to their great, leading design. While they pointed significantly to the better dispensation to come, as their ultimate reference, they inculcated moral virtues and religious duties upon the ancient Israelites, thus serving a twofold office. They were teachers of things present or immediate.

From this explanation it will be seen, that a type belongs to the head of *prophecy*. It is a kind of prophecy. A verbal prophecy *predicts*, whereas a type *prefigures*. The former describes *in words* what is about to come to pass; the latter foreshows *in its own outward similarity* a future person or event.

6. According to some, a type is ascertained by formal recognition as such in the New Testament. Unless we have this express warrant for it, it is argued by Marsh, Stuart, and others, that it has no existence. If previous design and preordained connection constitute the typical relation, how, it is asked, can any one know it except from Scripture itself? Here then is a sure and safe criterion, whereby all *fanciful resemblances*, often dignified with the name of *typical relations*, are excluded. And if the rule be not accepted, all is uncertain. A wide door is opened to the imagination.

That this view is inadequate and narrow, will be seen from the following considerations.

(a.) Various places in the New Testament intimate, or expressly

assert, that most of the institutions peculiar to the Old prefigured spiritual things under the New Economy. The Epistle to the Hebrews plainly shows that the entire Levitical law with its sacrifices, rites, and priests, foreshadowed better things. Comp. x. 1. &c., vii. 11—22., viii. 1—13., ix. 1—x. 18. The same view is given by Paul in the Epistle to the Colossians ii. 17. The Epistle to the Galatians has it also (Galat. iii. iv.) If then the general character of an entire economy be typical, while the various parts of it are no where explained in the New Testament so as to show their spiritual correlatives, any interpreter has no more certain guide than he who holds it unnecessary to quote the express testimony of Scripture in favour of one thing or person foreshadowing another. Even when insisting on having the testimony of an inspired writer on behalf of the reality of types, an expositor is not a whit better qualified for unfolding the spiritual significancy of the Mosaic law generally than one who thinks that such testimony is not every where necessary to warrant a belief in their existence.

(b.) It is admitted that types partake of the nature of prophecy. Now in order to connect the thing or person described in the prophecy as future with its counterpart, we do not require the exposition of the Scripture writers themselves. A prophecy *is not said in Scripture* in most cases, to be fulfilled in a person or event even where we have reason to believe that it is so. No one dreams of demanding the express testimony of an inspired writer for the purpose of demonstrating the meaning of what is fulfilled. What was predicted is not identified with its counterpart when the latter takes place. Why then should a different rule be applied to types? Why should their spiritual sense be every where pointed out by the Scripture writers themselves? Are we not warranted in assuming that there are predictions in the Old Testament which were at least partially fulfilled in circumstances and persons belonging to the New, without its being expressly said that they *were* so fulfilled? In like manner, may it not be inferred that some types are not indicated in the New Testament which must nevertheless have been really such? Human language is somewhat ambiguous and obscure. Especially is that of very ancient writings liable to misunderstanding, when they treat of subjects in themselves dark. The prophetic Scriptures have this character. We cannot always fix their meaning or determine their scope. There is no key to the interpretation of prophecy in the New Testament. Neither is there, in many instances, an express declaration that a passage is prophetic in its nature; so that we may sometimes mistake history for prophecy, and *vice versâ*. Types should be regarded in the same manner. There is no other method of recognising and interpreting a prophecy than by a careful, conscientious study of the Scriptures themselves. And in the study of the Old Testament types, we must take as our guide the principles and examples which the New Testament writers have set forth. The specimens of typical interpretation recorded in the sacred volume must be taken to fix the meaning of other types. The whole system

with its divinely arranged connections must be deciphered by the aid of ascertained expositions.

(c.) The substantial unity existing between the old and new dispensations arising from the one great Agent or Logos presiding over both—the preparatory character of the one, its preordained premonitions of things to come, its subservience to a higher purpose to be revealed more fully thereafter, its emblematical nature and symbolic institutions—all form a presumption in favour of extending the region of types further than the few examples pointed out in the New Testament. Indeed the Epistle to the Hebrews fairly warrants a large extension, if not beyond what New Testament authority sanctions, at least beyond what it *specifies* and *explains*. The true-minded interpreter must look out from the platform of the New Testament carefully and soberly, to the material figures which move and act in the Old. And in beholding them, it is not sufficient to find some superficial resemblance. It is not enough to discover a spiritual idea in the earthly figure. There must be an interior, established connection between one thing and another, or between one character and the ideal of human perfection presented in Jesus, which shows itself to have been designed. The likeness must be one that appears from its very nature to have been intended as prefigurative. That it is capable of being *accommodated* to the appearance of having an adumbratory nature, is not enough. According to the established laws of interpretation, it must prove itself by its very nature and aspect to be typical. This it will do to the spiritually minded expositor, who takes for his guide acknowledged types, and examines passages in their scriptural connection.

We may instance David as a type of the Messiah in many points. Yet there is no New Testament authority for believing him to be so. The paschal lamb was a type of Christ, though not affirmed to be so; for the fact that he is called *a lamb* is no proof that he was the antitype denoted by the paschal lamb. Canaan typified the heavenly country, the abode of the righteous for ever, though this is not stated.

Those who adopt the rule that unless we have the authority of the sacred writers themselves, it cannot be maintained that this or that person or thing mentioned in the Old Testament is a type of Christ on account of the resemblance perceptible between them, are not more accurate or exact in their list of types than others who object to the narrowness of the canon. For example, it is said by some of them that the feast of Pentecost, which commemorated the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, prefigured the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the apostles, who were thus enabled to promulgate the gospel throughout the then known world (Acts ii. 1—11.). This is erroneous, for the feast of Pentecost was instituted to commemorate the ingathering of the fruits of harvest. It is also affirmed, that the feast of tabernacles typifies the final restoration of the Jews, which is incorrect. Nor were “the privileges of the Jews types of those enjoyed by all true Christians;” and it is mere fiction to aver with Macknight, that “the relation of the Jews to God as his people,

signified by the name *Israelite* (Rom. ix. 4.), prefigured the more honorable relation in which believers, the *true Israel*, stand to God. — Their adoption as the sons of God, and the privileges they were entitled to by that adoption, were types of believers being made partakers of the *divine nature* by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, and of their title to the inheritance of heaven. — The residence of the *glory*, first in the tabernacle and then in the temple, was a figure of the residence of God by his Spirit in the Christian church, His temple on earth, and of His eternal residence in that church brought to perfection in heaven. — *The covenant with Abraham* was the new or gospel covenant, the blessings of which were typified by the temporal blessings promised to him and to his *natural seed*; and *the covenant at Sinai*, whereby the Israelites, as the worshippers of the true God, were separated from the idolatrous nations, was an emblem of the final separation of the righteous from the wicked. — In the *giving of the law* and the formation of the Israelites into a nation or community, was represented the formation of the city of the living God, and of the general assembly of the church of the first-born.”<sup>1</sup> In all this list of types, there is no real type; yet it is approved and adopted by adherents of the rule laid down by Marsh. It is even held by Fairbairn, who rejects that rule.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, we are satisfied that the view in question requires a criterion too definite, and one which the entire doctrine of types repudiates. Exegetical proof of individual types cannot and was not meant to be forthcoming. If the interpreter has an eye to discern spiritual things, types will naturally present themselves to him. The collective idea which lies in them arises out of the Old Testament history in a manner obvious and unmistakable, because one and the same spirit acts harmoniously in the former and latter dispensations.

But though objecting to the view under discussion as limiting the operation of types far too much, we are no advocates for the imaginary resemblances which have been dignified with the name of *typical relations*. The excessive use of types cannot be too strongly reprobated; for it brings the Scriptures into contempt. Wild fancies, far-fetched ingenuities, allegorical conceits, should be rejected without ceremony. The mediæval and scholastic writers carried this system to a ridiculous excess. Nor was it abandoned after the Reformation. It has continued down to the present time. A few specimens of it will suffice.

*Dalilah* designates *the church* for which Christ died.

She may also signify *the synagogue*. She shore Samson when she crucified Christ on Calvary.<sup>3</sup>

Samson was a type of Christ. His nativity was foretold by an angel of God; so were the conception and nativity of Jesus Christ foretold by an angel. Samson was sanctified from the womb; so was Christ much more. He conquered a stout lion in the desert; so

<sup>1</sup> Macknight on Rom. ix. 4. note 1.

<sup>2</sup> On the Typology of Scripture, vol. i. p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Laureti Sylva Allegoriarum, vol. i p 304.

Christ overcame the roaring lion, the devil, in the wilderness. He slew many of God's enemies by his death; so Jesus Christ by death overcame sin, Satan, hell, and the grave.<sup>1</sup>

His carrying the door and posts of the gate of Gaza to the top of a hill that is before Hebron signifies Christ's resurrection. His loving a woman in the valley of Sorek, called Dalilah, was a type of Christ's loving the Gentile Church.<sup>2</sup>

Noah was a type of Christ.

Noah was a saviour, nay, in a good sense, the saviour of the world; Christ is a Saviour, the only Saviour of the world.

Noah was a preacher of righteousness; Christ was the same. Those that rebelled against the one were destroyed by water; such as resisted the other shall be destroyed by fire.

Noah built an ark; so Christ builds his church. The former built according to the commandment of God; the latter did every thing according to the commandment received from his Father. Noah took many trees to build the ark; so Christ takes many believers, called trees of righteousness, to build his church.

"Some clean and some unclean beasts were received into Noah's ark; so some holy and sanctified persons, and some unsanctified ones are received into Christ's church, though not by Christ's appointment."

All not in the ark perished; so all who have not faith in Jesus Christ shall perish eternally.

Noah's ark was tossed on the rough waters and yet was preserved; so the church is tossed on the waves of a tempestuous world and yet preserved.

Noah was the great repairer of the world; so Christ is the glorious repairer of the world.

Noah sent a dove out of the ark to see whether the waters were abated, who returned with an olive-branch in her mouth; so Christ sends forth the Spirit, called a dove, who brings tidings to believing souls that the wrath of God is appeased, &c.<sup>3</sup>

Moses was a type of Christ in many particular actions of his life. He married an Ethiopian, a stranger, a black; so Christ espoused the Gentiles who were strangers to God, and, by reason of sin, as black as hell could make them. He sweetened the bitter waters of Marah by a tree cast into it; so Christ sweetens all our afflictions by means of his cross. He led Israel through the Red Sea; Christ leads his church through a sea of tribulation. As Moses was transfigured in Mount Sinai and seemed so glorious that the children of Israel could not behold his face; so Jesus Christ was also transfigured on Mount Tabor so as his disciples were amazed and wist not what to say.<sup>4</sup>

Bethlehem signifies the church which contains Christ, and the Sacred Scriptures, as it were, a *house of bread*. It may also repre-

<sup>1</sup> Keach on the Metaphors, p. 961. ed. 1779.

<sup>2</sup> See Ridgley's Body of Divinity, vol. ii. p. 222. ed. 1814.

<sup>3</sup> Keach, pp. 956, 957.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 960.

sent monasteries where there are persons who take solid food, whence is to be taken he who is anointed as a King, *i. e.* a preacher.<sup>1</sup>

Cyrene is the church, where is the vocation of Christ, into which God transplants those of the proud heretics whom he converts.<sup>2</sup>

Sodom and the Sodomites surrounding Lot's house are a type of Jerusalem and of the Jews who oppressed Christ.<sup>3</sup>

The table of shewbread was a type of Christ, because it was covered over with gold and a crown about it, noting the purity of Christ's humanity with the glory of his deity and majesty of his kingdom : because it had food set upon it, which none were to eat of but the priest, signifying that spiritual nourishment which is in Christ, which none receive or partake of but believers only, or the royal priesthood of the faithful. The bread was always to be upon the table, signifying in Christ there is food continually for our souls. There was much bread, twelve cakes or square loaves, signifying in Christ there is food or nourishment enough for all who see a necessity for him ; " or it doth show how plentifully God feeds his elect ; his poor shall not want bread, his table is always spread, always richly and abundantly furnished."<sup>4</sup>

The burnt offering of fowls was a type of Christ, because they were turtles or pigeons signifying his meekness and innocency. " The neck of the fowl was to be pinched with the nail that the blood might go out, but not that the head should be plucked off from the body ; signifying how Christ should die and shed his blood, yet, thereby his deity, as the head or principal part, should not be divided from his humanity ; nor yet by his death should he who is our head be taken from his church, but should rise again, and be with them by his Spirit for ever. The blood thereof was strained or pressed out at the side of the altar before it was plucked and laid upon the altar to be burned ; signifying thereby the straining or pressing out of Christ's blood, in his grievous agony in the garden, before he was taken and stripped to be crucified," &c.<sup>5</sup>

The sacrifice of the red heifer was a type of Christ, because the colour of this beast was red, signifying his human nature and participation of our afflictions and the bloodiness of his agony ; because she must be without blemish and upon whom never yoke came, signifying the perfect holiness of Christ, who never bore the yoke of sinfulness nor was subject to the laws of man ; because the heifer was burnt without the host, and her blood sprinkled seven times before the tabernacle of the congregation, signifying Christ's suffering without the gates of Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup>

In his Dictionary of the Bible, Brown of Haddington enumerates twenty-nine typical persons, fourteen typical classes of persons, nineteen occasional typical things, twenty miscellaneous typical institutions, six typical places, ten typical utensils, fourteen typical offerings, ten typical seasons, and eight typical purifications, making in all one hundred and thirty types. But this list is as nothing

<sup>1</sup> Laureti Sylva Allegoriarum, vol. i. p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 936.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 972.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 303.

<sup>5</sup> Keach, p. 969.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 977.

compared with the immense enumeration found in *Laureti Sylva Allegoriarum*.

It is strange that a recent writer on typology, while objecting to the fanciful resemblances accumulated by older writers, should approach their method himself. Extremes meet. Contending as he does for Scripture authority to distinguish what is typical from what is not, he often converts *his own theological ideas* into the *warrant*. Thus we are told that "the cherubim were set up for representations to the eye of faith of earth's living creaturehood, and more especially of its rational and immortal, though fallen head, with reference to the better hopes and destiny in prospect. From the very first they gave promise of a restored condition to the fallen; and by the use afterwards made of them, the light became clearer and more distinct," &c., &c.<sup>1</sup> All this is groundless and far-fetched. The tree of life was also a type of immortal life and paradisaical delights yet to be enjoyed by the people of God in Christ.<sup>2</sup> Enoch "is undoubtedly to be viewed as a type of Christ."<sup>3</sup> Noah was the type of him who was to come, in whom the righteousness of God should be perfected.<sup>4</sup> Abraham was "the type at once of the subjective and the objective design of the covenant, or in other words, of the kind of persons who were to be the subjects and channels of blessing, and of the kind of inheritance with which they were to be blessed."<sup>5</sup> Pharaoh's destruction was typical of Antichrist's.<sup>6</sup> The tabernacle was "a type of Christ, as God manifest in the flesh, and reconciling flesh to God."<sup>7</sup> Such things as these in the region of a biblical typology clearly indicate that a certain school of divines create types in abundance by the aid of their peculiar theology. Thinking that they magnify Christ and his dispensation in this manner, they virtually convert Judaism into Christianity, instead of keeping them in their proper relations. They mistake the essential, concrete thing which constitutes a type.

Types have been variously divided. Keach<sup>8</sup> divides them into two kinds, viz. *prophetical* and *historical*. Writers also speak of *natural*, *moral*, *legal*, and other types. Most of these appellations, however, are either useless or improper. Thus the name *prophetical* types is liable to suggest an idea which is incorrect; because many so called are merely *symbolical actions*.

Perhaps the division of Chevallier is as good as any other. It is the following:—

1. Those which are supported by accomplished prophecy delivered previously to the appearance of the antitype; as Moses, Joshua, the High Priest (Zech. iii. 8.).

2. Those supported by accomplished prophecy delivered in the person of the antitype; as the brazen serpent, the manna eaten in the desert, the paschal sacrifice, the maraculous preservation of Jonah in the great fish.

3. Those which in Scripture are expressly declared or clearly as-

<sup>1</sup> Fairbairn's *Typology*, second ed. vol. i. pp. 240, 241.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 214. *et. seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> P. 278.

<sup>4</sup> P. 295.

<sup>5</sup> P. 306.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. ii. p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. ii. p. 236.

<sup>8</sup> On Metaphors, p. 328. ed. 1779.

sumed to be typical, after the prefigured events had taken place; as the numerous types contained in the Levitical priesthood and sacrifices; as also, Adam, Melchizedek, Joshua the son of Nun, David, Solomon, &c.<sup>1</sup>

In the interpretation of types the following rules or cautions should be observed.

1. The analogy between type and antitype should not be urged beyond the point or points which Scripture warrants. Thus Jonah was a type of Christ only in reference to his being three days unharmed in the belly of the fish, and coming forth at the end of that period alive and vigorous. But his disposition, conduct, and character, have no concern with the typical relation he bore in the one part of his history we have mentioned. Indeed persons are never types of Messiah in their personal and private characters. If they were official persons, they are types only in their official capacity. Thus the *prophets* as a class prefigured Christ the great prophet. So too the *priests* and *kings* of the Old Testament. And with respect to persons who filled none of these offices, but occupied some public situation, they were types of Messiah in that public position, not in their private capacity. Thus Joseph in the leading circumstances of his outward history, his trials, deliverance, and exaltation, prefigures in outline the history of Jesus Christ.

From the very nature of the case it is evident that there were many things in the type which could not take place in the antitype, because the persons and things related are earthly and spiritual, imperfect and perfect, respectively. Thus the Levitical priesthood prefigured the priesthood of Christ. But the high priest had to offer sacrifices for his own sins as well as those of others; which cannot apply to the antitype. The Levitical priesthood was *weak* and *unprofitable*, attributes which do not characterise the Redeemer. In every case we must examine the exact point or points in which the relation between type and antitype was meant to appear; because some things are peculiar to the one which have no place in the other. There is commonly more in the type than the antitype; and *vice versa* in the antitype than the type. There may be *more points of resemblance*, which, as being merely *accidental*, do not enter into the typical relation. A type *as such* contains no more than the antitype, else the shadow would convey more than the substance, when by its very nature it should convey less. But yet a type may contain more than the antitype. All the additional points it may have *do not belong to it in its character of type*. It is natural that the antitype should be always superior to the type. Its import is fuller, higher, and more comprehensive.

2. No doctrine can be fundamental which is founded solely on typical analogy. All necessary truth is adduced in plain language. It is not concealed under the veil of types and shadows. These indeed serve to illustrate and confirm the great doctrines of salvation, showing that they were taught in a certain way to the Jews of old. But they do not reveal them for the first time, nor exclusively. They

<sup>1</sup> Hulsean Lecture, p. 76.

strengthen our belief in the truth and reality of what is otherwise learned.

Types have often been identified with *symbols*. But though they agree in their *genus*, as Warburton has shown, they differ in their *species*. They are equally *representations*. While a type always represents something *future*; a symbol represents a thing *past, present, or future*. The images of the cherubim over the mercy-seat were symbols. The water in baptism is a symbol. The bread and wine in the eucharist are also *symbols*. But the baptismal water as well as the sacramental elements are not *types*. A type has always reference to what is future, and is therefore a virtual prediction of its antitype. But the symbols in question *predict* nothing. They are mere *emblems*, setting forth spiritual truth by outward representations.<sup>1</sup>

The two general observations which we have just given to aid in the interpretation of types, are all that appear to us safe or appropriate in the way of rules. Keach, however, has given no fewer than nine "canons expounding types." Most of them are useless, such as, "There must be a fit application of the type to the antitype" (No. 4.); "The wicked as such are by no means to be made types of Christ" (No. 7.); "One thing is sometimes a type and figure of the two things, even contrary things, but in diverse respects" (No. 8.); "In types and antitypes an enallage, permutation, or change sometimes happens, as when the thing figured and adumbrated takes to itself the name of the figure, shadow, or type; and on the contrary, when the type and figure of the thing represented takes to itself the name of the antitype" (No. 9.).<sup>2</sup>

*Symbolical actions* have often been called *prophetical types*. But this is to identify things which differ. Thus the prophet Isaiah went naked to prefigure the fatal destruction of the Egyptians and Ethiopians (Isa. xx. 2.). The hiding of a girdle in a rock on the banks of the Euphrates, which being afterwards taken thence proved to be rotten, was symbolical (Jer. xiii. 1—7.). The abstaining from marriage, mourning, and feasting, to indicate woful calamities about to befall the Israelites for their sins (Jer. xvi. 2—8.) was of the same nature. Jeremiah was also commanded to break a potter's vessel in the valley of Hinnom, to intimate the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. xix.). By making bands and yokes, and putting them first on his own neck and then sending them to the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Tyre, he declared their subjugation to the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxvii. 2—8.). Ahijah rent his new garment into twelve pieces and gave them to Jeroboam to signify that the kingdom would be rent (1 Kings xi. 30.). In like manner Elisha informed Joash by a symbolical action, of future events (2 Kings xiii. 14—19.). So too Agabus, as recorded in the New Testament, bound his hands and feet with Paul's girdle, intimating the apostle's captivity at Jerusalem.

"These and similar acts of the prophets have been called *typical*, and unquestionably they have a striking resemblance to such as are

<sup>1</sup> See Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, book ix. chap. 2. vol. vi. p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 233. *et. seqq.*

typical. In common with types, they are *actions* as distinguished from words; they are *symbolical* and *prophetical* actions. Hence we commonly find them classed under the head of *prophetical types*. But notwithstanding these points of resemblance, the two are not identical. The significant acts in question were avowedly performed for a specific purpose, and with reference for the most part to some event or events near at hand. In every case they were *insulated* acts, and not interwoven into the ordinary transactions of the prophets' lives. Indeed they had no relation to the prophet himself; he performed them in an assumed character and with exclusive reference to future events. But *typical actions*, properly so called, arise directly out of the transactions in which the typical person is engaged. They often form a part of the ordinary occurrences of his life. The character in which he performs them is his own proper character, and not an assumed one. The acts themselves are performed without any consciousness of their prospective and prophetical reference, and the persons or events which they prefigure are remote."<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAP. X.

### ON THE INTERPRETATION OF PROPHECY.

THE *prophets* were persons who possessed the Spirit of God in a manner and for an end somewhat peculiar; at least in a manner which distinguished them from others in whom the same Spirit was active. The gifts they possessed were intended for the general benefit of the people and of humanity. They were the bearers of the divine mind to their contemporaries and to posterity. They unfolded the purposes of Jehovah, delivering messages from heaven to their nation.

The function of the prophets was of a more comprehensive nature than foresight of the future. They were foretellers of things about to happen; but this was merely a part of the duties included in their divine mission. They revealed the will of God not only respecting the future, but the past and present also. They were not mere predictors of coming events. Rather were they media of communication between God and man generally. Hence *prophecy* includes *prediction*, but is not equivalent to it, being of wider range. It is necessary to attend to the true idea of a *prophet* (נביא) since it has been frequently limited to the foretelling of future events, to the great injury of prophetic interpretation. Thus Dr. Pye Smith describes a *prophecy* to be "a declaration made by a creature, whether human or of a superior order, under the inspiration and commission of the omniscient God, relating to an event or series of events which have not taken place at the time the prophecy is uttered, which could not have been certainly foreknown by any

<sup>1</sup> See Muenscher on Typical Interpretation, in the American Biblical Repository for 1841, p. 105.

science or wisdom of man, but which will take place in the visible dispensations of the divine government, in the present state.”<sup>1</sup> Here a definition much too restricted is given. The modern use of the terms *prophet* and *prophecy* has been too closely adhered to. *Many prophecies* are *predictions*, but not *all*. The prophets uttered discourses respecting things past, present, and future; though most related to the time to come. They belonged to an economy which was prospective in its character—a preparation for better things to come. Their mission had a chief leaning towards the future, because it was a part of an *introductory* dispensation.<sup>2</sup>

In proceeding to the interpretation of Old Testament prophecy two things must be assumed as certain. It contains *the word of God*—*religious ideas* properly and truly so called. *The word of the Lord* proceeded from the mouth of the prophets; and as this is a spiritual thing, only the expositor who is spiritual can rightly perceive the fact. As soon as he is brought into a spiritual condition he will readily acknowledge the word of Jehovah as having been in the prophets, and therefore embodied in their written oracles. Again, we read in the New Testament that Christ himself said, “All things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me” (Luke xxiv. 44.) He also spake to the two disciples thus: “O fools and slow of heart to believe *all that the prophets have spoken!* Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses, he expounded unto them *in all the Scriptures* the things concerning himself. (Luke xxiv. 25—27.) These passages imply that the prophets of the Old Testament testified of Christ. The essence of their communications had respect to him. If then they bare witness of the Messiah to come, the spirit and contents of their announcements are in unison with the spirit of Christ—with his doctrine, his work, his entire manifestation—and consequently with the contents and spirit of the New Testament generally. This connection the interpreter will recognise. It is confirmed by historical evidence; for Christ himself declared it, while primitive Christianity found its nourishment in the prophecies. Christ and his apostles not only refer to the prophets but also profess the oneness of spirit between them and themselves.

Since then, what was truly and positively divine dwelt in the prophets and pervaded their functions, a question arises respecting the relation of the divine and human in them. In the exhibition of their prophecies, what influence is to be ascribed to the one and to the other, respectively? This point is not unimportant in its bearings on the hermeneutics of prophecy. The problem is both interesting and momentous.

On one side, the passivity of the human is maintained. It is argued that the mind of a prophet in conceiving, and in uttering,

<sup>1</sup> On the Principles of Interpretation as applied to the Prophecies of Holy Scripture, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Alexander's Introduction to his Commentary on Isaiah, p. 9. *et seqq.* Glasgow edition.

either orally or in writing, his oracles, was wholly passive. The human element was entirely suppressed. It was the divine which alone manifested itself. What the prophets thought and what they expressed — both the matter and form of their communications — was exclusively divine. They were only human conveyancers of divine messages; organs or vessels through which divine truth was communicated to men. Lifted out of and above the present, and all historical relations, their images and figures are full of divine mysteries which man could not have produced. They were mechanically acted upon by the Spirit of God, like instruments in the hands of musicians.

Another view is, that both the human and the divine coöperated. The human spirit of the prophets was active, as well as the divine Spirit which animated the will and intellect. Hence historical and outward circumstances were not lost sight of, or swallowed up in the exclusive working of the supernatural.

We fear that the subject is one which scarcely admits of a satisfactory determination either way. Neither view seems to be exclusively right. When set over against one another, we cannot adopt either to the entire rejection of its opposite. But still the arguments clearly point to the latter opinion as the more probable. Let us briefly glance at the principal phenomena belonging to the prophecies themselves, which warrant us in believing that the minds of the men were not wholly passive.

(a.) It is not difficult to distinguish *the ideas* to which utterance is given from *the mode* in which they are adduced. The diction, dress, and figures refer to existing manners and customs. They partake of the historical. They belong to the material, which they serve to present to the hearer or reader in an intelligible method. Prophecy includes consciousness of the actually present, connected with an intimate participation in it. Look at its materials or component parts. Is not the characteristic method in which it develops itself drawn from the present or past? Has it not a constant reference to the actual and definite? But if man's natural powers of conception and reflection had been entirely passive, this peculiarity would not have appeared. Had the prophets been passive organs, through whom communications from above were conveyed, would the materials have been coloured and pervaded by such historical character? In consequence of the peculiar conformation belonging to prophecy, it is generally proposed as a caution to hermeneutical writers, and rightly so, not to lose sight of the historical character of these oracles; not to look for mere allegory and mystery in them; but to follow the historical interpretation as far as it will safely lead. We believe, therefore, that the minds of the prophets were active and conscious, because of the mode in which their ideas are communicated. It is no ideal form which belongs to and serves to symbolise those ideas, but one drawn directly from circumstances in which the prophets themselves moved and lived, or from known history.

(b.) We have no reason to believe that the divine Spirit ordinarily acts upon the human mind in any other method than by uniting his

influence with it, and elevating it to a higher and holier tone than it could otherwise reach. The divine Spirit does not supersede or set aside the use of the natural powers, but quickens and purifies them, so that they can see much farther and higher. This at least, was commonly the case; though there are doubtless exceptions to which we shall allude hereafter. When we consider the various phenomena presented in the prophecies, they are explicable by means of the indwelling *πνεῦμα* (spirit) in connection with the natural faculties. It was *the Spirit* that enabled prophets to speak in the diversified strains of condemnation, admonition, and comfort relating to the present and the future, by acting upon their mental powers with unusual force, and thus stimulating them to give the merely ideal contents of a divine message a practically intelligible character.

But are not predictions of future events included in the general idea of prophecy? Undoubtedly, though it is a narrow view to regard the prophets solely as the predictors of things future. And can the explanation which has just been given satisfy the condition of prophecies as *the predictions* of what was to take place thereafter? Here it is necessary to distinguish *theocratic predictions* from such as are *special*. The latter refer to definite occurrences and persons. In relation to general theocratic announcements belonging to the future, they can be sufficiently explained in the method already proposed. Such glances at the future were general. In the development of the theocracy and of human nature as they knew and witnessed it, the prophets saw with spiritual penetration that there must be periods of declension and corruption in the morals of the people, times in which they might easily fall a prey to watchful enemies around. They saw that the people must be scattered, but would again be renewed by God; that a true and spiritual worship should hereafter be introduced, and the service of the Most High be a pure and holy service wherein his people should delight. All the prophets have such general intimations, pointing to a glorious period to be realised in the future, as the ultimate hope of the pious. And for these vague anticipations or premonitions of future blessings, it is not necessary that the mind of a prophet should be wholly passive, or that his powers of reflection should be suspended; it is enough that the divine and the human cooperated; that the Spirit of God so acted with and by the natural powers of the men themselves, that they saw the coming fortune and fate of humanity with clearer vision than the ordinary class of enlightened Israelites. Inasmuch as they lived and acted for the welfare of the community, being *watchmen* concerned for the common interests of all, they were aided from above to take more comprehensive and higher views than their contemporaries. *General theocratic predictions* therefore are to be explained on the same principle as the oracles of the prophets which concern present things. In them too we see the divine and the human commingled.<sup>1</sup>

But *special* predictions cannot be accounted for in this manner. When we find, for example, that the fate of an individual, the destruction of a city or people, is announced with historical definiteness,

<sup>1</sup> See Lutz's *Biblische Hermeneutik*, § 73. p. 396. *et seqq.*

we must believe that the knowledge was supernaturally given. We concede to Rückert<sup>1</sup>, Lutz<sup>2</sup>, and others, that there are comparatively few predictions of this nature. In respect of number, they are subordinate to those of which we have just spoken. We allow also, that they do not bear the same intimate relation to the idea and essence of the prophetic office. They are not of the same importance with those general theocratic predictions which involve what is great and important for humanity. Yet they must not be overlooked, explained away, or unduly depreciated, as they are by Lutz. The passages which exhibit them cannot be justly charged with interpolation. They form an important exception to the other prophecies, and should not therefore be left out of account in determining the character of prophecy generally. Instead of attempting to explain them in the way already presented, or of subordinating them so much to the rest of prophecy as to decide upon its nature without them, we are rather inclined to believe that in respect to them, the divine entirely overruled the human, so that the natural faculties of the prophets had no share in suggesting the knowledge contained in them. God revealed certain things to the prophets at various times that totally surpassed all their apprehensions, in receiving as well as uttering which they must have been passive. It is remarkable, however, that these predictions are obscure, difficult of explanation, and comparatively few. Prophecy cannot be judged of by them either exclusively or chiefly. They are not the rule but the exception.

In thus maintaining that the human was not permanently or generally suppressed in the prophets, we are in no danger of encountering opposition from a leading passage in 2 Peter i. 19—21., where we read that no prophecy of the Scripture “is of any *private interpretation*. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” It is implied in these words that the human was *attracted, elevated, informed* by the divine, but not *suppressed*. The prophets spake as they were carried along (*φερόμενοι*) by the Holy Ghost, not *violently borne onward*, as Hengstenberg supposes, but thoughtfully, intelligently, with a degree of self-possession. They were inspired; the nature of that inspiration *chiefly* consisting in an elevating influence on the mental powers, not in holding those powers in abeyance.<sup>3</sup>

In opposition to this theory of Old Testament prophecy, Hengstenberg has ingeniously developed another, resting on the old, mechanical inspiration-idea. According to this writer, the prophets were in an *ecstatic* state, in which their intellect and consciousness were held in abeyance; being forcibly acted upon by the Spirit of God, and so made the passive organs of divine communications. In favour of this he refers to many passages, such as those in which it is said that the prophets employed music; in which *the hand of God* or *the Spirit of God came or fell upon them*; as also 2 Peter i. 21. &c. He adduces Numb. xii. 5—8., where a distinction is drawn between the

<sup>1</sup> Die Propheten des Alten und Neuen Testaments, p. 310. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Biblische Hermeneutik, p. 403.

<sup>3</sup> See Lutz, pp. 403, 404.

revelations made to Moses and to the prophets. The former received his communications *directly* or *immediately* — “mouth to mouth,” as it is in the original Hebrew; the latter *in vision*. The same thing is shown by the names *seers*, רֵאִים, הַזִּים; and from its being said that the prophets obtained inspiration in *dreams* also. If they obtained inspiration in this manner, they were in an *extraordinary* state. By means of this *ecstatic* condition, Hengstenberg explains the following peculiarities of Old Testament prophecies.<sup>1</sup>

1. The prophecies are nothing but fragments. The divine messengers uttered no more than what was presented to them in internal vision; and all that was so communicated was merely what was suitable in the circumstances. This applies to the Messianic prophecies in particular.

2. Every thing was set before them *as present*. It was actually before their inner vision. Hence they speak of persons and occurrences belonging to a remote future as if they were present. Hence too their inexactness in the use of tenses. Since they saw things *in time* not *in space*, no specific marks of time can be expected from them. Hence also the distant future was unknown to them, unless they received a peculiar revelation on the point. Accordingly these prophecies are characterised by the fact that occurrences separated from one another by wide intervals of time appear *continuous*. They were presented *together*, and *in succession*. The means by which the *successive nature* of the occurrences may be distinguished are these.

(a.) Definite notices of time were announced to the prophets in certain cases, such as the seventy years' exile in Babylon to Jeremiah. In Joel iii. 1. (ii. 28. English version), the Messianic period is introduced with אַחֲרָיִךְ, *afterward*.

(b.) A comparison of passages in which events are related separately that are united in the one under examination.

(c.) The prophet sometimes took his stand-point in the nearest future, to survey thence the distant future, as Isaiah in the latter part of his book takes his position in the Babylonian exile, and in the 53rd chapter between the sufferings and glorification of the Redeemer.

(d.) The fulfilment in history of some events shows what still remains to be accomplished in the future.

3. If all their disclosures respecting the future were made to the prophets in vision, they must have been given to them in images. And these images were taken out of the circle of their ideas and the outward relations in which they lived.<sup>2</sup>

Such is a very condensed view of the manner in which Hengstenberg unfolds and supports his theory of prophecy. Plausible and ingenious as it is, it is liable to grave objection. There are weak points in it. What Hengstenberg asserts in 1 and 2 as peculiarities of prophecy cannot be admitted without material limitations. With

<sup>1</sup> Christologie des Alten Testaments, vol. i. p. 294. *et seqq.*, first edition. Compare also the article *Prophecy* by the same, in Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.

<sup>2</sup> Christologie, vol. i. p. 302. *et seqq.*

regard to the first, we must not take the whole compass of the Old Testament prophecies as the measure or standard. Each prophet surveys the horizon as it was presented to him; but the capabilities of some were greater than those of others, and therefore they received farther insight and took a wider view. In the descriptions of the individual writers, each is a whole, and agrees substantially with all other descriptions; it is only in the number of signs betokening the Messianic period which are adduced that there is a difference. The Holy Spirit was communicated to all; but all did not see the same features. It is no proof of ecstatic condition that one prophet gave some traits of the Messianic time and another others; while none gives a complete and connected picture of the time and reign of Him who was to come. This could scarcely have been expected; for the Spirit *distributes* to every man severally as he will. Every prophet communicates a part; and that part possesses an entireness in itself.

As to the succession of time having been lost to the prophets because of their peculiar internal state, we are unable to find the proof of such an assertion in their discourses. They take their position in the present, whence they sometimes glance at the past; but they distinguish past, present, and future. The use of the preterite is not resolvable into the interpretation given by Hengstenberg, but belongs to Hebrew grammar. The prophetic preterite shows *the certainty* of what it is applied to. The glowing descriptions of the future are linked by them to definite occurrences in time. The only argument that bears more directly on the probability of the so called *ecstatic* state and the *entire passivity* of the human powers is that made up of certain expressions in the Old Testament. But even *they* are not valid proof. *The Spirit fell upon them — the hand of Jehovah was upon them, &c.* External symptoms were connected with the impulse of the Spirit within; but that is quite in character with the East. *There* internal feelings are manifested by external gestures much more conspicuously than in the West. Doubtless the degree in which the divine Spirit acted upon and in union with their minds depended much on their internal character and temperament. The more obtuse they were, the greater difficulty, so to speak, had the divine Spirit to encounter. The more cultivated the intellect, the fewer outward commotions would ensue.

As to the figures and images being taken from the temporal relations and circumstances in which the prophets lived, that fact can scarcely be reconciled with the *ecstatic* theory. It harmonises with and favours the opposite view. In the *ecstatic* condition, we should have expected them to be lifted out of surrounding influences. But the fact that they were *not* so argues self-possession and calmness.<sup>1</sup>

Were it of any weight in a question of this nature, we might adduce the common judgment of the early church, found in Eusebius and other fathers. The *ἑκστασις* was a Montanist peculiarity. Indeed it was a form of *μαντεια* among the Greeks.

<sup>1</sup> See Lutz, *Biblische Hermeneutik*, p. 407. *et seqq.*

On the whole, we are constrained to reject the hypothesis of Hengstenberg as unnecessary for the explanation of the phenomena of prophecy, as unsupported even by the passages of Scripture adduced in its favour, and inconsistent with the ordinary method of inspiration. If the usual mode of inspiration account for the characteristics of prophecy, there is no need for resorting to another.<sup>1</sup> The institutions for training prophets, the so called "*schools*," militate against the view of Hengstenberg.

It must not be supposed that the prophetic gift was one which was permanent in individual prophets. The inspiration came upon them at times and then forsook them. It was not a part of their mental idiosyncrasy, of their internal constitution, which when once got was never withdrawn. And it should ever be borne in mind that the prophetic class were not characterised by the announcement of *special predictions of definite future events*, but by *the declaration of the divine purposes*. Their declarations consist of general, moral, and religious ideas, which find their confirmation and fulfilment in history, *their ultimate and complete fulfilment* in the person and kingdom of Messiah, where humanity appears in its highest state.<sup>2</sup>

Having considered *the nature* of prophecy, let us now advert to its *interpretation*. Here it is impossible to lay down *general canons* applicable to all cases. We cannot set forth *universal rules* by whose application every individual prophecy may be explained with uniform facility. The only safe and certain method is the examination of each particular case by itself. Yet we shall endeavour to put together some general observations which may be of service to the reader. If they be more negative than positive, their application will at least serve to prevent rash and erroneous interpretations. They may not lead to such as are true and certain; but if they prevent some expositors from going astray, they will not be useless. No rules indeed can be other than *negative* in relation to the subject before us.

1. The first thing is to know the historical horizon.

In every prophetic discourse it is incumbent on the interpreter, first of all, to ascertain the character of the time in which it originated. The entire historical horizon should be surveyed. Both the author and the occasion should be known. If the former cannot be discovered, the era and period in which the prophet spoke or wrote must at least be investigated, with the occasion which gave rise to his prophecy.

Sometimes inscriptions at the commencement point to the author. But these cannot always be relied on. They may be merely *traditional*, proceeding from such as had to do with the collecting of the books. Or, they may relate to *the collection* in which a particular prophecy is found. Hence it becomes necessary to examine whether inscriptions agree with what they purport to be—whether the writers assigned in them be *really the authors* of all such prophecies. In order to this, the contents of each individual prophecy, its

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Hofmann's *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, part i. p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See Rückert's *die Propheten des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, p. 310. *et seqq.*

language, style, historical basis and allusions, should be recognised as coinciding with the authorship assigned. Here we have an important help in the historical books of the Old Testament, especially those of the Kings.

Besides traditional inscriptions, the parallels belonging to a known and certain period should also be consulted, for the purpose of ascertaining the time in which a prophecy was delivered. But they must be independent of one another. It is sometimes the case that one prophet imitated another. There are pieces in which one closely followed some of his predecessors. These therefore, considered as parallels, are of no use for our present purpose. But there are other instances in which ideas and expressions bear a certain resemblance to one another, *in distinct prophecies*, where they were produced *originally*. In them both thoughts and diction resemble one another, not because there was copying on the part of one, but because the same spirit in the writers, operating upon minds belonging to one period of history and one nation, led to certain characteristic features of discourse marking that particular time and those who lived in it.

In connection with this point is the determination of the extent of a prophetic piece. This is a problem which presents great difficulty. To know where one prophetic paragraph or piece terminates and another commences, requires much patient examination. What are the proper boundaries between one discourse and another can only be seen by the most minute inquiry; for these boundaries are often indistinct. Sometimes indeed they cannot be discerned; and therefore a number of chapters appear in close consecution, the offspring apparently of one gush of the prophetic inspiration, dark and shadowy in outline. Sometimes smaller pieces appear after large ones, but annexed to the latter as though they belonged to them. This is exemplified in Isaiah. At other times a small piece precedes a longer one. But Isaiah also exemplifies the indistinctness which renders it all but impossible for the interpreter to settle the exact compass of prophetic discourses. Yet it is highly incumbent upon him to do his utmost to discover the extent as well as the type of each.<sup>1</sup>

After the author and time have been ascertained, the expositor proceeds to examine the historical books, and all descriptions of the period which he can find, that he may arrive at a knowledge of its characteristic features and influences.<sup>2</sup>

This investigation is preliminary. It *prepares* the interpreter for his task, smoothes the way in a measure, and fixes what he has to do. So far he is merely *adjusting* his work. It remains to be performed.

2. In the actual exegesis of prophetic discourse an interpreter must first look for *the type it bears or the course it runs*. There is usually a certain conformation belonging to it. It is cast in a sort of general mould. This at least holds good in the case of a great majority of the prophecies. The knowledge of such a type will aid

<sup>1</sup> Compare Alexander's Introduction to his Commentary on Isaiah.

<sup>2</sup> See Lutz, § 75. p. 416.

in determining the extent of a particular piece. But it does more. It assists in the interpretation of it. The prophet commonly sets out from the present in a reprehending tone, showing how it fails to realise the idea embodied in a covenant-people, admonishes them to return to Jehovah, threatening punishment in case of their refusal; whence he passes into the future with a glowing ideal picture, thus encouraging them to repent, and consoling the upright few who remain faithful to the truth. Such is the customary shape which a prophetic paragraph assumes.

Yet there are exceptions, whether arbitrary or not we need not inquire. The entire course just mentioned is not traversed by all the prophecies. The last part may be omitted, and then a prophecy consists of little more than announcements of punishment, threatening of misery and ruin. No glorious futurity is opened up in the distant future to cheer the hearts cast down by the fear of impending calamity. Most of the prophecies of Amos are of this description. Singly they are minatory and mournful; but after they were all combined, the seer appended the bright vision of futurity at their close. Sometimes the Messianic future is at the beginning instead of the close. In Isa. ii., iii., iv., the delineation of future prosperity stands both at the beginning and the close. Another type is exemplified in Jer. xiv., xv., where the discourse is conducted in the way of a dialogue between God and the prophet.<sup>1</sup>

3. Acquaintance with *the prophetic doctrine*, that is, with the substance of what the prophets usually taught, is necessary to an interpreter. This doctrine is derived from their combined discourses. When all are put together in one connected outline, the reader gets a general view of the whole. This prophetic doctrine may be summed up in a few words. The basis of it is the idea of Israel being a people peculiarly chosen of God to be His, and as such, destined for a glorious state of exaltation. The people are spoken of as they really are at the time, exhibiting their departure from the true character of a covenant people; but yet God is true. They are reminded that God is the holy one; misery as the consequence of apostasy from him is predicted; exile is foretold. But inasmuch as God is faithful, they shall be brought back; the divine Spirit will be imparted to them. Then arises a physical and moral condition which is the ideal of human life. This state is always preceded by the forgiveness of sins. God blots out the iniquity of his people, and imparts his Spirit. All is represented as bestowed by Jehovah upon an undeserving race. It will be necessary for the interpreter to observe closely the transitions from the present to the past, because they are usually rapid. Sometimes they are exceedingly bold and sudden, apt to surprise the unwary reader, as in Micah iv. Yet these transitions are an essential feature in prophecies which approach completeness or fulness. The prophet's mission was not wholly one of threatening import. He was sent to comfort and encourage, as well as to warn and punish. The righteous few of the nation were not to be overlooked. Hence,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Lutz, p. 417.

instead of dwelling on the gloomy present and its immediate consequence, the seer's vision looks into the future, where better things appear. The distant horizon has a splendour to which the humble are directed as the end of their hopes.

4. An interpreter should adhere to the one circle of historical reference as firmly as possible, unless something require its abandonment. The range of the prophetic discourse is historical, especially at its commencement. The stand-point of the writer is in his own time. He sets out with a definite allusion to Israel, or those connected with Israel's history. The prophetic doctrine has a historical basis and centre. When there are distinct marks of special predictions, or peculiar modifications of the prophetic idea, these phenomena must be fairly noticed and explained. It will not do to resolve what is a specific prediction into the *general prophetic doctrine*, as the Rationalists do, so that peculiar announcements of definite future events are explained away. The *normal type* must not be held so narrowly and firmly as to ignore departures from it. It is general and dark enough of itself, without adding specific predictions to be swallowed up in it, and so increasing the vagueness instead of forming an important exception to it.

5. The Apostle Peter affirms of the Old Testament prophets (of the true Hebrew prophets, and not merely of Daniel, as De Wette asserts) that the Spirit of Christ or of God, which was in them, testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. But he does *not* say that they were ignorant of the meaning of their own predictions. All that is plainly and positively involved in his language is that they were ignorant of *the time of fulfilment*. They did not know *the period* when their predictions would be verified. Accordingly they searched what era or what kind of era (*εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν*) the Spirit which was in them pointed to. All that they could learn, however, from such inquiry was very general. They were informed that the Messianic blessings were not to come in their own day. "Unto whom it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported," &c. (1 Peter i. 10—12.) The view taken of Peter's words by Arnold seems to us unsupported. "When it is said that they searched for these things (what and what manner of time), it is implied of course that they did not know them at first; *but whether by searching they were in any case enabled to discover them, this the words of St. Peter do not indeed affirm, but yet neither do they deny it.*"<sup>1</sup> Surely the apostle's language implies that the searching was fruitless, since it is added, "Unto whom it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported," &c. We understand Peter to say, not that they had previous knowledge on one point and searched for it on another, but that in consequence of their searching about the time of the fulfilment of their prophecies, this indefinite knowledge was given to them, viz. that they were ministering things not to be accomplished in their own period.

<sup>1</sup> Notes to Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy, p. 430.

6. In certain prophetic pieces or discourses there is a double sense, or twofold reference, a lower and a higher, a nearer and a more remote. The former relates to the present and immediate; while the latter usually refers to the Messianic period and spiritual deliverance. This point is closely connected with that of Messianic and specific predictions. It is one which has been largely contested. It is undeniable that many of the fathers maintained the so-called *double sense*, particularly Theodore of Mopsuestia; and there is little doubt that many have rejected it on account of the unfortunate appellation. *Twofold reference* would be much more appropriate; but the name is of little consequence. In modern times the thing so designated is commonly rejected as untenable. Much contempt even has been poured upon it by superficial writers.

A good deal of *à priori* reasoning has been indulged in regarding it. Thus a recent writer asks, "How could such portions form part of a *revelation* when, after we have ascertained their meaning, we are still left as ignorant as ever of their import, since under these words another deeper meaning still lies hidden? Besides, how, and upon what principle, can we ever be sure that we have arrived at the true secondary meaning, or that we have perfectly exhausted the burden of these passages, and that our work as commentators is accomplished? There may be a third, fourth, fifth, or—as the Rabbis maintain—seventy meanings lurking still deeper under these very words.

"In fact there is no end to the objections which may be urged, *à priori*, against this method of interpretation."<sup>1</sup>

The point cannot be elucidated by *à priori* reasoning, on whatever side it is looked at. Neither the single nor the double sense theory should be argued thus. Hence we reject all such attempts at *à priori* argument on the side of the latter as well as the former; as when Arnold tries to show that a "double sense appears to be a necessary condition of the very idea of prophecy; . . . that every prophecy has, according to the very definition of the word, a double source; it has, if I may venture so to speak, two authors, the one human, the other divine. For as, on the one hand, the word implies that it is uttered by the tongue of man, so it implies, on the other hand, that its author and origin is God."<sup>2</sup> This language applies to all inspired compositions, and would therefore consistently infer the double sense of all Scripture.

The true method, and the only philosophical one, is to consider the actual phenomena of prophecy as they lie before us in the Scriptures, and see whether the one-sense theory meets all the exigencies of each and every prophecy.

And here at the outset we totally deny that "the theory of double sense rests solely upon the construction put upon the formula in which the New Testament writers introduce their quotations from the Old, as *ex. gr.* Matth. i. 22., *τοῦτο δὲ ὅλου γέγονεν, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου*: 'all this

<sup>1</sup> Wolfe, *The Messiah as predicted in the Pentateuch and Psalms*, p. lxxiv

<sup>2</sup> *Sermons*, vol. i. p. 427

was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet:’ and other abbreviated forms, *ὡς πληρωθῆ*, and so on.”<sup>1</sup> The basis lies far deeper and broader than this. It is founded in part on the *typical* character of Old Testament institutions, on symbolical transactions and teachings. It is derived from the language of many individual passages, which is both simply historical and exaggerated. It is inherent in the nature of a theocracy like the Jewish one, which was elementary, symbolical, typical, preparatory to a better and spiritual economy.

We freely allow that a double sense should not be admitted when another explanation is more probable. No doubt it has been assumed in some cases too hastily. There have been abuse and exaggeration in its application; but it is not the less true on that account. There are cases which cannot be fairly interpreted without it.

Let us reflect upon the fact that the language of prophecy generally is vague and obscure. The ideas of the seers,—their visions and dreams,—were tinged with darkness. They had not, at least in many instances, a clear perception of all the meaning of what they were prompted to utter. The Holy Spirit, who spake only in and through their minds, led them to use language of general import, often misty because symbolical. It is of no moment to the interpreter whether they were conscious of the entire significance of what they spoke and wrote; probably they were not. All that he has to do with is the thing itself now on record.

So far from some predictions being incapable of more than a single reference, we hold that they are fairly susceptible of various such; and were meant to be so taken. “All predictions, or prophecies in the restricted sense, are not specific and exclusive, *i. e.* limited to one occasion or emergency; but many are descriptive of a sequence of events which has been often realised. Thus, in some parts of Isaiah, there are prophetic pictures of the sieges of Jerusalem which cannot be exclusively applied to any one event of that kind, but the terms and images of which are borrowed partly from one and partly from another through a course of ages. Thus the threatening against Babylon contained in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Isaiah, if explained as a specific and exclusive prophecy of the Medo-Persian conquest, seems to represent the downfall of the city as more sudden and complete than it appears in history. . . . It is a panorama of the fall of Babylon, not in its first inception merely, but through all its stages till its consummation.”<sup>2</sup> If this reasoning be correct, as we believe it to be, surely the same prophecy refers to more events than one. It depicts different and distinct occurrences separated by intervals of time from one another. Each is a certain *grade* and *stage* of fulfilment. It is not fulfilled at once, but reaches its fulfilment through successive stages. If referred to one occurrence, or a series of occurrences taking place together, the prophecy certainly applies

<sup>1</sup> Wolfe, p. lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander's Introduction to Commentary on Isaiah, p. 37. Glasgow reprint.

to them. It has its meaning in them. But it has not its *full sense* or entire *fulfilment* till it be applied to other occurrences. The sense of it is *springing* or *germinant*; continuing to widen till it embrace various references—allusions and applications to various events. It appears to us that the opponents of what they persist in calling a *double sense*, in conceding the truth of a gradual fulfilment like this, virtually surrender the point in debate. Yet they do not profess to see the connection between holding the double sense and Lord Bacon's *grades* and *stages* of fulfilment. Let us therefore proceed to view some Messianic prophecies in this relation.

It has been supposed that the second and forty-fifth Psalms afford the most plausible appearance of bearing a twofold reference. So Lutz believes. But we do not so regard them. The former at least is better considered as a *direct* and *exclusively Messianic* Psalm, whose figurative language is borrowed from historical circumstances to depict the spiritual King of Israel solely. Probably therefore it has no historical reference to any other sovereign. But the sixteenth Psalm stands on different ground; and those who hold its exclusively Messianic character are perplexed by various parts of it. Indeed the natural and primary sense is, that it describes a pious sufferer in peril of death, either David himself or some other, in the first instance. Nor are we aware of any good expositor of the Psalms who takes it otherwise. Calvin, De Wette, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Alexander, Olshausen, Hupfeld, all understand it thus. In the fourth verse the speaker expresses his abhorrence of all other gods. How can such language be restricted to Christ as properly and solely applicable to him? Was he tempted to idolatry once and again? And with what propriety can Christ say to the Father, "Thou wilt teach me the way of life," except *in and through* every one of his godly followers; except in the same manner as he said to Saul, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" But while the Psalm naturally depicts a pious sufferer,—while this is doubtless its primary sense,—it also refers to Christ, the most illustrious representative of the entire class as well as their Head. This is fully proved by the quotations of Peter and Paul in the Acts of the Apostles. The Psalm passes through one stage of fulfilment in every pious sufferer; but its complete fulfilment is in Christ. It has therefore more than a single reference.

The same reasoning is applicable to the twenty-second Psalm. It has a similar reference to a righteous sufferer, whose feelings and deliverance it depicts; and is fulfilled in its highest sense in Christ, the head of the class of pious sufferers. Those who apply to the Messiah exclusively, as the speaker, the following language, do violence to the feelings of every right-minded reader. "But thou art he that took me out of the womb; thou didst make me hope when I was upon my mother's breasts. I was cast upon thee from the womb; thou art my God from my mother's belly. . . . But I am a worm and no man." (verses 9, 10. 6.)

We may also point to Isaiah xl—lxvi. as an example. We cannot doubt that this portion refers primarily to a historical object, the

exile, and deliverance of Israel from Babylon. But along with the description of such deliverance, there is a deeper and higher reference, viz., to the time of Messiah, in which comes spiritual deliverance. The two are spoken of together and blended in the description given. The prophecy was *fulfilled* in the last; it had an *incipient* fulfilment, if we may be allowed the phrase, in the first. It matters not whether the prophet himself distinctly intended to speak of both; it is highly probable he had no very clear perception of the mode in which his language should be verified in its highest sense. The descriptions are of a kind which forbid their *exclusive* application either to the New dispensation or to events in the Old. Both must be combined in order to bring out the true interpretation. They relate both to historical events under the Old, and spiritual ones under the New, economy. Nor are the references to the historical and the spiritual kept apart. The one merges into the other. In some parts the descriptions point to the two as successive, while in others they embrace both together. Here therefore we have a twofold reference or double sense.

Were it necessary to refer to more examples, we should adduce Isaiah vii. 14—16. which appears to us beset with insuperable difficulties on any other hypothesis than that of two children being referred to. We are aware of the inherent perplexity of the passage on any interpretation; but that which confines it exclusively to the Messiah is exposed to special objections. This is shown by the absurd answer given by one who refers the passage directly to Christ, to the question, "What connection could exist between the birth and growth of Jesus, and the deliverance of Judea from those who were then harassing it?" viz. that the prophet *saw* the child born, not as what should occur ages afterwards, but as an event actually realised at the moment he spoke. The scene of the birth passed in vision before his mental eye. The birth was a *real* event to him. This became a sign of the deliverance of the Jews from their present danger, because it rendered it certain that such a deliverance must take place! As if what is here represented as seen by *the inward vision* of the prophet—a thing of his own mind—could be any *sign* to the Jews then, that they should be speedily delivered from their enemies. Nothing but an external sign could satisfy those Jews, in reference to whom the prophet said "Who hath believed our report?" that they should be speedily rescued from *impending danger*. Inward visions, whatever they related to, were no pledges to them.

We might also point to Gen. iii. 15., in the words of which promise there is a twofold reference, a literal and a spiritual; the one belonging to the literal serpent and mankind; the other to the devil and the spiritual seed of the woman, especially their illustrious Head and Representative.

A common objection to the mode of interpretation which we now advocate is, that it is arbitrary to apply one part to a *historical* person or place, and another part of the same prophecy *spiritually*; to interpret one verse *historically*, and another *spiritually*; for example, to

say that David is spoken of in one verse, and Christ in another. Those who do not interpret the same prophecy throughout, in one consistent method, are justly liable to this objection. The two methods, the historical and the spiritual, should be adopted together, and applied throughout the same prophecy. Or, those who prefer the historical alone, or the spiritual alone, should adhere to either respectively. It is wrong to run from one to another in the same prophecy. The objection does not lie against the legitimate use of the twofold reference-scheme, but against its abuse.

The question now arises, whether one and the same rule of interpretation be applicable to *all* the prophecies, viz. whether all are to be understood both literally and spiritually. Should they be explained on the one principle of a twofold reference? The affirmative answer is given by Arnold. "All may and ought to be understood both literally and spiritually."<sup>1</sup>

We cannot adopt this view. Some are literal, others spiritual. Some are both literal and spiritual at the same time; but all do not possess any one of these distinctive characters. We believe that some are historical and literal alone. In this manner we explain those belonging to Babylon. It is true that the language is hyperbolic and exaggerated in various respects, as thus applied. But it is *the language of poetry*, and as such partakes of the elevation of poetry. Besides, it arises in part from the state of the prophets' minds, which were by no means *distinctly enlightened* as to the nature of the predictions they uttered. They were not conscious of a precise sense attaching to their utterances in many cases. Hence their language was vague, general, dim, even when they referred to a particular place or country. While necessarily objective in part, it partook of much subjective groping. Other prophecies again are Messianic and spiritual alone. The 2d and 110th Psalms exemplify this. Both refer throughout and exclusively to him. Others, as we have seen, are both historical and spiritual, such as Isa. xxxiv. 5—17., where the destruction of Edom, as the enemy of ancient Israel, and the general destruction of the church's enemies are both included. Even in the New Testament this is the case; for we hold, that the 24th chapter of Matthew's Gospel refers both to the impending destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans and to the final judgment; the former being a premonitory emblem or anticipative representation of the latter. In like manner, the greater part of the Apocalypse has more references than one. It is both historical and spiritual, not however, exactly like to the prophecies of the Old Testament of which we have spoken. The language is so general as to apply to various historical events and periods. It was meant to do so. Whenever *general agencies* appear in operation — and it is of these and not *individual events* that the seer speaks — wherever *general causes and influences* exist, *there* the prophecies of the Apocalypse apply. They comprehend various events and periods, because they speak of *general influences or agencies* which produce similar effects.

<sup>1</sup> Sermons, vol. i. p. 406.

But it will be asked, how is it known when a prophecy is *wholly historical* or *literal*; when it is *wholly spiritual*; and when it is *both* at the same time? The first two are more easily discerned than the last. The character and language of the prophecy itself indicates with tolerable clearness whether it be *literal*, or whether it be *spiritual*. But if it is demanded of us to assign a canon or rule by which we may discover a prophecy that is both *literal and spiritual at once*, our answer is that we cannot. No universal criterion can be proposed. Each prophecy must be taken and judged by itself. An examination of its characteristic phenomena, aided at times by the New Testament, is all the interpreter has to rely upon.

It may be thought by some that there is a kind of criterion which we may use with effect, viz. that when the language of a prophecy is hyperbolic and exaggerated as applied to historical events prior to the advent of Christ—when the words “are imbued with a spirit so mighty that the earthly frame is too weak to bear it”<sup>1</sup>—they must also have a spiritual sense answering adequately and fully to their magnificence. Where the historical fulfilment in countries, cities, nations, or individuals, does not come up to the height of the description, some higher and worthier subject must be assumed, whose nature fulfils all the conditions of the lofty terms employed. This observation is plausible, and would appear at first sight to assist the interpreter not a little. By means of it, Arnold is led to regard the whole strain of Old Testament prophecy as partaking of a twofold character, and waiting for a twofold fulfilment. The entire scheme of interpretation he takes to be of a twofold nature, having a historical or literal sense and a spiritual one, because of the high strains which prophecy employs—strains too elevated to be entirely adapted to and realised by the foreground of the prophetic vision, or the things to which the prophets primarily refer and from which they set out as their starting-point. But we greatly doubt the correctness of the position. The hyperbolic character of the language is not, in our view, owing to its being the intended vehicle of a high and spiritual meaning. And it is equally incorrect in our opinion to assume with Arnold, that the prophets were themselves conscious of a twofold character belonging to their prophecies, understanding the one sense of them but not the other—the one being *entertained by the human mind of the writer*, the other being the sense *infused into it by God*, as that writer supposes. The distinction thus made *in the mind of the writer* appears to us unwarranted and improbable. Both were alike *in and through* the minds of the prophets as far as we can judge. Neither sense was “infused” more than the other; nor indeed was either “infused” at all. Their minds were acted upon by an influence which *mingled itself with and became a part of* the ideas themselves as they arose. The influence became a part of their idiosyncrasy in the majority of cases.

The difficulty of the interpreter will lie in one point, viz. in sepa-

<sup>1</sup> Arnold, vol. i. p. 434.

rating between passages in which the language of a prophecy is mere theocratic imagery, nothing but Jewish drapery serving as an envelope to spiritual ideas and spiritual events connected with Messiah's kingdom, and passages which describe events connected with the old economy besides pointing to New Testament times for its adequate and proper fulfilment. We believe that there are both kinds of prophecies. Of the former we adduce these examples.

The prevalence of harmony and love among the Jews themselves, when they shall be converted to God and delight in Messiah, is expressed by a termination of the schism which separated Judah and Israel; the total extinction of the former jealousy existing between them. "The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." (Isa. xi. 13.) The representation made by Hosea is similar. "Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head; and they shall come up out of the land: for great shall be the day of Jezreel." (Hosea i. 11.)

In these and analogous instances, we must strip off the theocratic dress, to get at the real meaning of the prophecies. The envelope does not describe real facts or occurrences connected with the old economy. It serves as a *mere veil*, beyond which the enlightened Jew was bound to look in faith for the spirit embodied. The language does not set forth two things, one of which foreshadowed the other, and was an earnest of a more glorious consummation. It enwraps in Jewish drapery Christian ideas and events. Perhaps history will assist in distinguishing between this kind of prophecies, where a peculiar dress is employed to pourtray, while it partially conceals, features belonging to the Christian age, and the other kind, where two events, the one typical of the other, are blended together in description.

We have no fear that the advocates of a single sense in all the prophecies will ever succeed in dislodging the twofold reference, as long as the genius of the Old Testament is distinctly apprehended. While types and symbols are recognised in it, typical and secondary senses must be admitted. This was clearly shown long ago by Bishop Warburton, in his "Divine Legation of Moses." The Jewish economy was expressly designed to *prepare for* and *foreshadow* the Christian. The Hebrews were instructed by outward and visible objects. Spiritual scenes were conveyed to their minds through the medium of *permanent* externals. Through the heads of their nation and important events in their history, they were taught to look forward to a golden age. The believing Israelite was directed to a period when his hopes should be fulfilled. Was a temporal deliverer mentioned, who should confer signal blessings on the nation? he was described in language which could only find its full import in a great deliverer thereafter. Was a signal judgment about to fall on a particular people? the language swelled beyond it to the judgment of the great day, of which it was a faint adumbration. The diction and imagery reached beyond the type to the antitype.

In explaining such passages, it is obvious that one realisation of their meaning does not answer all the conditions arising out of their form. One occurrence is merely an incipient development of another. The visible and temporal is connected with the spiritual and distant future, pointing the waiting desires of the pious Hebrew to a glorious consummation. "The nearer subject in each instance," says an able writer, "supplies the prophetic ground and the prophetic images for the future Christian subject."<sup>1</sup> The former was an instalment of the fulfilment, not the fulfilment itself. It served as the envelope of the latter, while it also declared a literal truth or important fact in Jewish history, or the history of nations brought into contact with the chosen people. It was the objective form enshrouding and veiling the divine spirit. When therefore the outward framework is laid aside by the occurrence of the prior event or person, the higher meaning it contained remained to fill up the measure of the lofty description.

Agreeably to this representation it has been observed by the author already cited, "there is both reason and sublimity in prophecy; and we shall scarcely understand it, unless we are prepared to follow it in both. Its sublimity is, that it often soars, as here, far above the scene from which it takes its rise. Its reason is, that it still hovers over the scene of things from which it rose. It takes the visible or the temporal subject, as its point of departure (if I may borrow the phrase), for its enlarged revelation; and yet by that subject it governs its course. In this method of it, I believe that men of plain unsophisticated reason find it perfectly intelligible; and that it is only the false fastidiousness of an artificial learning which puts the scruple into our perceptions either of its consistency or its sense. But when we consider that this structure of prophecy, founded on a proximate visible subject, had the advantage, both in the *aptitude* of the representation, and in the *immediate pledge* of the future truth; a sounder learning may dispose us to admit it, and that with confidence, whenever the prophetic text or mystic vision is impatient for the larger scope, and the conspicuous characters of the symbols and the fact concur in identifying the relation."<sup>2</sup>

If the opponents of double references or senses, and consequently of twofold accomplishments or verifications, wish to banish them effectually from the region of prophetic interpretation, they must expel types and symbols from the Bible. They must deny symbolical events. They must dissociate the writings of the prophets entirely from the *typical ritual*. The religious ritual being typical had a *moral import*. It was in fact a *speaking action* with a *moral import*. If there be no prophecy bearing a twofold aspect, then are the writings of the prophets entirely dissimilar in character to the public ritual of the ancient economy. The two parts of a dispensation which was intended to convey some spiritual knowledge of a better one to come, are thus unlike. But if such prophecies as we are contending for be allowed, harmony is introduced between the two portions of the old economy. As the *speaking action* or *typical rite* has a *moral import*, so has the double prophecy in its *secondary*

<sup>1</sup> Davison, Discourses on Prophecy, p. 316. 4th ed.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 318, 319.

*sense.* Each has its primary sense in the nature of the Jewish religion; and each too has its *spiritual* and *full significancy* in a religion which was the consummation and perfection of its predecessor.<sup>1</sup>

If any thing were needed to confirm the view now taken, we should refer to the weak and worthless arguments urged against what is called the double sense by Fairbairn. All that he can adduce in opposition is this: "First, because it so ravel and complicates the meaning of the prophecies to which it is applied as to involve us in painful doubt and uncertainty regarding their proper application. Secondly, should this be avoided, it can only arise from the prophecies being of so general and comprehensive a nature as to be incapable of a very close and specific fulfilment. And finally, when applied to particular examples, the theory practically gives way, as the terms employed in all the more important predictions are too definite and precise to admit of more than one proper fulfilment."<sup>2</sup>

In regard to these objections, those who have carefully studied the Old Testament prophecies know that the majority of them are general, comprehensive, indefinite. The writer himself allows that *such* prophecies have more fulfilments than one. He errs in supposing them to be few and exceptional. By far the greater number are of the very class in question, where he concedes a double sense. Failing to perceive this, he speaks against the theory of the double sense *as the rule*. All that he says about the sixteenth Psalm is of no avail against its twofold application; especially as he carefully avoids allusion to the part of it that militates most against himself. And the prophecy in Isa. vii. 14—16. is not to be elucidated by such perfunctory remarks as those advanced. It is too difficult and large to be confined to the narrow bed into which our author crushes it with self-complacent and summary procedure, saying, "thus understood (*i. e.* in the exclusively Messianic sense), the whole is entirely natural and consistent; and the single sense of the prophecy proves to be identical, as well with the native force of the words, as with the interpretations of inspired men."<sup>3</sup>

Fairbairn falls into a palpable inconsistency in arguing against double senses in prophecy, for he expressly affirms that types are capable of more than one application to the realities of the gospel. In justice to him, it should be stated indeed, that he holds a type to *express but one meaning*, distinguishing that from its *admitting more than one application*. Granting, however, the distinction (which we do not, for it is one without a difference), what do the advocates of a double sense mean more than that prophecies may and do admit of more than one application? This is the very thing they maintain. Hence the writer is guilty of inconsistency. He admits of a twofold *application*, as he calls it, of a type; yet he refuses to concede the double application of a *prophecy*. But both must go together. Types and prophecies are too nearly allied to be so separated. They are substantially identical, and must, with some exceptions, be explained on the same principle.

<sup>1</sup> See Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, book vi. section 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Typology*, 2d ed. vol. i. p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> See page 136.

With the New Testament for our guide, we cannot doubt that there are symbolical or typical prophecies. Such as confine the view to the event which forms the foreground of the vision, as most Rationalists do, lose sight of the higher spirit, giving that event its chief value. They neglect the intimate relation of two things to one another; although their interwoven description should have led to the perception of it. The language is of such a character as to show points of prefigurative resemblance. Equally mistaken are those who narrow the field of vision in the opposite way. *They* lose sight of the *symbol*, restricting passages belonging to the new dispensation to that *exclusively*, although their Jewish reality and form forbid it.<sup>1</sup>

7. In the prophets there are certain fundamental ideas which ought to be specially regarded by the interpreter. These enter into and modify the form of their discourses, showing the deep religious feeling which pervades them all. The relations amid which this class of inspired teachers lived and spake must not be looked at from a mere outward stand-point, but in their subjective aspect. The historical, natural, and temporal is not the true basis and burden of their representations. The great conceptions they bodied forth are truly and properly *religious ones*, having indeed the *symbolical dress* of the Old Testament, but the *spirit* of religion generally. Israel is not merely the literal Israel. Zion is frequently the spiritual Zion or church of God. Moab is not so much the Moab that showed itself the obstinate enemy of the chosen people, as the enemies of true believers wherever and whenever they exist. The prophecies set forth a pure standard of divine worship and service, which lies at the basis of them all. Hence the so called historical interpretation fails in its shallowness to recognise the great central ideas which give all its value to prophecy. Occupied as it is with the historical and temporal import, it never arrives at the religious sphere within which the prophets' thoughts moved, and out of which they originated.

That there are such central truths constituting the essential parts of prophecy will not be disputed. Thus *idolatry* in its nature, origin, and consequences, is set forth as the object of the divine displeasure. Idolatry is the type of all sin. *The union* of humanity with the divine is the true normal relation; and all deviation from that—the least severance of such spiritual communion—is *idolatry* or sin. When man loses his trust in God and places it in the creature, he becomes an *idolater*. How strongly do the prophets set forth the fearful consequences of idolatry!

Again, the marriage relation is employed as an emblem to set forth the covenant relation existing between God and Israel and the apostasy of the people or Old Testament church from the divine Husband and Head.

In like manner *the wrath of God* is forcibly represented against man's ingratitude and rebellion. Kindred to this is *the day of the Lord*, in which expression is included not merely a time of misfortune

<sup>1</sup> See my Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 51. *et seq.*

or adversity, but the subjection of the whole world to Himself by the omnipotent holiness of Jehovah.

So too the deliverance of Israel has the extended and deep meaning of the *redemption of humanity*.

The *future glory of the people of God* embraces an idea which stretches throughout the Messianic dispensation, realising itself more and more till it be consummated in another state.

In like manner, *Zion*, the centre of the theocracy, is not a mere temporal thing — not the Zion of the Jewish religion simply, but the redeemed church of God, whom he himself selected and chose as his peculiar people to vivify with his Spirit and dwell in.<sup>1</sup>

8. The language of prophecy is highly figurative and symbolical. Hence it is necessary for the interpreter to be well acquainted with figures and symbols. For this purpose, several useful works have been compiled, such as Wemyss's *Key to the Symbolical Language of Scripture*; and a *Concise Dictionary of the same* in the fourth volume of this work. The anthropomorphisms and anthropathisms should be carefully observed, in order to separate the pure idea of God from all such sensuous representations.

9. As prophecies are commonly written in poetry, they partake of the characteristics of Hebrew poetry. Thus one line often corresponds with another as,

Who hath believed our report?  
and To whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? (Isa. liii. 1.)

where the same idea is expressed in both parallel members. Hence also we meet with the boldest figures, the peculiar imagery, the digressions and episodes belonging to poetical compositions, and especially oriental ones.<sup>2</sup> The only exception to this is the prophecies scattered through the Gospels and Epistles, which are usually in prosaic diction.<sup>3</sup> Through neglect of this simple observation, a class of interpreters would resolve a great part of the imagery of the Apocalypse into historical and significant circumstances, failing to perceive that poetical drapery or costume was not meant to be converted into plain prose.

10. Universal terms should not be pressed, since they belong to the elevated diction of poetry. Thus when we read of all knowing the Lord from the least to the greatest (Jer. xxxi. 34.); of all flesh seeing the glory of the Lord together (Isa. xl. 5.); of the earth being full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea (Isa. xi. 9.); of the wolf dwelling with the lamb, and the leopard lying down with the kid, &c. in connection with men not hurting or destroying in all God's holy mountain (Isa. xi. 6—9.); we must not suppose that a period is predicted when *every individual* shall possess a saving knowledge of the true God. These highly figurative phrases, and others similar to them which might be quoted, denote the

<sup>1</sup> Lutz, *Bibliche Hermeneutik*, p. 422. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Smith on the *Principles of Interpretation*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> See Bishop Terrot's Appendix to his translation of Ernesti, vol. i. p. 216.

extensive diffusion of the gospel. The truth will be spread among all nations and peoples. As far as we can see, there never will be a time when every individual shall know the Lord as his God; nor do these phrases assert it.

11. The interpretation of prophecy given by the Lord Jesus and his inspired apostles is a rule or key by means of which we may correctly interpret such as are cited or referred to by them. This rule has been extended by Fraser when he says, that every such passage is a key "to open up the whole section of the prophecy connected with it;"<sup>1</sup> and still more by D. Davidson<sup>2</sup>, who extends it to every parallel prophecy, so that he holds "the New Testament interpretation of prophecy to be the only sure and certain criterion by which the meaning of *all divine predictions* may be discovered." But the one sure guide to all divine predictions is not of the character here claimed for it. The New Testament interpretations of prophecy are valid for the passages quoted, and for none other. The criterion stretched any further loses its certainty. And the rule, even as we have propounded it now, must be cautiously applied. It must be taken with a qualification. Sometimes nothing more is meant by the introductory phrase *it was fulfilled* than that there existed a divinely arranged analogy between the fact spoken of by the prophet and that narrated by the New Testament writer, so that both may be expressed by the same terms. This however holds good only when a prophetic passage contains a general fact or sentiment under which a particular fact or sentiment in the New may be grouped because of similitude. It does not apply when the Old Testament contains a *specific prediction*; for we have then a satisfactory guide to the sense of the prophecy, at least to its higher and adequate fulfilment.

12. It does not follow that because the greater part of a prophecy bears a literal sense *every* part of it is literal. In its general character it may be literal, while a description of the object or objects embraced by it requires here and there figurative expressions and a spiritual sense. On the contrary, when a prophecy has a spiritual sense, some smaller portions may demand a literal one. All depends on the nature of the thing or things described by the writer.

13. Much care should be taken in the investigation of such prophecies as are *predictions*, i. e. those relating to future events. They should if possible be separated and examined as a class. But great difficulties are interwoven with them, because they may relate to present and future *at the same time*; or to the nearer and more remote future *at once*. Interpreters have often failed in argument with their opponents from not discerning or acknowledging the two-fold reference of various prophecies by means of which they may *now* be *partially* fulfilled, but not *completely* so. If they contend that they are now fulfilled, and do not therefore belong to the future, or that they are unfulfilled, and therefore wait their accomplishment, they assert what is both false and true. Maintaining one sense exclusively, various expositors have fallen into error. Thus

<sup>1</sup> See his Key to the Prophecies.

<sup>2</sup> See his Book, The Test of Prophecy.

some assert that Isaiah, chapter li., has been fulfilled in the Babylonish captivity. But this is merely a part of its import. It is still not adequately or fully accomplished. Belonging as it does principally, though not exclusively, to the gospel dispensation, it is now in progress of fulfilment. Its partial, incipient application was to the deliverance of the Jews from Babylon. Hence it refers at present both to the past and the future.

14. Apart from prophecies having a double reference, or such as pass through various stages of fulfilment, it is not easy to separate those that have been fulfilled already from the unfulfilled. The entire Apocalypse is thought by some to refer to times still future; while others regard most of it as already accomplished. We know of no other method of ascertaining what are really *predictions* still future, and what have been already accomplished, than that of studying each by itself in all its phenomena, and judging accordingly.

15. The interpreter should ascertain whether a prophecy be *chronological* or not. We believe that few are chronological. Most are of the contrary character. It is not of *the essence* of prophecy to speak of times, except in very general terms. It does not usually specify *dates* and *periods*.

16. If a prophecy be truly chronological, no link of it can be accomplished in more than a single event.<sup>1</sup>

17. It is manifest that prophecies were given not to gratify curiosity by enabling men to foreknow events. Such foreknowledge would have been inconsistent with the moral government of the world. Hence an interpretation affixed to a prediction by persons contemporary with the prophet or living soon after, can render no aid to us. Hence also we need not attempt a *particular* and *distinct* explanation of those which remain to be fulfilled. This were to derive from them an ability to predict future events, which no man can acquire.

18. Some prophecies are to be interpreted fully only by their events. This applies, however, merely to *specific predictions*, such for example as belong to persons; to the Messiah, his birth, life, and death. But prophecies of this nature are comparatively few. Most relate to events, influences, agencies. These are general, vague, indistinct. When therefore they are fulfilled, the events do not at once identify themselves with the anticipated declaration of them. Many things may make it difficult to mark the sense of prophecies in the events fulfilling them. We need only refer to *the seals* and *trumpets* of the Apocalypse. Surely interpreters who suppose that most if not all of them are past, have found very great perplexity in ascertaining the historical events fulfilling them. The symbols are obscure. The descriptions are in the hyperbolic language and vivid imagery of poetry. There is an absence of all chronological notation. Dates are not given; or if they be, the numbers stand for indefinite or round ones. Hence all is uncertain.

19. In the computation of time, a *day* does not mean a *year*, un-

<sup>1</sup> See Faber's Dissertation on the Prophecies, &c., vol. i. p. 9. preface.

less it be specifically asserted to do so. Neither is a *week* equivalent to *seven* years. A day is a *day*, and nothing else. The word must either be taken in its ordinary sense, or indefinitely. Sometimes it appears to be used in the one, and sometimes in the other acceptation. The *latter* or *last days*, mean *the gospel dispensation*.

It is wholly incorrect to affirm, "that when *the latter days* and *the last days* are spoken of prophetically, in *the New Testament*, they bear two entirely different significations."<sup>1</sup>

20. Prophecies are sometimes delivered in the language of command, agreeably to the idiom of the Hebrew and other oriental languages. What is future is presented in the form of an injunction. When thus commissioned by God to declare a thing future, the prophets speak as if they had been appointed to do it themselves. Of this we have a good example in Isa. vi. 9, 10.: "Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not, and see ye indeed but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed;" *i. e.* ye shall surely hear but not understand; and ye shall surely see, but will not perceive: pronounce their hearts to be insensible, reluctant to hear and obey the truth, &c. &c.<sup>2</sup>

21. The Apostle Peter affirms of every Old Testament prophecy, that it is not *ιδίας ἐπιλύσεως*, by which phrase we do not understand with Horsley and others *self-interpretation* or *its own interpreter*, but *of one's own interpretation*. The prophets were not of themselves interpreters of the divine counsels. They were led to utter their expositions of God's will, not by the suggestion of their own minds, but by the Holy Ghost. According to this view of the passage, the canon of Horsley, that as no prophecy is its own interpreter, the sense of each "is to be sought in the events of the world and in the harmony of the prophetic writings rather than in the bare terms of any single prediction,"<sup>3</sup> falls to the ground. Indeed it is highly objectionable; and even if followed could lead to no successful result.

22. It is necessary to compare the language and symbols of the Apocalypse with the Old Testament prophecies, especially with Daniel and Ezekiel. The diction is strongly Hebraised, and the imagery is Jewish, being founded upon the Hebrew poets.

23. The kingdom which is the subject of the Apocalypse is not a temporal but a spiritual one. The progress of the Christian religion is depicted, its successes and final triumph. Things that promoted or retarded it are mentioned only in subservience to the one object.

24. The interpreter should guard against the fascinating idea of applying passing events in his own day as actually fulfilling particular predictions. This error has been often committed. Faber himself, who clearly discerned the danger, fell into it in various instances.

<sup>1</sup> Faber, vol. i. p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Hermeneutics*, p. 502.

<sup>3</sup> See Horsley's *Sermons*, Sermon on Peter i. 20.

## CHAP. XI.

## ON THE DOCTRINAL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

THE Scriptures instruct mankind in different methods. Not only do they contain prophecies and histories, but they delineate characters also. In like manner they present *doctrines* for our acceptance. These doctrines are adduced in various modes. They are contained in precepts and promises as well as in positive affirmations. There is no precept which does not involve a doctrine; there is no doctrine which does not include a promise. Yet it is not difficult to distinguish what are usually known as *doctrines* from precepts and promises. We shall therefore speak of them separately, as far as their interpretation is concerned. At present it is not our province to classify and arrange the doctrines of Scripture, or to form them into a system. Systematic theology does this. It is its business to collect and combine them all in their proper places and relations, that they may be studied together. To do this thoroughly it would be necessary to investigate the degrees of inspiration belonging to the prophetic, doctrinal, and historical writings respectively; the influence of the *individuality* of the authors upon their inspiration; the *occasional character* belonging to the books in connection with their inspiration; and the *nature* as well as the *degree* of biblical *accommodation*. The latter in particular has a special bearing upon scriptural doctrines. Here might be shown the necessity of accommodation. The interpreter might indicate accommodations which respect the *form*, and those which relate to the *essence* of revelation. Under the latter, we should distinguish those in the Old Testament and in the New. With respect to the New Testament, we might point out accommodations in the discourses of Christ, in their expressions and ratiocination, so as to show the general direction of his teaching. After this, accommodations in the teaching of the apostles would remain to be noticed. Every reflecting interpreter of Scripture will perceive that these are topics of the highest importance and delicacy, demanding the ability of a master to discuss them thoroughly. Whoever would proceed in the right manner to frame a system of doctrine out of the scattered elements contained in the Bible, must have correct ideas of such matters, else his doctrinal creed, however carefully collected and condensed, will want a true basis, and be easily overthrown. At present, we shall only refer to the difference between the teachings of Jesus Christ and the apostles; since the fundamental doctrines of Christianity are found almost exclusively in them. We presume that none can fail to notice that there is a difference between them. The diversities appear in the selection, development, and speciality. To explain them, two theories have been propounded. In the one, the same *theopneustic* value is attached to the most inconsiderable words of the apostles and the most important instructions of the Redeemer. Accordingly such differences are explained by the *development of truth*. Christ himself unfolded truth

to his disciples in an imperfect degree. He revealed it but partially, owing to the state of the minds with which he had more immediately to deal. He intended, however, that it should be progressively developed under the direction of the Holy Spirit. As the adherents of Christianity gradually became more susceptible of high disclosures, more capable of understanding and appreciating truth, they received it from the apostles and their associates, according to the will of their divine Master, in a more complete state.

We do not entirely coincide with this view. Doubtless it is true to a great extent; but error is mixed up with it. It is liable to the objection of causing the teachings of the apostles to be preferred to those of Christ; of restricting the latter, and of leading the church to build itself up far more by means of the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews than by the Sermon on the Mount. By such as hold it, catechumens will almost unavoidably be taught the Pauline theology to the neglect of the Messianic itself. Children will be familiarised with the obscure and metaphysical teachings of Paul, rather than the simple lessons of Christ. Not that the two are *essentially* unlike; but that in the system referred to the teachings of Christ are only the germ, while the apostolic writings contain the flowers and fruit. The individuality of the apostles is left too much out of sight in it; and the view of inspiration assumed, which is the Gaussonian one, appears to us utterly untenable.<sup>1</sup>

The other theory, which has been correctly termed the Socinian one, is still more objectionable, because it neglects the principle of accommodation, and has regard to individuality alone. It does not recognise progress, but the opposite; for the apostles are represented as having but imperfectly comprehended and set forth the doctrines of their divine Master. In this manner Revelation is virtually reduced to the discourses of Jesus Christ; and the apostolical epistles are depreciated. Paul's writings especially are unjustly judged. The theory logically carried out is most pernicious, because it conducts to the conclusion that the leading epistles of the New Testament are full of mistakes.

There are three things which we look upon as clearly demonstrable in the writers of the Scriptures, and which serve together to solve the problem, how the diversities in the teachings of Christ and those of his apostles are to be explained. Neither the extreme orthodox nor the Socinian solution suffices to clear it up satisfactorily. The three principles we allude to are those of *individuality*, *occasionality*, and *accommodation*.

1. The principle of *individuality*, which presents to us the apostles as thinking agents retaining the peculiar basis and bent of their intellectual and moral powers—their constitutional temperament and tendencies notwithstanding and in alliance with the inspiration they possessed—leads us, while acknowledging in them a real and certain inspiration whereby they became true guides to the church in respect to *general direction*, to conclude that they had a partial

<sup>1</sup> See Cellier, Manuel d'Hermeneutique, p. 343. § 187.

and incomplete inspiration. It was not full and universal, embracing all aspects and particulars of a subject; nor was it inclusive of all topics. In short, it was partial, and, so far, imperfect. Hence their teaching was inferior to that of Jesus Christ. It was not erroneous; but it was less absolute, less free from all human ideas, less complete. Whoever reads the Acts of the Apostles, especially what is related in the assembly at Jerusalem respecting the discussions the apostles had (Acts xv.), will not be disposed to deny this. We may also refer to the different ways in which Paul and James speak of justification; while the fundamental and complete doctrine on the subject is laid down by Christ. He prescribes *love*. Faith and works are but special forms and aspects of *love to God*. Yet the teaching of the apostles is shown by the theory of individuality to be inferior to that of Christ only in form. It is the same *in essence*, as far as the individuality of the writers appears.

2. Again, *the occasionality* belonging to the apostolic writings implies a relativeness not merely of form, but of substance. It is an application of eternal truth to certain wants, dangers, churches. The application was both necessary and useful; yet the very fact of its being a mere adaptation of absolute truth to existing circumstances and influences shows its incompleteness of character. It was the instrument of progress.

3. *Accommodation* also assists in explaining the problem in question. According to this, Jesus gave that system which we term *Christianity* to the world, entire both as respects its origin and principles, but by little and little in its developments. On the other hand, the teaching of the apostles as compared with the Saviour's is characterised solely by the application and development of the basis already laid. But the form is more individual, and therefore less complete. It is not marked by progress; for that would imply something additional to the universal principles inculcated by the Saviour; the foundation already laid by the Master is applied and explained. Nothing is added to it.<sup>1</sup>

These remarks must not be deemed inconsistent with various expressions in the New Testament which may readily occur to the mind in the present connection. Thus it is promised by the Saviour that when the Spirit of truth came, he should guide the apostles into all truth. "I have yet," says he, "many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." The Spirit was not to teach the apostles, after their Master's ascension, any new articles of doctrine or faith, because Christ had said that he had made known to them *all things which he had heard of the Father*. The Spirit guided them into all necessary truth, whatsoever Christ had revealed to them. They did not understand the nature and bearings of the doctrine he had taught them in the days of his flesh. Its comprehensive character and relations they did not perceive. They were not able to develop it; and accordingly the Spirit led them into its tendency, relations, and genuine unfoldings. He taught them to see better the truth they had heard before.

<sup>1</sup> See Cellier, p. 345.

The *great* source of what is termed doctrinal theology is the New Testament. And we believe that the apostolic Epistles have been too much regarded, as if they were all but the sole fountain where it should be sought. The Gospels containing the teachings of Christ have not been *sufficiently* attended to by the orthodox. Both should be taken together as the *one rule* of faith, neither being subordinated to the other without a good reason, least of all the Gospels subordinated to the Epistles. It is true that doctrinal truths occur also in the historical, prophetic, and poetical parts of the Old Testament, especially in the last; but there they are infrequent, imperfectly enunciated and promulgated, in comparison with the light in which they are presented in the New Testament. They are noticed only in connection with and in a manner suited to that Judaism which prepared the way for a better system.

What now is meant by doctrinal interpretation?

It is commonly understood to be that exposition of the Sacred Writings "by which we are enabled to acquire a correct and saving knowledge of the will of God concerning us." There may be some convenience in treating of doctrinal interpretation by itself, in a treatise on Hermeneutics; but it must not be supposed that the interpretation of doctrines is a different process from that of any other portion of Scripture. We arrive at the sense of doctrines in the same way as at any other truths contained in the Bible. Passages in which they appear must be dealt with as others. The context, parallels, scope, analogy of faith, &c. &c., are as applicable here as elsewhere. Indeed the instruments of interpretation are everywhere the same. We gather doctrinal truths from the Bible, just as the meaning of precepts, commands, promises, threatenings, is gathered, by virtue of the same appliances. Doctrinal interpretation then is nothing more than *the interpretation of doctrines*; and if it be asked *how* such truths ought to be interpreted, we reply, in the way all other truths historical, moral, prophetic, are apprehended and set forth.

Here again we do not profess to furnish universal canons or rules to guide the reader to the right sense. It is impossible to present him with efficient aids leading directly to correct exposition of doctrine. But we may perhaps lay down some general observations, which will prevent him from going astray. Our miscellaneous remarks will be more of a negative than positive character. If they do not conduct to a true perception of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, they may prevent an erroneous apprehension and estimate of them; which is all that rules on such a subject can do.

1. In studying the doctrines of the Bible, no human system or set of preconceived notions should be allowed to interfere with what is stated, so as to bias the judgment respecting their meaning, value, or relative importance. In interpreting doctrinal truths, let not fancy, or inclination for previously formed ideas, control the sense to be elicited. Should the course here censured be pursued, one is endeavouring to have the Bible on his side rather than to be on the side of the Bible. Great blame attaches to commentators and

expositors for neglecting this plain injunction, by carrying their own doctrinal system into Scripture, rather than educing it from Scripture. Many a minister becomes more familiar with his theological system than he is with the Bible itself; and therefore his system stands *first*, and he interprets a text to square with his system, instead of paring and whittling off the latter to make it agree with the text.<sup>1</sup> Yet it must be confessed at the same time that it is not easy to follow the precept in question. Preconceived modern notions and systems are apt to sway all unconsciously. We cannot help taking with us to Scripture certain leading ideas of what it should be as coming from God, and what doctrines are worthy of Him. We have also philosophical opinions which influence the judgment in doctrinal matters. Obviously we cannot come to the Revelation of God's will with minds like *tabulae rasae*, or a white sheet of paper not written upon. But still the rule is useful. The judgment need not and ought not to be preoccupied or biassed by a system already formed; else in explaining the doctrines of Scripture it will reduce them to a human standard.

The mode in which systematic theology has been and is still studied has contributed to this injurious course. It has been usually taught in the *synthetic* method. Lecturers on theology furnish forth condensed, compacted systems ready made, for the reception of students. The doctrines are elaborated first, and then passages to corroborate or prove them are appended. But this is not the best method of proceeding. Rather should the opposite or *analytic*, be followed. All the texts that treat of or refer to the same topic should be brought together and calmly compared, the expressions of one being modified by those of another; after which the whole should be put into one connected proposition or series of propositions, to make a harmonious aggregate. And when all separate topics are thus elucidated, they should be relatively adjusted, so as to constitute together a *system* of doctrinal truth. In every case, the texts of Scripture itself should supply and indicate *at first* all that is revealed respecting a doctrine. They should be at once its basis and exponents, not a mere appendix to it.

Abundant examples might be given of restraining and judging passages of Scripture relating to doctrinal truths by some prearranged system. Thus in Heb. ii. 9., where it is affirmed that Christ "tasted death *for every man*," the advocates of a *particular* atonement say that, as the context mentions the bringing of many *sons* unto glory, *every man* here means *every son*. He died for *every son* who is brought unto glory. Others, with the same view of maintaining particular atonement, have recourse to such considerations as these: "Nor do they [expressions of this kind], when strictly scanned by the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament, decide directly against the views of those who advocate what is called a *particular* redemption (atonement). In all these phrases the subject evidently respects the *offer* of salvation, the opportunity to acquire it through

<sup>1</sup> See "The Whistling Thinker" in Spencer's Pastor's Sketches, second series, p. 236.

a Redeemer."<sup>1</sup> The phrase *every man*, with its associates, signifies that Christ *actually died* on behalf of every individual of the human race, which forms a basis for the *offer* of salvation to all. All are called upon to repent, as well as to believe that Christ died to save them; and they shall be saved accordingly. *Universal atonement* is clearly implied in such expressions.

2. Some doctrines are more prominent in Scripture than others. Doubtless some are less fundamental and important than others. A *relative* value attaches to them all. Hence a doctrinal interpreter should give them the same prominence as they have in the Bible. We are aware of the difficulty of following out this precept. It is not easy to ascertain the exact position which each occupies in the Scriptures. If there were but one or two it might be easily discovered; but with so many, the case is otherwise. Here it is useful to observe those truths which are oftenest exhibited and enforced. What the writers dwell most upon may be presumed to possess the highest value. In proportion as they recommend them to acceptance, should the expositor arrange them. Thus the doctrine of *faith in Christ* is strongly and frequently brought forward. The doctrine of the atonement runs through the entire Bible as the great central truth which Revelation was designed to announce and teach. Love to God and to man are also prominently enjoined. On the other hand, the doctrine of *election*, viz. "God's having foreordained particular persons, as monuments of his special love, to be made partakers of grace here, and glory hereafter,"<sup>2</sup> is seldom asserted in the New Testament. It is kept in the background, as a secret thing belonging to the purposes of God which none can know particularly or farther than it is revealed.

3. In deducing a doctrine from the Scriptures, it will be gathered more accurately and clearly from such places as *professedly* treat of it, than from those in which it is noticed only *incidentally*. Thus the doctrine of justification by faith is copiously treated in the Epistle to the Romans. Next to that, the Epistle to the Galatians speaks of it at some length. The doctrine of love to the brethren is most fully handled by John. The doctrine of love to enemies is distinctly inculcated in Christ's Sermon on the Mount; but only incidentally in a few places belonging to the Epistles, and very obscurely as well as imperfectly under the old dispensation. It is totally incorrect to say that "the law of love was as truly enjoined with regard to enemies under the old as under the new dispensation."<sup>3</sup>

4. Different passages of Scripture which speak of the same doctrine may *apparently* contradict one another; but as they cannot *really* clash, such inconsistencies should be carefully explained by mutual comparison. Along with these contradictions, and partly elucidatory of them, the gradual developments of doctrine in connection with the individualities of the various writers (which were not abolished by the fact of their inspiration) should be carefully

<sup>1</sup> Stuart, in Commentary on the verse.

<sup>2</sup> Ridgley's Body of Divinity, vol. i. pp. 389, 390., ed. 1814.

<sup>3</sup> Testimony of the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church, p. 137.

taken into account. As man is a complex being it may be readily supposed that diversities of this nature will occur. And as the three-fold nature of the Godhead is also taught in the Scriptures, it may be expected that the Godhead in its relations to men and influencing their various motives will tend to create contradictory phenomena in the statements of Scripture.

In the case of these opposite affirmations, we must accept both as true, and ascertain the particular sense in which they are so. Thus it is said that "whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, and cannot sin" (1 John iii. 9.); while we learn from other places that the righteous are never free from all sin, because they do not attain to perfection. Hence John must have intended to set forth the abstinence of the believer from *habitual sin*; *the destruction in him of a tendency to sin*. His inclination to sin is effectually subdued, so that he does not sin habitually or generally, and cannot sin *so far* as the seed of the word is in him. That word prevents him from sinning *so far* as it is allowed its full and free influence, unrestrained by passion, prejudice, or impurity.

Again, God is said to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generations (Exod. xx. 5.); while in another place it is affirmed that the children do not bear the iniquities of their fathers. Both are true, neither excluding the other. (Ezek. xviii. 20.)

The doctrine of divine influence is difficult of apprehension from its very nature; and there are accordingly various statements about it in the Bible which appear to clash among themselves. Thus it is said that God *hardened Pharaoh's heart*. It is also affirmed, that Pharaoh *hardened his own heart*. These assertions are not easily reconciled. We are unable satisfactorily and entirely to harmonise them. Both however must be received. We cannot expect to understand all the peculiarities of a divine revelation like that which the Scriptures contain, and are forced to confess our ignorance. We wait for a solution of many problems arising out of the biblical records.

The principle *qui facit per alium facit per se* will help to explain some contradictory phenomena.

Again, various qualities are stated as essential to salvation, one in one passage, another in another. Thus *faith* is said to save (Luke vii. 50.); by *grace* are ye saved (Eph. ii. 5.); a man is justified by *faith* (Rom. iii. 28.), he is justified by *grace* (Rom. iii. 24.), he is justified by *the blood of Christ* (Rom. v. 9.), he is justified by *works* (James ii. 24.). In other places *love* is represented as the great justifying principle in the sight of God. One quality of the mind is connected with and implies another. Faith and love necessarily go together. Works are connected with both.

4. The mode in which doctrines are revealed or taught in Scripture should be carefully studied. Some are clearly and expressly affirmed, others are *inferred*. Most perhaps, even such as are fundamental, are properly doctrines of inference. The doctrine of the Trinity is such. In no one place is it expressly asserted that the three persons are both equal and one. But inasmuch as the Father,

Son, and Holy Spirit, are represented as divine in the highest sense; and as we know that there is but one God, we infer that the three are *one*. It does not follow, however, that a doctrine is less certain because we infer it from Scripture statements. That of the Trinity is equally firm though we draw one inference in educing it from Scripture. It is true that the degree of probability attaching to a doctrine will usually become less in proportion to the number of steps taken in deducing it from the Bible. If there be but one or two, and if these are plain, the doctrine is sure and scriptural. But if the steps proceed beyond three or four, the evidence becomes less satisfactory. Remote deductions must not be set forth as inspired propositions. Reason is employed in making them, and reason is fallible. In every case it is best to abide closely by the language of Scripture, explaining it as naturally and correctly as possible. But when Bible propositions, which may themselves be put together by aid of reason, are taken as the basis to derive a number of inferential truths from, the truths so resulting must be looked upon with reserve, as the teachings of Scripture. They cannot be important; and they may be incorrect. They are perhaps drawn from a fountain which was not intended to furnish them. Many scholastic doctrines have arisen in this method, and received a degree of acceptance by no means due to them. They are the result of philosophical distinctions or metaphysical speculations, rather than the plain teachings of God's word. All systematic theology partakes of them. Thus some broadly lay down the proposition *that we are guilty of Adam's sin*. "I may be asked, says one, How can we be guilty of Adam's sin? I know not the *how*; the fact I know, for God is my author. It is profane to inquire further than God has revealed. Let us believe like little children. God testifies, 'By one man's disobedience the many were made sinners.' This should be enough for any who reverence God."<sup>1</sup> Here is a deduction from Scripture converted at once into a Scripture doctrine. And not only is it a metaphysical inference from biblical language, but a false one. Because it is said that *by the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners* (Rom. v. 19.) it does not follow that the sinfulness of that head was transferred to them, or that his sin was imputed to them. They became sinners themselves from their connection with Adam. Not that Adam's sin was really reckoned theirs, and therefore they became guilty; but that Adam's sin led to *their sinning*, which personal sin rendered them guilty.

Because man's nature is depraved, a representation of all sinners is sometimes put in the darkest colours, as though all were *equally* depraved and *unable to attempt* any thing proper for recovering themselves from that state. But that all sinners are *alike depraved* or *equally disinclined* to good is an inference from the language of Scripture which will not stand the test. Men are by nature dead in trespasses and sins; they are asleep in sin; they are spiritually deaf, blind, naked, destitute; the heart is deceitful above all things and

<sup>1</sup> Carson, Examination of the Principles of Biblical Interpretation of Ernesti, Ammon, Stuart, and other Philologists, p. 241.

grievously infirm; they are without strength; there is none that doeth good, no not one; but it is wrong to deduce from this that every individual is equally so, or to take the worst as the normal state and hold it forth as the condition of *every person*. By a series of inferences many draw out the picture at length, so that they can describe the state of the understanding, of the conscience, and of the will. "He is utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite unto all that is spiritually good, and wholly inclined to all evil, and that continually."<sup>1</sup> This statement professes to be founded upon and deduced from Scripture. But it is exaggerated and partially incorrect. Mankind generally are not "*utterly disabled* unto all that is spiritually good," neither are they "*wholly inclined to all evil*."

As long as the expositor abides by Scripture language fairly understood, he is on safe ground; but when he draws deductions from doctrinal propositions or general statements, he is liable to err. Inferences deduced from the Bible cannot have the same authority with doctrines directly founded on the written word.

5. Regard must be had to the times and places in which the books of Scripture were written. Modern notions and systems which appear important to us were probably unknown then. Our theology should not be transferred to them as it is; but taken from them in parts, and put together. This precept is violated by such divines as quote Gen. vi. 5., "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually," to prove that men are *now*, under the gospel dispensation, "inclined to all evil and that continually." The language refers to men just before the flood—to the early inhabitants of those countries which were the cradle of the human race, whose ways had become so grievously wicked that they brought the flood as a destroying judgment.

6. The peculiar condition of the churches or persons to whom the Epistles were first addressed should be known and attended to, in order that the doctrines contained in those Epistles may be fairly gathered. For it happens that the ideas inculcated were such as the writers thought to be suitable in the circumstances; and that their prominence in a certain book is merely *relative*, to be explained by the situation of the individuals addressed and not by their intrinsic or absolute value in the general scheme of revelation. Doctrinal passages can be reduced to their true proportions and explained in their proper light only by taking into account the character and spirit of the parties to whom they were first directed. When this is done by the interpreter, he will be in less danger of miscalculating their import and scope; and will readily reconcile them with any others which they may seem to contradict. Thus the Epistle to the Romans is uncontroverted in scope and design, because no schism or serious division had arisen in the church at Rome. Judaizing Christians zealous for the inculcation of the law of Moses had as yet made no impression on the believers there; nor had any tendency of that kind

<sup>1</sup> See the Larger Catechism of the Westminster Divines, answer to question 25.

manifested itself among them, though part of the church, not the majority, consisted of Jewish Christians. Hence we can see the principle involved in Rom. xiv. 5., "One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." Some persons in the church were weak in faith, and regarded one day as holier than another. These were probably Jewish Christians, who had not fully divested themselves of all their Jewish prepossessions nor got out into the full light and exercise of gospel freedom; but were still troubled with conscientious scruples respecting the festivals and fast-days observed by the Jews according to their law, as though they were more sacred than ordinary days. Others in the church, the heathen converts, regarded every day as alike sacred. The apostle condemns neither the one nor the other. He gives no decision on the point. He rests the whole matter on the strength of inward conviction. *That* should regulate all. If one be conscientiously convinced that every day is equally sacred, he is right in acting out his convictions. If another regard one day as more sacred than another, let him follow his Christian convictions on that point. Both are right if they are firmly persuaded of their respective sentiments. But though the apostle pronounces no judgment in favour of the one view more than the other, it is apparent from the context that he coincides with such as esteemed every day alike. The one (*ὁς μὲν*) who regarded one day as holier than another, is he who is called *weak* in the context, showing by contrast that the other (*ὁς δὲ*) was *stronger* in faith. The passage therefore involves this principle or doctrine, that in the view of Christian conviction every day is alike sacred. Christian knowledge, freedom, and conscientiousness arrive at the result in question.

This plain inference from the passage, so obvious as to be incontrovertible, does not at all clash with the words of the same apostle in the Galatian Epistle. It is rather corroborated by them. Let it be remembered that the Galatian Epistle is polemical to a considerable extent. Judaising Christians had corrupted the infant churches in Galatia, drawing them away from the simplicity of the faith to the observance of the Mosaic law as necessary to salvation. "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years," says Paul: "I am afraid lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." (Gal. iv. 10, 11.) Here the Gentile Christians who constituted the body of the churches are addressed. They had been seduced to the stand-point of the Jewish law by the Judaizers. They had begun to keep Jewish feast and fast days in the spirit of a slavish superstition. Descending thus from a higher to a lower position under the gospel, falling from freedom into bondage, the apostle naturally censures them. They had degenerated. Their minds had been corrupted by a legalism which threatened to destroy right ideas of salvation by Christ apart from the deeds of the law. Had they been Jewish Christians, afraid from conscientious scruples and weakness of faith to come out fully into the broad light of gospel truth, the apostle would not have blamed them; because, in that case, they only wanted a little more knowledge to dissipate their

ancient prepossessions; but, as they were Gentile converts, the apostle regards it as a downward step in them to embrace legal notions, and to consider the observance of certain days, consecrated by usage among the Jews, as having to do with the working out of their salvation under the gospel. Thus this passage, so far from appearing really to contradict the other, corroborates the principle contained in it, the principle of Christian liberty which absolves the enlightened, conscientious believer from looking upon one day as holier in itself than another.

7. Akin to the preceding remark is another observation, viz., if a doctrinal section or passage refer directly or indirectly to any controversy agitated at the time the book or epistle in which it occurs was written, that controversy should be known by the interpreter, else he cannot perceive or exhibit the doctrine inculcated in a satisfactory manner. Sometimes the Jewish writings will throw light upon the controversies; but generally speaking, the New Testament itself affords the only certain notices of them; for early church history can hardly be used with much advantage on the point. If employed at all, it must be done cautiously, for fear of transferring *controversies developed* to the time of the same controversies *in germ only*. This mistake indeed has been committed. Thus it has been asserted by many that John's Gospel was written to refute the false notions of Cerinthus, which is contrary to the genius of the Gospel itself, and opposed to other considerations.

Most of the questions agitated in the early Christian churches originated in the peculiar condition of them. Those churches consisted of Jews and Gentiles; retaining several of their former prepossessions and opinions, which they were not so enlightened as to lay aside at once. Hence the controversy respecting the importance and necessity of the ceremonial law to the Gentile converts, which is referred to in the Epistle to the Galatians. Hence too the reception of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God equally with the Jews, which was contrary to the hereditary pride and prejudice of the latter; to which the apostle alludes in the Epistle to the Romans, proving his position from the Old Testament. Various erroneous tenets are referred to with disapprobation by the Apostle Paul in his Epistles, such as the worshipping of angels, &c. (Col. ii. 18.). As the reverence due to angels is a disputed point between Protestants and Romanists, we shall notice this passage in the Colossian Epistle particularly. It is obvious that Paul has reference to certain false teachers in his day, who had endeavoured to seduce the converts at Colosse from the true faith, and against whom he warns the latter. The false teachers in question were Jewish converts addicted to theosophic asceticism, who sought to cast Christianity in the mould of their peculiar philosophy. Their tenets formed the germ of the later Judaising Gnosticism. They paid a superstitious reverence to angels, not only because angels were present in great numbers at the giving of the law, but because mysterious powers were supposed to proceed from them, which elevated the initiated far above the multitude. The apostle in this passage condemns their "voluntary

humility and worshipping of angels." Their humility was affected and superstitious. Their homage to angels was inconsistent with the maintenance of Christ's supreme rank. The tenor of the whole passage, with its context, shows that the apostle disapproves of *θηρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων*, whether it be *supreme worship* offered to angels or *inferior homage*. We hold it therefore to be inconsistent with the prayers offered to angels in the Roman Catholic Church. It is incorrect to say, as Romanists do here, that Paul alludes to the doctrine of Simon Magus and others, who taught angels to be our mediators, not Christ, and prescribed sacrifices to be offered to them, including both bad and good angels.<sup>1</sup> This is a mere hypothesis for the purpose of bringing the text into harmony with the practice of offering prayers to the holy angels. But that doctrine is condemned not only by the present Epistle, but the genius and spirit of the Bible generally. Instead of showing true humility on the part of the worshipper carrying his prayers in the first instance to angels, it evinces a superstitious pride.

8. The doctrinal contents of the New Testament books, especially of the Pauline Epistles, will be much better understood if the interpreter carefully attend to the transition of persons which frequently occurs in them.

The pronouns *I, we, you, &c.* are of great importance in the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians. Thus in Eph. i. 12. *ἡμεῖς, we*, denotes Paul himself and the Jews, who were the first fruits of Christianity. Hitherto it had been used in a more general sense to signify all the elect, all believers without reference to their previous state; but now the pronoun includes himself and the Jews, who were the first fruits of Christianity. The word *προελπικότητας* shows that Jews alone in opposition to heathens are meant, for they had the expectation of Messiah before he appeared, whereas the heathen had no knowledge of him. In verse 13. *ὑμεῖς, you*, means the Ephesians, who had been heathen. It stands in contrast with *ἡμεῖς* in the preceding verse. This distinction between the *we* and *you* in the verses has been dogmatically denied by Eadie.<sup>2</sup> Instead of being "a gratuitous assumption," as he calls it, it is a well-grounded exegetical sentiment, which none but a rash expositor would venture to deny.

Many erroneous sentiments have been deduced, at least in part, from want of perceiving the proper meaning of *we*, as employed by the Apostle Paul. Thus in 2 Cor. v. 18—20. the plural pronoun does not mean the apostles and all other ministers of the gospel. It simply means the writer himself; and Conybeare is right in translating it into the singular number in the passage.<sup>3</sup> Paul says, *In Christ's stead, I am an ambassador* (verse 20.). No doubt what was true of one apostle was true of all, because their office was one and the same. They were all *ambassadors*, and stood in Christ's stead towards men. Poole is totally wrong in affirming that "the

<sup>1</sup> See the note in the Rhemish New Testament.

<sup>2</sup> Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, p. 57

<sup>3</sup> The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, vol. ii. p. 104.

apostle here giveth us a true notion not only of apostles, which were the first and principal ministers of the gospel, but of all other ministers; teaching us what all ministers should be, and what all true ministers of the gospel are."<sup>1</sup> In no one place of the New Testament does the pronoun *we* (*ἡμεῖς*) mean Paul *himself* comprehending the other apostles and preachers of the gospel. If it ever comprehend others besides himself and his fellow apostles, it must in that case include Christians generally, without introducing a distinction among Christians into ministers of the gospel and others, and thereby comprehending the one class, while excluding such as are not preachers by profession. The distinction between clergy and laity was unknown to the apostolic period.

We know of no writer on the New Testament who has been so careful and correct in pointing out the various transitions of persons in the Epistles of Paul as Mr. Conybeare. Locke also paid special attention to the point, but was not always successful.

9. No article of faith can be deduced from single texts which are obscure. If a doctrine be of consequence or value in the economy of salvation, it will be plainly taught or inculcated in different places, so that it may be seen from all together in a clear light. Thus Roman Catholics derive the doctrine of extreme unction, which is one of their sacraments, from James v. 14. But the basis is too small and insecure for it to rest upon. The passage is not clear, and therefore should not, even for that single reason, be taken as the support of a tenet which is exalted to an important place in the estimation of the Romish Church.

10. No article of faith should be established from parables, allegories, or single figurative texts. The doctrines of the gospel should be learned in the first place from other passages, and then perhaps they may be illustrated or confirmed from parables or metaphorical representations.

Thus in the parabolical representation of the rich man and Lazarus, where the rich man requests Abraham to send Lazarus to his father's house, to testify unto his five brethren lest they also should come into the place of torment, Romanists deduce from the words this doctrine, that "if those in hell have means to express their cogitations and desires, and to be understood of Abraham so far distant both by place and condition, much rather may the living pray to the saints and be heard of them."<sup>2</sup> Surely it were much better and safer to deduce *this* doctrine, that if those in hell have such charitable affections, much more the saints in heaven. It is illogical and unwarranted to deduce any article of faith from the desire of the rich man in hell expressed to Abraham in heaven.

11. No doctrine can be found in or established from the Scriptures that is contrary to reason or the analogy of faith. For the Bible and reason are from the same source. The giver of both is the same. God cannot contradict himself. The word of God must be agreeable to sound reason. "Reason," says Locke, "is natural revelation,

<sup>1</sup> Annotations on the Bible.

<sup>2</sup> See Rhemish note.

whereby the eternal father of light and fountain of all knowledge communicates to mankind that portion of truth which he has laid within the reach of their natural faculties. Revelation is natural reason enlarged by a new set of discoveries communicated by God immediately, which reason vouches the truth of by the testimony and proofs it gives that they come from God. So that he that takes away reason, to make way for revelation, puts out the light of both, and does much-what the same as if he would persuade a man to put out his eyes, the better to receive the remote light of an invisible star by a telescope."<sup>1</sup> But though nothing in the Bible be *contrary to reason*, some things may be and are *above reason*. These are proper subjects of faith. They must be received on the authority of God. The doctrine of transubstantiation cannot be received as a scriptural one, it being opposed both to reason and the evidence of the senses. But the doctrine of the Trinity, properly understood and expressed, is *not* contrary to reason. We have already spoken of the analogy of faith, which may be used as a test to try the scripturality of doctrines less clear than such as enter into that analogy.

From Eph. ii. 3. Calvin deduces *this* doctrine of original sin, that "we are born with sin as serpents bring their venom from the womb."<sup>2</sup> Such a view is contrary both to the analogy of faith and to reason. The general tenor of Scripture shows man to be accountable to God. Here his responsibility is destroyed. As man is commanded to repent and believe, he has the *physical* ability to do so; ability being commensurate *with* obligation. Besides, reason teaches that *sin* can only be a voluntary transgression of known law.<sup>3</sup> And with this the Bible coincides. Hence sin cannot properly be predicated of infants from their very birth. They do not bring sin with them into the world, as serpents bring their poison. They have in them an undeveloped *propensity* which will naturally *lead to sin*. They have the germ of what afterwards becomes sinful and sin. But *the transgression of law* which sin is, implies a knowledge of the divine law that does not belong to infants. It would not be difficult to show that the word rendered *nature*, and understood of *birth* or *generation* by Calvin and Edwards, signifies in Eph. ii. 3. the natural state or condition of man, as opposed to his regenerate state. We explain it not of the original nature of man before it has time or opportunity to manifest itself, not of the nature he possesses at his very birth, but of the state in which he finds himself *after* he has become a voluntary agent. And this harmonises with the immediate context. The view taken of the passage by Calvin and Edwards is opposed to the general principles taught or sanctioned by Scripture, which Christians generally recognise. It is also opposed to man's individual responsibility.

12. The doctrines of Scripture should all be studied and regarded in the light of Scripture alone. If they be otherwise derived from

<sup>1</sup> On the Human Understanding, book iv. chapter 19. § 4.

<sup>2</sup> Commentary on the verse.

<sup>3</sup> See the Article What is Sin, in the American Biblical Repository, for 1839, p. 261, *et seqq.*

it,—if while they are being examined and collected in the Bible they be viewed in connection with the controversies which have been conducted at different times about them,—it is very probable that they will fail to be apprehended in their biblical simplicity. It is therefore a pernicious course to study the history of a doctrine first. *That ought to be the last thing learned.* Let it be ascertained first in the light of revelation alone, and interpreted in language as near to the biblical as a right understanding of it will allow; let it be viewed in all its aspects and relations, as indicated in that source; and then it has a better opportunity of being adduced by the doctrinal interpreter in its proper aspect and due proportions. If this course were steadily pursued, we believe that many truths now disguised by a scholastic or metaphysical technicality would commend themselves to the common-sense apprehension of unlettered men far more readily, and be embraced all the more heartily, as scriptural.

We may take as an example what is termed in theological systems *the procession of the Holy Spirit.*

In the first place, because it is written in John xv. 26., “the Spirit of truth *which proceedeth from the Father*” (τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ὃ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται), it is supposed that the words refer ontologically to the essential nature of the Spirit. He proceeds forth from the Father *essentially.* On that account he is subordinate to the Father.

In the second place, if the Spirit proceeds from the Father, he proceeds from the Son also. See chapter xvi. 15. and those passages where the Spirit is said to be *His Spirit*, Rom. viii. 9.; Gal. iv. 6.; Phil. i. 19.; 1 Pet. i. 11.<sup>1</sup> “The Latin fathers,” says Hill, “argued in this manner. Since the Spirit who is called in Scripture the Spirit of God, is called also the Spirit of his Son; and since the Spirit, who is sent by the Father, is also said to be sent by the Son; it follows that there is the same subordination of the Spirit to the Son as to the Father. But the subordination of the Spirit to the Father is grounded upon his proceeding from the Father, and his being subordinate to the Son must have the same foundation, *i. e.* as the divine nature was communicated by the Father to the Son, so it was communicated by the Father and the Son to the Holy Ghost.”<sup>2</sup>

We approve of the conduct of the Greek fathers generally, who would not adopt the expression that the Spirit *proceeds from* the Son as well as the Father, because they thought it unscriptural. It is not said in Scripture that the Spirit *proceedeth from* the Son (ἐκπορεύεται); and therefore the council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, wisely adopted the language of the New Testament and none other, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον. It was a wrong step in the Latin church to proceed farther, and draw a metaphysical inference on such a subject, which is at least questionable. We cannot sanction their procedure or their conclusion. All that should be done on a point of this kind by the theological interpreter should be simply to ascertain, whether ἐκπορεύεται in John xv. 26. denotes the communication

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Alford's note on the verse.

<sup>2</sup> Lectures on Divinity, vol. i. p. 331. 2nd ed.

of the divine nature by the Father to the Holy Ghost. De Wette denies that it refers to *the essence* of the Spirit; and explains it of his *manifestation*, his *expression* in Christian activity of which the Father is the prime source. But the ancient church took it *metaphysically* or *ontologically* of *immanent subsistence-relation*. Most recent interpreters suppose it to be used *historically* not *metaphysically*, as being parallel to ὄν ἐγὼ πέμψω παρὰ τοῦ πατρός.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAP. XII.

### ON THE MORAL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

THE moral parts of Scripture embrace its precepts and examples. Precepts have been divided into two kinds, viz. *moral* and *positive*. The former are those the reasons of which we see; the latter those whose reasons are unknown to us. The former arise out of the necessary and natural relation in which man stands to his Creator; whereas the latter depend on the will of God alone. Hence the moral are immutable; the positive, changeable. The moral can never be indifferent, they must always be the same in their nature; while the positive are indifferent till they be given. The former are written on our hearts, interwoven with our very nature; while the latter are merely commanded in the Bible. The former are universally obligatory, the latter not. The former are intimately and necessarily joined together, the latter are not necessarily so. Thus they differ in their ground, nature, evidence, extent of obligation, and connection.

But though moral and positive precepts, considered in themselves, differ mainly in that we see the reasons of the one and not the other; yet they are in some respects alike. The positive have something of a moral nature, and so far we may see the reason of them. So far as they are alike, we discern the reasons of both; so far as they are different, we see the reasons of the former, not of the latter. Positive institutions or precepts in general, inasmuch as the reason of them is generally apparent, have the nature of moral commands. Thus the *external* worship of God is a moral duty. But this positive precept or that one has not the nature of a moral command, since the particular reason of it is not obvious. Thus the *particular mode* of external worship is a positive duty merely.<sup>2</sup>

From what has just been stated it follows, that in case of competition the moral are to be obeyed in preference to the positive. This is sanctioned by Scripture, where it is written, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice." Our Lord himself prefers moral duties to positive ones. It follows also, that the moral precepts cannot be abridged under any circumstances which may occur. They continue the same in number and obligation. The positive ones may be lessened or

<sup>1</sup> See Luthardt's *Das Johanneische Evangelium*, vol. ii p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> See Butler's *Analogy*, part ii. chapter 1.

done away at the will of Him who gave them, but not at the will of man. Man has no more reason to add to, take from, or dispense with them, than he has cause for treating the moral in the same manner. They are matter of pure revelation, and therefore he has no control over them further than to obey them. God has changed his own positive institutions according to times and circumstances. He has done so not because man makes them final, or puts them in competition with spirituality, or substitutes them for it; but because the Deity sees and knows the proper time when the discipline of the moral should take the place of that of the positive, and in what proportion.<sup>1</sup> It is not easy always to distinguish a *moral* from a *positive* precept. Thus the Westminster divines hold<sup>2</sup> that the observance of the sabbath is part of the moral law. Whately on the other hand maintains, that the fourth commandment is a *positive* precept.<sup>3</sup> Both are right and both wrong.

The precepts of the Bible are peculiar in their nature, inasmuch as they refer to the motives or dispositions of the mind from which actions proceed, rather than the actions themselves. They touch the springs of conduct, and are intended to regulate them. Hence all the moral precepts are comprehensive principles capable of being reduced to a very few spiritual maxims. This is apparent from the New Testament in particular, where our Lord and his apostles inculcate the great law of love as the substance of all the commandments, showing the spirituality of the decalogue, which the Jews had failed to perceive, else they would not have placed true religion in ritual observances or outward deeds, but in inward holiness. The precepts of the Bible are both spiritual and comprehensive, reaching to the thoughts and intents of the heart, and admitting of innumerable applications according to variety of circumstances. Had they been specific and particular, they must have been far more numerous; and even then they would not have applied to all situations and circumstances; but being general, they become principles of morality worthy of the divine Being from whom they proceed.

The moral parts of the Bible should not all be thrown together, as is often done by the interpreter. Those in the Old Testament should be separated from those of the New. The reason of this is apparent. The moral system of Revelation was not set forth all at once. It was unfolded gradually, agreeably to the will of God and in adaptation to the history of humanity.

In studying the moral parts of the Old Testament, and deducing from them the ethics of the whole, it will be desirable to consider the peculiar moral ideas which were inculcated at different periods. We may take the time before Moses as described in the book of Genesis; the moral doctrines which are found in the books attributed to Moses; those found in the compositions of David; those in Job and Solomon's writings; such as appear in the prophets, and in the book of Ecclesiastes. We do not intend to insinuate by this the

<sup>1</sup> See Butler's Analogy, part ii. chap.

<sup>2</sup> Confession of Faith, chapter xxi. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Thoughts on the Sabbath.

idea that the ethics of the Old Testament or its moral rules varied at these different times otherwise than in unimportant peculiarities of development: as far as the morality came directly from a divine source, it was essentially the same. In the New Testament, it is most fully and completely unfolded; yet it is *substantially* the same as under the ancient economy. There was a gradual revelation of it. But as the morality of the Old Testament came from a divine source indirectly and remotely in many cases, it contracted somewhat of the human and the corrupt from the media reflecting it. In the first place, it was not clearly revealed to the saints under the ancient dispensation,—a fact in harmony with their state of pupilage and preparation. And then more of the human adhered to it. The following observations are founded on both Testaments.

1. In the Mosaic laws and precepts the interpreter should separate such as are *political* or relate to mere external culture, from such as are *moral*. And in regard to the latter—those that were of moral obligation—he should distinguish what is *local* and *temporary* from what is of *perpetual* obligation.

The same should be done in relation to the moral precepts of our Lord and the apostles. The local and transient should be divided off from the permanent. Various particulars assist in this. Thus it may be indicated more or less plainly that a thing is prescribed only for certain persons and times. An example occurs in the apostolic decrees given in Acts xv. 13—21. In 1 Cor. vii. 26. celibacy is enjoined on account of “the present distress.” In Luke x. 4. it is evident that the precept is meant only for the seventy disciples. We must also consider whether passages contain counsels or opinions on the part of the writers—whether the authors speak by inspiration or not. Thus the Apostle Paul says in 1 Cor. vii. 25., “Concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: *yet I give my judgment,*” &c. In another place of the same chapter he declares, “I speak this by permission, and not of commandment.”<sup>1</sup>

The difficulty of thus separating the local, the temporary, the transient, from what is obligatory in all ages, is very considerable in many cases. It is easy to announce in general terms that “not only are all the important laws of morality permanent, but all those general rules of conduct, and institutions which are evidently calculated in religion to promote the good of mankind and the glory of God;” but it is *not* easy in practice to separate the precepts or articles which are circumstantial and temporary from those of universal obligation. It has been said that many things are enjoined in the discourses of Christ which related immediately to the pursuits, manners, and times of the apostles, and cannot be transferred to the whole brotherhood of Christians at any time or place;”<sup>2</sup> and we are not disposed to deny the existence of some such directions. But we fear that such as propound the rule in question are disposed

<sup>1</sup> See Bauer's Entwurf einer Hermeneutik, § 155. p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Teller's Appendix to Turretin's Tractatus de Sacrae Scripturae Interpretatione, p. 367.

to apply it extensively and injudiciously. Thus one says that of the numerous duties inculcated on the apostles *alone* in the Sermon on the Mount, Luke vi. 27. is an example! "Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you."<sup>1</sup> This is false. Another refers to the form of prayer taught by Christ to his disciples. If that were repeated before rich and poor alike, so that both were to respond, what, says he, would the former understand by the words, "Give us this day our daily bread," when they have abundance? An apostle who was poor and needy might say so, not a rich man.<sup>2</sup> Here the Lord's Prayer is quite misapprehended. No precept or petition in it belongs to the apostles exclusively. A rich man as well as a poor one may properly use the petition, "give us this day our daily bread," for riches are entirely at the disposal of God, who can take them away in a moment. We believe that nothing but a holy circumspection will enable the interpreter to distinguish the circumstantial and temporary from the essential and obligatory. One possessed of it will look to the context and scope of every passage, examining it in the light of parallels and the analogy of faith. He will consider the genius of true religion and judge accordingly.

2. Moral propositions or discourses are commonly expressed in universal terms — in language general and indefinite. The style of Oriental writers is Oriental, and may seem exaggerated or hyperbolic. This may happen the more readily because it is very figurative, the similitudes and figures being sometimes far-fetched or inflated. It is easy to see why moral precepts are propounded in this manner. They are of universal obligation, and must be set forth in a manner comprehensive and forcible.

In consequence of the universal, indefinite, and popular expressions in which precepts are conveyed, they are liable to be urged too far. Their utmost extent of meaning is elicited. Every phrase and word is taken in its exact and full sense. This course is often attended with serious mistakes. To insist upon every minute particular with mathematical or metaphysical accuracy is not the way to treat aright the language of the Bible. Various limitations should be applied. Just cautions and modifications must be attended to. We admit that universal propositions may be and are used in morals, which admit of no abridgment or limitation; but in some cases they refuse to be pressed to their full extent of meaning. He who attempts to do so urges them too far and elicits a wrong sense. If therefore moral propositions or discourses are not to be rigorously carried out to all the amplitude of ideas the individual expressions will allow, if they should be understood with certain just limitations, the question arises, how are we to ascertain the degree of latitude with which they should be accepted? What criterion will enable us to decide upon the proper extent to which the general sense is to be carried out? To this, Turretin replies, *the nature of the thing and various circumstances* will furnish a

<sup>1</sup> Bauer, *ut suprâ*.

<sup>2</sup> Teller, *ut suprâ*, p. 367.

criterion.<sup>1</sup> But that is very general language—too general to afford a test in a matter both difficult and delicate. Nor is Bauer's<sup>2</sup> *moral-ity of reason* a good or safe thing, reason being an insecure guide in man's present condition. Perhaps the context is what must be chiefly relied upon, reason of course judging and determining the nature of the case as described, and how far it may properly admit of restriction.

The following limitations are stated and exemplified by Turretin.<sup>3</sup>

Moral propositions which are universal or indefinite sometimes denote nothing more than natural fitness or the tendency of a thing to produce a certain effect, though the effect often fails. Thus, Prov. xv. 1., "A soft answer turneth away wrath," *i. e.* it is the natural tendency of a mild answer to avert anger. But the effect does not always take place, in consequence of the depravity of men. So too Prov. xix. 4., "Wealth maketh many friends." 1 Peter iii. 13., "Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?" The natural effect which a good life will probably produce on others is, that they will refrain from hurting the pious man. But the opposite is sometimes the case.

Akin to this is the next observation, that universal or indefinite propositions signify no more than what usually happens. Thus we read in Prov. xxii. 6. "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it." Turretin remarks that all propositions which treat of the virtues or vices of certain nations, conditions, or ages, are to be referred to this head. For example, "the Cretians are alway liars" (Titus i. 12.). The general character of the nation is described in such language. Prov. xviii. 23., "the rich answereth roughly."

Again, many things are stated generally which hold good only of a certain class of men, or at certain times. Thus, in 2 Tim. iii. 12., we read, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." Here allusion is made to the peculiar circumstances of believers in the early period of Christianity. Such was the character of the times, both Jews and heathens being bitterly opposed to the Christian religion, that all who were firmly resolved to live a life devoted to Christ exposed themselves by that very determination to adversity and persecution. But this does not hold good at all times. The effects of piety are not always of this nature.

Still farther, universal or indefinite propositions often signify *duty*, not what constantly takes place. Thus, Prov. xvi. 10., "A divine sentence is in the lips of a king; his mouth transgresseth not in judgment," *i. e.* his mouth *should* not prevaricate in judgment. Similar language occurs in the 13th verse of the same chapter: "Righteous lips are the delight of kings." Such should be the case. How often is it otherwise!<sup>4</sup> When the apostle writes to churches, and styles them *saints, the faithful, sanctified in Christ Jesus, &c.*,

<sup>1</sup> De Sacre Scripturæ Interpretatione, p. 350. ed. Teller.

<sup>2</sup> Entwurf, u. s. w., p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut supra*, p. 351. *et seqq.* ed. Teller.

<sup>4</sup> See Stuart on the Book of Proverbs, p. 129.

he merely represents their character by *profession* and *obligation*. They were so by profession, and they ought to be so in reality. But some, without doubt, in the societies so addressed were not actually such. Their condition in the sight of God was not what it ought to have been. Macknight fritters away the force of these general and high titles when he says that, "given to whole churches, these titles imported nothing more but that the society to which they were given was a church of Christ, and that the individuals of which that society was composed were entitled to all the privileges belonging to the visible church and people of God."<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, they imply that the churches generally had the character referred to. As members of such societies, it was their duty to have it. And because it was obligatory, they professed that they possessed it, and generally *did* possess it. A few fell below their profession, and were not what they *ought* to have been.

Again, many things are delivered generically respecting actions or duties, which should be understood only of a certain species of such actions or duties. Thus in Eph. iv. 26. "Be ye angry and sin not" must be taken as meaning, "Be angry when occasion requires, but sin not." The precept does not prohibit all anger, but only such as is improper in respect to cause, nature, and duration. In like manner, Matt. v. 34., "swear not at all," and James v. 12., "swear not," do not forbid the taking of an oath in every case; for this would be inconsistent with other passages where swearing is spoken of with approbation and recommended by example.

3. When a moral precept prohibiting sin is delivered, the opposite duty is enjoined; and when any duty is enjoined, the contrary sin is forbidden. Thus negatives include affirmatives and affirmatives negatives. So when images of things for religious worship are forbidden, the spiritual service of the true God is enjoined. In the third commandment of the decalogue, while all profaning or abusing of God's name is forbidden, the holy and reverend use of his name is also enjoined. All the commandments are well explained on this principle by the Westminster divines, in the Larger and Shorter Catechisms.

4. When a moral precept prohibits any thing absolutely, it prohibits all that leads to it or is similar in a lower degree. The lower is included in the higher. Whatever may be a provocation to the sin in ourselves, or involve our assent to it in others, is forbidden. Thus the seventh commandment forbids all unclean imaginations, thoughts, and affections; all lascivious conversation; also wanton songs, pictures, books, &c. and whatever incentives lead to adultery or fornication either in ourselves or others.<sup>2</sup>

5. Negatives are always binding, and must be observed perpetually, unless some exception to them be either expressly stated or implied. Thus the precept, "Lie not one to another" (Col. iii. 9.) admits of no exception. In some cases we might suppose that good would arise from lying; but we should never do evil that good may

<sup>1</sup> Macknight's note on 1 John, ii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> See Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy, book iii. part 3. chapter 2.

ultimately come from it. Here strong faith in the presence and love of God is especially required, that Christians may continue steadfast and unmoveable, never swerving from duty by doing what is absolutely forbidden.

6. Affirmatives are not *always* binding, because several duties cannot be performed at one and the same time. Thus we cannot be doing positive acts of outward charity or kindness to those around us *at all times*. Many things are incumbent on believers, because they are enjoined, which they must perform at such times and in such modes as appear best to themselves. If they *cannot* do some things which are commanded, they must be all the more diligent in the discharge of others which they are able to perform. If they cannot visit such as are sick and in prison, they may comfort the fatherless and widow in their affliction. If they cannot go to a place where the public worship of God is conducted, they may pray with a sick friend. Here great prudence and singleness of heart are demanded, that the Christian may avail himself of fitting opportunities to do what is best to be done in circumstances as they arise. As he is unable to engage in all duties at all times, he must use his highest and holiest discretion in undertaking one and another *whenever* he sees it most desirable, and *in whatever order* he deems most conducive to the promotion of the divine glory.

7. When the favour of God is promised to the performance of any action, it is implied at the same time that the other duties of religion are performed. Thus fasting is spoken of with approbation; and when not done to be seen of men the Lord will reward him who performs the duty. "But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly." (Matt. vi. 17, 18.) Fasting is only one duty. Others are presupposed, as well as a right state of mind towards God, whence it and they proceed. In the 25th chapter of Matthew's Gospel, our Lord instances but one species of good works, *viz., those of charity*, for which men will be admitted into the blessed kingdom of God hereafter. Other works however are presupposed—works of piety for example. The one class accompanies the other, because both spring from one state of mind.

8. Similar to the last observation is another, *viz.* that when a certain state or condition is pronounced blessed, or a promise is annexed to it, a proper disposition of heart is involved; for it is not the characteristic of Scripture morality to address itself to outward deeds, but always to keep in view the springs from which they proceed. It deals peculiarly and distinctively with motives. Thus when Luke gives as the words of our Saviour, in his sermon on the mount, "blessed are ye poor," an ethical subjectivity is presupposed as existing in the disciples. The words were intended to comfort the disciples, who were poor and of low estate in the world, exposed to suffering and persecution.<sup>1</sup>

9. A change of circumstances may change the character of a pre-

<sup>1</sup> Turretin, p. 358.

cept. Hence opposite things may be mentioned together in matters of duty. Thus we read in Prov. xxvi. 4, 5. "Answer not a fool according to his folly," and "Answer a fool according to his folly." The reason appended to each injunction accounts for the different conduct recommended in different circumstances. One is not to answer a fool in a way that accords with his folly, by saying foolish things as he does. Or, one is to answer him according to his folly, just as his folly deserves, either with reproof or moderation as the case requires.<sup>1</sup>

10. Certain duties are occasionally disapproved or condemned in the Scriptures, not because they are wrong in themselves, or that they should not be done, but because of the manner and circumstances in which they are entered into. Thus in Prov. vi. 1, 2., xi. 15., xx. 16. suretyship itself is not forbidden. But to become surety for a stranger rashly and thoughtlessly, or when one has nothing to pay the creditor, is condemned. "He that hateth suretyship is sure" is a general maxim of prudence; but in certain cases of benevolence, charity, and justice, it is an important duty to enter into the relation. It is wrong to enter into it when it would interfere with more important and pressing matters which call for performance.

11. Sometimes specific rules in the New Testament concerning particular acts relate to a state of mind — a prevailing disposition or temper which is inculcated — rather than the mere isolated outward deeds which are mentioned. They must therefore be regarded as the external expression of inward character, selected no doubt with a particular view, under the circumstances in which they were adduced. Thus in Matt. v. 39—42. we read as the precepts of the Saviour, "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thow away." In the 39th verse, which is set over against a spirit of revenge, for which the law of Moses furnished some fuel, the Saviour recommends a yielding spirit of self-sacrifice through love of peace. This is exemplified by *turning the other cheek to him who has smitten the one*, an action which may be done *when circumstances require it*, as an index of the state of the mind. In the 40th and 41st verses, he enjoins a peace-loving disinterestedness, exemplified by *giving up even a more valuable garment than the one wanted by the adversary at law, and taking a longer journey than that forced upon one*. In the 42nd verse, liberality and willingness to help are inculcated, exemplified by *giving to him that asketh a loan of another*. These precepts are of universal obligation upon Christians, and must be taken in all their generality. In them the Redeemer commands the exercise of certain feelings — the cultivation of certain dispositions. Such dispositions may be exemplified in the manner here specified. Circumstances will thoughtfully lead to the best method of applying such precepts. The method may

<sup>1</sup> Turretin, p. 359.

vary. It may not be that here given as a specimen. But if *the right disposition* exist, the duty is virtually performed, and will undoubtedly be done as Christian prudence and the nature of each case may prompt.

12. Moral discourses abound in paradoxes and antitheses, which must be explained and limited by the nature of the subject and the context. Many examples occur in the book of Proverbs. The beatitudes also furnish instances.<sup>1</sup>

13. It is said by Turretin that hyperboles are very frequent in the moral parts of Scripture, as when Christ says (Matt. xix. 21.) that it is harder for a rich man to be saved than for a camel to pass through a needle's eye. But this was a proverbial expression current at the time in Asia, to imply an impossibility. And his other examples are still more inapposite, for they are not hyperboles. Thus Matt. v. 39. is not a hyperbole. Neither are Matt. vi. 3. 6. 7. 25., vii. 1., &c., Philipp. ii. 3., hyperboles, though so given by this writer. He errs still more egregiously when he adduces the precepts, *do all things to the glory of God; pray without ceasing; rejoice evermore; to hate father, mother, yea one's own life; to renounce self; not to mind or seek, but to despise earthly things; to love enemies, &c.*<sup>2</sup> According to such exegesis, the sublimest precepts of Christianity might be reduced to the level of a philosophical morality devised by the human mind apart from revelation. Great discrimination should be used in assuming hyperboles in the case of moral precepts. It is incorrect to affirm that the moral parts of Scripture "abound with bold hyperboles."

14. Moral sentences in the Scriptures are often written in a condensed, terse, pointed, brief manner. In consequence of their compressed and pointed language, which was intended to make the sentiment more impressive, they often demand a degree of modification. Strong and figurative diction makes the thought more emphatic and forcible. It strikes the reader with greater effect. Intensity of affirmation is the form in which thoughts were conveyed with strength and efficacy. But the context and common sense will help the expositor to assign the right limitation. It is true that terse, proverb-like sayings are sometimes obscure from their brevity; yet the usual appliances of interpretation will bring out their meaning. We believe that Turretin has incorrectly put moral sentences of this nature into the list of hyperboles. They are strongly and pointedly expressed for the purpose of making a deeper impression, and, like all sayings of the same kind, must be duly tempered by the decisions of a sound judgment.<sup>3</sup>

15. In passages relating to morals, difficulty has sometimes arisen from ignorance of the proper idioms of Hebrew and Greek, or the right meaning of words. An adequate acquaintance with the languages of the Bible is necessary to bring forth the true sense. Thus when Christ, referring to Hosea vi. 6., says, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," the negation is not absolute, but relative.

<sup>1</sup> See Turretin, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid pp. 363, 364.

<sup>3</sup> See Stuart's Commentary on Proverbs, p. 128. *et seqq.*

God required mercy or the love of men in preference to ritual observances. Deeds of charity are set above all positive institutions when the two interfere. Though the negation be absolute *in form*, it is not so *in idea*. The two things are spoken of *comparatively*. In 1 Cor. x. 24. we read, "Let no man seek his own but every man another's." The meaning is not, "Let no man seek his own interest *only*," as if *μόνον* should be supplied, with Pott and others. But the idea is, that none should pursue his own interests *in a selfish spirit*. A proper, pure, self-love is not referred to by the apostle, nor is it implied. *Selfishness* is involved in the verb *seek*, and therefore the precept is absolutely prohibitory. Phil. ii. 4. should be similarly explained. In Luke xiv. 26. the Saviour says, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." Here and in similar passages the verb *hate* (*μισέω*) is used in a milder sense than that of positive hatred, meaning *to think less of, to look upon as of less consequence*. A comparison is implied between two things; and the strong terms *hate, love*, which are contrasted, denote no more than *to esteem less and prefer*. Bretschneider<sup>1</sup> says that *μισέω* is used by *μείωσις*. In Matt. vi. 25., "take no thought for your life, &c." the verb *μεριμῶτε* implies an over-anxious carefulness.

With regard to the *moral examples* of the Bible and their explanation, we remark that they include actions ascribed to God, to Christ, to the apostles, to good and bad men.

With regard to such actions as are ascribed to God in the Old Testament, we must reject the rationalist principle that the writers make the Deity speak and act according to the ethical notions of their day, or those which they themselves had.<sup>2</sup> This dangerous exegetical rule involves a denial of the inspiration of the writers.

In the actions of Jesus, which are without exception of the purest moral nature and tendency, we should distinguish the temporary and local from that which is worthy of universal imitation. Thus his washing the disciples' feet belongs to the temporary things. So also his expulsion from the temple of those that bought and sold; his fasting forty days and nights, &c.

What we are chiefly to regard is the conduct of men. Here we observe,

1. That things are related in Scripture with disapproval. Thus David's numbering the people is spoken of as a sin, and punished accordingly.

2. Many things are recorded without censure. For example, in the lives of Abraham and David we read of various actions undoubtedly wrong, such as Abraham's denial of Sarah as his wife, and the pretended madness of David. So polygamy was *allowed*, not *enjoined* under the law. It was permitted to the Jews on account of the hardness of their hearts; but it is now forbidden under the gospel.

3. Some actions under the Old Testament dispensation were done

<sup>1</sup> Lexicon, s. v.

<sup>2</sup> See Bauer, Entwurf, u. s. w., § 157. p. 130.

because they were expressly commanded. Thus Joshua cut off the Canaanites. Abraham was commanded to offer Isaac in sacrifice. The divine authority is sufficient to justify these and similar actions; but they are no rule of conduct to others. They are *extraordinary* and *peculiar*, subserving some particular purpose of Jehovah at the time they were enjoined.

4. We must look to the *principle* or *motive* whence certain acts proceeded, and imitate them so far as the principle is good and sound. Elijah out of zeal for the glory of the true God, and not a spirit of persecution, mocked the priests of Baal, the idolatrous promoters of folly and impiety.

What then must we say of Old Testament examples? How far should they be imitated, and when should they be avoided? It is not sufficient that actions be recorded in Scripture without condemnation. It is not enough to recommend them for imitation, that they be done by good men, without any mark of the divine disapprobation attaching to them. Nor is it enough that they be commanded of God once under peculiar circumstances. We must look at the state of mind whence each proceeded. If it was done with a right motive and for a right end, it approves itself as good and worthy of imitation; if otherwise, it is not to be copied. When the person who performed it acted in accordance with the law of God which he had, he was justified in it. But it is necessary for us who belong to another dispensation to try it by the moral precepts and principles of the New Testament. So far as an action or course of conduct belonging to a prior economy agrees with the present one, and no farther, is it to be copied by Christians.

5. Under the New Testament, we are to copy the examples of good men and of apostles so far as they agree with the eternal principles of morality inculcated in revelation and with the perfect example of Jesus Christ. Sometimes the conduct of inspired men illustrates the meaning of ambiguous or obscure precepts, as that in Matt. v. 39. is explained and limited by Paul's conduct in Acts xxv. 11.

6. The example of good men described in the New Testament helps us to apply the general rules of the Bible to particular cases. When we see the precepts exemplified, those precepts are explained in an intelligible manner. Thus Paul writes in 1 Cor. ix. 20., "And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews." How and how far did he adopt Jewish practices and follow Jewish usages? He took and circumcised Timothy. But he resisted the circumcision of Titus. In the former case, he became as a Jew to the Jews, because no principle connected with salvation was involved in the act. None required it as necessary to salvation. It was spontaneous and voluntary. But in the latter case, Judaising Christians insisted on Titus's circumcision in accordance with their doctrine that it was necessary to salvation. We see therefore, that he yielded to the Jews as far as possible, where no principle was involved. In matters indifferent or small he accommodated himself to Jewish prepossessions and practices. But the adaptation never went

beyond the boundary where principle began. In this yielding compliant spirit for the sake of others' good, all teachers of truth and all Christians should imitate the Apostle of the Gentiles.

That the conduct even of apostles should not be copied in every thing, is shown by Peter's behaviour at Antioch, on account of which Paul withstood him to the face because he was culpable.

7. If the thing to which an example refers be of a moral nature, we should imitate the conduct of holy men manifestly approved of God as far as the reason of it is the same in both cases. But the reason of a thing may show that it is appropriated to a certain time or locality. Thus the Apostle Paul speaks of the Philippians having sent contributions more than once towards the relief of his necessities. He had benefited them in spiritual things; they contributed of their temporal things to his support and comfort. This action is commendable and worthy of all imitation. The reason of it continues the same in the case of the Philippian Christians and of Christians now. The principle within that prompted such an action will ever prompt to similar ones; for the spirit of true believers is the same. Grateful love and beneficence will always be theirs. When our Lord had washed the disciples' feet on a certain occasion he said to them, *Ye also ought to wash one another's feet*. It is also mentioned as a part of the widow's character that she hath "washed the saints' feet, and relieved the afflicted" (1 Tim. v. 10.). Should we imitate the practice of the early Christians in this respect? We need not, because the reason does not apply in a country like ours. In hot eastern countries after travelling in sandals, washing of the feet was very refreshing and all but necessary. To do it to another was to show the most tender care for his comfort. But our climate is so different, as also the clothing of the feet suited to it, that the reason of the thing is wanting. There is no occasion for it. Again, it was usual in the East for men in general to express their affection by a kiss. The first Christians did so, employing the common mode of salutation in a religious manner. The Apostle of the Gentiles enjoins the saints to salute one another with a holy kiss. Jesus said to Simon, "Thou gavest me no kiss; but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet" (Luke vii. 45.). This example is similar to the last. It was a human custom applied to a religious use. And where the custom has ceased, the thing may be dispensed with. The spirit of the thing remains, but the mode of it varies.<sup>1</sup>

8. If the example refers to a positive institution, it is not binding in its accidental circumstances. Many things connected with the Lord's supper are of this nature. It was originally celebrated with unleavened bread, in an upper room, by the disciples in a recumbent posture, in the evening. All these accessories may be dispensed with now.<sup>2</sup> Baptism was performed in the New Testament time for the most part, if not always, by immersion. But this is no reason

<sup>1</sup> See Fuller's Works, vol. iv. pp. 621, 622.; and Davidson on the Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament, p. 26. 2nd edition.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson, *ut supra*, p. 26.

why it should be so now. The mode is of no consequence. It may change as ages and climates change. The *essential* thing is the application of water as the symbol of a professed inward purification.

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## CHAP. XIII.

### ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PROMISES AND THREATENINGS OF SCRIPTURE.

A PROMISE is a declaration of God's will in which he signifies what particular good things he will freely bestow, and the evils he will remove. A promise differs from a threatening of God inasmuch as it refers to future good; while the latter is a declaration of the divine displeasure against sin. It differs from a command inasmuch as it is a declaration of God's will concerning mercy to be received; a command concerning duty enjoined.<sup>1</sup>

The interpretation of the promises is to be conducted on the same principles as that of all other parts of Scripture. It has nothing peculiar in this respect. Besides, many of them may be resolved into other heads. Some are *predictions*; especially the promises belonging to the Old Testament. Others are precepts also. Many might be brought under the head of the moral interpretation of the Bible, because they concern duties to be performed. Yet it may be useful to consider the subject separately, that it may be more clearly apprehended.

No good classification of the promises can be had. Every one hitherto proposed is objectionable and useless. This fact arises from the nature of many of them, which harmonises with predictions or coincides with precepts. The common one is into *absolute* and *conditional* promises. The former require nothing on the part of the creature in order to their fulfilment; the latter are made to depend on some state of mind or duty to be performed by the creature. They have also been divided into *spiritual* and *temporal* promises, epithets relating to the nature of the things declared in them. It is no change for the better when Wardlaw would substitute for the latter classification the *directly* and the *indirectly spiritual*. The former he reduces to one—the promise of the Holy Spirit in all the variety of his influences. The latter he describes as temporal in their nature, but spiritual in their end.<sup>2</sup> We shall arrange our remarks under the following heads.

1. The expositor should distinguish between promises which are universal, applicable to all believers, and such as are particular, belonging to some only. Thus particular promises were made to Noah, to Abraham, to Moses, to David, Solomon, Christ, to Paul, &c. So we have a special promise made to Peter in Matt. xvi. 18., "Thou

<sup>1</sup> See Spurstowe's *The Wells of Salvation* opened, p. 10. *et seqq.* London, 1659.

<sup>2</sup> See *Introductory Essay to Clarke's Collection of the Promises*, p. 39. *et seqq.*

art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Certain promises also belong to a class, as to the apostles; for example, Matt. xviii. 18, 19., "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father who is in heaven." But the covenant of grace is the universal promise, and therefore the ground of faith.<sup>1</sup>

2. A particular promise may be a branch of a universal promise. Hence when the case and reason of the promise prove the meaning of it to belong to others as well as to those whom it was first made to, or to all that are in similar circumstances, it may be applied beyond the original party. So the promise made to Joshua is applied by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee" (Heb. xiii. 5.), to the Jewish Christians of Palestine not long before the destruction of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

3. To the last-mentioned head may be referred the promises made to the Israelites. These were temporal and earthly. The increase of their seed, long life in the land of Canaan, worldly prosperity, were promised to them agreeably to the ceremonial services which suited their minds. Viewed in the light of the Christian dispensation, these temporal things which belong to the ancient economy have a spiritual aspect, or may be translated into other and spiritual language of a higher import. Thus the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of the rest in Canaan being more than a permanent settlement in the land of promise. He regards it as a shadow of the heavenly rest. So we viewing these earthly things as symbolising spiritual objects, may apply them under our present economy to true Christians. Long life in the goodly land of Palestine will then denote eternal life in the world of bliss.

4. Some promises are absolute, others conditional. Thus the promise to the patriarchs that the Messiah should come was absolute. The advent of the Saviour was not dependent on any thing done by mankind. So the promise made to Noah that the world should not again be overwhelmed with a flood was absolute. Of the same nature was that relating to the call of the Gentiles. By far the greater number of the promises, however, are *conditional*. All such as concern ordinary believers are so. In their performance they are conditional. They depend on duties done by us. He who is made partaker of what is contained in them must have an antecedent qualification and fitness without which they cannot be fulfilled. Thus pardon of sin is promised to him who repents; justification to him that believes; increase in grace to him that improves grace received; a crown of life to him that perseveres. In performing the condition of a promise, there is nothing meritorious in man. It is not the cause of the promise being fulfilled. Its true nature is such as only to suspend the benefit. The non-performance of the

<sup>1</sup> See Baxter's Life of Faith, Practical Works in 23 volumes, vol. xii. p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 246.

condition is inseparably connected with the non-performance of the promise. Thus in 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18. we read, "Wherefore come out from among them and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." Here the promise made is the being a Father—paternal love and regard. The duty of the persons to whom it is addressed is specified—it is to renounce the association of the sinful and unclean. The menace implied is, that if they do not separate from the society of the immoral and vile, God will not admit them into his favour but leave them to perish.

5. It follows from the preceding that as far as one fulfils the conditions, he may boldly apply the promises to himself. If he is certain that he repents and believes, he may conclude that he has a sure interest in the benefit of a promise which is common. Pardon and glory belong to him who believes. But then he must persevere in the path of duty. He must continue to be fervent in spirit. He must be faithful unto death. His duties are not done at once; they are always obligatory in the present life.

6. The promises are not made to mere sincerity. The character to which they refer and on which their performance is suspended, is more than one consisting of sincerity alone. Repentance, faith, fervour, fidelity, watchfulness against sin, prayer, effort to subdue evil propensities, are the qualifications demanded.<sup>1</sup>

7. When one applies the promises to himself who does not fulfil the conditions to which their performance is annexed, he is guilty of presumption. He expects the benefit of that which does not belong to the character he bears. The impenitent should not and cannot in reality appropriate the blessing promised only to the penitent. One who does not forgive others their trespasses against him, cannot hope to receive forgiveness from God for his own sins.

8. God sometimes promises a thing when he does not promise *the manner in which he will perform it*. The manner is varied according to the good pleasure of Him who works all in all, and the circumstances of his believing servants.<sup>2</sup>

9. God does not always or generally indicate *the time of performance* when he gives a promise.<sup>3</sup> The times and the seasons he hath put in his own power. The promises being of necessity general in their nature, the set time for their accomplishment to particular individuals varies according to the state and necessities of the individuals themselves. The same time would not be suitable to all. Hence it is wisely concealed, that each may wait, watch, and be patient. Christ has promised to come again and take his people to himself, that where he is there they may be also (John xiv. 3.); but the time is unknown. It is promised that God will deliver the righteous out of his afflictions (Psalm xxxiv. 19.); but he has not revealed the set time of doing so.

10. When a thing is promised in case of obedience, the contrary is threatened by implication, in case of disobedience; and inversely,

<sup>1</sup> Baxter's Life of Faith, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 242.

when a thing is threatened in case of disobedience, a promise of the contrary is implied on condition of obedience. This is exemplified in the fifteenth Psalm, where the divine protection is promised on the condition of moral purity. It is implied that God will not protect but *cast off* and *punish* the impure and sinful. They are virtually threatened with the opposite of that which shall be accorded to the holy.

11. God has suited his promises to his precepts. There is an intimate connection between them. Accordingly men are sometimes commanded to do what God declares *he* will do for them or in them. Some things are enjoined in one passage which are promised in another. Thus, "And I will cleanse them from all their iniquity" (Jer. xxxiii. 8.). "Cleanse your hands, ye sinners, and purify your hearts, ye double-minded" (James iv. 8.). The precept teaches the sinner what his duty is, and calls upon him to use his utmost endeavours to perform it; while at the same time the promise implies the need of divine assistance, and the certainty of obtaining it in the manner indicated. Man makes the effort sincerely and honestly to do what is enjoined; and in his so striving he receives grace enabling him to discharge the duty. In all such cases, where there is a precept stating what man's duty is, there is no danger of his mistaking promises for precepts, even though it be asserted that God will do Himself what his creatures are called upon to perform. But there are cases in which the divine promises are converted into precepts, without a warrant. If there be not an express precept to show what man's duty is, and what means he must use before he attempt his own deliverance, then the promise of God to free his servants from trouble or persecution must be left to himself to accomplish. They have simply to look to God for its fulfilment; not to set about the fulfilment of it by such means as they may think right in their own wisdom.

12. In applying the promises, the order and method of them should be carefully observed, else they may be inverted. They are a full storehouse of all blessings, both those which relate to the present life and the life to come. Here we have a pattern as well as a precept for our guide. The former is—our Lord's prayer, in which spiritual things are set far above our daily bread. The latter is contained in his Sermon on the Mount, where Christ says, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." Hence the promises are to be employed in prayer and other duties, primarily for holiness, and secondarily for outward comforts. Spiritual mercies are of greater importance than temporal ones. Hence the promises relating to the former should be chiefly regarded.<sup>1</sup>

13. There is a sacred concatenation between one promise and another which should not be broken. The blessings of the several promises are linked together and must not be severed. Thus the promises of pardon and repentance are inseparably joined. Those relating to grace and glory, holiness and happiness, are also connected.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Spurstowe, p. 75. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 73. *et seqq.*

14. In expounding and applying the promises it is necessary to be well acquainted with the analogy of faith, since their due limitation largely depends on it. None who does not take a comprehensive view of Christian doctrine and duty can explain them in their coherence, order, and right proportions. The particular context of a passage in which a promise stands will do much to elucidate it; the general scope will serve to make its meaning more intelligible; but a wider survey alone will suffice to set forth each particular promise in the extent and spirituality belonging to it as coming from the God of grace. Indeed, it may be said that the essence of divine Revelation consists of a few promises indissolubly linked together. The gospel contains the great promise of man's renewal and restoration to the complacent favour of God. This is its substance. In it a God of love promises salvation to man. The Jewish church under a former dispensation was nourished and strengthened by promises. And although the Christian church is placed in more favourable circumstances, it is chiefly sustained by the same means. The church's life is maintained by faith in the expression of God's immutable will.

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## CHAP. XIV.

### ON THE INTERPRETATION AND MEANS OF HARMONISING PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE WHICH APPEAR TO BE CONTRADICTIONARY.

MUCH has been said against the Bible on the ground of its contradictions, and much has been alleged falsely. Hasty authors, writing for a purpose, and wishing to damage the credit of divine revelation, have uttered many things in relation to this subject which cannot stand a moment's investigation. They have destroyed their own credit for sincerity and truth-seeking rather than the Book they assailed. The sacred writers were guided by the Spirit of God, and therefore they cannot materially oppose one another. But here the friends of Revelation themselves do not entirely agree in opinion. According to their ideas of *the extent* to which the original authors were inspired will be the view taken of the contradictions of Scripture with itself. Such as maintain that each and every part of the Bible is alike inspired — that in *all* matters which the writers speak of they were under an infallible influence — will necessarily believe that there cannot be the least contradiction between the parts of Scripture. They will hold that in matters collateral to religious truth, such as points of history, geography, natural science, chronology, philosophy, &c., the writers were infallible in all they expressed — that their sentiments were always and everywhere correct. Such again as maintain that the writers were infallibly inspired in regard to all *religious and moral truth only* — that when they wrote divine communications bearing directly on the highest interests of men, they were under a peculiarly divine leading, but

that on matters of another kind, such as chronology and geography, they were left much more to their own ideas—will allow that there may be contradiction on matters of history and science without detriment to the correctness of the writers on religious and moral subjects.

After an extended and careful survey of all the phenomena, we incline to the latter view. We believe that no contradiction can exist between the writers when treating of religious and moral truth. Whatever they inculcate respecting doctrine and duty is infallibly correct. So far they were under a high illumination of the Spirit, and could not err; and as the Spirit cannot contradict himself, all the writers must substantially agree. It is true that *apparent* discrepancies may be found among them even here; but they can only be *apparent*. A careful examination of their alleged opposition will show that it is not *real*.

While thus maintaining the harmony of all such passages as belong to and constitute *the word of God*, we doubt if places of another kind can be everywhere reconciled. In regard to dates, numbers, names; historical, archaeological, geographical, and scientific points; we are inclined to believe that they were not infallible, and may have erred. These matters do not affect the essence of a divine revelation. They are accessory and incidental, not essential.

But though assuming as incontrovertible that there are some phenomena of the latter kind in Scripture which cannot be reconciled by the utmost ingenuity of man, it is true notwithstanding that their number has been greatly exaggerated. They have been unduly multiplied. They should not be admitted except after the most impartial and rigid examination. For ourselves, we are disposed to allow of none *that cannot be proved*. We shall try as far as we are able to harmonise these passages. It is only in a desperate case that we shall admit real opposition. When all appliances fail to throw light upon them, we may then, and not till then, allow their existence. There are many *seeming* contradictions; few *real* ones. Let us endeavour to reconcile those which are most apparent and plausible.

Here it is difficult, if not impossible, to classify seeming contradictions. Gerard divides seeming contradictions into four sections, viz. seeming contradictions in quotations, in historical passages, between predictions and their accomplishment, in points of doctrine. In two succeeding chapters he treats of seeming contradictions to reason and morality, and seeming contradictions to history and matters of fact; subjoining another chapter under the title of *complicated difficulties*.<sup>1</sup> But this division is awkward. In regard to seeming contradictions to reason and morality, they belong to the subject of the evidences of divine revelation. His seeming contradictions to history and matters of fact also belong mainly to the same head, not to Hermeneutics. Biblical interpretation has to do with the reconciling of Scripture with itself, harmonising the

<sup>1</sup> Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 417. *et seqq.*

various writers with one another. The simplest method is to take the passages in order, as they lie in the text, without reducing them to general heads or chapters. We shall consider, first, discrepancies between the Old Testament writers; secondly, discrepancies between the New Testament authors; and thirdly between the Old and New Testament writers.

The following plain principles will enable the careful reader to clear away many difficulties and seeming contradictions from the sacred text.

1. The state of the text both of the Old and New Testaments should be looked at first of all. It may be that corruption has crept into it in some places, and created discrepancies. We know that this has actually happened, especially in the Old Testament. A comparison of the historical books, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, will verify the truth of our assertion.

2. The inspired writers sometimes drew their narratives from different sources. Thus one may have used a written document, while another followed tradition in describing the same thing. Or, one may have been an eyewitness of what he relates, while another heard it. The same writer may have used different documents which did not exactly agree in every particular. So with the Elohim and Jehovah documents incorporated in the book of Genesis. Two different writers again may have taken different documents, as Matthew and Luke did in the case of the genealogical registers inserted in their Gospels. The compilers of Kings and Chronicles also had somewhat different documents in writing those books.

3. The different ages in which the sacred writers lived will sometimes give rise to a kind of discrepancy. The doctrine of salvation through Christ was unfolded gradually, becoming clearer and more distinct as the fulness of the time when the Son of God was about to appear drew near. The writers were enlightened according to the times at which they lived. Moses, for example, had not such a vision of the Messiah's person in his humiliation and sufferings as Isaiah had. The Holy Spirit did not illuminate the understandings of the authors who wrote the Old Testament books alike. As they lived in different periods of the world's history, so did they partake, in a measure, of the general characteristics of their own times.

4. It is substantially the same observation with the last, that the different writers possessed different degrees of knowledge respecting spiritual truths. This is obvious when we compare together the Old Testament authors and the apostles. And it is also visible in the case of the Old Testament authors themselves. Their knowledge was adapted in a great degree to the times they belonged to. On the part of the Deity, who revealed Himself by them, this was a wise condescension to the capacities of those instructed. There is no doubt that the religion of the ancient economy received a strong tinge from the civil and religious customs, the domestic or private institutes, of the Jews. The rewards and punishments insisted on in the Old Testament are different from those set before the godly in the New. Indeed the genius of the Mosaic institutions was

outward and slavish. It breathed the spirit of bondage. It was ceremonial, ritual, fleshly. But the New Testament is eminently a spiritual dispensation, dealing with the springs of action and setting forth the great principle of love as the animating motive. Its rewards and punishments are not of a temporal and earthly kind, but spiritual and abiding.

If the statement now made be correct, the extent of the writers' inspiration was not alike. The actual phenomena prove thus much. Some were enabled to see farther and deeper than others. Who, for example, would compare in this respect Isaiah with Jonah? Or who would compare him who wrote "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones," with the author of this, "Yea, I have delivered him that without cause is my enemy"? Who would compare the writer of, "Destroy thou them, O God!" with the spirit of him who says, "I pray God it may not be laid to their charge"? David and others in the Psalms uttered imprecations against their enemies: the New Testament writers breathed another spirit and inculcated other precepts. In the Mosaic system the law of revenge was very severe. Christianity is characterised by a widely different spirit.

5. It is necessary to examine whether the same topic be treated or the same event described in two places apparently repugnant. A superficial and hasty reader may mistake *similarity* for *sameness*. He may *indentify similar*, but *different* things. Thus the two calls of Abraham, one from Ur of the Chaldees, noticed by Stephen, the other from Charran, mentioned in Genesis, have been identified by our translators. The former is unnoticed in the Old Testament, though it is implied in several expressions.

6. Every doctrine or principle is not fully revealed or described in every place. One part of a subject is treated at one time, and another at another. One aspect of it stands forth prominent in one writer, another in another. Sometimes it is stated absolutely, again relatively, &c. Hence all the passages which speak of the same thing should be put together and set in their relative position, that a comprehensive view may be gained. The doctrine of justification, as treated by Paul and James, is an example. Neither gives a complete description of it. Both should be taken together, along with other incidental notices of the same doctrine in the other sacred writers.

7. The different designs which the writers had in view will lead to a corresponding selection of circumstances. The very same author may notice particulars on one occasion, which he omits elsewhere. Hence an interpreter should attend to the object aimed at—the drift or scope of a discourse or history. This is strikingly exemplified in the books of the Chronicles as compared with the Kings.

8. *Variations* are not contradictions. This obvious fact has been frequently misapprehended. One historian may relate what is omitted by another in recording the same event; or, in narrating the same fact, one may notice circumstances which the other passes

by, without any contradiction. Ammon, in his notes to Ernesti, has frequently erred from not perceiving this plain principle.

9. The order of time is often neglected by the sacred writers. An occurrence is sometimes related *after* another which happened *before* it. Thus a biography may be concluded without the insertion of contemporaneous events in their proper order of time, lest they should interrupt the discourse. Again, events are occasionally anticipated. The exact order of time is frequently hidden from the reader, because the writers did not observe it. The first three Gospels contain examples of these particulars.

10. Apparent discrepancies in chronology may arise from the fact that the same period is variously dated by the historians.

In this manner some reconcile the time stated in Gen. xv. 3. and Exod. xii. 40, 41., supposing that the 400 years of the first should be calculated from the birth of Isaac; the 430 years from his leaving Ur of the Chaldees. But the solution is doubtful.

11. A definite number is frequently put for an indefinite. Thus Jacob says of Laban his father-in-law, "He has changed my wages ten times," that is, often or repeatedly. And when a whole number and a part are both to be expressed, the fraction is often omitted and the whole number placed for both, especially where the fraction is small in comparison with the whole number.

12. The difference of Jewish modes of computation and ours should be carefully noted, else discrepancies may appear. On the other hand, modern computation of time should not be assumed without reason for the purpose of removing discrepancies, as it is by Townson, who to make the *sixth* hour agree with Mark's *third*, supposes the Apostle John *not* to compute in the Jewish but in the modern method, at xix. 14.

13. The same places had different names at different times. Even at the same time different appellations belonged to one and the same locality. Thus in Gen. xxxi. 47., the name of the heap of stones is called by Laban *Jegar-sahadutha* but by Jacob *Galeed*; the former being Aramæan, the latter Hebrew. Laban also called it Mizpah. In Judg. xi. 29., it is Mizpeh of Gilead. In Deut. iii. 9., Hermon is said to be called Sirion by the Sidonians but Shenir by the Amorites. In Deut. iv. 48. it is called Sion. But in 1 Chron. v. 23., Canticles iv. 8., Shenir is distinguished from Hermon. Kirjath-jearim (town of the woods) is also called Kirjath-Baalath or Baal (Josh. xv. 9. 60., 1 Chron. xiii. 6.). Egypt is called Ham (Psal. lxxviii. 51.), and the land of Ham (Psal. cv. 23.). Beth-meon (Jer. xlviii. 23.) is called Beth-baal-meon (Josh. xiii. 17.). Jerusalem is called Ariel (Isa. xxix. 1.), *lion of God*. Egypt is styled Rahab (Isa. li. 9., Psal. lxxxvii. 4., lxxxix. 10.). Babylon is called Sheshach (Jer. xxv. 26.).<sup>1</sup>

14. The same individuals had different names, one being employed by one writer and another by another, or both being used by the same. Thus in comparing Gen. xxxvi. 2. with xxvi. 34., we find the daughter of Elon is called Bashemath and Adah; and Ishmael's

<sup>1</sup> Glassii Philolog. Sacr. ed. Dathe, p. 645. *et seqq.*

daughter Mahalath and Bashemath. Aholibamah and Judith are also appellations of the same woman. The father of the last is sometimes called Beeri the Hittite, sometimes Ana the Horite. How these differences are to be accounted for is not easy to discover. We may refer to Tuch and Knobel on Genesis. In 1 Chron. iii. 1. Daniel is Chileab (2 Sam. iii. 3.). In 2 Chron. xxii. 6., Azariah is Ahaziah the son of Jehoram (2 Kings viii. 29.). He is the same also as Jehoahaz (2 Chron. xxi. 17.). Jehoahaz (2 Kings xxiii. 30.) is called Shallum (Jer. xxii. 11.), *i. e.* he was a second Shallum because he reigned so short a time (comp. 2 Kings xv. 13.). Abiel (1 Sam. ix. 1.) is Ner (1 Chron. ix. 39.); Ishui (1 Sam. xiv. 49.) is Abinadab (1 Chron. ix. 39. and 1 Sam. xxxi. 2.). In 2 Chron. xi. 20. Maachah (so also 1 Kings xv. 2.), is called Michaiah (2 Chron. xiii. 2.). Daughters in 2 Chron. xi. 20. mean grand-daughters. Azariah the son of Oded (2 Chron. xv. 1.) is named Oded (2 Chron. xv. 8.). There is some mistake in one or other of the verses. Azariah (1 Chron. iii. 12., 2 Kings xiv. 21., xv. 1.) is called Uzziah (2 Kings xv. 13. 30. 32. 34.). Jethro (Exod. iii. 1.) is also called Hobab (Num. x. 29., Judg. iv. 11.). The same also appears as Raguel or Reuel (Exod. ii. 18. &c.). But the word there may mean grandfather as well as father, as Abenezra and Rosenmüller think. This is favoured by Num. x. 29., where Hobab is called the son of Raguel. Other opinions may be seen in Winer under the article *Reguel*. The attentive reader of the historical books belonging to the Old Testament will find on comparison that the same person often appears under different names. But there are many errors in these appellations. Similar examples of the same persons having different names occur in the New Testament. Thus Nathanael is also Bartholomew; Thomas, Didymus; Lebbeus or Thaddeus is Judas (the son) of James; Matthew is also Levi; Saul, Paul.<sup>1</sup>

15. The orthography of places and persons is not uniform. And it is made even less uniform than in the original text by our English translators. Kennicott gives the following list of the same names with different orthography in the Hebrew Bible. Most of the differences arise from mistakes made by transcribers and others.

|                       |     |                            |
|-----------------------|-----|----------------------------|
| Gen. iv. 18. Mehujaël | - - | Gen. iv. 18. Mehijaël.     |
| x. 3. Ripath          | - - | 1 Chron. i. 6. Diphath.    |
| x. 4. Tarshish        | - - | i. 7. Tarshishan.          |
| Dodanim               | - - | Rodanim.                   |
| x. 23. Mash           | - - | i. 17. Mesheeh.            |
| x. 28. Obal           | - - | i. 22. Ebal.               |
| xxxii. 30. Peniel     | - - | Gen. xxxii. 31. Pennel.    |
| xxxvi. 11. Zepho      | - - | 1 Chron. i. 36. Zephi.     |
| xxxvi. 23. Shepho     | - - | i. 40. Shephi.             |
| xxxvi. 39. Pau        | - - | i. 50. Pai.                |
| xxxvi. 40. Alvah      | - - | i. 51. Aliah.              |
| xlvi. 10. Jemuel      | - - | Numb. xxvi. 12. Nemuel.    |
| Jachin                | - - | 1 Chron. iv. 24. Jarib.    |
| Zohar                 | - - | { Numb. xxvi. 13. } Zerah. |
| Zohar                 | - - | { 1 Chron. iv. 24. }       |
| xlvi. 11. Gershon     | - - | 1 Chron. vi. 16. Gershom.  |

<sup>1</sup> Glassii Philolog. Sacr. cd. Dathe, p. 735. *et seqq.*

|                  |              |                   |         |
|------------------|--------------|-------------------|---------|
| Gen. xlv. 13.    | Job - - -    | Numb. xxvi. 24.   | Jashub. |
| xlv. 16.         | Ezbon - - -  | xxvi. 16.         | Ozni.   |
| xlv. 21.         | Huppim - - - | 1 Chron. viii. 5. | Huram.  |
| Ard - - -        | - - -        | viii. 3.          | Addar.  |
| xlv. 23.         | Hushim - - - | Numb. xxvi. 42.   | Shuham. |
| Exodus iv. 18.   | Jether - - - | Exod. ii. 1.      | Jethro. |
| Numbers i. 14.   | Deuel - - -  | Numb. ii. 14.     | Reuel.  |
| Deut. xxxii. 44. | Hoshea - - - | Deut. xxxiv. 9.   | Joshua. |

16. The same action or effect may be ascribed to different persons or causes in different texts. Both may have contributed to the same effect in different ways; or it may amount to the same thing whether it be assigned to the one or the other. Thus it is said of God that he hardeneth the heart; and again, that men harden their own hearts. In such a case it amounts to the same thing whether the one expression or the other be employed, though *we* cannot solve the difficulties connected with the fact. The Scriptures assert that the control of the Almighty over all the moral conduct of his creatures is absolute and entire; so absolute and entire that if he deems it expedient to exhibit to the universe a spectacle of sin and its consequences he can do so, in the course of his righteous administration, while yet the moral responsibility of the sin rests solely with the person who commits it.

17. What was spoken may be related in different terms by different writers. In this case they give the ideas, not the precise words. Or, they may give different parts of the same discourse; or both these may be combined. This is exemplified in the twofold form of the Sermon on the Mount, which appears in the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke.

18. Occasionally general terms are employed, where others would be more appropriate, if minute accuracy were required. A fact may be related in a general way by one historian which another may describe particularly. Thus Mark says that the thieves who were crucified with Jesus reviled him, though we know from Luke that this was true in fact only of one of them (Mark xv. 32. and Luke xxiii. 39—41.).

19. Sometimes the speaker is silently and suddenly changed. The sentiments of an objector therefore may justly appear to be at variance with a neighbouring statement. Of course there may be a real contradiction in such a case. Or, the same person may speak in a different capacity, uttering different sentiments. Thus in the first part of the 39th Psalm, the writer describes his feelings and conduct at a former period (1—6.); in the second, what he then felt and believed respecting God's providential dealings. The first part therefore is not an expression of pious feeling, but an acknowledgment of error.

Gen. i. 8, 9, 10. } According to the former passage God made  
 „ ii. 4. } the firmament on the second day and the  
 earth on the third. But according to the latter, the Lord God is represented as making the heavens (firmament) and the earth on a single day. If the word *day* be used in both places for the same

space of time, there is a real discrepancy. But this is an unnecessary supposition. In the first chapter we look upon the days as periods of twenty-four hours. In the second chapter (fourth verse), the word stands for time generally, including an indefinite period, as in Num. iii. 1.; Isa. xi. 16.

Gen. i. 20. } Here the opposition is supposed to lie in the cir-  
 ,, ii. 19. } cumstance that the former place asserts the fowl to  
 have been produced from *the waters*, the latter from *the ground*. But  
 the former says nothing of the element whence the fowl were taken.  
 God said "let fowl fly," as it is in the margin of the English Bible,  
*not* "and fowl that may fly."

Gen. i. 27. } Though the former passage states that man had  
 ,, ii. 5. } been already created, yet it is affirmed in the latter  
 that there was not a man to till the ground. In the second chapter,  
 a second history of creation is given. Yet chap. i. 1—ii. 3., and ii.  
 4—25. are consistent. They belong to different ancient documents  
 employed by the writer of Genesis. The former belongs to the  
 Elohim-document, the latter to the Jehovah-document.

Gen. vi. 19, 20. } In the former place general directions are  
 ,, vii. 2, 3. } given to Noah to take with him into the ark  
*pairs* of animals of every kind. In the latter, the *number* of pairs is  
 specified and limited to seven pairs of clean beasts with two pairs of  
 unclean, as also corresponding numbers of pairs of fowl clean and un-  
 clean. In vii. 8, 9, 15., where the execution of the command is  
 related, the historian mentions *pairs* generally, without specifying  
 the precise number. Thus there is no discrepancy.

Gen. vii. 12. } Here the latter place states generally what the  
 ,, vii. 17. } other specifies more exactly. The one is more  
 definite than the other. This manner of speaking and writing is  
 usual in all languages. The LXX. and many copies of the Vulgate  
 improperly supply "and forty nights" in the latter passage, which is  
 a mere correction.

Gen. vi. 6. } Repentance can only be ascribed to Deity meta-  
 1 Sam. xv. 29. } phorically. The word is differently employed in the  
 two places. In the former it means such a change in God's method of  
 dealing with men as would indicate on the part of men a change of  
 purpose. In the latter it denotes a real change of mind and counsel,  
 which is impossible with God. *Literal repentance* cannot be pre-  
 dicated of an infinite, omniscient being.

Gen. vii. 24. } In the one passage the waters are said to have been  
 ,, viii. 3. } strong on the earth for an hundred and fifty days;  
 in the other it is affirmed that they left the earth gradually and were  
 abated at the end of the hundred and fifty days. After the hundred  
 and fifty days had elapsed they abated.

Gen. xi. 26. } According to Gen. xii. 4. Abram was 75 years old  
 ,, xi. 32. } when he left Haran. His father Terah was 70  
 ,, xii. 4. } when Abraham was born. But Terah died in  
 Haran. Hence he was at his death 145, *i. e.* 70 + 75. But Gen. xi.  
 32. says he died at the age of 205, not 145. Hence some think that

Abraham was Terah's youngest son, not the eldest. If so, Abraham's birth did not take place in the 70th year of Terah, as has been inferred from xi. 26. That was the date of Haran's birth. If Abraham were the youngest son of Terah he was born in his father's 130th year, to which add 75, making 205 according to Gen. xi. 32. But there are serious objections to this hypothesis. It is certainly the most probable on all accounts that Abraham was the eldest son.

The Samaritan has 145 in xi. 32. instead of the Hebrew, but this is a correction.

It is better to reconcile the discrepancy by supposing that Abram left Haran before his father died. This is clearly implied in Gen. xii. 4. And as his final removal did not take place till the death of his father, if the account in Acts vii. 4. be correct, then he must occasionally have returned to Haran. We must confess, however, that this is doubtful. Stephen was not inspired. The difficulty can be fairly met only by him who recognises the document-hypothesis as founded in truth. The commencement of the 12th chapter, and the 11th, were taken from different documents. The former in its present form proceeded from the Jehovist, the latter from the Elohist.

Gen. xv. 13. } These texts are best harmonised by the principle  
Ex. xii. 40. } that a round number is often employed when an odd number would be more exact. Bunsen thinks that the number 400 is to be viewed as a prophetic mode of expressing a long period, and that the determinate number four is but a conventional form, borrowed from the genealogical registers. He also regards 430 as conventional and unhistorical.<sup>1</sup>

Gen. xxix. 35. } The former place says that Leah left off bearing,  
„ xxx. 17. } but not altogether. The latter shows that it was only for a time.

Gen. xxxii. 30. } There is a mystery about the transaction related  
Ex. xxxiii. 20. } in Gen. xxxii. 30. which cannot be fathomed. Jacob thought that he had immediate intercourse with the Divine Being. Those who wish to see the discordant views taken of the transaction must have recourse to Knobel on Genesis, and to Umbreit's Essay in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1848. A historical fact lies at the basis of the narration. In Ex. xxxiii. 20. *the face of God* denotes the glory and majesty of Jehovah in full brightness, which no mortal can behold without being overpowered. The divine effulgence of Deity must overwhelm a frail creature of dust.

Gen. xxxviii. } The chronology of Gen. xxxviii. presents con-  
„ xlv. 12., &c. } siderable discrepancies compared with the preceding and following accounts. From the sale of Joseph till Jacob's descent into Egypt was about 23 years (xxxvii. 2., xli. 46., and to these 13 years add the 7 of plenty and 2 of famine which had passed, xlv. 11.), which is too short a period for Judah to have three sons by the same mother, to marry them, and to have twins by his daughter-in-law, one of whom, Pharez, when he went to Egypt, had also two

<sup>1</sup> See Egypt, vol. i. p. 171. *et seqq.*

(xlvi. 12.). On the other hand, if Judah's incest with Tamar happened about the time of Joseph's sale, this will carry up the circumstance mentioned in xxxviii. 1, 2. to the time when Jacob was in Mesopotamia. For if we allow 14 years, which is little enough, for Shelah to be grown up (xxxviii. 11. 14.) and 3 for the births of himself and two brothers (3—5.), this will make about 17 between the conduct of Judah mentioned in ver. 16., &c. and his associating with Shuah (ver. 2.). And as Joseph was seventeen when he was sold (xxxvii. 2.) the affair of xxxviii. 1, 2. will be about contemporaneous with the birth of Joseph (xxx. 24.), *i. e.*, 14 years after Jacob had come to Mesopotamia, supposing his residence there to have been only 20 years. If now Jacob did not marry Rachel until he had served 7 years (xxix. 20, 21.), as not less than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  elapsed between his marriage and the birth of his fourth son Judah (ver. 31—35.), only the same space of time will remain between his birth and Joseph's; in other words, between his birth and the affair with Shuah mentioned in xxxviii. 1., which cannot be correct.<sup>1</sup>

The true solution is that chapter xxxviii. belongs to the Jehovah-document or writer, not to the Elohim-document which forms the basis of the book of Genesis. It can scarcely be expected that the pieces belonging to these two documents should chronologically harmonise with one another.

Another solution is given by Hengstenberg, to which we can only refer.<sup>2</sup> A third, which is still less sufficient, is found in Turner<sup>3</sup>, who has shown the weakness of several considerations urged by Hengstenberg.

Gen. xlvii. 11. } The territory of Raamses is spoken of in the  
Exod. i. 11. } former place, but in the latter the city of the  
same name. The country took its name from the chief city in it.  
It is probable that Raamses and Goshen were the same.

Gen. xlviii. 8. } Jacob's eyes were dim. He beheld, but could  
„ xlviii. 10. } not clearly see. He distinguished objects with  
imperfect vision.

Exod. iii. 2. } In the former, the angel of Jehovah is said to have  
and iii. 4. } appeared to Moses; in the latter, Jehovah himself.  
In the New Testament the Apostle John writes, "No man hath seen the Father." Hence the angel of Jehovah must be his visible representative, the Memra, Logos, or Word. He claims and accepts worship, and was not therefore a created angel.

Exod. vi. 3. } The last three passages appear to disagree with  
Gen. xiii. 4. } the first because the appellation Jehovah is em-  
„ xxvi. 2. } ployed in them. The emphasis appears to us to  
„ xxviii. 16. } lie in the verb *know*, which denotes a practical  
knowledge of God by the fulfilment of promises made. The ancient Hebrews knew *God Almighty* by the protection he afforded to them, and his works of providence, but they did not know him by the ac-

<sup>1</sup> See Turner's Companion to the Book of Genesis, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> Authentique des Pentateuches, vol. ii. p. 354. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Companion to Genesis, p. 334.

complishment of his promises. The name of Jehovah was known till their deliverance from Egypt. As the great Being who made promises to the patriarchs he was recognised; but as giving effect to them he was first revealed to their posterity when they were brought forth from Egypt. Other solutions of the difficulty may be seen in my *Hermeneutics*.

Exod. vii. 19, 20, 21. } If all the waters of Egypt became blood, it  
 „ vii. 22. } has been asked, where did the magicians procure water for their enchantments? According to the 20th verse Moses smote with his rod the waters that were in the river. Those waters alone, at least in the first instance, were turned into blood. In this stage of the plague, the magicians could easily obtain water to imitate the miracles wrought by Moses. We cannot tell whether the plague became commensurate with the extent of the divine injunction, as recorded in the 19th verse.

Exod. ix. 6. } The adjective *all* in the former place is popularly  
 „ ix. 20. } used. It does not mean all without exception.

Exod. xviii. 17—26. } It might naturally be inferred from the lat-  
 Deut. i. 9—13. } ter place that Moses himself proposed the appointment of judges, whereas we learn from the former that it was suggested by Jethro. In the passage in Exodus, the writer records the private conversation that took place between Jethro and himself, allowing the honour of the arrangement to him with whom it originated. In Deuteronomy he is addressing the people, and relates what they knew as well as himself.

Exod. xx. 11. } Here different reasons are given for the observance  
 Deut. v. 15. } of the Sabbath. Yet the precepts are not discordant, for one and the same command may be enforced by two different motives.

Exod. xx. 5. } According to the necessary operation of the  
 Ezek. xviii. 20. } principles which regulate the divine administration, children suffer various evils because of the vices of their parents. The iniquities of the fathers are visited on the bodies and temporal condition of their children. In consequence of the mysterious union of soul and body, the punishment is not wholly corporal and external. The soul is deteriorated by shame. The paternal propensities appear in the mental constitution. This is consistent with Ezekiel, who says that each one shall be punished for his own sins. God will not transfer the penalty due to the sins of one to the head of another. In consequence of the divine arrangements, the sins of parents may embitter the punishment of impenitent children; but the distinct responsibility of each remains unaffected. Had the words “of them that hate me” been wanting in the commandment, the contradiction would have been formidable; but as it is, there is only the appearance of repugnance.

Lev. i. 1. } Here the one text relates indefinitely and gene-  
 „ xxvii. 34. } rally what the other specifies with exactness. The Levitical law was promulgated from the tabernacle, and yet it was published in the neighbourhood of Sinai. The ordinances in

question were delivered to the people in the vicinity of the mountain, not from the top of it.

Lev. xvii. 1—7. } The latter place contains a relaxation  
Deut. xii. 15, 20, 21, 22. } of the prohibition in the former. When the tabernacle of the congregation was within a convenient distance, the Israelites were forbidden to eat any clean animal which they had killed without first bringing it to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation and offering it to the Lord. The injunction must have been strictly observed in the wilderness, where the people encamped together. But when they had entered Palestine, they were permitted to kill and eat flesh, provided the place where Jehovah had been pleased to put his name was too distant. The 10th verse of Deut. xii. seems to show that the latter law was intended to apply to the people in Palestine, "But when ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you to inherit, and when he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety; then there shall be a place which the Lord your God shall choose," &c.

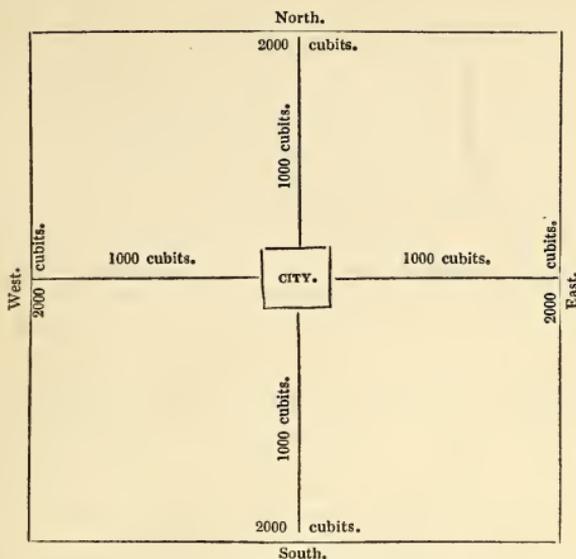
Numb. iv. 3. } One way of reconciling these places is, that the  
" viii. 24. } Levites spent five years in probation before they entered fully on the duties of their office. They began to officiate properly so called at thirty years of age. Vater, however, thinks that the two sections in which these different numbers appear, were written by different persons. Perhaps this is a preferable way of accounting for the difference.

Numb. iii. 11, 22, 28, 34. } In the last passage all the Levites are  
" iii. 39. } given as 22,000. But when the preceding numbers are added together they amount to 22,300. Here we cannot have recourse to the principle that a round number is given, because the context leads to the contrary. "In verse 43rd," says Kennicott, "all the first-born males of the Israelites are reckoned 22,273, which in verse 46th are expressly said to be 273 more than the Levites (and there was great reason for being exact in the calculation), and consequently the true number of the Levites must have been 22,000, as expressed in the sum total of the text. For if they had been 22,300, instead of the Israelites exceeding the Levites by 273, the Levites would have exceeded the Israelites by 27."<sup>1</sup> We reject Kennicott's solution, which assumes that there is a mistake in the number of the Gershonites (verse 22.), the numeral letter 7=200 being changed for 7=500. It is quite improbable that 7 final existed in the most ancient MSS. We suppose with Houbigant, that there is a transcriber's mistake in the 28th verse. שש, six, should be שלש, three. Instead of six hundred read three hundred, and all is correct.

Numb. xxxv. 4, 5. These two verses appear to contain a contradiction. In the one the length of the suburbs is given as a thousand cubits; in the other two thousand cubits. The simplest method of reconciling the two seems to be that proposed by Rosenmüller, viz., that each side of the suburbs is twice as long (two thousand cubits)

<sup>1</sup> Dissertation on the State of the printed Hebrew Text, pp. 99, 100.

as a line drawn from the city outside (a thousand cubits). The following figure will show this:—



Other ways of explanation may be seen in Rosenmüller's Scholia.

Numb. xiii. i. 2. } These two passages may be reconciled by sup-  
 Deut. i. 22. } posing that the people first suggested the  
 sending of the spies, and that God sanctioned the proposal. The  
 people desired it, and the Lord accordingly directed Moses to send  
 the men. Vater, however, thinks that the diversity proceeded  
 from the fact of the pieces having belonged to different original  
 documents.

Numb. xiv. 25. } The former passage states, "But the Amale-  
 „ xiv. 45. } kites and the Canaanites dwell in the valley."  
 The Lord warns them of the enemy's position, and exhorts them to  
 take another direction in which they should not fall into the hands  
 of the Canaanites. Yet the Israelites presumed to go up the hill;  
 and therefore they were discomfited by the Amalekites and Canaanites.

Numb. xiv. 30. } Joshua and Caleb, who brought back a good  
 Josh. xiv. 1. } report of the promised land, are singled out by  
 name, especially as they were afterwards the leaders. They are  
 specified as the representatives of those who should be privileged to  
 enter Canaan. It is manifest that they were not the only persons  
 who entered the land. All the murmurers were excluded; but it  
 is no where said that such as did not murmur, among whom the  
 priests may be reckoned; were debarred entrance.

Numb. xiv. 33. } Some days were wanting to complete the  
 Numb. xxxiii. } exact number 40, as is evident from the last  
 Josh. iv. 19. } } two places. The deficiency is five days. The

Israelites left Egypt on the fifteenth day of the first month; the passage over Jordan was made on the tenth day of the first month. The round number forty is put.

Numb. xxvi. 10. } It appears at first sight, that the first passage  
 „ xvi. } contradicts Numbers xvi. 31—35., and Psalm  
 Psal. cvi. 17, 18. } cvi. 17, 18. There is considerable difficulty in  
 the words of the last two passages. Taking the Psalm as our guide  
 we resolve the matter thus. The 17th verse relates to the destruction  
 of those followers who were not Levites. This is narrated in  
 Numbers xvi. 32, 33. The 18th verse relates to the destruction of  
 Korah himself and his Levitical followers by fire. This is described  
 in Numbers xvi. 35. In Numbers xxvi. 10. there is some confusion.  
 The clause *together with Korah* is of a parenthetical nature and be-  
 longs to what follows. It does not mean *as it swallowed up Korah*,  
 but, *at the same time with the destruction of Korah and his company  
 by fire.*

Deut. x. 6, 7. } This discrepancy arises out of the  
 Numb. xxxiii. 18—37, 38. } marchings of the children of Israel  
 „ xx. 23—29. } through the wilderness, the difficulties  
 connected with which have not yet been satisfactorily removed.  
 Their stations are mentioned in various places, out of which exposi-  
 tors have attempted to give a complete list from Mount Sinai till  
 the arrival over against Jericho, forty years after.

The list of stages in Deut. x. 6, 7. is said to be at variance with the  
 part that refers to the same places in Numb. xxxiii. 31—33. The  
 latter makes the Israelites journey from Moseroth to Bene-jaakan;  
 the former from Bene-jaakan to Mosera. Besides, in Deuteronomy  
 the death of Aaron is placed at Mosera, two stages *before* Jotbath;  
 whereas the list in Numbers places the same event at mount Hor,  
 four stages *after* Jotbathah.

We assume a twofold stay at Kadesh. After arriving there from  
 Sinai the Israelites turned back and wandered for thirty-eight years.  
 In Numb. xxxiii. 18—36. is an account of this intervening time,  
*i. e.* from Kadesh to Kadesh again. But in Deut. x. 6, 7. is an ac-  
 count of stations after the Israelites set out from Kadesh to go to  
 the Jordan, with which Numb. xxxiii. 37. synchronises. Aaron died  
 after the Israelites left Kadesh the second time, at Hor or Mosera.  
 How then, it is asked, are we to account for the fact that Mosera,  
 which in both lists is next to Ben-jaakan, is placed in the first  
 list (Numb. xxxiii.) seven stages from mount Hor? Because in  
 Numb. xxxiii. 30—36. the stations on the return to Kadesh are  
 given; whereas in Deut. x. 6. and Numb. xxxiii. 37. the stations  
 are given on a subsequent journey. The death of Moses did not  
 take place when the Israelites came to Moseroth, from Kadesh  
 to Kadesh; but it happened when they came to Mosera or Hor  
 again after they had left Kadesh the second time. Some places,  
 Mosera among them, were revisited on the journey from Kadesh to  
 the Jordan.<sup>1</sup>

Many able critics deny the twofold visit to Kadesh, among

<sup>1</sup> See Robinson's Palestine, vol. ii. p. 678.

whom are Ewald and Winer. The former has endeavoured to trace the stations on the hypothesis of one stay at Kadesh. The latter, objecting to his method, has given a few hints of the manner in which the march through the wilderness is to be regarded. But they do not harmonise the notices in Numbers and Deuteronomy. Indeed Winer leaves Deuteronomy out of the account.

But although the method just given removes the discrepancy between these two passages, there are difficulties in Deut. x. 6–9. which cannot be denied. The words have no connection with the context. On the contrary, they interrupt the narrative, which reads better without them. Again, the separation of the Israelites did not take place at Jotbathah as here stated, but at Sinai, before the Israelites began their journey northward. In regard to the latter, the phrase *at that time*, with which the eighth verse begins, need not refer to the place mentioned immediately before, but to the fifth verse, the time when Moses was at Sinai. Cappellus and many after him suppose that the entire passage is an interpolation, introduced into the text by the mistake of some transcriber. It is however in the Septuagint and all the ancient versions. There is no authority for regarding it as spurious. Kennicott adopts the Samaritan, which agrees here with Numbers. Doubtless it was altered by the Samaritans so as to harmonise with the passage in Numbers. See Lilienthal, Buxtorf (*Anticritica*), and Rosenmüller.

Josh. x. 15. } In the former place Joshua is said to have returned,  
 „ x. 43. } and all Israel with him, to Gilgal, which he did not  
 do till the end of the expedition (verse 43.). Various hypotheses have been proposed to clear away the difficulty here. One of them, by Masius, is ingenious, viz. that when it is said in verse 15th that Joshua returned, the meaning is no more than *he resolved* to return, or he made preparations for returning. In confirmation of this usage of the verb, he refers to Numb. xxiv. 25., where “Balaam returned to his place” means no more than *thought of returning*. But we reject the proposed solution. We lay no stress on the absence of the 15th verse from the most ancient copies of the LXX., viz., the Alexandrine and Vatican MSS. The verse *may* be an interpolation, as some have thought. It appears to us that verses 12, 13, 14, 15. contain a quotation or extract from the book of Jasher. This is plainly intimated by the writer in the middle of the thirteenth verse, “Is not this written in the book of Jasher?” The passage so quoted plainly interrupts the whole narrative. It is no part of the word of God, being taken from this ancient book of poems. Insurmountable difficulties are created by it, if we look upon it in any other light than as a piece of the book of Jasher which may be rejected or not according to its internal probability. None can doubt here of the fictitious character of what is related. See an elaborate and able Essay by Mr. Hopkins in the *Biblical Repository* for January 1845: and Donaldson’s *Jashar*.

Josh. x. 23. } The king mentioned in the former place need not  
 „ x. 37. } have been the king in the latter. When the one had been slain, the inhabitants of Hebron may have chosen another.

Josh. xi. 19. } These two passages are not contradictory. Joshua  
 „ xv. 63. } took the town of Jerusalem and put its king to  
 death; but he was not able to expel the Jebusites from the citadel  
 or fortress they had erected on Mount Zion. The Jews and Jebu-  
 sites continued to dwell together till the time of David, who sub-  
 dued the latter.

Judges vi. 1. } Here is no opposition, for it is not said in the  
 Numb. xxxi. 7—10. } latter passage that all the Midianites were ex-  
 tirpated. They inhabited an extensive district. Besides, 200 years  
 intervened between their discomfiture by Phinehas and their op-  
 pression of the Israelites spoken of in the former place. They had  
 increased in numbers and strength during so long a period.

Judges xx. 35. } In the latter place a round or whole number is  
 „ xx. 46. } given without the fraction specified in the former.  
 We are inclined to believe with Bertheau that another and more  
 copious account of the battle is given in 36—46. It is loosely con-  
 nected with the former in 29—35. If this be so, there is no reason  
 for supposing the twenty-fifth verse spurious, as De Wette and  
 others do.

In Judges ix. 5. 18. 56. Abimelech is said to have slain his  
 seventy brethren, though Jotham escaped. The round number is  
 given. In like manner the period during which the Israelites so-  
 journed in the land of the Amorites is called 300 years (Judges xi.  
 26.), whereas strictly speaking it was hardly so much.

1 Sam. xii. 11. There is no mention of Bedan among the judges  
 of Israel. The name seems to be a contraction for *Ben Dan*, son  
 of Dan, meaning Samson, who was a Danite.

In 1 Sam. xvi. 18—22. there is an account of David's introduc-  
 tion to Saul, of the king's attachment to him, and his being made  
 armour-bearer to the king. But in xvii. we read of the king saying  
 to him after he was brought before him, "Whose son art thou,  
 thou young man?" (55—58.) Bishops Hall, Warburton, and  
 Horsley have supposed that the encounter with Goliath was prior  
 to David's playing before Saul. Hence the last ten verses of the  
 sixteenth chapter are thought to be misplaced. Horsley makes the  
 sixteenth chapter end with the thirteenth verse, transferring the  
 remainder to the eighteenth chapter and inserting it between the  
 ninth and tenth verses. Notwithstanding the plausibility of this  
 solution, we believe it to be inadequate. The objections we have  
 stated to it elsewhere remain in full force. After David had slain  
 Goliath, and had been taken by Saul to the palace to reside with  
 himself, "he behaved himself wisely," and "Saul set him over the  
 men of war," &c. (chap. xviii. 5., &c.). Yet, after these trans-  
 actions, on the king's inquiring for a man that could play well, one  
 of the servants said, "I have seen a son of Jesse the Bethlehemite  
 that is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of  
 war, and prudent in matters, and a comely person, and the Lord is  
 with him" (xvi. 18.). It is improbable that any servant should have  
 spoken thus to Saul of David, after the king entertained feelings of  
 jealousy towards him. He eyed him with suspicion and envy on

account of his rising reputation, and it would have been a certain means of provoking the choleric king, to have pronounced encomiums on David before him. Nor can it be said with any degree of probability that Saul's feelings towards David were unknown to his household; for it is written in the eighteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter, "Then answered one of the servants and said, Behold," &c. The manner too in which the servant speaks of David implies that Saul had neither seen him before nor had any knowledge of him: "I have seen a son of Jesse the Bethlehemite." Again, the reception which the king gives to David clearly intimates that he was a stranger introduced for the first time: "And David came to Saul, and stood before him; and he loved him greatly; and he became his armour-bearer" (xvi. 21.). Surely this is not consistent with what he said immediately before, that he eyed him from that day and forward. Besides, according to the proposed arrangement, Saul is said to have made David his armour-bearer, though he had previously set him over the men of war and feared his growing popularity. There is no hint of his having been dismissed from the palace and returned to his father's after Saul became displeased with the demonstrations made in his favour. Rather do the words of chap. xviii. versc 9. imply that he still remained in the palace. And yet Saul sent for him, with the mandate to his father, "Send me David, thy son, which is with the sheep" (xvi. 29.). The words are not, "Send me David, who was with me before," or, "who slew Goliath," but, "who is with the sheep." Surely this language leads to the belief that he had not been with the king before, or excited his jealousy so much as to be dismissed. If so, his envy was speedily laid aside, and David became, after all his popularity, a favourite with Saul.

But Horsley affirms that the encounter with Goliath and the events which immediately succeeded, as narrated in chap. xviii. 1—9., took place long before David's introduction to Saul as a musician. The king therefore may have entirely forgotten the youth. But that the time between the victory and his coming to court in the character of a musician could not have been long, is shown by the inspection of the entire narrative.

These are some of the considerations standing in the way of that arrangement which has recommended itself to many expositors as entirely satisfactory. In our view they constitute as serious a difficulty as that which they are intended to remove. So far from annihilating the inconsistency, they introduce into the narrative a still greater. This solution therefore cannot be adopted.<sup>1</sup>

Other methods of reconciling the accounts may be seen in the place from which the preceding observations are extracted. We believe that the only satisfactory solution is that which supposes the original writer of the sixteenth chapter different from the writer of the seventeenth. The account of David in the sixteenth chapter is brief and incomplete. Accordingly the compiler of the book took

<sup>1</sup> Sacred Hermeneutics, pp. 542 543.

the section xvii. 12—31., and placed it where it now is without solicitude as to its nicely fitting the context. The appearance of disturbing the connection seemed a small thing to him. He knew that it presented a true account of a portion of David's history, and saw that there was no better place for it than the present. The compilatory character of the books of Samuel accounts for the unchronological, disjointed, loosely-connected nature of many parts.<sup>1</sup>

1 Sam. xxxi. 4. } The Amalekite who is the speaker in the second  
2 Sam. i. 10. } account exaggerates and falsifies in order to please David and obtain a reward. In this manner any discrepancy between Sam. xxxi. 4. and 2 Sam. i. 6—10. must be reconciled. *The person* who speaks in the latter place solves the difficulty.

2 Sam. viii. 4. } What is 700 in the former is 7000 in the  
1 Chron. xviii. 4. } latter. *Nun final* denotes 700. 7000 is marked by *zayin* with two dots. Hence a transcriber confounded the two letters and neglected the points over one of them. 7000 is the right number.

2 Sam. x. 18. } Here the like mistake has been made, 700 for  
1 Chron. xix. 18. } 7000.

2 Sam. xxiii. 8. } A minute comparison of these texts will show  
1 Chron. xi. 11. } that both are corrupt. Kennicott finds three corruptions in the former, but he fails to throw much light on the words.

1. In Samuel the two words *ישב בשבת*, "sitting in the seat," should be *ישבעם*, viz. *Jashobeam*, as in Chronicles. Kennicott accounts for the mistake of the transcriber by supposing that he wrote the first three letters, and then instead of continuing the word, carelessly cast his eye on the word *בשבת* in the line immediately above and transcribed it in here, instead of the remaining syllable of the proper word.

2. The three words in Samuel rendered *the same was Adino the Eznite* are corrupt. We should read as in Chronicles, *he lifted up his spear*. This is confirmed by verse 18. and the LXX.

3. The word *הלל*, translated as a verb *he slew*, should be *היל*. In the 18th verse the LXX. have *τραυματίας*, whence we may infer that they read *היל* here.

4. Instead of *eight hundred* the Chronicles have *three hundred*, *שלש* *שמה*. We believe that the former number is right and the latter wrong.

The passage in Samuel should read thus: "These be the names of the mighty men whom David had; Jashobeam the Tachmonite, one of the heads of the mighty men: he lifted up his spear over eight hundred wounded on one occasion." Three hundred had been prostrated by him and the corps he commanded. After the fight was over he waved his spear in triumph over the fallen, saying perhaps, "These are my trophies."<sup>2</sup> The next verse also in 2 Sam. xxiii. is corrupt, as compared with its parallel in Chronicles.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Biblical Criticism*, vol. i. p. 397. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Thenius on the Kings.

2 Sam. xxiv. 1. } God is sometimes said to do what he permits  
 1 Chron. xxi. 1. } others to do. Thus he hardened Pharaoh's heart.  
 So in the present case he permitted Satan to tempt David. Satan  
 was the active agent in the case. The Scriptures are not at all  
 careful in drawing such distinctions as we are now accustomed to.  
 They unhesitatingly ascribe things to God which can only be properly  
 ascribed to agents under him. The ultimate and intermediate causes  
 are not distinguished. Whatever is done under the moral government  
 of Jehovah is attributed directly to him. In accordance with this  
 principle Isaiah introduces Jehovah as saying, "I cause peace, and  
 I create evil" (Isa. xlv. 7.).

2 Sam. xxiv. 9. } Here there is a contradiction in numbers. Ac-  
 1 Chron. xxi. 5. } cording to the first writer 800,000 men capable  
 of bearing arms belonged to Israel and 500,000 to Judah. According  
 to the second writer 1,100,000 belonged to Israel, 470,000 to Judah.  
 We believe that the numbers even in Samuel are extraordinarily  
 and incredibly large. The population was very dense; but it was  
 not so great as here stated. The small territory of Palestine could  
 not have supported so many. Taking even the smaller numbers in  
 Samuel we must hold it probable that they stood in the original text,  
 because they are supported by the oldest versions. In them there-  
 fore may be seen the influence of popular tradition enlarging and  
 magnifying. All attempts at reconciling the numbers fail. Bertheau,  
 who apologises throughout as far as he is able for the writer of  
 Chronicles, and defends him against preceding assaults, admits that  
 the large numbers do not suit well even with the account in 1 Chron.  
 xxvii. 1—15., since they imply that David had a standing army of  
 about 300,000 men.

The editor of the quarto edition of Calmet's Dictionary endeavours to harmonise the numbers thus. "It appears by 1 Chron. xxvii. that there were twelve divisions of generals who commanded monthly, and whose duty was to keep guard near the king's person, each having a body of troops consisting of 24,000 men, which jointly formed a grand army of 288,000; and as a separate body of 12,000 men naturally attended on the twelve princes of the twelve tribes mentioned in the same chapter, the whole will be 300,000; which is the difference between the two accounts of 800,000, and of 1,100,000. As to the men of *Israel*, the author of Samuel does not take notice of the 300,000, because they were in the actual service of the king as a standing army, and therefore there was no need to number them; but Chronicles joins them to the rest, saying expressly (כל ישראל), 'all those of Israel were 1,100,000;' whereas the author of Samuel, who reckons only the 800,000, does not say (כל ישראל) 'all those of Israel,' but barely (ותהי ישראל) 'and Israel were,' &c. It must also be observed that, exclusive of the troops before mentioned, there was an army of observation on the frontiers of the Philistines' country composed of 30,000 men, as appears by 2 Sam. vi. 1., which, it seems, were included in the number of 500,000 of the people of *Judah*, by the author of *Samuel*; but the author of *Chronicles*, who mentions only 470,000, gives the number of that tribe exclusive of

those 30,000 men, because they were not all of the tribe of Judah, and therefore he does not say (כל יהודה) 'all those of Judah,' as he had said (כל ישראל) 'all those of Israel,' but only (וייהודה) 'and those of Judah.' Thus both accounts may be reconciled by only having recourse to other parts of Scripture treating on the same subject, which will ever be found the best method of explaining difficult passages." Such ingenious trifling needs no refutation.

2 Sam. xxiv. 13. } Here the Chronicle-reading attested by the  
1 Chron. xxi. 11, 12. } LXX. is the right one. The letter י=3 was changed into ז=7. The solution which has been proposed, viz. three years' famine in addition to the three which had been already with the current year included (comp. 2 Sam. xxi. 1.) is insufficient, because the three years in chapter xxi. are totally distinct from the present. They related to a different transaction.

2 Sam. xxiv. 24. } These two places are irreconcilable, as is ad-  
1 Chron. xxi. 25. } mitted even by Bertheau. We adhere to the account in Samuel, for the other appears to be exaggerated. If the Chronicle-writer had the text as it now is in Samuel before him, Thenius is right in saying that *Er hat absichtlich uebertrieben*; if not, the expression is too strong. We cannot tell how the text can be brought into harmony. All explanations which have been proposed are but guesses. One of the most plausible is, that the sum mentioned in Samuel was for the floor, oxen, and wooden instruments only; the latter for the whole hill. But this would imply *two distinct purchases*, which is wholly improbable. *The place* in Chronicles is no doubt identical with *the threshing-floor* in Samuel.

1 Kings iv. 26. (Heb. v. 6.) } Here the text in Kings is corrupt.  
2 Chron. ix. 25. } It should be *four* instead of *forty*, as in Chronicles. 12,000 horsemen to 40,000 chariots would be out of proportion. We learn from 1 Kings x. 26., and 2 Chron. i. 14., that Solomon had 1400 chariots. There were two horses to each, as is inferred from all Egyptian and Assyrian memorials. There was also a reserve horse (Xenophon Cyrop. vi. 1. 27.). This makes 4200 horses, viz.  $1400 \times 2 = 2800 + 1400$ . Here therefore the round number 4000 stands for 4200. Another solution, which represents the author of Kings speaking of the *horses* and the author of Chronicles of the *stalls* in which they were kept, we now reject as improbable.

1 Kings v. 11. } Here the accounts differ in various respects. As  
2 Chron. ii. 10. } they now stand they are irreconcilable. 1st. The *twenty* measures of pure oil mentioned in Kings should be *twenty thousand*, as in Chronicles, for the latter number brings the due proportion into the account. The LXX., Symmachus, and Josephus confirm this. 2ndly. 20,000 measures of barley and 20,000 baths of wine in Chronicles, are passed over in Kings. 3rdly. The account in Chronicles says that these things were presented to Hiram on *one* occasion; while that in Kings speaks of a *yearly* present. 4thly. The account in Chronicles says that the articles given were for the maintenance of Hiram's servants; that in Kings that they were for Hiram's household. The narrative in Kings seems trustworthy and

accurate; that in Chronicles is wrought up in the manner of the writer, and is less exact.

1 Kings vii. 15. } Here *eighteen* cubits is the right number, being  
 2 Chron. iii. 15. } attested by all the versions, and with a single  
 exception, by all the parallels, as well as by the 19th verse. The  
 number 35 in Chronicles arose from altering ט"ו = 18 into ט"ז = 35.  
 The older interpreters, and Movers in recent times, would reconcile  
 the numbers as they stand by assuming that the former text speaks  
 of the length of the pillars *separately*, the latter of their length  
*together*. Each was nearly 18 cubits long (stated in round numbers  
 as 18), and both amounted to 35. This is wholly improbable.

1 Kings ix. 23. } Here the number 550 is the right one, being  
 2 Chron. viii. 10. } confirmed by all the versions and Josephus.  
 The Chronicle-number 250 is corrupt. Kennicott thinks that it  
 originated from mistaking ט"ו for ט"ז.

1 Kings ix. 28. } The number 420 is the right one. The 450 of  
 2 Chron. viii. 18. } Chronicles arose from confounding כ with כ.

1 Kings xv. 10. } These places are commonly reconciled by as-  
 2 Chron. xiii. 2. } suming that אב denotes *grandmother* in the  
 former, and *mother* in the latter. So even Ewald supposes. But  
 Thenius objects, and with reason, to this solution. He thinks that  
 by a transcriber's mistake the words *daughter of Abishalom* were  
 taken into the text. The Chronicle-name Michaiah should be as in  
 Kings Maachah, for the former is always the name of a man. We  
 adopt Thenius's opinion.

1 Kings xvi. 23. } Some may assume an error in the number 31  
 ,, xvi. 10. 15. } in the former place, thinking it should be 27.  
 Omri immediately succeeded Zimri, the latter reigned but 7 days,  
 yet Omri began to reign in the 27th of Asa. The 12 years men-  
 tioned in the first passage were not full years nor reckoned from  
 Zimri's death, because Ahab, son of Omri, entered upon his reign in  
 the 38th year of Asa (1 Kings xvi. 29.). Hence the beginning of  
 his reign in the 31st year of Asa can mean nothing but that of his  
*undisturbed* possession of the throne. During four years he was not  
 securely fixed in possession of the kingdom. See Thenius.

2 Kings viii. 16. } The words in the first text, *Jehoshaphat*  
 2 Kings i. 17. } *being then king of Judah*, arose from a  
 1 Kings xxii. 52. } mistake in transcription, and should be  
 2 Kings viii. 17. } expunged, with Houbigant, Kennicott,  
 2 Chron. xx. 31., xxi. 5. } Maurer, and Thenius. They are wanting  
 in several MSS., in the Aldine LXX., the Syriac, and the Arabic. In  
 2 Kings i. 17., we believe that the text is corrupt. Several MSS. of  
 De Rossi have a space in the verse. Instead of *in the second year of*  
*Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat*, we should read *in the two and twentieth*  
*year of Jehoshaphat*. In 1 Kings xxii. 52., the text is also corrupt,  
 as it contradicts other places. The 17th year should be the 21st.  
 It has been often assumed, that Jehoram when 32 years old was  
 associated with his father in the kingdom, and reigned with him  
 8 years. He afterwards succeeded his father and reigned alone. But  
 this assumption is very improbable. It is an expedient which has

been resorted to in various instances without reason. We agree with Greswell and Clinton in avoiding it wherever it is possible. In the present instance it is highly improbable, as has been shown by Thenius, to whom we refer for an able elucidation of the numbers connected with Jehoram's reign.

2 Kings xiii. 1. } In the second passage 39 is required for 37.  
 „ xiii. 10. } The numeral letters ם and ן, were confounded.  
 The Aldine LXX. has 39. See Thenius on Kings.

2 Kings xv. 1. } Here the name Azariah, in the first text,  
 „ xv. 32. 34. } should be Uzziah. And it follows from xiv.  
 „ xiv. 17. } 17., that the number 27 is erroneous. It  
 should be 15. The mistake arose from changing ם = 15 into ן = 27.  
 Amaziah survived Jehoash not full fifteen years. Hence his son  
 Uzziah must have come to the throne in the fifteenth year of Jeroboam, who followed Jehoash.

2 Kings xv. 30. } In the first passage the number 20 must be  
 „ xv. 33. } erroneous. It should be as in the second. The  
 mistake arose in transcription, perhaps in the manner Thenius has  
 pointed out.

2 Kings xv. 30. } The *twelfth* year of Ahaz in the latter passage is  
 „ xvii. 1. } wrong. Hoshea's predecessor Pekah reigned 30  
 years (xv. 27.), Ahaz became king in his 17th year (xvii. 1.), and  
 therefore Ahaz must have reigned contemporaneously with Pekah  
 13 years. Hoshea must have come to the throne in the 14th of Ahaz.  
 ן = 14 was changed into ן = 12. We greatly prefer this to Calmet's  
 solution.

2 Kings xxiii. 30. } Here we believe that both texts are reconcil-  
 2 Chron. xxxv. 24. } able as they stand, though Winer, Thenius,  
 and others suppose them to be contradictory. In the former place  
 the word מָד should be rendered *dying* or *in a dying state*, a significa-  
 tion which Ewald and Von Gumpach allow to the word. The  
 king expired at Jerusalem, not Megiddo. See Bertheau on Chron-  
 icles.

2 Kings xxiv. 8. } We believe that 18 in the first passage is right,  
 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. } and 8 in the second wrong. The letter ' be-  
 came in some way effaced in the latter. Keil, Hitzig, and Bertheau  
 suppose the error to be in 18; but this is much less probable. Ac-  
 cordingly Thenius has rightly defended 18.

2 Kings xxiv. 6. } In the one passage it is implied that  
 Jer. xxii. 19., xxxvi. 30. } Jehoiakim died a natural death; but in  
 Jeremiah he is represented as coming to a shameful end and his body  
 being refused burial. Probably he fell in a battle with the warlike  
 bands mentioned in the second verse of the chapter, and was not  
 therefore buried. Or, we may assume with Ewald, that he was  
 craftily enticed out of Jerusalem, taken, and miserably put to death,  
 and his body refused burial. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. does not imply that  
 he was actually carried to Babylon, but only that Nebuchadnezzar  
 intended to do so. But on account of the obstinacy and resistance  
 offered by Jehoiakim he was put to death, after being taken prisoner.  
 Still we admit that the expressions in 2 Kings xxiv. 6. in their most

natural sense imply that he was buried with his fathers, while the others assert he was not buried at all. The difficulty or contradiction is still more apparent in the LXX., who in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8., after the word *Judah* insert, *Jehoiakim slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of Uzzah*. If these words be old, the compiler of Chronicles and the writer of Kings did not insert them, because they make it palpable that the prophecy of Jeremiah was not fulfilled. But even as the texts now stand we cannot bring the prophecy and its accomplishment into harmony. Winer's solution is inadequate.

2 Kings xxiv. 14. } Here the numbers plainly disagree. In Jerem. lii. 28. } miah the number should be 10,023, which is more exact than the round number 10,000 in Kings. The mistake arose from converting ' = 10 into ם = 3.

2 Sam. x. 6. } Here it will be found on examination that the 1 Chron. xix. 7. } numbers in both places agree. According to the first, Aram Beth-rehob and Aram furnished 20,000 footmen, the king of Maacah 1000 men, and the kingdom of Tob 12,000. The 20,000 and the 12,000 make up the 32,000 given in the Chronicles. The 1000 of the king of Maacah are passed over in the account of 'Chronicles. In Chronicles the land of Tob is omitted. In 2 Samuel only foot soldiers are mentioned, while according to Chronicles, the hired troops consist of רָכָב, *riders*.

2 Chron. iv. 3. } The word בקרים, in the former passage 1 Kings vii. 24, 25, 26. } translated *oxen*, should be פקעים, *knops*, as in Kings. Similar letters were mistaken for one another by a transcriber. Others have ingeniously conjectured that the architectural ornaments called *knops* were in the form of *oxen*.

1 Chron. vi. 70. (55 Heb.) } Instead of Aner and Bileam in Chron. Joshua xvii. 11. } nicles, Joshua has Taanach and Gath-rimmon. We believe that Aner was originally Taanach, אַתְּ-הַעֵךְ in Joshua having been altered into אַתְּ-עַרְיָה by changing ך into ר. Gath-rimmon in Joshua is a mistake originating in the preceding verse, for Bileam is a town in Manasseh, which should be noticed here. Ibleam in Joshua xvii. 11. is the same with Bileam in Chronicles, the latter being an abridged form.

1 Chron. v. 26. } In the former place it is said that Tiglath- 2 Kings xvii. 6. } pilneser carried away the Israelites into the same parts which the latter represents Shalmaneser as taking them to. We are inclined to believe that both places refer to the same event, the time of Tiglath-pilneser and Shalmaneser being confounded by the writer of the Chronicles. The words in Kings נַהַר גּוּזָן וְעַרְי מְדַי, *the river of Gozan and cities of the Medes*, are in Chron., הַרָא וְנַהַר גּוּזָן, *Hara and the river of Gozan*. It is likely that the writer of the latter followed an indefinite tradition and relied on memory. See Bertheau.

1 Chron. xviii. 4. } In the former are 7000 horsemen, in the latter 2 Sam. viii. 4. } 700. Probably the former is the correct number. If so, the latter should be changed.

1 Chron. xviii. 11. } In the former place the words *which he took*, 2 Sam. viii. 11. } אִשָּׁר וְנִשָּׂא, imply that David dedicated to Je-

hovah all the silver and gold which he took from the conquered nations. But this contradicts 2 Sam. viii. 7. Hence the reading of 2 Sam. viii. 11. אשר הקריש, *which he dedicated*, is preferable to that in Chronicles.

1 Chron. xviii. 16. } In the former passage the right orthography  
 1 Sam. xxii. 20. } of the name is Ahimelek, as in 2 Sam. viii. 17.  
 It is strange however, that Ahimelek should be called the son of Abiathar, since in the latter passage Abiathar is mentioned among the sons of Ahimelek. Hence both Thenius and Ewald alter the reading in 1 Chron. xviii. 16., into *Abiathar son of Ahimelek*, to agree with the reading in 1 Sam. xxii. 20. But in 1 Chron. xxiv. 3. 31. a high priest Ahimelek appears in addition to Zadok, who is called son of Abiathar in the 6th verse. Thus the high priests of the line of Ithamar are Ahimelek, his son Abiathar, and the son of Abiathar, Ahimelek. The grandfather and grandson have the same name, a thing not unusual. The writer of the Chronicles knew of an Ahimelek, son of Abiathar, who during the life of his father performed the duties of high priest under David's rule. As he is mentioned along with Zadok in 1 Chron. xxiv. 3. 6. 31., so he appears in 1 Chron. xviii. 16. along with Zadok also. If we were to alter Ahimelek into Abiathar and Abiathar into Ahimelek in 1 Chron. xviii. 16., we should have to make the same alteration in 1 Chron. xxiv. 3. 6. 31. We believe the passage to be right as it stands. See Bertheau.

2 Chron. xxii. 8. } In the former place are mentioned *the princes*  
 2 Kings x. 13. } *of Judah and the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah* ;  
 in the latter, *the brethren of Ahaziah king of Judah*. Some suppose that *brethren* in the latter mean *male relatives generally*. But the mode of explanation adopted by Bertheau is preferable, who supposes that there were two different traditions respecting the violent death of all the brethren of Ahaziah. According to the one, they were murdered in the great judicial slaughter of Jehu, which is followed in Kings. According to the other, they perished somewhat earlier in an incursion of the Arabians and Philistines. The Chronicle-writer had both accounts, and in order to bring them into harmony put for the forty-two brethren in Kings, *princes of Judah and sons of the brethren*.

2 Chron. xxii. 9. } These two accounts of the death of Ahaziah  
 2 Kings ix. 27. } are contradictory. The former states that he concealed himself in Samaria, was found there, brought to Jehu, and put to death. The account in the latter is, that he died in Megiddo. Various attempts have been made to reconcile the two narratives by Buddeus, Lightfoot, Jarchi, &c., and more recently by Keil. According to the last writer Ahaziah fled first to the way of the garden-house, and escaped thence to Samaria. From this place he was brought to Jehu, who was still in or near Jezreel, and by his command smitten on the way to Gur, so that fleeing onward as far as Megiddo he expired. Movers's attempt is still more unsuccessful. The account in Chronicles appears confused and indistinct; while that in Kings has all the appearance of accuracy. The facts were not clearly remembered by the Chronicle-writer. His recollection

was confused, and he was unable to distinguish the separate occurrences. Hence he brought the death of Ahaziah into connection with the occurrences in Samaria related in 2 Kings.

2 Chron. iv. 5. } The most natural way of reconciling these two  
1 Kings vii. 26. } places is to suppose that the 3000 baths in Chron-  
icles should be 2000, the letter  $\beth = 2$  having been altered into  $\daleth = 3$ .  
Other methods have been proposed, but all are objectionable. Even  
that of Taylor will not stand the test, who suggests that the writer of  
the Chronicles not merely states the quantity of water which the  
basin held, but that also which was necessary to work it, to keep it  
flowing as a fountain—that which was required to fill both it and its  
accompaniments.

2 Chron. xxii. 2. } The number 42 in the former passage is clearly  
2 Kings viii. 26. } wrong. It should be 22.  $\beth$  and  $\daleth$  were inter-  
changed. We reject Lightfoot's solution, that Ahaziah began to  
reign in the 22d year of *his age*, but in the 42d of *the kingdom of his  
mother's family*.

2 Chron. xxviii. 20, 21. } Here there is no real contradiction. Ac-  
2 Kings xvi. 7—9. } cording to both places Ahaz sought help  
from Assyria. But in Chronicles it is said that Tiglath-pileser came  
unto him and oppressed him, but *did not overpower him* (not, *did not  
strengthen him*). He laid siege to Jerusalem, but did not take it, for  
“ Ahaz took away a portion out of the house of God (plundered the  
sanctuary), and out of the house of the king, and of the princes, and  
gave it unto the king of Assyria, but he helped him not,” *i. e.* it did  
not avail to procure him the assistance of Tiglath-pileser against  
the Edomites and Philistines. Even Thenius admits that the two  
accounts harmonise; and Bertheau accordingly shows their full  
agreement.

2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10. } In the former place Zedekiah is called the  
2 Kings xxiv. 17. } brother of Jehoiachin, but in the latter, his  
*uncle*. He was the third son of Josiah, who with the second son Jehoahaz  
had one mother (2 Kings xxiv. 18., xxiii. 31.), and at the death of  
his father was ten years of age. Jehoiachin at that time had no son,  
for children were born to him for the first time in captivity;  
and therefore he (Zedekiah) had the nearest claim to the throne.  
When he is called *the brother* of Jehoiachin, it is meant that he is  
*the real* brother (not a near relative), for in 1 Chron. iii. 16. Jeho-  
niah and Zedekiah are given as the sons of Jehoiakim. Hence for  
*father's brother* in 2 Kings xxiv. 17., we must read *brother*, as in  
Chronicles.

Ezra ii. } We are unable fairly to reconcile the numbers  
Nehemiah vii. } in these two chapters. The reader will find  
an attempt to harmonise them in my *Biblical Criticism*. It is only  
an *attempt*; and it would be vain to conceal the want of entire  
satisfaction with it. Altling's may appear plausible at first sight,  
but it is radically unsound. We give it without farther remark. The  
whole congregation together was 42,360 persons returned from  
Babylon. The numbers in Nehemiah amount to 31,089, and in Ezra  
to 29,818. Nehemiah mentions 1765 persons omitted in Ezra; and

Ezra mentions 494 omitted by Nehemiah. If therefore Ezra's surplus be added to the sum in Nehemiah, and Nehemiah's surplus to the number in Ezra, they will both become 31,583. Subtracting this from 42,360 there will be a deficiency of 10,777. These are omitted because they did not belong to Judah and Benjamin or to the priests, but to the other tribes.

Prov. xxvi. 4. } These passages have been already explained. See  
 „ xxvi. 5. } page 494.

Dan. i. 1. } In the latter passage the commencement of Nebuchad-  
 Jer. xxv. 1. } nezzar's reign appears to be placed in the fourth year  
 of Jehoiakim; but in the former, Nebuchadnezzar is said to have  
 come against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim's reign. The  
 third year of Jehoiakim corresponds to 607 B.C. That Nebuchad-  
 nezzar came against Jerusalem near the close of that year has been  
 inferred from two circumstances, viz. the fast kept by Jehoiakim and  
 his people on the 9th month of the fifth year of this king. This  
 fast was commemorative of some great evil, either the capture of the  
 city, or anticipative of some dangerous struggle, such as Jehoiakim's  
 rebellion. And as Nebuchadnezzar is called king on this expedition,  
 and as we know that Jehoiakim's fourth year corresponded with the  
 first year of Nebuchadnezzar, as viewed by the Hebrews, it follows  
 of course that the invasion by Nebuchadnezzar must have been late  
 in 607. If so, then the greater part of his *first* year as counted by  
 the Hebrews corresponded to the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim. Such  
 is the solution proposed by Stuart. We prefer the following.

Nebuchadnezzar was associated with his father in the throne of  
 Babylon, before he set out on his celebrated expedition against hither  
 Asia. A passage in Berosus favours this statement. Hence the  
 first year of Nebuchadnezzar means the first year of his *joint* reign.  
 To this however it may be objected, that in another place Daniel  
 reckons the second year of Nebuchadnezzar (ii. 1.) the second of his  
 sole sovereignty. But the difference may arise from the localities  
 respectively referred to. The former method of computation would  
 naturally proceed from an author living in Judea; the latter from one  
 living in Babylon.

*Contradictions between the writers of the New Testament.*

The most serious differences occur in the Gospels. It is ob-  
 vious that the Evangelists did not intend to relate the various par-  
 ticulars connected with the life and death of Jesus in chronological  
 order. Their notices of time are generally indefinite. None follows  
 throughout the proper sequence of events. All attempts to bring  
 the four narratives into compact and natural union — to settle the  
 time when a discourse was delivered or the place where a miracle was  
 wrought, must partake of uncertainty. We do not think it possible  
 to make out a full and complete harmony of the Gospels. The  
 sacred authors intended to give no more than portions of the life  
 of Christ, in no regular order or connection. Each follows his own  
 plan independently of the other, giving such facts and discourses as  
 were accordant with his leading purpose. It is therefore beyond

the reach of human ability to construct a complete, harmonious narrative out of the four.'

Matt. ii. 1—23. } There is a chronological discrepancy here.  
 Luke ii. 22—39. } In Matthew there is no mention of the presentation in the temple. The parents of Jesus at Bethlehem receive the visit of the Magi, and fly thence into Egypt, from which they afterwards return to Galilee.

Luke has nothing of the visit of the Magi and the flight into Egypt, but represents the parents as going to Jerusalem to offer the child in the temple, and afterwards returning to Galilee.

“The Magi must have been at Bethlehem,” says Schleiermacher, “before Jesus’s presentation; for not only does Luke make the parents return immediately after that ceremony to Nazareth, but, according to his statement of the whole transaction, there is not the slightest conceivable motive for a fresh prolonged stay in the strange town of Bethlehem. No ground for the supposition either of employment in Bethlehem, or of an intention to settle there, is afforded by Luke’s narrative, or even consistent with it; and all its vividness is destroyed if we imagine that Joseph’s return to Bethlehem was merely omitted. . . . The point must be allowed to be clear, when we take into the account, that Joseph went to Bethlehem solely on account of the registry, how ill Mary was accommodated there in her labour, and how reluctant they must have been to undergo the fatigue of a double journey. Now had the Magi arrived before the presentation, in that case, considering how near Bethlehem was to Jerusalem, intelligence would certainly have reached the former place of Herod’s inquiries after the birth-place of the Messiah, and that the Magi discovered it by the direction thence obtained. Moreover, the Magi must have had the dream which warned them against returning to Jerusalem at Bethlehem, and it is much more probable that they related, than that they suppressed it. Must not Joseph now, considering Herod’s notorious character, have conceived suspicion from these circumstances, and abandoned the wholly needless journey to Jerusalem? The flight into Egypt therefore is indeed very naturally connected with the visit of the Magi, and the attention it excited . . . but the journey to Jerusalem is inconsistent with it.”<sup>1</sup>

We are inclined to place the presentation in the temple before the arrival of the Magi. The difficulty in the way of this view is Luke ii. 39., where it is related that after the presentation his parents returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth. Here is the place for inserting the return of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem where the Magi visited them, whence they fled into Egypt. Does Luke’s previous account of the compulsory nature of the stay which Joseph and Mary made at Bethlehem, and the inconveniences to which they were subjected there, exclude the idea of their having returned thither? So Schleiermacher and his translator argue.<sup>2</sup> But we are

<sup>1</sup> Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke, translated, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>2</sup> See the Translator’s note, p. 316.

too much in the dark as to many conceivable circumstances to be warranted in drawing this conclusion. Various causes may have led Joseph and Mary to return, of which we are wholly ignorant. Even when they returned from Egypt, they intended to take up their abode in Bethlehem (Matt. ii. 22.), and therefore it is not so remarkable that they should have gone to it and not Nazareth after the presentation. If the words of Luke in ii. 39. be rigorously pressed and urged, the difficulty of inserting intervening events will appear insuperable; but we regard them as loose and inexact. They must not be taken with precision, but viewed as indefinite.

Matt. ii. } " Luke supposes every where that before the birth of  
 Luke ii. } Jesus, which took place only accidentally at Bethlehem, Joseph and Mary lived at Nazareth. Matthew, on the contrary, knows nothing of any accidental cause of the birth happening at Bethlehem, and clearly supposes that Joseph, but for the intervention of some particular circumstances, would have returned to Judea after his flight, and therefore manifestly takes that, and not Galilee, to have been his usual place of abode. All attempts to reconcile these two contradictory statements seem only elaborate efforts of art, to which one should not needlessly resort, or indeed should rather give no explanation at all."<sup>1</sup> So Schleiermacher reasons. So too Meyer and others.

Joseph was led by the census to Bethlehem, where he settled down or determined to settle. Hence Matthew represents it as his dwelling place. But the flight to Egypt soon broke off his settlement there, so that it became *in reality* a temporary one. Hence Luke regards his subsequent settlement in Galilee as a return to the place of his abode. Such is the substance of the solution given by Neander, Ebrard, Hofmann, Krabbe, and Lange. Nor has Wieseler succeeded better than they.<sup>2</sup> We have none other to offer, though we confess to some dissatisfaction with it. Perhaps Luke and Matthew followed different traditions with respect to the birth and infancy of Jesus. Each relates certain circumstances, knowing none other, because the one tradition had various forms.

Matt. iv. 1—11. } The temptations of our Lord are recorded by  
 Luke iv. 2—12. } Matthew in a different order from Luke's. The former gives as the second temptation that of vanity, and the third that of ambition or worldly grandeur; while Luke gives the *second* ambition, and the *third* vanity. The order in Matthew seems to be the correct one, for on the contrary supposition the second temptation would have rendered the third superfluous. Schleiermacher accounts for the order in Luke as arising from the reflection how improbable it was that Christ should have first gone out of the wilderness to Jerusalem, and thence again to the high mountain, when the mountain and the wilderness might rather be supposed to be near each other. Hence Luke's order has reference to the outward aspect of the temptations.

<sup>1</sup> Critical Essay, &c., translated, p. 48., with the Translator's note, p. 317.  
 Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien, p. 35. *et seqq.*

Matt. viii. 5—10. } Luke is minute and circumstantial; Matthew  
 Luke vii. 1—10. } brief. According to the latter the centurion  
 sends the elders of the Jews to Jesus; according to Luke he goes in  
 person. This is explained by the principle *qui facit per alterum  
 facit per se*.

Matt. xvii. 1. } Matthew reckons *inclusively*, Luke *exclusively*.  
 Luke ix. 28. } So Chrysostom, Jerome, and Theophylact, fol-  
 lowed by most recent expositors.

Matt. xx. 29—34. } Matthew speaks of two blind persons, Mark  
 Mark x. 46—52. } and Luke of one only. Mark calls him Bar-  
 Luke xviii. 35—43. } timeus. Luke represents the miracle as per-  
 formed when Jesus was approaching Jericho, before he entered it;  
 Matthew and Mark after he had left Jericho.

1. Newcome supposes that Jesus remained several days at  
 Jericho, and during his stay made several excursions from the city  
 and returned to it again. This is purely conjecture, though it intro-  
 duces what removes the contradiction.

2. The verb *ἐγγίζειν*, to draw near, used by Luke, is equivalent to  
*to be near*. Hence the language of Luke may include also the idea  
 expressed by Matthew and Mark, *i. e.* while he was *still near* the  
 city. Grotius and Passow both give this meaning to the verb,  
 and Robinson undertakes to supply what they left undone, viz. to  
 sustain it by examples in the New Testament and Septuagint.<sup>1</sup>  
 But he has been able to produce no instance from the former.  
 Luke xix. 29. is not a proper one, compared with Matt. xxi. 1.; and  
 as to the tropical usage in Phil. ii. 3. that is inapplicable. The  
 usage of the LXX. however is definite and clear. They frequently  
 employ it for the Hebrew קָרִיב, *near*. The preposition *εἰς* after the  
 verb, prefixed to the name of the place, appears to us to show very  
 clearly that Luke meant to say that Jesus was *approaching* Jericho.  
 Surely another preposition would have been used had the idea been  
 that Jesus was *near Jericho, leaving it*. The proposed interpretation  
 is unnatural and forced.

3. Sieffert, Ebrard, Wieseler, and others think that Matthew  
 combined two separate healings, one of which, viz. Mark's, was per-  
 formed as Jesus left Jericho, the other, viz. Luke's, as he was abou  
 to enter it. It is certainly Matthew's manner to combine events in  
 this way; but if we allow the union of the two separate occurrences  
 we are still compelled to admit some inaccuracy in his representation,  
 because he says that both were performed as Jesus was *departing*  
*from* Jericho.

4. Another solution we shall give in the words in which it was  
 proposed: "Taking the account of Matthew in connection with  
 Mark's, we believe that there were in reality two blind men, both  
 restored to sight by Christ as he passed from Jericho to Jerusa-  
 lem. Let us now attend to what Luke says. *As Jesus drew nigh to*  
*Jericho*, a certain blind man sat by the wayside begging. There is  
 no ground for supposing that this blind man was the same as Barti-

meus mentioned by Mark. He is not so called. It is not said that he was Bartimeus. We believe that he was a different person. The reason of this opinion is, that Bartimeus is said to have been healed by Christ as he left Jericho; whereas the blind beggar noticed in Luke's Gospel received his sight from our Saviour drawing nigh to the city. Thus there is no contradiction between the narratives of the three Evangelists. Matthew relates that Christ performed the remarkable miracle of giving sight to two blind men who sat begging by the wayside as he departed from Jericho, and we believe him. Mark notices but one of these, whose name he gives; but he does not say that Christ on that occasion healed no more than one. His account therefore is not contradictory to Matthew's, though it is not so full. Luke again informs us, that the Saviour before entering Jericho, healed a poor blind man who cried unto him. This last individual was wholly different from either of those mentioned by Matthew. Taking therefore the narratives of the three Evangelists together, we perceive from them that three blind men received their sight from Christ during his visit to Jericho — one before he entered it, and two others as he left it."<sup>1</sup>

We are not satisfied now with this solution, for the following reasons.

(a.) It is most natural to identify the blind man in Luke with the blind man in Matthew, not to assume their diversity.

(b.) It is not natural to suppose that though Matthew speaks of two blind men, none of them is identical with him spoken of by Luke. We are therefore compelled to confess our inability to reconcile the contradictions of the Evangelists in this place. If we adopted any of the solutions, it would be the third. Mark's graphic account, in which the very name of the blind man is given, must have been derived from an eye-witness. Luke's statement also bears the internal character of accuracy. Hence the combination of the two by Matthew or rather his translator, is the most probable.

|                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                        |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Matt. xxi. 38.      | } The last three passages seem to contradict the first.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                        |
| Acts iii. 17.       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | } But the first being a parable, makes it unnecessary to apply all the circumstances literally to Christ which are spoken of the heir. |
| „ xiii. 27.         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                        |
| 1 Cor. ii. 8.       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                        |
| Matt. xxvi. 6., &c. | } Here we have the story of a woman who anointed our Lord, from the different Evangelists. No critic denies that Matthew and Mark relate the same occurrence. As to John's narrative, it was once not unusual to hold that it referred to a different transaction. Origen, Chrysostom, Euthymius Zygabenus, Osiander, Lightfoot, Wolfius, and others thought so; but no harmonist does so now, not even Greswell. |                                                                                                                                        |
| Mark xiv. 3., &c.   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                        |
| John xii. 1., &c.   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                        |
|                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                        |

The following discrepancies appear in the three narratives.

1. According to John, the unction took place *six* days before the passover; but, according to Matthew and Mark, *two* days previously to the feast. (See Matt. xxvi. 2.; Mark xiv. 1.; John xii. 1.)

<sup>1</sup> Sacred Hermeneutics, pp. 558, 559.

2. According to the first two Evangelists, the supper was in the house of Simon, formerly a leper. But John merely says, "*they made him a supper,*" &c. The most natural supposition is that it was in the house of Martha and Mary, since Martha waited at the table, a thing which belonged to the hostess; and Lazarus was one of those that sat at meat.

3. According to the first two Evangelists, Mary anointed *the head* of Jesus; according to John, *the feet*.

4. Matthew and Mark say that *the disciples* disapproved of the deed. John however speaks only of Judas Iscariot grumbling at it.

1. With regard to the first, some think that Matthew (and Mark) does not follow the order of time. They would therefore place this visit of Jesus to Bethany *before* the time noticed in Matt. xxvi. 2. So Ebrard. But this is contrary to the language in the fourteenth verse, *τότε πορευθεῖς*, which connects the visit of Judas to the chief priests *immediately* with the supper. Others again, as Robinson, think that John *anticipates* the time of the supper at Bethany, in order to bring together and complete all he had to say further of Bethany. Accordingly, this harmonist, following Matthew and Mark, puts the supper on the evening of Wednesday; while John *apparently*, as he supposes, places it on Sunday, the evening after the Jewish sabbath. We do not think either solution satisfactory, and are unable to reconcile the times given by Matthew and Mark on the one hand, compared with John on the other.

2. The supper was at Bethany. It is possible to solve this discrepancy by supposing that Simon was a friend or relative of the family of Lazarus and his sisters; or he may have been the husband of Martha. In any case it is not so apparent as Robinson imagines, that the entertainment was not in the house of Lazarus because it is said he was one of them who reclined at the table; for Simon, Lazarus, Martha, and Mary may have lived in the same house, if, as is not improbable, Simon was the husband of Martha. On the whole there is no contradiction here between the three Evangelists. Yet Meyer thinks that the name Simon in the narratives of Matthew and Mark was originally taken from Luke vii., where a similar unction is recorded, the tradition followed by those Evangelists having received various disturbing particulars out of the transaction recorded by Luke.

3. The anointing of the head recorded by Matthew and Mark, and of the feet by John, are not inconsistent. The woman may have anointed both. The latter unction was uncommon. It was an extraordinary mark of reverence and respect; while the anointing of the head at entertainments was usual. Here again Meyer thinks that the tradition followed by Matthew and Mark was ignorant of the foot-unction.

4. There is no opposition between the three in this particular, though John's is the more definite and particular account.

Wherever the narratives clash, as in 1., we prefer following John's, since he was an eye-witness. The others are less exact.

We have not regarded Luke vii. 36., &c., as a parallel account of

the same anointing, though Chrysostom, Grotius, Schleiermacher, Strauss, Weiss, Ewald, Middleton, look upon it as another description of the same. But the time, place, circumstances, and person, seem undoubtedly to be different. Hence even Meyer regards them as separate and distinct. The difficulties are insuperable on the hypothesis of their identity.

Matt. xxvi. 8. } Here Matthew expresses indefinitely what John  
John xii. 4. } states with exactness.

Matt. xxvi. 21. } Here some think there is a discrepancy between  
Luke xxii. 21. } Matthew and Mark compared with Luke.

The first two Evangelists intimate that our Saviour indicated the disciple by whom he was to be betrayed while eating the passover; whereas in Luke he did so after the institution of the supper. Matthew and Mark agree in stating that the traitor was pointed out during the passover and before the institution of the eucharist. They insert the record of the Saviour's conversation respecting the traitor at the time it took place, thus carrying on all the circumstances together and reserving nothing till the account of the passover and eucharist should be finished. But Luke relates in immediate consecution the participation of the passover and eucharist, reserving the notice of the traitor till afterwards. Hence, in placing the institution of the eucharist before the pointing out of the traitor, he puts it out of its proper order. He anticipates.

Matt. xxvi. 17—20. } The first three Evangelists relate that on  
Mark xiv. 12—17. } the night before Jesus suffered, he partook  
Luke xxii. 7—15. } of the passover.

John xiii. 1., &c. &c. } In like manner John speaks of Jesus celebrating a supper on that night, which must be the same because the circumstances are alike. There can be little doubt that in John xiii. 1., &c., the very same supper is described as in the passages from the first three Evangelists. The legal period at which the passover was celebrated was the 14th of Nisan. Hence we infer that Jesus kept the passover on the night of Thursday the 14th of Nisan. Such is the plain conclusion to which the accounts in the first three Gospels directly lead. But the narrative of John presents serious obstacles in the way of this statement. This apostle says, *πρὸ τῆς ἑσπέρης τοῦ πάσχα* at the very beginning of his description of the supper. Hence it could not have been the paschal supper which Jesus then partook of. Again, he says that the Jews who brought the Saviour to Pilate the morning after the supper would not enter the judgment-hall lest they should be defiled, *but that they might eat the passover*. Thirdly, the morning after the supper is called *the preparation of the passover*, the day on which Christ suffered. Fourthly, in the course of the supper, the feast is supposed to be still future: "Buy those things that we have need of *against the feast*." Fifthly, amid the deliberations relating to the disposal of Jesus, Pilate speaks of the passover as either at hand or just begun that morning, but not yet past: "Ye have a custom that I should release unto you one at the passover." Sixthly, the day after the crucifixion being the Jewish sabbath, and called a great day, must have been so styled

because it coincided with the first day of the festival, or the 15th of Nisan. Such are the chief points in John's Gospel which go to show that Jesus celebrated the paschal supper on the 13th of Nisan, not on the 14th as the first three Evangelists relate.

This is the most perplexing discrepancy in the Gospels. When we consider that the apostles were present — eye-witnesses of the occurrence — partakers of the supper they speak of — it seems to us impossible that there can be an irreconcilable contradiction between Matthew and John. Yet able writers like Meyer and Bleek assume here an absolute contradiction; and the necessity of the case may perhaps exempt them from censure; but we cannot believe that the understandings or memories of the apostles were of a kind to misapprehend a matter of fact like the present. They must have known and remembered the event. It was a memorable evening; the solemn occurrences of which must have made a lasting impression on their minds and hearts. How could any of them ever mistake or forget the very night on which they partook of the last supper with the Saviour — on which he was betrayed into the hands of sinners? Among the various ways of removing this contradiction, two claim the decided preference.

1st. That our Lord antedated by one day the true time of the passover. He had, it is conceived, special reasons for so doing.

2nd. That the expressions of John, which appear to show that the passover was still to come, are capable of such interpretations as consist with the legal day of the passover, the day indicated by the other Evangelists.

Greswell may be taken as the ablest representative of the first view; and Robinson has brought together from various quarters and set in order skilfully all that can well be said to explain John's language consistently with that of the synoptists.

The most intractable passage in the hands of those who take the second view is undoubtedly that in John xviii. 28., *but that they might eat the passover*, implying that on the day of the crucifixion the paschal supper had not yet been eaten. The method in which it is treated by writers like Robinson and Luthardt is to give the expression φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα a wide sense, either *to keep the passover festival*, comprising the seven days of unleavened bread; or *to eat the paschal sacrifices*, i. e. the voluntary peace- and thank-offerings made during the paschal festival.

A serious objection to this extended acceptance of πάσχα with φαγεῖν is the fact that in every case where the same phrase occurs, whether in the New Testament or the LXX., it denotes specifically *eating of the paschal supper*. Such as oppose this wide acceptance allege that it is not only necessary to show that the word πάσχα *by itself* may denote *the passover festival*, but that φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα may refer to *the whole festival*, or *specially* to the sacrifices which formed a part of the ceremonial of the seven days' feast. This cannot be done.

Next to this is the phrase παρασκευῆ τοῦ πάσχα in John xix. 14.,

which is referred by many to the Jewish sabbath that occurred the next day. In this way John harmonises with the rest.

We must decline entering on the minute consideration of this perplexing question, especially as it is copiously treated in the first volume of my Introduction to the New Testament. The difficulties are very great against the most approved mode of harmonising John with the synoptists. We do not think the method of interpretation in regard to these two passages in John (which are the strongest in favour of his speaking of the paschal supper), considered the most plausible, is satisfactory. The objections it is liable to are forcible. We need not state them on the present occasion, as there is not space to enter into the whole question; nor have we any solution different from those that have been proposed by others. The contradiction must be regarded as still unremoved from the Gospels. We want farther light on the point; being persuaded that there must be a strict agreement between the different Evangelists on a matter of fact like the present.

The English reader may be referred to Robinson, who, adopting the method of conciliation most in favour at the present time, has carefully arranged the statements found in Tholuck, Olshausen, Guericke, Jahn, Hengstenberg, Kern, Baumgarten-Crusius, Ebrard, Wieseler, Von Ammon, and others. He regards the evidence adduced as *decisive* in favour of the Evangelists' perfect agreement, and wonders at the language of De Wette who maintains the contradiction. But De Wette and those who agree with him, Lücke, Bleek, Meyer, Sieffert, Hase, Winer, Neander, have made objections to the solution adopted by Robinson which he has not answered or removed; so that there is no cause for speaking positively on the matter; and we *know* that Tholuck, one of the ablest exponents of Robinson's method of conciliation, has abandoned it through the force of Weitzel's arguments. It were therefore to be wished that the learned American harmonist had spoken less confidently of his solution, as long as many good judges of evidence reckon it neither sufficient nor natural. If we believed that a real contradiction existed here between the synoptists and John, we should undoubtedly give the preference to the latter, as Neander does.

Matt. xxvii. 34. } Matthew has vinegar mingled with gall; Mark,  
 Mark xv. 23. } *wine mingled with myrrh*. In Matthew, Lachmann reads *οἶνον* instead of *ὄξος*, *wine* for *vinegar*. But this makes little difference, as the latter word means a *poor, cheap, acid wine*. The difference lies in the accounts *mingled with gall* (Matt.); *mingled with myrrh* (Mark). Wine mingled with myrrh was given to criminals to stupify them. Michaelis, Eichhorn, and others suppose that the Greek translator of Matthew mistook the Chaldee words. Meyer thinks that we have the trace of a later tradition in Matthew which converted *myrrh* into *gall* from a reminiscence of Psal. lxix. 22. In harmony with this idea, Matthew represents the Saviour as refusing the drink because of its bad taste; while Mark says that he did not even taste it because he would not be rendered insensible to pain. The later tradition converted the presentation of

the drink into an affront and ill treatment. There is much to favour this solution. If it be rejected, we do not see any satisfactory mode of solving the contradiction.

Matt. xxvii. 44. } Here the plural is used indefinitely by Matthew.  
 Luke xxiii. 39. } Luke has the singular, which is precise. It is unnecessary and unnatural to resort to the hypothesis of the older harmonists that both at first reviled Jesus, but afterwards only one.

Matt. xxvii. 54. } One way of removing the apparent contradiction  
 Luke xxiii. 47. } is, that in the former text the sentence uttered by the centurion and them that were with him is given; while in the latter we have the words uttered by the centurion alone. The centurion gave expression to both phrases, while each of the two Evangelists has only given one of them. This solution is artificial and forced. When Luke states the exclamation of the centurion to be, *certainly this was a righteous man*, he gives in his own way the exclamation which Matthew represents to be, *truly this was the Son of God*. They were not two different utterances of the centurion, but one and the same, the diversity being attributable to the respective writers who give only *the substance*, not the *ipsissima verba*.

Matt. xxvi. 69., &c. } That Peter denied his Master thrice is af-  
 Mark xiv. 66., &c. } firmed by all the Evangelists. In this respect  
 Luke xxii. 54., &c. } they agree. But in regard to various de-  
 John xviii. 15., &c. } tails connected with these denials, there is a perplexing difference. Here it is difficult to reconcile the first three Gospels with themselves, and with the fourth. The occasions which gave rise to the denials, and the localities where they took place, appear to clash.

1st. As to the place of Peter's three denials. The first three Evangelists relate that Jesus was led away bound to Caiaphas, the high priest, before whom, or in whose palace, the denials took place. But John appears to say that they happened in the house of Annas, father-in-law of Caiaphas.

Some resort to transposition. Thus Robinson says, that Peter thrice denied Jesus before Caiaphas, Matt. xxvi. 57, 58, 69—75.; Mark xiv. 53, 54, 66—72.; Luke xxii. 54—62.; John xviii. 13—18, 25—27. He places John xviii. 19—24. *after* the three denials, when Jesus was before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrim, and renders the aorist ἀπεστείλεν in John xviii. 24. by the pluperfect *had sent*, because he thinks it belongs to the time prior to Jesus's first appearance before Caiaphas. But the οὖν connected with ἀπεστείλεν, or δὲ which others read, or καὶ, is adverse to this rendering. The right reading appears to us to be οὖν which Lachmann exhibits. It is the more difficult one. Δὲ and καὶ are mere corrections. If the true reading were ἀπεστείλεν simply, without a particle or conjunction, we should adopt the opinion of those who render the verb in the pluperfect tense, and refer the act to a point of time prior to the connection in which it stands; but though Tischendorf has the verb alone, we believe that the omission of οὖν arose from the perceived difficulty. On the other hand, Roediger arranges John xviii. 19—24. as before Annas, after Peter had first denied Jesus before Caiaphas; while he places Peter's

second and third denials before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrim, contrary to Robinson's method. Clausen, again, places the three denials of Peter in the palace of Annas, after which Jesus was led away to Caiaphas. Thus John xviii. 19--24. are a kind of parenthesis, showing that the second and third denials took place while Jesus was being interrogated. Clausen follows John, correcting the other three by him, for he admits that they refer Peter's denials to the house of Caiaphas.<sup>1</sup> Others believe that the examination before Annas, to whose house Jesus was first taken, was preliminary and informal. In conducting him thither the band seemed to have acted of their own accord. And John xviii. 12--24. is an account of this hearing, omitted by the other Evangelists. The mention of Annas as *the high priest* is not an insuperable objection, because he was his vicar, the next in dignity to him, and vice-president of the Sanhedrim. Here Peter's first denial is put in the house of Annas. But since the 18th and 25th verses of John xviii. show that Peter was in the same place when he made his second and third denials, it is here assumed that Annas and Caiaphas occupied the same house or palace. The words of John xviii. 24. are an insuperable objection to this assumption, "*Annas sent him bound to Caiaphas,*" which could hardly be predicated of persons living in the same house.

Here we are obliged to confess that the examinations of Jesus as to place and order in connection with the denials of Peter cannot be satisfactorily arranged out of the four Gospels. We want some particulars which would probably make them all clear and plain. John *appears* to place the first denial before Annas; the second and third before Caiaphas; while the first three Evangelists place all before Caiaphas.

2nd. According to Matthew, Peter was sitting without, in the hall, when he was charged by a maid servant with being one of Jesus's followers, and denied it. According to Mark, Peter was in the same place, when challenged by the maid servant, which gave rise to his first denial. Luke's relation agrees substantially. According to John, it was the portress who challenged him on this occasion. But this apostle represents him as *standing* and warming himself. Matthew and Luke say he was *sitting* at the fire. The four differ slightly in the words the maid is represented as addressing to him, and more materially in the answer he gives to her. Matthew has *οὐκ οἶδα τί λέγεις*, "I know not what thou sayest;" Mark *οὐκ οἶδα οὐδὲ ἐπίσταμαι τί σὺ λέγεις*, "I know not neither understand I what thou sayest;" but Luke has *οὐκ οἶδα αὐτόν*, "I know him not;" while John has *οὐκ εἰμί*, "I am not."

3rd. When he had gone out into the porch, another maid saw him and charged him with being one of Jesus's followers, but he denied with an oath. Such is Matthew's account. According to Mark, *the same* maid saw him again, and said that he was one of them, and he denied again. Luke represents him as challenged by another person, *a male* however, which led to his denial of Jesus. According to

<sup>1</sup> Quatuor evangeliorum tabule Synopticae, pp. 158, 159.

John, he was standing and warming himself, when *they said* (εἶπον), "Art not thou also one of his disciples?" to whom he replied, "I am not." Here Mark is at variance with Matthew and John. It will not do to say that the one maid who spoke to Peter twice is only one of the two mentioned by Matthew, there being three challenges of Peter, one from one maid and two from another. John speaks definitely as an eyewitness of the damsel that kept the door. If we suppose that the same maid challenged Peter again, then Matthew's ἄλλη, another maid, is wrong. The two are certainly at variance in regard to the damsel. Which is right, or whether either be so, John does not afford us the means of knowing, because he speaks generally and vaguely of the occasion which led to the second denial.

Are Matthew and Mark at variance also in relation to the place? The former says that Peter had gone out into *the porch*, πυλώνα; the latter into the προαύλιον, porch. Robinson and others tell us that these are the same, but this is incorrect. They were different places. If we separate Mark xiv. 69. from verse 68., joining the latter to what precedes, as Roediger does, we might conjecture that Mark's narrative does not imply where Peter was, for he may have altered his position before the maid addressed him again. We confess, however, that this conjecture is not probable, and see no method of reconciling on this point Matthew and Mark except by affirming that one of them speaks loosely and inexactly, both meaning the same spot by πυλών and προαύλιον.

Matthew and John disagree. While the one states that Peter had gone out into the porch, the latter that he was standing and warming himself as before. If however Peter were in the προαύλιον of Mark, the heat of the fire might reach him, and so Mark substantially accords with John. Hence Matthew's πυλών is inexact.

4th. After a little the bystanders challenged Peter, and he denied again. So Matthew asserts. The statement of Mark is almost the same. But Luke says, that after the lapse of an hour, some other person vehemently insisted that Peter was with Jesus, because he was a Galilean; while John affirms that a relation of him whose ear Peter had cut off said, "Did I not see thee in the garden with him?" and he denied. Here John distinctly affirms that the kinsman of him whose ear had been cut off challenges Peter *because he had seen him in the garden*; whereas the other three challenge him *because his dialect was Galilean*. Matthew and Mark all but coincide in regard to the words Peter said, "I know not the man;" but Luke has, "I know not what thou sayest."

The preceding details connected with the denials of Peter are such as no harmonist has been able to bring into exact accordance with one another. The second and third denials are absolutely intractable. It is insufficient to say with many harmonists, including Greswell, that on each of these occasions more parties than one taxed Peter simultaneously with his relation to Jesus, to whom he made answer in general terms at once. John was an eyewitness of the scenes, and the only one among the Evangelists. His description bears all the marks of minute accuracy. On the first occasion he says it was the

porteress who challenged Peter; on the third, that it was one of the high-priest's servants, a relative of him whose ear had been cut off by Peter, and who saw him in the garden. With regard to the occasion of the second denial alone, he speaks indefinitely: "They said therefore to him." We may infer that here he could not from his knowledge and observation speak more particularly. In consequence of John's presence at these scenes, we must follow his narrative in preference to the others, where there is disagreement. Those who resort to a great number of denials, perhaps eight, as Paulus assumes, are opposed by our Lord's words to Peter: "This night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me *thrice*." It is a mere evasion when Ebrard resorts to *three groups* of questions. We believe that the variation in the accounts is owing to the differences in the tradition followed by the writers. The traditional narrative of the three denials had received several modifications in its progress. The details were unfolded in different ways which did not sometimes harmonise with one another.

Mark xv. 25. } Here Mark expressly states that the time of cruci-  
John xix. 14. } fixation was the *third* hour, while John affirms that  
Christ was brought forth about the *sixth* hour.

It is very difficult to harmonise these accounts. Indeed it is difficult to make John's agree with his own context. If it was twelve o'clock at noon it is difficult to see how the transactions connected with the condemnation of Jesus could have lasted so long, since he had been brought very early to Pilate. Too little time is also allowed for hanging on the cross.

Some suppose that John follows the Roman computation of hours, beginning with midnight. So Rettig, Tholuck, and others. But this is quite improbable, for then six o'clock in the morning allows too little time for the previous occurrences. It is not likely that his condemnation and all its attendant circumstances were over before six o'clock in the morning.

Townson thinks that John's computation of hours in his Gospel agrees neither with the Jewish nor the Roman, but with the modern. This is utterly improbable.

A more probable solution proceeds on the principle that the twenty-four hours were divided into eight parts of three hours each; four parts making the day, and four the night. Mark designates the second division by its commencement, John by its close. Both their expressions refer to the one division of time, viz. that from the third to the sixth hour of the morning. But it is very unlikely that they should have employed opposite methods to describe the same space of time. It is true that John says "it was *about* the sixth hour," as if it was not *precisely* or *exactly* that hour; but the word *ὠσεύ*, *about*, was superfluous on the assumption that he intended to mark only the division from the third to the sixth hour. Hence we cannot adopt this solution.

Others affirm that the true reading in John is *τρίτην*. If numbers were formerly written with numeral letters, it is said that Γ and ς, representing *three* and *six* respectively, might have been exchanged.

Grotius however denies that numbers were so expressed; and there is little similarity between them. The weight of evidence consisting of MSS. and versions is decidedly favourable to *ἕκτη*. No critical editor has ventured to remove it from the text; and it is much easier to account for the introduction of *τρίτη* into the text than *ἕκτη*. The discrepancy no doubt suggested the former. Hence the difficult reading should be preferred. We are inclined therefore to think that the reading in John should not be disturbed.

All the circumstances of the narrative favour the correctness of the time specified by Mark. We must therefore abide by it as the correct time. If so, the sixth hour of John cannot be correct. It must either be changed into *third* for *sixth*, agreeably to the reading in various authorities, or be looked upon as an original mistake, of no consequence in so trivial a matter.

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| Matt. xxvii. 37.<br>Mark xv. 26.<br>Luke xxiii. 38.<br>Jchn xix. 19. | } | The inscription put on the cross over the head of the Saviour is differently given by the four Evangelists. It is probable that John furnishes the very words which were written in Greek, for he says, "Pilate wrote a title and put it on the cross; and the writing was, <i>Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews</i> (xix. 19.). But as John also says that it was written not only in Greek but in Hebrew and Latin, we need not expect to find the very same words in all the writers. Perhaps Matthew gives the Hebrew inscription, or rather a translation of it. Mark gives the Latin. Luke nearly agrees with Mark. |
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The circumstances of our Lord's resurrection next claim particular attention. The truth of his resurrection forms the main pillar on which the divine authority of Christianity rests. Hence it is of great advantage to the cause of truth to harmonise the accounts of this event. But as none of the four is complete in itself—each following his own method,—we must expect difficulties in the subject. Some links are wanting to complete the whole. Besides, it should be remembered that the last fifteen verses of Mark were not written by himself. They are a later appendix to his Gospel, and increase the difficulty of harmonising the accounts very considerably.

1. Very early in the morning on the first day of the week, before it was light, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Josés, Salome, Johanna, and other women, set out to see the sepulchre of their Lord. (Matt. xxviii. 1.; Mark xvi. 1, 2.; Luke xxiv. 1.; John xx. 1, 2.) John mentions only Mary Magdalene. Matthew mentions two; Mark three; Luke one, with the remark that there were others. They brought with them spices to embalm the body, which they had bought on Saturday evening after the sabbath was past.

2. About early dawn, whether before or after the women set out we cannot tell, there was a great earthquake, the angel of the Lord descending from heaven and rolling away the great stone from the door of the tomb. At this time the Lord arose from the dead. (Matt. xxviii. 2, 3, 4.)

3. As the women drew near the sepulchre they said among themselves, "Who shall roll away for us the stone from the door of the

sepulchre? but when they came and looked they saw that it had been already rolled away." Mark says that the time when they arrived at the sepulchre was *sunrise*; but this does not agree with the other three, especially John, who marks the time *when it was yet dark*. (Mark xvi. 2, 3, 4.; Luke xxiv. 1, 2.; John xx. 1.)

4. The women entered into the tomb, but found not the body of Jesus. At this they were greatly perplexed. (Mark xvi. 5.; Luke xxiv. 3, 4.)

5. As soon as Mary Magdalene knew that the body had been removed, without staying or deliberating farther she left her companions in the sepulchre and hastily ran back to tell Peter and John that the body had been taken away. (John xx. 1, 2.)

6. After she was gone two angels appeared in the sepulchre to the women, and addressed them in encouraging language, commanding them to tell the disciples that Jesus was gone before into Galilee, where they should find him. (Mark xvi. 5, 6, 7.; Matt. xxviii. 5, 6, 7.; Luke xxiv. 4, 5, 6, 7.) Matthew and Mark speak only of one angel; but Luke of two. This circumstance however is not contradictory. But the language of Matthew creates very great difficulty, because the angel he mentions was sitting outside the door of the tomb on the stone which he had rolled away. We have no good reason for supposing that the angel spoken of by Mark was different from Matthew's; and both Mark and Luke expressly mention that the women entered the tomb before they saw the angel or angels. Michaelis ingeniously conjectures that the angel in Matthew had withdrawn into the tomb before the arrival of the women; but this is contrary to the fifth verse, whence it would appear that he was still outside, and addressed the women before they entered. We are totally unable to harmonise what Matthew says of the angel with the accounts of Mark and Luke.

7. After the words of the angel, the women fled from the sepulchre with fear and great joy to tell the disciples of Christ. (Matt. xxviii. 8.; Mark xvi. 8.)

8. Mary Magdalene having come to Peter and John says to them, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him." (John xx. 2.)

9. As the other women were hastening to the city to tell the disciples, "Jesus met them, saying, All hail! And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid: go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me." (Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.) This was the first manifestation of himself after he had risen. When they got to the city and told the disciples, their testimony was not believed. (Luke xxiv. 9, 10, 11.)

10. In consequence of Mary Magdalene's report, Peter and John had in the mean time come to the sepulchre. John outran Peter and arrived first. He stooped down, looked into the tomb, and saw the linen clothes lying, but did not go in. Peter went in first. Encouraged by this, John entered also, and saw that Jesus's body had not been taken away, but that he had risen from the dead. Then the

disciples returned to the city without seeing any angel. (John xx. 3—10.) Luke mentions Peter only (xxiv. 12.).

11. Mary Magdalene returned to the sepulchre to mourn in solitude over the removal of the body. As she stood without the door of the tomb weeping, she stooped and looked into it. There she saw two angels sitting in white, who addressed her. (John xx. 13.) On turning round she saw Jesus standing, but did not know him. She mistook him for the gardener. But when the Saviour addressed her by name in his well known voice, she recognised her Lord, and fell at his feet. This was the second appearance of Jesus after his resurrection. (John xx. 11—17.)

12. She goes to tell the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things to her (John xx. 18.), but they did not believe (Mark xvi. 10, 11.).

13. While the other women (excluding Mary Magdalene) were hastening to the disciples with the joyful news of their Lord's resurrection, the soldiers had come to the city and told the chief priests all that had happened. The elders assembled accordingly, and after mutual consultation gave a large bribe to the soldiers that they might circulate a false report. (Matt. xxviii. 11—15.)

14. The joint reports of all the women delivered to the disciples are stated together by Luke xxiv. 10., though they were not properly simultaneous, or to the same persons. Mary Magdalene went to Peter and John; the other women to the rest of the disciples.

15. It is probable that the first man to whom our Saviour appeared was Peter. (1 Cor. xv. 5.; Luke xxiv. 34.)

16. He appeared next to two of the disciples as they were journeying to the village of Emmaus. (Luke xxiv. 13—27.; Mark xvi. 12, 13.)

We shall now very briefly direct attention to the greatest difficulties in these various accounts. Most of them have been noticed already in passing.

(a.) The locality of the angel mentioned by Matthew, and his speaking to the women there, appears to us irreconcilable with the accounts of the same angel, or of the two angels mentioned by Mark and Luke respectively. Probably if we knew *all* the circumstances, they would be found in harmony. As Mark's account agrees with Luke's except in the number of angels specified, a circumstance of no importance, we are compelled to believe that the angel he speaks of was identical with one of Luke's. The difficulty is increased by identifying the angel of Matthew and Mark. No help is furnished by assuming that *τάφος* and *μνημείον* differ, and are carefully distinguished by some of the Evangelists; for a comparison of places shows that they are employed synonymously. Robinson attempts to harmonise Matthew's account of the angel with that of Mark and Luke by calling attention to the circumstance, that though Matthew does not speak of the women as entering the tomb, yet in verse 8. he describes them as coming out of it; "so that of course his account too implies that the interview took place within the tomb, as narrated by Mark and Luke." This inference is erroneous because it contra-

dicts what the angel says to the women in the fifth and sixth verses. He invites them into the sepulchre that they might see the place where the Lord lay. Doubtless the women entered the sepulchre; but it is a mere arbitrary assumption to conclude from that fact that the conversation with the angel took place there. The context implies that the conversation took place *before*, or at least that he addressed them previously.

(b.) The expression in Mark referring to the point of time when the women visited the sepulchre, viz. *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου*, appear to us at variance with the corresponding expressions of the other three Evangelists. The Greek phrase means nothing else than, *when the sun had risen*. Robinson, however, undertakes to harmonise the phrase with the rest by assuming that Mark employed it in a broader and less definite sense not inconsistent with *λίαν πρῶτ* preceding. "As the sun is the source of light and day, and his earliest rays produce the contrast between night and dawn, so the term *sunrising* might easily come in popular usage, by a metonymy of cause for effect, to be put for all that earlier interval, when his rays still struggling with darkness do yet usher in the day."<sup>1</sup> We are then referred to popular usage in the Old Testament, exhibited in Judg. ix. 33.; Psal. civ. 22.; Sept. 2 Kings iii. 22.; 2 Sam. xxiii. 4., where the aorist of the verb *ἀνατέλλω* is employed in the same manner. But all this appears to us aside from the real points. It may be that popular usage was vague, indefinite, inexact, without Mark's adopting it. Indeed an accurate writer would refrain from it where it was of that nature. Besides, the passages are not "*entirely parallel*," as Robinson says. *τοπρῶτ ἅμα τῷ ἀνατεῖλαι τὸν ἡλίον* is not equivalent to *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου*. The latter marks a point of time *after* the former. The passage in the 104th Psalm, *ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος*, is still less analogous. The popular usage of the Hebrews conjured up to support the accuracy of Mark in this place is a mere phantom. Still less can we assent to Greswell's explanation that *λίαν πρῶτ* may be understood of the time when the women first set out; and *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου* of the time when they arrived at the sepulchre, between which there might be an hour's interval. The words appear to be clearly against this interpretation, for *λίαν πρῶτ*, no less than *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου*, belong to *ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον*, i. e. *they arrive at the tomb* very early in the morning, when the sun had risen.<sup>2</sup> As far as we are able to see, *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου* does not agree well with *λίαν πρῶτ* just before, and disagrees with the other Evangelists, especially John. De Wette furnishes an explanation of the clause which is very probable. If it be rejected, we profess ourselves unable to reconcile Mark with the others in this point.

(c.) Another difficulty lies in the *πρῶτον* of Mark xvi. 9., which implies that the appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene was the first of all. We know, however, from the other Evangelists that he had appeared to the other women previously. Robinson solves the difficulty by taking *πρῶτον* *relatively* not *absolutely*. Mark narrates

<sup>1</sup> Notes to Harmony, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Dissertations, &c. vol. iii. p. 283.

three, and only three, appearances of our Lord; of these three, that to Mary Magdalene takes place *first*, *πρῶτον*, and that to the assembled disciples the same evening occurs *last*, *ἕσπερον*, v. 14. This is very ingenious. Whether it be natural is another point. It is more likely that the writer meant to say, that the appearance in question was the first of all. And *Greswell* understands it, though we cannot believe that it was really the first. But the expression occurs in the first verse of the appendix to Mark's Gospel; and therefore we need not hesitate to admit a mistake, if necessity demands.

(*d.*) Another difficulty in the narratives is in Mark xvi. 1., compared with Luke xxiii. 56. The latter verse states that the women returned from the sepulchre to the city to prepare spices and ointments, which they did before the sabbath came, and rested on that day according to the commandment. But Mark's language implies that the women bought the spices *after the sabbath was past*, *διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου*.

Various expedients have been resorted to for the purpose of removing this contradiction.

*Greswell* thinks that there were two parties of women, of which hypothesis he makes considerable use in harmonising the Gospel accounts. According to him the party of *Johanna* is referred to by Luke. *They* prepared their spices *before* the sabbath. On the other hand, the party of *Salome*, which included Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, is referred to by Mark. *They* did not get theirs ready till *after* the sabbath. The evidence in favour of two distinct, independent parties of women appears to us insufficient to establish the fact. We believe that there was only one party, each Evangelist mentioning more or fewer women on different occasions, according to the evangelical tradition he followed. Thus John mentions Mary Magdalene only, because she was the principal person.

Others translate *ἡγόρασαν* in Mark xvi. 1. *had bought*, in the plural perfect. This is adopted in the English version. *Beza* and many after him so render the verb. But the rendering must be rejected. It is a mere subterfuge.

*Robinson* supposes that Luke speaks of the spices by way of anticipation. This is, like the last hypothesis, a mere subterfuge.

We profess our inability to remove the contradiction.

In considering the various accounts given by the Evangelists of the resurrection, we are forcibly impressed with the idea that the writers followed various traditions of the circumstances connected with it, which differed somewhat from one another. The earlier form of the tradition, which was the simpler and more correct, afterwards assumed a complexion differing in unessential particulars. These different forms of the tradition were in some cases characteristic of certain districts and classes of persons. One may have been the Galilean, another the purely Jewish, another mixed. Of course this hypothesis applies more extensively than to the accounts of the resurrection; while at the same time it may not apply to all parts of those accounts themselves. It can be traced most clearly in the narrations of the

manifestations of the Saviour after he rose from the dead. It will be understood that it is inappropriate where the accounts in the Gospel proceeded from eye-witnesses, or were received by the writers immediately from eye-witnesses. And it is altogether inapplicable to such *essential matters* in the Gospel as contain religious doctrine — the revelation of moral and religious truth.

Matt. xii. 40. } In the former place it is stated that Christ  
 Mark viii. 31. &c. } should be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth; whereas we know from the Gospels that he was in the grave an entire day, two nights, and two parts of a day. He was crucified on Friday about 9 o'clock, A.M., and rose at day-break on Sunday, so that the entire period did not amount to two days or 48 hours.

The Hebrews began their civil days in the evening. They expressed them by *evening and morning*, because made up of those two parts. For this the Greeks used the compound term *νυχθήμερον*; while the Hebrews were obliged to employ a circumlocution. Three civil days are meant in Matthew's Gospel, each beginning at 6 in the evening and terminating at 6 the next evening. In popular language fractions of days were counted as days themselves. This is shown by 1 Sam. xxx. 12, 13.; Hosea vi. 2. Hence parts of the first and third days are counted as whole ones. Popular Jewish reckoning sanctions and confirms the language in Matt. xii. 40. But Mark's expression is different, and may appear more difficult of explanation, *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*, after three days. Here again *three days* do not require us to understand three entire ones. One might be a fraction. It was a common expression in the Hebrew language; a thing happened after a certain number of years, months, or days, although it was on the last year, month, or day. So in Deut. xiv. 28., where the LXX. have *μετὰ τρία ἔτη*, which really means in the third year (compare Deut. xxvi. 12.). Accordingly, the Jews requested Pilate to set a watch *till the third day, ἕως τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας* (Matt. xxvii. 64.), though they informed him, as stated in the preceding verse, that Christ himself said he should rise again *after three days, μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*. The Jews therefore understood the two phrases as equivalent.

Luke i. 33. } The kingdom of Christ consists of two branches or  
 1 Cor. xv. 24. } departments, one of which has respect to his enemies — to all opposing powers, the other to his people. The passage in Luke refers to the latter; that in Corinthians to the former. The word *end*, *τέλος*, appears to allude to the kingdom which is delivered up, or its termination. The kingdom will have an end when he delivers it up to the father. Or we may enlarge the idea contained in *end*, and include in it the completion of the eschatological transactions. The right reading is the present conjunctive *παραδιδῶ*, *when he delivers up*, the delivering of the kingdom taking place at the time mentioned. This view of the passage is agreeable to the context, which speaks of Christ's enemies. Opposing rule, authority, and power are said to be put down. Those who expound it of the mediatorial kingdom of Christ mistake the true aim of the Apostle.

It is probable that the mediatorial reign of the Saviour will never end. In different places, the phrase *for ever* is applied to Christ as king and priest; and it should not be restricted by the difficult passage under consideration. What is plain should not be expounded by the ambiguous, but the contrary.

John v. 31. } In the former case, Christ was willing to concede  
 „ viii. 14. } for the time that if he alone bore testimony to himself, the testimony would not be valid; in the latter, he placed the thing on its own independent basis, affirming that though he did testify of himself he should be believed, because his case was not an ordinary one; neither was he to be judged after the manner of a common man. He was intimately united with the Father in being and will. Being truth itself, *the truth*, his testimony needed no confirmation.

John v. 37, 38. } In order to remove the apparent contradiction,  
 Matt. iii. 16, 17. } Campbell gives a different translation of the former passage: “Nay, the Father who hath sent me hath himself attested me. Did ye never hear his voice or see his form; or have ye forgotten his declaration that ye believe not him whom he hath commissioned?” An insuperable objection to this mode of translation is the change of subject which Campbell is compelled to assume. “Did ye never hear his voice” (the Father’s) “or see his form” (the Holy Ghost’s)? Both relate to the one person. Besides, the form of the sentence would have been different had the meaning been interrogative. Hence we must abide by the usual translation. When it is declared, “The Father himself hath borne witness of me,” we believe that the Old Testament Scriptures are not excluded as to their substance, but that *the internal witness* in the hearts of believers is *chiefly* intended. Indeed the two are intimately connected. Apprehension of the essence of the Old Testament accompanies the divine witness in believers to the truth of Messiah’s dignity. The insensibility of the Jews to this divine testimony of the Father respecting his Son is then described in different ways, agreeably to the various methods by which men acquire knowledge. They neither heard his voice as did the prophets, nor saw his form as they did — both internal acts; nor had they his word abiding in them, *i. e.* the truth dwelling in their hearts. Not having apprehended the direct testimony of the Father in any of these methods, they had not apprehended it at all. They had shown an insusceptibility of mind in relation to it. The voice at our Lord’s baptism is not referred to in the word *φωνή*, as Lücke rightly observes.

John xix. 17.

Luke xxiii. 26.

Matt. xxvii. 32.

Mark xv. 21.

Acts i. 18.

Matt. xxvii. 5.

} It is likely that Jesus bore his cross part of the way till they got out of the city, and then Simon bore it the other part.

} Here some circumstance between the two occurrences related in Acts and Matthew respectively is wanting to complete the whole. Probably Judas hanged himself on the edge of a precipice near the valley of Hinnom; and the rope breaking by which he was suspended he fell to the ground and was

dashed to pieces. The Apostle Matthew relates one part of the transaction and Luke another part, which is additional and supplementary. It is possible, however, that the accounts may have been derived from different traditions, as De Wette supposes.

Acts ix. 7. } In the latter passage the verb ἀκούω, *hear*, means to  
 ,, xxii. 9. } *understand*. They *understood* not the voice of him  
 that spake to me. See Hackett on ix. 7.

Rom. ii. 14. } When the Gentiles who have not the written law do  
 Ephes. ii. 3. } by natural impulse the things contained in that law,  
 they become a law to themselves in consequence of the light within  
 them. The apostle asserts the possibility of the Gentiles fulfilling  
 the law; but he does not say they ever *actually* do so. There is a  
 restriction in his language, *when they do*, ὅταν ποιῶσω. The phrase  
*by nature*, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, is quite in harmony with  
 this. The *natural bent* of the mind in the mass of mankind is to  
 evil.

Rom. xiv. 5. } This apparent contradiction has been already re-  
 Gal. iv. 10, 11. } moved. See page 481.

1 Cor. viii. 8—13. } In the former passage the apostle lays down  
 1 Cor. x. 20, 21. } the principle that the participation of certain  
 meats is in itself a matter of indifference. The enlightened Christian  
 may or may not partake of meats according to his settled conviction  
 of their nature. They are matters perfectly indifferent in themselves  
 to him who takes a clear and conscientious view of them, eating  
 or abstaining accordingly. But immediately after, the apostle pro-  
 ceeds to show the inexpediency of advanced Christians acting ac-  
 cording to their principles of individual liberty *before weaker brethren*.  
 He warns them against the injurious use of a thing in itself in-  
 different. The partaking of flesh which had been offered in sacrifice  
 to heathen idols ceased to be a thing of indifference, if it proved a  
 stumbling-block to weak consciences. Thus Christian liberty is  
 limited by Christian love. In the latter passage, he points out a use  
 of the freedom which the enlightened Christians in Corinth con-  
 sciously enjoyed which was both dangerous to themselves and irre-  
 concilable with communion with Christ. By joining in the heathen  
 festivals and partaking of the offerings which had been dedicated to  
 idols, they separated themselves from the spiritual fellowship of  
 Christ. Thus the one passage contains the abstract principle; the  
 other a sinful application of it. In certain circumstances, the liberty  
 claimed by the Christian becomes injurious, improper, unchristian.  
 It is modified and controlled by the peculiar relations in which it is  
 exercised.

1 Cor. x. 33. } The circumstances under which the apostle wrote  
 Gal. i. 10. } these words respectively, and the parties he had in  
 view, explain and reconcile their meaning in each case. In the  
 former passage he expresses the great principle which pervaded his  
 whole conduct, viz. that he endeavoured to conciliate and comply  
 with the will of others as far as he could consistently with their true  
 interests. He yielded to them as far as it tended to their profit, that  
 they might be saved. In the latter passage, where he combats the

false teachers who maligned and opposed him, he denies that he pleased men or sought to ingratiate himself with them rather than God. He opposed the corrupt inclinations of men wherever truth required, preferring the approbation of God to human favour. There is both a sinful self-seeking conciliation of others' goodwill, and a pure unselfish striving to gain their affection for the purpose of doing them good. The latter the apostle had. The former he disowned as dishonouring to a servant of Christ and inconsistent with his profession.

1 Cor. xi. 5. } In the former passage the apostle simply refers for  
 „ xiv. 34. } the sake of example to what was going on in the  
 Corinthian church, reserving his condemnation of it to the proper  
 place, which is at 1 Cor. xiv. 34. See Neander.

Gal. vi. 2. } The word rendered *burden* in both places is not the  
 „ vi. 5. } same. The ideas expressed by τὰ βάρη, *burdens*, and  
 φορτίον, *burden*, are different. The first denotes the trials and  
 afflictions which befall Christians, and of which their fellow-Christians  
 should relieve them as far as they can. Believers should sympathise  
 with and help their brethren to bear such burdens. The second de-  
 notes individual responsibility under the moral government of God.

Heb. xi. 33. } The patriarchs under the Old Testament received  
 „ xi. 39. } many promises, including their fulfilment. But it is  
 stated in the latter place that they did not obtain *the promise* relating  
 to the appearance of the Messiah, in their day.

1 John i. 8. } We have already explained these texts, and need not  
 „ iii. 9. } therefore repeat what has been said. See page 478.

*Contradictions between the Old and New Testaments. —*

Gen. xii. 1. } The former passage refers to a divine call which  
 Acts vii. 2. } Abraham received in Charran, after the death of  
 his father Terah; the latter to one previously received at Ur of the  
 Chaldees. Accordingly the easiest solution is to suppose that he  
 received two separate calls, the former of which is omitted in the  
 Old Testament, but preserved in the New. It would appear that  
 Stephen follows some traditional account respecting a divine intima-  
 tion Abraham had in Ur of the Chaldees, for it is found in Philo.  
 It is also implied in Gen. xv. 7., Nehem. ix. 7. Following this tradi-  
 tion Stephen applies to the removal from Ur the words properly  
 belonging to the call out of Charran.

Others translate the verb וַיֹּאמֶר in Gen. xii. 1. as a pluperfect, *the Lord had said*, supposing that the call from Ur is there referred to, in which case the writer would go back to the point of time referred to in Gen. xi. 31. But the context shows that in the commencement of Gen. xii. Charran is the place referred to.

Gen. xv. 13. } In Genesis, the time is stated loosely in round  
 Gal. iii. 17. } numbers; but in the Epistle to the Galatians it  
 is stated exactly. It is also given as 430 in Exod. xii. 40.

Gen. xxii. 1. } In the former passage it is affirmed that God *tried*  
 James i. 13. } Abraham. He put his virtue and faith to the proof.  
 In the latter passage *tempt* signifies to *entice* or *draw into sin*. God  
 does the one, not the other. He proves his people by a discipline

through which they are obliged to pass; but he never draws the soul into a snare. The latter is man's own work.

Gen. xlvi. 26, 27. } Here the Old Testament has 70, while Stephen  
Acts vii. 14. } says 75. In like manner, not only here but  
also in Exod. i. 5., Deut. x. 22., 70 persons are specified. First there are 66, to which add Jacob, Joseph with his two sons, and we get 70. Josephus agrees with the Hebrew. But the LXX. have 75 instead of 70, and Stephen follows the Greek. How the LXX. made out their number 75 is not certain. Hales thinks that the wives of Jacob's sons, viz. 9, being added to 66 make up the 75. Joseph's wife was already in Egypt. Judah's was dead, and so was Simeon's, as may be inferred from his youngest son Shaul by a "Canaanitess" (xlvi. 10.). Here the inference respecting Simeon's wife is uncertain. Wolfius and others subtract from the 66 + 12 wives of Jacob's sons, Joseph, Joseph's wife, and Judah's wife who was dead. It is much more probable that to the number 66 the LXX. added 9 sons of Joseph, making thus 75 (see Gen. xlvi. 27.). We do not take the LXX. as saying in Gen. xlvi. 27. that 9 children *and grandchildren* were born to Joseph, but merely children. Alford is mistaken in charging the LXX. with reckoning among the sons of Joseph, Joseph himself and Jacob. Other modes of solution may be seen in Kuinoel and De Wette.

Exod. xxx. 6. } The opposition between these places is only ap-  
Heb. ix. 6, 7. } parent. The language of the first does not imply that the altar of incense was to be placed *in* the holy of holies. It was to be put "*over against the veil* that overhangs the ark of testimony," and specifically "*over against the mercy-seat covering the law.*" This means that the altar was to be put *opposite to* or *before* the mercy-seat, but not on the same side of the veil. The Hebrew text should not be pronounced corrupt, with Kennicott. It needs no alteration to render the whole clear and consistent.

Exod. xxiv. 10. } The Apostle John speaks of Deity in the  
John i. 18. } abstract, or the Godhead; while in Exodus some manifestation of his person is referred to,—the Son who afterwards became flesh, as many think.

Num. xxii. 5. } Bosor in the New Testament is identical with  
2 Peter ii. 15. } Beor in the Old. The difference of orthography arises from the different pronunciation of the letter *v* in the word. We believe that the word *son* is rightly supplied in 2 Peter ii. 15.

Numb. xxv. 9. } Philo and the Rabbins give the same number as  
1 Cor. x. 8. } the Hebrew, viz. 24,000, which must be regarded as correct. When Paul wrote 23,000 he made a trifling mistake of memory. Other modes of conciliation may be seen in Meyer. Of these Calvin's, which at first sight appears the most plausible, is in reality the most objectionable. Between 23,000 and 24,000 fell. The Old Testament writer gives the approximate round number *above* the specific one; the New Testament writer, the proximate round number *below* it. This amounts to the assertion that neither is correct.

Deut. x. 22. }  
Acts. vii. 14. } This has just been explained.

Mark ii. 26. } The fact related is said to have happened in  
 1 Sam. xxi. 1. &c. } the high priesthood of Ahimelek in Samuel;  
 but of Abiathar in Mark. Ahimelek was the father of Abiathar.  
 The two names have been confounded by the Evangelist.

Acts vii. 15, 16. } In the N. T. passage  
 Gen. xxiii. 16, 17., l. 13.; Josh. xxiv. 32. } are various statements  
 which clash with the Old Testament.

1. That not only Jacob and Joseph, but the other sons of the former were buried in Palestine.

2. That Jacob was buried in Sichem.

3. That Abraham bought a field for a burying-place of the sons of Emmor.

In regard to the first, *it may be* that all the patriarchs were buried in Palestine. The Bible says nothing of them in this respect; so that though they died in Egypt, it is possible their bodies were taken to the land of promise. Stephen appears to follow a tradition to this effect. But probabilities are against its truth.

2ndly. That Jacob was buried in Sichem is expressly against Gen. l. 13., where it is said that he was buried in the cave of the field of Machpelah.

3rdly. It was not Abraham that bought a field for a burying-place of the sons of Emmor, but Jacob, as we learn from Gen. xxxiii. 19. Abraham bought the cave of the field of Machpelah of Ephron the Hittite.

Here we are compelled to admit that Stephen fell into two mistakes. He was neither an apostle, nor inspired, nor infallible.

Many methods of bringing these two statements into harmony with the Old Testament have been resorted to. The text too has been altered without sufficient authority. We are unable to perceive any solution which can make them agree with the accounts in the Old Testament.

Acts xiii. 20. } We have already referred to this discrepancy.  
 1 Kings vi. 1. } Lachmann has the true reading in the former  
 place, which runs thus: "And when he had destroyed seven nations  
 in the land of Canaan, he divided their land to them by lots, about  
 the space of four hundred and fifty years: and after this, gave them  
 judges until Samuel the prophet." Here the discrepancy disappears.

2. Tim. iii. 12. } The difficulty supposed to lie in these texts has  
 Prov. xvi. 7. } arisen from understanding them in a universal  
 sense, as if all the godly were invariably persecuted, or their foes  
 were always turned to become their friends. Neither statement  
 should be urged. The former language was used in reference to the  
 state of the early Christians surrounded by enemies, and generally  
 persecuted as they then were. The latter is a general truth, to which  
 there are many exceptions.

Heb. ix. 4. } Some would refer *ἐν ᾗ* to *σκηνή*, and not to *κιβωτόν*,  
 1 Kings viii. 9. } the immediate antecedent. The meaning then is,  
*in which tabernacle*, not *in which ark*. This expedient is forced.  
 The reasoning of the writer in the Epistle to the Hebrews is

founded on the tabernacle — the original pattern, not on the temple arrangements as instituted by David and Solomon. In 1 Kings viii. the temple is spoken of; whereas the New Testament author refers to the tabernacle. The pot of manna and Aaron's rod were apparently lost before the first temple was built. But they were in the tabernacle, as is proved by Exod. xvi. 32—34.; Numb. xvii. 10. Yet it is stated there that they were *before* the ark, whereas the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews affirms they were *in* it. How is this difference removed? Not certainly in the way approved by Stuart, who explains the Hebrew phrase *before the testimony itself*, *i. e.* in the ark with the two tables of the law. It is most probable that the New Testament writer follows here a different tradition from that in the Old Testament, as Theophylact thought.

Connected with this subject is the genealogy of Christ, as given by Matthew and Luke. There are some discrepancies between the two Evangelists themselves, as well as between several statements they make and the Old Testament. According to Matt. i. 17. there are three divisions of fourteen generations each.

I. 1st Abraham, 2nd Isaac, 3rd Jacob, 4th Judah, 5th Phares, 6th Esrom, 7th Aram, 8th Aminadab, 9th Naasson, 10th Salmon, 11th Boaz, 12th Obed, 13th Jesse, 14th David.

II. 1st David, 2nd Solomon, 3rd Roboam, 4th Abia, 5th Asa, 6th Josaphat, 7th Joram, 8th Ozias, 9th Joatham, 10th Achaz, 11th Ezekias, 12th Manasses, 13th Amon, 14th Josias.

III. 1st Jechonias, 2nd Salathiel, 3rd Zorobabel, 4th Abiud, 5th Eliakim, 6th Azor, 7th Sadoc, 8th Achim, 9th Eliud, 10th Eleazar, 11th Matthan, 12th Jacob, 13th Joseph, 14th Jesus.

Such appears to us the most probable method of arranging the three divisions. It is that adopted and justified by De Wette and Delitzsch. Others, as Meyer, begin the second fourteen with Solomon and end with Jechoniah, while they begin the third with Jechoniah again. We believe, however, that the language of the apostle agrees best with the other.

In the 8th verse, between Joram and Ozias, three kings are omitted, *viz.*, Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah (2 Kings viii. 24., 1 Chron. iii. 11.; 2 Chron. xxii. 1. 11., xxiv. 27.) Why they were left out we cannot discover. Was it on purpose, lest the numbers should exceed fourteen, as Jerome thought? Or was it from the mere similarity of the names *Ὁχοζίας* and *Ὁζίας*, as Wetstein, Paulus, Fritzsche, Meyer, and De Wette conjecture? One thing is certain, that such omissions were not unusual in the Hebrew genealogical registers, as may be seen from a comparison of 1 Chron. viii. 1. with Gen. xvi. 21.

In the 11th verse there is another omission. Between Josiah and Jechoniah, Jehoiakim is wanting. Hence several MSS. and versions insert words to this effect after *begat*: "Jehoiakim, and Jehoiakim begat." The two similar names Jechoniah or Jehoiachin and Jehoiakim being interchanged led to the omission of one. Here also Jechonias and *his brethren* are mentioned, whereas he had no brethren. It is true that in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. Zedekiah is called *the brother* of Jehoiachin, and in 1 Chron. iii. 16. *his son*; but the loose expressions

there denote his *uncle*. Jehoiakim, on the other hand, had several brethren. Three are mentioned (1 Chron. iii. 15.). Thus the fact of brethren being mentioned along with Jechoniah shows that at one time Jehoiakim stood in the genealogy.

In the 12th verse a name seems to be omitted between Salathiel and Zorobabel, viz. Pedaiah (1 Chron. iii. 18, 19.). This depends on those mentioned in 1 Chron. iii. 18. being the sons of Salathiel. Others, however, regard Pedaiah as the brother of Salathiel, in which case Zorobabel was the nephew of Salathiel. But in Ezra v. 2., Hag. i. 1. he is called his son.

Whatever omissions or peculiarities now exist in the genealogical register, existed in the time of the apostle. He took it as it is from a current and recognised table.

The genealogy in Luke is very different from Matthew's. It is in the inverse order. Beginning with Jesus, it goes up to Adam and God. It relates to Joseph, not however to him mainly, but to Mary whose husband he was. Joseph was the son of Heli by marriage, *i. e.*, his *son-in-law*. Accordingly Luke's genealogical table is really a tracing of Mary's origin up to David. This is the reason why he gives one in addition to Matthew's. There could be no room for doubt or cavil respecting the descent of Christ from David, when a genealogy of him is given both on the side of his reputed father and real mother.

The most perplexing point connected with this second genealogy is the identity or diversity of the Salathiel and Zorobabel, father and son, with the Salathiel and Zorobabel in Matthew's table. If they were identical, then the families of Solomon and Nathan coalesced in Zorobabel, who is the same person in both Gospels; the two lines afterwards separating till they again coalesced in the espousal of Mary to Joseph. Others, denying their identity, suppose that no coalition of the families took place before the marriage of Joseph and Mary. The most natural view is that they were identical. But we must refer to Barrett<sup>1</sup>, who endeavours to remove the difficulties attendant upon this view.

In verse 36 Arphaxad is given as the son of Cainan, who was the son of Sala. But Sala was the son of Arphaxad, according to Gen. x. 24., xi. 12., 1 Chron. i. 24. The name Cainan was taken by the genealogist from the LXX., who for some unknown reason inserted it in the Old Testament text. The Hebrew deserves the preference.

Of the genealogy in Luke we must affirm the same as we did of that in Matthew, viz., that it was derived as it is from public and recognised registers.

*Contradictions between Scripture and the testimony of heathen authors.*

Luke ii. 1, 2, 3.

At the birth of Jesus, Q. Sentius Saturninus was president of Syria (Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 19.), or at least Quintilius Varus who succeeded him. When Varus was recalled, he was followed by

<sup>1</sup> Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex Codice rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii SS. Trinitatis juxta Dublin. Prolegomena.

Quirinus about A.D. 7 or 8. Our Saviour must therefore have been ten or eleven years of age when Quirinus became proconsul of Syria. This officer was sent to confiscate the property of Archelaus, to take the census of the country, and collect a tax. Josephus tells us that he took a census in Judea (Antiqq. xviii. 1, 1.), which is referred to in Acts v. 37., and called ἀπογραφή, the word here used. Thus Luke is supposed to have made the mistake of antedating Quirinus's presidency about ten years.

On this discrepancy we observe:—

1. That the Greek text must remain as it is. Even Lachmann's emendation must be rejected as not sufficiently supported. He expunges the article before ἀπογραφή on the authority of B.D.

2. Those who conjecture that the second verse is a marginal gloss or interpolation are not to be attended to. So Beza in his first three editions, Venema, Pfaff, Kuinoel, Olshausen, Valckenaer.

3. It is incorrect to render the verb ἀπογραφῆσθαι, *to be enrolled or registered*, as distinct from a proper census but preparatory or with a view to it. In the second verse the noun ἀπογραφή denotes a proper census; and therefore the verb should be correlative in sense. Hence Hales's translation must be rejected, which is, "Augustus Cæsar issued a decree that all the land should be enrolled [preparatory to a census, assessment, or taxing]. (The taxing itself was first made while Cyrenius was president of Syria.)" Here αὐτή is made the feminine of αὐτός, *self*. This is substantially the view taken by Paulus, Gersdorf, Gloeckler, Krabbe, Mack, Ebrard, Lange, Hofmann. It is most improbable, however, that a census once begun should be deferred for years. Besides, as Meyer remarks, αὐτή ἡ ἀπογραφή should thus be accompanied by a particle, perhaps μὲν, and then the third verse should not commence with καί, but with something like ὁμοῦς δέ.

4. The phrase πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, *all the land*, should not be restricted to Palestine, as Flacius, Paulus, Hug, Hales, &c. interpret it. It never has that meaning. It means *the Roman Empire*, in the present connection.

5. Lardner, followed by Paley and others, proposes the solution that ἡγεμονεύοντος is taken *proleptically*, who was *afterwards* governor of Syria and best known among the Jews by that title, which, belonging to him at the time of writing the account, was naturally subjoined to his name, though acquired after the transaction which the account describes. In this case the original would have been τοῦ ἡγεμονεύοντος or τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, as in Matt. i. 6. compared with Mark ii. 26.

6. Many take πρώτη, the superlative, as the comparative, i.e., *before* Cyrenius was governor of Syria. So Herwart, Bynæus, Marck, E. Schmid, Clericus, Keuchen, Perizonius, Ussher, Petavius, Heumann, Storr, Süskind, Tholuck, Huschke, Wieseler. But the parallels adduced in favour of this construction are not appropriate. They are not parallels. Hence the construction must be abandoned as harsh and unsupported.

7. The natural and obvious sense is, *this took place as the first census while Cyrenius was governor of Syria*. The language presup-

poses that a second one was known to Luke's readers, and therefore the Evangelist notices the present as *the first* under Quirinus.

We take *ἡγεμονεύοντος* in a wider sense than that of *president* or *governor*, viz. extraordinary commissioner or procurator. In this capacity Quirinus made the first census here spoken of. He stood high in the emperor's favour at this time, and was charged by him with extraordinary commissions, as we infer from Tacitus. Josephus says of him, when he entered upon the presidency of Syria and began the second census, that he had already filled many other offices. The case, too, of Germanicus, who made a census in Gaul, may be appealed to as analogous. It is true that history makes no mention of this census or of Quirinus having conducted it in Syria before he became *proconsul*. But the mere silence of history argues nothing against the statement of Luke. As a credible historian, he asserts what we are bound to believe, unless something can be produced to the contrary. Here there is the mere silence of history against him, which is nothing. The verb *ἡγεμονεύω* will readily bear this wide sense, as may be inferred from Josephus's application of it. The present solution is adopted by Beza, Casaubon, Jos. Scaliger, Grotius, Magnani, Wernsdorf, Deyling, Nahmmacher, Birch, Sanclemente, Ideler, Münter, Volborth, Hug, and others. The objection of Meyer that in such a case *ἡγεμονεύοντος* would stand alone, without *Συρίας*, is of little force.

On the whole, we see no reason here for assuming a mistake or parochronism with Meyer, De Wette, Winer, Ammon, Thies, Strauss, Weisse.

Matt. xiv. 3., Mark vi. 17., Luke iii. 19. These passages are said to contradict profane history, in which the brother of Herod the tetrarch is uniformly styled *Herod*, not *Philip*. The name in Luke iii. 19. is spurious. But in the other two Gospels it is not so. Josephus uniformly calls him *Herod*, saying that he was a son of Herod the Great by Mariamne, daughter of a high priest. The name need not create the least difficulty. It was Herod Philip in full, the former being the family name, the latter his own personal name.

Acts v. 36.

Josephus mentions an insurrectionist of this name who appeared in the time of Claudius. That was about ten years after Gamaliel's advice was given. It is therefore most probable that Gamaliel alludes to another person of the same name. Josephus mentions three insurrectionary chiefs by name. Others he passes over. The one here he may have omitted. The name was not uncommon, and it is not surprising that one Theudas, an insurgent, should have appeared in the time of Augustus, and another Theudas in the reign of Claudius some fifty years after. According to the Jewish historian there were four men of the name of Simon within forty years, and three named Judas within ten years. See Hackett on the Acts. Sonntag endeavours to identify Theudas with one of Josephus's three insurgents, viz. Simon, a slave of Herod.<sup>1</sup> This is less probable.

<sup>1</sup> See Studien und Kritiken for 1837, p. 622. *et seqq.*, translated in the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1848, p. 409. *et seqq.*

A great deal has been written against the truth and credibility of the narrative in Matt. ii. 16., because the Jewish historian has omitted to notice the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem. Deistical authors have pronounced the evangelical narrative a fabrication; and others, as Strauss, Meyer, and Ammon, assign to it a mythical character, along with the visit of the Magi. It appears to us however most unreasonable to conclude from the mere silence of the Jewish historian that the event related in Matthew is either incredible or improbable. We cannot see any necessity for his relating it on account of its singular character. It is consistent with the wantonly cruel disposition and temper of Herod. Surely among the many cruelties of that monarch the massacre of a few children might easily be omitted. When Meyer argues that the measure was both unnecessary and very unwise, he loses sight of the many sanguinary acts done by Herod, who often proceeded to perpetrate the most wanton barbarities on mere unfounded suspicion,—things unnecessary and imprudent,—especially towards the close of his life.<sup>1</sup> Besides, we cannot allow that Macrobius's account decides nothing, as being derived from the Christian tradition. It is this: "When Augustus had heard that among the male infants about two years old whom Herod, king of the Jews, had ordered to be put to death in Syria, there was a son of his own, he said, It is better to be Herod's *hog* than his *son*."<sup>2</sup>

In a village like Bethlehem, the number of infants under two years of age could not have been great. Probably there were not more than twenty in it and its vicinity that lost their lives on the occasion.

It is impossible to find any plausible reason for Josephus's silence respecting the massacre. Was it wilful or interested? We cannot think so. The thing probably appeared too trifling to be mentioned, especially as it related to the birth of Christ.

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## CHAP. XV.

### ON THE INFERENTIAL READING OF SCRIPTURE.

WHEN the sense of Scripture has been rightly apprehended, and all the truths designed to be expressed have been fully examined, the text may be applied to various purposes by making it a source of *inferences*. Conclusions may be derived from the written words by legitimate consequence, which are either theoretical and remotely practical, or immediately practical.

The custom of deducing corollaries or conclusions from the language of the Bible is proper and safe. All practise it more or less. They must do so if they would understand the doctrines and duties contained in it in all their fulness. As long as the Scriptures address

<sup>1</sup> See Winer's Realwörterbuch, vol. i. p. 483. note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Saturnalia, lib. ii. cap. 4.

the reason of men, they must be subjected to the inferences which that reason is ever making. The judgment is ever forming conclusions; and, when exercised on the language of divine revelation, it cannot divest itself of its wonted attributes. Hence the most intelligent interpreters deduce conclusions from the divine teachings. If any warrant were required for this deduction of inferences, we might appeal to the authority of Christ himself, who, in reasoning with the Jews, his persevering opponents, used it against them most effectually. The apostles also employed it, especially Paul, who was most addicted to argumentation and possessed most logical ability. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews indulges in it. Indeed the great body of his Epistle or dissertation consists of it.

At the foundation of this inferential reading lies the analogy of sacred things. There is a consistency in them which binds them together. One is linked with another, and helps to its perception. There is a mutual dependence of one on another.<sup>1</sup> Hence he who has a general acquaintance with the teachings of the Bible in their proper relations will be prepared for undertaking this kind of reading. He must know the general tenor of Scripture—what it teaches of God and man. The larger and more accurate is his knowledge of the essential doctrines of the Bible, the more competent will he be to prosecute this reading in a consistent and profitable manner. Having tasted the good word of God, and perceived somewhat of its far-reaching meaning, he will the more readily be in a condition to see the inexhaustible fulness of the sacred text. Besides, a sober judgment is necessary; for the judgment has more to do with this kind of reading than any other faculty. The mind which is exercised in reasoning is best fitted to conduct inferential reading successfully. A feeble and uncultivated one must fail in the process. Vigour, freedom, and independence, should characterise the understanding of him who draws inferences from the text of Scripture wisely and well.

The sources whence inferences are drawn are divided by Rambach, and after him by Francke, into two classes, viz. *internal* and *external*. The former are inherent in the text itself; the latter are derived from a comparison of the text with other parts of Scripture. It is unnecessary to adopt any other method than that followed in the rules of interpretation. Inferences are deduced from the text in the same way and order as the exposition of the text itself is conducted. Expository and inferential reading employ the same instruments in the same method; the one process, however, following the other.

Inferences are deduced,

1. From the words of Scripture. Thus, in Ephes. i. 22, 23. the church is "Christ's body." He is its head; he rules over it; it is inseparably connected with him; it is sustained by his life; it is cared for and guarded by him; it cannot die while he lives; it will be in union with him for ever. Ephes. vi. 11.: "Put on the whole

<sup>1</sup> See Francke's *Manuductio ad Lectionem Sacr. Script.*, translated by Jaques, p. 100.

armour of God." The Christian has enemies; he needs a defence against them; that defence is supplied by God; he must avail himself of it; he must use it *altogether*, for it completely protects the whole man.

2. From words *in their immediate connection or context*. Thus, from Rom. xiv. 17., "The kingdom of God is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost," the following conclusions may be drawn. True peace of conscience is only in connection with implanted righteousness or holiness; genuine joy is the result of righteousness and peace; the author of this joy is the Holy Spirit, and therefore it is not mere carnal joy or delight; where righteousness does not bring with it peace and joy, it is not the holiness that comes from God and looks to him; God has erected his throne of gracious rule only in that heart where righteousness, peace, and joy exist.

Heb. xiii. 7.: "Whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation." Spiritual rulers and teachers should show fidelity and steadfastness in their work; they should be imitated by all who receive instruction and benefit from them; their followers should derive courage and comfort from the death they died; the death of eminent Christians who have been faithful presents a strong evidence in favour of that which they believed and taught.

3. Inferences may be drawn from words *in their connection with a wider context*. By enlarging the range of the context, we enlarge the field and fertility of words in this aspect of them.

Titus iii. 8.: "This is a faithful saying, and these things I will that thou affirm constantly, that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works." Continuance in good works demands care on the part of the Christian; there are means by which anxiety and care to maintain them are kept in active exercise; the inculcation of certain doctrines is among the chief means for attaining this end; these doctrines are the leading evangelical doctrines stated in the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th verses preceding; there is therefore an inseparable connection between good works and the reception of certain truths respecting God, Christ, the Holy Ghost; teachers of the gospel should dwell upon the fundamental doctrine of grace for the purpose of producing good fruit in the lives of those who are instructed by them.

4. Inferences may be drawn from *the scope of a passage*. Thus the scope of Mark iii. 23—30. is to show the fearful nature of such blasphemy as the scribes had just been guilty of. In ascribing the power by which Christ wrought his miracles to Satanic agency, they blasphemed the Holy Ghost, by whom those miracles were really wrought, and committed an unpardonable sin. Hence we may infer, that blasphemy against the Holy Ghost was a sin of speech—that it is peculiar to those who ascribe Christ's miracles to Satanic power—that none need fear of being guilty of it now—that the leading Jews of that day were awfully hardened and infatuated against the Messiah—that his miracles and mighty works should be reverently spoken of—that the explanation of them by natural means approaches to the sin of the scribes—that it is highly dangerous to tarnish or lower the

holy disposition which actuated the Saviour and the heavenly nature which dwelt in him.

2 Tim. i. 8. : "Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord nor of me his prisoner; but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the Gospel." One inference which has been deduced by Francke from this passage is, He who preaches the gospel without afflictions, is far removed from the example of the apostle.<sup>1</sup> But this does not agree with the scope of the entire passage, and is too general. *When afflictions come* he who is not ready to endure them is far removed from the apostle's example; but afflictions may not always come to hinder him who preaches the gospel. The times in which the apostle lived were different from ours.

5. Inferences may be deduced from *the general scope of an entire book or epistle*. For instance, let the following words be compared with the general scope of the epistle in which they occur (1 John v. 18, 19.),—"We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not; but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not. And we know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness,"—and various inferences will flow from the collation. The general scope of the Epistle is to help forward the heathen Christians whom the writer had already instructed, to greater steadfastness and completeness in their profession, especially as they were threatened by dangers arising from erroneous views of Christ's person. Agreeably to this general object the apostle writes as in the verses quoted, whence we may infer that there is a marked separation between the church and the world; that sin cannot appear often in the former; that sin reigns in the latter; that contact with the world is inconsistent with communion in the church; and therefore that he who would be perfect must be wholly separate from a sinful world.

6. Inferences may be drawn *from parallel passages*.

2 Tim. i. 8. : "Be not thou ashamed of the testimony of our Lord." Parallel to this is, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth," (Rom. i. 16.); and, "Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed" (Rom. i. 11., quoted from Isa. xxviii. 16., xlix. 23.). Hence we may derive the following corollaries. A true teacher of the gospel requires from others what he knows in experience not to be impossible. He who inculcates self-denial and endurance of affliction should manifest them by example before he enjoins them by precept.

Let us take the passage selected by Francke, and consider it inferentially according to these various methods.

"Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner; but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel." (2 Tim. i. 8.)

From the words themselves we deduce,

"Be not thou ashamed." Boldness is required in our testimony to Christ. When one becomes ashamed of the testimony of Christ he is in the way of apostatising.

<sup>1</sup> See *Manuductio*, &c., translated by Jaques, p. 104.

“The testimony.” Courage in confession is increased by the consideration that we are *witnesses*.

“Of our Lord.” He who is ashamed of the gospel is ashamed of the Lord himself.

“Prisoner.” It is not Christian prudence, but the very opposite, to show favour to Christians when they enjoy outward prosperity, and to be ashamed of them in times of persecution.

“His.” A Christian in bonds is not the servant of man but of Christ.

“Be thou partaker of the afflictions.” Fellowship in afflictions is consolatory. Should he who preaches the gospel meet with afflictions in the providence of God and shrink from them, he is far removed from the example of the Apostle Paul.

From the words in their connection or context we deduce, —

Before we animate a combatant to be strong in the holy war we should furnish him with arms. Unless the Spirit of God be in the heart, we vainly attempt to animate by words. A fearful heart is not capable of the testimony of Christ, nor of enduring afflictions for the promotion of divine truth.

These inferences result merely from collation with the verse immediately preceding. Others flow from collation with the succeeding verse. From the words in a wider connection we deduce, —

The gift which a minister of Christ may have received from God is to be stirred up, in order that he may not only teach but also suffer, if needful. He who permits the laying on of the hands of the presbytery ought to suffer, if Providence so wills it, the laying on of the hands of the civil officer. These inferences are derived from a collation with the sixth verse.

From collation with the tenth verse we may derive the following: Greater boldness in enduring persecutions should be evidenced under the New Testament dispensation, because Christ has really appeared, and so confirmed our faith in his obedience, sufferings, and resurrection.

From the passage taken in its relation to the special scope of the paragraph in which it stands we may deduce these inferences: —

A minister can promise himself little or no assistance from a fellow-labourer who is not possessed of spiritual boldness; since such an one will rather hinder than accelerate the progress of truth through fear of shame and imprisonment. It is of no small consequence that the testimony of God's servants be multiplied. They who are engaged in one common service may mutually stir each other up to seek their Lord's glory, which is to be promoted by unity of purpose and action.

From the same passage in its relation to the general scope we may draw such inferences as these. Considering the person of Paul we deduce, —

1. It is right for a minister to call fellow-labourers to his help, not only in times of prosperity but of adversity also.

2. It is his duty, however, not to do this precipitately, but carefully to prepare for the events which appear about to happen.

3. It is his duty to fortify the mind of him whom he invites to his aid.

4. Should he perceive any thing in the other, or in the circumstances of the case, likely to deter him from furnishing the required assistance, he should seasonably remove all these hinderances.

Considering the person of Timothy, the following are deducible.

1. A minister should neither accelerate his departure from his own sphere of labour, nor defer going to another through fear of calamities.

2. He should fortify his mind against such calamities, that he may be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed.

3. The danger of others ought not to intimidate him, but render him prudent, and even excite within him a like readiness to endure sufferings.<sup>1</sup>

A collation of the text may be instituted with the consideration of the circumstances *who, where, when?* The latter however does not so much constitute a new source as present a more favourable opportunity of drawing inferences from other sources.

*Who?* "And I will very gladly spend and be spent for you; though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved." (2 Cor. xii. 15.) Considering that Paul the Apostle writes these words, we may infer that self-denying labours in the formation and building up of a Christian church may be requited with coldness and alienation of affection on the part of the members; that the most disinterested and self-sacrificing teacher of the gospel may meet with discouragement and opposition; that he who does most for the welfare and highest interests of a Christian people is not exempt from undeserved treatment; and that ministers of the gospel should not be turned away from their duty towards those who prove ungrateful for their highest services.

A false inference, arising in a great degree from neglect of the person speaking, is that deduced from the words of John the Baptist in Luke iii. 14., "And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages." John did not say to them, *Cease to be soldiers*; therefore the military profession is legitimate under the Christian dispensation. This inference is unwarrantable, because the Baptist did not belong to the Christian dispensation. He stood between the Jewish and the Christian economies, but nearer the latter.

*Where?* *i. e.* the place where the words were uttered. "Not as I will but as thou wilt." (Matt. xxvi. 39.) He who made atonement for the sins of mankind voluntarily submitted to the will of the Father in a garden of unparalleled suffering; but man voluntarily opposed the will of the Father in a garden of pleasure.

*The time* when things were done or words uttered. "Yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee, being such an one as Paul the

<sup>1</sup> See Francke's Guide to the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures, &c. by Jaques, p. 103. *et seqq.*

aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ." (Philemon, 9.) When the apostle requested Philemon to receive back Onesimus his servant to his house and confidence, he was aged and a prisoner at Rome. He did not use his apostolical authority in the matter. He adduced other and tenderer motives. From this we may infer that the time and occasion should be urged on behalf of a reasonable and Christian request, in preference to an insisting on the strict letter of duty; that such as are best entitled by age, knowledge, and opposition to urge the right as right, should adopt another course having less appearance of strictness; and that age should mellow the tone of Christian teachers and rulers towards those they have to do with.

*The manner* in which a thing is done. "And he was three days without sight," &c. Paul was brought to the knowledge of himself and his true state in relation to God during the three days and three nights. Hence it may be inferred that a conviction of spiritual blindness precedes spiritual enlightenment.

In deducing inferences from the text of Scripture it will be useful to keep in mind the following cautions.

1. They are more safely derived from the originals than from any version. Thus from Psal. lxxxiv. 6., which is rendered in the English version, "the rain also filleth the pools," it has been inferred, "if we be ready to receive the grace of God, that grace shall not be wanting to us, but shall be sufficient for us at all times;"<sup>1</sup> a conclusion founded upon the ordinary sense that the pilgrims to Jerusalem dug little pits to receive and keep the rain water which was for their refreshment. The correct version however is, "the rain covers it (the valley of Baca) with blessings." This present life, which is a vale of sorrow, is converted into a fountain of delight, a valley covered with blessings, by the godly man whose strength is in God and whose prayers draw down every needful benefit, to cheer the aspect of the Christian way. From *the true* translation of the phrase in question we might draw this inference, that abundant blessings lie in the path of the righteous through this world amid all its sorrows and trials. God proportions the one to the other, so that there is a counterbalancing effect.

From Gen. xx. 16. "Behold he is to thee a covering of the eyes," this inference has been deduced: "Yoke-fellows must be to each other for a covering of the eyes. The marriage covenant is a covenant with the eyes, like Job's (chap. xxxi. 1.)"<sup>2</sup> This is founded on an incorrect sense of the original. The covering of the eyes is the propitiatory gift.

Under this head some have brought Acts ii. 47. compared with Acts xiii. 48., whence an inference foreign to the intention of the sacred writer is said to be deduced by such as infer "that those whom God adds to the church shall necessarily and absolutely be eternally saved." It is certainly true that the proper translation of the former passage is, "the Lord added the saved to the church;" language that expresses *a fact* not *a purpose*. But from the former

<sup>1</sup> Henry's Commentary.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

the latter may be properly inferred. What God does he purposes to do; for he does nothing without purpose or counsel. Every thing he does is the expression of his unalterable will. But although we may properly and logically infer the purpose of saving those added to the church from the fact of their being added, yet it is an objectionable statement "that those whom God adds to the church shall necessarily and absolutely be eternally saved." Pro pounded in this naked form, without its due limitations, the proposition is scarcely scriptural. It cannot be legitimately inferred from the right translation of the passage. With regard to the second passage, viz. Acts xiii. 48., the inference may be correctly drawn from it that such as believe are divinely appointed unto eternal life. Not however *absolutely* and *unconditionally* appointed; nor do the words warrant the hypothesis of indefectibility from grace. All that they sanction is, that such as truly believe were appointed (from eternity) to eternal life. Those commentators who would alter the sense of *τεταγμένοι* (appointed) into *disposed* or *inclined*, i. e. as many as were *disposed for eternal life* believed, are mistaken in their view. The original Greek will not bear it; and therefore it cannot be consonant with the *context* and *scope* of the sacred historian, as has been argued. Hence all the learning of Hammond, Whitby, Wall, Wolfius, Wetstein, Limborch, and even Doddridge, together with Humphry, quite recently<sup>1</sup>, is thrown away in defending the meaning *fitly disposed, seriously concerned, qualified for*, &c. &c. The Greek word signifies external *disposal*, such as the marshalling of troops; but it is never applied to *internal disposal* or to *the mind's inclination*. The passage cited by Humphry from 2 Maccab. vi. 21. is *against*, not *for* his view when the adjoining words are taken along with *τεταγμένοι*, as they should be. He has mistaken the sense of the place he quotes. All the best critics, as Winer, Olshausen, Meyer, Usteri, De Wette, render *appointed*.

Again, it is an obvious and axiomatic observation that inferences should be founded on the genuine sense, and not on any other, however ingenious, recondite, spiritual, or correct it may appear. Thus in Gen. iv. 23. "Hear my voice; ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech; for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt," &c. In the margin of the English Bible it is, "*I would slay* a man to my wounding," &c. Adopting this rendering as giving the true sense, some have drawn the inference, jealousy is the natural consequence of polygamy. As Lamech was the first polygamist, so it is thought that he here speaks in a threatening tone to his wives from the promptings of jealousy. But it is altogether wrong to translate "*I would slay*" &c., and Lamech does not threaten before his wives through feelings of jealousy. The inference therefore cannot be sustained.

It has also been inferred in Genesis from vi. 3., "And the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man," that "those are ripening apace for ruin whom the Spirit of grace has left off striving

<sup>1</sup> Commentary on the book of the Acts of the Apostles.

with.”<sup>1</sup> But this is based on an improper translation. The sense of the verb is not *to strive*.

Matt. xiii. 44.: “The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field.” From this has been drawn the inference that “Jesus Christ is hid in gospel ordinances.”<sup>2</sup> But the conclusion is founded on a mistaken apprehension of the meaning of *treasure*.

2. Inferences should not be drawn which merely repeat the words of a text in phraseology nearly similar; for these are not *proper* inferences, but rather repetitions of the Scripture language. An inference is *implied in and deduced from* the words of the Bible, instead of being the sense of the words themselves. It is a corollary *from* the true sense, not *the sense itself*. Thus Luke x. 42., “But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her.” 1. Religion is the one thing needful. 2. A part with Christ is a good part. 3. Every one should choose this good part. 4. Those who choose this good part shall have their choice commended. Here although the propositions stated partake a little of the nature of inferences, they are too commonplace and obvious. They lie too much on the surface, and are rather repetitions of the words in the text. Again, we read in John’s Gospel viii. 36., “If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.” The Son gives freedom; the freedom he bestows is a true freedom.

There are many kinds of inferences according to the sources from which they are derived and the purposes they are meant to serve. Thus some are theoretical and doctrinal. Others again are practical. Some are profitable for doctrine, others for reproof, others for instruction, others for comfort. They serve to confirm faith, to excite love, to nourish hope in the Christian. We have written this chapter, however, chiefly with a view to practical inferences—those which a plain reader of the Bible may be supposed capable of drawing for his own edification. These are the safest and the most useful. As for doctrinal and theoretical inferences, they are precarious in their nature and accompanied with danger. In the history of the church, in synods and councils, their effects may be seen in part. The great liability of theologians to put their own inferences from the Scripture text into the place of unequivocal statements of that text, is sufficient to dissuade the sober critic from indulging in them. Yet the creeds of Christendom are largely interspersed with such deductions. Having been drawn up in times of controversy, and indeed owing their birth to it, they breathe a polemic tone and tendency. We deplore the manifestations of this theoretical deduction-system when applied, as it has been, to the nature and essence of the divine Being—to the distinctions in the Godhead and the expression of the divine attributes. In all cases it is desirable to have a clear perception of the right sense of a passage before one attempt to derive corollaries from it. If the passage relate to doctrine, let it be cautiously employed as a source of inferences, should it be thought desirable to use

<sup>1</sup> See Henry’s Commentary.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

it so at all. But (for the most part) we hold that the inferential reading of the Bible should be confined to the easier and more practical portions; because its chief utility lies in instructing and comforting him who has already got a competent knowledge of the few leading points in Revelation which constitute its centre and essence. The inferential reading of the Bible is available for private instruction rather than for teaching others. It serves to strengthen devotion. It contributes to an intelligent piety. In these respects it should be conducted by oneself, and applied to self. It is safest when so employed. At the same time there is no objection to its use for others' edification, if it be wisely managed. Indeed all sermon-writers draw inferences from passages of the Bible for the instruction of those to whom they address themselves. And if their inferences be legitimate, the process is commendable. It is difficult, however, to deduce judicious, proper, and natural conclusions from the genuine sense of a passage. Men are so liable to put their own notions and prejudices into such inferences, that they do not always or often conduct the process wisely.

A few improper and illegitimate inferences from sermonising commentaries on the Bible may be given by way of conclusion.

"Jesus when he was baptized went up straightway out of the water." (Matt. iii. 16.) He went down to have his head or face washed, because he went up *from the water* (*ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος*). So Matthew Henry asserts.

"Then the Devil taketh him up into the holy city." (Matt. iv. 5.) The holy city is the place where he does with the greatest advantage and success tempt men to pride and presumption. We believe that this assertion of Henry's is contrary to fact.

"Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." (1 Tim. v. 23.) As Timothy could not continue to do the work at Ephesus which the apostle appointed him to if he followed his present mode of abstemiousness, it was necessary that he should receive direction from *divine authority* relative to the preservation of his life. Such are the inferences of A. Clarke. But they are wholly unsupported and improbable.

From John xx. 6., these inferences have been drawn. Peter's venturing into the sepulchre teaches, 1. that those who in good earnest seek after Christ must not frighten themselves with bugbears and foolish fancies. "There is a ghost in the grave." 2. That good Christians need not be afraid of the grave. 3. We must be willing to go through the grave to Christ. These three inferences, which are in Henry's commentary, have nothing to do with the words of the verse. They are not based on its genuine sense. They are not taught by it in any way. They are a kind of mystical parallels suggested by a quaint fancy. The verse simply shows that Peter acted with his usual boldness and promptness, having more courage than John.

## CHAP. XVI.

## ON THE PRACTICAL READING OF SCRIPTURE.

A CHAPTER on this subject scarcely belongs to a treatise on Hermeneutics. It does not admit of rules or precepts. Even hints will be less of utility here than elsewhere, because of the nature of the topic. The practical reading of the Bible must be known and learned *by experience*, in a more emphatic sense than any department of sacred interpretation. Its object is the application of Scripture to faith and practice. Some may think that it amounts to the same as inferential reading already treated of; but there is a perceptible difference. To deduce practical doctrines and inferences from the text, applying them in a historical way, is not properly practical reading, which is the application of divine truth to the heart.

If moral qualifications be requisite for *the right understanding* of Scripture they are pre-eminently necessary for *the profitable application* of it. Sincerity and earnestness of soul are qualities indispensable for conducting it. And while Hermeneutics generally presuppose an acquaintance with the original languages of the Bible, practical reading does not. As Francke well remarks, it is of such a nature that it may be prosecuted by an illiterate person, for the application of Scripture which it enjoins is connected with *salvation*; and therefore if it were not within the ability of the unlearned, it would be vain to allow them the reading of the Scriptures.<sup>1</sup> All things necessary to faith and practice may be acquired from versions. Our own English version may be generally relied on by the unlearned reader, who has no acquaintance with the Greek and Hebrew languages. We can cordially concur in many of the testimonies borne to its excellence and fidelity by various scholars. But we do *not* concur in the statement that “of all modern versions it is upon the whole undoubtedly the most accurate and faithful: the translators having seized the very spirit of the sacred writers, and having almost every where expressed their meaning with a pathos and energy that has never been rivalled by any subsequent versions either of the Old or the New Testament.” To mention none other, De Wette’s German version of the Bible is incomparably superior. A better translation into English might and ought to be made at the present day; for surely our acquaintance with the Bible and its languages far exceeds the knowledge of it which men had two hundred years ago.

We agree with Francke in holding, that the simplest application of divine truth is the most profitable if it be made with sincerity of soul<sup>2</sup>; and submit the following advice on the subject.

1. He who reads the Scriptures with a view to their practical application should be animated and guided by pure motives. Without these it will be vain. He engages in a work of high and serious importance. He enters into close contact with solemn things.

1. Guide to the reading of the Scriptures, &c. by Jaques, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

He desires to be spiritually improved in mind, heart, and temper — to be brought more fully into harmony with holiness and with God. Whatever sins lurk within him or dwell there, it is his conscientious endeavour to root out by means of the truth. Evil propensities are to be subdued by the quick and powerful word of God brought home to the sensibilities and intellect of the sincere student of Scripture. Pure motives are therefore the necessary means of obtaining a right appreciation of the divine teaching in its enlightening efficacy.

2. In the practical application of Scripture, we should commence with the easier books and passages, in which the understanding is not liable to be taxed with difficulties in the sense, nor to be agitated with doubts. When some proficiency has been made, recourse may be had to the abstruser portions of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> Here it is fortunate for the humble-minded, illiterate reader, that the easiest parts are at the same time the most useful. The plainest are the most profitable of all. To select suitable lessons from the one, is to secure the greatest advantage. After proceeding to the more difficult chapters or books, it will not be needful or desirable there to meddle with critical niceties, or such subtleties as lie in the connection of particles and words with one another. As soon as the region of metaphysics or philology is entered, devotion becomes cold and arid. Abstruse points, therefore, may be safely neglected, as not ministering to the progress of religion in the soul but rather impeding it. We know of nothing more appropriate and edifying than the First Epistle of John and some parts of his Gospel. The first three Gospels also may be practically applied, towards the commencement of this kind of reading. Afterwards, the Pauline Epistles may be resorted to; last of all the prophetic books, such as the Apocalypse. The latter indeed are too much neglected, though they may furnish the noblest lessons in a devotional view which can possibly be had from any part of the Bible. Doubtless they have ministered largely to the edification and comfort of many a saint, especially in seasons of distress and persecution.

3. Some parts of the Bible cannot be properly employed in this exercise, because the words of ungodly men are sometimes given, or the sentiments of well-meaning but mistaken persons. Sceptical objections are also found. All such are to be left out of the account. No practical application of them should be attempted. In connection with this we should remember, that pious men did not always act and speak in conformity with the will of God. Moses did not so; neither did David. Hence there should be a discrimination in the case of persons, times, places. An *intelligent* piety will regard all the circumstances under which a thing was said or done. Some parts of the Bible are not *the word of God*, but the word of man. Such are portions of the book of Ecclesiastes. Such are parts of the discourses put into the mouth of Job's three friends, since God was afterwards displeased with them. These are but specimens.

<sup>1</sup> Guide to the reading of the Scriptures, &c. by Jaques, p. 128.

4. In applying the conduct of those mentioned in Scripture to our own edification, it should be observed, that we are bound in general to imitate the example of pious and holy men there described. Their actions and sayings we are required to make use of with a view to our good. Some precepts, however, given to them are now inapplicable, as in those cases where all males are commanded to go up to Jerusalem three times a year to worship. And the conduct of good men must not be imitated in certain cases, viz., such as were extraordinary, peculiar to a dispensation or state of things, and sinful. Thus Elijah destroyed the prophets of Baal; but we should not put to death or cause to be slain those who promote a false religion. The Israelites were utterly to destroy the Canaanites, but we should not exterminate classes of men or nations. Things extraordinary are no rule to us. In like manner actions exclusively belonging to a certain time cannot be patterns to believers now, such as the observance of love-feasts or the *agapae* of the early Christians. And every one will understand, that sinful actions, such as we observe in the lives of holy men described in the Bible, are to be carefully avoided instead of being imitated. Good men are to be followed only so far as they conformed to the moral law of God — that divine rule of conduct which can never change or cease to be obligatory. In every case where we feel that the sayings and doings of Scripture should not be adopted implicitly it will be necessary to consider the theory of duty. How can we *in our circumstances* act in accordance with the examples of Scripture, so that we shall best answer the ends intended to be served by the record of such examples? How would holy men have acted had they enjoyed our superior light and privileges? In what way would their conduct or sayings have been modified had they been placed in our situation? Our business is to make a comparison between the circumstances of those who are set before us and our own.<sup>1</sup>

5. The failings and sins of good men as they are recorded in the Bible may teach us to watch against the like ourselves, to avoid the occasions which led to them, to repress the tendencies of our nature which are similar. We should look within and search whether the seeds of the very same do not lie in the bosom in a state in which they may be developed and actively appear as soon as circumstances are favourable. Above all, such faults should instruct us to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, looking for and relying on the divine aid at all times. If holy men fell into sin, *we* may equally or more readily fall into the same vices through the evil that lurks in our hearts, unless we be very careful and circumspect. And when we fall, let us employ the same means for penitence and recovery as they did. Both in their fall and their restoration they may be very profitable to him who observes their conduct.

6. In all practical application of Scripture we must look mainly to Christ, whose personal obedience and sufferings are to be appropriated by faith in the first instance; and whose spirit, temper, and conduct

<sup>1</sup> See Hey's Lectures in Divinity, chap. xi. p. 52. *et seqq.* vol. i. of the third edition.

are next to be imitated in our lives. In him we have a perfect pattern.<sup>1</sup> In some things indeed, he *cannot* be imitated, because he was God as well as man. In others he *should not*, because he sustained as Mediator a peculiar relation to the Father and to mankind. But in the ordinary tenor of his life, he is undoubtedly set forth as a holy pattern, sinless and perfect, in whose steps the righteous should tread, and by whose mind they should be animated. The portrait of the Saviour in the Gospels is one which cannot be studied too well or copied too closely by the Christian. Likeness to Christ in spirit and conduct is what humanity is capable of — what it needs — what Christ suffered and died to effect. As far as holy men whom we read of in Scripture followed him, and no farther, should *they* be imitated. “Be ye followers of me,” says the Apostle Paul, “even as I also am of Christ.” (1 Cor. xi. 1.)

7. The application of Scripture to ourselves should be close, searching, honest, impartial; for without this we shall not employ the word of God in the way which is most profitable. We should consider first the anatomy and physiology of our minds, comparing them with the portion of Holy Scripture under review. Thus may we perceive the particular tendencies or faults belonging to us, which will lead to an examination into their causes. Then comes the proper remedy to be applied. The use of the divine word is multifarious. It will suit every habitude of mind. Commands and prohibitions, promises and threatenings, exhortations and precepts, warnings and cautions, examples and precedents, will all serve to the furtherance of the great end which God had in view in giving them, viz., the destruction of sin, and the building up of the divine image in man.

8. We should not apply all things at once, but successively, lest the mind be overwhelmed with the copiousness of matter. The obviousness of this remark will strike every reader.<sup>2</sup>

9. The commencement of practical application may be instituted with most ease by including a text and its component words in short prayers or ejaculations, after its sense has been rightly ascertained. This method, says Francke, may appear simple and puerile; but many have approved its excellency by experience, and learned its value by the rich fruits it has produced.<sup>3</sup>

10. The continuation of practical application should occupy the whole of our lives. It is aided by our own diligence, and especially by divine grace, which is given in larger measures to those who receive the seed of the word into good ground. This divine grace is procured by prayer. It is both the answer to and the soul of that holy exercise.

To those who are intent on the application of the Scriptures we cannot too emphatically recommend attention to the state of their hearts in the light of that holy truth which God has revealed for the salvation of the world. The letter of Scripture killeth, but the spirit maketh alive. The grace of God will enable them to seize upon *the spirit*, and bring it home to their bosoms with a power which shall

<sup>1</sup> See Francke's Guide, &c. pp. 126, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 124, 125.

lift them above the external excellences that delight men of cultivated taste, and will place them in the midst of those spiritualities which the spiritual alone can perceive and enjoy. Prayer, meditation, a pure heart, an upright intention, will conduct the reader of the Bible to a practical acquaintance with its sanctifying truth, which cannot be attained by the mere scholar; helping him to make it in his own case all that it should be to the soul and conduct — a stimulus and a stay alike — a convincing and elevating element leading him onward to perfect holiness.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

TO

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND APOCRYPHA.



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### CHAPTER I.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PENTATEUCH.

THE *Pentateuch*, by which title the five books of Moses are collectively designated, is a word of Greek origin, ἡ πεντάτευχος viz. βίβλος, the five-volumed or five-fold book; among the Latins *Pentateuchus*, i.e. liber. By the Jews it is usually called תּוֹרָה, *torah*, the law, or מִשְׁנֵה מֹשֶׁה, *the law of Moses*. Among the Rabbins it is styled חֲמִישֵׁה חֻמְשֵׁי הַתּוֹרָה, i.e. the five-fifths of the law. It is fitly designated *the law*, because it contains the ordinances given by God to the Israelites. In the Hebrew MSS. the Pentateuch forms one roll or volume, divided merely into larger and smaller sections, or *parshioth* and *sedarim*. At what time the five-fold division took place, it is difficult to discover. Bertholdt<sup>1</sup> and Keil<sup>2</sup> think that it is original; while Michaelis<sup>3</sup> regards it as older than the LXX. But it is most probable that it proceeded from the Greek translators, as Leusden<sup>4</sup>, Hävernick<sup>5</sup>, and Von Lengerke<sup>6</sup> suppose. The names of the books are Greek; and Josephus, in his treatise against Apion<sup>7</sup>, says that five of the books belong to Moses. In like manner Philo was acquainted with it.<sup>8</sup> We can perceive no internal evidence that the author himself marked the books in this manner, or at least the reviser of the canon; though Keil speaks of such evidence as decisive.

The division in question embraces a period of 2515 years according to the common computation, and gives an account of one nation, preceded by a brief outline of the original state of mankind. We cannot say with Bishop Gray<sup>9</sup> that while there is admirable diversity of style it is always characterised by the stamp of the same author. The language is such as could scarcely have been exhibited in the earliest period of the Hebrew. It shows considerable cultivation.

The Jews have uniformly ascribed the Pentateuch to Moses, and from them the tradition passed over to Christians, and became universally current till the time of historical criticism. In addition to

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. iii. p. 757.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung ins Alte Testament, p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, i. 2. p. 156.

<sup>7</sup> Lib. i. c. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Key to the Old Testament, p. 42. ed. 1842.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Philologus Hebræus, p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Kenaan, p. lxxxii.

<sup>8</sup> De Abraham, p. 274. ed. Colon.

the Pentateuch, the Jews also allege that Moses wrote ten Psalms, viz. from xc. to xcix. inclusive. The title of the 90th ascribes it to him, *A prayer of Moses the man of God*. But this title need not be relied upon as authentic. The internal evidence of the Psalm itself must determine. As to the nine following ones, there is no proof whatever that they belong to Moses. Some have also thought that he wrote the book of Job. But this opinion must be discarded, as the book is not nearly so ancient.

Various apocryphal writings are also ascribed to the same source, as the Apocalypse of Moses, from which Gregorius Syncellus thought that St. Paul took Gal. v. 6. and vi. 15. The Anabasis or Ascension of Moses is mentioned by Origen<sup>1</sup>, and in the Synopsis of Athanasius. From it the ninth verse of Jude's epistle is supposed to be taken. Little Genesis, another treatise, is mentioned by Epiphanius and Jerome, and was written in Hebrew. Cedrenus states that he took many things from it into his chronological history. Some other writings are also spoken of, to which references may be found in Fabricius.<sup>2</sup> It is evident that they are all fabrications belonging to the early times of Christianity.

#### GENESIS.

The first book of the Pentateuch is called by the Jews בְּרֵאשִׁית, *B'reshith*, from the initial word, i.e. *in the beginning*. Among Christians it is denominated *Genesis*, Γένεσις, the title which it has in the Septuagint, meaning *generation* or *creation*, because it gives an account of the production of all things.

It is divided by the Jews into twelve larger sections or פְּרָשִׁיּוֹת, *parshioth*, and sometimes into forty-three smaller ones or סֵדָרִים, *sedarim*. Neither of these divisions is suitable or useful. Nor is that of fifty chapters in the English Bible any better.

The most general division of the book is into two parts, viz. :— I. The original history of mankind. II. The early history of Israel. The former embraces the first eleven chapters; the latter from the twelfth to the fiftieth inclusive.

The first general division may be subdivided into the history of the world from the creation till the flood (chapters i.—v.); and from the flood till the call of Abraham (chapters vi.—xi.). The second general division resolves itself into three portions, viz. the history of Abraham (chapters xii.—xxv. 18.); of Isaac (chapters xxv. 19.—xxxvi. 43.); and of Jacob (chapters xxxvii.—l.). The following is a synopsis of the general contents according to these five parts.

1. An account of the creation of the world, of man's formation, his settlement in Paradise, his fall and expulsion from the garden. This is followed by an account of Adam's descendants to Noah, in whose time God determined to destroy men by the deluge, and to spare righteous Noah. (i.—v.)

2. Noah is commanded to construct an ark in which he and his

<sup>1</sup> Περὶ ἀρχῶν, sive De principiis, lib. iii. c. 2. p. 274. ed. Redepenning.

<sup>2</sup> Codex Pseudepigraphus, p. 835. et seqq.

family should be preserved from the devouring element, together with the various classes of animals which would otherwise perish in the waters. After the flood, the fact of Noah's three sons being the sole fathers of the second world is then distinctly stated. The patriarch predicts the future fates of their respective descendants. This is followed by a brief genealogical notice of the immediate descendants of Noah's sons, comprehending certain nations of which they were the founders. We have next an account of the confusion of the one language and the consequent dispersion of mankind, with a list of Shem's descendants in the line from which Abraham sprang. (vi.—xi.)

3. The general history of mankind having been completed, we are next presented with a particular history of leading individuals commonly called *the Patriarchs*. Abraham is called out of Ur of the Chaldees into Canaan. The most prominent events in his life are noticed, such as, his separation from Lot, his meeting with Melchizedek king of Salem after the victory over the king of Sodom and his allies, the birth of Isaac under peculiar circumstances, Abraham's trial when he was commanded to offer his only son in sacrifice, the death and burial of Sarah, the marriage of Isaac to Rebecca, and Abraham's marriage to Keturah. The patriarch died at the age of 175. (xii.—xxv. 18.)

4. Here the history of Isaac, which was begun in connection with that of his father but subordinated to the latter, is resumed and continued till the period of his death. The most prominent particulars in it are the birth of twins, Jacob and Esau; the project of Rebecca to deceive Isaac, and procure the blessing for Jacob which was intended for Esau. This is followed by Jacob's departure into Mesopotamia to his uncle Laban, his marriage, his return to Canaan, his meeting with Esau, an unhappy event in the life of Dinah his only daughter, his removal to Bethel, the death of Rachel, an account of the age and death of Isaac, and a genealogical table of Esau's descendants. (xxv. 19—xxxvi. 43.)

5. This last part of Genesis contains the subsequent history of Jacob and his family till the death of Joseph. Owing to the envy of his brethren, excited by the father's undue fondness for Joseph, the latter is taken to Egypt and sold to Potiphar. This is followed by the conduct of Judah with respect to Tamar; and Joseph's prosperity and imprisonment. He is delivered, promoted in the court of Pharaoh: his brethren come into the country to buy corn, to whom on their second visit he reveals himself. Jacob comes down to Egypt and settles there with his family, pronounces prophetic blessings on his sons, and calmly surrenders his soul to him who gave it. His body is embalmed, and interred in Canaan. This is succeeded by the death and burial of Joseph, with which the book closes. (xxxvii.—1.)

According to the usual computation of time, the book of Genesis contains the history of about 2369 years; but according to the larger reckoning of Hales 3619 years. It is better to abide by the former, since the basis on which the latter is founded is insecure.

The first three chapters, which contain a description of the creation and fall of man, have given rise to much discussion. The question whether they are to be understood in a literal or allegorical sense has been debated with great skill and vehemence. On the one hand, it has been affirmed, that the cosmogony is inconsistent with the conclusions of modern science, especially with geological phenomena; while certain particulars in Eve's temptation by the serpent are inexplicable or improbable on the supposition of its being historical. On the other hand, it is considered highly improbable that an allegorical description should be prefixed to and form a part of the literal history which follows; while the New Testament contains various allusions or references to the creation, temptation, and fall, implying that they are *truly* and *properly* described. The common view has always been, that the chapters in question present a literal account, in plain prose, of the origin of the human race and their fall. This is the more natural and obvious interpretation, such as would be apt to strike an ordinary reader of the Bible. In deciding between the mythic view and the purely historical one, there is not much proof or argument to rest upon. Most German divines adopt the former, even those of very different schools. On the contrary, English theologians adhere to the latter. It is true that a few in this country have advocated the mythic or allegorical view; but they have been chiefly of the Unitarian persuasion, with the exception of Geddes. What has helped to exclude the mythic from English theology is the notion ascribed by many to *mythus*, as though it meant *fable* or *fiction*, a *pure invention* on the part of the sacred writer. But this is incorrect. There are myths at the basis of which truth and history lie, which are built up on a foundation of real history; and even Knobel does not deny that there are historical elements in the mythic view given of the primitive race of mankind. Had he and his countrymen been less disposed to find *few* elements of the true and the historical in Genesis, they would have more effectually commended their sentiments to the calm attention of impartial inquirers. We do not think that the question is one of that vital importance which many attach to it. If it be held that God created man at first, male and female, in innocency and happiness; and that they fell by transgressing his command, entailing misery and death on all their posterity, it is of little moment *in what particular mode* these facts be described. Whether they be clothed in an allegorical dress or not, matters little, provided *the facts* be recognised. A mythic narrative may have a *real, historical* basis. And so in the present instance. The Almighty created all things out of nothing; he furnished the world with its multitudinous creatures; he formed man in his own image, a living rational creature, holy in thought and feeling; man was tempted of evil and fell into sin; in consequence of which he lost his purity of character and was doomed to toil, though a great Deliverer was provided for his deliverance from the curse to which he became subject; — these are great truths lying in the primitive record, which must be maintained, in whatever manner the narrative is regarded, whether literally or alle-

gorically. They are recognised in the New Testament, and presuppose the necessity of redemption.

It is often said, as it is by Maurice<sup>1</sup>, that the Mosaic narrative in the first three chapters is either wholly literal or wholly allegorical — that there is no medium nor palliation. So too Horsley<sup>2</sup> and Hengstenberg<sup>3</sup> appear to think, in their reasonings respecting the serpent. But we do not take this view of the matter. Some parts may be allegorical, others literal. Some things may be symbolical without others being so. A resort to allegory may be defended on the ground of necessity, or because the literal involves inextricable difficulty. Accordingly, many think that *the serpent* is a figurative and symbolical name given to Satan apart from an animal being used as an organ, without doing violence to the literal interpretation of the rest of the narrative. The intermixture of the literal and the figurative is common in Scripture. Hence we believe that the leading facts are not impaired by such as assume allegory in some parts of the description; as in that of the temptation, and the agent employed in it.

It is no disparagement to the credibility of the account that the writer describes physical phenomena in the popular language of his day respecting them. He speaks of them *optically*, as they appeared then to an observer, not according to the principles of exact science. It was not his object to unfold scientific truth, but religious doctrine. He was not a natural philosopher, but a religious teacher raised up and qualified of God for the purpose of conveying moral and spiritual ideas to the Jews and to the world at large. Hence great anxiety need not be evinced in reconciling his statements with the conclusions of modern science. Astronomy and geology may be prosecuted by their respective votaries without impugning the record in Genesis, because it was not meant to be a scientific one, conformed to the certain conclusions of natural science as they were to be developed in future times. The writer used the language of his time as he shared the ideas then current, else he would have been unintelligible to those for whom he was prompted to compose his history in the first instance.

The question respecting the historical or mythical character of the earliest chapters of the book is only a part of the more general one relating to the contents of the whole. Here opinions are formed according to the doctrinal views of those who discuss the subject. Some, as Vatke, Von Bohlen, &c., affirm that all the contents of the book are unhistorical and mythological; others again, as Tuch and Knobel, think that they are interwoven with mythical elements, which can be separated from the historical; while many, as Hengstenberg and Hävernicks, perceive throughout a consistent and truly historical impress. The latter justly remarks that "Genesis is a book consisting of two contrasting parts. The first part introduces us to the greatest problems of the human mind, such as the creation and the fall of man; and the second, to the quiet solitude of

<sup>1</sup> History of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 369.

<sup>2</sup> Theological Works, vol. v. p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Christologie, vol. i. p. 26. *et seqq.*

a small defined circle of families. In the former, the most sublime and wonderful events are described with childlike simplicity; while in the latter, on the contrary, the most simple and common occurrences are interwoven with the sublimest thoughts and reflections, rendering the small family circle a whole world in history, and the principal actors in it prototypes for a whole nation, and for all times. The contents in general are strictly religious. Not the least trace of mystery appears in it. Consequently there are no mythical statements, because whatever is mythical belongs to mythology, and Genesis plainly shows how very far remote the Hebrew mode of thinking was from mythical poetry, which might have found ample opportunity of being brought into play when the writer began to sketch the early time of the creation. It is true that the narratives are fraught with wonders. But primeval wonders, the marvellous deeds of God, are the very subject of Genesis. None of these wonders, however, bear a fantastical impress, and there is no useless prodigality of them. They are all penetrated and connected by one common leading idea, and are all related to the counsel of God for the salvation of man. This principle sheds its lustrous beams through the whole of Genesis; therefore the wonders therein related are as little to be ascribed to the invention and imagination of man as the whole plan of God for human salvation. The foundation of the divine theocratical institution throws a strong light upon the early patriarchal times; the reality of the one proves the reality of the other, as described in Genesis."<sup>1</sup>

The book of Genesis contains some direct prophecies concerning Christ, as in iii. 15., xii. 3., xviii. 18., xxii. 18., xxvi. 4., xxviii. 14., xlix. 10.

Those who hold that it was written by Moses differ about the time *when* he composed it. This was to be expected, since in the absence of all data for determining the period in his life, we are left to mere conjecture. Some think, with Eusebius, that it was written while he kept the flocks of his father-in-law in the wilderness of Midian; Theodoret and others suppose that it was written after the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai; while a third hypothesis has been proposed by some learned Jews, that God dictated to Moses all the contents of the book during the forty days he had intercourse with the Deity on Sinai, and that after his descent he committed the whole to writing. Such conjectures are worthless.

#### EXODUS.

The title of the book we are accustomed to call *Exodus* is among the Jews *וְשֵׁמוֹת מִצְרָיִם* *V'ellēh Shēmōth*, that is, *these are the names*, which are the initial words. *Exodus* is derived from the Septuagint version *ἔξοδος*, *a departure*, because the book narrates the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. It is divided by the Jews into eleven *parshioth* or larger sections, and twenty-nine *sedarim* or smaller ones. In our English Bibles there are forty chapters.

<sup>1</sup> Kitto's Cyclopædia, art. Genesis.

The book resolves itself into three parts, viz. :

I. The preparations made for carrying into effect the promises made to the patriarchs. (ch. i.—xii. 28.)

II. The conducting of Israel out of Egypt to Sinai. (xii. 29—xviii.)

III. The establishment of the theocracy. (xix.—xl.)

These leading divisions may be resolved into the following parts.

i. The increase of Jacob's posterity so that they became a numerous people; their oppression in Egypt; the birth and wonderful preservation of Moses; his calling and qualification to be the leader of Israel out of Egypt. (ch. i.—vi. 13.) ii. The steps which led to the deliverance of Israel, viz. the sending of Moses and Aaron to Pharaoh, the signs and wonders which preceded and accompanied the march from Egypt, together with the institution of the passover. (vi. 14—xii. 28.) iii. The departure itself, with the arrangements respecting the passover and sanctification of the first-born. (xii. 29—xiii. 16.) iv. The passage through the Red Sea, the destruction of Pharaoh and his host, and the thanksgiving of Moses for the miraculous deliverance. (xiii. 17—xv. 21.) v. The journey of the Israelites to the mount of God, and the arrival of Jethro at the camp, with his counsel. (xv. 22—xviii.) vi. The preparation of the people by Moses for the renewing of the covenant with God, the promulgation of the ten commandments, and the judicial law. (xix.—xxiv. 11.) vii. Commands respecting the erection of the tabernacle on receiving the tables of stone. (xxiv. 12—xxx. 18.) viii. A description of the idolatry of the Israelites and their restoration to the divine favour at Moses's intercession. (xxxii.—xxxiv.) ix. An account of the building and erection of the tabernacle, *i. e.* the execution of what was commanded in xxv.—xxx. (xxxv.—xl.)

Exodus contains a history of about one hundred and forty-five years, *i. e.* from 2369 to 2514. But Kalisch makes it to contain the history of 360 years, from 1910 to 2270 A. M.<sup>1</sup> Rivet has observed that twenty-five passages are quoted by Christ and his apostles out of the book in express words. This is not correct, unless passages quoted twice be numbered as two. The same writer states that there are nineteen general references or allusions to the sense.<sup>2</sup>

Those who think that Moses wrote the book of Exodus must refer it to a period subsequent to the giving of the law on Mount Sinai and the erection of the tabernacle, because things cannot be historically related till after they took place. The same critics also believe that there are some predictions in it of which it relates the accomplishment. Thus it foretels the deliverance of the Jews (vii. 4, 5.) which was effected. It predicts some events which were not fulfilled till after Moses's death, as that relating to the conquest of Canaan and the future division of the land. (xv. 14—17., xxiii. 22, 23. 31., xxxiii. 2., xxxiv. 23, 24.) And as the book represents the ancient church persecuted, delivered, and preserved, God exercising a providential care over it, we are warranted in applying many things

<sup>1</sup> Historical and Critical Commentary on Exodus, Introduction, p. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Riveti Opera Theologica, folio, i. p. 723.

to the Christian church in her passage through this life to the heavenly Canaan; especially as some of the New Testament writers have used the history in this manner. (1 Cor. x. 1. &c., and Hebrews iii. iv. viii. ix.)

Though much has been written respecting the plagues inflicted on Egypt, and the imitations of them by the Egyptians, little light has been thrown upon the transactions by that means. Bryant has many fancies in his treatise on the subject.<sup>1</sup> Thus he supposes that they were adapted to display the vanity of the idols and false gods worshipped by the Egyptians. By the first plague the Nile was turned into blood. It is very true that divine honours were paid to the Nile, and that blood was an object of abhorrence to the Egyptians. But Hengstenberg thinks that blood here means no more than a blood-red colour.<sup>2</sup> In the second plague, frogs were produced in immense numbers, by which means both land and water were polluted. The plague of lice can hardly have been intended, as Bryant thinks, to reprove the absurd superstition of the Egyptians, who believed that it would be a great profanation of the temple into which they were going if they entered it with such animalcules upon their person; because the word translated *lice* means *gnats*. The plague of flies is supposed to refer to the gad-fly, a god which they worshipped, and which thus became their torture; but the fact assumed is questionable. The same observation applies to the next plague, that of the cattle. *Horses* are assigned the first place in the enumeration of the animals whom the plague should seize; and we do not know that the Egyptians worshipped horses. Neither can it be shown that the plague of boils was intended to show the vanity of their gods. Aaron and Moses were commanded to take ashes of the furnace, and to scatter them toward heaven that they might be wafted over the face of the country. The seventh plague was a severe tempest, accompanied with hail and rain. That this had a reference to Isis and Osiris, deities of water and fire respectively, as if they were unable to protect the country from the hail and fire of God, is fanciful. Nor had the plague of locusts allusion to Isis and Serapis, who were supposed to protect the country from locusts. In the ninth plague, the darkness, it were idle to refer to the same end, as if it were meant to show the vanity of their idol deities. It is merely imaginary to allege that the heavenly hosts, the objects of worship, are thus themselves shown to be under divine control. It seems evident that the last plague, the destruction of the first-born, was most equitable, because, after the Egyptians had been preserved by one of the Israelitish family, they murdered the children of that people to whom they had been so much indebted.

It is generally agreed, at the present time, that the Pharaoh in whose reign Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt was a prince of the eighteenth dynasty. Wilkinson supposes that the exodus took place under Thothmes III., 1495 B. C.; Kalisch, under Ramses V., Amenophis, the last king of the eighteenth dynasty,

<sup>1</sup> See his Observations upon the Plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians, 2d edition: .810.

<sup>2</sup> Egypt and the Books of Moses, translated by Robbins, p. 106.

1491 B. C. Other opinions may be seen in the latter writer. There is little doubt that most of the events recorded in the Pentateuch occurred in the eighteenth dynasty, which was a period of conquest. The period during which the Israelites were in Egypt is given as 430 years. (Exod. xii. 40. ; compare Gen. xv. 13.) The Epistle to the Galatians numbers 430 years from the time when the promise was made to Abraham to the giving of the law at Sinai. Hence the actual time passed in Egypt is supposed to be 215 years, 215 having elapsed from the time of the promise till the Israelites went into the land out of Canaan. Kalisch, however, endeavours to prove that the sojourn in Egypt lasted 430 years.<sup>1</sup> Much has been written against the shorter time (215), as if the Israelites could not possibly have multiplied so fast during it as to amount to the great army that passed through the Red Sea. Even the full number 430 has been deemed insufficient to account for the increase. Hence both are deemed by some unhistorical and mythical. But we see no solid reason for departing even from the lesser number.

Those who find mythic elements in Genesis naturally look for them in Exodus also. They suppose that influences of an unhistorical nature arose during the interval between the events and record. To such influences are referred the representation given of the twelve plagues, the borrowing of the jewels of silver and gold, the antecedence of God himself in a pillar of cloud and fire, the narrative of the passage through the Red Sea. Traditional elements have likewise been discovered in the narratives respecting the manna and the quails. It has also been suspected that the formation of the sanctuary, as narrated in various chapters, presents similar elements, in consequence of its splendour and artistic skill. But such assumptions require to be sustained by evidence before they be entitled to reception. The exaggerations and creations of tradition may *possibly* be in portions here and there, but *probability* is against them. It is much safer and more natural to understand the narratives in their plain, historical sense, leaving miracles and wonders to remain as they are; since they are appropriate and worthy of the Deity in a scheme of human redemption essentially supernatural.

#### LEVITICUS.

The third book of the Pentateuch is termed by the Jews *שֵׁנִי*, *vayyikra*, and he called, from its initial word. In the Greek version, it is *λεβιτικον*, whence the English *Leviticus* arises. It is divided by the Jews into ten *parshioth*; and in the English version, into twenty-seven chapters. It is most naturally resolved into five parts.

I. The laws concerning sacrifices. (ch. i.—vii.) Here are enumerated the burnt-offering (ch. i.), the meat-offerings (ii.), the peace-offering (iii.), the offering presented for sins of ignorance (iv. v.), the trespass-offering for sins knowingly committed (vi. vii.).

<sup>1</sup> Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament, Exodus, Introduction, p. xl.

II. The anointing of the tabernacle and the consecration of the priests, with various arrangements respecting them. This is followed by the punishment of Nadab and Abihu. (viii.—x.)

III. Regulations respecting clean and unclean animals, purity and impurity of men, the yearly purification of the sanctuary from all pollution, by the great day of atonement. (xi.—xvi.)

IV. Laws regarding various offences and crimes which could not be atoned for, but must draw punishment after them. (xvii.—xx.)

V. Regulations respecting the spotlessness of priests and sacrifices, respecting the seven great festivals, viz. the sabbath, the passover, the feast of first fruits, the feast of pentecost, of trumpets, the great day of atonement, and the feast of tabernacles, with various promises and threatenings. (xxi.—xxvi.) The last chapter, containing commandments respecting vows, things devoted and tithes, forms an appendix. (xxvii.)

Leviticus presents the historical progress of the legislation which began at Sinai. Hence we need not expect to find the laws it details, in a systematic order. There is indeed a certain order, but it is not strictly followed out. Thus something of a historical nature is inserted in viii.—x.; and the law concerning the preparation of the sacred oil and the due manifestation of the shewbread in xxiv. 1—9. is in connection with xxii. 17., &c. rather than xxiii.

There is no doubt that the Levitical law had a spiritual meaning. Its sacrifices and oblations were significant of the atonement made by Christ. They pointed to better things to come; and were intended to prepare the way for them, as we see by the Epistle to the Hebrews and various allusions in the writings of Paul. The spiritual interpretation, however, of the ritual law must not be carried too far, as it has often been by the aid of a lively imagination. Though prefigurative of evangelical institutions, fanciful types and allusions should be avoided.

It has been inferred from a comparison of Exod. xl. 17. with Numb. i. 1., that the book contains the history of about a month, *i. e.* from the erection of the tabernacle to the numbering of the people who were fit for war, A. M. 2514. The laws and rites which it speaks of were delivered to Moses in the first month of the second year after the departure from Egypt.

There is one remarkable prophecy in the book, viz. that in which it is said that every sixth year should produce a superfluity to supply the deficiencies of the seventh or sabbatical year, when the land was to remain unsown. (xxv. 20—22.) But indeed the entire book has a prophetic character, which is especially prominent in xxv. and xxvi., where the law refers to the whole future of the nation. Such places show that the law had not an external tendency merely, but was intended to regulate the whole national life and consecrate it to God.

Many of the rites prescribed in the book before us appear to have been taken from those of the Egyptians. Thus the linen garments of the priests, the long hair of the Nazarites, the offering of the first fruits, and similar ordinances, betray an Egyptian origin. All were

rejected that savoured of or countenanced idolatry, or were unsuitable to the national character and state of the Israelites. The wisdom of not introducing new rites and customs is obvious. The people, rude and uncultivated as they were, would have been reluctant to observe strange regulations. They adhered with pertinacity to what they had learned and seen. Hence we perceive the propriety of retaining as many old ordinances and ceremonies as were adapted to the purpose which God had in view by giving the Levitical law.

One part of Leviticus particularly is supposed to have a mythical aspect, viz. viii.—x. This is grounded on the miracle related in ix. 24. But we cannot see the force or propriety of the assumption. Surely the passage has all the characteristics of true history.

#### NUMBERS.

The fourth book of the Old Testament is called *בְּיַדְרָבָר*, and *he spake*, from the initial word. It is also called *בְּפִנְיֵי הַבְּרָבָר*, *in the wilderness*, from the fifth word in the first verse, because it relates the transactions of the Israelites in the wilderness. In the Septuagint it is called *ἀριθμοί*, *Numbers*, because it contains an account of the numbering of the people. From the enumeration of the several tribes and families it would appear that the number of fighting men above twenty years of age was 600,000.

The book is divided by the Jews into ten *parshioth*, and in the English into thirty-six chapters. It consists of three parts.

I. The numbering of the people, as also additions to the laws given in Exodus and Leviticus. (i.—x. 10.)

II. The further events in the wilderness, beginning with the departure of the people from Sinai, *i. e.* from the second year of the exodus to the commencement of the fortieth year of the entire wandering, with the laws promulgated during that time. (x. 11—xix.)

III. The occurrences and prescriptions in the first ten months of the fortieth year. (xx.—xxxvi.) These three divisions include the following paragraphs and particulars.

I. Under this general head are comprehended, 1. The enumerating and marshalling of the twelve tribes. (i.—iv.) 2. Various regulations respecting the purification of the camp and people, the trial of the suspected adulteress, the institution of the Nazariteship, the offering of the princes at the dedication of the tabernacle, and the consecration of the Levites. (v.—viii.) 3. The celebration of the passover and the use of the silver trumpets. (ix. x. 10.)

II. 4. The breaking up of the camp. (x. 11—35.) 5. The murmuring of the people at Tabera, followed by the punishment with fire; the loathing of manna and murmuring for flesh, punished by the sending of quails and a pestilence; the murmuring of Aaron and Miriam against Moses, punished with leprosy in the case of Miriam; the sending of the spies into the promised land, and their evil report

of it; the murmuring of the people at Kadesh Barnea, in consequence of which they were excluded from the land of promise, while the men who brought the evil report died of a plague. (xi.—xiv.) 6. Laws respecting meat-offerings and firstling gifts, sins of ignorance and presumption, with the history of a sabbath-breaker, and the law respecting fringes in garments. (xv.) 7. The rebellion of Korah, Dathan, Abiram and their followers, with their punishment; the murmuring of the people against Moses and Aaron, and their punishment; the confirmation of the Aaronic priesthood, with various regulations respecting the priests and Levites. (xvi.—xviii.) 8. Regulations concerning the water of separation made with the ashes of a red heifer, and its use in purifying him who contracted defilement by touching a dead body. (xix.)

III. 9. Displeasure of the people with Moses and Aaron on account of water in the wilderness of Zin, the command addressed to the king of Edom, Aaron's death, victory over the king of Arad, murmuring of the people, and their punishment by means of fiery serpents, march from Mount Hor to Pisgah, and defeat of the kings of Sihon and Og. (xx. xxi.) 10. Transactions in the plains of Moab, Balaam and his prophecies. (xxii.—xxiv.) 11. Idolatry of the Israelites and its punishment, with a new census of the people. (xxv. xxvi.) 12. The law of inheritances, election and dedication of Joshua to be the leader of the people into Canaan. (xxvii.) 13. Prescriptions relating to feast-offerings and vows. (xxviii.—xxx.) 14. Spoiling of the Midianites, and partition of the land among the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. (xxxi. xxxii.) 15. Survey of the several stages of the journeyings. (xxxiii. 1—49.) 16. Repetition of the law commanding the expulsion of the Canaanites, regulations respecting the borders and division of Canaan among the other tribes, the cities of the Levites and of refuge, as also concerning the marriage of heiresses. (xxxiii. 50—xxxvi.) From this review it appears that the additions made to the two preceding books in this one belong particularly to the Levitical and sacerdotal code. In the historical narrative of events laws are interposed in xv. xviii. and xix., which are more of a jurisprudential nature. No definite plan is perceivable in the book.

Most of the events described took place in the second and thirty-eighth years of the wandering. Little or nothing is reported of by far the greater portion of the forty years. Nothing remarkable occurred in them, or no record of it has been preserved.

Those who think that Moses wrote the book infer, from xxxvi. 13., that he did so in the plains of Moab.

The history of Balaam, of whom we read in this book, is beset with many difficulties. Let us glance at some of them.

1. Was he a true prophet or an impostor? The greater number of scholars hold the former view, rightly as we believe. He possessed the prophetic spirit, so that he foretold things future. Though his character was not good, this is no valid reason for denying him the name of prophet.

2. The narrative in xxii. 22—35. has been variously interpreted.

Some think that the ass really spake, uttering intelligible words. Advocating a literal interpretation, they quote in favour of it 2 Peter ii. 16. "The dumb ass speaking with a man's voice, re-proved the madness of the prophet." This testimony would be all but decisive could the authenticity of 2nd Peter be relied upon. It is also urged, that in a historical work, the historical and literal character of the narrative is alone appropriate; that it is very difficult to determine where the vision begins and ends, supposing the occurrences to have taken place in vision; and that *Jehovah's opening the mouth of the ass* (verse 28.) must have been an external act. On the other hand, those who think that the speaking of the ass and the appearance of the angel occurred to Balaam in vision, refer to the fact that dreams and visions were usual methods by which God revealed himself to the prophets; that Balaam speaks of himself, in chapter xxiv. 3, 4. 15., as the man who had his eyes shut, but who had them opened in prophetic ecstasy; that he expressed no surprise at hearing the ass speak, and that neither his servants nor the Moabitish princes seem to have witnessed any supernatural phenomenon. We believe the latter opinion to be the more probable one. It has been maintained by Maimonides, Michaelis, Dathe, Hengstenberg, &c.

3. The sublime prophecy in Numb. xxiv. 17. 19. has also given rise to different explanations. It is very generally applied to Jesus Christ, "the bright and morning star," concerning whom the Magi inquired "where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him." But to this there are strong objections, as Hengstenberg has shown.<sup>1</sup> The mighty prince who should arise from the people of Israel and conquer the kingdoms of Moab and Edom was probably David, for he first subdued those nations. (2 Sam. viii. 2. 14.) It is altogether unlikely that the reference is to David primarily and literally, to Messiah in its full import and secondarily. A double sense here is at least unnecessary.

4. As to the contemporaneousness of this oracle with the rest of the book, or as some would call it its *authenticity*, we can only refer to the chief writers on both sides. De Wette thinks<sup>2</sup> that it was composed in praise of the Jewish people after Moab and Edom had been subdued; Bleek<sup>3</sup>, immediately after the Amalekites had been conquered by Saul (1 Sam. xv. 7, 8.). But Hengstenberg has adduced powerful arguments to show its authenticity.

It will be observed, that there are two different numberings of the Israelites in the book of Numbers, the first of which took place in the beginning of the second year after their departure from Egypt (i. and ii.); the second in the plains of Moab, towards the end of their wilderness wanderings (xxvi.). If they be distinct transactions, it will be found that in all the tribes there were only 61,020 men at the second census less than at the first, though the great majority of the murmuring generation died in the wilderness.

<sup>1</sup> Christologie, vol. i. p. 80. *et seqq.*

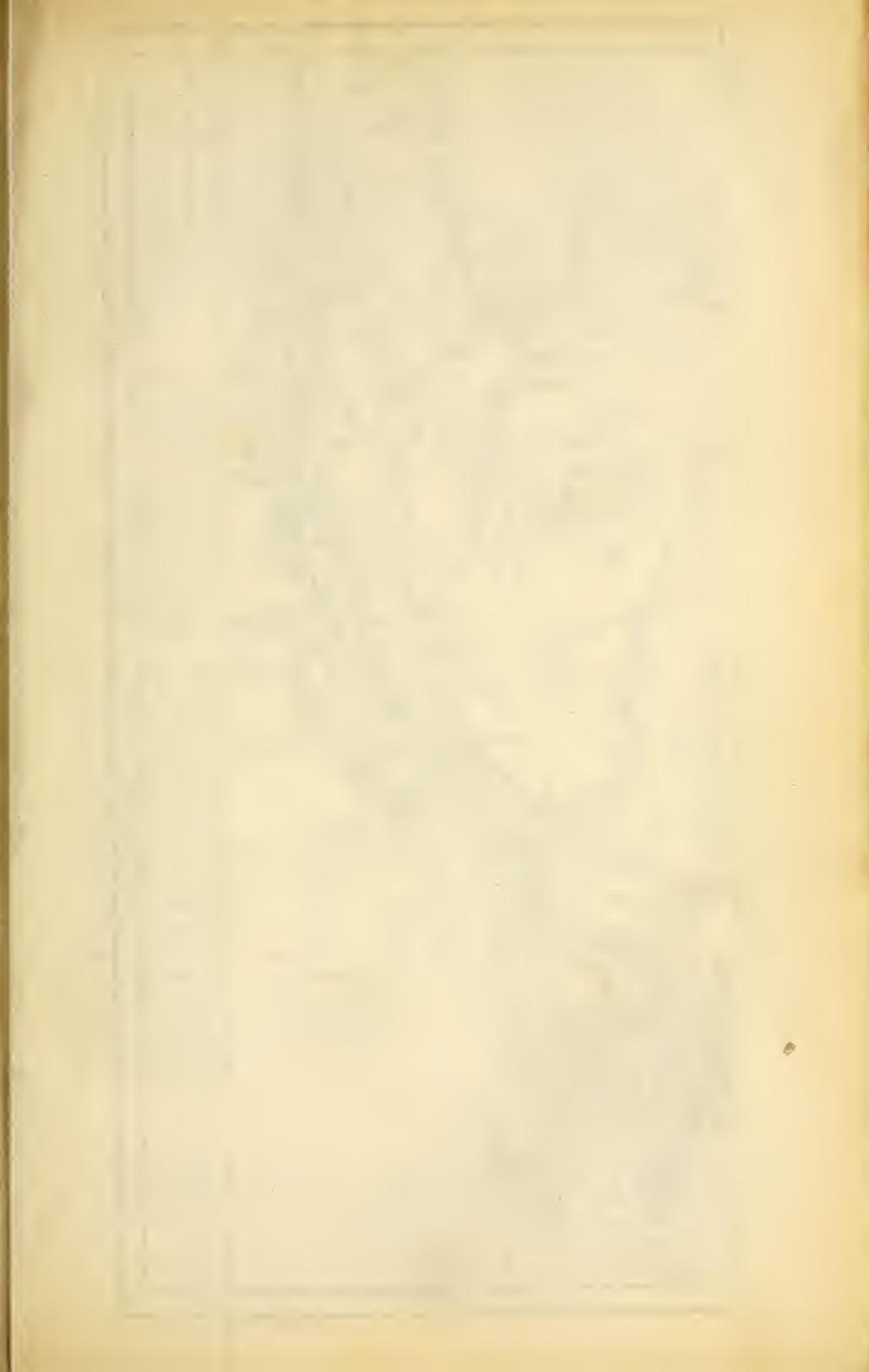
<sup>2</sup> Beiträge, u. s. w. p. 364. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> In Rosenmüller's Exeget. Repertor. i. 35. *et seqq.*

| First enumeration, ch. i.      | Second do. ch. xxvi.           |                                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Reuben - 46,500                | 43,730                         | 2,770 decrease.                                |
| Simeon - 59,300                | 22,200                         | 37,100 "                                       |
| Gad - 45,650                   | 40,500                         | 5,150 "                                        |
| Judah - 74,600                 | 76,500                         | 1,900 increase.                                |
| Issachar - 54,400              | 64,300                         | 9,900 "                                        |
| Zebulon - 57,400               | 60,500                         | 3,100 "                                        |
| Manasseh - 32,200              | 52,700                         | 20,500 "                                       |
| Ephraim - 40,500               | 32,500                         | 8,000 decrease.                                |
| Benjamin - 35,400              | 45,600                         | 10,200 increase.                               |
| Dan - 62,700                   | 64,400                         | 1,700 "                                        |
| Asher - 41,500                 | 53,400                         | 11,900 "                                       |
| Naphtali - 53,400              | 45,400                         | 8,000 decrease.                                |
| <b>Total 603,550</b>           | <b>601,730</b>                 | <b>1,820 decrease on the whole in 3 years.</b> |
| <b>Decrease in all 61,020.</b> | <b>Increase in all 59,200.</b> |                                                |
| Levites, ch. iii. 22,300       | ch. xxvi. 23,300               | increase 1,000.                                |

The following is a table of the stations of the Israelites in the wilderness.

| EXODUS.                                                                                                                                                    | NUMBERS.                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| From Rameses (xii. 37.)                                                                                                                                    | From Rameses (xxxiii. 3.)                                           |
| 1. Succoth (xii. 37.)                                                                                                                                      | Succoth (xxxiii. 5.)                                                |
| 2. Etham (xiii. 20.)                                                                                                                                       | Etham (xxxiii. 6.)                                                  |
| 3. Pi-hahiroth (xiv. 2.)                                                                                                                                   | Pi-hahiroth (xxxiii. 7.)                                            |
| 4. After passing through the Red Sea, three days' march into the desert of Shur (xiv. 22., xv. 22.)                                                        | After passage three days' march in the desert of Etham (xxxiii. 8.) |
| 5. Marah (xv. 23.)                                                                                                                                         | Marah (xxxiii. 8.)                                                  |
| 6. Elim (xv. 27.)                                                                                                                                          | Elim (xxxiii. 9.)                                                   |
| 7. -                                                                                                                                                       | Encampment by the Red Sea (xxxiii. 10.)                             |
| 8. Desert of Sin (xvi. 1.)                                                                                                                                 | Desert of Sin (xxxiii. 11.)                                         |
| 9. -                                                                                                                                                       | Dophkah (xxxiii. 12.)                                               |
| 10. -                                                                                                                                                      | Alush (xxxiii. 13.)                                                 |
| 11. Rephidim (xvii. 1.)                                                                                                                                    | Rephidim (xxxiii. 14.)                                              |
| 12. Wilderness of Sinai (xix. 1.)                                                                                                                          | Wilderness of Sinai (xxxiii. 15.)                                   |
| <b>NUMBERS x.—xx.</b>                                                                                                                                      | <b>NUMBERS xxxiii.</b>                                              |
| From the wilderness of Sinai (x. 12.)                                                                                                                      | From the wilderness of Sinai (verse 16.)                            |
| 13. Taberah (xi. 3.; Deut. ix. 22.)                                                                                                                        | -                                                                   |
| 14. Kibroth-Hattaavah (xi. 34.)                                                                                                                            | Kibroth-Hattaavah (16.)                                             |
| 15. Hazereth (xi. 35.)                                                                                                                                     | Hazereth (17.)                                                      |
| 16. Kadesh, in the desert of Paran (xii. 16., xiii. 26. Compare also Deut. i. 2. 19.). Here they turn back and wander for 38 years. (Numbers xiv. 25. &c.) | -                                                                   |
| 17. -                                                                                                                                                      | Rithmah (18.)                                                       |
| 18. -                                                                                                                                                      | Rimmon Parez (19.)                                                  |
| 19. -                                                                                                                                                      | Libnah (20.)                                                        |
| 20. -                                                                                                                                                      | Rissah (21.)                                                        |
| 21. -                                                                                                                                                      | Khelathah (22.)                                                     |
| 22. -                                                                                                                                                      | Mount Shapher (23.)                                                 |
| 23. -                                                                                                                                                      | Haradah (24.)                                                       |
| 24. -                                                                                                                                                      | Makheloth (25.)                                                     |
| 25. -                                                                                                                                                      | Tahath (26.)                                                        |
| 26. -                                                                                                                                                      | Tarah (27.)                                                         |
| 27. -                                                                                                                                                      | Mithcah (28.)                                                       |
| 28. -                                                                                                                                                      | Hashmonah (29.)                                                     |
| 29. -                                                                                                                                                      | Moseroth (30.)                                                      |
| 30. -                                                                                                                                                      | Bene-jaakan (31.)                                                   |
| 31. -                                                                                                                                                      | Hor-hagidgad (32.)                                                  |
| 32. -                                                                                                                                                      | Jotbathah (33.)                                                     |
| 33. -                                                                                                                                                      | Ebronah (34.)                                                       |





|     |                                                                                                |   |   |                    |                                               |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 34. | -                                                                                              | - | - | -                  | Ezion-gaber (35.).                            |
| 35. | Kadesh again (xx. 1.)                                                                          | - | - | -                  | Kadesh (36.).                                 |
|     | NUMB. xx. xxi. ; DEUT. i. ii. x.                                                               |   |   | NUMBERS xxxiii.    |                                               |
|     | From Kadesh (xx. 22.)                                                                          |   |   | From Kadesh (37.). |                                               |
| 36. | Beeroth Bene-jaakan (Deut. x. 6.)                                                              | - | - | -                  |                                               |
| 37. | Mount Hor (Numb. xx. 22.), or Mosera (Deut. x. 6.)                                             | - | - | -                  | Mount Hor (37.).                              |
| 38. | Gudgodah (Deut. x. 7.)                                                                         | - | - | -                  |                                               |
| 39. | Jotbath (Deut. x. 7.)                                                                          | - | - | -                  |                                               |
| 40. | Way of the Red Sea (Numb. xxi. 4.) by Elath and Ezion-gaber (Deut. ii. 8.).                    | - | - | -                  |                                               |
| 41. | -                                                                                              | - | - | -                  | Zalmonah (41.).                               |
| 42. | -                                                                                              | - | - | -                  | Punon (42.).                                  |
| 43. | Oboth                                                                                          | - | - | -                  | Oboth (43.).                                  |
| 44. | Ije-abarim (Numb. xxi. 11.)                                                                    | - | - | -                  | Ije-abarim or Jim (44, 45.).                  |
| 45. | The brook Zered (Numb. xxi. 12.; Deut. ii. 13, 14.).                                           | - | - | -                  |                                               |
| 46. | Arnon (Numb. xxi.)                                                                             | - | - | -                  |                                               |
| 47. | -                                                                                              | - | - | -                  | Dibon-gad (45.).                              |
| 48. | -                                                                                              | - | - | -                  | Almon-diblathaim (46.).                       |
| 49. | Beer in the desert (Numb. xxi. 16, 18.).                                                       | - | - | -                  |                                               |
| 50. | Mattanah (xxi. 18.)                                                                            | - | - | -                  |                                               |
| 51. | Nahaliel (xxi. 19.)                                                                            | - | - | -                  |                                               |
| 52. | Bamoth (xxi. 19.)                                                                              | - | - | -                  |                                               |
| 53. | Pisgath, part of Abarim (xxi. 20.)                                                             | - | - | -                  | Monntains of Abarim (47.).                    |
| 54. | By the way of Bashan to the plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho (Numb. xxi. 33., xxii. 1.). | - | - | -                  | Plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho (48.). |

In this table it is assumed that the Israelites were twice at Kadesh, which has been advocated both by Robinson and Von Raumer. It should not however be concealed that there are difficulties connected with the view in question which cannot be removed quite satisfactorily. Ewald<sup>1</sup> and Winer<sup>2</sup> are inclined to adopt but one stay at the place. In that case the difficulties are greater. We cannot enter here on their examination, but may refer to the brief survey given by Winer in his *Realwörterbuch*. As the best elucidation of this subject, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

Rationalistic criticism has assigned a mythical character to many parts of the book before us. Narratives like the history of Balaam, the rebellion of the sons of Korah, &c., have been suspected of bearing that colouring. The repetition of the events connected with the manna and the quails has also appeared to imply that the same facts lie at the basis, one account being merely a corrupt version of the other. But such conjectures are wild and wayward. It is better to abide by the plain historical nature of the book as it stands.

#### DEUTERONOMY.

The fifth book is called by the Jews *חֻמְשַׁת מֹשֶׁה*, *these are the words*, because they are the initial words. They also term it *חֻמְשַׁת הַתּוֹרָה*, *repetition of the law*, from xvii. 18., or simply *חֻמְשַׁת*, *repetition*. The

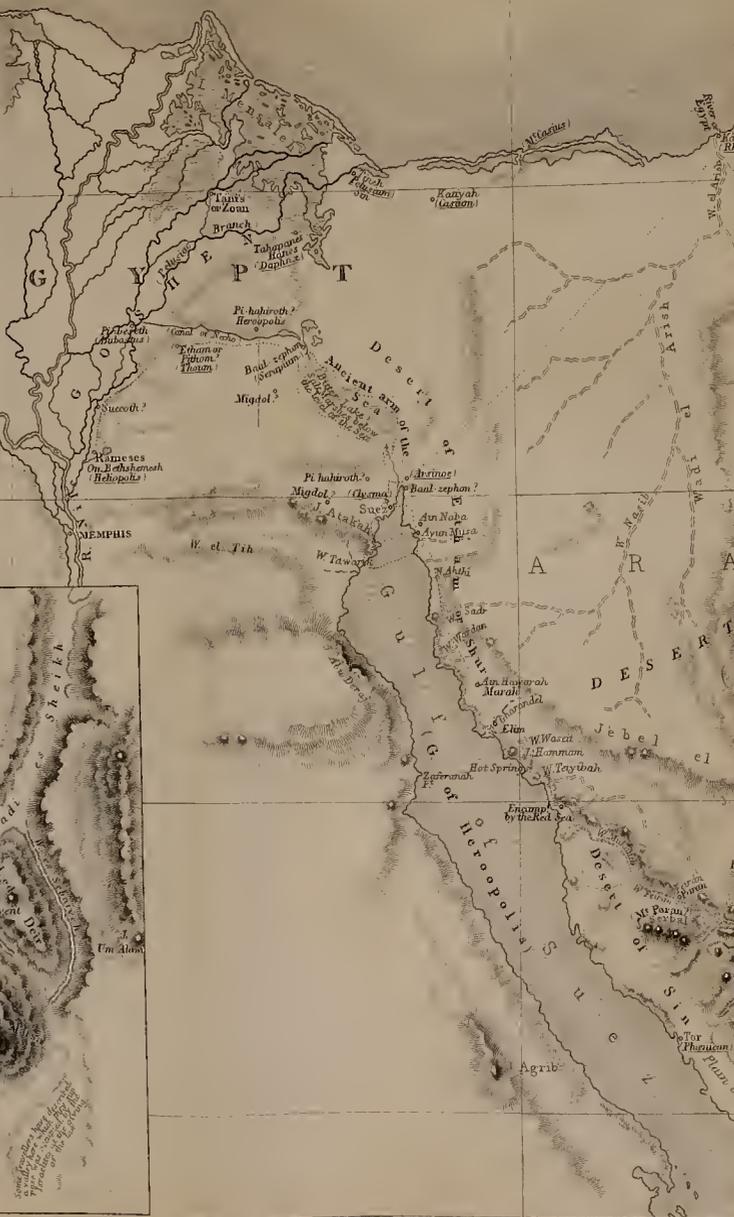
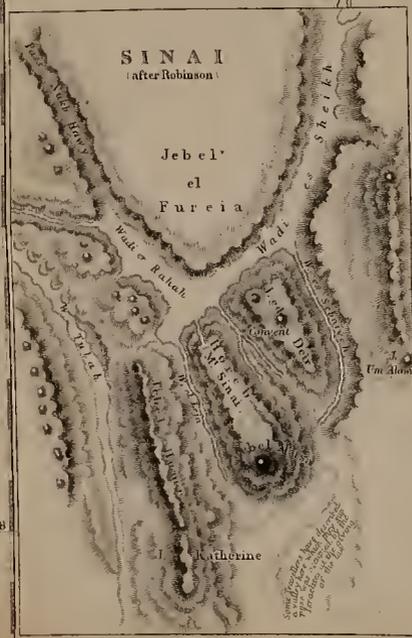
<sup>1</sup> Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. ii. p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Realwörterbuch, vol. ii. art. Wüste.

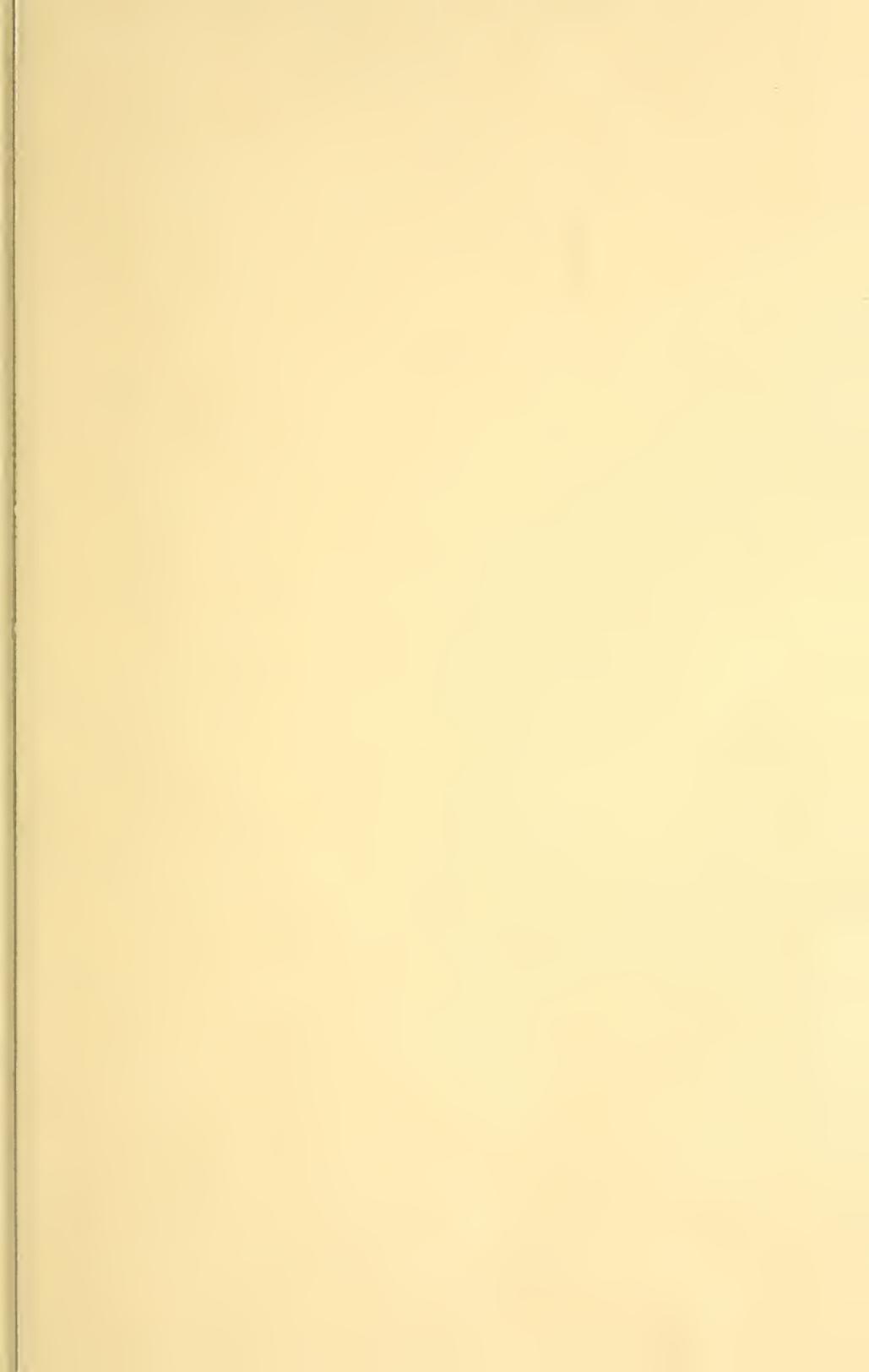
# PENINSULA OF SINAI, with PART OF EGYPT, illustrating the JOURNEYS OF THE ISRAELITES FROM EGYPT TO THE LAND OF CANAAN.

Geographical Miles 60-1 degree  
English Miles 69.16-1 degree

31  
30  
29  
28



Note  
Modern names are inserted  
in light characters.  
Classical names underlined.  
Doubtful positions marked \*.  
The probable route of the  
Israelites is inserted thus: —



Greeks call it *Δευτερονόμιον*, i. e. *the second law*, because it contains a second statement of the laws which had been already promulgated.

The Jews divide it into eleven *parshioth*. In the English Bible it contains thirty-four chapters. The contents may be thus arranged in four divisions.

I. In the first part Moses recapitulates the history of the journey through the wilderness, for the admonition and warning of the people, setting before them the events which had taken place from Horeb to the Jordan, and teaching that the goodness of God should keep them from idolatry and make them obedient to the divine commands. (i.—iv. 40.)

II. contains a repetition of the laws already given, the moral, ceremonial, and judicial. Various modifications and limitations of them are introduced. Under this head are the following subdivisions. A repetition of the ten commandments and their effect upon the people. (v. 1—33.) An exposition and enforcement of the first commandment. (vi.) An exposition of the second commandment, with strict prohibition of all communion with the nations, for fear of idolatry. (vii.) This is followed by a strong exhortation to obedience founded upon the dealings of God with the people. (viii.—xi.) Various ceremonial regulations are then repeated. (xii.—xvi.) From xvii. to xxvi. is occupied with a recapitulation, explanation, and modification of the judicial law.

III. In this portion are directions to build on Mount Ebal a stone altar, to engrave the laws on stone and set them up there; after which blessings should be pronounced on those who kept, and curses on those who broke, them. This is followed by exhortations to obedience, and promises of pardon to the penitent. (xxvii.—xxx.)

IV. This part gives an account of the delivery of the law-book to the Levites, with the words of Moses spoken on that occasion, and his triumphal song. (xxxii.—xxxiv. 47.) This is followed by three appendixes, viz., the announcement of the death of Moses, his blessing of the twelve tribes, and the narrative of his death. (xxxv.—xxxvii.)

The time comprised in the book of Deuteronomy is nearly two months, *i. e.* the last two of the fortieth year after the exodus.

Those who believe that Moses was the writer suppose that he composed the book in the plains of Moab shortly before his death (comp. Deut. i. 5. with xxxiv. 1.), and resort to various hypotheses respecting the 34th chapter, viz., that it was added to complete the history,—the first eight verses immediately after Moses's death by Joshua his successor, the last four by some later writer, such as Samuel or Ezra. Or, they conjecture that what now forms the last chapter of Deuteronomy was formerly the first of Joshua, but was removed thence and joined to Deuteronomy by way of supplement. It is very difficult to tell the point at which the supplement to Deuteronomy by a later hand commences; and hence the great diversity of opinion respecting its extent. Some critics indeed deny that the narrative of Moses's death and burial proceeded from any other than the writer of the other part, whom they refuse to admit as Moses,

affirming that the passage both in diction and manner coincides with what goes before, and appears a necessary conclusion of the whole; but this is opposed by strong considerations. In favour of the Mosaic authorship different passages are referred to where it is cited as his, while numerous places are produced from it in testimony, by Christ and his apostles. (Compare Josh. i. 5. 7.; 1 Kings ii. 3.; 2 Chron. xxv. 4.; Dan. ix. 13. &c.; and Matt. iv. 4.; John i. 45.; Acts iii. 22.; Gal. iii. 13.) These proofs, however, are not all valid or equally appropriate.

There is one prophecy in the book relative to the Messiah, viz., Deut. xviii. 15, 19. This is shown by Acts iii. 22, 23., vii. 37. (comp. John v. 46.). But whether it refers to him *exclusively* admits of grave doubts. We agree with those who take the word מְנַבֵּי *collectively*, including the entire order and succession of prophets; though the prediction was not fulfilled till Christ appeared in the flesh as the great prophet whom those who held that office under the Old Testament faintly shadowed forth and prefigured. But we must refer to Hengstenberg's dissertation on the passage.<sup>1</sup>

The entire Mosaic legislation is divided into three leading parts, viz. the moral, the ritual, and the civil code. The basis of the moral code is the ten commandments, the law which was originally written on the heart of man, but was afterwards effaced by sin. Its fundamental principle is supreme love to God. The other moral precepts are merely explanations, developments, or more exact determinations of the ten commandments, which are scattered through all the books except Genesis.

The ritual or ceremonial law contains regulations relating to the service of God and everything connected with it. Most of them are founded on considerations of time and place, and are therefore temporary. They were however precursors to Christianity; and the spirit of them was in part transfused into the gospel. After the advent of Christ they were either abolished, or retained under another form and deeper meaning.

The civil law contains ordinances respecting domestic and public life, such as marriage and divorce, personal and landed property, debt, strangers, the Canaanites. Here, again, the injunctions have no permanent obligation, being founded upon temporary and local relations. Hence most were abolished or changed by the introduction of Christianity.

The three parts of the Mosaic legislation are intimately connected. They are not described or spoken of separately, but are rather blended together throughout the Pentateuch. Hence it is not easy to dissever them and bring all passages belonging to each under one head. The following table presents one of the best attempts to arrange the several parts of the Pentateuch under one or another of the three general divisions. It is from Wilson's *Archæological Dictionary*, article *Law*.

<sup>1</sup> See *Christologie*, vol. i. p. 83. *et seqq.*

## THE FIRST CLASS.

*The Moral Law written on the Two Tables, containing the Ten Commandments.*

|                                 | Exod.<br>chap.       | Levitic.<br>chap. | Numb.<br>chap. | Deut.<br>chap.                 |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| The first Table, which includes |                      |                   |                |                                |
| The First Commandment, - - -    | 20. 13.              | —                 | —              | 5, 6.                          |
| The Second Commandment, - - -   | 20.23.34.            | 19.26.18.         | —              | 4,5,6,7,8.<br>10,11,12,<br>13. |
| The Third Commandment, - - -    | 20. 23.              | —                 | —              | 5.                             |
| The Fourth Commandment, - - -   | 20.23.31.<br>34, 35. | 19.23.26.         | —              | —                              |
| The second Table, including     |                      |                   |                |                                |
| The Fifth Commandment, - - -    | 20. 22.              | 19.               | —              | 5.                             |
| The Sixth Commandment, - - -    | 20.                  | 19.               | —              | 5.                             |
| The Seventh Commandment, - - -  | 20.                  | 18, 19.           | —              | 5, 23.                         |
| The Eighth Commandment, - - -   | 20. 22.              | 19.               | —              | 5.                             |
| The Ninth Commandment, - - -    | 20. 23.              | 19.               | —              | 5.                             |
| The Tenth Commandment, - - -    | 20.                  | —                 | —              | 5.                             |
| The Sum of both Tables, - - -   | —                    | 19.               | —              | 6.                             |

## THE SECOND CLASS.

*The Ceremonial Law may be fitly reduced to the following Heads; viz.*

|                                                                                                        | Exod.<br>chap.   | Levitic.<br>chap. | Numb.<br>chap. | Deut.<br>chap.  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Of the holy place, - - -                                                                               | 20.              | 17.               | —              | 12.             |
| Of the matter and structure of the tabernacle, - - -                                                   | 25,26,27.<br>35. | —                 | —              | —               |
| Of the instruments of the same; viz.                                                                   |                  |                   |                |                 |
| The laver of brass, - - -                                                                              | 30.              | —                 | —              | —               |
| The altar of burnt offering, - - -                                                                     | 27.              | —                 | —              | —               |
| The altar of incense, - - -                                                                            | 30.              | —                 | —              | —               |
| The candlestick of pure gold, - - -                                                                    | 25.              | —                 | —              | —               |
| The table of shew-bread, - - -                                                                         | 25, 26.          | —                 | —              | —               |
| Of the priests and their vestments for glory and beauty, - - -                                         | 28.              | —                 | —              | —               |
| Of the choosing of the Levites, - - -                                                                  | —                | —                 | 18. 3. 8.      | —               |
| Of the priest's office in general, - - -                                                               | —                | —                 | 3. 18.         | —               |
| Of their office in teaching, - - -                                                                     | —                | 19. 10.           | —              | 18,12,17<br>31. |
| Of their office in blessing, - - -                                                                     | —                | —                 | 6.             | —               |
| Of their office in offering, which function largely spreading itself is divided into these heads; viz. |                  |                   |                |                 |
| What the sacrifice ought to be, - - -                                                                  | —                | 22.               | —              | 15. 17.         |
| Of the continual fire, - - -                                                                           | —                | 6.                | —              | —               |
| Of the manner of the burnt offerings, - - -                                                            | —                | 6, 7.             | —              | —               |
| Of the manner of the peace offerings, - - -                                                            | —                | 3. 7.             | —              | —               |
| Of the manner of the sacrifices according to their several kinds; viz.                                 |                  |                   |                |                 |
| For sin committed through ignorance of the law, - - -                                                  | —                | 4.                | 5.             | —               |
| For sin committed through ignorance of the fact, - - -                                                 | —                | 5. 7.             | —              | —               |
| For sin committed wittingly, yet not through impiety, - - -                                            | —                | 6.                | 5.             | —               |
| The special law of sacrifices for sin - - -                                                            | —                | 6, 7.             | —              | —               |

|                                                                                                                          | Exod.<br>chap.         | Levitic.<br>chap.     | Numb.<br>chap. | Deut.<br>chap. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Of things belonging to the sacrifices, - -                                                                               | —                      | 2. 6. 7.              | 15.            | —              |
| Of the shew bread, - - - - -                                                                                             | —                      | 24.                   | —              | —              |
| Of the lamps, - - - - -                                                                                                  | 27.                    | 24.                   | 8.             | —              |
| Of the sweet incense, - - - - -                                                                                          | 30.                    | —                     | —              | —              |
| Of the use of ordinary oblations, whereof there<br>were several kinds observed by the priests;                           |                        |                       |                |                |
| Of the consecration of the high priests and other<br>priests, - - - - -                                                  | 29. 30.                | 6. 8.                 | —              | —              |
| Of the consecrations and office of the Levites, -                                                                        | —                      | —                     | 8.             | —              |
| Of the dwellings of the Levites, - - - - -                                                                               | —                      | —                     | 35.            | —              |
| Of the anointing the altar, and all the instruments<br>of the tabernacle, - - - - -                                      | 29. 30.                | —                     | —              | —              |
| Of the continual daily sacrifices, - - - - -                                                                             | 29.                    | —                     | 28.            | —              |
| Of the continual sabbath-days' sacrifice, - -                                                                            | —                      | —                     | 28.            | —              |
| Of the solemn sacrifice for feast-days, which were<br>diverse, and had peculiar rites, distinguished<br>into these; viz. |                        |                       |                |                |
| Of trumpets, - - - - -                                                                                                   | —                      | —                     | 10.            | —              |
| Of kalends or beginning of months, - - - -                                                                               | —                      | —                     | 28.            | —              |
| Of the three most solemn feasts in general, -                                                                            | 23. 34.                | 23.                   | —              | 16.            |
| Of the feast of passover, - - - - -                                                                                      | { 12, 13, 25.<br>34. } | 23.                   | 9. 28.         | 16.            |
| Of the feast of pentecost, - - - - -                                                                                     | 23. 24.                | 23.                   | 28.            | 16.            |
| Of the feast of tabernacles, - - - - -                                                                                   | 23. 34.                | 23.                   | 29.            | 16.            |
| Of the feast of blowing the trumpets, - - -                                                                              | —                      | 23.                   | 29.            | —              |
| Of the feast of expiation, - - - - -                                                                                     | 30.                    | 16. 13.               | 29.            | —              |
| Of the first fruits, - - - - -                                                                                           | 22, 23, 34.            | 2.                    | 15.            | 26.            |
| Of tithes, - - - - -                                                                                                     | —                      | 21.                   | 18.            | 12. 14. 36.    |
| Of fruits growing and not eaten of, - - - -                                                                              | —                      | 19.                   | —              | —              |
| Of the first-born, - - - - -                                                                                             | 13, 22, 34.            | —                     | —              | 15.            |
| Of the sabbatical year, - - - - -                                                                                        | 23.                    | 25.                   | —              | —              |
| Of the year of jubilee, - - - - -                                                                                        | —                      | 25.                   | —              | —              |
| Of vows in general, - - - - -                                                                                            | —                      | 27.                   | 30.            | 13.            |
| What persons ought not to make vows, - - -                                                                               | —                      | —                     | 30.            | —              |
| What things cannot be vowed, - - - - -                                                                                   | —                      | 27.                   | —              | 23.            |
| Of redemption of vows, - - - - -                                                                                         | —                      | 27.                   | —              | —              |
| Of the vows of the Nazarites, - - - - -                                                                                  | —                      | —                     | 6.             | —              |
| Of the laws proper for the priests; viz.                                                                                 |                        |                       |                |                |
| Of pollutions, - - - - -                                                                                                 | —                      | 22.                   | —              | —              |
| Of the high priest's mourning, - - - - -                                                                                 | —                      | 21.                   | —              | —              |
| Of his marriage, - - - - -                                                                                               | —                      | 21.                   | —              | —              |
| Of the mourning of the ordinary priests, - -                                                                             | —                      | 21.                   | —              | —              |
| Of their marriage, - - - - -                                                                                             | —                      | 21.                   | —              | —              |
| Of their being forbid the use of wine, &c.                                                                               | —                      | 10.                   | —              | —              |
| Of sanctified meats, - - - - -                                                                                           | —                      | { 6. 17. 19.<br>22. } | 5. 18.         | 12. 15. 18.    |
| Of the office of the Levites; viz.                                                                                       |                        |                       |                |                |
| Teaching, - - - - -                                                                                                      | —                      | —                     | —              | 17. 27. 31.    |
| Offering, - - - - -                                                                                                      | —                      | —                     | 3, 4. 18.      | 10.            |
| Other promiscuous ceremonial laws; viz.                                                                                  |                        |                       |                |                |
| Of uncleanness in general, - - - - -                                                                                     | —                      | 15. 19.               | 5.             | —              |
| Of uncleanness in meats; viz.                                                                                            |                        |                       |                |                |
| Of blood, - - - - - Gen. ix.                                                                                             | 23.                    | 7. 17. 19.            | —              | 12.            |
| Of fat, - - - - -                                                                                                        | —                      | 3. 7.                 | —              | —              |
| Of dead carcasses, - - - - -                                                                                             | 22.                    | 17.                   | —              | 14.            |
| Other meats and diverse living creatures, -                                                                              | —                      | 11. 20.               | —              | 14.            |
| Of uncleanness in the issue of seed and blood, -                                                                         | —                      | 15. 12.               | —              | 23.            |
| In the dead bodies of men, - - - - -                                                                                     | —                      | —                     | 19.            | —              |
| In the leprosy, - - - - -                                                                                                | —                      | 13, 14.               | 5.             | 24.            |
| Of circumcision, - - - - - Gen. xvii.                                                                                    | —                      | 12.                   | —              | —              |
| Of the water of expiation, - - - - -                                                                                     | —                      | —                     | 19.            | —              |
| Of the mourning of the Israelites, - - - -                                                                               | —                      | 19.                   | —              | 14.            |
| Of mixtures, - - - - -                                                                                                   | —                      | 19.                   | —              | 22.            |
| Of their garments and writing the law privately,                                                                         | —                      | —                     | 15.            | 6. 11. 22,     |
| Of young birds not to be taken with the dam, -                                                                           | —                      | —                     | —              | 22             |
| Of their paddle staves, - - - - -                                                                                        | —                      | —                     | —              | 23.            |

## THE THIRD CLASS.

*The Political Law.*

N. B. The magistrate is the keeper of the precepts of both Tables, and to have respect to human society; — therefore the political laws of the *Israelites* are referred to both the Tables, and are to be reduced to the several precepts of

## The Moral Law.

Laws referred to the first Table, namely, 1st, to the 1st and 2d Commandments; viz.

|                                                                             | Exod. chap. | Levitic. chap. | Numb. chap. | Deut. chap.          |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------------------|
| Of idolators and apostates, - - - -                                         | 22.         | 20.            | —           | 13. 17.              |
| Of abolishing idolatry, - - - -                                             | 23, 24.     | —              | —           | 7. 12.               |
| Of diviners and false prophets, - - - -                                     | 22.         | 19, 20.        | —           | 18.                  |
| Of covenants with other gods, - - - -                                       | 23. 34.     | —              | —           | 7.                   |
| 2d. To the third commandment; viz.                                          |             |                |             |                      |
| Of blasphemies, - - - -                                                     | —           | 24.            | 15.         | —                    |
| 3d. To the fourth commandment; viz.                                         |             |                |             |                      |
| Of breaking the sabbath, - - - -                                            | 31. 35.     | —              | 15.         | —                    |
| Political laws referred to the second table:                                |             |                |             |                      |
| 1st, To the fifth commandment; viz.                                         |             |                |             |                      |
| Of magistrates and their authority, - - - -                                 | 18. 30.     | —              | 11.         | { 16, 17.<br>23.     |
| Of the power of fathers, - - - -                                            | 21.         | 20.            | —           | 21.                  |
| 2d. To the sixth commandment; viz.                                          |             |                |             |                      |
| Of capital punishments, - - - -                                             | —           | —              | —           | 21. 24.              |
| Of wilful murder, - - - -                                                   | 21.         | 24.            | 35.         | 19.                  |
| Of manslaughter unwittingly committed, and of the cities of refuge, - - - - | 21.         | —              | 35.         | 19. 21, 22.          |
| Of heinous injury, - - - -                                                  | 21.         | 24.            | —           | 25.                  |
| Of punishments not capital, - - - -                                         | —           | —              | —           | 25.                  |
| Of the law of war, - - - -                                                  | —           | —              | —           | 20. 23.              |
| 3d. To the seventh commandment; viz.                                        |             |                |             |                      |
| Of unlawful marriages, - - - -                                              | —           | 18. 20.        | —           | 7. 22.               |
| Of fornication, - - - -                                                     | —           | 19.            | —           | 23.                  |
| Of whoredom, - - - -                                                        | 22.         | 21.            | 5.          | 22.                  |
| Of adultery and jealousy, - - - -                                           | —           | 19, 20.        | —           | —                    |
| Of copulation against nature, - - - -                                       | 22.         | 18. 20.        | —           | —                    |
| Of divorcements, - - - -                                                    | —           | —              | —           | 24.                  |
| Other matrimonial laws, - - - -                                             | 21.         | 18. 20.        | —           | { 21, 22, 24,<br>25. |
| 4th. To the eighth commandment; viz.                                        |             |                |             |                      |
| Of the punishment of thefts, - - - -                                        | 22.         | —              | 5.          | —                    |
| Of sacrilege, - - - - Joshua vii.                                           | —           | —              | —           | —                    |
| Of not injuring strangers, - - - -                                          | 22, 23.     | 19.            | —           | 10.                  |
| Of not defrauding hirelings, - - - -                                        | —           | 19.            | —           | 24. 14, 15.          |
| Of just weights, - - - -                                                    | —           | 19.            | —           | 25.                  |
| Of removing the land-mark, - - - -                                          | —           | —              | —           | 19.                  |
| Of lost goods, - - - -                                                      | 22.         | —              | —           | —                    |
| Of stray cattle, - - - -                                                    | 22, 23.     | —              | —           | 22.                  |
| Of corrupted judgments, - - - -                                             | 23.         | 19.            | —           | 16. 24.              |
| Of fire breaking out by chance, - - - -                                     | 22.         | —              | —           | —                    |
| Of man-stealing, - - - -                                                    | —           | —              | —           | 24.                  |
| Of the fugitive servant, - - - -                                            | —           | —              | —           | 23.                  |
| Of gathering fruits, - - - -                                                | —           | 19. 23.        | —           | 23, 24.              |
| Of contracts; viz.                                                          |             |                |             |                      |
| Borrowing, - - - -                                                          | —           | —              | —           | 15.                  |
| Of the pledge, - - - -                                                      | 22.         | —              | —           | 24.                  |
| Of usury, - - - -                                                           | 22.         | 25.            | —           | 23.                  |
| Of selling, - - - -                                                         | 21.         | 25.            | —           | 15.                  |

|                                               | Exod.<br>chap.       | Levitic.<br>chap. | Numb.<br>chap.       | Deut.<br>chap.                          |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Of the thing lent, - - - - -                  | 22.                  | —                 | —                    | —                                       |
| Of a thing committed to be kept, - -          | 22.                  | —                 | —                    | —                                       |
| Of heirs, - - - - -                           | —                    | —                 | { 26,27,33.<br>36. } | } 21.                                   |
| 5th. To the ninth commandment; viz.           |                      |                   |                      |                                         |
| Of witnesses, - - - - -                       | —                    | 5.                | —                    | 17. 19.                                 |
| The establishing the political law, - -       | —                    | —                 | —                    | 4.                                      |
| The establishing the divine law in general, - | —                    | —                 | —                    | { 6. 11. 29.<br>30, 31.                 |
| From the dignity of the lawgiver, - -         | —                    | 19,20,22.         | 15.                  | { 5, 6, 7, 8.<br>10,26,27               |
| From the excellency of the laws, - -          | —                    | —                 | —                    | 4. 26.                                  |
| From the promises, - - - - -                  | { 15.19,23,<br>24. } | { 18. 26. }       | —                    | { 4, 5, 6, 7.<br>10,11,12.<br>4. 7. 11. |
| From the threatenings, - - - - -              | 23.                  | 26.               | —                    | { 27,28,29,<br>30.                      |

CHAP. II.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE PENTATEUCH.

THE authorship of the Pentateuch has given rise to much discussion since the middle of the eighteenth century. Nor has the argumentation yet ceased. It still continues, and is likely to do so in Germany, till some clear and common ground be gained by the disputants on both sides. As to the *history* of the question, our space will not allow of its being given. A summary of the leading arguments advanced by different writers, and an indication of their value, is all that can be presented.

What is called the *supplement-hypothesis* is now the most approved one in Germany respecting the Pentateuch. According to it, an ancient document forms the *essential basis* of the work, which received very considerable insertions and supplements. The Pentateuch arose out of the primitive or older document by means of a supplementary one. In consequence of this twofold material of which the work consists, critics have attempted to trace the groundwork document and the supplementary matter, distinguishing throughout the one from the other.

The two principal documents are usually called the *Elohim* and *Jehovah* documents. The former is closely connected in its parts, and forms a whole, while the latter is thought to be complementary, supplying details at the points where the former is abrupt and defective. They were subsequently combined by the hands of an editor so skilfully as to render their separation very difficult, indeed almost impossible in some instances. But we shall allude to this fact again. The hypothesis of two primary documents is supported by the following phenomena.

(a.) The use of the different names of Deity, Elohim and Jehovah, in Genesis was early noticed. Some of the fathers, as Tertullian, Augustine, and Chrysostom, observed it in the commencing chapters of Genesis. This circumstance led to the idea of original documents having been employed in the composition. Taking Exod. vi. 2, 3., in connection with the phenomenon of Jehovah and Elohim running respectively through different sections, it was inferred that the writer of the old document which lies at the basis of the work, or of the *first legislation* as Stähelin calls it, avoided the use of the name Jehovah till the revelation of it in the sixth chapter of Exodus; but that from Exod. vi. 2. and onward he constantly adopted it along with Elohim as a mere appellative; whereas in the sections proceeding from the *supplementer*—the author of the *second legislation*, as he has been termed — which are inserted among the materials of the primary document, both names are used promiscuously. Thus the employment of different appellations of Deity is the first and chief argument on behalf of the document- or supplement-hypothesis. The *peculiar mode* in which they occur suggests and confirms the supposition. In separating, or endeavouring to separate, the two original documents of the Pentateuch, it is apparent from the nature of the case that the subject does not admit of very definite determinations. In regard to details we must expect that scarcely two critics would agree in all things. It is enough that they hold the same general outline.

On the other hand, the advocates of the unity of the book, Ranke<sup>1</sup>, Drechsler<sup>2</sup>, Hengstenberg<sup>3</sup>, Welte<sup>4</sup>, Kurtz<sup>5</sup>, Keil<sup>6</sup>, &c., maintain that the use of the two names of Deity is not owing to two different writings incorporated into the books, but entirely to the different significations of the names. Each is every where adapted to the sense of the passages in which the one writer has purposely inserted one or other. He chose different terms according as each was adapted to the character of the accompanying contents. It is *possible* that this may be a correct explanation of the distinctive usage before us. Yet it is admitted even by Turner, who adopts the view in the main, that Hengstenberg and Drechsler carry the application of the principle too far. "They sometimes make the sacred writer scrupulously and minutely particular in the choice of the terms, at the expense of simplicity and nature."<sup>7</sup> We believe that too much design is attributed to the author by those who support the opinion. The use of the names is not *probably* accounted for by the explanation furnished. The hypothesis of *original documents* in which they were distinctively used commends itself as more likely to be true, especially as there are internal phenomena coinciding with this external

<sup>1</sup> Untersuchungen ueber den Pentateuch, 2 vols. 1834, 1840.

<sup>2</sup> Die Einheit und Aechtheit der Genesis, 1838.

<sup>3</sup> Die Authentie des Pentateuches, 2 vols. 1836.

<sup>4</sup> Nachmosaisches im Pentateuche beleuchtet, 1841.

<sup>5</sup> Beiträge zur Vertheidigung und Begründung der Einheit des Pentateuches, 1844  
Die Einheit der Genesis, 1846.

<sup>6</sup> Einleitung in die Kanonischen Schriften des alten Testaments, 1853.

<sup>7</sup> Companion to the book of Genesis, p. 42.

characteristic. Indeed, though the external distinction ceases after Exod. vi., the older document having then also the name Jehovah, the two sources can still be traced. Those who have given most attention to their individual contents are Stähelin<sup>1</sup>, De Wette<sup>2</sup>, Tuch<sup>3</sup>, and Knobel.<sup>4</sup> More recently Hupfeld<sup>5</sup> has gone deeper into the subject as far as Genesis is concerned, and brought forth somewhat different results from his predecessors. He has determined more exactly the nature and extent of the Elohim document, discovered that pieces previously attributed to it bear a later impress, and has vindicated for the Jehovistic document a connected and complete character. Three documents are supposed by him to have been put together by the final editor, viz. the older Elohim one, the younger Elohim one, and the Jehovistic. But his researches embrace no more than Genesis. In discriminating the two documents critics have generally combined the following phenomena with the distinctive appellations of Deity.

1. *Discrepancies*, and *different accounts* of the same occurrences.

Under *discrepancies* are these particulars. The first chapter of Genesis compared with ii. 4. and following verses. Here are two different accounts of creation. The first belongs to the Elohim document, the second to the Jehovah one. According to the latter, the earth when created had no grass nor plants, "for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground. But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground." The animals were created after man, and man gave them their names. Afterwards the woman was created. In the first narrative male and female are brought into being at the same time. These discrepancies do not probably amount to actual contradictions, for several attempts more or less successful have been made to remove such particulars as are absolutely irreconcilable; but they evince at the least very considerable deviations in the second narrative from the first. Kurtz has failed to explain and reconcile the two in a satisfactory manner.

Genesis xv. 18.; Exod. xxiii. 31.; Deut. xi. 24.; and Numb. xxxiv. 1—12. In the first three passages the Euphrates is given as the boundary of the land to be possessed by Israel on one side, and the Nile on the other; while according to the latter, and in geographical exactness, it was not so extensive. In answer to this, it has been said by Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and Keil, that the former, as containing prophetic promises, should be taken in a rhetorical sense, describing the central point of the proper country as situated between the two rivers, which are large and well known boundaries used indefinitely. The reply is satisfactory on the whole.

Gen. xxv. 27—34. and Gen. xxvii. 1—40. According to the former Esau sells his birthright to Jacob; but in the latter Jacob obtains the paternal blessing belonging of right to the first-born and

<sup>1</sup> Kritische Untersuchungen ueber d. Genesis, 1830, and, ueber d. Pentat. d. Bücher Jos. Richt. Sam. und der Kige, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung.

<sup>3</sup> Die Genesis erklärt, 1852.

<sup>4</sup> Kommentar ueber die Genesis, 1838.

<sup>5</sup> Die Quellen der Genesis, 1853.

intended for him, by selfishly deceiving his brother. The latter section belongs to the Elohist writer; the former, according to Knobel, contains a mixture of Elohist and Jehovistic elements which cannot now be separated. In answer to the argument founded on these discrepancies it has been remarked by Keil, that if Jacob, according to the 27th chapter, saw that he was in danger of losing what belonged to him both by divine right and human right also, after xxv. 33., owing to the injudicious partiality of Isaac for Esau, and so procured by lying and deception the privileges of the first-born; these particulars form no contradiction to the fact that on a former occasion Esau had sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage. There is certainly nothing irreconcilable in the two narratives. So far the answer is valid. But the fact that there are two such accounts of one and the same transaction presenting considerable diversities, to say the least, favours the assumption that they were derived from different sources, and so incorporated into one book.

Gen. xxvii. 46—xxviii. 9., where Jacob is sent to Mesopotamia to procure for himself a wife; and Gen. xxvii. 41—45., where he is obliged to flee thither to avoid Esau's wrath. Keil replies to this satisfactorily, that the one motive does not exclude the other. The threatening of Esau to kill his brother Jacob is consistent with the wish of Rebecca that the latter should select a wife from among his relations.

In Gen. xxx. 24., there is another etymology of the name Joseph than that in the Elohist 23rd verse. According to the 23rd verse, when Rachel bare a son she said, "God hath taken away my reproach," *i. e.*  $\text{הַבִּזְיוֹן} = \text{הַבְּזוּיָה}$ , from  $\text{הַבְּזוּ}$ , to reproach. This is the older or Elohist view. But in the 24th verse we read, "she called his name Joseph, and said, The Lord shall add to me another son," *i. e.*  $\text{הַיֹּסֵף}$ , from  $\text{הַסַּף}$ , to add. This is the Jehovistic derivation. The reply to this is, that the fundamental or Elohim-document does not give an etymology but merely a slight allusion to the name. So Keil says. But it appears to us insufficient. Both involve etymologies. This is confirmed by the circumstance that there are double explanations of Issachar and Zebulon in the same section, xxx. 1—24.

In Gen. xxx. 25—43., the narrative gives a different account of the manner in which Jacob obtained his riches from that contained in Gen. xxxi. 4—48. In the 30th chapter the means which Jacob used to multiply his property are detailed; whereas in the 31st chapter he represents to his wives and Laban their father, that the divine blessing had made him rich. Here again the answer is easy and satisfactory, viz. that his not mentioning the means he had taken, but simply the divine blessing which accompanied him, is no argument against those means having been employed.

In Gen. xxxii. 3., the abode of Esau in Edom contradicts the account in xxxvi. 6. &c., that he did not go thither till after the arrival of Jacob. According to the former, Esau dwelt in Edom as Jacob was returning from Laban's house; whereas, according to the latter, Esau did not go to Edom to dwell there before Jacob's return from Mesopotamia. The former account is the Jehovistic, the latter

the Elohistie one. The discrepancy is that his settlement in Mount Seir or Edom is placed earlier by the one than by the other. To this Keil replies, that the summary account given in xxxvi. 6—8. does not state that Esau removed to Seir for the first time after Jacob's return from Mesopotamia and Isaac's death; while in xxxii. 4. &c., neither the time nor reason of Esau's withdrawal from Canaan to Edom is given. This is correct, and shows that there is no contradiction between the accounts. It is possible that Esau may have sojourned in Mount Seir more than once. Whether it is probable or not, must be judged on other grounds. There is no reason however for introducing difficulties into the text where they do not positively and plainly lie. The discrepancy assumed is therefore of no force.

Gen. xxxii. 22—32. presents another account of the alteration of Jacob's name than that in xxxv. 10. In the former Jacob receives the name Israel because he strove with God and prevailed; while in the latter, he received the same name when he came out of Padanaram at Bethel. The former is a Jehovistic place; the latter an Elohistie one. It is to be observed, however, that no explanation of the appellation Israel is given in xxxv. 10. Here there is no difficulty or discrepancy. In the 35th chapter we have a solemn confirmation of the name already given.

According to Gen. xxvi. 34., Esau took two wives, Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Bashemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite, to whom he added, according to xxviii. 9., Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael, the sister of Nebajoth; but in xxxvi. 2. &c., the three wives of Esau are called Aholibamah the daughter of Anah the daughter (grand-daughter) of Zibeon the Hivite, Bashemath the daughter of Ishmael and sister of Nebajoth, and Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite. In these two passages it will be observed, that the names of Esau's wives are different. Hence some add them together and make six persons. But the most approved solution is that of Hengstenberg, viz., that each of them appears under two names, as it was usual in the East to change the name on important occasions. This view is sanctioned by Ranke and Keil. According to it, when Anah or Beeri in xxvi. 34., is called a Hittite, and in xxxvi. 2. a Hivite, the discrepancy is removed by assuming that the term Hittite, though it originally designated a single Canaanitish tribe, was employed in a wider sense to denote the whole race, equivalent to Canaanite. Various other hypotheses have been proposed or adopted by other critics. We confess that none appears to us satisfactory. Knobel thinks that the Elohistie table of the Edomites does not appear in xxxvi. 2. in its original form.

The narrative in xxxvii. 23—30. does not hang well together, especially verse 28. with 25., and has therefore been elaborated by the Jehovist. In verse 25. the people to whom Joseph was sold are called Ishmaelites, but in verse 28. Midianites. This has been solved by saying that in 28. and 36. those called Midianites may be identical with such as are designated Ishmaelites in 25. 27. and xxxix. 1., because the latter term is used indefinitely as equivalent to Arabians.

We do not believe this to be a satisfactory explanation of the diversity, though the whole section appears Jehovistic. A twofold tradition seems to have been worked up by the Jehovist; for had the Midianites been identical with the Ishmaelites already mentioned, the article must have stood before the noun אֲשָׁרִים in the 28th verse. Besides, the selling of Joseph to Potiphar is mentioned twice.

There is a discrepancy between Gen. xxxix. 20. and xl. 4. on the one hand, and xxxix. 21—23. on the other. This discrepancy rests on the assumption that אֲשָׁרִים בְּיַת־הַסֵּפֶר, *keeper of the prison* (xxxix. 21.), is identical with אֲשָׁרִים הַמְּבַרְחִים, *captain of the guard* (xl. 4.); which is not a necessary inference.

The disagreement of xlii. 27, 28., xliii. 21., with xlii. 35.; of xliii. 3—13., xliv. 19—23., with xlii. 9—20. 30—34. points to two sources. According to xliii. 21. the sons of Jacob told the steward of Joseph's house that when they had come to the inn and opened their sacks, every man's money was found in the mouth of his sack; but according to xlii. 27, 28. 35. only one of them opened his sack and saw his money, at the inn; the rest when they had arrived at home. In Judah's accounts of the reception he and his brethren met with from Joseph, who was then unknown to them, the circumstance is omitted in xlii. 9—20. 30—34. that the man (Joseph) declared them to be spies. Although there is not a minute agreement between xliii. 21. and xlii. 27. 35., yet we do not think that the divergence is of any moment, nor such as arises from different documents or traditions. Judah's omission of a circumstance in repeating what had happened to him and his brethren is also immaterial.

The passage in xlvi. 31—xlvii. 6. appears not to agree with xlv. 17—20. We cannot perceive any contradiction here. At the same time, however, there are many evidences of the section in which xlv. 17—20. stands being Elohist; while xlvi. 29—xlvii. 6. is from the Jehovist.

In Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, the following discrepancies have been noticed.

In Exod. iii. 1. (compare iv. 18. and xviii. 1.) Jethro is called father-in-law of Moses, whereas in ii. 18. &c., we read that Reuel gave Moses Zipporah his daughter. On comparing Numb. x. 29. we find Moses's father-in-law is called Hobab, son of Raguel. Hence it has been inferred that his name was Hobab, and that he had the name Jethro in his official character as priest, from יָתֵר, *excellence*. In Exod. ii. 18. *father* must in this manner mean *grandfather*; and in xxi. his *daughter* must be *grand-daughter*. This is the answer given by Keil, and it is certainly preferable to that of Ranke and Baumgarten. No importance can be attached to the discrepancy, because the same person had often different names.

In Exod. vi. 9. there is a deviation from iv. 31. This is quite nugatory, since v. 19—23. intervenes.

Exod. xiii. 21, 22., and Numb. x. 11—28. In the former place it is said that the cloudy pillar began to lead the Israelites at Etham; in the latter, that it appeared on the 20th day of the second month in the second year. There is however no contradiction, because it is

not stated in the latter passage that it appeared there *for the first time*.

Exod. ii. 22., iv. 20. &c., compared with xviii. 2—4. From the first two places it would appear that Moses's wife and children were with him in Egypt; whereas from the last we learn that they were in Midian with Jethro. But the words in xviii. 2. "after he had sent her back," show that Zipporah and her children had been sent to Midian by Moses during his contest with Pharaoh.

According to Lev. xxvii. 27., and Numb. xviii. 16., the firstlings of unclean beasts were to be redeemed with money; whereas, according to Exod. xiii. 13. and xxxiv. 20., they were to be redeemed with a lamb, and if not redeemed put to death. It is impossible to bring these passages into harmony otherwise than by supposing that a modification was afterwards introduced into the law, in favour of the priests, allowing them to buy the animal which was to have been killed as the law originally stood.

Exod. xxi. 1—6., and Deut. xv. 12—18., compared with Lev. xxv. 39. &c. According to the former the Hebrew slave was to be set free in the seventh year of his service, but according to the latter in the jubilee year.

There is no contradiction here. The law determined two periods in which the bondsman might become free, the seventh year, reckoning from the time he was sold, and also the fiftieth year, or year of jubilee. The bondsman was usually free after six years' service; if, however, he had been sold a few years before the year of jubilee, he did not wait for the seventh year, but his freedom was restored in the jubilee year, and with it his land that had been sold. This is the solution of Michaelis<sup>1</sup>, which is adopted by Hengstenberg.

Levit. xxiii., Numb. xxviii. xxix. do not coincide with Exod. xxiii. 14—16., xxxiv. 18—23.; Deut. xvi. 1—7. In the former passages, five festivals with holy convocations are mentioned; in the latter only three festivals, with appearances before the Lord in the sanctuary.

Keil<sup>2</sup> offers a long solution of the present difficulty, saying that there is no opposition provided *the holy convocation*, מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ, be not identified incorrectly with *pilgrimage to the sanctuary*. Leviticus xxiii. gives the list of all the festival seasons at which *holy convocations* were to take place, and all employments to cease, to which belonged not merely the great yearly feasts, but all the festival seasons, with the sabbath at the head of them. From this it follows that מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ, *a holy convocation*, neither implies nor requires a pilgrimage to the sanctuary; and also that the paragraph is not intended to give a universal, comprehensive law respecting the festivals. Numbers xxviii. and xxix. contain the list of the sacrifices which were to be brought on all days of the year (not merely on festival days) without determining anything as to the number of the great festivals. Exodus xxiii. and xxxiv. with Deut. xvi. give no complete feast-calendar, but treat of the feasts at which the Israelites were to appear

<sup>1</sup> Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, translated by Smith, vol. ii. p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 89.

in the sanctuary before God with offerings of the first fruits of the land which had been given them by Jehovah, only *incidentally* and *summarily*. It arises out of this special object that in the last passages the designation of the month in which the passover was to be kept is *Chodesh Abib, ears-of-corn month* (Exod. xxiii. 15., xxxiv. 18.; Deut. xvi. 1.), because the first ripe ears of corn were to be offered at the passover; while in Levit. xxiii. and Numb. xxviii., where all the sacred times and collective offerings of the whole year are enumerated, the separate months have to be specified according to their number *first, second, third, &c.*, because the old Hebrews had no peculiar designations for them, with the exception of the first. Even in Exodus the *ears-of-corn month* stands in connection with the firstlings and first-born. Finally, it is *not* said in the text, Exod. xiii. and Deut. xvi., that *only* the seventh or last day of the great yearly festivals was to be kept as a sabbath; but in Exod. xiii. 6. we read, "Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the Lord;" while in the 3d verse the solemnisation of the first day is implied as being already known from Exod. xii. 15. &c., and in Deut. xvi. 8. the seventh day is named as *a solemn assembly to the Lord*, in which no work should be done.

Elaborate as this solution is, it is unnatural, artificial, and unsatisfactory. The distinction made between *a holy convocation* and *appearing before the Lord in the sanctuary* is not well-founded. At the same time there is no contradiction. The numbers are greater in the one set of passages than the other, which might very naturally arise from their being different in the different documents used in the composition of the Pentateuch. But the one does not exclude the other. Besides, *Chodesh Abib* is not certainly *the ears-of-corn month*, as Hengstenberg argues and Keil after him; *the new moon of Abib*, as it is rendered by Hitzig<sup>1</sup>, *may be* the true translation. And it is trifling to rest any thing on the fact that the word *only* is not inserted before mention of the seventh or last day in Exod. xiii. and Deut. xvi.

Levit. xxiii. 18. &c., Numb. xxviii. 27. &c. In the former place, we read that with the bread of the first fruits the Israelites were to offer seven lambs of the first year, one young bullock, and two rams for a burnt-offering, one kid of the goats for a sin-offering, two lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace-offerings; but in the latter, two young bullocks, one ram, seven lambs of the first year, and one kid of the goats to make an atonement. Here is certainly a discrepancy. It is removed, however, by Bertheau<sup>2</sup> thus. The sacrifices mentioned in Leviticus are those belonging to the bread of first fruits; in Numbers are given such as were added to the proper festival sacrifices. This explanation is based on Rabbinical traditions, and appears to us wholly unnatural and unsuccessful.

A discrepancy is said to exist between Exod. xxxviii. 25. &c. compared with xxx. 12. &c. and Numb. i. It is thought that the censuses of the Israelites referred to in these places do not agree. The census in Exodus is a mere numbering of the people with a view

<sup>1</sup> Osten und Pfingsten im Zweiten Decalog, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Die sieben Gruppen mos. Gesetze, p. 49. *et seqq*

to the payment of a poll-tax; while that in Numbers has a very different object, the arrangement of the fighting men in their proper places according to the twelve tribes. The discrepancy here is therefore nugatory.

Between Numb. iv. 6. and Exod. xxv. 15. there is a diversity. According to the former the staves were to be put into the ark after it was covered over; according to the latter the staves were to be in the rings of the ark and not taken from it. Keil thinks that the solution is found in a comparison of Exod. xxxvii. 5., where Bezaleel immediately after making the ark, put the staves into the rings for bearing it, with Exod. xl. 20., where Moses in erecting the tabernacle put the sticks (again) into the ark. Hence it is thought that in breaking up the tabernacle and packing the ark of the covenant for transport, the sticks or staves were taken out of the rings on account of the covering, and again put into them, as in Numb. iv. This solution rests on an arbitrary assumption, and is unsatisfactory.

In Numb. iv. 3. 23. 30. 35. 47. and Numb. viii. 24. a contradiction is said to exist. In the former it is implied that the Levites entered on service at the age of thirty, and continued till they were fifty; while in the latter they entered upon it at twenty-five years of age and continued till fifty.

To this Abenesra, Lightfoot, Reland, Outram, and Hengstenberg reply, that the fourth chapter relates solely to the service of the Levites at the tabernacle of the congregation, to the carrying of it till God should choose a fixed place; while in the eighth chapter the service of the Levites in the tabernacle of the congregation is mentioned. In the former chapter it is said that the service of the Levites began with *בְּגִלְעָד הַכֹּהֵן*, taking down the covering veil (verse 5.), and carrying the different parts of the tabernacle; but in the latter we find that they did their service in the tabernacle before Aaron and before his sons, i. e. they waited upon the priests while engaged in their sacred work. This appears to us an unsatisfactory reply, because in iv. 3. we read in the tabernacle of the congregation. Hengstenberg<sup>1</sup> arbitrarily alters this into at the tabernacle of the congregation, because what follows relates to carrying the tabernacle and not to the other services of the Levites. But that is to limit a general expression at the commencement of a paragraph to the particulars alone which are immediately specified, as if the latter made up all that is included in the general statement. The same general statement in iv. 3. and viii. 24. shows that both refer to the same service. If Hengstenberg's solution were satisfactory, Hartmann's question, why the author does not give the slightest intimation that such was his meaning, remains unanswered. Hence Winer<sup>2</sup> and Bähr<sup>3</sup> rightly object to it.

Numb. x. 12. and xii. 16. are said not to agree. They are not contradictory, but certainly they do not hang well together.

According to Numb. xi. 16. compared with verses 24—26. and xii. 4. the tabernacle of testimony was outside the camp, which is in

<sup>1</sup> Die Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. ii. p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Symbolik des mos. Cultus, vol. ii. p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Realwörterbuch, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 21.

opposition to the regulations respecting the camp in the second and third chapters.

To this Keil replies, that it does not follow at all from the former passages that the tabernacle of testimony was outside the camp, as a comparison of them with xii. 14, 15., and especially with Exod. xxxiii. 7., plainly proves. When the word *וַיֵּצֵא*, *he went out*, is used in Numb. xi. 24. it implies that the tabernacle stood in a place apart but still within the camp, yet so that one had to go beyond the circle of the camp where the separate tribes lodged in order to stand before the tabernacle.

This answer appears to us insufficient. The 26th verse of the 11th chapter of Numbers and the 4th verse of the 12th naturally and plainly suggest the idea that the tabernacle was outside the camp. This agrees with Exod. xxxiii. 7., where Keil vainly denies that the tabernacle is spoken of, thinking that the language refers merely to the tent which Moses erected outside the camp *before the tabernacle was made*, and which is there designated *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*, because the Lord met with him. We have reasons for supposing that chapter xxxiii. of Exodus, as well as chapters xi. and xii. of Numbers, are both Jehovistic, a fact contrary to the notion of Keil with regard to the tabernacle spoken of in both. He is right, however, in holding that there is no opposition between the account in Numb. x. 33. and the arrangement of the camp; but that it is supplementary to it.

Numb. xiii. 16. has been supposed to contain something opposite to Exod. xvii. 9., xxiv. 13., and Numb. xi. 28.

According to the first passage, Oshea the son of Nun first received the name Joshua; yet he has the latter appellation as early as in Exod. xvii. 9. and the other passages just quoted. Three solutions have been given, viz., by *prolepsis* or anticipation, for which analogies are adduced; or Moses only *renewed* the name Joshua on an occasion when he was to verify his title to it afresh; or in Num. xiii. 16. a statement is made of what had taken place a considerable time before, either when Joshua entered the service of Moses, or before the engagement with the Amalekites. Hengstenberg justly objects to the first and second.<sup>1</sup> But the third is not less objectionable than they. It is unnatural and artificial to paraphrase with him, "These are the names of the men whom Moses sent to spy out the land; and then or so (after he had at a former period borne the name Hoshea) he called him Joshua."

Numb. xiv. 45. and Numb. xxi. 3. are cited as disagreeing. According to the former passage the Amalekites and Canaanites smote the Israelites and drove them back as far as Hormah; but according to the latter, the Israelites smote king Arad and the Canaanites, and called the place Horonah.

The solution of this difficulty is, that the events happened at different times, the former in the second year of the march through the wilderness, after they had been at Kadesh the first time; the latter in the fortieth year of the journey, after they had left Kadesh the second time and were near Jordan. The place is called Hormah in

<sup>1</sup> Die Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. ii. p. 395.

the former passage by *prolepsis*. We do not, however, approve of this recourse to *prolepsis* or anticipation. It is improbable that a writer should have used it much.

In Numb. xxxi. 8. 16. a different view of Balaam is given from that in xxiv. 25. In the former section it is implied that he was slain in the slaughter of the Midianites; whereas in the latter we read that he rose up and went and returned to his place, *i. e.*, he had gone home. To this Hengstenberg replies, that the discrepancy rests on an improper identification of וַיָּשָׁב לְקִמּוֹ with וַיָּשָׁב אֶל-מִקְמוֹ in xxiv. 25. The right translation of the text is, "Balaam rose up and went towards his place," *i. e.*, he set out on the way home, as Balak also did, without implying that he actually returned thither. This solution appears to us too artificial and far-fetched to be satisfactory. The distinction made between the two Hebrew expressions is nugatory, and the plain meaning is that he returned home.

2. It is also said that the Pentateuch exhibits *different traditions respecting one and the same occurrence*, and traces of the mixing up of two accounts of the same thing. The following are adduced as examples:—

In Gen. xvii. is an account of the covenant of God with Abraham, and in xv. there is also a covenant, but without the introduction of the rite of circumcision and the promise of Isaac, which are contained in the 18th chapter.

We can see no force or propriety in this argumentation. The 15th chapter gives an account of the formation of the covenant with Abraham; the 17th refers to the incipient execution of it with a more definite explanation of the promise made in the former, an explanation which increases in clearness and fulness with the repetition of the promise in the 18th chapter.

The taking away of Sarah at Gerar in Gen. xx. is similar to what happened in Egypt, as related in Gen. xii. 10—19., and to the case of Isaac and Rebecca in Gen. xxvi. 1—11. Hence it has been assumed that one and the same fact lies at the basis of the three, which has been differently moulded by tradition.

Here it is replied that the same thing may have readily happened more than once in that rude age in different places, after intervals of time, especially as the similarities of the three occurrences are far surpassed by still greater dissimilarities, and each one bears all the marks of historic truth in itself, in certain circumstances peculiar to it.<sup>1</sup> Whether this be a satisfactory answer it is difficult to affirm. We believe that the case of Isaac and Rebecca cannot be held with any degree of probability as identical with the other two, or with either of them. It seems to us distinct and different. But in regard to the other two, it is possible that they may be different forms of one and the same event, because both happened to Sarah at no great interval of time. If so the 20th chapter contains the older or Elohistic form; the 12th the Jehovistic or younger.

In Gen. xxi. 9—21. and xvi. 4—16. it is said that the same tradition respecting Hagar and Ishmael is found in two different forms.

<sup>1</sup> See Ranke, Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 209.

Here the similarity is much less than the difference. Minor circumstances are analogous, but essential ones are unlike. And that the former should bear some resemblance to the latter is not improbable in the uniform and simple relations of nomad life.

In the same manner the covenant of Abraham with Abimelech in Gen. xxi. 22—34. is identified with that which Isaac concludes with him Gen. xxvi. 26—33. Isaac called the well digged by his servants *Sheba*; and Abraham digged a well likewise, on which account the place was called *Beer-sheba*. Here it is possible that two traditions of the same event may be found. But probability is against it. There are still two large fountains at Beersheba; so that the two wells need not be identified as one.

In Gen. xxviii. 18, 19. and xxxv. 14, 15. we have a twofold dedication of Bethel. But this may arise from the renewed divine communication which was there made to Jacob; the appellation of the place being merely a renewal of the name formerly given.

In Exod. xii. 1—28. 43—51. the institution of the passover is recorded, and in xiii. 1, 2. the dedication of the first-born; but in xiii. 3—16. we have another law relating to the passover and first-born. This is easily disposed of. In Exod. xii. 1—28. we have the original rule respecting the object, meaning, and rite of the passover sacrifice and the seven days' eating of unleavened bread; in 43—51 respecting guests who might be in the house at the time; and in xiii. 1, 2. the prescription about the sanctification of the first-born; but in xiii. 3—16. Moses gives an account of these laws to the people. Hence the former is prefaced with, "The Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron;" the latter, with, "And Moses said unto the people."

Exod. xvi. treats of the giving of manna and quails; Numb. xi. does the same. In answer to this it is said to be probable that Israel should soon murmur in the desert respecting the want of flesh (Exod. xvi.), and that afterwards, once again satiated with manna, they should long for flesh. When God sends them quails both times, the fact is explained by the locality in which they were, where the means of satisfying their appetites were so abundant as in Arabia Petræa. There are considerable differences in the accounts. In Numb. xi. quails are the main thing in the narrative, and are given not merely for one day, but an entire month; while in Exodus the feeding with quails is subordinate to the gift of the manna. Such is the solution of Baumgarten<sup>1</sup> and Ranke.<sup>2</sup> We confess, however, that it is not wholly satisfactory. It is difficult to determine whether two different events took place; or whether one and the same lies at the basis of both.

In like manner, the Israelites rebelled twice against Moses on account of the want of water which was twice brought out of the rock. (Exod. xvii. 1. &c., and Numb. xx. 1. &c.) Here we cannot believe that one and the same event is twice narrated. The first murmuring was at Rephidim, which place was thence called *Massa* and *Meribah*, *temptation* and *strife*. (Exod. xvii. 1.) The second was

<sup>1</sup> Theologischer Commentar zum Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Untersuchungen, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 175.

in the wilderness of Zin, at Kadesh. (Numb. xx. 1.) The wilderness of *Zin* is very different from that of *Sin*. The first time, Moses brings water out of the rock at Horeb by smiting it; the second time, he brings water out of the stone with the rod which lay before Jehovah, on which occasion Moses and Aaron sinned.

In Numb. xiv. 11—25. and 26—35. there is said to be a repetition of the same thing in two forms somewhat different, of which the one may belong to the Jehovist, the latter to the Elohist. To this Ranke<sup>1</sup> replies unsuccessfully. The possibility of a repetition still remains.

In Numb. xvi. two different occurrences are said to be mixed up with one another; for while the Elohim document spoke merely of Korah and his company of 250 men, who were for the most part Levites, with it the Jehovist or supplementer incorporated the rebellion of the Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram, against the authority of Moses. Thus 2. 4—11. 16—23. 35. are supposed to belong to the Elohim document, 12—15. 25—34. to the Jehovist; while 13. 14. 27. and 32. are interpolated. Such is the hypothesis of Stähelin.<sup>2</sup> It is however too artificial and complicated to be admitted. The recourse to so many interpolations is a circumstance that militates strongly against its probability. It is rightly remarked by Keil<sup>3</sup> that the third verse could not well be wanting in the Elohim document, because it forms the transition from the second to the fourth, and implies that, in the rebellion of Korah, people out of the other tribes must have taken part; for they say to Moses and Aaron, "All the congregation are holy." Besides, xvii. 6—8. and xviii. 4. 5. 22., parts of the Elohim document, presuppose the participation of other tribes in the rebellion, and confirm the account in xvi. 1. 2., that, besides Korah the Levite, the Reubenites, Dathan, Abiram, and On, were at the head of the rebellious party, as is also said in xxvi. 9, 10. The reasons assigned for the violent separation of what coheres closely are feeble. That the 16th chapter shows the peculiarities both of the Jehovist and Elohist is a groundless assumption. And the alleged discrepancies are mere fictions; for verse 19., where we read that Korah was at the tabernacle of the congregation, does not clash with the 27th, where he appeared at the door of his tent, since it is not said that the appearances were contemporaneous; and that he was swallowed up like Dathan and Abiram (verse 32.) is not contradictory to 35. 39, 40., since, according to 35. and 39., only the 250 men who formed the adherents of the rebels were consumed with fire, but in verse 40. the manner of their destruction is not stated. As little discrepancy is there between xvi. 35. and xxvi. 11., since in the 16th chapter there is not a syllable about the sons of Korah having taken part in the rebellion of their father.

Such is the answer given by Keil to critics like Stähelin who assume a mixing up of two different events, viz. the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram with that of Korah and his party. There are perplexities in the narrative which have not yet been satisfactorily

<sup>1</sup> Untersuchungen, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Kritische Untersuchungen, p. 33. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, p. 94.

explained. They are not cleared up by Keil. He disposes of them too summarily. It appears to us that there is some confusion in the account. We should infer from xvi. 33., taken in connection with the 27th verse, that the sons of Korah perished along with himself; whereas it is said in xxvi. 11. that they did not. Again, it is very uncertain whether Korah was swallowed up along with Dathan and Abiram. We should infer from xxvi. 10. that he was; but xvi. 35. seems to indicate the reverse. The 32d and 35th verses of xvi. it is difficult to reconcile. Why should Korah be *swallowed up* and so separated from his company of 250 men who were *consumed with fire*? On the whole, there is such confusion in the account given in the sixteenth chapter that we cannot clearly dissipate it. Hence it is probable that the Jehovist mixed up the narrative of Dathan and Abiram with the Elohist account of Korah and his company, not in the method pointed out by Stähelin, but in some way which can hardly be explained now.

(b.) In addition to the names Elohim and Jehovah, indicating the portions in Genesis which belong to the original document and the supplementary one, which names express different aspects of the divine consciousness belonging to the Israelites, it may be observed, that in the three middle books of the Pentateuch the materials are so apportioned as that all the legal parts, with a few exceptions, belong to the Elohist and most of the historical narratives to the Jehovist. Hence it is easy to see that all kinds of ideas and representations which occur in the Pentateuch cannot be found either in the one division or in the other. Many views are presented in the one which are wanting in the other, and *vice versâ*. Each division has its characteristic peculiarities. Thus the Jehovistic sections in Genesis have what the Elohist want, viz. the so-called *Levitical* views of Genesis, such as the appearances of Deity in a visible form, of the angel of Jehovah, the sacrifices offered, the altars built to Jehovah, invocation of his name, distinction of clean and unclean animals, the prophetic element in the primitive history, &c. In like manner the *legal* (Elohistic) sections in the middle books have many peculiar ideas not to be met with in the historical parts. This fact accordingly has been employed as a criterion for finding out a difference of authorship or of written documents.

Kurtz, Keil, and others deny that it can be legitimately employed as such. Resting, as they hold it to do, on a very insecure foundation, and arrived at for the most part by an artificial separation, aided by the hypothesis of manifest interpolations and elaborations of the Elohim document by the supplementer or Jehovist, they deny to it all weight, except it could be shown that the Elohist presents a different picture of primitive history and patriarchal life from what is contained in the supplementary Jehovistic sections belonging to that period and its relations; or that the ideas peculiar to the supposed authors were mutually contradictory. Neither of these they suppose to have been yet proved. The Elohist does not treat of antiquity in a religious aspect, in respect to the manners and habits of life, more simply and artlessly than the Jehovist; nor are ideas presented by him contradictory to the ideas presented by the latter.

It is impossible to go into details in such a question in the present work. And yet details lie at the basis of the different opinions entertained respecting this criterion. It must be conceded to Kurtz and others, who argue in favour of the unity of the books, that the circle of ideas contained in the so-called Jehovah document does not clash with that in the older one. There is also a good deal of artificiality and arbitrary assumption in regard to interpolations and the elaborations of the Elohim document proceeding or supposed to proceed from the Jehovist. Yet there is an observable difference in the representations contained in the two divisions, which appears here and there more or less clearly. We do not know how to describe it better than by saying that the Elohist presents antiquity simple, artless, religious, exactly suited to the rude age to which its descriptions refer; while the Jehovist confines himself mainly to historical circumstances, and brings out the more imposing aspects of the patriarchs. Stähelin, Tuch, and De Wette have greatly exaggerated the differences of delineation, so as to make not only discrepancies but irreconcilable ones. This cannot be allowed. The descriptions are diverse, because both writers had different objects in view. And it is true, as Kurtz argues, that *the same ideas* appear in both divisions, though by no means so characteristically or numerous as are presented in the one or the other *alone*. Our conclusion then is, that there are characteristic differences of delineation in the Elohist and Jehovist which may be discerned. These are not so great or so marked as has been contended, nor are they usually contradictory. They contain different aspects of things and persons, because the stand-point of the two writers was different. The ideas *common* to both are not so peculiar or characteristic as to neutralise the validity of this criterion.

(c.) There is also some diversity in the *usus loquendi* belonging to the different sections in question, which seems to point to different writers. There are breadth, circumstantiality, repetition, verbosity, belonging to the Elohim document especially in the first part of Genesis. The style is less polished. It bears the stamp of primitive simplicity. There are also linguistic marks, different words, phrases, forms of expression, and constructions, which point to the divisions in question.

In reply to this criterion Kurtz and Keil urge, that the manner attributed to the Elohim writer is found chiefly in the first part of Genesis, and there too in the sections proceeding from the Jehovist; that breadth, circumstantiality of narration, and repetitions, are among the peculiarities of ancient Shemitic historiography; and that where they do appear more strongly, they arise from the nature and tendency of the narratives they belong to. It is also maintained, that a difference of expression is valid in showing a difference of authorship only in case of the separate documents using the different words and forms of speech *to denote the same thing*. But this does not hold good, for, by close examination, reasons can be detected for employing different words to express the same thing, such as the sense and connection of passages. Besides, the peculiar

words ascribed to the one writer are not unknown to the other; or they occur merely in a few places, and cannot therefore be accounted *characteristic*.

Whoever would pronounce an impartial judgment on the merits of these two views must diligently weigh all the particulars involved in each which go to make up the conclusion. The details are numerous, and demand a delicate perception of style and language. That there is some truth in the documentary view we cannot but allow. There is a perceptible difference in style, manner, and leading forms of expression between the sections distinguished by the Elohim and Jehovah-appellations of Deity. We do not believe that the arguments of Kurtz are sufficient to account for this diversity in other ways. They explain it *to some extent*, but not to that which is required for the purpose. One thing however is certain, that the reasoning of such conservative critics should modify various minor statements made by Tuch and others. Enough remains, after all reasonable deduction from the particulars and proofs presented on behalf of a diversity of authorship on the ground of *usus loquendi*, to render that diversity probable.

The book of Deuteronomy is distinguished from Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers by its hortatory tendency. That it has *some* connection with these cannot be denied; for there are repeated references to things narrated in them. Yet it has been maintained by various writers, especially by De Wette, Von Lengerke, and Ewald, that it presents, both in its historical accounts and legislation, departures from the preceding books, additions to them, and even contradictions, which show that all cannot have had one authorship.

As to *the deviations* concerning historical relations they have been explained on other grounds. Earlier occurrences are related, or rather touched upon by Moses, in a manner suited to the hortatory character of the book. Similar occurrences are not given in order of time, but considered much more in their internal unity and relationship. As to *additions* of a historical kind, it is surely not to be thought of that the earlier books are complete and full, leaving no details unnoticed. They pass over various particulars which are presented in Deuteronomy. Even *important* historical notices they may and do omit. In regard to *contradictions*, these are matter of interpretation alone, and are more apparent than real.

Such is the substance of the reply furnished by Ranke, Hävernack, Koenig, Hengstenberg, Baumgarten, and Keil. These critics have commonly been successful in repelling the charge of contradictions. But they have not been so happy in explaining the *deviations* and *additions* which Deuteronomy presents, compared with Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. Some of the passages, and not a few phenomena, are intractable in their hands. Hence *the presumption* at least remains, that there may have been diversity of authorship. Among the additions to the legal sections are various new things of importance. Hence we cannot give our full consent to the conclusion at which Keil arrives, viz. since all the differences may be harmoniously resolved, on an unprejudiced and careful examination, they testify *for*

unity of composition, not against it, because but one and the same writer of the entire Pentateuch could move so freely, whereas a later one would have carefully adhered to the earlier accounts and avoided all appearance of contradiction.<sup>1</sup> But surely it is possible that the Deuteronomy writer may have had peculiar sources whence he drew the more important additional materials, as Ewald<sup>2</sup> and Von Lengerke<sup>3</sup> have supposed, though we entirely dissent from their ideas.

In comparing Deuteronomy with the first four books of the Pentateuch, it has been too generally assumed that it was composed after them. With this view the comparison has been conducted, as if deviations and additions presupposed the earlier existence of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers; and as if the writer of Deuteronomy knew what was already written in the four books. All this we believe to be erroneous. It may be, that Deuteronomy was written first of all. There is nothing in the way of allusion or addition against it. And it is very probable, as will appear afterwards.

The *usus loquendi* of Deuteronomy compared with that of the preceding books is supposed to point to a difference of authorship. The style is changed throughout. The manner of representation is rhetorical and verbose. There is an oratorical fulness of expression. Peculiar words and phrases occur, not found in the other books.

In reply to this, it is alleged, that all such phenomena arise from the object of Deuteronomy. Its discourses are of a *hortatory* nature, and ought on that account to exhibit a certain fulness, as well as peculiar terms and phrases which would be unsuitable to the purpose of plain historical narration or to legislative enactments. Besides, many terms and modes of expression quoted as peculiar to Deuteronomy, are not so. So Hävernick<sup>4</sup>, Koenig<sup>5</sup>, and Keil<sup>6</sup> argue.

We cannot perceive the entire validity and success of the answer they give. The difference of style, tone, and peculiar expressions, has not been accounted for in a way to satisfy an impartial mind. It is true that the *hortatory*, *didactic* character of the book goes a considerable way in explaining the nature of the *usus loquendi* as compared with that of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers; but it does not reach the whole length. Hence it is still probable that there may be a different authorship, as thus indicated. Some peculiar turns in the style have been thought by Von Bohlen and others to remind one of the prophets, especially of Jeremiah. A few words and phrases *do* occur in the book which appear in Jeremiah. But they are not of a nature or number to outweigh the far greater discrepancy existing between the usage of speech in both productions. We cannot believe with Von Bohlen, Vater, Gesenius, and Hartmann, that Deuteronomy proceeded from Jeremiah; the evidences of identity in authorship being few and feeble indeed. Keil again has brought together a number of phenomena in the book to show that it entirely coincides with the antique *usus loquendi* of the earlier ones, not merely in the Jehovistic sections but also the Elohistie ones, and argues that it has

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Kanaan, p. cx.

<sup>4</sup> Einleitung, i. 2. § 133. p. 521. *et seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Alttestamentamentliche Studien, ii. p. 12. *et seqq.*

<sup>6</sup> Einleit. § 30. p. 115. *et seqq.*

so many peculiar words and phrases in common with them as to disown diversity of authorship. All that he adduces on this head is of little consequence, and by no means justifies the decided tone in which he speaks, a tone very like that of one who is resolved to maintain a foregone conclusion at all hazards.<sup>1</sup>

The *historical stand-point* of the Deuteronomy laws has been keenly debated. On the one hand, it has been maintained, that the laws contained in the book refer to later relations, presuppose a longer abode of the people in Canaan, and therefore, originated in the relations of a later period, in the customs and abuses which arose in the course of time. This is a serious and grave statement, which demands proof. In favour of it are alleged such things as, laws alluding to the temple at Jerusalem, to the kingly and priestly offices, to a later judicial and military constitution, to the state of the Levites, according which they dwelt in the cities of the Israelites, without having the cities granted to them mentioned in Numb. xxxv., and had a share of the tithe-feasts, without the tithes allotted to them in Numb. xviii. 20. &c.

But the two passages cited by De Wette, as containing references to the temple at Jerusalem, viz. xii. and xvi. 1—7., are aside from the mark. They contain precepts concerning that which the Israelites should do when they obtained possession of the promised land. The expression "the place which the Lord your God shall choose" alludes to a *future place*, not one already chosen, like the temple at Jerusalem. The later character of the laws respecting royalty (xvii. 14—20., xiii. 1—5., xviii. 9—22.), which De Wette conjectures to refer to Solomon, we are quite unable to perceive. Moses knew that when the people got into the land of Canaan they would be desirous of having kings like other nations; and therefore he thinks it necessary to regulate such desire. In like manner the judicial and military constitution (xvi. 18—20., xvii. 8—13., xix. 17., xxi. 2—6. 19., xxii. 18., xxv. 8—20.) involves a prudent forethought on the part of the great lawgiver for the future welfare of the people. He knew that they would require new arrangements after their entrance into the promised land—that they should need regular judges and magistrates, and be involved in wars with external people. A wise and far-seeing legislator who had become familiar with the temper and habits of a rude people like the Israelites, and with the dispositions of the neighbouring tribes, could have foreseen of himself much of what is implied in the passages indicated, and would doubtless have provided for it. But the legislator with whom we have to do was guided by a higher wisdom than his own; and therefore there is nothing strange in the laws under consideration. The same remark will also account for the regulations concerning false prophets, interpreters of dreams, sorcerers, &c. (xiii. 1—5., xviii. 9. &c.) The promise to send true prophets certainly presupposes a supernatural illumination on the part of Moses. Taught of God on this point, he is enabled definitely to predict the existence of a prophetic order. Divine revelation implies the reality of prophecy. As to the alleged fact of Deuteronomy presenting a homeless, destitute, but powerful priestly tribe, there is some plausibility in it. But it rests on

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. pp. 117, 118.

false assumptions. Because the Levites were to receive cities to dwell in (Numb. xxxv.) they were not thereby excluded from dwelling among Israel, in the gates or cities, because the Levites were not the only possessors of the cities allotted to them. They had merely the necessary number of houses in them, the others being inhabited by the Israelites of different tribes. Besides, Moses foresaw that the Canaanites would not be expelled at once from the land. All the towns and provinces of it would come by degrees into the possession of the Israelites. If so, the Levites would be obliged for some time to live among their brethren, not in their own towns. Again, there is no real discrepancy between Deut. xviii. and Numb. xviii. The former does not contain a full statement of the revenues of the priests, but a mere supplement to the passages relating to this subject in the earlier books. It is not an account of their only revenue. Although therefore, Deuteronomy is silent respecting the Levitical tithes, their previous existence is implied. Other diversities to which De Wette points as showing the later stand-point of Deuteronomy, seem to us of little weight, such as the *literal* acceptance in vi. 8., xi. 18. of what is said *tropically* in Exod. xiii. 9., which, however, is a matter of doubtful interpretation; the prohibition of the worship of sun and moon (iv. 19., xvii. 3.), yet according to Amos v. 26. &c. Saturn was worshipped in the wilderness; the punishment of stoning (xiii. 11., xvii. 5., xxii. 21—24., xxi. 21.), which in the Jehovistic sections (Exod. xxi.—xxiii.) appears merely in reference to beasts (xxi. 28—32.), and in the Elohist only in relation to men (Lev. xx. 2. 27.), elsewhere only in the doubtful pieces, Lev. xxiv. 16. 23., Numb. xv. 35., showing in this that it was known to the other books; the extension of the law respecting usury (xxiii. 20.), contrary to Exod. xxii. 24. &c., which is merely one of those relaxations or modifications which Moses himself may have introduced into his code in the lapse of time; the appellation of *feast of tabernacles* (xvi. 16.), which, however, agrees with Lev. xxiii. 34.; and the motive for keeping the sabbath assigned in v. 15., which does not exclude others.<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, we cannot see that there is force in the argument of the historical stand-point of Deuteronomy being later than that of the three preceding books. Admitting the fact of prophetic illumination on the part of the lawgiver, and considering that the people were just about to enter the land of promise, there is a generality in the character of the laws recorded, which is adapted to the relations and habits of the people in common.

As to *the unity* of the Pentateuch, one class of critics maintain its existence as manifested in two respects, its *contents* and *language*. They affirm that the object and plan of the work, agreeably to which the whole refers to the covenant made between Jehovah and his people through the instrumentality of Moses, so that every thing ante-Mosaic is merely a preparation for it, the remainder being but the development of that fact, prove that the Pentateuch in its present form proceeds from one author. This unity is *original*, as it

<sup>1</sup> See De Wette, *Einleitung*, pp. 213, 214.; and on the other side Ranke, *Untersuchungen*, vol. ii. p. 347. *et seqq.*; Hävernick, i. 2. p. 521. *et seqq.*; Keil, *Einleit.* § 31.

appears in the first disposition and entire execution of the work. There is a definite chronology running throughout all the five books, and uniting all their parts with one another. There are also a careful separation of the materials and an internal concatenation of all the individual portions, so that the earlier refer to the later and prepare the way for them; while, on the other hand, the later refer back to the earlier, which they either develop or explain and supplement. Both phenomena, the exact chronology pervading all parts, and the laying out of the materials in such a manner as to preserve and show the internal connection of the separate sections, prove an original essential unity.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the summing up of Keil on behalf of Hengstenberg and his party. Nor is his general conclusion a mere arbitrary hypothesis, baseless and bare. It professes to be founded on a wide induction of particulars. The chronological thread is minutely traced through passages in all the books; the disposition of materials and carrying out of the plan on which they are distributed is pointed out in individual sections; and numerous references to earlier portions are accumulated, among which are passages in the so-called Elohim or original document, to earlier sections assigned to the Jehovistic or supplementary document. Great industry and considerable ingenuity are displayed in the collection of these particulars to justify the general conclusion respecting the original unity of the Pentateuch. But we are unable to coincide in the view taken: the essential unity for which some contend does not present itself to our eyes, least of all the exact thread of chronology said to pervade the whole and every part of it. Close concatenation of all the separate portions cannot fairly be made out. And as to the references in later parts to earlier ones they prove nothing in favour of what they are adduced for. They are not valid evidences for *original* unity and one authorship. They would agree equally well with the hypothesis of a final reviser or editor, who put together the different parts, digesting and arranging them as they now stand. We admit that express references in Elohist sections to parts of Jehovistic ones is of weight in showing the unity contended for; but it is not a conclusive proof unless it could be shown that such allusions are *real* not *imaginary*, that the Jehovist did not employ Elohist materials on various occasions, and that none other except the Jehovist and Elohist had to do with the work in the way of elaboration and revision. Many of the retrospective references accumulated by Keil will not stand the test of criticism. They exist in imagination alone. Having such sentiments we are unable to agree with the opinion advanced. The essential, original unity of contents in their present form, cannot be held as probable.

The same unity, it is said, also appears in *the language* of the Pentateuch. In all characteristic peculiarities it is alike, throughout the books and sections of the whole work. There is no twofold diction in the first four books. In Deuteronomy there is no *usus loquendi* different from that of the earlier books. The *usus loquendi* of all is the same. Such is the second general assertion of Keil,

<sup>1</sup> Keil's Einleit. p. 123

based on numerous phenomena. But we are unable to perceive its correctness and force. There is much similarity in the language of the Pentateuch. A general analogy in all the books with regard to diction was to be expected. Yet there are also characteristic peculiarities, sufficient to show two documents at least imbedded in the first four books, and a much more rhetorical language in Deuteronomy than appears in the prior parts of the Pentateuch. It is true that various characteristic peculiarities of diction appear in common in the Elohist and Jehovistic sections; but surely the later may have imitated the earlier writer, or the written materials whence both drew belonged to the same times. We have seen that two documents may be traced in the first four books, distinguished by their use of the appellations Elohim and Jehovah up to Exod. vi.; that these documents present diversities of representation and diction; that on account of their being put together in one, they occasion deviations, discrepancies, repetitions, which are sometimes perplexing to the critic; and that the book of Deuteronomy is so different in language and manner from the other four as to show another authorship, though it does not fairly evince a *late* origin—one belonging to the period of the kings or the exile.

The preceding observations are merely preparatory to a positive settlement of the authorship of the Pentateuch, to which we now proceed. Here we remark,

1. That Moses was concerned in the writing of these books is shown both by internal testimony and by New Testament evidence.

In Exod. xvii. 14. we read, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven." Here Hengstenberg argues<sup>1</sup>, that there is an allusion in the article to a larger whole, with which this portion was to be incorporated, whether that whole was already begun or was to be composed in proper time. The words of the verse appear to us to refer to the prophecy of Amalek's utter overthrow, "Write this," &c. And *the book* in which it was to be inserted was a monograph on the wars with the Amalekites. Hengstenberg's supposition is, that none would think of any other book than that "of the manifestations of the Lord," a supposition with which we do not agree.

Exod. xxiv. 3. 4. 7.: "And Moses came and told the people all the words of the Lord, and all the judgments: and all the people answered with one voice and said, All the words which the Lord hath said will we do. And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord, and rose up early in the morning," &c. &c. Here Hävernick supposes<sup>2</sup>, that *the book of the covenant* was the Pentateuch as far as Moses could then have composed it. But Hengstenberg justly rejects this idea, maintaining that the contents of the book mentioned consisted of Exod. xx. 2—17. and xxi.—xxiii., containing the *Torah* or *law* in miniature.

In Numb. xxxiii. 2. it is said, "Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys, by the commandment of the Lord." He composed an itinerary of the Israelites in the wilderness.

<sup>1</sup> Die Authentie u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. i. 2. p. 159.

That Moses composed more than these isolated portions, that he wrote the entire law, is said to be implied in Deut. xvii. 18, 19., xxviii. 58. 61., xxix. 19, 20. 26., xxx. 10. Special stress is laid upon Deut. xxxi. 9—11., where it is said that "Moses wrote this law and delivered it unto the priests, the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and unto all the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them saying, At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing." Again, at the 24th verse of the same chapter, it is stated, that "when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished," he commanded the Levites to take the book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant that it might be for a witness.

Hengstenberg and Hävernäck have reasoned at great length on Deut. xxxi. as an express testimony for the composition of the whole Pentateuch by Moses. Their remarks are acute and ingenious. But the justice or force of the conclusion at which they arrive cannot be admitted. The most natural opinion respecting chapter xxxi. of Deuteronomy is, that Moses is there said to have written *that* book up to the part where he who continued and completed it began. It is very difficult to determine where Moses left off, and the later writer commenced. If his portion ceased with chapter xxx., as Baumgarten supposes, the testimony of chapter xxxi. to the authorship of Moses proceeds from the supplementer of Deuteronomy. If it terminated with xxxi. 23., as Hengstenberg believes, or with the end of chapter xxxii., as Hävernäck thinks, or with the end of xxxiii. according to Abenesra, or with xxxiv. 4. according to the Talmud, we shall be obliged to resort to the unnatural hypothesis of Hengstenberg, viz., that on comparing verses 9. and 26. of chapter xxxi., two deliveries of the book of the law are mentioned. After being given to the priests and elders of the people, Moses took it back and wrote more in it. Surely this is a far-fetched assumption. It matters little however to the argument where the continuator began. The most obvious interpretation of the words in which Moses is declared to have written *this law*, and delivered it to the priests, is, that they refer to the book of Deuteronomy, or more correctly all that part of Deuteronomy which reaches to the concluding appendix. We cannot think it probable that the whole Pentateuch is meant, because *the book of the law* in question was commanded to be read at the feast of tabernacles. But the Pentateuch was too large to be thus publicly read. Hengstenberg's removal of this difficulty is very lame when he says, it was left to the discretion of the spiritual overseers of the people to fix on those sections which were most proper to be read. How does he know this? Besides, it is the exegetical tradition of the synagogue that the book of the law in xxxi. 9. &c. refers merely to Deuteronomy.<sup>1</sup> Here Keil tries to show that the tradition is of no weight, because it contradicts the proceeding of Ezra, as related in the eighth chapter of the book of Ne-

<sup>1</sup> See Delitzsch, Die Genesis ausgelegt, Einleitung, p. 21.

hemiah, where we have the first and only account of the *law* being read at the celebration of the feast of tabernacles. It is related that "on the second day were gathered together the chief of the fathers of all the people, the priests, and the Levites, unto Ezra the scribe, even to understand the words of the law. And they found written in the law, which the Lord had commanded by Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths, in the feast of the seventh month," &c. (Neh. viii. 13, 14.) What they learned on this occasion is not contained in Deuteronomy, but only in Lev. xxiii. 34—43., where alone the feast of tabernacles is described. Hence it is argued that *the book of the law* must have contained more than Deuteronomy, *i. e.* must have extended to the Pentateuch.<sup>1</sup> To this we reply, that it is very probable Ezra had then the entire Pentateuch and read out of it. But since the people were so ignorant, and the feast of tabernacles had not been kept since the days of Joshua (Neh. viii. 17.), can we reasonably suppose that Ezra would just confine himself to the original regulation respecting what was to be read? On the first day he could hardly have read the whole Pentateuch. He read *in* it, as it is expressly stated. He may have read then the book of Deuteronomy, and so fulfilled the original command. The second day's proceedings in regard to the law seem to us *additional* and *voluntary*, arising out of the reformer's zeal for the worship of God and the people's ignorance of their sacred rule. Hence the contradiction discovered by Keil is nugatory; and the exegetical tradition holds good. If now Deuteronomy alone be referred to in chapter xxxi. in the expression *this law*, or *this book of the law*, it is clear that in xvii. 18, 19. the same meaning belongs to it.

As to other passages quoted in favour of the expression *book of the law* constantly meaning the Pentateuch, we believe that most of them do not bear that sense. It is matter of doubtful disputation whether they do so or not. In Josh. i. 8., viii. 31, 34., xxiv. 26. 2 Kings xiv. 6., xxii. 8, 11., it has been successfully shown by various critics, that the phrase does not signify the Pentateuch. But in Neh. viii. 1. 3. 18., it is probable that it *has* the meaning in question. 2 Chron. xvii. 9. and xxxiv. 14, 15. are doubtful. There is nothing against the supposition that the expression received an extension of meaning, as, to the original contents of the *law* or *book of the law*, other writings of similar character were added, till the whole formed a connected volume. We consider, therefore, the argument founded on the *constant usage of the entire Old Testament* in favour of *סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה* denoting the Pentateuch, to be illogical. The other considerations stated by Hengstenberg, such as that all the parts of the Pentateuch are intimately connected with one another, and therefore we cannot take Deuteronomy alone to be intended in chapter xxxi.; that Deuteronomy presupposes the existence of the other books; that the depositing of the book in the side of the ark of the covenant (Deut. xxxi. 24.) cannot possibly refer to any single parts of the divine records to the exclusion of the rest which were then extant; must be dismissed with the single remark of their *weakness*.

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, pp. 128, 129.

It is admitted by Keil, that Deut. xxvii. 8. refers to Deuteronomy only or a part of it, because it is so limited by the context (verses 3. and 1.). He makes a like concession in relation to Josh. viii. 32. But in viii. 31. 34., he thinks the *law-book* of Moses involves a testimony in favour of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. This however is nugatory, since in the three verses 31, 32. 34. *the law* of Moses means the same thing. There is no careful distinction between them, as Keil assumes. The same writer, after Hengstenberg, also yields up Deut. i. 5., from which Hävernicks had extracted an argument for Moses writing all the Pentateuch. But there are two other passages in the fifth book, which are urged by the advocates of this hypothesis, viz. Deut. xxviii. 58. 61., "If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book. . . . every plague which is not written in the book of the law ;" and xxx. 10., "To keep his commandments and his statutes which are written in this book of the law." Such expressions, it is argued, are intelligible only on the supposition that the law-book existed already, as far as Deuteronomy. How could Moses speak of plagues, curses, commands, ordinances which are written in this book of the law, if there were yet no written records except the book of the covenant (Exod. xxiv.) and the record of the renewed Sinaitic covenant (Exod. xxxiv. 27.), both which do not contain a word about plagues and sicknesses?<sup>1</sup> The answer here is easy. Moses did not necessarily adhere to the very words and forms of speech when he came to writing, which he had used in oral delivery. It is quite conceivable and natural to suppose that, when speaking to the people what is contained in Deut. xxviii.—xxx., he omitted *book of the law*, and used some such expressions, as "I set before you to-day." The passages quoted received their present form *in writing*. Unless, therefore Moses adhered to the same particulars and the same expressions in writing which he had delivered orally, the argument is invalid. Surely it is likely that he spoke *more* or less than he wrote ; and in various cases altered the form of what he had uttered.

What then is the conclusion we arrive at from a survey of the internal evidence in regard to authorship furnished by the Pentateuch itself? That the book of Deuteronomy, with the exception of its appendix or continuation, proceeded from the pen of Moses himself, we infer from Deut. xxxi. and xvii. 18. That he also wrote the laws which lie at the basis of the Sinaitic covenant may be seen from Exod. xxiv. 4—7., xxxiv. 27. Thus he may be regarded as the writer of *the law* which is the kernel of the five books, the most important part of the entire work. But he wrote down other things besides laws. He composed a monograph respecting the destruction of Amalek (Exod. xvii. 14.), and also an itinerary of the Israelitish encampments in the desert (Numb. xxxiii. 2.). This is the sum of the evidence respecting its own authorship furnished by the Pentateuch itself.

2. There is evidence in the New Testament respecting the authorship of the Pentateuch. The principal passages bearing on the point

<sup>1</sup> See Keil, p. 130.

are Matt. xix. 7. ; Mark xii. 19. ; John i. 45., v. 46, 47. ; Luke xxiv. 27. 44. ; Mark xii. 26. ; Rom. x. 5. Here the citations are either from Deuteronomy, or *the book of Moses* is mentioned (Mark xii. 26.), or the general expression is employed, *Moses describeth, writeth* (Rom. x. 5.), or *the law of Moses* is spoken of. None of them is decisive against the view already derived from the Pentateuch itself. The only two that may be thought to favour the hypothesis of the entire Pentateuch having been composed by Moses are Mark xii. 26. and Rom. x. 5., neither of which implies that Moses wrote the entire book. If he wrote the most important part of the contents, viz., *the law* properly so called, *the centre and substance* of the five books, round which the other parts are ranged and to which they are subordinate, the whole was popularly considered the work of his hands. *A potiori nomen fit.* *The book of Moses*, therefore, when applied to the Pentateuch, means no more than that of which he wrote the chief or essential part; and when the expression *Moses describeth* or rather *writes of* is prefixed to a quotation from Leviticus, the name stands for the book to which it was thus popularly given. We fully allow that the testimony of Christ and his apostles would be decisive with us were it borne unequivocally and clearly on behalf of the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch. For though their mission into the world was not to teach the Jews criticism, and though true faith in Christ is not hasty to set limits to critical investigations, yet we remember that they were teachers of truth, and would not have allowed any error of importance or ignorant prejudice to have remained in the minds of the Jews. But Moses is represented by them merely as the originator and writer of *the law*, without ascribing to him the authorship of the five books in their present condition.

The testimony to the authorship of the Pentateuch furnished by Joshua is contained in i. 7, 8., viii. 31. 34., xxiii. 6., xxiv. 26., where *the book of the law of Moses* is mentioned. These expressions certainly imply that Moses wrote *the law*; but they do not assume that he wrote all the Pentateuch as it now exists. They agree with the internal evidence afforded by Deuteronomy that he wrote that part of the Pentateuch; and with the other testimonies relative to the share he had in penning the decalogue.

The book of Judges does not speak of *the book of the law*. Neither do the books of Samuel.

In 1 Kings ii. 3. mention is made of a *written law of Moses*, but this decides nothing in relation to the entire Pentateuch, especially as the reference appears to be to Deut. xvii. 18. &c. In viii. 9. we read that there was nothing in the ark except the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb. Hävernick conjectures that "all the holy vessels" that were in the tabernacle (verse 4.) included the *Law* or Pentateuch, which is a far-fetched supposition.<sup>1</sup> The words of Solomon in viii. 53. "as thou spakest by the hand of Moses thy servant," &c. prove nothing to our purpose. They may refer as well to Deut. xiv. 2. as to Exod. xix. 5, 6. And in viii. 61. when the

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. i. 2. p. 581.

king commands the people to walk in the statutes and keep the commandments of the Lord, the allusion is probably to Deuteronomy, which was written by Moses. In 2 Kings xi. 12. *the testimony* is given to Joash when he was crowned; by which is meant a book in which the Mosaic precepts were contained. But there is no evidence that this was the present Pentateuch.

In the books of Chronicles the following passages speak of the *law of the Lord* or the *book of the law by Moses*: 1 Chron. xvi. 40., xxii. 12.; 2 Chron. xii. 1., xvii. 9., xxiii. 18., xxv. 4., xxxi. 3. 4. 21., xxxiii. 8., xxxiv. 14. &c., xxxv. 26. These expressions *may* and probably *do* imply that the Pentateuch existed as a whole and was attributed to Moses because of his having at first written the substance of it. From the time at which the books of Chronicles were written, we have little hesitation in affirming that *the Pentateuch* is the most likely sense of *the book of the law*. Nor can we suppose that the extended meaning of the expression was transferred by the compiler of the Chronicles from his own day to the time of David, to which the earliest reference belongs (1 Chron. xvi. 40.); for on other grounds we look upon it as a probable thing that the entire Pentateuch, as it now is, existed in the reign of David. This is favoured by 2 Chron. xxiii. 18. where the law of Moses is spoken of, and the allusion is to the book of Numbers; as well as by 2 Chron. xxxi. 3. where there is a similar reference.

In Ezra and Nehemiah we find repeated mention of *the law of Moses*, *book of Moses*, *law of God*, *book of the law of Moses*, *book of the law of the Lord*, &c., as in Ezra iii. 2., vi. 18., vii. 6. 12.; Neh. i. 7. &c., viii. 1. &c., ix. 3. &c., xiii. 1. These expressions allude to the Pentateuch as it now exists.

In the prophetic books there is no evidence directly bearing on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch except Dan. ix. 11. 13., where *the law of Moses* is mentioned.

The poetical literature of the Old Testament is also devoid of definite allusion to the point before us.

We have thus seen that there is nothing in any of the post-Mosaic books which unequivocally testifies of the Mosaic composition of the entire Pentateuch. *The book of the law* or *book of the law of Moses* occurring in various parts of the historical writings may or may not mean the entire Pentateuch, according to the context and the view taken of *the time* when the Pentateuch appeared in its present state. But such phrases are quite consistent with the view that Moses wrote no more than the legal part and Deuteronomy. They leave untouched all investigations respecting the authorship of the *Pentateuch in its present condition*.

Let us now endeavour to show, from internal evidence, that all the Pentateuch as we have it was not written by Moses.

1. Traces appear in it of post-Mosaic writing.

The formula *unto this day* implies a later writer, separated from the time of Moses and the events referred to in the context. We will not urge this expression as it occurs in Genesis, since there it may be appropriately used of things that took place centuries before the time

of Moses; neither shall we insist upon it where it appears in Deuteronomy of occurrences long past or of things continuing for a considerable length of time. But in Deut. iii. 14. we read, "Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi, and called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair, *unto this day.*" Here the phrase *unto this day* implies a much greater distance of time after the fact related than the few months which Moses lived after the conquest. Hengstenberg<sup>1</sup> labours hard to explain this in conformity to his view of the Pentateuch, but without effect. If in the book of Genesis *the same phrase* is uniformly said of facts separated from the age of Moses by several centuries, the opinion is confirmed that *several months* cannot satisfy its demand in the present place.

2. There are *historical and archæological explanations* which presuppose a later writer than Moses. Thus Gen. xii. 6. "And Abram passed through the land to the place Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh. *And the Canaanite was then in the land;*" and Gen. xiii. 7. "And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle: *and the Canaanite and Perizzite dwelled then in the land.*" It appears to us that such language implies that the Canaanites had been expelled the land of Judea.

Yet Graves and Hengstenberg boldly maintain the propriety of these words on the supposition of their Mosaic authorship. Let us hear the former: "ANSWER by Witsius.—It does not follow from this clause, that the Canaanites had been expelled when this clause was written: it may mean no more than that the Canaanites were *even at that time* in the land which God had promised to give to the seed of Abram. And this observation may have been intended to illustrate the faith of Abram, who did not hesitate to obey the command of God by sojourning in this strange land, though even then inhabited by a powerful nation, totally unconnected with, if not averse to, him; a circumstance intimated by Abram's remonstrance to Lot, to avoid any enmity between them, 'because they were brethren;' as if he had said, It would be most extreme imprudence for us, who are brethren, who have no connection or friendship but with each other, to allow any dissensions to arise between us, surrounded as we are by strangers indifferent to, or even averse to us, who might rejoice at our quarrel, and take advantage of it to our common mischief: 'for the Canaanite and the Perizzite was' even '*then in the land.*' I may venture to add that another reason may be given why Moses noticed the circumstance of the Canaanite and Perizzite having been then in the land which Moses immediately after declares God had promised to the seed of Abraham. The Israelites might thus be most clearly satisfied no change had taken place in the purpose of God to give them this land, when they were reminded that at the very time this purpose had been declared, the very same *nation possessed* the country who still occupied it."<sup>2</sup>

This reasoning is weak. It rests very much on the introduction

<sup>1</sup> Die Authentie, u. s. w. vol. ii. p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Lectures on the four last Books of the Pentateuch, p. 442. fourth edit.

of a word into the text, *even*, which the Hebrew does not sanction. It is evident that the writer entertained no such ideas as Graves, else he would have made *then* emphatic in some such way as the commentator does.<sup>1</sup> Equally objectionable is the translation given by De Sola of xiii. 7., "the Canaanite and the Perizzite were then already settled in the land." The word already is unwarrantably foisted into the English, having no representative in the original; and an emphasis is laid upon *settled*, כּוּנֵן, which does not properly belong to it. We reject both his translation and note.<sup>2</sup> Hengstenberg's explanation is no better.

In Gen. xxiii. 2. *Kirjath-arba* (the same is Hebron), xxxv. 19. *Ephrath* (which is Bethlehem), the explanatory remarks inserted in parentheses seem to betray a later period when the first-mentioned appellations had gone out of use. That *Kirjath-arba* was the older name and Hebron the younger appears not only from Gen. xxiii. 2., but from Josh. xiv. 15., xv. 13., Judg. i. 10. Hengstenberg, however, contends that the reverse is the fact; that the name *Kirjath-arba* was first adopted in the period between Abraham and Moses, and afterwards supplanted by the original *Hebron*. But this cannot well be reconciled with Gen. xxiii. 2. and xxxv. 27.<sup>3</sup> We have also in Exod. xvi. 36. "Now an *omer* is the tenth part of an ephah," words that imply the disuse of the measure *omer* after the time of Moses.

There is also an allusion to old documents in Numb. xxi. 14. 16. 27. In the first passage *the book of the wars of the Lord* is quoted. This, says Vater<sup>4</sup>, it is very difficult to imagine the existence of in the time of Moses when the wars of God's people, with a few exceptions, had only begun a few months before. And it is wholly inconceivable that a book composed at that period could be quoted as a voucher for the geographical notices contained in the preceding verses. Hengstenberg replies, that the object of the citation is not to verify a geographical notice, but to represent the impression which the leadings of the Lord had made upon his people. He also supposes that a succession of wars of the Lord *in a peculiar sense* had already taken place which might be celebrated in the book of the wars of the Lord.<sup>5</sup> Admitting however the force of these remarks, which we do not, the probability of a written book in which the mighty acts of God towards Israel's enemies were sung, existing so early as now, before the Israelites had really begun to enter on possession of the promised land, and quoted by Moses, is very small. The other poetical pieces in 17th, 18th, and 27th verses add to the difficulty, since they are historico-geographical in their character. The citation in the 14th verse is of the same nature.

3. The local position of the writer in Palestine is also assumed, as

<sup>1</sup> See Giles's Hebrew Records, p. 139. second edit.

<sup>2</sup> See Genesis, a new Translation with notes Critical and Explanatory, by De Sola, Lindenthal, and Raphall, p. 65. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See Winer's Realwörterbuch, vol. i. p. 474., note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Commentar ueber den Pentateuch, u. s. w. Theil, iii. p. 643.

<sup>5</sup> Authentie, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 225.

in Gen. xii. 8., Exod. xxvi. 22. &c., where the phrases *מִן־הַיָּם*, meaning *westward*, occur, which presuppose one residing in Canaan bounded by the Mediterranean sea to the west. The answer of Keil to this is nugatory, viz. that the geographical designations of the countries of the world then known may have been fixed for the Hebrew language as early as by the patriarchs.<sup>1</sup>

4. Such passages as the following are inconsistent with the modesty of Moses, on the supposition that he himself was the writer.

“Moreover the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh’s servants, and in the sight of the people.” (Exod. xi. 3.)

“Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth.” (Numb. xii. 3.)

The latter passage in particular has perplexed such writers as Hengstenberg; while some who advocate the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, as Eichhorn and Rosenmüller, look upon it as an interpolation. In like manner the following singular method of expression could scarcely have come from Moses speaking of himself and his brother: “These are that Aaron and Moses to whom the Lord said, ‘Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their armies.’ These are they which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron.” (Exod. vi. 26, 27.)

5. Again in Numb. xv. 22. &c., and in xxviii. 6., Moses himself would hardly have written, “And if ye have erred, and not observed all these commandments which the Lord hath spoken unto Moses; even all that the Lord hath commanded you by the hand of Moses, from the day that the Lord commanded Moses, and henceforward among your generations; then it shall be, &c.” “It is a continual burnt-offering, which was ordained in mount Sinai for a sweet savour, a sacrifice made by fire unto the Lord.”<sup>2</sup> The words are appropriate only as coming from one who lived after him.

6. Later circumstances are presupposed, as in Lev. xviii. 28., “That the land spue not you out also when ye defile it, *as it spued out the nations that were before you*,” language involving the idea that the Canaanites had been already expelled from their country. Keil endeavours in vain to neutralise this by appealing to the 24th verse, and assuming a *prospopœia*.<sup>3</sup> In Gen. xl. 15., the words of Joseph, “for indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews,” presuppose the Hebrew occupation of the land. The ancient and usual appellation of it was, *the land of Canaan*, which the Elohists always uses. In Gen. xxxvi. 31. we read, ‘And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,’ which imply the existence of kings in Israel. But probably this passage may be explained, with Hengstenberg<sup>4</sup>, consistently with the Mosaic authorship of Genesis. It may contain a reference to the preceding promises to the patriarchs of a kingdom

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> See Von Lengerke, Kanaan, p. lxxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Authentie, u. s. w., vol. ii. pp. 202, 203.

among their posterity, especially to xxxv. 11. Again, on comparing Exod. xvi. 35., "the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan," with Josh. v. 11, 12., "and the manna ceased on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more; but they did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year," it would appear that an allusion is here made to an event, the ceasing of the manna, which did not happen till after the death of Moses. Hence the relation of it could not have been written by Moses. Here some have recourse to the supposition of Exod. xvi. 35. being a gloss. So Le Clerc and Rosenmüller believed. But Hengstenberg<sup>1</sup> thinks that the passage contains nothing which goes beyond the time of Moses, or which he could not have written, because Moses means only to state the time when the manna still continued, not to determine the exact point of time when it ceased. This is a mere assumption inconsistent with the expression in the context "to a land inhabited." There was no reasonable motive for stating in this part of the history the time when the manna still continued. On the other hand, the time of its cessation is appropriate.

7. Again, names of places and countries which came into use afterwards, as the common appellations, are mentioned.

We have already referred to Hebron as an instance. Laish first received the appellation Dan from the Danites immediately after Joshua's death (Josh. xix. 47.; Judg. xviii. 29.); yet it is called Dan in Gen. xiv. 14., and Deut. xxxiv. 1. This difficulty has been felt so much, that Jahn, Eichhorn, Hengstenberg, and Hävernäck assume the existence of two places called Dan, notwithstanding the high improbability arising from nearness of situation; for both lay in the most northern part of Canaan.

8. How different the language of Deuteronomy is from that of the other four books every critical scholar perceives; which is an evidence that the whole Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses.

It has always been admitted that certain parts of the Pentateuch belonged to a later writer or writers than Moses, such as the account of his own death. Various phrases or verses here and there have also been attributed to Ezra or some other. Prideaux, for example, supposes the last chapter of Deuteronomy to have proceeded from Ezra, to whom he also attributes various interpolations, of which he adduces examples.<sup>2</sup> The entire question then resolves itself into the *extent* of Moses's authorship. Even Hengstenberg must allow that Moses did not write all. How much did he compose? If a part be denied to him, it is surely open to criticism to refuse him other parts, provided the evidence be suitable and sufficient. It is arbitrary to assume that verses here and there proceeded from Ezra—such

<sup>1</sup> *Authentic*, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *The Old and New Testament connected*, part i. book v. vol. i. p. 342. et seqq. ed. 1719.

veises as stand in the way of Mosaic authorship in the first four books. Hengstenberg is right in not resorting to that expedient, which looks like a mere subterfuge. But his attempt to claim all the four books for Moses, together with Deuteronomy, appears to us an unsuccessful one. He has done good service, in conjunction with Hävernick, in showing the untenableness of many arguments urged by Hartmann, Von Lengerke, Stähelin, Vater, De Wette, and others; since they have certainly gathered together and adduced numerous considerations which cannot stand the test of an enlightened and searching criticism. But in endeavouring to combat *them all* he has fallen into an extreme which can never be upheld. His remarks on Numb. xii. 3. are a fair specimen of his one-sided apologetic tone on behalf of the Mosaic authorship, as if Moses himself would have written, "now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth."

How the writer of all in the present Pentateuch that was not composed by Moses himself, proceeded, is a question which can be answered very imperfectly at this distance of time. Assuming at present what will be discussed and adopted hereafter, that the time when the Pentateuch appeared as a whole was in the reign of the early kings, we believe that two easily recognised authors appear in the first four books, the Elohist and Jehovist, so called from the names they severally give to the Supreme Being. The one terms the Almighty Elohim; the other, Jehovah or Jehovah Elohim. After the origin and import of Jehovah is described in the sixth chapter of Exodus, the Elohist also employs the name Jehovah, and so the external characteristic ceases. But though the outward mark disappears, there are internal characteristics which separate both. The manner, style, and phraseology differ. The Elohist employs a style simple and unpolished. He is distinguished by breadth, circumstantiality, repetitions, verbosity. He belonged to the priestly order, was familiar with primitive history, genealogical and ethnographical registers, and the laws immediately affecting religion or religious worship. There is also a uniform and consistent plan in what he composed. His work is pervaded by unity of purpose. On the other hand, the Jehovist writes in a more compact, regular, connected manner, and though shorter, is clearer and smoother in style and diction. He evinces more reflectiveness and skill in composition; and probably belonged to the prophetic order. He is also more anthropomorphic, representing the Deity in a mode consonant with the notions of primitive men. The Elohist document forms the groundwork of the Pentateuch, and is evidently older than the Jehovist one. Whether the author of the latter had the other document before him, which he merely supplemented and interpolated, is not agreed. It has been usually supposed that his object was to make it more complete. Hupfeld, however, has questioned this assumption. His opinion is, that the one writing was made independently of the other.<sup>1</sup> And this is certainly more accordant with internal evidence. A plan can be dis-

<sup>1</sup> Die Quellen der Genesis, 1853.

covered in the Jehovistic as well as the Elohist document. It had an independent unity of its own. We believe that the one writer had not the other's document before him; and that he did not write with a view towards it. The sources from which both drew were old documents, registers, and tradition. It is very difficult to determine the time or times when the two respectively wrote. Nothing but conjecture has been advanced on the point. Thus Ewald and Von Lengerke place the Elohist in the time of Solomon, the Jehovist under Hezekiah; Stähelin again, puts them in the time of the Judges and Saul respectively. Tuch thinks that the older lived in the time of Saul, the younger in that of Solomon. Killisch places the Elohist in David's time, De Wette in the time of the Kings. The last-named critic places the Jehovist after Jehoram and before Ezekiel. Into the internal grounds from which an opinion might perhaps be drawn as to the respective ages of these two writers we cannot now enter, especially as they are precarious. We are more inclined to the view of Delitzsch, that they lived not far from the time of Moses himself. In consequence of the numerous references to the Mosaic legislation as complete in the times of the Kings and even earlier, it appears to us that almost all the critics bring down the Elohist and Jehovist too low. But Delitzsch thinks that the history of Israel began to be written immediately after it had reached a concluding point on the soil of the Holy Land. A man like Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest, wrote the great work beginning with *Breshith Bara*, into which he took the covenant roll. A second, like Joshua, or one of those elders on whom Moses's spirit rested, supplemented this work and incorporated Deuteronomy with it. In some such way the *Torah* originated, certainly not without the use of many written memorials by both narrators. Each of the two was in his own manner the echo and copy of the great lawgiver, their teacher and type.<sup>1</sup> Such is the hypothesis of Delitzsch, which does not suffice for a solution of the entire problem. The persons he speaks of are not unlikely; but we cannot think that the one merely supplemented the other's work, or that he even saw it. Probably the interval between the two was greater than that assumed. Neither was the Pentateuch completed by the Jehovist, or so early as his day. After him, the substance of it had appeared in writing; but it existed in two pieces separately composed. Some one must have subsequently put them together, digesting and arranging them as they now are. The final editor, if we may use the word, lived some time after the Elohist and Jehovist. This will appear from an examination of the time when the Pentateuch as it now is was composed. The passage in 2 Kings xxii. 8. &c., which speaks of Hilkiyah "finding *the book of the law* in the house of the Lord," has been already referred to. Notwithstanding the opinion of some that *the book of the law* there means the present Pentateuch, we cannot think it reasonable or probable. And that Hilkiyah and Shephaniah were the authors of it is not to be entertained for a moment. Hence this place, which might appear to

<sup>1</sup> Die Genesis ausgelegt Einleitung, pp. 27, 28.

some at first sight of importance in determining the date of the Pentateuch, is useless in regard to it.

Hengstenberg and those who commonly agree with him, endeavour to discover the early date of the Mosaic books, or rather to corroborate the Mosaic origin of them which they have already assumed, by collecting allusions and references to them in the books of the Old Testament which are usually supposed to have been written after, from Joshua and Judges downwards. They also trace their existence in the national and ecclesiastical life of the nation, which could not have been as it was without an acquaintance with the Mosaic legislation. The historical, prophetic, and poetical literature of the nation was based upon and moulded by it to a considerable extent. It is argued that the features which appear in the religious and social existence of the Israelites after their possession of the promised land would be an inexplicable anomaly without the antecedent legislative enactments and historical events embodied in the Pentateuch.

No impartial critic can deny that there is force in this line of argument. If ably and skilfully conducted it is of signal benefit to the view which the school of Hengstenberg wishes to uphold. Let us see the substance of what is advanced on this head.

Joshua is pervaded by such allusions. It presupposes the existence of the Mosaic legislation. This is commonly allowed at the present day. The book of Judges presupposes the same. Notwithstanding the disordered state in which the political and religious relations of the theocracy then were, the law of Moses formed the basis of the religious and civil life of the nation.

Thus in the book of Judges, the address of the angel of the Lord, ii. 1. &c., is taken from various passages in the Pentateuch. Compare verse 2. with Exod. xxxiv. 12, 13., Deut. vii. 2. 5., Exod. xxiii. 21.; verse 3. with Exod. xxiii. 33.; verse 10. with Exod. i. 8.; verse 15. with Lev. xxvi. 15—17., Deut. xxviii. 15.; verse 17. with Exod. xxxiv. 15. and xxxii. 8.; chap. iv. 15. with Exod. xiv. 24., whence the unusual word ייהם. The address of the prophet in vi. 8. begins with the words of Exod. xx. 2., and repeats to Gideon in the 16th verse the promise made to Moses in Exod. iii. 12., whereupon Gideon excuses his boldness in the words of Abraham, Gen. xviii. 32. In xiii. 7. the angel promises a son to the wife of Manoah in words similar to those which the angel addressed to Hagar, Gen. xvi. 11., the narrator retaining the unusual form ילרת. Compare also xix. 22. &c. with Gen. xix. 4. &c. In xx. 6. are various words from Gen. xxxiv. 7. and Deut. xxii. 21. In xxi. 17. the elders of the congregation give a spiritual interpretation of Deut. xxv. 6.

The ordinances of worship are generally conducted according to the law. Thus vows are regarded as inviolable, xi. 35., compared with Numb. xxx. 2. Fasting is the outward token of repentance, xx. 26., as prescribed in Lev. xvi. 29. Circumcision is looked upon as the prerogative of the Israelites, xiv. 5.; and in agreement with Numb. vi. 2. &c. do we find Nazaritism, xiii. 5. &c. So too the blowing of a trumpet, iii. 27., vii. 18., coincides with Numb. x. 9. The law respecting clean and unclean meats is also observed, xiii. 4.

14. Yearly festivals are kept in the sanctuary at Shiloh, xxi. 19., according to Exod. xxiii. 14, 15., xxxiv. 23., Deut. xvi. 16. &c. What is prescribed in Deut. xiii. 13. &c. we find executed in Judges xxi. 11. The validity of the Mosaic law in a social relation during the period of the Judges may be seen from the Levirate law in Ruth iii. 12. compared with Deut. xxv. 5.; from the aversion of the pious to marriages with the uncircumcised, Judg. xiv. 3.; from the obligation of the law of inheritance, xi. 2. compared with Gen. xxi. 10. In a political view, the congregation is governed by the elders, as in the Pentateuch, and among the tribes Judah has the pre-eminence, i. 2., xx. 18. Compare Numb. ii. 3., x. 14., Gen. xlix. 8. &c. Gideon refuses to be king both for himself and his son, because God is king in Israel, Deut. xvii. 14., Exod. xix. 5, 6., Deut. xxxiii. 5. In the song of Deborah, Judg. v., passages in the Pentateuch are imitated and freely reproduced, as Deut. xxxiii. 2., Exod. xix. 16. &c., Gen. xlix.

The books of Samuel show that the rule of theocratic life from Eli till David was the Mosaic law. Thus public worship is conducted in the tabernacle at Shiloh under Eli and Samuel (1 Sam. i. and iii.), and afterwards at Nob under Ahimelek (1 Sam. xxi.), according to the prescriptions of the law. The ark of the covenant is carried into the battle-field (1 Sam. iv. 3. &c., 2 Sam. xi. 11.), agreeably to what is stated in Numb. x. 35. The Philistines are punished on account of it (1 Sam. vi. 19. &c., 2 Sam. vi. 6.), agreeably to Numb. iv. 20. On all important occasions, God is consulted by the Urim and Thummim of the high priest, connected with the ephod (1 Sam. xiv. 3. 37., xxiii. 9. &c., xxx. 7., compared with Exod. xxviii.). To the prophets is conceded without opposition that authority with which the law invests them. (See Deut. xviii. 18. &c., compared with 1 Sam. ii. 27. &c., iii. 20., vii. 5. &c., x. 17. &c.; 2 Sam. vii. xii. 1—15.)

Verbal quotations and reminiscences of the law may be seen in these books (1 Sam. ii. 13. compared with Deut. xviii. 3.). Samuel's language in 1 Sam. xv. 29. is from Numb. xxiii. 19. In the transactions respecting the choice of a king, these references to the law are particularly observable (1 Sam. viii.—x.). Compare viii. 5. with Deut. xvii. 14. Compare also 1 Sam. x. 25. with Numb. xvii. 22. The language of 1 Sam. xii. 3. is imitated from Numb. xvi. 15., Lev. v. 23., Numb. xxxv. 31., Lev. xx. 4. Compare also xii. 14. with Deut. i. 26. 43., ix. 7. 23., xxxi. 27. The destruction of the Amalekites, commanded by Samuel and effected by Saul (in 1 Sam. xv.), rests upon Exod. xvii. 8. &c. and Deut. xxv. 17—19. Compare also 2 Sam. vii. 22—24. with Deut. iv. 7., x. 21., and Lev. xxvi. 12, 13., Exod. xix. 5.

The books of the Kings exhibit still more distinct allusions to the Pentateuch and quotations from it. Thus 1 Kings ii. 3., where David at his death charges his son, "Keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses." The prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple (1 Kings viii.) forms a commentary on the law, especially on

the blessings and curses pronounced upon the people by Moses, as recorded in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. Compare viii. 23. with Deut. vii. 9.; verse 33. with Lev. xxvi. 40. 42., Deut. xxviii. 25.; verse 35. with Deut. xi. 17., and Lev. xxvi. 19.; verses 37—40. with Lev. xxvi. 16. &c. &c., and Deut. xxviii. 21. &c.; verse 51. with Deut. iv. 20.; verse 53. with Exod. xix. 5, 6., Lev. xx. 24. 26.; verse 56. with Deut. xii. 10, 11.; verse 57. with Deut. xxxi. 6. 8.

The history of Elijah and Elisha, and their exertions on behalf of religion in the kingdom of Israel, show some acquaintance with the Mosaic law even there. The first words of Elijah to Ahab (1 Kings xvii. 1.) are a particular application of the denunciation in Deut. xi. 16, 17. His sacrifice on Carmel (1 Kings xviii. 23. 33.) is conducted according to Lev. i. 6—8. The mode of deciding which he chose refers to Lev. ix. 23, 24. The narrative of his journey to Horeb rests on the Pentateuch (xix.). The forty days correspond to the forty years of Israel's leading in the wilderness; the food which the angel brings him, to the manna. The appearance of the Lord on the mountain is a repetition of what happened to Moses (compare xix. 9. &c. with Exod. xxxiii. 21., xxxiv. 6.). The refusal of Naboth to sell the inheritance of his fathers refers to Lev. xxv. 23. and Numb. xxxvi. 8. The judicial transaction respecting him (xxi. 10.) is founded upon Deut. xvii. 6., xix. 15., Numb. xxxv. 30. The accusation is based upon Exod. xxii. 28., Deut. xiii. 1, 2. &c., xvii. 5. The words of Micah in 1 Kings xxii. 17. refer to Numb. xxvii. 16, 17. In 2 Kings ii. 9. the phrase *כִּי שְׁנַיִם*, a *double portion*, in Elisha's words to Elijah, is taken from Deut. xxi. 17. The translation of Elijah refers to Gen. v. 24. Other allusions are found in 2 Kings iii. 19. to Deut. xx. 19, 20.; in iii. 20. to Exod. xxix. 39.; in iv. 1. to Lev. xxv. 40.; in iv. 16. to Gen. xviii. 10. 14.; in iv. 42. to Deut. xviii. 4, 5., Lev. ii. 14., xxiii. 14.; in v. 7. to Deut. xxxii. 39.; in vi. 17. to Gen. xxxii. 2, 3.; in vi. 28. &c. to Lev. xxvi. 29., Deut. xxviii. 53, 57, 58.; in vii. 2. to Gen. vii. 11.; and the narrative of the lepers in chapter vii. shows the strict observance of the Mosaic regulation in the kingdom of Israel (Numb. v. 3., Lev. xiii. 46.). Thus the law is referred to in the history throughout. There are even verbal allusions to the law of Moses, the commands, statutes, ordinances, and judgments which God had given to his servant (1 Kings ii. 3., vi. 12., ix. 4., xi. 33.; 2 Kings x. 31., xxiii. 21.); and to king Joash at his coronation was given *the testimony* (2 Kings xi. 12.). Under Josiah the original copy of the law was found in the temple (2 Kings xxii. 8. &c.).

It is unquestionable that the books of the Chronicles presuppose and imply the existence of the present Pentateuch. Traces of the existence and authority of the law as a rule of life and worship are numerous, as might have been expected from the Levitical and priestly stand-point of the writer. And in Ezra and Nehemiah we find evidence of the same fact.

When we look at Old Testament prophecy we may also observe that it derives from the Pentateuch materials and justification on

behalf of its announcements. The prophets refer to the law, employ its language, continue its predictions, and threaten the people with its curses. Those belonging to the kingdom of Judah allude to it, even the oldest among them. Thus Obadiah exhibits a reference to Numb. xxiv. 21. in the fourth verse of his book. In verses 17—19. he announces a new realisation of the prediction in Numb. xxiv. 18, 19. Joel presupposes the existence of the Levitical worship, and presents obvious references to the Pentateuch, sometimes verbal ones, as in ii. 3. to Gen. xiii. 10.; ii. 2. to Exod. x. 14.; ii. 13. to Exod. xxxiv. 6., xxxii. 14. Compare also ii. 23. with Deut. xi. 13, 14.; iii. 3. (ii. 30. English version) with Deut. vi. 22. Isaiah contains many references to the Pentateuch. Chapter i. 2—4. are based on Deut. xxxii.; verses 5—9. on the threatenings in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii.; verses 10—17. on the laws respecting sacrifices and festivals in the Pentateuch, and the precepts laid down there relating to judgment and justice, especially towards the widow and orphan, the poor and helpless. Chapter iii. 9. refers to Gen. xix. 5.; and xi. 15, 16. to what is related in Exod. xiv. The song of praise in xii. alludes to that in Exod. xv. Chapter xxiv. 18. is taken from Gen. vii. 11. The language applied to the people in xxx. 9. is founded upon Deut. xxxii. 6. 20. In xxx. 17. we discover a parallel to Lev. xxvi. 8. and Deut. xxxii. 30. References to the Pentateuch in Micah are also numerous, as in i. 7. to the law in Deut. xxiii. 18. In v. 6. “the land of Nimrod” is from Gen. x. 10. In v. 7. there is a reference to the language of Deut. xxxii. 2. Chapter vi. 1, 2. alludes to Deut. xxxii. 1. In vi. 4. there is a reproduction of the phraseology of Exod. xiii. 3., xx. 2.; vi. 5. is based on Numb. xxii.—xxiv.; vi. 8. refers to Deut. x. 12. In vi. 13—16. there is a summary repetition of the threatenings of Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. The prophet Nahum describes Deity in the predicates of the Pentateuch (compare i. 2. with Exod. xx. 5., Deut. iv. 24.). The third verse of chapter i. is borrowed from Numb. xiv. 17, 18. and Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Habakkuk iii. 3. is based upon Deut. xxxiii. 2. Zephaniah often refers to the Pentateuch, especially to Deuteronomy. Thus i. 13. may be compared with Deut. xxviii. 30, 39.; i. 15. with Deut. xxviii. 29.; i. 16, 17. with Deut. xxviii. 52.; i. 18. with Deut. xxxii. 21, 22.; iii. 5. with Deut. xxxii. 4.; iii. 19. with Deut. xxvi. 17—19. Jeremiah and Ezekiel also show an acquaintance with the Pentateuch, as is apparent by comparing Jer. iv. 23. with Gen. i. 2.; v. 19. with Gen. xv. 13.; xxxii. 18. with Exod. xx. 5. &c.; xi. 1—8., especially the 4th verse, with Deut. iv. 20.; xxxiii. 17. with Deut. xxix. 19. &c.; xxxiv. 14. with Exod. xxi. 2., Deut. xv. 12.; xlvi. 45. with Numb. xxi. 28.; Ezekiel xx. 5. with Exod. vi. 3. &c.; xx. 11. with Levit. xviii. 5.; xxii. 26. with Lev. x. 10.; xlv. 20. &c. with Lev. xxi. 2. &c.; xlv. 28. with Numb. xviii. 20.; xx. 6. 15. with Exod. iii. 8.; xviii. 7. with Deut. xxiv. 11. &c.

Even the prophets belonging to Israel as distinguished from Judah appear familiar with the historical narratives of the Pentateuch as well as with the commands and prohibitions of the law, for they apply them to the circumstances of their contemporaries, promising,

threatening, and comforting accordingly. Amos and Hosea do so. In ii. 4. the former proclaims destruction to Judah, "because they have despised the law of the Lord, and have not kept his commandments;" ii. 7. rests upon Exod. xxiii. 6., Deut. xvi. 19., xxiv. 17., xxvii. 19., xxvii. 18., Levit. xx. 3.; ii. 8. refers to Exod. xxii. 25, 26. (26, 27.), Deut. xxiv. 12.; ii. 9. to Numb. xiii. 32, 33.; ii. 10. to Deut. xxix. 4. (5.); ii. 11, 12. to Numb. vi. 3., Deut. xviii. 15.; iii. 2. to Deut. xiv. 2.; iv. 4, 5. to Numb. xv. 3., Deut. xiv. 28., xxvi. 12.; iv. 9, 10. to Deut. xxviii. 22. 27., Levit. xxvi. 25.; iv. 11. to Deut. xxix. 22.; v. 11. to Deut. xxviii. 30. 39. The feasts prescribed in the Pentateuch were celebrated in the kingdom of Israel, and the various kinds of sacrifices presented under the same names. (Comp. Amos v. 21, 22. with Leviticus.) The prophet's deprecation for the people (ch. vii. 1. &c.) is copied from the language of Moses in Exod. xxxii. 9. 14., Numb. xiv. 11. &c. In the ninth chapter verse 3. alludes to Numb. xxi. 6., verse 8. to Deut. vi. 15., verse 12. to Deut. xxviii. 9, 10., verse 14. to Deut. xxx. 3. &c. Traces of the existence of the Pentateuch in Hosea are as numerous as in Amos. Thus ii. 1. (i. 10.) alludes to Gen. xxii. 17., xxxii. 13.; ii. 2. (i. 11.), and ii. 17. refer to Exod. i. 10., Deut. xvii. 15.; ii. 10. to Deut. vii. 13., xi. 14.; ii. 17. to Exod. xxiii. 13.; iii. 1. to Deut. xxxi. 18.; iv. 10. to Levit. xxvi. 26.; v. 6. to Exod. x. 9.; v. 14. to Deut. xxxii. 39.; ix. 4. and 10. to Deut. xxvi. 14., xxxii. 10., Numb. xxv. 3. &c. In the 11th and 12th chapters many references to the early history of the people occur, showing a clear acquaintance with Genesis and Exodus.

In like manner the poetical literature of the age of David and Solomon presupposes the Pentateuch. The Psalms are a precious result of the life of Israel under the law, as appears from the first Psalm, which serves as the introduction to the whole. Accordingly the excellency of the law is described in Psalms xix. 8. &c., and cxix. The sacred singers were acquainted even with the historical portions of the law, and speak of it as *scripture* (סֵפֶר) Psal. xl. 8. Psal. viii. refers to Gen. i. 26. &c.; Psal. xix. to Gen. i. 7.; Psal. xxiv. 1, 2. to Gen. i. 2. 9, 10. 22.; Psal. xxxiii. 6. to Gen. ii. 1.; Psal. xxix. 10., xxxiii. 7., &c. refer to the flood. To the history of the patriarchs there are allusions in Psal. xlvii. 10., lx. 9. (comp. Gen. xlix. 10., Numb. xxi. 18.), cv. cx. 4. &c. (Compare also Psal. xv. 5., li. 9., xl. 7., lvi. 13., li. 18., lxvi. 13—15., cxvi. 14. 18. &c.) The Proverbs are also the result of reflection on the divine revelation given in the law, though they contain few verbal allusions to the Pentateuch. (Compare Prov. viii. 22. &c., with Gen. i.; and xxxi. 3. with Deut. xvii. 17.)

References in Job to the law of Moses have been found in xv. 7., xxvi. 6. &c., xxxviii. 4. &c. Compare also iv. 19. and x. 9. with Gen. iii. 19.; xii. 7—10. with Gen. i. 19—25. and ix. 2.; xxvii. 3. with Gen. ii. 7.; xxii. 6. with Exod. xxii. 26., Deut. xxiv. 6. 10—14. Allusions more or less distinct may be perceived in vi. 27., xxiv. 2—4. 9., &c. to Exod. xxii. 20. &c., Levit. xxv. 35. &c., Deut. xix. 14., xxvii. 17. &c.; in xxxi. 26, 27. to Deut. iv. 19., xvii. 3. Com-

pare the words in v. 14. with Deut. xxviii. 29. ; in xxxi. 11. with Levit. xviii. 17. &c. Even the writer of Solomon's Song is supposed by Delitzsch to betray his acquaintance with Genesis in mentioning *Mahanaim* (vii. 1.).<sup>1</sup>

There are various elements which should be taken into account in judging of the array of references and allusions to the Pentateuch now adduced.

1. Has their number been unnecessarily augmented? We believe that it has been so by Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and Keil. They have brought together more passages than will stand the test of criticism, overloading their side of the question with allusions to the Pentateuch, verbal or otherwise, which cannot fairly be reckoned as such.

2. A due discrimination should be exercised in separating references to the Pentateuch. *Traditional* knowledge of things contained in the books should be distinguished from knowledge based on something *written*. The part or parts which were undoubtedly written by Moses should also be separated from the rest. The Pentateuch in its present condition should be considered apart from what it was before the editor finally adjusted and combined the parts. But Hengstenberg proceeds on the supposition that all the books as they are came from the one person, and repudiates the idea of dissevering parts from one another.

3. The general ignorance of the people should always be kept in mind beside the knowledge possessed by their leaders and teachers. Even had the people generally known written records, they could not have derived more benefit from them than from oral tradition and teaching.

4. Attention should be given to the possible explanation of references and allusions to the Pentateuch in the books of Joshua, Judges, &c., viz. that the writer or compiler living long after the events described by him occurred, has associated with them phenomena taken from records belonging to the interval between. This may account for some at least of the particulars appearing in the books which now follow the Pentateuch in the canonical list.

5. There is no good reason for supposing that the author of the book of Joshua used the written Pentateuch. All the quotations and allusions adduced for this purpose are nugatory, as will appear hereafter. In reference to the other historical books, their presupposing the existence of the Pentateuch does not imply that it was written by Moses, or so early as his time. As little does *the alleged* oldest prophet, Obadiah, (Hävernicks, Keil, Caspari,) prove the Mosaic composition. The earliest Psalms also, even could they be ascertained, are of no use in the argument. Granting therefore the pertinency of all the allusions accumulated by Hengstenberg and others, they are of no avail in making the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch probable, except indeed, those in the book of Joshua, which go far to

<sup>1</sup> See Hävernicks's Einleit. i. 2. ; Hengstenberg's *Authentic des Pentateuches*, vols. i. and ii. ; Keil's Einleit. § 34. p. 132. *et seqq.*; Delitzsch's *Genesis*, p. 8. *et seqq.*

prove it on *his* view of the time when the latter was written, but are equally irrelevant as the rest on the assumption of its *correct* date.

We depart from the hypothesis of Delitzsch in relation to the Jehovist, for it does not allow of a sufficiently long interval between him and the Elohist. Both wrote independently,—how long apart in point of time cannot be ascertained. Probably one hundred years at least intervened. The Jehovist may have written in the time of the Judges; while the Elohist was in the time of Joshua. We do not suppose that either document was much read, or *circulated* as we should now say. A knowledge of the one or the other must have been confined to a few persons, to those who had to do with the conducting of the worship of God and the affairs of the people generally. The fact that they were known to some after they had appeared, accounts for the allusions found to *their contents* in the earliest succeeding historical books, for all at least that are pertinent; and if there be specific references to the Pentateuch as a *written* whole, in those books, they may proceed from one who lived long after the events described in them occurred, or are proofs that he wrote later than the Pentateuch itself. But few if any such verbal references occur.

But it may be asked, if the Elohist writer compiled his document so early as Joshua's time, and the Jehovist wrote in the period of the Judges, how is it to be explained that the Elohim document contains indications of the time after the death of Joshua and the expulsion of the Canaanites from Palestine (Levit. xviii. 28.), and the Hebraising of the land (Gen. xl. 15.), and in the time of the kings? (Gen. xxxvi. 31.) In like manner, the Jehovist has in his document as much as implies that the Canaanites had been expelled from Palestine (Gen. xiii. 7.), and that the time of the Judges was past. (Numb. xxxii. 41. comp. Judg. x. 4.) These notices in the Elohist and Jehovistic sections respectively have been used to determine the dates of the two parts. But this mode of proof is precarious, unless it could be shown that the Jehovistic portion had been incorporated with the Elohist one immediately after it was written, without alteration being made in the older part, and without interpolation. So far however from that being a probable thing, there was a final writer who retouched, added to, and variously interpolated both. Not until his day was the Pentateuch in its present state. It is likely that the passages here and there which seem to bring down the composition to the time of the kings were inserted by this reviser. We should refer to him all the places that unequivocally imply the expulsion of the Canaanites from the land of promise and the existence of kings, as in Gen. xii. 6., xxxvi. 31., whether they belong now to the Elohist or Jehovistic documents. He who fully and finally completed the Pentateuch lived in the time of the kings, of Saul or David perhaps, as such later notices show. In this manner we can reconcile some of the references in the later books collected by Hengstenberg and Hävernick with an earlier composition of the two principal documents composing the Pentateuch in its present state. Many of them, however, merely show a traditional

knowledge of laws and events as old as Moses himself. Others allude to written memorials without implying the past composition of the entire Pentateuch, — either to Deuteronomy which Moses penned, or the few other parts which he also wrote, or to the records whence the Elohist and Jehovist drew some of their materials, or to the Elohist document, or the Jehovist one. None necessarily implies an earlier completion of the Pentateuch as it now is, than the time of the first kings.

After the ingenious investigation of Hupfeld, the appellation *Supplementary* hypothesis is now seen to be inappropriate, because the Jehovist did something more important than simply furnish a kind of appendix to the Elohist document. He wrote independently and with a different object. We prefer the name *Documentary* hypothesis as most pertinent, now that justice has been done to the Jehovist.

With regard to the *Crystallisation-hypothesis* of Ewald, as Deitzsch terms it, none seems to have adopted it. Rightly so, for it lacks all verisimilitude or probability. Nothing but an excess of subjectivity could have led that scholar to divide the Pentateuch into four portions of different ages, to which the Deuteronomist, who is also said to be final author of the book of Joshua belonging at first to the Pentateuch, gave its last form. And it is surprising to see how he fixes the respective times of the four parts, supposing that *the book of the Covenant*, which is the oldest, was written in the time of Samson!<sup>1</sup>

Many have shown too great anxiety to ascribe the authorship of books to well known names. But if various historical works, now forming an integral part of the canon, cannot possibly be referred to known persons on the ground of external evidence — if in their case we must gather from internal evidence alone who the writers probably were, there is no cause for proceeding differently in the case of the Pentateuch. It is true that tradition has uniformly testified for the Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the Old Testament; but if internal evidence do not agree with it, there is good ground for forsaking it. A tradition of this kind cannot be infallible, unless clearly established by Christ and his apostles. We can account for the tradition in question, because Moses wrote the substance of the Pentateuch. Hence the tradition is popularly correct. If scientific theology detect parts that did not proceed from Moses, the tradition may be taken in a sense consistent therewith, as long as Moses was the author of the moral law and the legislation recorded in the fifth book. Where external and internal evidence disagree, it will usually be found that the former should give way. So it has been in the question before us. The internal evidence has fairly caused a great modification or alteration in the authority of the external. Inspiration does not stand or fall with certain names; as some would lead us to suppose it does, from the line of argument they pursue. Joshua was inspired as well as Moses. So was Eleazar. So were many others whose names we may not know. It is incorrect to suppose

<sup>1</sup> See Ewald's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i.

that only persons who wrote books preserved in the canon were inspired. And it is equally erroneous to assume that they were inspired as *writers*, not as teachers or religious men generally. It is true that some possessed a larger measure of the Spirit of God than others: the phenomena of the books themselves evince that inspiration had *degrees*. All the writers were not enlightened to the same extent. Hence we do not believe that the authority or credibility of the Pentateuch is lessened by repudiating the Mosaic authorship of the first four books, with some important exceptions. If one or more writers were employed upon them, why should *he* or *they* not have possessed the Spirit of God? If three or four persons collected and digested the materials, employing both oral tradition and written documents, why should they not have done so under the same divine superintendence which Moses himself may be supposed to have employed? The authority of the Pentateuch is not in the least impaired, as far as we can see, by the view now taken of its authorship. The books contain as true narratives, as correct statements, as sacred a character, as they would have done on the hypothesis of their Mosaic composition. If divine authority be claimed for them because Moses wrote them, divine authority should also be claimed for them because they were written after him by unknown persons, and treasured up as sacred records by prophets as well as priests. They were considered a faithful memorial of times and events prior to and contemporaneous with Moses.

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### CHAP. III.

#### JOSHUA.

THE book of Joshua, which immediately follows the Pentateuch, is so called because it describes the events in which Joshua the son of Nun performed a leading part. It commences with the word *וַיְהִי*, and it happened, whence it may be regarded as a continuation of the Pentateuch. Beginning with the death of Moses, it narrates the conquest of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua, the subsequent division of the land among the twelve tribes, agreeably to the divine arrangements communicated to Moses, and the establishment of the Jewish church in it, thus covering a period reaching to the death of Joshua. Hence it comprises the history of about thirty years, not seventeen as some have supposed.

The book may be divided into three parts:—

- I. A narrative of the conquest of the land. (i.—xii.)
- II. The division of the conquered land, including the parts not yet acquired. (xiii.—xxii.)
- III. The last addresses of Joshua to the people, his death, and that of Eleazar. (xxiii. xxiv.)

These may be subdivided in the following manner: I. — 1. Call of Joshua to be leader of the people and his commands to the twelve tribes to prepare themselves for the enterprise before them. (ch. i.) 2. His sending out of the spies to bring back an account of the city of

Jericho, the miraculous passage over Jordan, erection of memorial stones, the encampment at Gilgal, the circumcision of the people, and their celebration of the passover. (ii.—v. 12.) 3. Encouragement of Joshua by an angel who appeared to him, the capture of Jericho and of Ai, the public reading of the law of Moses on Mount Ebal. (v. 13—viii.) 4. The politic confederacy of the Gibeonites with the children of Israel, the war with the confederated Canaanitish kings at Gibeon, and the taking of the southern part of the land. (ix. x.) 5. The war with the northern Canaanites. (xi.) 6. A list of the conquered kings of Canaan. (xii.)

II.—1. A general division of Canaan, containing the divine command for the partition, with an account of the parts not yet taken, and the department assigned by Moses to the half-tribe of Manasseh. (xiii.) 2. A particular apportionment of Canaan among the tribes, including the portion of Caleb, the lot of Judah, of Ephraim, and of Manasseh. (xiv.—xvii.) 3. Continuation of the distribution at Shiloh, including the territories of Benjamin, Simeon, Zebulon, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan. (xviii. xix.) 4. The appointment of the cities of refuge, and of the Levitical cities. (xx. xxi.) 5. The dismissal from the camp of the two tribes and half who settled on the other side of Jordan, their return, and the transactions arising out of the erection of an altar on the borders of Jordan in token of their communion with the children of Israel. (xxii.)

III.—1. Joshua's address to the Israelites, in which he reminds them of the great benefits received from God, and urges them to obedience. (xxiii.) 2. His dying address to the people, and renewal of the covenant between them and God. (xxiv. 1—28.) 3. The death and interment of Joshua, the burial of Joseph's bones, and the death of Eleazar the high priest. (xxiv. 29—33.)

The object and end of the entire book is to show the faithfulness of God in fulfilling his promises to the patriarchs, by a historical narration of the manner in which the covenant-people under the leadership of Joshua conquered and received for their inheritance the land of Canaan. (Comp. i. 2—6., xxi. 43—45.; Deut. xxxi. 7.)

It has been thought by several modern critics, as Bleek, Ewald, Stähelin, Tuch, De Wette, Von Lengerke, that the book of Joshua was closely connected with the Pentateuch in its origin. The basis of it was the Elohim document, which also formed the foundation of the first four books of Moses; that document having embraced not merely the earlier history, but having reached also to the conquest of Canaan and its partition. Jehovistic elements may also be traced in it, though we do not think that the Jehovist himself was the person who completed it. According to this view it was always in a certain sense intimately connected with the Law or *Torah*. It appears to us that it is not difficult to detect in the book before us traces of the primitive Elohim document, and subsequent additions to it, as well as interpolations. The Jehovist mostly appears in the first twelve chapters; the Elohist in the remainder, though with a strong intermixture of Jehovistic elements. That the work, as we now have it, was compiled from various documents has been inferred from the following phenomena.

1. Various discrepancies appear in it, which De Wette adduces thus<sup>1</sup>:—

The conquest and extirpation of all the Canaanites as well as the occupation of the entire land are ascribed to Joshua (xi. 16—23., xii. 7., &c.; comp. xxi. 43. &c., xxii. 4.), which, however, is strikingly contradicted by the survey given of the still unconquered country in xiii. 1., &c. (comp. also xvii. 14. &c., xviii. 3., xxiii. 5. 12.).

We believe, with Keil<sup>2</sup> and others, that this contradiction is only apparent. The book has a continued reference to the divine promises, in fulfilling which God caused the Canaanites to be smitten and expelled from the land; while it is also remarked, in relation to the future, that Canaanites still continued in possession of cities and localities here and there, because, though the Almighty had promised the entire expulsion of the Canaanites, he had not promised it to be sudden and complete at once. The words in the 11th chapter 23d verse form the solution of the difficulty, "So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses," the "whole land" being a popular phrase. Doubtless some Canaanites kept out of the way of Joshua, betaking themselves to their fastnesses; and assumed the offensive after the death of this destroyer. He conquered all the Canaanites whom he encountered. The universal language is *limited* and *explained* by the notices elsewhere of places and tribes still unsubdued; but it is not *contradicted*.

There is a discrepancy between x. 36. 38., xi. 21., where it is related that Hebron and Debir were conquered, and the Anakim cut off from the mountains, and xiv. 12., xv. 14. 17., compared with Judges i. 10, 11., where we see that at the partition of the land the Anakim were again in possession of these cities, and were not rooted out till after Joshua's death.

Various replies have been given to this by Koenig, Stähelin, Hävernick, and Keil. Hävernick<sup>3</sup> thinks, that after Joshua took Hebron and Debir, he drove back the Anakim to the mountains; but that the latter were by no means destroyed. Caleb received Hebron towards the close of Joshua's life; yet the whole mountain district was not free from the Anakim. They were in possession of strong places, and only after these were taken from them could they be said to be fully conquered. A war began accordingly with three powerful tribes of Anakim, which was conducted by Judah and Caleb after Joshua's death. Thus it is maintained that the one conquest was partial, leaving room for another after Joshua's time, which was final and total. The solution proposed is not improbable.

There is also a discrepancy between xii. 10. 12. 16. 21. 23., according to which the kings of Jerusalem, Gezer, Bethel, Megiddo, and Dor were smitten by Joshua, and xv. 63. Compare Judg. i. 21., Josh. xvi. 10., Judg. i. 29. 22., Josh. xvii. 12., Judg. i. 27., where these cities remained in the hands of the Canaanites.

A distinction should be made between *smiting the kings* and *taking their cities*, as has been observed by Koenig, Von Lengerke, and

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, u. s. w. p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, ii. 1. p. 19.

Keil. Joshua smote the kings, but did not take the cities. We confess, however, that this observation is scarcely consistent with the words of Josh. xii. 7. especially, "which Joshua gave unto the tribes of Israel for a possession."

According to i. 6., xi. 23., xii. 7., xiii. 7., xiv. 1—5. we expect that after the conquest was completed the land should be divided proportionately among the Israelites; but after the tribes of Judah, Ephraim, and the half-tribe of Manasseh have received their share (xv.—xvii.), a pause occurs in the task of distribution, through the slackness of the people as is alleged (xviii. 3.); it is resumed apparently in another place, at Shiloh (xviii. 1., xix. 51.), and the preceding distribution is altered in various particulars (xviii. 11—xix. 51.). To this Keil replies as follows:—

After the conquest of the land an approximate division of it had been made into nine or ten parts for the purpose of distribution by lot. After this the tribe whose lot had been drawn began to take possession of its inheritance. But the settlement of the limits of the inheritance which had fallen to each tribe could not be effected in a few days. It required longer time, and was fully decided perhaps only after the tribe had taken possession. In this manner the tribes of Judah, Ephraim, and Manasseh entered successively on the occupation of their respective inheritances. While they were yet employed in the business of taking possession, the place for the tabernacle was determined, and the ark was placed accordingly at Shiloh. This naturally took the whole camp thither. As the further allocation by lot proceeded there, the remaining tribes evinced no great desire for settled dwelling-places, in consequence of their previous life and habits, as well as the fact that the remaining Canaanites appeared to require of them more exertion and opposition than a life in tents seemed to call for; while the still surviving old inhabitants of the country had been so oppressed by war that the tribes in question could hardly think of much annoyance from them provided they did not proceed to expel and root them out. But Joshua could not allow the matter to rest in this state, and blamed the slackness of these tribes, commanding them to take measures for the further distribution by lot. And since the tribe of Joseph had expressed dissatisfaction with the smallness of its inheritance, manifesting therein its cowardice in relation to the Canaanites who still remained within the allotted territory, Joshua may have perceived that if the allotment were continued and completed according to the incipient approximative distribution of land, still greater discontent might arise among the remaining tribes, because some of them at least should probably receive localities in which the Canaanites would be more numerous and powerful than in the territory of Ephraim. Accordingly he enjoins that before proceeding to carry out the lot further, the remaining land should be accurately surveyed, divided into seven districts, and a description of it laid before him, in order that the individual portions might be distributed by lot among the seven tribes. The result of this measurement must have shown that the territory left, after subtracting the portions of Judah and Joseph, was too small for the

remaining seven tribes. It was also found that the share of Judah was greater than the tribe used (xix. 9.); on which account partial alterations of what had been done at the first distribution became necessary. But the lot once taken could not be declared invalid, because it was looked upon as a divine decision; and therefore no new division of the *entire* country among the collective tribes could be undertaken. Hence no other resource was left than to leave the two tribes in the parts which they had received by lot (xviii. 5.); but to take from their territories single portions for the remaining tribes, by which means the lot, that did not more nearly define the circumference and borders, remained unaffected.<sup>1</sup>

This answer is laboured and insufficient. It necessarily concedes some things in the position which it is intended to explain.

According to i.—xi. Joshua carries on the war at the head of all the tribes (i. 12. &c., iv. 12., xxii.), but according to Judg. i. 1. &c., and even according to Josh. xvii. 14. &c., the individual tribes fought by themselves. Caleb fought for himself, xv. 13—19. See also xix. 47.

In chapters xv., xvii., xix. the conquests made by individual tribes did not take place till after the division of the land and in part after the death of Joshua, whereas they are erroneously placed by De Wette and others *before* these occurrences.

The ecclesiastical position of the people under Joshua appears to have been in entire accordance with the law (iii. 3. &c., viii. 33.). But one stumbles unexpectedly (in xxiv. 23.) upon idolatry, which appears also in Othniel's time. (Judg. iii. 1—11.)

In answer to this we may remark, that the words of Joshua in xxiv. 23. do not speak of gross idolatry, but merely of such hankering after strange gods as is perfectly compatible with the external legality of the ecclesiastical state in which the people then stood.

Another discrepancy has been discovered between the sanctuary of Jehovah being at Sichem (xxiv. 25, 26.) and at Shiloh (Judg. xxi. 19.). To this Keil replies after Masius, Michaelis, and Hengstenberg, that שִׁיחַן אֱלֹהִים, in xxiv. 26., *the sanctuary*, denotes the holy place which Abraham had dedicated to the Lord. (Gen. xii. 6, 7.)

But though we cannot aver that any contradiction has been proved, at least in the parts to which De Wette and others have thus directed particular attention, yet there are discrepancies, which one and the same writer would scarcely have left as they are. The arrangement and order of the notices concerning each tribe vary considerably. The boundaries are stated sometimes with greater, sometimes with less exactness; while in relation to the tribe of Issachar they are entirely omitted. These diversities are particularly striking to one who compares the 13th and 14th chapters with the 18th and 19th, and are best accounted for by the hypothesis of documents differing from one another in form, if not in contents.

In addition to diversities which appear in the contents here and three, hanging loosely together, and presenting some difficulty in being harmonised, there are also diversities in the manner of conception

<sup>1</sup> See Keil's Commentar ueber das Buch Josua, p. 267. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Commentar ueber d. Buch Josua, p. 408.

and expression. This, indeed, would naturally arise from the fact that Elohistic and Jehovistic portions are both incorporated into the work.

Diversity in the mode of conception is shown by the following particulars. In i. 4. the Euphrates is mentioned as the eastern boundary of the land, whereas in xiii. 3. &c., it is otherwise. Keil's reply to this is unsatisfactory, when he says<sup>1</sup> that in the latter place the limit is defined with geographical accuracy; but the former has an oratorical character agreeably to its nature as a divine promise, and is particularised by the addition "all the land of the Hittites." Why the divine promise introduced by the solemn words, "The Lord spake unto Joshua, saying," should have an *oratorical*, i.e. exaggerated or inflated character, we cannot see. Surely a promise is as specific and accurate in the expressions employed as a historical notice.

Again, according to xv. 11. 45—47. and 63. the Philistine cities appear in the possession of Judah, whereas in the geographical part (xiii. 3.) it is otherwise. To this Keil replies<sup>2</sup>, that it does not follow from the fact that Ekron, Gaza, and Ashdod, with the surrounding districts, were given by lot to the tribe of Judah, that they were in the actual possession of Judah. This is true, yet the answer is insufficient; for xiii. 3. is in point of time subsequent to xv. 45. &c. The former relates what took place or existed just before the death of Joshua, the latter appears to point to a prior time in the life of Joshua. The reply would be satisfactory if it could be shown that the description in the 15th chapter does not imply that Judah had possession at that time of the places mentioned; but this cannot be shown. The true solution, we apprehend, is, that xiii. 3. is Jehovistic, xv. 45. Elohistic.

A diversity in the *usus loquendi* of the book may also be detected. Thus in some sections the usage of the word שָׁבֵט for *tribe* prevails, as in iii. 12., iv. 2. 4. 12., vii. 14. 16., xviii. 2. 4. 7., xxii. 7. 9. &c., xxiii. 4., xxiv. 1.; but in others מְצָה predominates, as in xiii. 15. 24., xiv. 1—4., xv. 1. 20, 21., xvii. 1., xviii. 11., xix. 1. 24. 40. 48., xx. 8., xxi. 4. &c.<sup>3</sup> It is vain for Keil to account for this difference by the different significations of the two words, the former denoting *tribe*, as a *prevailing power*, the latter referring to *tribe* according to its *genealogical ramification*. The distinction is too subtle to have entered into the mind of the one writer for whom Keil contends; and to have regulated his employment of terms. Besides, it does not hold good.

The rare word מְרִשָּׁתָה, *inheritance, possession*, xi. 23., xii. 7., xviii. 10., is met with only in portions that appear to be Jehovistic. The reason given by Keil for the word not appearing oftener is nugatory.

Moses is termed עֶבֶד יְהוָה, *servant of Jehovah*, only in certain sections, such as are *historical* not *geographical*.<sup>4</sup> Keil's observation respecting this peculiarity is weak.<sup>5</sup>

In some sections בְּקִנְיֵי הַלְוִיִּים, *the priests, the Levites* (iii. 3., viii. 33.), or simply בְּקִנְיֵים, *priests*, is used (iii. 6. 15., vi. 4. 6. &c.); but in others

<sup>1</sup> See his Commentar, u. s. w. p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Commentar, Einleit. p. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Stähelin, Kritische Untersuchungen, u. s. w.

<sup>4</sup> Jahn, Einleit. vol. ii. p. 460.

<sup>5</sup> Einleit. u. s. w. p. 171.

the same persons are termed *sons of Aaron* (xxi. 4. 10. 13. 19.). The former expressions are Jehovistic, the latter Elohistie. Keil's observation to account for the difference, viz., that in the 21st chapter the priests are not considered with respect to their office and position but according to their genealogical descent<sup>1</sup>, is far-fetched. Besides, there is a difference of general style observable in the first part, *i.e.* the first twelve chapters, and in the remainder. In the one there is a fulness of expression, and a roundness in the structure of periods, resembling the Jehovist, from whose document it was for the most part taken. But in the remaining parts there are repetitions and interpolated observations, which disturb the perspicuity of the narrative.<sup>2</sup> It is mere arbitrary assumption on the part of Keil to affirm that this diversity of style is accounted for by diversity of contents. The one is the Jehovistic style and manner; the other, the Elohistie.

In consequence of these phenomena we cannot subscribe to the view of Hävernick, Keil, and others, who maintain the independence and unity of the book before us. It is true that it has a completeness of character—that its contents possess continuity and finish. It is so far independent as that it never formed a part of the Pentateuch, in the present state of that work. But the principal documents of which the Pentateuch was composed also constitute the body of Joshua's book. Both are mainly derived from the same sources. It is, therefore, nugatory to contend, as Keil does, that our present book of Joshua is distinguished from the Pentateuch by a peculiar phraseology. According to him, it knows not the *archaisms* which evenly pervade the five books of Moses. But the archaisms referred to depend on the view of the critic for their being such. Many of them adduced by Keil are only imaginary. The *general* agreement of the diction in Joshua with that in the Pentateuch is undeniable, and cannot be neutralised by a few expressions and forms of words which differ, such as יָרִיחוֹ, which is said to occur twenty-six times in Joshua, instead of יְרֵחוֹ, used eleven times in the Pentateuch; סִיחֵן or עֵינָה, instead of עֵינָה, Numb. xxxii. 33., Deut. iii. 4. 10. 13.; קָנִיז, xxiv. 19., instead of קָנִיז, Exod. xx. 5., xxxiv. 14., Deut. iv. 24., v. 9. vi. 15.; דָּמֵי בְרֵאשׁוֹ, ii. 19., instead of דָּמֵי בֹו, Levit. xx. 9. 11—13. 16.; אֲדֹנָי קַלְהָאֲרֹנָי, iii. 11. 13., *treasurer of the house of Jehovah*, vi. 19. 24. &c. &c. These peculiarities, if indeed they can be called such, are of no account in comparison with the prevailing agreement existing between the Pentateuch and Joshua in phraseology.

As to the *unity* of the book, on behalf of which Keil is so zealous after the example of Stuedel, Koenig, and Hävernick, we admit that its different parts are connected; and that all are penetrated with one and the same leading idea,—the conquest and division of the land agreeably to the divine promise repeatedly made to the patriarchs. God is shown to be a faithful and covenant-keeping God in assisting and enabling his chosen people to accomplish what had been predicted to their fathers. But this unity is not of a kind to justify the

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. u. s. w. p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> See Haaff, Offenbarung's Glaube und Kritik der bibl. Geschi chte, p. 132. *et seqq.*

assumption of its being original, and having proceeded entirely from one and the same writer. It is not so close, consecutive, or chronological as to warrant that inference. On the contrary, parts do not well cohere here and there. Discrepancies cannot be denied. It is even difficult to withstand the view, that there are occasional contradictions. The contents and language are of a character to show diversity of materials — the use of different and distinguishable documents.

To show that the book does not present the close unity and independence ascribed to it, we should refer especially to iv. 9., which certainly interrupts the connection; to xi. 21. 23., compared with x. 36—43., passages it is difficult to harmonise; and to viii. 30—35., which interrupts the course of the narrative because Joshua had not yet advanced to Ebal.

Some think that the book was written by Joshua himself. Of this opinion were several of the fathers and Talmudical writers. Among the moderns the same view has been advocated by Gerhard, Diodati, Huet, Alber, Patrick, Tomline, Gray, and Koenig. But it is wholly inadmissible. The reasons assigned for it are not sufficient. They are chiefly the following.

1. In xxiv. 26. Joshua is said to have written an account of the transactions “in the book of the law of God,” so that the book which now bears his name forms a continuation of Deuteronomy, the close of which was written by Joshua. But the expression “these words” refers merely to his last address, and the subsequent resolution of the people to follow his example. The inference that if he wrote thus much it is likely that he committed to writing the other memorable events connected with his career, we look upon as improbable in the present instance.

2. The author intimates in v. 1., by the expression “we passed over,” that he bore a part in the transactions. Here, however, the reading is not secure. The *Kri*, a marginal reading, has, “they passed over;” the LXX. have *διαβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς*, and the Vulgate *transirent*. With these versions agree the Targum of Jonathan, the Syriac and Arabic. Assuming, however, the correctness of the textual reading, it proves nothing, as may be seen by comparing Psalm lvi. 6., where the same mode of speaking occurs, i. e. *per communicationem*.

3. In the passage where the death and burial of Joshua are related, i. e. from xxiv. 29. to the end, the style differs from the rest of the book in the same manner as the style of the appendix in Deuteronomy, where Moses’s decease and burial are related; and Joshua is here termed *the servant of God*, showing that the passage was added by a later and friendly hand. Here we deny the difference of style and diction both in the book of Joshua and in Deuteronomy. There is no perceptible variation of the kind asserted.

4. According to Jahn, the whole book breathes the spirit of the law of Moses, which is an argument in favour of its having been written by Joshua, the particular servant of Moses. This proves nothing.

On the other hand, the following considerations evince that Joshua did not write the book.

1. The expression *to this day* (iv. 9., vii. 26., viii. 28, 29., x. 27., xiii. 13., xiv. 14., xv. 63., xvi. 10., xxii. 3. 17., xxiii., 8, 9.) indicates that the book in its present form was not contemporaneous with the occurrences it describes. To say with Kitto<sup>1</sup> that the phrase merely implies that "Joshua did not promulgate the book immediately after the events narrated," does not meet the requirements of the case. It presupposes a considerable interval of time.

2. There are accounts of transactions in the book which took place after Joshua's death. Thus in xv. 13—19, the taking of Hebron by Caleb, of Debir by Othniel, and in xix. 47. of Leshem by the Danites, was subsequent to the decease of Joshua, as may be seen from comparing Judg. i. 10—15. and xviii. Again, in Josh. xv. 63., we read that the children of Judah could not drive out the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, but that the later dwelt with the children of Judah at Jerusalem *to this day*. This joint occupation of the city by two classes of inhabitants did not take place till after Joshua's death, when the children of Judah took it (Judg. i. 8.), though the Jebusites continued to keep possession of the stronghold of Zion till the time of David. (2 Sam. v. 6—8.) Compare also Josh. xiii. 2—5. with Judg. iii. 3.; xvi. 10. with Judg. i. 29.; xvii. 11. with Judg. i. 27, 28., and xxiv. 29—33.

How long after Joshua the book first appeared it is difficult to determine. Keil thinks that it was written soon after by one of the elders who survived the leader of Israel.<sup>2</sup> This he founds mainly on v. 1. 6., passages showing, as he contends, that the author belonged to the Israelites who crossed the Jordan with Joshua. This view seems to be supported by vi. 25., where it is implied that Rahab was still alive when that part at least was composed. We have already referred to v. 1., showing that the words may be taken *communicatively*, which Hävernick and Keil vainly deny. The latter admits, however, that v. 6. may be so understood. In vi. 25. we must suppose that the writer took the expression as it stood in some document written near the time when the events recorded took place.

The *language* of the book has also been adduced in favour of an early date. It is free from all traces of a later period, and presents an aspect unquestionably ancient. But this is mere assertion, showing the *apologist* rather than the *critic*. The antique character of the language is open to grave doubt. It will not stand the test of criticism.

We believe that it was written, or rather compiled, not later than the time of David and Solomon, on the following grounds.

According to xvi. 10. the Canaanites still dwelt in Gezer; whereas the town was destroyed in Solomon's reign by Pharaoh. (1 Kings ix. 16.) According to xv. 63. the Jebusites were not yet expelled from Jerusalem, which they were by David. (2 Sam. v. 6—9.) From ix. 27. it would appear that the place for the temple was not yet chosen, as it was under David. (2 Sam. xxiv. 18. &c.; 1 Chron. xxi. 18. &c., xxii. 1.) It is probable, therefore, that the book as we

<sup>1</sup> In Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, art. Joshua.

<sup>2</sup> Commentar, u. s. w. Einleitung, p. xlviij.

now have it was composed in the time of Saul. An unknown writer compiled it from the Elohim and Jehovah documents, using contemporary notices besides, and interspersing his own remarks here and there.

Even in the first part of the book there is reason for believing that the Jehovist had written sources before him, proceeding from eyewitnesses or persons contemporary with the occurrences related. The accurate statistical accounts in iv. 13., vii. 4, 5., viii. 12. 25. appear to be derived from written documents. In vi. 25., he has followed his authority so closely as to say that "Rahab dwelleth in Israel unto this day." But in the remainder of the book, *i. e.*, from the thirteenth chapter to the end, which was derived mainly from the Elohist, the use of documents is most apparent. In xviii. 4—9. we read that the great captain of the Israelites caused a survey of the land to be made and *described* in a book. In xxiv. 25. it is related that Joshua committed to writing an account of the renewal of the covenant with God. But the nature of the subject itself shows the truth of the view stated. It was necessary to prevent disputes among the tribes about their respective boundaries, for which purpose the towns and districts must have been inserted in public lists or registers. If the towns belonging to Simeon (xix. 2—8.), and those of the priests and Levites (xxi.), be compared with the books of Chronicles (1 Chron. iv. 28—32., and vi. 39—66.), it will be found that the compiler of the latter used independent lists. And we have seen that the discrepancies here and there in the book of Joshua point to different sources. Again, the discourses of Caleb, Joshua, and Phinehas must either have been taken from written documents, or they are condensed abstracts made by one present at their delivery. In all cases we hold that a careful and conscientious use was made of authentic documents. A genuine theocratic character belongs to the period described. All is in harmony with the law. The graphic delineation too of the leading personages, Joshua, Caleb, and Phinehas, strikes the most inattentive reader.

Whoever the final writer was, we must believe that he used the Jehovah and Elohim documents, as well as others, so as to give a faithful narrative of the important transactions in which Joshua bore the leading part. His interpolations and general method of procedure cannot now be detected.

Some critics bring down the composition after the exile. Masius, Spinoza, Hasse, and Maurer do so. De Wette appears to agree with them. The grounds for this view are not sufficient or valid. Thus it is alleged that the sixty towns of Jair (xiii. 30.), as in 1 Kings iv. 13., stand in opposition to Judg. x. 4. But there is no contradiction. It is also alleged that the book of *songs* or *poems*, the so-called *book of Jasher*, points to a period after David (x. 13. compared with 2 Sam. i. 18.). But it is not certain or probable that this collection of poems originated in or after David's time. It was made successively in praise of the theocratic heroes; and David's elegy on Saul and Jonathan was received into it. The appellations *Jerusalem*

and *mountains of Israel* do not, as has been said, appear for the first time in David's day, but reach up to a more ancient epoch. Nor can it be held with Maurer, that the notice respecting Jerusalem's inhabitants in xv. 63. (compared with 2 Sam. v. 6., xxiv. 16.) relates to the period after David.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, it refers to an anterior time. It has been said, moreover, that the language in vi. 26., where a curse is pronounced on him that should rebuild Jericho, agrees with the time of Ahab. (1 Kings xvi. 34.) But surely the reverse is shown. The composition of the book cannot be brought down to Ahab's time (923 B. C.).

Certain words and expressions have been adduced in favour of the late composition of the book. Its strongly Chaldaic diction has been noticed. We are unable to perceive the peculiarity in question. Little stress can be laid on all that has been brought forward on the point. The strongest examples of later diction are furnished by עָבַר, v. 11, 12., and נָקַם, xxii. 8. The latter occurs in 2 Chron. i. 11, 12.; Eccles. v. 18., vi. 2. Others of less moment are, the use of the article *as a relative*, x. 24.; אֶתְּמָם for אֶתְּמָם, xxiii. 15.; אֶתְּי for אֶתְּי, xiv. 12., xxii. 19.; הַקָּסִי, xiv. 8.; הַשְּׂבִיל, *to be prosperous*, i. 7, 8. &c. &c. Some, if not all, of these have been disputed; and it must be confessed that they are paralleled for the most part in the Pentateuch.

One element in examining the time when the book of Joshua was composed lies in the connection subsisting between it and the Pentateuch. Does the writer quote the Pentateuch; or did he derive his information in part from it? Some have thought that he used it as one of his sources, because the book contains also a description of the territories of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh situated on the left bank of the Jordan, which tribes entered into possession before the death of Moses. But this argument is of no force. Nor has any thing valid been adduced to show that the author of the book got some of his information from the Pentateuch. A comparison of Deut. xviii. 1, 2. and Numb. xviii. 20., with Josh. xiii. 14, 33., xiv. 4., and of Numb. xxxi. 8. with Josh. xiii. 21, 22. does not make the thing evident, as has been affirmed by Hävernicks. Neither does the repetition of the unusual form שָׁא in Joshua show it. When it is also said that the author of Joshua's book repeats the statements of the Pentateuch in a more detailed form, mentioning the changes which had taken place since the Pentateuch was written (comp. Numb. xxxiv. 13, 14., with Josh. xiii. 7. &c.; Numb. xxxii. 37. with Josh. xiii. 17. &c.; Numb. xxxv. with Josh. xxi.), the passages referred to evince nothing like quotation or references to things written.<sup>2</sup> In short, there is no valid reason for supposing that the writer used the Pentateuch, which indeed was hardly in existence so early. Whatever has been thought to prove his acquaintance with the Mosaic books is explained by the traditional knowledge current in his time, or by his use of the principal documents incorporated into the Pentateuch.

<sup>1</sup> See his Commentar, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Hävernicks, Einleit. ii. 1. p. 57.

Another question connected with the examination and authorship of the book of Joshua is, was it written wholly or in part after the book of Judges? Hävernicks thinks that the second part was written after Judges, because he discovers traces in it of the use which the author made of the book of Judges. After adducing the following analogous passages in the two books — xiii. 3, 4. Judg. iii. 3.; Josh. xv. 13. &c. Judg. i. 10, 20.; Josh. xv. 15—19. Judg. i. 11—15.; Josh. xv. 63. Judg. i. 21.; Josh. xvi. 10. Judg. i. 29.; Josh. xvii. 12. Judg. i. 27.; Josh. xix. 47. Judg. xviii., — he calls attention to the fact that the one book explains the text of the other by small insertions or omissions, as in the names Shesha, Achiman, and Talmi (Josh. xv. 14.), and it is twice remarked that they are *הַיְעָקֹב וְהַיְעָקֹב* and *וְהַיְעָקֹב וְהַיְעָקֹב*. (Comp. Judg. i. 13.) The author of Joshua's book also makes use of more regular and usual grammatical forms, instead of the more difficult occurring in the book of Judges, as *תָּנָה* for *הִקְהִילִי*, and *תַּחֲתִית* for *עֲלִית*.<sup>1</sup> The critic also states that the fact mentioned in Josh. xix. 47. happened after the death of Joshua, according to Judg. xviii. 2., and maintains that the private expeditions of separate tribes against the Canaanites commenced after the same event, according to the express statement of the book of Judges. Little importance can be attached to any or all of these particulars. And it is incorrect to assume that no expedition of an individual tribe against the Canaanites took place before Joshua's death. On the contrary, the words of Joshua, xvii. 15., show the reverse. It is also doubtful whether the transaction related in Josh. xix. 47. and Judg. xviii. 2. be the same. The similarity of passages and notices in the two books can be better accounted for on another principle than Hävernicks's.

After the preceding investigation of the time when the present book of Joshua was composed, we need not enumerate different opinions, as that of Von Lengerke, who assigns it to the time of Josiah; Ewald to that of Manasseh, &c. *The author* cannot be known; and it is idle to resort to conjectures respecting him, such as Phinehas assigned by Lightfoot; Eleazar by Calvin; Samuel by Van Til; Jeremiah by Henry.

The historical character and credibility of the book have been variously estimated according to the theological opinions of those who have investigated or pronounced upon them. On the one hand, it is agreed that the influence of tradition may be perceived, making the contents unhistorical and partly mythical. Three events in particular are said to betray the traditional character, viz. the standing still of the sun and moon on Gibeon at the command of Joshua, that he might destroy his enemies more effectually (x. 12—15.); the passage of the river Jordan, which divided before the ark (iii. 14—17.); and the conquest of Jericho, whose walls suddenly fell at the sound of rams' horns, after having been compassed thirteen times in seven days (vi. 20.). But the first is a quotation from the poetical book of Jasher, and is no part of the word of God. The other two

<sup>1</sup> Hävernicks, Einleit. ii. 1. p. 58.

events involve the miraculous; and we do not reckon it an axiom with some that miracles are impossible. There is no difficulty in admitting the historical character and credibility of miracles, to our mind. That the book is worthy of all credit is evident from the fact that the transactions recorded in it are related by other writers with little material deviation. Thus the conquest and division of Canaan are mentioned by Asaph (Psal. lxxviii. 53—65. compared with Psal. xlv. 2—4.); the slaughter of the Canaanites, by the writer of the 68th Psalm (verses 13—15.); the division of the waters of Jordan is alluded to in Psal. cxiv. 1—5., Hab. iii. 8.; the tempest of hailstones after the slaughter of the southern Canaanites, by Hab. iii. 11—13. compared with Joshua x. 9—11.; and the setting up of the tabernacle at Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1.) in the books of Judges and Samuel (Judg. xviii. 31., 1 Sam. i. 3. 9. 24., and iii. 21.). There can be little doubt that the book is authoritative and trustworthy when we find it sanctioned not only in the Old Testament, but also in the New. (Compare Heb. iii. 5., xi. 31.; James ii. 25.; Acts vii. 45.; Heb. xi. 30., iv. 8.)

Much pains have been taken to show that the Israelites had a just right to conquer Palestine. The endeavour is useless. They were originally tolerated in it as *nomads* or wandering shepherds, and could not thence obtain a right to possess the country. Accordingly Abraham purchased a burying-place at Mamre. But God promised the land to them. In taking possession of it they were divinely sanctioned. The destruction of the natives was enjoined by infinite wisdom; and political as well as religious considerations showed its propriety. The danger of again falling into slavery, and of being polluted with idolatry, appears to have had good ground under the Judges. The rigorous, and what would now be called cruel, proceeding, of slaying man, woman, and child, and everything that had life, was right in the eyes of omniscience, and must therefore be exempted from the censure of man till he knows *all* the reasons that rendered it a wise step for the accomplishment of Jehovah's gracious purposes towards the ancient church. Some of the reasons are obvious enough, and go far to justify it even to our limited apprehension. Others are mysterious. Meanwhile, it is unfair to say merely that they took possession of the land by the right of conquest or the right of the strongest; or that it was enjoined by political and religious considerations. It was the express will of God that the Hebrews should conquer and slay; and, "shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

The Samaritans have two books bearing the name of Joshua. One is a chronicle written in the Arabic language, in Samaritan characters, containing a history of Joshua, partly corresponding with our Hebrew book, partly altered for the purposes of the Samaritans. Joshua is called the first king of the Samaritans, and is said to have built the temple on Mount Gerizim. Many legends and fables are interwoven with it. Popular sayings, dressed out with Jewish and Mohammedan Hagadas, are inserted. The history is brought down to the time of Theodosius the Great, and was written in the thirteenth

century. A MS. received by Scaliger from Samaritans in Egypt in 1584, gave Europeans the first knowledge of the book; and from this MS. Juynboll has published it with a Latin version and remarks, to which the learned orientalist has prefixed a dissertation (Leyden, 1848, 4to.).

From this is to be distinguished a book of Joshua written in the Samaritan dialect, which reproduces the contents of the Hebrew Joshua in a free version and in a way corresponding to the peculiar dogmas of the Samaritans. It constitutes but a small part (chap. ix.—xxv.) of the preceding chronicle, and was composed by a Samaritan living in Egypt out of the Septuagint version of the Hebrew Joshua, and a treatise occupied with the history of the Hebrews under Moses and Joshua, mentioned by Aristobulus.

### CHAP. III.

#### JUDGES.

THE book of Judges derives its name from the fact of its containing the history of the Israelites from the death of Joshua till the time of Eli, under the administration of persons called *Judges*, whom God raised up on special occasions to deliver his people from oppression, and furnished both with extraordinary strength and courage for subduing their enemies. These leaders were styled שֹׁפְטִים, *Judges*, κριται in LXX., men who vindicated the rights belonging to the chosen people against their oppressors, obtaining them by force and fortitude.

The exact number of such persons is not easily ascertained. Bertheau<sup>1</sup> and Ewald<sup>2</sup> endeavour to educe the number twelve, because it was a leading and important one; but their method of proceeding is arbitrary. The true number was either thirteen or fourteen according as Abimelech is included or not. With him the list will stand thus: 1. Othniel, 2. Ehud, 3. Shamgar, 4. Deborah and Barak, 5. Gideon, 6. Abimelech, 7. Tola, 8. Jair, 9. Jephthah, 10. Ibzan, 11. Elon, 12. Abdon, 13. Samson. The accounts given of six are copious; of the rest very brief.

The book consists of two parts, viz. 1. The history itself of the oppressions of the Israelites and their deliverances under the Judges. (i.—xvi.) 2. An appendix narrating two events, the idolatry of the Danites (xvii. xviii.) and the extermination of the tribe of Benjamin (xx. xxi.). (xvii.—xxi.) The most conspicuous judges are Deborah (iv.), Gideon (vi.), Jephthah (xi.), Samson (xiii.—xvi.). In the first narrative belonging to the appendix, Micah, a wealthy man dwelling in Mount Ephraim, had a house of gods in which he worshipped, having engaged an itinerant Levite to act as his priest and settle in his family. But the Danites seized the images, took the priest along with them, and established idolatry at Laish, which they conquered. The second narrative gives an account of a brutal outrage committed by the Benjamites of Gibeah against the family of a Levite dwelling on the side of Mount Ephraim, followed by a bloody civil war, in

<sup>1</sup> Das Buch der Richter, pp. 53, 54.

<sup>2</sup> Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. ii. p. 363. *et seqq.*

which all the tribes joined against Benjamin and nearly exterminated it.

The leading object of the writer is apparent from ii. 11—23. His design was to show that the calamities to which the Israelites had been exposed after Joshua's death were owing to their apostasy from Jehovah and their idolatry. When the covenant people forsook the Lord they were deservedly punished; but when they repented and returned to their allegiance, He delivered them out of the hands of their enemies by judges whom He raised up. Hence it was not his object to give a connected and complete history of the Israelites in the interval between Joshua and the Kings.

There has been some difference of opinion as to the extent of the introduction belonging to the first division; for while De Wette makes it reach to ii. 5., Bertheau carries it on to ii. 10., and Keil to iii. 6. The last seems to be the most appropriate. If it be adopted, we may perceive in the introduction two sections running parallel to one another, the first sketching the political relation of the Israelites to the Canaanites who remained in the land (i. 1—ii. 5.); the second the religious position of Israel with respect to Jehovah, and Jehovah's procedure towards Israel (ii. 6—iii. 6.).

The unity of the book has been variously regarded. Some have endeavoured to split up the different divisions into single parts, for the purpose of showing that there is no real or consistent unity in them. Others have tried to show want of connection in the introduction, body, and appendix of the book. On the other hand, several critics have contended for one author of the whole, who is consistent with himself throughout. In minute points like these, there is much room for subjectivity. It appears to us that no good argument can be advanced for assigning a different authorship to the introduction (i.—iii. 6.) or any part of it, as the first chapter; and to the body of the work. Nor do contradictions exist in the introduction itself, as various critics suppose. There is no real discrepancy between i. 8. and i. 21.; for the statement of the former, that the children of Judah took *Jerusalem* and set it on fire does not imply the taking of the fortress of Jebus on Mount Zion; nor does it exclude the fact of the subsequent rebuilding of the city and dispersion of the Jebusites throughout it, in consequence of which the Benjamites could not drive them out. The conquest spoken of in the eighth verse is a partial one, as is shown by the 21st verse.<sup>1</sup> In like manner there is no opposition between the statement in i. 18., that Judah took Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, and that five lords of the Philistines remained (iii. 3.); since it is not necessarily implied in the former passage that they had been slain.<sup>2</sup> It is equally unsuccessful in Bertheau to represent i.—ii. 5. and ii. 11—iii. 6. as disagreeing with one another by saying that the former makes the Canaanites to have been left without extermination because the Israelites preferred to live with them, instead of destroying them agreeably to the stringent

<sup>1</sup> See Welte in Herbst's Einleitung, ii. p. 126., and Hävernick, ii. 1 p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Hävernick, Einleit. ii. i. p. 74.

command they had received; while the latter puts the matter in such a light as to show that the Israelites were not allowed to destroy them because they themselves had fallen into idolatry, so that their living together with them was a punishment<sup>1</sup>; for the critic has overlooked such places as ii. 20. &c., as well as ii. 2, 3., where it is said that God would not drive them out because the people had transgressed His covenant.

The unity of iii. 7.—xvi. 31. can scarcely be called in question. And we cannot believe that the first chapter can well be separated from it, much less ii.—iii. 6. That chapter *may* have been prefixed by a later hand, as Studer<sup>2</sup> supposes; or belong to xvii.—xxi., as Ewald<sup>3</sup> thinks; but it is unlikely that the book stood originally without it. We are willing, therefore, to allow it to remain as an original and integral part of i.—xvi.

But though holding the essential unity of the first part of Judges, extending to the end of the sixteenth chapter, we must separate the appendix, xvii.—xxi., assigning it to another and later writer. Almost all modern critics agree in this view. He who wrote the first sixteen chapters did not write the remainder. This is inferred from the different point of view which the appendix-writer takes. It is *untheocratic*. He speaks of there being no king in Israel, but of every man doing what was right in his own eyes (chapters xvii. 6., xviii. 1., xix. 1., xxi. 25.); phraseology that never appears in the first division. The difference of contents belonging to the two divisions will not explain this peculiarity, though Keil asserts it does. The style too is different. Words and phrases occur in the appendix different from those in the preceding portion. Several of these peculiarities belong to a later diction, as the Hebrew original of *they took them wives* (xxi. 23.)  $\text{וַיִּקְחוּ לָנָשׁוֹת}$ , and others.<sup>4</sup> We are aware that Keil adduces the linguistic peculiarities of the appendix as a proof of unity, comparing them with similar phenomena in the earlier portion, and trying to explain away the differences of style by resolving them into rare words and such as occur but once, in which he declares the entire book to be rich; but he seems to us quite in error.<sup>5</sup> The phenomena make a perceptible distinction between the two portions, so that they cannot belong to the same author.

There is a considerable diversity of opinion as to the person who wrote the first sixteen chapters. Phinehas, Joshua, Hezekiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Samuel, Ezra, have been mentioned. Of these conjectures, for they can scarcely be called by any other appellation, the only ones that deserve a moment's consideration are Joshua, Samuel, and Ezra. It is apparent that the chapters were not written by Joshua or the compiler of the book bearing his name, from the different method of narration pursued, as well as from the difference of style. Nor is it probable that Samuel wrote them, as the Talmudists conjecture, followed

<sup>1</sup> Das Buch der Richter, u. s. w. Einleit. p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Das Buch der Richter gramm. und histor. erklärt, u. s. w. p. 435.

<sup>3</sup> Geschichte, u. s. w. vol. i. pp. 190, 191.

<sup>4</sup> See Stähelin, Untersuchungen ueber d. Pentateuch, u. s. w. p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> Einleit. pp. 182, 183.

by Jahn<sup>1</sup> and by Paulus.<sup>2</sup> Nor can it have been written by Ezra, since the manner, style, and phraseology are unlike the book that goes by his name. Had Ezra composed the history, it would have been more complete; and the orthography of his age must have appeared in it.

The authorship, age, and sources of the entire book are so intimately connected that they cannot be discussed apart. Various phrases have a bearing on the question of time. Thus the phraseology in i. 21. "the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem *unto this day*," implies that it was composed before the subjugation of the fortress of Zion and the expulsion of the Jebusites by David. (2 Sam. v. 6. &c.) In xiii. 1. the duration of the period in which the Philistines oppressed the Israelites is given; whence we infer that it was not written before the subjugation of the Philistines by Samuel. (1 Sam. vii. 1.—14.) The formula *unto this day* in vi. 24., x. 4., xv. 19. compared with xi. 39., leads to the idea of a time considerably posterior to the events narrated. Hence the time of the kings suggests itself as the most likely for the substance of the book, at least, to have originated in. In the appendix we find such phrases as *in those days there was no king in Israel*. (xvii. 6., xviii. 1., xix. 1., xxi. 25.) In xviii. 30. we read, "until the day of the captivity of the land," phraseology whose meaning has been debated. The most obvious interpretation is that it refers to the Babylonian captivity, or at least to the deportation of Israel by Shalmaneser and Esarhaddon. Such is the opinion of Le Clerc, Eichhorn, Studer, Rosenmüller, and others. On the contrary, it has been thought by Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and Welte that the words refer to the carrying off the ark of the covenant by the Philistines; by Keil that the allusion is to some unknown occurrence in the time of the judges. We believe that the expression always implies the deportation of the inhabitants of a country, and refers here to the carrying away of Israel by Shalmaneser and Esarhaddon. The following verse (31.) shows that when the author wrote the house of God was no longer at Shiloh but at Jerusalem, whither David had brought the ark. In this manner the writer of the appendix belongs to a comparatively late period, after 721 B. C. Because it is said in xxi. 12. that Shiloh "is in the land of Canaan," in addition to which a topographical description of its site is given, it has been thought that the appendix-writer was not an Israelite but a foreigner. But in the first passage, Shiloh is opposed to Jabesh in Gilead, a town outside Canaan; and in the second, the site of a place in the neighbourhood of Shiloh, not of Shiloh itself, is described, where an annual feast was kept. To enable his readers to have a vivid idea of the festival and its locality, the author appended the topographical observation in question. It is not necessary therefore to infer that he was a foreigner.

We do not believe that the authorship of the work itself can be brought down so late as that of the appendix. All the notices relat-

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. ii. 1. p. 190

<sup>2</sup> Exeget. Conservatorium, ii. p. 183.

ing to time which it contains, its style and diction, its living freshness and originality, agree best with the time of the kings — with the reigns of Asa or Jehoshaphat, according to Stähelin and Ewald.

Did the appendix-writer, then, make up the body of the work, putting together its different parts in the form it now has and then sub-joining his own portion; or did he merely find it as it now exists, and complete it by the addition of his appendix? Before answering these questions let us look at the composition of the first sixteen chapters. The book embraces a historical period of about 350 years; and therefore the writer must either have derived his materials from written sources, or from oral tradition, or both together. It is vain for Hävernick to argue against the probability of written sources being used. The historical precision and fulness, the characteristic and original features which enter into the detailed accounts of individual judges, point to written documents; though we do not deny that tradition was sometimes followed. It is impossible at this time to discover the separate sources employed by the writer. All that can be said is, that several indications of written documents appear here and there. Thus the song of Deborah in the fifth chapter, which presents various diversities from what is related before it; the parable of Jotham, ix. 8—15.; the beginning of Samson's triumphal poem xv. 16.; were derived from authentic documents. It is needless to speculate about the nature or number of the documents employed, as all such hypotheses must be merely subjective. Those who wish to see what critics have thought should consult Studer, Ewald, and Bertheau.

Did the appendix-writer then compose the whole book, compiling it out of written documents and in part from tradition, so that it was not *published*, so to speak, till his own division appeared? We believe not. Had this been the fact, more traces of the appendix-writer would have appeared in the first portion. The diction, style, manner of narration, and other peculiarities, would not have been so separable from his own division as they now are. The author of i.—xvi. probably lived about 200 years earlier than the writer of xvii.—xxi. The former part, constituting the body of the work itself, was circulated before the latter was written.

The chronology of the book of Judges is beset with many difficulties. It is impossible to fix the date of particular events, as there are intervals of time the extent of which is not specified, and as it is likely that some judges, usually reckoned successive, were contemporary, ruling over different districts.

Most of the older theologians indulged in arbitrary combinations for the purpose of producing conformity between the chronological accounts of Judges, and the date in 1 Kings vi. 1., *i. e.* 480 years from the exode to the foundation of Solomon's temple. We have no sympathy with the attempts that have been made to show that the date 480 did not exist in 1 Kings vi. 1. till centuries after Christ; and therefore that it cannot be original. No sufficient reason has been assigned for its spuriousness, or for altering it into 440 or 592. Neither the Septuagint, nor Josephus, nor the passage in Acts xiii.

20., where the true reading has not been attended to, justifies the suspicions entertained against the number in the Hebrew Bible.

Bertheau and Ewald proceed in another mode to subvert the historical nature of the chronological dates contained in Judges, as well as the 480 years in 1 Kings. But their assumed combinations are artificial, and not always consistent with the text. Had there been only twelve judges, greater plausibility would have attached to the twelve intervals of time they take, of forty years each.

More probable and ingenious is the attempt to settle the chronology of the Judges made by Keil.<sup>1</sup> Unlike his predecessors, he proceeds on the supposition that the chronological data of the book rest upon true, historical tradition, and that 480 in 1 Kings is correct. From the invasion of Cushan-rishathaim to Jair (Judg. iii. —x.), he thinks that the chronology is successive. From that onward he reckons synchronistically, because, according to x. 7., the incursion of the Ammonites into the land of Israel from the east occurred at the same time with the oppression of the Israelites by the Philistines from the west; so that both the Ammonite oppression of eighteen years' duration, and the years of the judges Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon (x. 8., xii. 7—14.), come into the forty years of Philistine subjugation (xiii. 1.), during which Samson *began* for twenty years to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines (xiii. 5. comp. with xv. 20., xvi. 31.), though Samuel first effected the deliverance (1 Sam. vii. 1—14.). But we must refer the reader to the essay itself of Keil. Full satisfaction on the subject cannot be obtained; for it is needless to deny the fact, that some of Keil's positions are vulnerable. In truth, sufficient data are wanting towards a complete settlement of the chronology. Nothing but general views can be attained; and it is wiser perhaps, with De Wette and others, to abandon the task as all but hopeless.

The book before us presents a lively picture of a rude, unsettled nation. It shows how repeated apostasy from the service of the true God brought as its punishment subjugation and disaster; and how, on the repentance of the people, Jehovah sent them the means of deliverance. Its descriptions are natural and graphic. They are patriarchal and picturesque. In them we behold at once the justice and mercy of God; the effects of true religion and of superstition in the history of the Israelites. The stamp of historical truth is impressed on every page; for nothing can be more natural than the account given of the political relations and civil customs of the people at the period when the events recorded took place. Yet modern scepticism has discovered mythological and marvellous features in the book that savour of exaggeration. The effect of a magnifying and wonder-loving tradition, as well as a theocratic spirit foreign to the time, have been found in it. Thus the exploits of its heroes are referred to as incredible. It is true that their deeds are sometimes brilliant; but they will probably be found within the range of rational belief. When it is stated that Shamgar *slew* 600 Philistines, we are only to

<sup>1</sup> In the Dorpat Theolog. Beitrage, ii. p. 303. *et seqq.*

suppose that he and his men did so; the leader alone being mentioned as the representative of all. In relation to the exploits of Samson, there is nothing incredible, for history gives similar examples of men of extraordinary strength. Such unusual feats as he performed require indeed uncommon power and fortitude: but men capable of them appear now and again. Whether the deeds of Samson were supernatural or not, it is difficult to tell. The Scripture does not allege that they were so. The case is doubtful. Those who think that they necessarily exceed human power must resort to that explanation of them. That they were fabulous cannot be entertained for a moment. The history of Goliath of Gath is an analogous instance of one endowed with extraordinary strength. The entire tone of the book leads us to the conclusion that the history is impartially given. The people are described in no apologetic strain. Their character is drawn just as we should expect it to be in those times and amid such influences. Assassination, sanguinary cruelty, and the most terrible crimes, are related without blame being attached to the perpetrators. Martial law appears—wild, rough, cruel. The spirit of the period is faithfully reflected—a period characterised by war and want of civilisation. Among the many internal proofs of the genuineness and fidelity of the history contained in the book, we would refer particularly to the account of Jephthah, who vows inconsiderately, that if he should return conqueror of the Ammonites he would offer up whatever should first come forth out of the door of his house to meet him; in consequence of which his only daughter is immolated by a cruel father, acting contrary to the Mosaic law which forbids human victims. Surely this cannot be a fiction.

In addition to internal proofs of the authenticity of our book, its authority is amply supported by external evidence. It was published at a time when most, if not all, the events related were generally known; and their veracity could be tested by the original documents or registers whence they were taken. Its narratives are confirmed by references in the books of Samuel (comp. Judg. iv. 2., vi. 14., xi. with 1 Sam. xii. 9—12.; Judg. ix. 53. with 2 Sam. xi. 21.); Psalms (comp. lxxxiii. 11. with Judg. vii. 25.; especially lxviii. 8, 9., xcvi. 5., with Judg. v. 4, 5., where verses are borrowed). The New Testament also alludes to the book. (Comp. Acts xiii. 20.; Heb. xi. 32.) It has also been supposed that traces of the events related in Judges may be found in the *Vulpinaria*, a feast celebrated by the Romans, at which they let loose foxes with torches fastened to their tails; in the story of Nisus's hair, of the golden hair given by Neptune to his grandson which rendered him invincible while uncut, of Hercules and Omphale, of the pillars of Hercules, of Agamemnon and Iphigenia, and of the Sabine rape. The originals of all these are probably found in this book.

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## CHAP. V.

### RUTH.

THE book of Ruth in the old Jewish canon was not counted separately, but being connected with Judges formed with it only one

book. The modern Jews separate it, and make it the second of the five Megilloth. It is publicly read by them on the feast of weeks, because it speaks of the harvest, the first fruits of which were presented to God on that festival. In the Septuagint version the book was separated and put between Judges and Samuel, because the transactions it contains happened in the time of the Judges; and also because it forms an appropriate introduction to the books of Samuel, supplying their deficiency in regard to definite notices of the ancestors of David's family. The name is derived from Ruth, a Moabitess, who having lost her husband by death, proceeds with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, where she lives a blameless life of poverty, and becomes the wife of a relation named Boaz, through whom she is an ancestor of David.

The book consists of four chapters, containing three sections.

I. An account of Naomi from her going into Moab with her husband Elimelek, to her return to the land of Israel with her daughter-in-law Ruth. (chap. i.)

II. Boaz's interview with Ruth, and their marriage. (ii. iii. iv. 1—12.)

III. The birth of Obed, the son of Boaz by Ruth, from whom David was descended. (iv. 13—18.)

The genealogy in iv. 18—22. is incomplete. From Phares son of Judas to David, a period of about 850 years, only ten members are given. Eichhorn<sup>1</sup> and Rosenmüller<sup>2</sup> suppose that the peculiarity in question owed its existence to the gaps found in the registers whence the genealogy was taken. This, however, is improbable. The solution of the difficulty proposed by Ussher is still more unlikely, viz., that the ancestors of David, as persons of preeminent piety, were favoured with extraordinary longevity. We believe that among the progenitors of David *the leading persons* alone are mentioned, the rest being purposely omitted. This was not an unusual thing.

It is impossible to determine the date of the history more particularly than the period of the Judges, about a hundred years before David. Josephus puts the occurrences into the time of Eli, after Samson's death, led away by untenable chronological combinations.<sup>3</sup> As the famine which caused Elimelek to leave his country is not mentioned in the book of Judges, no datum exists for determining the chronology. It is true that Bishop Patrick<sup>4</sup> and Hengstenberg<sup>5</sup> have brought the famine spoken of at the beginning of Ruth into connection with the wasting of the land by the Midianites in the time of Gideon (Judg. vi. 3—6.); but the Midianitish invasion took place 175 years before the commencement of David's reign; whereas Boaz and Ruth were not married till about 100 years before David. Where all is uncertain, it is useless to speculate about the exact time, or to detail the conjectures of others.

The author of the book and the age he belonged to are not easily ascertained. Most of the Jews assign the composition of it to the

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung in das alte Testament, vol. iii. p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> Antiq. v. 9. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Authentic d. Pentat. vol. ii. p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Scholia, p. 490.

<sup>5</sup> On Ruth, i. 1.

same person who wrote the Judges, *i. e.* Samuel, as they imagine. Others have ascribed it to Hezekiah, or Ezra. If we judge by peculiarities of diction and style, the authorship of Judges and Ruth cannot be identical. Hezekiah and Ezra are conjecturally assigned, without reason.

There is internal evidence that it was written at a time considerably remote from the events it records. Thus in iv. 7., a certain custom is explained, "the manner *in former time* in Israel, concerning redeeming and concerning changing." (Comp. Deut. xxv. 9.) The continuation of the genealogy to David shows that his house had been established upon the throne. Accordingly, some think that the book belongs to the last years of David, or not long after his reign. So Keil<sup>1</sup> very recently. But there are certain Chaldaisms and peculiarities of diction that bring it down later than he supposes—later than the time when the books of Samuel were written, though there is some similarity between the language of them and that of Ruth. The Chaldaising diction cannot be denied, as Hävernack and Keil attempt to do; for it is groundless hypothesis to resolve it into the remnant of older forms in the language and the diction of vulgar life.<sup>2</sup> But though the diction betrays its later character by a Chaldaic colouring, we cannot, with Ewald and Bertheau, bring down the composition of the book to the time of the Babylonish captivity. It is true that the former discovers an acquaintance on the part of the writer with the book of Job (comp. i. 20. with Job. xxvii. 2. 'שׁי, abbreviated from אֶל שׁי), a circumstance favourable to the time assigned; but the supposed reference is highly precarious. Marriage with foreign women was still permitted when it was composed. No apologetic intimation occurs. Ruth's extraction gave no offence. On the contrary, marriage with a Moabitess was regarded as highly objectionable about the time of the exile. (Ezra ix. 1. &c.; Neh. xiii. 1—3., 23—27.) Ewald conjectures<sup>3</sup> that the book originally belonged to a larger whole composed of a series of similar pieces by the same author, and that it was taken by the final editor of Samuel and the Kings and put into the place it now occupies. There is no historical basis for such an hypothesis, though it is adopted in part by Bertheau.

The scope of the book is to set forth the origin of David historically and genealogically, showing how a heathen, belonging to a people so hostile to the theocracy as the Moabites, was honoured to be the progenitor of the great and pious King David, because she placed unlimited trust in the Lord, and sought protection from the God of Israel. It had thus a specific moral design. Whether it was meant, as some suppose, to preintimate, by the recorded adoption of a Gentile woman into the family whence Christ was to derive his origin, the final reception of the Gentiles into the Christian church, we cannot tell. The writer can scarcely have entertained this exalted notion; though the Deity probably intended that the history should teach it to the most far-seeing and spiritual. It is incorrectly

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, u. s. w. p. 471.

<sup>2</sup> See Bertheau, Das Buch Ruth, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 203.

assumed by Bertholdt<sup>1</sup> and Benary<sup>2</sup>, that it was designed to recommend the duty of a man to marry his kinswoman. And it is wholly wrong to regard the history, with Bertholdt, as pure fiction, for which the circumstances alleged are nugatory, proceeding from misconception. Everything combines to show that the book gives a plain and true history. We admit that considerable skill appears in the plan and manner. The simplicity and naturalness characteristic of the book are the result of some elaboration. The tone is idyllic and almost poetical. Yet we can hardly allow to Bertheau that the book contains learned investigation and artificiality in the disposal and presentation of the materials. The picture given of domestic life is attractive and graphic, not merely or chiefly because of the writer's ability to place his theme in so good a light, but because he narrates an episode of domestic life beautiful in itself, which had really happened. The canonical authority of the book has never been questioned; and we must protest against the idea of converting the historical narrative it contains into an idyllic or poetical fiction. The materials of which it is composed are real history, set forth in animated colours by the inspired writer.

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## CHAP. VI.

### THE TWO BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

THE two books of Samuel were anciently reckoned as one among the Jews, *the book of Samuel*. The division into two is derived from the Septuagint and Vulgate, in which they are called the first and second books of the kingdoms or of Kings. Daniel Bomberg's Hebrew Bibles followed the separation; and therefore it appears in the Bibles of the present day. They bear the name of Samuel, not because he was the author, but in relation to the contents, since he was the most prominent person in the history of the period which they embrace. Even in the reigns of Saul and David, whom he anointed, he exerted an important influence upon the national affairs. Hence the title is *a potiori*. Perhaps, however, the opinion prevalent among the Jews that Samuel wrote part of the books had something to do with the appellation, though we are unable to say whether it gave rise to it in the first instance, or merely confirmed its use after it had originated from another cause. The Talmudists unquestionably held that the first twenty-four chapters of the first book were composed by the prophet himself.

Although the history of the theocracy commences with Eli's priesthood, yet it is only resumed at the place where it is broken off in the book of Judges, in the time of the Philistine domination, and continued to the end of David's reign. The narrative, therefore, of Eli's judicature serves as an introduction to the history of Samuel, setting forth in a strong light his choice as a true prophet. The whole consists of three large sections. I. The restoration of the sunken theocracy and its administration by Samuel. (i.—vii.) II. The history of Saul's kingdom from the beginning of his reign till his

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. v. p. 2357.

<sup>2</sup> De Hebræorum leviratu, p. 30.

death. (viii.—xxxii.) III. The history of David's reign. (2 Sam. i.—xxiv.) Under the first section we have the following subdivisions.

1. Samuel's birth, call, denunciations of Eli by the command of God, and establishment in the prophetic office. (i.—iii.)

2. The death of Eli, loss of the ark and its restoration, Samuel's activity as judge and conqueror of the Philistines. (iv.—vii.)

3. The Israelites' desire of a king, the anointing, choice, and inauguration of Saul in the kingly office, with Samuel's parting address to the people. (viii.—xii.) These parts belong to the first section. Under the second we have,—

4. The history of Saul's reign till the time of his rejection from the kingdom, comprehending his first attack on the Philistines and victory over them through Jonathan's valour (xiii.—xiv. 46.); his other wars and victories, his children and relations (xiv. 47—52.); his disobedience to God in the war against Amalek, and his rejection (xv.).

5. The history of Saul from his rejection till his death, containing the anointing of David to be king, his playing before Saul, his victory over Goliath, and other relations to Saul and Jonathan (xvi.—xviii.); his flight from before the king (xix.—xxvii.); Saul's last undertakings and defeat in a war with the Philistines, with David's fortunes and victories during his stay in the territory of the Philistines (xxviii.—xxxii.). The second book, embracing the third section, may be subdivided as follows:—

6. David's elevation to be king of Judah, including his lament over Saul and Jonathan's death (ch. i.); his return to the land of Israel, and confirmation in the kingdom of Judah; Ishbosheth's exaltation by Abner to the kingdom of Israel, and the struggle between the house of Saul and that of David (ii.); Abner's passing over to the side of David, Ishbosheth's murder, and David's anointing as king of Israel (iii.—v. 5.).

7. David's increasing power and dominion, including the founding of a secure residence, and victory over the Philistines (v. 6—25.), the arrangement of the public worship of God and divine confirmation of his kingdom (vi. vii.), his victories over all external foes, his officers and servants (viii. ix.).

8. The troubles of his reign, by his adultery with Uriah's wife (x.—xii.), by the misconduct of his sons, Amnon's incest, and Absalom's rebellion (xiii.—xix.), Sheba's insurrection (xx.).

9. The subsequent transactions of his reign,—famine, wars with the Philistines (xxi.), thanksgiving psalm and last words (xxii.—xxiii. 7.); list of his mighty men, and numbering of the people (xxiii. 8—xxiv.). The time occupied by the whole is 152 years.

The scope of the work is to point out the development and progress of the theocracy from the end of the period in which the judges ruled till the close of David's reign, its deliverance from the deepest humiliation under the Philistine yoke, and victorious elevation over all external enemies by the laudable exertions of Samuel and David, men endowed by God with his spirit, that they might be efficient instruments in restoring an apostate people whom God nevertheless had

chosen as his own, to their rightful allegiance, and educating them in their high duties of perpetual obedience to the King of Heaven. Though the government was changed from an aristocracy to a monarchy, we see the preservation of the church of God amid all the vicissitudes of the Israelitish polity, together with signal instances of the divine mercy towards those who feared Jehovah, and of judgments inflicted on His enemies. The copious biographies of Samuel and David are fraught with instruction for the believers of every age.

It is universally admitted, that the contents of these books were drawn from various written sources. This indeed is manifest from internal evidence. The narrative is so extended, in most parts, that it approaches to the nature of a biography, though it is occasionally brief and chronicle-like. A compilatory character belongs to the composition; the portions put together from different sources being but loosely connected. Instead of being skilfully and compactly dovetailed into one another, they are inexactly united. Many sections accordingly, occupy an isolated position, dissociated from those in their immediate neighbourhood. This feature of disunion has been represented in so strong a light by various critics as to present contradictions, which they accordingly allege to exist. Contradictory statements, they say, are found in the narrative; showing that the compiler put together the documents with little consideration. It is also affirmed, that there are duplicate statements of the same events. These allegations must be particularly examined. They are denied and combated by Keil, who, however, goes too far in his view of the connection subsisting between the various sections of which the books are composed. Let us advert to the phenomena adduced in support of the position advocated by so many critics, and the counter observations of this recent writer.

In justification of the compilatory and loosely connected nature of the narrative in many instances, we refer to the closing remarks of separate portions, which involve a summing up of what their authors knew respecting the persons whose history they wrote. Thus in 1 Sam. vii. 15—17. a glance at the end of Samuel appears. Keil vainly endeavours to disprove this fact.<sup>1</sup> He is more successful in showing that the history of Saul's reign is not brought to a close at 1 Sam. xiv. 52., as Thenius thinks. The narrative of Saul's rejection begins with xv., which is not inaptly preceded by a brief summary of his reign. At 2 Sam. viii. 15—18. we have the conclusion of a written document respecting the reign of David, which Keil fails to explain on any other hypothesis. The same remarks apply to xx. 23—26.

Among contradictions, De Wette<sup>2</sup> and Thenius<sup>3</sup> adduce such as these: 1 Sam. vii. 13. and ix. 16., x. 5., xiii. 3. 19, 20. But the discrepancy is only apparent, because it is not said in the former place that Samuel utterly subdued the Philistines, and prevented them from coming into the coast of Israel *ever after*. They may, for aught that is said to the contrary, have invaded Israel twenty years after, and oppressed them.

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Die Bücher Samuels, Einleit. p. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, § 179. p. 247. *et seqq.*

In the history of Saul, xiii. 8. refers back to x. 8., but is irreconcilable with xi. 14. &c.; as also ix. 1—x. 16., where Samuel anoints Saul in consequence of a divine intimation, disagrees with viii. x. 17—27., where he was chosen by lot in consequence of the people's demand. Here also there is no real contradiction. God may have intimated to Samuel to comply with the demands of the people that a king should be chosen, and also that Saul was the person who should be anointed as such, in perfect consistency with the election of him by lot; the one being Saul's private, the other his public theocratic designation. Thenius<sup>1</sup> strives in vain to represent the two transactions as discordant, with weapons that would destroy the inspiration of prophets, and God's influence over the free actions of men.

Again, there is said to be a contradiction between xi. 14, 15. and xiii. 8. compared with x. 8. In the last passage Samuel tells Saul to repair to Gilgal, and tarry there for seven days, till he should come to him and show him what to do; whereas in xiii. 8., when he had tarried there seven days, Samuel did not come to the place, though in the intervening part, xi. 14, 15., it is related that Samuel, Saul, and the people had been at Gilgal. This conclusion rests mainly on the identification of the seven days in xiii. 8. with those in x. 8., which Keil strongly denies, maintaining that there is no connection between the two. We confess, however, that it is most natural to regard them as the same, and to take the words of x. 8. as referring to the nearest future, not to something which was to take place many years after. Hence it is not unlikely that xiii. 2. &c. &c. immediately followed x. 16. in the original document, and that the two were afterwards separated by intervening matter now in chapter xi. Yet there is no real contradiction, for if the intervening materials be true and correct, as we have reason to believe, then they merely cause an apparent discrepancy by the position they occupy. The events are not narrated in their proper succession.

In xiv. 47—52. we have a separate section, the original writer of which knew nothing of x. 17. &c., xi. 14. &c., xv. Though this is pretty obvious to any critical reader, Keil wholly objects. Omission does not necessarily involve contradiction; neither does it here.

1 Sam. xvi. 14—23. compared with chapter xvii. does not harmonise. Much has been written for the purpose of reconciling the particulars found in these records of David's introduction to Saul. Some have resorted to the hypothesis of interpolation, in which they are countenanced by the Cod. Vat. of the LXX. that leaves out twenty-five verses of the Hebrew text. Others again resort to transposition. We can only refer at present to what we have said in another place<sup>2</sup>, and to a brief enumeration of different views given by Keil.<sup>3</sup> We cannot say that either he or Welte<sup>4</sup> has succeeded better than their predecessors; or that any satisfactory solution has been offered which does not allow of different documents in xvii. 55—xviii. 5. and xvi. 14—23. Chapters xvi. and xvii. 1—xviii. 5. originally proceeded from different

<sup>1</sup> Die Bücher Samuels, Einleit. p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. i. p. 397. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> In Herbst's Einleit. ii. p. 160.

writers, and the compiler put the one after the other, because he observed that additional circumstances were given. He did not consider, nor was he solicitous about, their exact agreement when put in immediate juxtaposition, knowing that the circumstances were true. The discrepancy arises from our ignorance. The alleged contradiction to history or anachronism in xvii. 54., that David carried Goliath's head to Jerusalem, whereas he did not conquer Jerusalem till he himself was king (2 Sam. v. 6—9.), is opposed to what we learn from the books of Joshua and Judges (Josh. xv. 63. ; Judg. i. 21.), viz., that the city was inhabited by Israelites long before the fortress and upper part were wrested from the Jebusites by David. Nor is there any contradiction between xvii. 54. and xxi. 9., in which latter Goliath's sword is said to be found in the sanctuary of Nob, since the former does not say or imply that David always kept Goliath's armour in his tent. As little real discrepancy is there between xviii. 2. 5. and 9, 10., though Thenius assumes it, for Saul eyed David with suspicion, not from the day of the latter's victory over Goliath, but from the time of his defeating the Philistines, as related in xviii. 6. &c., an occurrence separated from the former by an unknown interval of time. The two expressions *ביום ההוא* (verse 2.) *that day*, and *במהיום ההוא* (verse 9.) *from that day*, should not be identified.

Again, the number 100 in 2 Sam. iii. 14. is said by De Wette to contradict that of 200 in 1 Sam. xviii. 27. But the discrepancy is only apparent. Saul demanded but 100, and therefore David mentions no more to Ishbosheth, wishing merely to insist upon the condition of Saul's demand having been literally performed, not on the circumstance that he had done twice as much as had been required. In like manner, the discrepancy between xix. 2. &c. and xx. 2. &c., shows no more than that the latter chapter did not proceed from the writer of the former one. Certainly the answer of Jonathan (xx. 2.), as well as the remark of David (verse 7.), appear inappropriate after what had taken place as related in xix. 2. &c., and David could scarcely think of being at the royal table, or Saul expect him there after what had occurred between them both. (Comp. xx. verses 5. &c. 26. &c.) Here again our ignorance prevents us from discovering a complete reconciliation of the accounts. The writer of the one chapter was not identical with the author of the other, nor had they seen each other's documents. Keil strives very artificially to show a full agreement between them by the help of arbitrary assumptions.

In chap. xxi. 10. &c., where David flees to Achish, but feigns madness because he was suspected by the servants of that king, and xxiii. 1—5., where he marches against the Philistines, there is said to be a contradiction to xxvii. 2. &c., where he abode at Achish, and obtained Ziklag from him; and to xxix. 1. &c., where the princes of the Philistines suspect him. This representation rests on the untenable assumption that the first flight of David to Achish is nothing more than a traditional duplicate of his second flight; whereas the historical truth of xxi. 10. &c. is confirmed by Psal. xxxiv.

Duplicate chronicles of one and the same event have been found by critics in various passages, contrary in most cases to all probability.

There is no reason for making two different relations of the war against the Syrians out of 2 Sam. viii. and x.—xii., as Thenius himself allows. And surely it is not unlikely that Saul, on two different occasions, when a paroxysm of rage or madness seized him, threw his spear at David, which the latter as often successfully evaded (comp. 1 Sam. xviii. 10. &c. with xix. 9. &c.), since it is expressly mentioned that the consequences to David were very different. In like manner two different occurrences are spoken of in 1 Sam. xiii. 14. and xv. 26. &c., not one and the same. Saul twice disobeyed the command of Jehovah received through Samuel. His first transgression was followed by threatening, but was not punished with his immediate rejection. The second, which was less excusable, led at once to his rejection. The twofold mention of the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" has been explained as if the first passage (1 Sam. x. 10—12.) gave the origin of it, while the second narrates a similar case by means of which the proverb, which was already in existence, was verified and confirmed anew. (1 Sam. xix. 24.) But this is an unsatisfactory explanation on the part of Keil. If the real source be given in x. 10—12., the words of the second passage naturally refer to its source also, not to the reason of its national currency. Two incompatible reasons are assigned, the older of which is the preferable one.

The twofold account of Samuel's death, 1 Sam. xxv. 1. and xxviii. 3., arises from the fact of its being necessary, as an introductory explanation to the succeeding narrative, in the latter chapter. We believe, however, that the sections in which the accounts are found proceeded from different writers.

The double Goliath mentioned in 1 Sam. xvii. 4. and 2 Sam. xxi. 19. must arise from a corruption of the text in the latter place. The English version has rightly inserted *brother of*, which is confirmed by the parallel place in 1 Chron. xx. 5., and is admitted by Movers, Winer, and Thenius.

It has been thought by Thenius, that in 1 Sam. xxvi. we have merely another account of what had been already narrated in xxiii. 19—xxiv. 23. Both agree for substance. And Saul must have been a monster of immorality not to have been so affected by the magnanimity of David in sparing his life once, as to endeavour to kill the latter. But though there is much to favour the assumption of a duplicate chronicle, yet there are minor diversities in the narratives that lead us to hesitate in adopting the identity of the occurrences. Had Saul been an ordinary man instead of a king, we should not have felt so much reluctance, for David would scarcely have spared such an one twice in the circumstances described; but as he was a king, and subject to fits of insane anger, as well as influenced by the foolish advice of those around him, we can see no improbability in David sparing his life twice through reverence for one who had been anointed king.

On the whole, we believe that the supposed duplicate chronicles of the same events are very few, and that where they exist, they may be generally accounted for in other ways than by difference of original

documents to which they belonged, or to tradition in connection with written sources. Yet all cannot be so explained. And in relation to contradictions, most of them are apparent rather than real. But even where they are so, they usually belong to different sources. Some are so intractable as to admit of no other solution than that they were derived from independent accounts which the compiler put together without solicitude about their exact coincidence. They cannot be reconciled at the present day, though they might perhaps be shown to agree, were we in possession of *all* the circumstances. Keil is decidedly wrong in contending for the close unity of the books; for no impartial critic can well deny that there is a compilatory looseness in many sections, an inexact disunion, which violates the compactness that would have proceeded from a thorough elaboration of his materials. Where many things are so hard or rather impossible to be reconciled, it is preposterous to argue for close unity. But, on the other hand, Bertholdt, Gramberg, Graf, Stähelin, De Wette, and even Thenius, assume too much disunion and irreconcilableness, placing passages in opposition which do not disagree, finding contradictions where they have no existence, and connecting similar but diverse occurrences into one and the same narrated twice in consequence of the use of various sources by the compiler. Keil is at one extreme: these writers at the opposite.

After observing the phenomena just adverted to, there is little use in referring with Keil to the language of the books in confirmation of their unity. It is tolerably uniform throughout, though peculiar expressions are not wanting. But all this is perfectly consistent with the idea of independent sources having been employed, especially if they were written at times not far remote from one another.

In regard to the author and age of the books of Samuel, some have thought that they and the books of Kings were written by one and the same person. This view, which is wholly untenable, found advocates in Eichhorn, Jahn, and Herbst. But the reasons given for it cannot stand the test of criticism. The uniformity of plan and narration, of style and diction, supposed to pervade them, is all but imaginary. The theocratic spirit and tone is the same; but in other respects they differ widely. The historical narrative is diffuse in the books of Samuel, especially in the biographies of Saul, Samuel, and David, showing that the materials at the author's disposal were abundant, and that he wished to make a copious use of them. But the author of the books of Kings furnishes nothing more than brief extracts from the history of the kings, referring at the close of a reign to the annals where it was given at greater length. In the Kings the chronology is accurately and minutely given; whereas it is little attended to in the books of Samuel. The use of sources is carefully indicated in the former; not in the latter, where no formal allusion to them occurs. In the former, references to the laws of Moses occur; while in the latter none is to be found. The books of Kings contain not a few allusions to the exile, both in matters of fact and in expression; whereas the books of Samuel are free from them. Besides, the language of the books of Samuel bears the impress of

an earlier age than that of the books of Kings. It is free from the later and more Chaldaic forms which occur in the latter.

Any attempt to ascertain the authorship of the books before us must be attended with great difficulty. It is said in 1 Chron. xxix. 29. "Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of Samuel the seer, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the seer." In consequence of this passage, it was formerly supposed that the books of Samuel were written by Samuel himself, as far as the first twenty-four chapters; the remainder by Gad and Nathan. But Hävernîck<sup>1</sup> has refuted the idea of the documents being identical with the present books of Samuel. According to the passage just quoted the chief source of David's history consisted of writings composed in the schools of the prophets. It has been incorrectly assumed that Samuel, Nathan, and Gad are designated as the writers, or that the documents contained their sayings (1 Chron. xxix. 29.), whereas דְּבָרַי שְׁמוּאֵל וְנָתָן וְגָד cannot mean this because of the immediately preceding דְּבָרַי דָּוִד, which does not admit of that sense. The phrase in question denotes *the transactions or occurrences of the time of Samuel, Gad, and Nathan*, which is confirmed by 2 Chron. ix. 29.<sup>2</sup> The only source expressly mentioned is in 2 Sam. i. 18., where David's pathetic elegy is mentioned as existing in the book of Jasher, which was a national song-book or poetic anthology. Perhaps other poetical pieces, as Hannah's song (1 Sam. ii. 1—10.), a short elegy on the death of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34.), the prayer (2 Sam. vii. 18—29.), the last words of David (2 Sam. xxiii. 1—7.), the eighteenth Psalm (2 Sam. xxii.), the poem sung on David's return from the slaughter of Goliath, of which we have only the chorus (1 Sam. xviii. 7.), belonged to the same collection of national poetry or hymns. Besides this Hebrew anthology, a second source consisted of documents composed in the schools of prophets, as we infer from 1 Chron. xxix. 29., and national annals or records. A third source is supposed by Thenius to lie in a document which contained a special history of the king himself, composed by one of David's official men (perhaps Ira of Jathir his secretary), aided by the prophet Nathan.<sup>3</sup> But there is no necessity for assuming the existence of a specific document of this nature. David's history was probably taken from the prophetic documents and national records. Instead of this third source we may assign another, viz., oral tradition and writings current among the people.

In conformity with these sources we may distinguish sections which were composed by persons contemporary with the occurrences or soon after, and sections which originated at a later time out of oral tradition and some written pieces. The poetical pieces already specified belong to the oldest sections, having been written by contemporaries and inserted by them in the national anthology. The same remark applies to the account of David's heroes and their names, 2 Sam. xxi. 15—22., xxiii. 8—39.; the conquest of Jerusalem, 2 Sam. v.

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, ii. 1., pp. 122, 123.

<sup>2</sup> See Thenius, Die Buecher Samuels, Einleit. p. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. xxiii.

1—10. ; and David's history, 2 Sam. xi.—xx. Thenius appropriately remarks<sup>1</sup>, that there is a hardness and peculiarity of expression belonging to these sections, characteristic of their antiquity, while they present many critical difficulties, and frequent variations from the parallel text in Chronicles. After distinguishing the history of Saul, i. ix. x. xiii. xiv., Jonathan's covenant with David, xx., Nabal and Abigail, xxv., and the accounts of David's wars and victories, 2 Sam. viii. x. xi. 1. xii. 26—31., which he supposes to have been written some considerable time after the events, Thenius proceeds to specify the sections in which oral tradition was used wholly or in part. We confess, however, that we are unable to perceive any sufficient reason for making a distinction between the *oldest*, and *older sections copied from written sources*, and should put all the portions we have just enumerated in one class. What he makes A 1 and 2 we should simply represent as A. In like manner, we should demur to the distribution of parts under what he terms B, or sections which appear to have been composed later than A and for the most out of traditional unwritten materials. There his numbers 2 and 3 should be put together. Nothing more definite can be discovered respecting the writers of single sections. And with relation to the person who collected and put them together in their present form, all that can be affirmed with probability is, that he lived not long after David. Several remarks here and there proceeded from his pen, as 1 Sam. xxvii. 6. ; and probably he wrote most of what Thenius puts under B with the exception of a few written accounts which he had in composing these sections, *i. e.* in the history of Samuel, 1 Sam. i.—vii. ; in the history of David, 1 Sam. xiv. 52. xvii. xviii. 1—5. 15, 16. 20—30. xix. xxi. 1—9. xxii. xxiii. 1—14. 19—27. xxiv. xxvii. xxviii. 1, 2. xxix. xxx., 2 Sam. i.—iv. ix.

After these observations it will not be needful to discuss particularly the various passages supposed to have an immediate bearing on the time of writing. Some explanation of expressions and manners belonging to the times of Samuel and David is found in 1 Sam. ix. 9., 2 Sam. xiii. 18. In like manner the formula *unto this day* (1 Sam. v. 5., vi. 18., xxx. 25., 2 Sam. iv. 3., vi. 8., xviii. 18.) implies some interval of time between what is related and the writer, although in other places (1 Sam. viii. 8., xii. 2., xxix. 3. 6. 8., 2 Sam. vii. 6., xix. 25.) it refers to things which continued from the past to the present time. A passage in 1 Sam. xxvii. 6. is more definite, "Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day," which clearly presupposes the separation of the nation into the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Hävernick's attempt to show the opposite is fruitless.<sup>2</sup> We cannot adopt his explanation of the passage, which is both artificial and unnatural. It is true that the names of Israel and Judah were contrasted even in the time of David, of which there are examples in 1 Sam. xi. 8., xviii. 16., 2 Sam. iii. 10., xxiv. 1. ; but the case before us is somewhat different.<sup>3</sup> Thenius rightly infers from 1 Sam.

<sup>1</sup> Thenius, Die Bücher Samuels, Einleit. p. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. ii. 1. p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> See Welte in Herbst's Einleit. ii. 151. note.

xxvii. 6. that the compiler lived after Rehoboam<sup>1</sup>, and this is all that can be ascertained respecting his age. The fact that David's death is not recorded proves nothing in favour of the writer living *before* or *soon after* its occurrence. On the whole, it seems to us probable that most of the sections had been written before the separation of Judah and Israel into two kingdoms, some contemporaneously with the events, others soon after; but that the writer or compiler of the whole lived after Rehoboam, perhaps under Abijah, Rehoboam's son. It is less likely that he belonged to the time of Hezekiah, as Stähelin supposes. That he was a prophet cannot be shown; though the prophetic, not the priestly or Levitical spirit, prevails in the books. Perhaps he was connected with a *school of the prophets*. The principal materials are prophetic. Yet we cannot make Nathan, the last of the prophetic triumvirate consisting of Samuel, Gad, Nathan, the editor or redactor of the work.

With regard to the historical character of the books, it rests on sufficient evidence internal and external. Every impartial reader feels that the narrative bears the impress of truth. The biographical portraits are striking and natural, having a vividness like that proceeding from an eyewitness. The delineation is artless, natural, lively; the connection of the events probable and just. A historical tone predominates. Places, times, and minute sketches evince the hand of persons who were well acquainted with the facts related. What is recorded corresponds to the character of the times in which it happened; while the stamp of life is impressed on the individuals who appear speaking and acting. It is true that the books contain miracles (2 Sam. xxiv. 15—17.) and prophecies (1 Sam. ii. 35., 2 Sam. vii. xii. 11.), but these are essential points in the development of a theocracy. Contradictory statements have been adduced; but many of them are not contradictions. Several of the older objections advanced by Hobbes, Spinoza, Simon, and Le Clerc were refuted by Carpzov; and of the modern, by Hävernick and Keil. Granting that some remain, neither the inspiration of the redactor nor the credibility of the general history is ruinously affected. Discrepancies in minor matters of chronology and small points of history are of no moment.

The books are sometimes quoted or referred to in the New Testament, as 2 Sam. vii. 14. in Heb. i. 5.; and 1 Sam. xiii. 14. in Acts xiii. 22. Allusions to them also occur in the Psalms, to which they furnish historical illustration in a variety of instances. Here, however, much caution is needful—far more than the older writers applied when they assumed at once, as correct, the titles of the Psalms. Since De Wette's commentary on the Psalms, and especially in consequence of Ewald's, critics have found far fewer illustrations in the books of Samuel to throw light upon a number of Psalms.

<sup>1</sup> Die Bücher Samuels, u. s. w. Einleit. p. xxi.

## CHAP. VII.

## THE TWO BOOKS OF KINGS.

THE two books of Kings originally formed one undivided work among the Jewish Scriptures. The present division proceeded from the LXX. and Vulgate, as was the case with the books of Samuel. Daniel Bomberg first took it into his Hebrew Bibles. It appears from Origen that they derived their name from the initial words *וְהַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד*, now *king David*. The Septuagint terms the books simply *βασιλείων*, of *kingdoms*, of which it calls Samuel the first and second; and these two the third and fourth. The Vulgate entitles *Liber regum tertius, secundum Hebræos primus Malachim*, and *Liber regum quartus, secundum Hebræos secundus Malachim*, i. e. the third and fourth book of Kings, according to the Hebrews the first and second books of Malachim. The books are so called from their contents, inasmuch as they contain a history of the theocracy under the kings, from Solomon till the dissolution of the state.

The history may be divided into three parts:—

I. The reign of Solomon. (i.—xi.)

II. The history of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel. (xii.—2 Kings xvii.)

III. The history of the kingdom of Judah after the breaking up of Israel. (xviii.—xxv.)

These again may be subdivided into the following sections:—

1. Solomon's accession to the throne and establishment in it. (ch. i. ii.)

2. The glory of his reign, including his nuptials, his prayer, and sacrifice at Gibeon, his judicial wisdom (iii.), his court and state officers, his powers, magnificence, and wisdom (iv.), his preparations for building (v.), the building of the temple and royal palace (vi. vii.), the dedication of the temple and sublime prayer of the king (viii.), second appearance of God to him (ix. 1—9.), his other buildings and commerce by sea (ix. 10—28.), his great fame and revenues (x.), his falling into idolatry, with its consequences; and his death. (xi.)

The second period contains a synchronistic history of the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel in three compartments.

3. Origin of the division and hostile attitude of Israel and Judah towards each other, till the accession of Ahab. (xii.—xvi. 28.)

4. The sovereignty of the house of Ahab in Israel, the worship of Baal, and resistance offered to it by Elijah and Elisha, alliance and affinity of the two royal houses, disastrous battles with the Syrians, extermination of the two kings, Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah, by Jehu. (xvi. 29—2 Kings x.)

5. History of the two kingdoms again in hostile attitude towards one another, from Jehu's accession to the throne in Israel and Athalia's usurpation of the throne in Judah, to the destruction of the kingdom of Israel in the 6th year of Hezekiah's reign. (2 Kings xi.—xvii.)

The third general period does not conveniently admit of subdivi-

vision. It begins with the reign of Hezekiah, terminating with the taking of Jerusalem, the burning of the temple, and the transportation of the Jews as captives to Babylon. (xviii.—xxv.)

The scope of the work is to exhibit the development of the theocracy agreeably to the principle set forth in the divine promise made to David in 2 Sam. vii. 12—16., showing how God, in fulfilment of it, preserved the kingdom of Solomon entire, and after it was divided endeavoured to recall both Israel and Judah to a sense of their covenant-relation to Him by admonitions and chastisements, though they were finally subverted, because they continued rebellious and stiff-necked. But though they were severely punished, God showed that he would not allow the seed of David to become extinct, bringing back the exiled king Jehoiachin to Judea, and elevating him again to kingly honours in his own land, as an evidence that he remembered his servant David and the promises made to him. Those who attribute a more particular scope than this to the books of Kings err in not taking a range sufficiently wide. Thus it is true that the aim is to present the history of the fallen country as an instructive example, full of warning; but this is a mere subordinate aim, not that of the whole. It is also true that the object of the writer was to encourage his fellow-exiles to a firm trust in God, and steadfast observance of his worship as the covenant-keeping Jehovah; but this was not the leading object. On the contrary, the general aim of the whole is to describe the development of the theocracy in conformity with the principle contained in that remarkable promise made to David—that David's seed should always occupy the throne, even amid punishments for sin and the sorest disasters, when the mercy of God, to outward appearance, might seem to have forsaken them utterly. De Wette dwells upon the *prophetic-didactic tendency* of the work as though the writer's principal design was to show the activity and influence of the prophets. But the copious notices both of the sayings and doings of the prophets appear for another reason; because that class occupied a conspicuous place in the theocracy as the instruments of God. They watched over the interests of the people with jealous care, checked royal usurpation and excesses, exerted judicial power as the representatives of Jehovah, and controlled all the affairs of the nation. Hence it was unavoidable in the writer to set forth their exertions in a prominent light, since their commission and influence were so extensive and powerful in the theocracy. At the same time, it is not improbable that the writer himself belonged to the prophetic order, or was in some way connected with it.

Though the books were extracted to a considerable extent from more copious annals, they bear little of a compilatory character. The different sections are not put together loosely, so that one can clearly perceive their individuality and extent. The whole is pervaded by a tolerable degree of unity and compactness. A definite plan may be seen, on which the writer composed the history. Hence there is a uniformity of method and style. The manner of narration, as well as the diction, has very much the impress of one writer. He

cites his sources for the most part in the same method, with certain fixed formulas, carefully notes the chronology on all important occasions, refers to the Mosaic law as the rule by which the actions of kings are judged, and describes every reign in the same manner, almost in the same phraseology. Hence, though the history be brief, it has a uniformity of representation and diction pointing to one writer.

Deferring till afterwards our notice of the manner in which the author cites his sources, the following passages will show his characteristic carefulness in reckoning time, which he exhibits at first in round numbers, but subsequently more exactly: 1 Kings ii. 11., vi. 1. 37, 38., vii. 1., viii. 2. 65, 66., ix. 10., xi. 42., xiv., 20, 21. 25., xv. 1, 2. 9, 10. 25. 33., xvi. 8. 10. 15. 23. 29., xviii. 1., xxii. 1, 2. 41, 42. 51.; 2 Kings i. 17., iii. 1., viii. 16. 25., ix. 29., x. 36., xi. 3, 4., xii. 1. 6., xiii. 1. 10., xiv. 1, 2. 17. 23., xv. 1, 2. 8. 13. 17. 23. 27. 30. 32., xvi. 1., xvii. 1. 5., xviii. 1. 9. 13., xxi. 1. 19., xxii. 1. 3., xxiii. 23. 31. 36., xxiv. 1. 8. 12. 18., xxv. 1—3. 8. 25. 27. References to the law are found in 1 Kings ii. 3., iii. 14., vi. 11. &c., viii. 58. 61., ix. 4. 6., xi. 33. 38.; 2 Kings x. 31., xi. 12., xiv. 6., xvii. 13. 15. 34. 37., xviii. 6., xxi. 8., xxii. 8., xxiii. 3. 21. 24. In like manner the beginning, character, and close of every reign, as well as the death and burial of the kings, are noticed very much alike by the writer, who speaks of them in a religious or theocratic aspect. Compare 1 Kings xi. 43., xiv. 20. 31., xv. 8. 24., xxii. 50.; 2 Kings viii. 24., xiii. 9., xiv. 29., xv. 7. 38., xvi. 20., xx. 21., xxi. 18., xxiv. 6. The kings of Judah are characterised individually, in 1 Kings xv. 3. 11., xxii. 43., 2 Kings xii. 3., xiv. 3., xv. 3. 34., xviii. 3., xxi. 2. 20., xxii. 2., xxiii. 37., xxiv. 9. 19.; the kings of Israel in 1 Kings xiv. 8., xv. 26. 30., xvi. 19. 26. 30., xxii. 53., 2 Kings iii. 3., xi. 29. 31., xiii. 2. 11., xiv. 24., xv. 9. 18. 24. 28., xvii. 21. Expressions respecting the choice of the city of Jerusalem and the temple occur in 1 Kings viii. 16. 29., ix. 3., xi. 36., xiv. 21., 2 Kings xxi. 4. 7., xxiii. 27.; respecting devotedness to Jehovah, 1 Kings viii. 61., xi. 4., xv. 3. 14., 2 Kings xx. 3. Uniformity of style is shown by the same forms of expression to denote the same thing: ex. gr. *shut up and left*, 1 Kings xiv. 10., xxi. 21., 2 Kings ix. 8., xiv. 26.; the frequent use of the particle *then*, 1 Kings iii. 16. &c. &c.; *sold oneself to work evil*, 1 Kings xxi. 20. 25., 2 Kings xvii. 17.<sup>1</sup> The use of later forms and expressions is also frequent, as in 1 Kings xi. 36. &c. &c.<sup>2</sup>

But notwithstanding the unity and independence of the work, as evinced by its whole manner, tone, and language, we are unable to assent to the affirmation of De Wette, viz.<sup>3</sup> that it is impossible to perceive clearly the juxtaposition or insertion of different narratives. On the contrary, various phenomena indicate the putting together of separate narratives or the employment of diverse materials, written or oral. Doubtless there is a general air of sameness arising from the freedom with which the author commonly uses his sources. He has unquestionably stamped upon them a character

<sup>1</sup> See Keil, Einleit. pp. 210, 211.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Stähelin, Kritische Untersuchungen, u. s. w. p. 150. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, p. 258.

of individuality. But that unity is not of such a kind as to prevent the critic from discovering unmistakeable traces of different documents varying in their nature. Yet Thenius goes to excess in his endeavours to trace diversity; and has therefore done injustice to the writer in making him for the most part a compiler and scarcely an independent author.<sup>1</sup> He was a compiler, but he was much more; for he elaborated his sources freely: though we cannot deny that he has left traces of them which might have been removed by an ever-scrupulous and exact vigilance. As the case stands, they evidence his integrity and fidelity.

Let us look at the few discordant statements, repetitions, and unsuitable intercalations which point unmistakeably, as some suppose, to original diversity of authorship. Thus Thenius finds a contradiction between 1 Kings ix. 22., where it is affirmed that Solomon made no bondmen of the children of Israel, and xi. 28., where the same monarch made Jeroboam ruler over all *the charge* (לְכָל) of the house of Joseph. Here there is no opposition, because the words in the original on which the stress lies are different, not identical or synonymous. Solomon did not make any of the children of Israel *bond-slaves*; but he set them to heavy tasks. The term עֶבֶד should not be confounded with לְכָל. Another example is given by Thenius from 2 Kings ix. 26. compared with 1 Kings xxi. 19., where the place of punishment is different. In 1 Kings xxi. 19. it is prophesied that the dogs should lick Ahab's blood in the place where they licked the blood of Naboth, *i. e.* before the gates of Jezreel; whereas we find from xxii. 38. that it happened at Samaria. With the latter agrees also 2 Kings ix. 26., where Jehu adduces Elijah's prophecy respecting Ahab's extermination. In answer to this, Keil rejoins that in 2 Kings ix. 26. Jehu quotes the prophecy of Elijah respecting Ahab's overthrow merely according to *the sense* and not with verbal exactness, since the threatening was inflicted on Ahab only partially in consequence of his humiliation, but upon his son Joram fully.<sup>2</sup> This is unsatisfactory. Many other attempts have been made to bring the passages into harmony, but all have been unsuccessful. They may be seen in Thenius<sup>3</sup>, who properly rejects them as mere evasions of the difficulty. The discrepancy here remains unexplained, as far as we can perceive. *Indirect* discrepancies, as they are termed by Thenius, are found in the indication of relations which no longer existed after the overthrow of the Jewish state, described at the end of the work by means of the formula *till this day*. (1 Kings viii. 8., ix. 21., xii. 19.; 2 Kings viii. 22.) But this fact only shows that a formula found in his sources by the writer was allowed to stand, as not liable to any serious misunderstanding. Again, things are related which do not correspond to remarks made before. So Thenius asserts, instancing the mention of Tirzah as Jeroboam's residence; whereas in xii. 25., only Shechem and Penuel are spoken of as his places of residence.<sup>4</sup> Here the discrepancy is not real, because it is not said

<sup>1</sup> See Die Bücher der Könige, Einleitung, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Die Bücher der Könige, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Keil's Einleitung, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Einleit. p. xi.

that Jeroboam resided at Penuel, nor that he changed his place of abode but once; nor in xv. 21. 33. that Baasha first chose Tirzah as his city of habitation. In 1 Kings xx. 13. 22. 28. 35., and xxii. 8. the same critic affirms that a number of prophets appear, implying that they dwelt unmolested in Samaria; while according to xviii. 22. and xix. 10. 14. they were all destroyed except Elijah. Here again the discrepancy is more apparent than real. The premises are insufficient to justify the conclusion that a great number of prophets still existed in Samaria and dwelt securely there. In xx. 13—18. and xxii. 8. one prophet only appears. In xx. 37. one belonging to the schools of the prophets met Ahab. Micaiah had been incarcerated, as we learn from 1 Kings xxii. 26. Because Elijah *thought* that he alone was left of all the true prophets, it does not follow that all had been really put to death except himself. Again, Ahab is said to have been punished for an action noble in itself, the inadmissibility of which had not been hinted at to him in the present case. (1 Kings xx. 42.) But this remark of Thenius's is incorrect. It was untheocratic to spare the life of Benhadad. The prophet had not advised Ahab to spare the king of Syria. He had told him that God would deliver all the multitude of the Syrians into his hand; whence he might readily have inferred what he should do to them. Again, according to 2 Kings ix. 26. Ahab killed Naboth's children as well as himself; whereas in 1 Kings xxi. 13. he is said only to have put the father to death. This discrepancy is easily removed. In the latter passage, the murder of the children is not specified, because it would be understood of itself. It is farther said that the course of the narrative does not satisfy expectations which the reader justly entertains, as in 1 Kings xix. 15—17.; but this is a matter of mere opinion, or else the blame, if any, should be attributed to the history, not to the author.<sup>1</sup>

There are certain repetitions, however, which show the different sources whence they were taken, and evince a redactor rather than an independent writer. Thus the same thing is twice narrated in a somewhat different manner, in 1 Kings ix. 27, 28., and x. 22. Both speak of the same navigation to Ophir in the time of Solomon, as Thenius has convincingly proved, notwithstanding Keil's reluctance to admit it. In like manner there are repetitions of the same thing in 2 Kings ix. 14. 16. compared with viii. 28, 29., and xiv. 15, 16. compared with xiii. 12, 13. Keil<sup>2</sup> attempts to account for these by appealing to the standing custom of oriental writers, who did so with the view of more vividly portraying a thing; but it is much more natural to refer them to diversity of authorship.

Besides, there are pieces now separated which belong to one another as parts of a continuous writing, the later being the continuation of the former. These also show diversity of sources. Thus 1 Kings ix. 24. is a continuation of iii. 1—3. Keil, however, denies that the one could have stood after the other in any document. In like manner xi. 41. is a continuation of x. 29.

<sup>1</sup> See Keil, *Einleit.* pp. 212, 213.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 214.

Sometimes a section which should have been put earlier in point of time is brought after, lest the thread of what precedes should be interrupted. Thus 2 Kings xiii. 14., &c., where the death of Elisha is told, is put after Joash, though the prophet died during the reign of that monarch.

These phenomena render it apparent that the unity and independence of the work are not so great or pervading as some have supposed. Doubtless they are conspicuous for the most part. Yet there are various exceptions, as has been shown. The putting together of different sources can be detected here and there. The intercalation of peculiar sections may be discovered. Doubtless the author generally used his sources freely, so as to leave upon the work his peculiar impress; yet there are at times looseness of connection, a twofold relation of the same thing, repetitions, discrepancies, all pointing to the fact that the writer was occasionally inexact.

The time and authorship can only be determined *generally* not *specifically*. The history is continued down to the time of Evilmerodach, and terminates with an account of the liberation of Jehoiachin king of Judah from prison, at Babylon. It may therefore be said that it was composed towards the end of the captivity, after the death of Jehoiachin, and perhaps after the reign of Evilmerodach. (2 Kings xxv. 27.) Jewish tradition makes Jeremiah the author. This opinion has been embraced by Grotius, and vindicated by Hävernicks<sup>1</sup> and Graf.<sup>2</sup> In favour of it are adduced the linguistic affinities of Jeremiah and the work before us; the gloomy view of history common to both; certain favourite ideas which are sometimes expressed in nearly the same words, particularly that of the choice and continuance of the royal house of David; a propensity to borrow modes of speech from the Pentateuch; a careful reference to former prophecies; and above all the relation between 2 Kings xxiv. 18. &c., and Jer. lii.<sup>3</sup> Plausible and strong as these arguments together may appear, we cannot admit their sufficiency to prove the point in debate. The various points of similarity adduced by Hävernicks are best explained in another way. Similarity of age, as well as the acquaintance of the one writer with the other, either as he now is, or with his sources, will contribute to account for the analogy as far as it really exists. Various hypotheses have been put forth to account for the agreement between 2 Kings xxiv. 18. &c. and Jer. lii. which we need not enumerate; perhaps that of Keil is the most probable, viz. that the section was extracted by the author or redactor of both works from a common source.<sup>4</sup> Others, as Calmet, have fixed upon Ezra as the author, relying upon various peculiarities in the books which would suit any other person living about his time almost as well. Not one of the marks, nor all together, indicate Ezra. They correspond indeed to him; but they also correspond to many others. Besides, some circumstances in the books are adverse to the idea of bringing down

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, ii. 1. p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> De librorum Samuelis et Regum compositione, p. 61. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Hävernicks, Einleit. p. 171. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 216.

the composition *after* the captivity, especially 1 Kings vi. 1. 37, 38., where mention is made of the months *Zif* and *Bul*, names which were not in use after the captivity.

The writer lived in Babylon, not Egypt, as may be inferred from 1 Kings v. 1. and 2 Kings xxv. 27—29. He belonged to Judah, not Israel, as appears from his going much more into detail with respect to matters affecting the kingdom of Judah, from his zeal for the worship of God, and his attributing the misfortunes of the state to the separation of the ten tribes. (2 Kings xvii. 21.) Whether he was a pupil of Jeremiah, as Thenius<sup>1</sup> conjectures, we leave undetermined. It is certain that he exhibits the prophetic spirit; and that he was familiar with the sacred literature of his country.

In relation to the sources used by the writer, he himself mentions several, as *the Book of the Acts of Solomon* (1 Kings xi. 41.); *the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah* (1 Kings xiv. 29., xv. 7. 23., xxii. 46.; 2 Kings viii. 23., x. 20., &c.); *the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel* (1 Kings xiv. 19., xv. 31., xvi. 5. 14. 20. 27., xxii. 39.; 2 Kings i. 18., &c.). The book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, and the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, were probably two leading divisions of one large work which is quoted as a whole by the compiler of Chronicles in a variety of ways,—*the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel* (2 Chron. xxxii. 32.), *the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (2 Chron. xxxv. 27.), *the Book of the Kings* (2 Chron. xxiv. 27.), *the Book of the Kings of Israel* (2 Chron. xx. 34.). If we may judge from the last allusions to it, the history of Judah was not carried farther down than the reign of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 5.); and that of Israel only as far as the time of Pekah (2 Kings xv. 31.). It seems to have been a work relating to the public events of the nation—annals of the kingdoms, not *official documents*, occupied with the reigns and acts of the kings, composed in part by prophets or prophetic men at different times; succeeding writers employing the prophetic monographs of their predecessors. It is impossible to discover the exact nature and plan of it farther than that it appears to have been no connected and continuous history taken up by successive prophets or other men one after another at the point where it stopped, and continued as far as their own knowledge went, so that it began with the commencement of the two kingdoms and continued regularly to narrate the actions of their kings and other leading personages; but rather to have been made up, not long before the downfall of Judah, of materials which had accumulated in the progress of time—materials which proceeded for the most part from such as had been contemporary with the events they recorded; from prophets and prophetic men. From the manner in which the writer of Kings refers to this larger work, it has been inferred by Thenius, that he himself did not use it, and that he did not have it before him; but an abridgment, or a summary narrative extracted from it. We are unable to perceive the probability of this hypothesis, or how it is favoured by the circumstances adduced on its behalf.

<sup>1</sup> Die Bücher der Koenige, Einleit. p. x.

Had it been affirmed that the work itself entitled *the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel* was in part a summary or extract, we should have assented; but the supposition of Thenius is unlikely. The book of the Acts of Solomon has been identified by the same critic with the book of Nathan the prophet quoted in 2 Chron. ix. 29., not happily as we think. It referred to the reign of Solomon. Another source was oral tradition, from which the greater part of what is related respecting Elijah and Elisha (1 Kings xvii.—xix. and xxi., 2 Kings i. ii. iv.—vii. viii. xiii.) may have been drawn. With respect to the traditional portions, it is more probable that the redactor of the books of Kings first wrote them himself, than that they had been already reduced to writing from oral tradition and were employed in that state. It appears to us that Thenius has reduced too much the extent of the writer's own composition. There is no good reason for disallowing him the authorship of the sections which were chiefly drawn from tradition; and so confining his independent action to a very few small sections and observations, which are insignificant in comparison with the entire work. Other sources are scarcely indicated by the writer himself of the Kings; and it is needless to speculate about them or attempt to ascertain them.

The author seems to have used his sources freely and independently, whatever they were. He also employed them faithfully, so much so that they were sometimes allowed to remain unchanged, even when the time implied in them did not suit his own period but that in which they were written. Thus in 1 Kings viii. 8. the temple is supposed to be still standing; and in 2 Kings x. 27. Samaria is represented as remaining. These and similar particulars are a proof that the writer made no rash or arbitrary changes in the documents and materials at his disposal; since he did not look upon it as necessary to adapt every thing to his own time. The fact that all his allusions do not belong to one period shows that he did not alter the sources, even where he might have done so with advantage to the perspicuity and unity of his history.

The books of Kings are connected with those of Samuel not only as they resume the history where it had been broken off, but because they contain many points of analogy. Hence some have attributed both to the same author. The most prominent references in them to those of Samuel are 1 Kings ii. 26. &c. to 1 Sam. ii. 35.; 1 Kings ii. 4. &c. to 2 Sam. vii. 17—19.; 1 Kings viii. 18. 25. to 2 Sam. vii. 12—16. There is also a similarity between 1 Kings ii. 11. and 2 Sam. v. 5. as well as 1 Kings iv. 1—6. and 2 Sam. viii. 15—18. Stähelin has also pointed out a similarity of diction between the first and second chapters of 1 Kings and the second book of Samuel. But the differences are too great to allow of identity of authorship, or of the hypothesis of Ewald that the books of Samuel and Kings were once connected as parts of a large work embracing Judges and Ruth besides.<sup>1</sup> There are no traces of the Babylonish exile in Samuel;

<sup>1</sup> See *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 164. *et seqq.*

neither are there any allusions to the Mosaic law. Sources are not quoted as they are in Kings; chronological dates are neglected; whereas in Kings they are carefully given. The worship of Jehovah is differently spoken of, and the general spirit of the narrative is unlike. Prophetic interposition, and the recognition of theocratic influence in the rise and fall of kings, appear but little in the books of Kings. Indeed the later diction alone is sufficient to disprove identity of authorship or intimate connection. Possibly the first two chapters of the Kings and the second book of Samuel flowed in part from a common source, which will account for their affinities.

The historical character and credibility of the books commend themselves to the reader by strong external and internal evidence. The history bears the impress of verisimilitude by the genuine theocratic spirit that pervades it, and its consonance with the times to which it belongs. The author repeatedly refers to his sources, showing that he made a careful and conscientious use of them. The credibility of the history is confirmed by a comparison of it with the same accounts substantially which are found in second Chronicles, drawn for the most part from the same sources. Some indeed have found mythical and traditionary fabulous particulars in various places, especially when the miraculous or supernatural is recorded respecting the prophets; but in so doing they have overlooked all critical and historical grounds, to make way for the influence of doctrinal prepossessions. The essence of a theocracy like the Jewish one comports with, if it does not require, the active manifestation of God's Spirit in a class of men like the prophets, who occupied a position so influential in the national affairs, standing between the people and the tyranny of kings. The history of Elijah and Elisha has given most offence to neological critics, because it partakes more of the supernatural element than other portions. The proofs adduced in favour of the opinion that the biographies of these prophets were the latest part reduced to writing, in consequence of alleged traditional and fabulous elements contained in them, are weak, such as, a deficiency in regard to accurate notices of names and places, the choice of names full of meaning (as Obadiah in the history of Elijah), offences against geography, improbabilities generally, and traces of later customs.<sup>1</sup> Some of these are incorrect, others unproved. The divine authority of the books is attested by the apostle Paul in Romans xi. 2—4., and by references to them in Luke iv. 25—27., James v. 17, 18.

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## CHAP. VIII.

### THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

THE ancient Jews comprehended the two books of Chronicles in one, with the title דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים, *words of the days, annals*. But in the Septuagint version, they were separated into two, with the inscription

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Thenius, Die Bücher der Koenige, Einleit. p. ix.

*παρλειπόμενα*, things omitted, i. e., supplements, remains of other historical works, as Movers<sup>1</sup> thinks; or *things left*, because they contain many things omitted in the Kings, as the author of the *Synopsis* of Sacred Scripture printed in Athanasius's works<sup>2</sup>, explains it. The present English title is taken from the Latin *Chronicon*, which Jerome applied to them. The contents are most conveniently divided into five parts.

I. Genealogies with geographical and topographical lists. (1 Chron. i.—ix.)

II. The history of David's reign. (1 Chron. x.—xxix.)

III. The history of Solomon's reign. (2 Chron. i.—ix.)

IV. The history of the kingdom of Judah while that of Israel existed, excluding the history of the latter. (2 Chron. x.—xxviii.)

V. The history of the kingdom of Judah while it existed alone, especially in relation to the worship of Jehovah. (2 Chron. xxix.—xxxvi.)

These divisions may be partitioned into the following minor sections:—

1. The genealogies of the patriarchs from Adam to Isaac. (i. 1—34.)

2. The posterity of Esau, the kings and dukes of Edom. (i. 35—54.)

3. The sons of Jacob, and the posterity of Judah to David. (ii. 1—55.)

4. The sons of David, and Solomon's royal descendants to the grandsons of Zerubbabel, and still later. (iii. 1—24.)

5. Genealogies of other descendants of Judah, with some old historical notices. (iv. 1—23.)

6. Genealogical registers of the tribes of Simeon, Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, with an account of the residences, deeds, and fortunes of single families belonging to them. (iv. 24—v. 26.)

7. The sons of Levi and the posterity of Aaron down to Jehoza-dak, who went into captivity, together with other fragments of Levitical genealogies, and a list of the cities belonging to the Levites. (v. 27—vi. 66.)

8. Genealogical fragments of the posterity of Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher, including some account of the number of men belonging to them able to carry arms, and other historical notices. (vii. 1—viii. 40.)

9. A list of individual families dwelling in Jerusalem, and another family register of Saul. (ix. 1—34.)

10. The genealogy of Saul and his posterity through Jonathan. (ix. 35—44.)

11. In the history of David's reign we have his inauguration, a list of his worthies, and account of his forces (xi. xii.), to which the narrative of Saul and Jonathan's death serves as an introduction. (x.)

12. The bringing up of the ark from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem, and the service on that occasion. (xiii.—xvi.)

13. Divine approbation of David's purpose to build a temple to Jehovah. (xvii.)

<sup>1</sup> Kritische Untersuchungen ueber die biblische Chronik, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Athanas. Opp. ii. p. 82.

14. David's victories over the Philistines, Moabites, Syrians, Edomites, and over the Ammonites. (xviii.—xx.)

15. Account of David's census of the people, and of a plague inflicted. (xxi. 1—27.)

16. His regulations respecting the worship of God. (xxi. 28—xxvi.)

17. Regulations for the administration of his kingdom, with a list of David's military and civil officers. (xxvii.)

18. Address to Solomon respecting the building of the temple, with the liberal contributions of David and his subjects for that purpose, and his thanksgiving. (xxviii. xxix.)

19. The piety, wisdom, and grandeur of Solomon. (2 Chron. i.)

20. Account of the erection and consecration of the temple, with some other edifices built by him, followed by a brief history of the remainder of his reign, till his death. (2 Chron. ii.—ix.)

21. The accession of Rehoboam to the throne, division of his kingdom into two parts, and plundering of Jerusalem by Shishak. (2 Chron. x.—xii.)

22. The reigns of Abijah and Asa. (xiii.—xvi.)

23. The reign of Jehoshaphat. (xvii.—xx.)

24. The reigns of Jehoram and Ahaziah, with Athaliah's usurpation. (xxi. xxii.)

25. The reign of Joash. (xxiii. xxiv.)

26. The reigns of Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham. (xxv.—xxvii.)

27. The reign of Ahaz. (xxviii.)

28. The reign of Hezekiah. (xxix.—xxxii.)

29. The reigns of Manasseh and Amon. (xxxiii.)

30. The reign of Josiah. (xxxiv. xxxv.)

31. The reigns of Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, with the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple. (xxxvi.)

Let us now consider the relation between the Chronicles and other historical books in the Old Testament canon. With regard to the genealogical part, or the first nine chapters, individual parallels appear in the historical books; but nothing like complete parallels to the whole. Some things are found elsewhere; some notices contain single names which appear in earlier books with a number of new and unknown names; while other notices are peculiar to Chronicles. Of the first kind are the genealogical accounts in i. 1—ii. 2., which relate to the ante-Mosaic period, all which appear in Genesis. (Comp. Gen. v. x. xi. 10—32., xxv. 12—16. 1—4., xxxvi. 10—43.) There can be little doubt that the book of Genesis was the source whence these notices were taken. Notices of the second kind are peculiar; names of races and persons which are met with in the older historical books, but appear in Chronicles in a certain genealogical connection, partly at the head of longer series which are peculiar to the latter. Hence the parallels here are isolated.

1 Chron. ii. 10—12. the ancestors of David; comp. Ruth iv. 19—22.

ii. 13—17. the brethren of David; comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 6. &c.

- 1 Chron. iii. 1—9. the sons of David, both those born at Hebron and Jerusalem; comp. 2 Sam. iii. 2—6., v. 14—16.
- iii. 10—16. the kings of Judah; comp. the books of Kings.
- ii. 3. &c. the sons of Judah; comp. Gen. xxxviii.
- ii. 5. the sons of Pharez; comp. Gen. xlvi. 12.
- iv. 24. the sons of Simeon; comp. Gen. xlvi. 10., Exod. vi. 15., Numb. xxvi. 12, 13.
- iv. 28—32. the dwelling-places of the Simeonites; comp. Josh. xix. 2—7.
- v. 3. the sons of Reuben; comp. Gen. xlvi. 9., Exod. vi. 14., Numb. xxvi. 5.
- vi. 1—39. the sons of Levi; comp. Gen. xlvi. 11., Exod. vi. 18—23., xxviii. 1.
- vi. 40—66. Levi's dwelling-places; comp. Josh. xxi. 10—39.
- vii. 1. the sons of Issachar; comp. Gen. xlvi. 13., Numb. xxvi. 23. &c.
- vii. 6. the sons of Benjamin; comp. Gen. xlvi. 21., Numb. xxvi. 38. &c.
- vii. 13. the sons of Naphtali; comp. Gen. xlvi. 24., Numb. xxvi. 48. &c.
- vii. 14—19. the sons of Manasseh; comp. Numb. xxvi. 29. &c.
- vii. 20. &c. the sons of Ephraim; comp. Numb. xxvi. 35—38.
- vii. 30. &c. the sons of Asher; comp. Gen. xlvi. 17., Numb. xxvi. 44. &c.
- viii. 1—5. the sons of Benjamin; comp. Gen. xlvi. 21., Numb. xxvi. 38. &c.
- viii. 29—40. } the descendants of Saul; comp. 1 Sam. ix.
- ix. 35—44. } 1., xiv. 49—51.

In different places the names vary from one another, owing probably to mistakes in transcription, as well as to other causes. There are also differences in the number of families, which can hardly be explained in the same manner. A consideration of the different passages now given, as well as of the genealogies of the third kind, which are wholly peculiar to the Chronicles, will show that they were not taken from the historical books of the Old Testament, but compiled from ancient genealogical and topographical lists existing among the author's contemporaries. The most perplexing portion is the parallelism of 1 Chron. ix. 1—34. and Neh. xi. 3—36. Are these lists the same or not? De Wette, Gramberg, and Movers affirm their identity; while Keil and Welte deny it. It is impossible for us to enter on a discussion of the point in the present place. We have not been persuaded by the argumentation of Keil that they are different.<sup>1</sup> Rather do they appear to have been taken from a common

<sup>1</sup> See Keil's *Apologetischer Versuch ueber die Bücher der Chronik*, u. s. w. p. 159. *et seqq.*, and *Einleitung*, pp. 477, 478.

source. The one in Chronicles should not be called, with some critics, a corrupt form of that in Nehemiah. How the present diversities originated—diversities which will always puzzle the inquirer—it is almost presumptuous to conjecture. It is certainly the easier method to say with Keil, that the divergences are so great as to render it impossible that the two lists refer to the same persons at the same time; but there are certain particulars which lead us to reject his view of Nehemiah's being post-exilian, and the Chronicle one being prior.

In the history of David, Solomon, and the kings of Judah, there are upwards of forty sections parallel to others in the books of Samuel and Kings, as will be seen from the following table:—

|                         |   |   |   |                         |
|-------------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------|
| 1 Chron. x. 1—12.       | - | - | - | 1 Sam. xxxi.            |
| xi. 1—9.                | - | - | - | 2 Sam. v. 1—3. 6—10.    |
| xi. 10—47.              | - | - | - | xxiii. 8—39.            |
| xiii. 1—14.             | - | - | - | vi. 1—11.               |
| xiv. 1—7. 8—17.         | - | - | - | v. 11—16. 17—25.        |
| xv. xvi.                | - | - | - | vi. 12—23.              |
| xvii.                   | - | - | - | vii.                    |
| xviii.                  | - | - | - | viii.                   |
| xix.                    | - | - | - | x.                      |
| xx. 1—3.                | - | - | - | xi. 1. & xii. 26—31.    |
| xx. 4—8.                | - | - | - | xxi. 18—22.             |
| xxi.                    | - | - | - | xxiv.                   |
| 2 Chron. i. 2—13.       | - | - | - | 1 Kings iii. 4—15.      |
| i. 14—17.               | - | - | - | x. 26—29.               |
| ii.                     | - | - | - | v. 15—32.               |
| iii. 1—v. 1.            | - | - | - | vi. vii. 13—51.         |
| vii. 11—22.             | - | - | - | ix. 1—9.                |
| viii.                   | - | - | - | ix. 10—28.              |
| ix. 1—12.               | - | - | - | x. 1—13.                |
| ix. 13—31.              | - | - | - | x. 14—29.               |
| x. 1—xi. 4.             | - | - | - | xii. 1—24.              |
| xii. 2. 3. 9—16.        | - | - | - | xiv. 21—31.             |
| xiii. 1. 2. 22, 23.     | - | - | - | xv. 1, 2. 6—8.          |
| xiv. 1, 2. xv. 16—19.   | - | - | - | xv. 11—16.              |
| xvi. 1—6. 11—14.        | - | - | - | xv. 17—24.              |
| xviii. 2—34.            | - | - | - | xxii. 2—35.             |
| xx. 31—xxi. 1.          | - | - | - | xxii. 41—51.            |
| xxi. 5—10. 20.          | - | - | - | 2 Kings viii. 17—24.    |
| xxii. 1—9.              | - | - | - | viii. 25—29. ix. 16     |
|                         |   |   |   | —28. x. 12—14.          |
| xxii. 10—xxiii. 21.     | - | - | - | xi.                     |
| xxiv. 1—14. 23—27.      | - | - | - | xii. 1—22.              |
| xxv. 1—4. 11. 17—28.    | - | - | - | xiv. 1—14. 17—20.       |
| xxvi. 1—4. 21. 23.      | - | - | - | xiv. 21, 22. xv.        |
|                         |   |   |   | 2—5. 7.                 |
| xxvii. 1—3. 7—9.        | - | - | - | xv. 32—36. 38.          |
| xxviii. 1—4. 26, 27.    | - | - | - | xvi. 2—4. 19, 20.       |
| xxix. 1, 2.             | - | - | - | xviii. 2, 3.            |
| xxxii. 1—21.            | - | - | - | xviii. 13—xix. 37.      |
| xxxii. 24, 25. 32, 33.  | - | - | - | xx. 1, 2. 20, 21.       |
| xxxiii. 1—10. 20—25.    | - | - | - | xxi. 1—9. 18—24.        |
| xxxiv. 1, 2, 8—28.      | - | - | - | xxii.                   |
| xxxiv. 29—33.           | - | - | - | xxiii. 1—20.            |
| xxxv. 1. 18—24. 26, 27. | - | - | - | xxiii. 21—23. 28.       |
|                         |   |   |   | 29—34.                  |
| xxxvi. 1—4.             | - | - | - |                         |
| xxxvi. 5, 6. 8—12.      | - | - | - | xxiii. 36, 37. xxiv. 1. |
|                         |   |   |   | 5, 6. 8—19.             |
| xxxvi. 22, 23.          | - | - | - | Ezra i. 1—2.            |

In regard to these parallels many grave and difficult questions arise which we are not in a position to resolve. It will be observed,—

(a.) That a considerable number of primary facts are omitted by the Chronicler writer, as the scene between Michal and David (2 Sam. vi. 20—23.); the latter's kindness to Ziba (2 Sam. ix.); his adultery with Bathsheba (2 Sam. xi. 2—xii. 25.); Amnon's incest with Tamar; the rebellion of Absalom and its consequences (2 Sam. xiii.—xix.); Sheba's revolt (xx.); the surrender of Saul's seven sons to the Gibeonites as an atonement (xxi. 1—14.); a war with the Philistines (xxi. 15—17.); David's psalm of thanksgiving and last words (xxii. xxiii. 1—7.); Adonijah's usurpation of the kingdom, and Solomon's anointing as king (1 Kings i.); David's last charge (1 Kings ii. 1—9.); strengthening of Solomon's kingdom by the punishment of disturbers (ii. 13—46.); Solomon's marriage with Pharaoh's daughter (iii. 1.); his wise judgment (iii. 16—28.); his princes and officers, greatness and wisdom (iv. 1—v. 14.); the building of his palace (vii. 1—12.); his wives and concubines, and his idolatry (1 Kings xi. 1—40.); the history of the ten tribes as a kingdom.

(b.) Primary facts again, are added in the Chronicles which do not appear in the Kings, as the companies that came to David at Ziklag, and the warriors that came to him at Hebron (1 Chron. xii.); his preparations for building the temple (xxii.); the number and distribution of the Levites and priests (xxiii.—xxvi.); the arrangement of the army and the officers (xxvii.); his last exhortations and regulations in a solemn assembly shortly before his death (xxviii. xxix.); *in the history of Judah*, accounts of Rehoboam's strengthening the kingdom with forts and stores; the reception of the Levites that came from Israel in Judah; the wives and children of Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 5—20.); Abijah's war with Jeroboam (xiii. 3—20.); the notice of Abijah's wives and children (xii. 21.); Asa's endeavours to strengthen his kingdom, and victory over Zerah the Ethiopian (xiv. 3—14.); Azariah the prophet's address to Asa, in consequence of which the king renounces idolatry (xv. 1—15.); the address of the prophet Hanani (xvi. 7—10.); Jehoshaphat's efforts to strengthen his kingdom and establish the worship of Jehovah, his greatness and armies (xvii. 2—xviii. 1.); his judicial arrangements (xix.); his victory over the Ammonites, Moabites, and other confederate peoples (xx. 1—30.); his provision for his sons, and their slaughter by Jehoram, who succeeded to the throne (xxi. 2—4.); Jehoram's idolatry and punishment (xxi. 11—19.); death of the high priest Jehoiada and fall of Joash into idolatry (xxiv. 15—22.); Amaziah's army and idolatry (xxv. 5—10, and 14—16.); Uzziah's wars, victories, forts, and army (xxvi. 6—15.); Jotham's fortresses and war with the Ammonites (xxvii. 4—6.); Hezekiah's cleansing of the temple, celebration of the passover, and arrangement of the worship of Jehovah (xxix. 3—xxx. 21.); Hezekiah's riches (xxxii. 27—30.); Manasseh's transportation to Babylon, his deliverance, and restoration (xxxiii. 11—17.).

(c.) Short notices in the books of Samuel and Kings are here

enlarged and completed, as the list of David's heroes (1 Chron. xi. 11—47.), the names in 42—47. being deficient in 2 Sam. xxiii. The history of the transference of the ark from Kirjath-jearim is enlarged by an account of the part which the priests and Levites took in the work, and the services they performed in attending continually upon the ark after it was fixed on mount Zion (comp. 1 Chron. xiii. 2., xv. 2—24., xvi. 4—43., with 2 Sam. vi.). In the temple arrangements, the description of the candlesticks, tables, and courts is added (2 Chron. iv. 6—9. comp. with 1 Kings vii. 38, 39.). The description of the brazen scaffold on which Solomon kneeled in prayer is also new (2 Chron. vi. 12, 13., comp. with 1 Kings viii. 22.). The 41st and 42nd verses of 2 Chron. vi. are inserted from Psal. cxxxii. 7—9. The notice about fire from heaven consuming the sacrifice, 2 Chron. vii. 1. &c. is new. The divine promise is extended (2 Chron. vii. 12—16. comp. with 1 Kings ix. 3.). The history of Shishak's invasion of Judah is enlarged by a notice of the strength of his army, and Shemaiah's discourse (2 Chron. xii. 2—8. comp. with 1 Kings xiv. 25.). In like manner, details are introduced respecting Amaziah's victory over the Edomites (xxv. 11—16. comp. with 2 Kings xiv. 7.). The cause of Uzziah's leprosy is given (xxvi. 16—21. comp. with 2 Kings xv. 5.). The celebration of the passover under Josiah is augmented by an account of the services of the Levites and priests (xxxv. 2—19. comp. with 2 Kings xxiii. 21. &c.).

(d.) Smaller additions and insertions of a historical nature may be found in 1 Chron. xi. 6. 8. comp. with 2 Sam. v. 8, 9.; the Egyptian's stature, 1 Chron. xi. 23. comp. with 2 Sam. xxiii. 21.; Solomon's making the brazen sea; the pillars and vessels in the temple of brass which David had taken from Hadarezer, 1 Chron. xviii. 8. comp. with 2 Sam. viii. 8.; the circumstance that Abishai, son of Zeruah, slew Edomites in the valley of Salt, 1 Chron. xviii. 12. comp. with 2 Sam. viii. 13.; that the Ammonites hired Syrian chariots and horsemen for a *thousand talents* of silver, 1 Chron. xix. 6. comp. with 2 Sam. x. 6. &c. &c. &c.

(e.) The diversity between the parallels consists also in a varying orthography, such as the more frequent use of the so-called *scriptio plena*, Aramæan and later forms of words, alterations of construction, grammatical corrections, &c. These adaptations to the prevailing language of the day show its younger and more degenerate state as compared with its condition when the books of Samuel were written. Examples are given by Movers<sup>1</sup> and Keil.<sup>2</sup> Some constructions seem to have been avoided, and names changed for the sake of pre-*spicuity*; at least this appears the most probable way of accounting for alterations of words, forms, and phrases here and there. Examples of this kind are also given by Movers and Keil.

(f.) Sometimes a number of secondary and small particulars are omitted, consisting perhaps of a few words, of which an instance occurs in 1 Chron. x. 12. comp. with 1 Sam. xxxi. 12.; while again

<sup>1</sup> Kritische Untersuchungen, u. s. w. p. 200. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 482. *et seqq.*

details are abridged, as in Chron. xx. 1, 2. comp. with 2 Sam. xii. 27—29. in the account of the tortures inflicted upon the inhabitants of Rabbah. These small omissions and abridgments sometimes create considerable difficulty when the higher criticism is applied to them, as the copious notes respecting them by De Wette, Movers, Keil, and others will show.

(g.) Explanatory remarks, reflections, and concluding observations, also distinguish the passages in Chronicles as compared with those in the earlier books to which they correspond. For example, in 1 Chron. xiii. 9. *his hand* is inserted, a word which is not in the parallel, 2 Sam. vi. 6. See also the reflections on Saul's merited death in 1 Chron. x. 13. &c. ; and compare the passage with 1 Sam. xxxi. 12. A closing remark appears in 1 Chron. xiv. 17. comp. with 2 Sam. v. 25.

The scope of the entire work points to the temple and Levitical worship. The writer living after the captivity in degenerate times, and looking back to the history of his country before its disasters, appears to have been animated by the desire to hold up the mirror of history before the eyes of his contemporaries, that they might see the true cause of national prosperity in attention to the worship of Jehovah. His design was *didactic* rather than *historical*. Indeed, the historic materials and form were intended to subserve a religious purpose. He meant to give a history of the people of Israel under David and his posterity, from the time when Jerusalem became the centre of the kingdom, as well as a history of the restored church, with main reference to the times in which religion prevailed, to the men who were most efficient in setting ecclesiastical affairs on a firm foundation and restoring the true worship of Jehovah, and to the most important events relating to that worship when it was connected with Jerusalem. Hence his treatment of the history is in a great measure regulated by the religious element. Hence also originated his endeavours to communicate copious information about the tribe of Levi, its arrangements and divisions, its employments and offices. The Levitical tendency of the book appears throughout, in connection with a love for genealogical lists of names. In this manner the books form a valuable supplement to the history of the theocracy.

With regard to the sources employed by the writer, he himself refers to the following. 1. The book of Samuel the seer, of Nathan the prophet, and of Gad the seer. (1 Chron. xxix. 29.) 2. The book of Nathan the prophet, the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the visions of Iddo the seer. (2 Chron. ix. 29.) 3. The book of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer, concerning genealogies. (2 Chron. xii. 15.) 4. The history of the prophet Iddo. (2 Chron. xiii. 22.) 5. The book of Jehu the son of Hanani, which was transferred to the book of the Kings of Israel. (2 Chron. xx. 34.) 6. The book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. (2 Chron. xvi. 11., xxv. 26., xxviii. 26.) 7. The story of the book of the Kings. (2 Chron. xxiv. 27.) 8. A writing of Isaiah the prophet. (2 Chron. xxvi. 22.) 9. The book of the Kings of Israel and Judah. (2 Chron. xxvii. 7., xxxv. 27., xxxvi. 8.) 10. The vision of Isaiah the prophet. (2 Chron. xxxii. 32.) 11. The book of the Kings of Israel. (2 Chron.

xxxiii. 18.) 12. The sayings of the seers (Hosai). (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19.)

It is probable that numbers 6. 9. 5 (2). 11., refer to one and the same work. In other words, the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, the Words of the Kings of Israel, and the Book of the Kings of Israel, all mean the same thing, *i. e.* a historical work of considerable extent, containing an account of all the kings of the northern and southern kingdom. The last two are merely abridged titles, and cannot mean that the work specified by them embraced no more than the kingdom of Israel; for they are mentioned in connections which show that Judah was not excluded. Whether the same work is meant by 7., *i. e.* the story or *Midrash* of the book of the Kings, is ambiguous. Keil maintains that it is identical, because the history of Joash, for which the Chronicle-writer refers to it, agrees as much with 2 Kings xi. xii., as the history of those kings in the Chronicles harmonises with that in the books of Kings where the Chronicles refer to the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, but the books of Kings to the annals of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel.<sup>1</sup> This is not at all conclusive. The word *Midrash* is a rare one, occurring only in 2 Chron. xiii. 22. besides the present passage. And it is more natural to take it in the sense of an *explanatory writing*, implying its total dissimilarity to the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. In this manner both Thenius<sup>2</sup> and Bertheau<sup>3</sup> understand it.

Numbers 1, 2, 3. 5 (1). 8. 10, 11. present greater difficulty. They are prophetic works; and the chief point is, whether they were separate, independent works, or parts of the large historical one just referred to. In relation to two of them, *i. e.* the words (יְהוֹנָדָב) of Jehu son of Hanani (No. 5.), and the vision of Isaiah the prophet (10.), it is expressly stated that they were incorporated with the book of the Kings of Israel, or of Judah and Israel. (2 Chron. xx. 34., xxxii. 32.) From this circumstance Keil infers, that the rest were *separate* monographs employed by the Chronicle-writer; because it is not said of them that they had been taken into the large historical work.<sup>4</sup> But we are disposed to draw the opposite conclusion, *viz.*, that when the Chronicle-writer alludes to the words of Nathan, Shemaiah, &c. in the same manner as to the two writings just specified, he refers his readers to portions of a well-known work. Bertheau, by a minute examination of particular phenomena, has rendered it very probable that the apparently independent prophetic writings to which the author of the Chronicles alludes, were but sections belonging to the large historical work entitled *the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel*, &c.<sup>5</sup> According to this view, when reference is made in the history of David to the prophets Samuel, Nathan, and Gad (1 Chron. xxix. 29. No. 1.); in the history of Solomon to Nathan, Abijah, and Iddo (2 Chron. ix. 29. No. 2.); in the history of Rehoboam to Shemaiah

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. u. s. w. p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> Die Bücher der Könige, u. s. w. Einleitung, p. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Die Bücher der Chronik erklärt, Einleitung, pp. xxxiii. xxxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Einleit. p. 494.

<sup>5</sup> Die Bücher der Chronik, Einleit. p. xxxiv. *et seqq.*

and Iddo (2 Chron. xii. 15. No. 3.) &c., we must not suppose that these prophets wrote separate histories of David or a history of David in common, but rather that in the large historical work there was not merely an account of individual kings but also of the principal prophets who lived in their times and exerted an influence on their actions. According to it also, the visions of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat are cited along with the book of Nathan the prophet; and the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, as containing the entire history of Solomon (2 Chron. ix. 29.), *merely* because it was in that part of the work where an account of Solomon was given. So also the vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz, in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, is quoted as a composition in which more copious information about Hezekiah was given. (2 Chron. xxxii. 32.) In the same way, also, the difficulty respecting the entire history of Jehoshaphat being given in the book of Jehu the son of Hanani is explained; which otherwise is hardly possible on chronological grounds, for, according to 1 Kings xvi. 1., Jehu lived in the time of Baasha (953—930), whereas Jehoshaphat died about 889. The book of Jehu refers merely to a section in the large work, which contained the history of Jehoshaphat.

The Midrash of the prophet Iddo, No. 4. (2 Chron. xiii. 22.) is supposed by Bertheau to have contained an explanation of a section belonging to the larger historical work.

It has been disputed whether the writer of the Chronicles, having so many historical parallels to the contents of Kings and Samuel, used those canonical books or not. The question, perhaps, scarcely admits of a satisfactory solution, in consequence of its very nature. Notwithstanding all the particulars adduced by De Wette<sup>1</sup> in favour of the affirmative side, we are disposed to take the opposite view. The diversities are of such a kind as to indicate the fact of the Chronicle-writer following his own method, not only in omitting what the others possess, and giving what they have not, but also in the arrangement and succession of particulars. We must therefore hold that they were derived independently from a common source. Both De Wette and Movers refer to the natural connection in which the earlier accounts in Samuel and Kings stand with those omitted by the writer of the books of Chronicles; but this shows little more than the superior skill of the prior writers. The same critics speak of the originality of character belonging to the earlier accounts in Samuel and Kings, in comparison with those of the Chronicles; but this is questionable, and may be resolved into the cause just assigned. Nothing that we have seen advanced by the ablest advocates of the view that the Chronist must have been acquainted with and used the earlier books, is sufficient to outweigh the considerations which speak for the opposite. Especially do the larger and smaller additions in the Chronicles to what is found in the prior works, as well as the little omissions, show, by the connection in which they stand, and the manner they are interwoven, that the Chronist followed other

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, pp. 278, 279.

sources. Both the Chronicle-writer and the authors of Samuel and the Kings had some large common source, or a copious extract from it, which accounts for the existing parallelisms. All the writers took and used the common materials in a way suitable to their object, and with a certain degree of freedom.

Although the large historical work, entitled the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, was the main source from which the Chronist took his account; and though there are no express allusions to any other sources except that and the Midrash of the prophet Iddo, there is little doubt that he had genealogical registers, topographical and statistical lists, from which he drew. For example, the lists of David's heroes (1 Chron. xi. 10—47.), the account of the companies that came to David at Ziklag, and the armies that came to him at Hebron (1 Chron. xii.), the contents of chapters xxiii.—xxvii., were very ancient documents. Judging from the 23rd chapter of first Chronicles, they did not form a part of the main historical work which the writer employed, but formed a separate composition, because the author appeals in xxiii. 25—27. to a part of the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel which contained the history of David's last years to confirm the account given in xxiii. 24., as Bertheau has observed.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever were the sources which the Chronist had, we must believe that on the whole he made a careful use of them, and generally followed them pretty closely. Traces of the freedom with which he employed them may be occasionally detected in his manner of dealing with the older history; but they form the exception to his usual method, which is more that of the compiler than independent writer.

With respect to the age and author of the work before us, the chief passage bearing upon the former is 1 Chron. iii. 19—24., where the genealogy of the sons of Zerubbabel is carried down so far after him as to reach to the time of Alexander the Great. Zunz even brings it down to 260 B. C.<sup>2</sup> We readily allow that the passage is difficult to be understood, owing to the manner in which the names in the middle of the 21st verse stand in relation to the first clause of it. But the most natural construction is to take *the sons of Rephaiah* as the great-grandsons of Zerubbabel, so that five or six generations are enumerated after Zerubbabel. This brings it to the end of the Persian or commencement of the Grecian rule. To avoid this inference Hävernick and Movers resort to the hypothesis that the names beginning with *the sons of Rephaiah* in the 21st verse do not refer to the direct posterity of the preceding grandsons of Zerubbabel, but constitute a genealogy of returned exiles running parallel with that before it; while others, as Vitringa, Heidegger, Carpzov, and apparently Keil, regard the whole piece from 19. to 24. inclusive as a later addition to the books of Chronicles. All such hypotheses are more like evasions than fair attempts to deal with a place as it exists. Nothing definite respecting the time of com-

<sup>1</sup> Die Bücher der Chronik, Einleit. p. xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, p. 33.

position can be inferred from the mention of *Darics* in 1 Chron. xxix. 7., a *Persian* gold coin, except that it fell either under the Persian dominion or somewhat later. The word גִּזְרָה applied to the temple in 1 Chron. xxix. 1. 19. does not necessarily limit the time to the Persian dynasty, since it is used in Esther. In the book of Nehemiah, there is an account of the Levitical families, brought down to the days of Jaddua the high priest who lived in the time of Alexander the Great. Jaddua was the last high priest of whom the compiler of that book knew. Now compositions which entered in part both into Nehemiah and Ezra were used in the book of Chronicles; whence it may be inferred that the author lived some time after those personages. On the whole, it appears most likely that the book of Chronicles originated in the early part of the Grecian dominion, about 330 B. C.<sup>1</sup>

If the above date be nearly correct, it is obvious that Ezra cannot have been the author. Yet most of the ancient Jews, many of the Christian fathers, and the older theologians generally, assigned the Chronicles to him; and in modern times Pareau, Eichhorn, and Keil have followed them. The reasons assigned for this opinion are such as will not stand the test of criticism. In favour of it are mentioned the correspondence of the last three verses of the Chronicles to the first three verses of the book of Ezra; the great similarity of language; the frequent citation of the law with the same formulas; the preference shown for copious descriptions of the public worship, with the temple music and praises offered by the Levites in standing liturgical phrases, as also for genealogy and public registers. Granting that these considerations go far to show that the books of Ezra and the Chronicles proceeded from the same writer, it still remains to be proved that Ezra wrote the book that bears his name; whereas nothing is more certain in the department of the higher criticism than that Ezra was not the author of the book called after him. According to De Wette<sup>2</sup>, the writer belonged to the priestly order. More probable is the opinion of Ewald<sup>3</sup>, that he was one of the musicians closely connected with the internal arrangements of the temple at Jerusalem, since he exhibits so much of the position occupied by the singers and doorkeepers. It is certain that he was disposed to collect with care, and to insert in his work, accounts relating to the Levites, of whom he speaks at length when occasion offered. He may, therefore, have been one of the Levites who filled some office in the temple.

From the sections common to the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, conclusions have been deduced by the Rationalistic party very prejudicial to the historical character of the last work. Misconception, ignorance, inaccuracies, exaggerations, a peculiar doctrinal and mythological way of thinking, a partiality for the Levitical worship and for the pious kings who were addicted to the Mosaic law, and hatred to the kingdom of Israel, have been attributed to the writer; by virtue of which, it is alleged, he has violated historical truth,

<sup>1</sup> See Dillmann in Herzog's Encyclopædie, art. Chronik.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> Geschichte, u. s. w., vol. i. pp. 225, 226.

or distorted and falsified the history of earlier times. In support of these weighty charges, many passages have been adduced by Gramberg and De Wette, which have been carefully examined by Dahler, Keil, Movers, Hävernick, and Welte. We cannot but believe that numerous accusations have been advanced against the book from misapprehension of the writer's general aim. A Levitical spirit undoubtedly prevails in it, because the author was himself a Levite, and because of the Levitical spirit of the times to which he belonged. Things have been copiously described in connection with the times and object of the writer; while many others have been omitted because they had little adaptation to his age. Besides, it is wrong to suppose that he derived his accounts from the books of Samuel and Kings, as though he had no trustworthy materials besides, and did not employ what he had in an accurate method. Speaking generally, the books themselves afford reason for supposing that the author possessed valuable materials besides those incorporated in the books of Samuel and Kings; and that he used them with care and honesty.

It cannot, however, be fairly denied that the sources which were at the disposal of the writer were not all alike trustworthy and accurate. Some were more so than others. Thus the descriptions of religious solemnities and festivals in 2 Chron. xxix.—xxxi. xxxv., 1 Chron. xv. xvi., the names in 1 Chron. xv. 5—11. 17—24., the accounts of the small number of priests and the help given to them by the Levites, 2 Chron. xxix. 34. &c., xxx. 17., must have been derived in part from less accurate materials. At the same time they show more of the author's own independent manner. No impartial critic can doubt that customs and usages established in the time of the writer have sometimes been transferred by him to an earlier period. In 1 Chron. xvi., a Psalm of praise is represented as sung in the time of David which was probably in liturgical use at the time of the Chronist, but is taken from Psal. cv. 1—15., Psal. xvi., Psal. cvii. 1., cvi. 47, 48., with a number of verbal alterations. These Psalms Hengstenberg himself admits were not written by David, maintaining that the author of Chronicles formed his composition out of them as they were sung in his day most frequently and with the greatest relish. It is preposterous, however, to assume with him, that the description of the service which took place at the introduction of the ark of the covenant in 1 Chron. xvi. terminates before the Psalm-piece is given, and therefore no use was made of the Psalm-piece at this service.<sup>1</sup> Such an idea introduces inexplicable confusion into the chapter. We may also refer to 1 Chron. xxix. 4.; 2 Chron. xv. 2—7., xvi. 7—9., xxiv. 20., xxv. 7—9., xxviii. 9—11., as indicating less definite or exact sources than usual.

In some instances the writer may have followed tradition, in consequence of which vagueness and exaggeration appear. To this head probably belongs 1 Chron. xxi. 25., where it is related that David gave Ornan, for the place of a threshing-floor, 600 shekels of gold by weight; whereas in 2 Sam. xxiv. 24., he merely gave 50 shekels of silver. The two places cannot be reconciled by any such expedient

<sup>1</sup> Commentary on the Psalms, English translation, vol. iii. p. 271.

as that of Keil. We may also instance the numbers in 1 Chron. xxi. 5., viz. 1,100,000 and 470,000, which cannot be brought into harmony with those in the parallel place (2 Sam. xxiv. 9.), and which do not agree well with the narrative in 1 Chron. xxvii. 1—15., since the existence of an army numbering about 300,000 is implied; which is too large for the country.

In other instances the text of Chronicles has suffered corruption. This is especially the case in relation to numbers. Copyists having different methods of marking them fell into mistakes. As letters were often used to designate them, these letters were confounded with others. Examples occur in 1 Chron. xviii. 4. compared with 2 Sam. viii. 4.; 2 Chron. iii. 15. and iv. 5. compared with 1 Kings, vii. 15. and 26.; 1 Chron. xi. 11. compared with 2 Sam. xxiii. 8.; 1 Chron. xxi. 12. compared with 2 Sam. xxiv. 13.; 2 Chron. ix. 25. compared with 1 Kings iv. 26. Other causes have also led to corruptions in the text, as has been shown by Movers, to whom we refer the reader for a copious discussion and enumeration of all passages.<sup>1</sup> How hastily discrepancies between the Chronicles and earlier histories have been converted by the negative critics into contradictions, may be seen from the elaborate vindication of all the passages adduced by De Wette, undertaken by Keil.<sup>2</sup> We could only wish that the critic had not carried his apologetic tone and attempt to an unwarranted extent, resorting to expedients which are arbitrary. For it cannot be denied that real contradictions exist between the Chronicles and the earlier books in a variety of passages. An example occurs in 2 Chron. viii. 18. where it is related that Hiram sent the ships and servants that had knowledge of the sea; whereas in 1 Kings ix. 27. it is merely stated that Hiram sent servants, Solomon himself having built the ships at Eziongeber. It is just *possible* that the ships may have been transported across land to Eziongeber, or that they sailed round Africa; but it is very unlikely. Besides, the 450 talents in Chronicles do not agree with the 420 in Kings. Another example is found in 1 Chron. xix. 18. compared with 2 Sam. x. 18., where the numbers disagree, the former having 40,000 foot-soldiers, the latter 40,000 cavalry.

Do we then assume that in *all* cases where real contradictions exist, the text is corrupt? We dare not go so far as this, else arbitrary conjecture would be carried to an excessive degree in relation to the books before us. Some of them appear to be original. This is allowed by the most strenuous defenders of the writer of Chronicles, Hävernick and Keil. Thus both concede a mistake in 2 Chron. xx. 36. compared with 1 Kings x. 22.; for whereas in the latter place *ships of Tarshish* denote large vessels, such as were built for commerce with Tarshish, here intended to sail to Ophir; in the former, they are said to be *ships to go to Tarshish*, which does not agree with the statement that they were built at Eziongeber.

On the whole, we believe that the Chronicles are inferior to the books of Samuel and Kings in regard to historical materials. Hence, when the accounts clash with one another, the latter are commonly

<sup>1</sup> Kritische Untersuchungen, u. s. w. § 4.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 499. *et seqq.*

preferable. But this fact does not take away their value, which is inestimable for the Hebrew history. The result of a formal comparison between the parallel accounts is highly favourable to the credibility of the Chronicles, provided doctrinal prejudices be suppressed, and an impartial estimate carefully deduced.

The historical character of the books, in the historical accounts which are peculiar to them, is equally credible and true. It is quite analogous to that of the parallel sections. Here, also, weighty accusations have been advanced by De Wette and others against the writer. Improbabilities, exaggerations, and fictitious circumstances have been attributed to him. But the majority of them have been successfully turned aside by Movers, Hävernick, and Keil. The last writer has undertaken to answer De Wette particularly. If it be recollected that the Levitical priesthood and the public service of God are specially brought into view by the writer of Chronicles—that Jehovah's displeasure with idolatrous Israel, and interference on behalf of Judah are designedly depicted—that pious kings evincing appropriate zeal for the glory of God are commended and their efforts approved, while the ruinous effect of idolatrous practices is adduced—some phenomena which have awakened suspicion against the writer will cease to do so. We do not deny the existence of various things which have not been satisfactorily explained, and appear to be incapable of solution on any other ground than one unfavourable to the accuracy of the writer. Nor can contradictions between various statements be ignored, such as 1 Chron. xxiii. 7. and vi. 17. But these are few, and form exceptions to the general method. It is a curious feature, that the author's partiality for genealogical lists goes so far as to induce a repetition, on suitable occasions, of such as had been already given. Comp. 1 Chron. viii. 29—38. with ix. 35—44.; ix. 2—17. with Neh. xi. 3—19.; Ezra ii. with Neh. vii. 6—73.

Many reasons combine to show that Chronicles and Ezra were originally one work, proceeding from the same author. The manner, diction, style, and tone, favour this view.<sup>1</sup> If it be correct, as we believe, then the book of Nehemiah was also a part of the same history, since Ezra and Nehemiah were formerly reckoned one book, and united as such. The opinion that Chronicles and Ezra were at first connected is favoured by the commencement of the apocryphal book of Ezra; since the writer passes from the history in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. to Ezra i. 1. Had he known of the separation between the books of Chronicles and Ezra, it would have prevented him from using the separated books as if they were one work. At the time of the LXX. the separation already existed, because the book of Ezra has a distinct title. Why the separation took place, it is now impossible to tell. It is likely that Ezra (and Nehemiah) was first placed in the collection of sacred historical books; and that, some time after, the portion containing the present Chronicles was taken and appended as the last book, which its position in the Hagiographa, as the closing work, favours. It was neglected for some

<sup>1</sup> See Dillmann in Herzog's Encyclopædie, art. Chronik.

time, because it coincided so much with the books of Samuel and Kings. When thus affixed in the canonical list, the last two verses in 2 Chron. xxxvi., which already stood at the beginning of Ezra, were repeated, to remind the reader, by the abrupt termination, that the continuation of the narrative was to be found elsewhere. In this way we explain, with Ewald<sup>1</sup> and Bertheau<sup>2</sup>, the identity of the close of the Chronicles and commencement of Ezra.

This opinion of the connection originally existing between Chronicles and Ezra, as parts of one work by the same writer, is confirmed by the prevailing belief of the Jews that Ezra wrote both. The Talmud says that Ezra wrote his work and the genealogies (in the Chronicles)<sup>3</sup> לוּ עַר, *i. e.* as far as the word לוּ in 2 Chron. xxi. 2.

## CHAP. IX.

### ON THE BOOK OF EZRA.

WE have already seen that the book of Ezra once included Nehemiah as a part of it, the Jews counting them but one volume. It is impossible to tell when they were first separated. Even after they had been thus divided, they were called the two books of Ezra, a division which is recognised by the Greek and Latin churches.

The book contains a narrative of the most memorable occurrences in the post-exile history of the Jews, from their return out of captivity under Zerubbabel and Joshua, till the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem, and the reformatory measures set on foot by him in the new colony. The order is chronological, according to the reigns of the Persian kings. The book consists of two principal divisions, as follows.

I. The history of the first return from the Babylonish captivity, in the first year of Cyrus, till the completion and dedication of the new temple, in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes. (ch. i.—vi.)

II. The history of the second return, under Ezra the priest, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, with the putting away of the heathen wives. (vii.—x.) Of subdivisions we notice the following:—

1 The edict of Cyrus permitting the Jews to return into Judea and rebuild the temple, with an account of the people who first returned under the leadership of Zerubbabel, and of their offerings towards rebuilding the temple. (i. ii.)

2. The building commenced. (iii.)

3. Hindrances from the Samaritans. (iv.)

4. The temple finished in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes, by the aid of a decree issued in the second year of his reign, and dedicated. (v. vi.)

5. The departure of Ezra from Babylon with a commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus. (vii.)

<sup>1</sup> Geschichte, u. s. w., vol. i. pp. 253, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Die Bücher der Chronik. u. s. w., Einleitung, p. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Baba Bathra, cap. i. fol. 15. col. 1.

6. Account of his companions, and arrival at Jerusalem. (viii.)

7. Narrative of the reformation effected by him. (ix. x.)

In the first part there is a long section in the Chaldee dialect containing the letters of the opponents of the Jews to the Persian kings Artaxerxes and Darius, with the answers of those monarchs, the continuation, completion, and dedication of the building. (iv. 8—vi. 18.). The second part contains a smaller Chaldee section (vii. 12—26.), the commission of Artaxerxes to Ezra.

With regard to the unity and independence of the work, Keil<sup>1</sup> and others suppose that not only the first part of it, but the whole, as now existing, constitutes an united book, the author of the remainder having incorporated the section iv. 8—vi. 18. without alteration in his work, and made it a part of his own narrative. This appears to be favoured by the formula of transition with which the second part begins, viz., *now after these things* (Ezra vii. 1.), by the connected succession of the history, and by the similarity of style in both divisions. To this view of the matter there are weighty objections, as will be seen from the following attempt to analyse the contents.

In the first part two original documents are incorporated, viz. the second chapter, which occurs again in Neh. vii. 6—73.; and iv. 8—vi. 18. These are distinguished by the use of the Chaldee dialect. It has been inferred from v. 4. by Movers<sup>2</sup> that iv. 8—vi. 18. is the fragment of a history composed in Chaldee by a contemporary of Zerubbabel, since the use of the first person occurs there. But the passage is not a valid proof of the writer being an eyewitness (comp. Josh. v. 6.); on the contrary, the mention of Artaxerxes in vi. 14. speaks for a later time. Hävernicks<sup>3</sup> is compelled to regard vi. 14. as an interpolation, arbitrarily, lest it should invalidate his view of the general authorship. Keil as arbitrarily accounts for the name Artaxerxes in vi. 14. as having been appended by Ezra out of gratitude for the great gifts made by Artaxerxes to the temple. We believe that it cannot be reconciled with the supposition of the writer being an eyewitness.

The second part is closely connected with the first by the commencing formula in vii. 1., but there are internal features which distinguish it. In the section vii. 27—ix. 15., where Ezra uses the first person, he himself was the writer, with which may be joined the Chaldee document in vii. 12—26. It is doubtful however whether vii. 1—11. was written by him. The third person, not the first, is employed in it; and in the sixth verse, Ezra is spoken of as *a ready scribe in the law of Moses*, which honorary appellation he would scarcely have applied to himself. Nor is it very likely that he would have written in the tenth verse "For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." These verses probably belong to the compiler or redactor. When Keil argues that in the first seven verses of the seventh chapter Ezra *must* speak of himself in the third person<sup>4</sup>, he

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, u. s. w., § 149. p. 516.

<sup>2</sup> Kritische Untersuchungen, u. s. w. p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. ii. 1. p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> Einleit. p. 517.

asserts what has no foundation. The tenth chapter is doubtful as to authorship. In it Ezra is spoken of in the third person. It was probably written by some contemporary.

Attempts have been made to neutralise all significancy belonging to this change of person by appealing to examples of the same in the prophetic writings, as in Ezek. i. 1—3., vi. 1., vii. 1. 8.; Jer. xx. 1. &c. compared with 7. &c., xxi. 1., xxviii. 1—5., xxxii. 1—8.; Hos. i. 2, 3., iii. 1. So also in Habakkuk and Daniel. But the analogy does not hold good, because the language of history is different from that of prophecy. What was allowable and usual in the latter, was not therefore appropriate to the former. Hence Hävernicks assumes an imitation of the prophetic usage by Ezra, which is altogether improbable. To appeal to our own writings for instances of a similar *enallage personarum*, as Bialloblotzsky does<sup>1</sup>, is also beside the mark. Rhetorical figures are out of place in the composition of Hebrew annals. The greater part of the second part was composed by Ezra. A diversity of expression between it and the first division is alone sufficient to show that Ezra did not write or put together the whole. Thus in the first part it is always *the law of Moses* (iii. 2., vi. 18.); but in the second, *the law of the God of heaven; the laws of God; the commandments of the Lord* (except vii. 6.). (Comp. vii. 11, 12. 14. 21. 25., x. 3.) Again, the narrative in the first person distinguishes the second part from the first. *As the hand of the Lord my God was upon me* (vii. 28. comp. viii. 18. 22. 31.); *the eye of their God was upon the elders*, &c. (v. 5.)<sup>2</sup> Keil's replies to these diversities are insufficient.<sup>3</sup>

Many circumstances unite to show, that the same writer composed and compiled the books of Chronicles and Ezra. We have already stated, indeed, that they were originally parts of the same historical work. The following are the chief points of analogy between them.

The general manner of both is the same. There is a predilection for compilation, for genealogical registers and public documents. A similar Levitical character also appears; while we meet with the same favourite expressions. This is especially exemplified in chap. i., iii., iv. 1—7., vi. 16—22. Apart from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23., which is almost identical with Ezra i. 1—3., we meet with *to offer burnt-offerings thereon as it is written in the law of Moses* (Ezra iii. 2.): compare 1 Chron. xvi. 40. A similar phrase also occurs in Ezra iii. 3.: compare 2 Chron. xiii. 11. *That willingly offered a free-will offering unto the Lord* (Ezra iii. 5.): compare 1 Chron. xxix. 5. &c., 9. 14. 17.; Nehem. xi. 2. *To set forward the work*, &c. (Ezra iii. 8.): compare 1 Chron. xxiii. 4. &c. *After the ordinance of David* (Ezra iii. 10.): compare 2 Chron. xxix. 27. and elsewhere. *For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever* (Ezra iii. 11.): compare 1 Chron. xvi. 41., 2 Chron. v. 13., and elsewhere. *Shouted aloud with joy* (Ezra iii. 12.): compare 1 Chron. xv. 16. The verb translated *to lay the foundation of* (Ezra iii. 11.): compare 2 Chron. iii. 3. The phrase rendered *afar off* (Ezra iii. 13.): compare 2 Chron. xxvi. 15. *As*

<sup>1</sup> In Kitto's Cyclopædia, art. Ezra.

<sup>2</sup> See De Wette, Einleit. u. s. w. p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. p. 518.

one man (Ezra iii. 1., Nehem. viii. 1.): compare 2 Chron. v. 13. See also Ezra ii. 64., iii. 9., vi. 20.<sup>1</sup>

As a good part of the book proceeded from Ezra himself, and other portions, such as the tenth chapter, from persons contemporary with the events narrated, there is no ground for impugning the credibility of the whole. The only modern writer who has ventured to make an objection to the trustworthiness of the accounts is Zunz, who imagines that the narrative in the first chapter is an extract from Ezra v. 13—16. and vi. 3—5.; and that the numbers in i. 9—11. of the gold and silver vessels belonging to the house of the Lord are exaggerated. Surely these are mere arbitrary conjectures without foundation. Nor is the assertion of the same critic respecting the improbability of Ezra going into the chamber of Johanan the son of Eliashib, although that high priest lived long after Nehemiah (Ezra x. 6.), of any consequence, because it presupposes that Johanan was the *high priest* of that name, whereas he may have been a son of the Eliashib spoken of in Nehemiah xiii. 7.

The events narrated in the book occupy a period of about seventy-nine years,—under the reigns of Cyrus seven years, Cambyses (called Ahasuerus iv. 6.) seven years five months, Smerdis (called Artaxerxes iv. 7.) seven months, Darius Hystaspes thirty-six years, Artaxerxes Longimanus (in the eighth year of whose reign the record ceases) twenty-nine years (including the twenty-one years of Xerxes's reign preceding, which is passed over in Ezra), amounting to eighty years. The book has no marked conclusion, because it originally formed the first part of the book of Nehemiah, not because the similarity of their contents caused them to be placed together.

In Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, a remarkable passage occurs respecting the typical import of the passover. Ezra is cited as addressing the people before the celebration of the passover, and expounding to them the mystery of it as clearly relating to Christ; Justin concluding that at an early date the words were expunged from the Hebrew copies by the Jews. The passage is this: "And Ezra said to the people, This passover is our saviour and our refuge. And if ye understand, and it enter into your heart that we are about to humble him in the sign, and after this shall trust in him, this place shall not be made desolate for ever, saith the Lord of hosts. But if ye will not believe on him nor hear his preaching, ye shall be a laughing-stock to the Gentiles."<sup>2</sup> This passage, which Justin was so credulous as to suppose that the Jews expunged from the Hebrew, was written by some Christian, and early got into copies of the LXX., where it is inserted at Ezra vi. 21. It occurs in Latin in Lactantius<sup>3</sup>; but with some variation. Doubtless it was never in the original Hebrew. It is remarkable that any critic should be disposed to admit its authenticity. Yet Whitaker<sup>4</sup> and A. Clarke<sup>5</sup> grasp at it.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Zunz's *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, u. s. w., p. 21. *et seqq.*, and Movers's *Kritische Untersuchungen*, u. s. w., p. 17. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Opp. by Otto, vol. i. p. ii. pp. 247, 248. 2d edit.

<sup>3</sup> Institut. div. iv. c. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Origin of Arianism, p. 305.

<sup>5</sup> Discourse on the Eucharist, p. 83.

## CHAP. X.

## THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

THIS book of Nehemiah bears the title *דְּבָרֵי נְחֵמְיָהּ*, *the words or transactions of Nehemiah*, and was once connected with and formed a part of Ezra. Hence some ancient writers called it the second book of Ezra or Esdras; and even regarded that learned scribe as the author. At an unknown time it was separated from Ezra, and had the name of Nehemiah prefixed to it, as it has in all Hebrew Bibles now. It contains a narrative of transactions, in which Nehemiah bore a principal part, relative to the rebuilding of Jerusalem and reforms of the people accomplished by him. The book is most conveniently divided into three sections, as follows:—

I. In the first Nehemiah describes his efforts to strengthen Jerusalem, and the increase of its population. (chap. i.—vii.)

II. In the second, there is an account of the religious solemnities conducted by Ezra the priest, at which Nehemiah appears merely as civil governor. (chap. viii.—x.)

III. In the third, we have different lists, and a narrative of other doings of Nehemiah.

These again may be subdivided as follows:—

1. The departure of Nehemiah, cupbearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus, from Shushan, furnished with a royal commission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and his arrival there. (i. ii. 1—11.)

2. Account of the building of the walls and gates of the city notwithstanding the obstacles interposed by the Samaritans. (ii. 12—20. iii.—vii. 4.)

3. A register of the exiles who first returned from Babylon; and an account of oblations at the temple. (vii. 5—73.)

4. A solemn reading of the law by Ezra at the feast of tabernacles. (viii.)

5. A solemn fast and repentance of the people; and renewal of the covenant with Jehovah. (ix. x.)

6. A list of those who dwelt at Jerusalem and in other cities; register and succession of the high priests, chief Levites, and principal singers. (xi. xii. 1—26.)

7. The dedication of the city walls. (xii. 27—47.)

8. The correction of abuses by Nehemiah, which had crept in during his absence. (xiii.)

The first section from i. 1—vii. 5. evidently proceeded from Nehemiah himself. This appears from the relation of his deeds being in the first person, as well as certain phrases and favourite expressions peculiar to him, which occur more than once. (ii. 8.: comp. ver. 18., ii. 12. with vii. 5.; ii. 19. with iii. 33.; iii. 36. &c. with v. 13.; v. 19. with vi. 14.) With this is connected a genealogical register which he himself found written, vii. 6—73. *בְּצִוְיָהֶם*. The section vii. 73., beginning with “And when the seventh month came,” &c. to x. 40., is distinguished from the preceding in various ways, by

manner, style, disappearance of Nehemiah from the foreground, and indeed all the peculiarities distinguishing this writer which appear in the first seven chapters. The manner of writing is different; for example, Nehemiah's person recedes, "Nehemiah which is the Tirshatha" (viii. 9., x. 2.); whereas he is elsewhere styled *governor* (v. 14, 15. 18.). To account for this in such a way as to comport with the Nehemiah-authorship of the present section, Keil remarks, that Nehemiah being a civil governor under the Persian king was not competent to conduct the ecclesiastical solemnities which belonged to the priest and scribe Ezra, but could only appear in subordination to Ezra (viii. 9.), and set his seal first to the covenant (x. 1.); and, that he is merely called the *Tirshatha* in this section, while he terms himself *governor* elsewhere, is not strange when we consider that the latter merely expresses official position, the former being, on the contrary, the official *title* of the Persian governor of Judea, which is appropriate in this official act.<sup>1</sup> This reply is insufficient and unsatisfactory. The distinction drawn between the two words is artificial and arbitrary; while the force of the other part of the argument lies not so much in Ezra appearing most prominent, but in the manner in which Nehemiah, the representative of the Persian king, sinks his personality, even when it appears from the record itself that he bore no inconsiderable part in the religious ceremonies described, by the side of Ezra the priest. That he should occupy a subordinate position to Ezra is not the point; that he should at once almost disappear is certainly a circumstance remarkable, which Keil's reply fails to account for. Again, the names Jehovah, Adonai, Elohim are used promiscuously (viii. 1. 6. 8, 9. &c. 14. 16. &c.); whereas, except i. 5. 11., iv. 8., Elohim is the prevailing word in Nehemiah; particularly *God of heaven*. (i. 4., ii. 4. 20.) Equally insufficient is Keil's reply here also, which resolves the variation in the use of these names into the nature of the subject, each being suited to the topic treated of. After showing that Elohim is employed in i.—vii. more than any other appellation, he accounts for Jehovah, Adonai, and other predicates of Deity in vii. 73.—x. 40. by their adaptation to the description of liturgical acts, and by imitation of the language of the Pentateuch and Psalms.<sup>2</sup> But the admission of Nehemiah praying differently in relation to these appellations (in chap. i.) from the prayers of the Levites (chap. ix.), which Keil is compelled to make, is adverse to his view. It is wholly arbitrary to suppose that Nehemiah, in describing the prayers of the Levites and his own supplications, should employ the names of Deity differently, because the Levites did not follow the language of the older sacred books and he himself did. Doubtless had Nehemiah been the narrator of both, the language of both would have been the same. And if he employs more suitable appellations of Deity in the case of religious acts, why does he employ Jehovah and cognate appellations at all in his description of civil matters, in the first seven chapters?

The words *הַרִּים*, *הַרִּים*, *nobles, rulers*, occur in ii. 16., iv. 8. 13.,

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 523.

v. 7, 17., vi. 17., vii. 5., xii. 40., xiii. 11., but not in viii.—x., where רִאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת, *heads of the fathers*, is the corresponding expression (viii. 13.). This cannot be accounted for with Keil by the different subjects in i.—vii. and viii.—x.

In consequence of the difference of style in i.—vii. and viii.—x. 40., both Hävernicks<sup>1</sup> and Kleinert<sup>2</sup> candidly allow that Nehemiah, who wrote the former, could not have written the latter also, leaving Keil alone to hold the untenable view of identity in authorship. But when Hävernicks supposes that *Ezra* wrote viii.—x., with whom Kleinert agrees so far as to ascribe ix. and x. to Ezra, he maintains what is very improbable. Internal evidence disproves the idea. The section in question could not have proceeded either from Ezra or a contemporary. It was evidently of later origin, as De Wette has shown<sup>3</sup>; nor do the arguments adduced on the other side by Keil avail to shake the strength of the conclusion. We believe that vii. 73—x. 40. proceeded from the writer or compiler of the whole book—the same person who put Ezra and Chronicles in their present state. The final redactor of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah was one and the same.

The eleventh chapter, containing a list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, is connected with vii. 5., and was probably written by Nehemiah himself. On the other hand, xii. 1—26. is very loosely joined to what precedes. It gives a list of priests and Levites, reaching down to Jaddua the high priest, who was contemporary with Alexander the Great (10, 11.), as has been inferred from Josephus. (*Antiqq.* xi. 7, 8.) This mention of Jaddua has occasioned much perplexity to those who hold that Nehemiah wrote the entire book, or even this section. Hence various ways of escaping from the difficulty have been devised. Vittinga and Rambach conjectured that the 10th and 11th verses are later additions to the text, having been originally a marginal annotation. This, however, is arbitrary. Others as Hävernicks, and after him Keil, attempt to show that it is just possible that Nehemiah wrote these verses, if he lived to be an old man, so as to see the year B.C. 370, and if Jaddua had then *entered on his office* and afterwards filled it for about forty years, *i.e.* till B.C. 332. All this is too precarious and conjectural to appear in any degree probable. In addition to such methods of escaping from the difficulty, Kleinert and Keil have attempted to show that the account of Josephus respecting Alexander the Great coming to Jerusalem when Jaddua was high priest, abounds in historical and chronological errors. But it is more likely that Josephus knew the true circumstances respecting the meeting of Alexander and Jaddua, than these two critics. He had much better opportunities than they. That Nehemiah could not have written this part (xii. 1—26.), appears from the 26th verse, where we find, “In the days of Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest, the scribe,” words which could hardly have proceeded from Nehemiah himself. Besides, it is improbable that the list of the twenty-two priests which appears in the book three times, *viz.* x. 2—8.; xii. 1—7.; xii. 12—21., each time with important

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. ii. 1. p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> In the Dorpat. theol. Beitr. p. 300. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, p. 292.

variations, proceeded from Nehemiah. This is specially unlikely in chapter xii., where the list is given twice in almost immediate succession. Moved by these considerations, Nägelsbach<sup>1</sup> resorts, with others, to the hypothesis of interpolation, and is inclined to follow Vaihinger<sup>2</sup> in supposing verses 10, 11, and 22, 23. to have proceeded from the same hand. But why should not *the entire section* be assigned to another than Nehemiah? We ascribe it all to a later author.

The portion in xii. 27—43. appears to have been written by Nehemiah himself. It contains an account of the dedication of the wall, and seems out of its proper place; as it belongs to vii. 1—4., where the completion of the wall is mentioned. Hence it forms the proper conclusion of the portion i.—vii. 5., which was composed by Nehemiah himself.

Again, xii. 44—xiii. 3. was not written by Nehemiah, but appears to have proceeded from the compiler or redactor of the entire book. Internal evidence, especially the 47th verse, shows that the writer lived considerably after Nehemiah himself. It was inserted without doubt with the object of filling up the memoirs written by Nehemiah; since xiii. 4. to the end proceeded from the latter.

If these observations be correct, the work in its present form did not come from the hand of Nehemiah. Notices of important transactions written by him have been largely used in compiling it; the redactor himself supplemented and arranged them.

We have already seen that Nehemiah was once incorporated with Ezra as one book. The two were at first connected. This is a strong presumption at least that they were written by one and the same person. It has also been stated that Ezra was once a part of the Chronicles, the third and last part, the Chronicles forming the first and second parts of the work. The manner, style, diction, and tone of the three, in addition to other considerations, are highly favourable to this conclusion. They bear the impress of the same Levitical person or compiler.

But Keil objects to this view, maintaining that each was at first a separate work, Ezra himself having written the Chronicles and the book which bears his name, while Nehemiah composed the history called after him. De Wette is also disinclined to identify the compiler of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. As to Keil's statements in reply to the united authorship of the three, they are so insignificant as to call for no remarks on the other side. They may be safely left in their own weakness. De Wette's are more worthy of attention. But they are directed against the peculiarities of Ewald's hypothesis, which attempts to define the method in which the compiler of Ezra and Nehemiah proceeded.

More recently Nägelsbach<sup>3</sup> has contended, that they did not proceed from the same person. After endeavouring to invalidate the considerations adduced, chiefly by Bertheau, and insisting upon the

<sup>1</sup> Article Ezra and Nehemiah, in Herzog's Encyclopædie.

<sup>2</sup> Article Darius, in Herzog's Encyclopædie.

<sup>3</sup> In Herzog's Encyclopædie, art. Ezra und Nehemiah.

words at the end of Chronicles and beginning of Ezra as evidence that Ezra was written before the Chronicles by an earlier author (where he reasons on the supposition that the *original writer himself* separated the three books), the critic refers, after De Wette, to the fact that the Chronist repeats the original document, Ezra ii., in Nehemiah vii. 6—73., neither altering it in such a way as to make it appear a new document, nor having it so uniform as one might expect from the same author in the same work, and asks, Where in the Chronist can we find a similar example of a document being adopted and used in the way that the compiler did with Neh. i.—vii.? The commencing words of Nehemiah announce a new book so evidently that no Hebrew writer could have taken them into his work, especially if he was about to interpolate the document so designated with a peculiar insertion, as the Chronist is said to have done by Neh. viii.—x.

The commencing words of Nehemiah are intended to show that the compiler at this place took what had been written by Nehemiah. He had not done so before; and therefore they are in their proper place. It differs little from this to say with Nägelsbach they must have formed the beginning of a new *book*. When the critic speaks of *interrupting* Nehemiah's own writing contained in chapters i.—vii. and xi., by the intercalation of viii.—x. as inconsistent with the intention of one who meant to give Nehemiah's own accounts at chap. i. &c. &c., his argument would have force if vii. 6—73. had not preceded chapter viii. But as an interruption had *already* taken place by the insertion of an Aramaean document, there was nothing unlikely or perplexing in simply *appending* to vii. 6—73., chapters viii. ix. and x. Besides, there is no ground for supposing that Nehemiah left what he wrote or compiled in one connected piece. Rather did he write on separate rolls, and leave separate pieces. And there is as little ground for thinking that the commencing terms of Neh. i. intimate any design on the part of the Chronist or general compiler to give all that Nehemiah wrote *continuously*, not in pieces.

Again Nägelsbach asks, on what ground could the Chronist have given the list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem after the exile, in 1 Chron. ix., where it is not in its place, and also in Neh. xi., where it is appropriate? As there is no reason for this procedure, he concludes that Neh. xi. is not a part of the same work to which 1 Chron. ix. belongs as an integral portion. Here the critic himself supplies an answer. The author of a large and comprehensive work, like the Chronicles, which reaches to the exile, after he had set down the tribes of Israel, and last of all, Benjamin and the house of Saul, might have wished to give a list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, which lay in Benjamin, and since he had none belonging to the time there described, *i. e.* Saul's, he appended the post-exile list. But would he have done so, asks Nägelsbach, if he intended to reproduce the same list at its proper time and in the right place? We think not. But surely it is unlikely that in compiling so large a work as Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, the redactor had one consistent plan in his mind; or proceeded in any other method than the putting of piece to piece in a certain way; unconcerned about repetition, provided it

could serve the purpose of elucidation. He has elsewhere repeated 1 Chron. viii. 29—40. and ix. 35—44., where all the difference of case between that and the present example is neutralised by the *immediate vicinity* of the repetition. It need not be assumed that *when* the compiler first wrote the list, he intended to give it again. *Having written* it once, he was not scrupulous about its second insertion.

It is probable, as Ewald supposes<sup>1</sup>, that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah were separated, before being received into the canon, because the history of new Jerusalem must have been of special importance to the later Jews; whereas the books of Samuel and Kings seemed to suffice for the history of old Jerusalem. The reply of Nägelsbach to this could be easily turned aside were it at all needful to do so.

The unity of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is sufficiently attested. The Talmud, Masorah, the lists of Old Testament books given by the fathers of the Christian church, the Cod. Alexandrinus and Cod. Frederico-August. of the LXX., call them *one book*, as Bertheau<sup>2</sup> has pointed out. The apocryphal book 3rd Esdras also appears to have found the three, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, united as one; for after 2 Chron. xxxv. and xxxvi., all Ezra and then Neh. vii. 73—viii. 13. follows.<sup>3</sup> Nägelsbach's attempt to invalidate these authorities is of no force.

It is not easy to ascertain the space of time which the administration of Nehemiah at Jerusalem occupied. Some reckon it at thirty-six years; which is probably too long. He came first to Jerusalem in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 444, and remained there twelve years. (v. 14.) Accordingly, he returned to Babylon B. C. 432. How long he stayed again at the court of Artaxerxes is uncertain (xiii. 6, 7.); but Hävernick<sup>4</sup> has shown that it could not have been above nine years, and supposes him to return about B.C. 424. The duration of his second administration probably lasted about ten years, *i.e.* till towards the close of the reign of Darius Nothus (xii. 22.), or B.C. 413 or 412. Josephus says that he lived to be an old man (Antiqq. xi. 5, 6.). Thus his administration lasted perhaps about twenty-four or twenty-five years. The book that bears his name was not written, or rather compiled, till the time of Alexander the Great.

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## CHAP. XI.

### THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

THE book of Esther derives its name from the person whose history it principally relates. It is called by the Jews *Megillah Esther—the volume of Esther*. The contents may be distributed into two parts, as follows.

<sup>1</sup> Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol i. p. 253. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Die Buecher der Chronik, p. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> See Zunz, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Einleit. ii. 1. pp. 324, 325.

I. The promotion of Esther; and the service rendered the Persian king by Mordecai, in discovering a plot against his life. (ch. i. ii.)

II. The advancement of Haman; his evil designs against the Jews, and their entire overthrow. (iii.—x.)

The story of the book is, that a Jewish maiden, Esther, a foster-daughter of Mordecai, found favour in the eyes of the Persian king Ahasuerus, after he had divorced his queen Vashti, and was advanced to the dignity of queen. It relates how she and her uncle Mordecai frustrated the decree which Haman, a favourite of the monarch, had obtained for the extirpation of all the Jews in the empire; how the feast of Purim was instituted to commemorate their deliverance; and how Mordecai was advanced into the place of Haman.

The scope of the history is clearly to describe the historical occasion and origin of the Purim-festival.

The transactions recorded in the book relate to the time of Xerxes, according to the correct opinion of Scaliger, Drusius, Pfeiffer, Carpzov, Justi, Eichhorn, Jahn, Gesenius, Hävernicks, Winer, Baumgarten, and Keil. This agrees with the statement in i. 1., that his empire extended from India to Ethiopia; and other historical circumstances concur. The character of Ahasuerus agrees with that of the tyrant Xerxes, as depicted by Herodotus, Justin, Strabo, &c. The descriptions in the book do not coincide so well either with Darius Hystaspes, for whom Ussher decided, or with Artaxerxes Longimanus, who is favoured by Josephus, the LXX., and the apocryphal additions to the book of Esther, and is adopted as the monarch called Ahasuerus by Prideaux, Hales, and others.

In regard to the time and author, opinions have been greatly divided. Augustine and others referred the book to Ezra; Eusebius, to some later but unknown author. The Pseudo-Philo (*Chronographia*) and R. Azarias thought that it was written at the request of Mordecai by Joakim the high priest, son of Joshua. The Talmud assigns it to the men of the great synagogue. These, however, are gratuitous conjectures. Many think that it was composed by Mordecai, as Abenesra, Clement of Alexandria, Sanctius, Walther, Gerhard, Dannhauer, — or by Esther and him conjointly. The book does not represent the matter in such a light as that Mordecai was the writer, though De Wette thinks so; for the inference cannot justly be drawn from ch. ix. 20. 23. 32. In the first two places the whole context shows that the language does not relate to the book itself, but to the circular letters which Mordecai sent to the Jews in all the provinces of the Persian empire; and in the third, where it is stated that the command of Esther was written in the book, the author merely intimates that his narrative was derived from a written source. A record of events called *the book* was in existence; which record or document is not identified with the book of Esther. We look upon the ninth chapter as furnishing internal evidence of the fact, that the writer was not Mordecai; especially ix. 19—27. It is now impossible to discover his name or profession. It is manifest, however, that he lived in Persia, because he appeals to the chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia (x. 2.); because he exhibits an accurate knowledge

of Shushan and the relations of the Persian empire, as well as of Persian customs and manners (i. 1. 10. 14., ii. 3. 15. 21., iii. 1. 7. 10. 12. 15., iv. 5. 11., v. 9., viii. 8. 14., ix. 6—10.); while his picture of the principal personages, and careful presentation of names, attest his fidelity. This is confirmed by the absence of every reference to Judah and Jerusalem, of the theocratic spirit, and even of the religious stand-point. The precise time in which he lived and wrote is matter of uncertainty. Hävernick, Welte, and Keil suppose that he composed the work not long after the occurrences related in it took place, during the existence of the Persian empire, probably in the time of Artaxerxes. But this appears to us too early. The language points to a later period than that of Ezra and Nehemiah. Not only has it Persisms, but late words, forms, and expressions, as פְּרָתָיִים, *nobles*, i. 3.; פְּתִיבָה, *decree*, i. 20.; בֵּיתֵן, *palace*, i. 5.; בִּיזָן, *fine linen*, i. 6.; קִטְרֵה, *crown*, i. 11.; כְּתָבֵה, *commandment*, i. 15.; גִּנְזָה, *a garden*, i. 5.; יָקָר, *honour*, i. 20.; מַרְבֵּשׁ, *marble*, i. 6.; מְצִיבֵה, *officers*, i. 8.; מְטִיבֵה, *good with*, i. 19. Other phenomena have been supposed to point to the period of the Ptolemys and Seleucidæ long after the events took place. Persian customs are explained in i. 1. 13., viii. 8., a fact consistent with the composition of the book in Persia, provided a considerable space of time had intervened between the events and the writer's own generation.<sup>1</sup> It is not a sufficient reply when Hävernick<sup>2</sup> and others affirm, that this would not be remarkable even in a contemporary, because he wrote for Jews living in Palestine. In any case he must have written, at least in part, for those living in the Persian empire. Indeed, it is most likely that he wrote for them in the first instance. To affirm that he wrote solely or chiefly for Palestinian Jews is a mere hypothesis, and does not agree well with the absence of the religious spirit from the book. Another consideration advanced in favour of a date as late as the era of the Seleucidæ, is the spirit of a bloodthirsty revenge and love of persecution seen in the book. To this, however, it is justly objected by Baumgarten<sup>3</sup> and Hävernick, that the author himself entertains no such spirit, but depicts persons simply as they acted; and therefore no criterion is furnished towards determining the age of the book. If it could be shown that the author has imparted something of his own spirit to Esther, for example, when she is described as not contented with one avenging blow, but as obtaining from the king power to inflict a second (ix. 13.), the argument would be unassailable; but as long as this cannot be shown, it is irrelevant. An important consideration in favour of the late date appears to us to be deducible from the absence of the religious spirit in the writer, or rather the absence of *its manifestation*. Had the writer lived soon after the events narrated, it is improbable that he would have omitted all mention of divine providence and the name of God; because the religious feeling had not so far degenerated among the Jewish captives who did not return to their own land with Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. An extraordinary value is also attached to fasting by Esther (iv. 16.), confirming the same thing. Forms are magnified,

<sup>1</sup> See De Wette's Einleitung, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. ii. 1. p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> De fide libri Estheræ comment. hist. crit. p. 61.

a sure sign of decaying spiritual life (iii. 2.). The longer the Jews lived in Persia, separated from their own brethren, the more assimilated would they be to the prevailing opinions and usages of the empire. The theocratic spirit would become less and less. Hence we suppose the lapse of a considerable period, from the time of Esther and Mordecai till that of the writer, when a sense of the old Jewish religion and attachment to the theocracy had sunk in the minds of the children and grandchildren of the Jewish captives. On the whole, therefore, there is no more likely age for the origin of the book than that of the Ptolemys and Seleucidæ, which commenced 312 B.C. When we come to speak of the historical character of the book, various circumstances will serve to corroborate the view now taken. Josephus regarded it as the latest of the canonical books, and included it in the canon, which he looked upon as completed in the reign of Artaxerxes.

The fact that the name of God never occurs in Esther, and that there is no allusion to the superintending providence of Jehovah amid deliverances of the Jewish people so remarkable and striking, has proved a stumblingblock to many. Whatever explanation of it be offered, the thing itself is apparent. The events described in the book are not looked at in a religious view by the writer; or he has suppressed at least the manifestation of a theocratic and pious spirit. This is the more wonderful because Mordecai, Esther, and the other Jews show some piety and trust in God. (iii. 2. &c., iv. 1.—3. 14. 16.) Baumgarten, Hävernick, and Keil explain the fact in question by the circumstance that the writer did not wish to set forth the personages of the history as more devout than they really were, nor the occurrences in a point of view which would have seemed strange to his contemporaries and foreign to the subject itself, inasmuch as Jehovah, the God of Israel, had not revealed himself among the people. Hence he contented himself with a simple narration of facts, without subjective reflection. This method of accounting for the phenomenon is unsatisfactory. How could the writer, if he were deeply penetrated by the Spirit of God, refrain from subjective reflection? How could he avoid the mention of Jehovah as the preserver of the Jews, his peculiar people? These questions are untouched by the explanation.

A better method of resolving the difficulty is that of Coquerel<sup>1</sup>, who supposes that the book is a translated extract from the memoirs of the reign of the Persian king Ahasuerus. The Asiatic sovereigns caused annals of their reign to be kept; and the book itself attests that Ahasuerus had such historical records. (ii. 23., vi. 1., x. 2.) If then it was necessary that the Jews should have a faithful narrative of their history under queen Esther, from what better source could they derive it than from the memoirs of the king her consort? In this manner various characteristics belonging to the book are accounted for; and especially the absence of the name of God. If the author of an extract from the memoirs or chronicles of Ahasuerus had given it a more Jewish complexion, or spoken of the God of

<sup>1</sup> *Biographie Sacrée*, tom. i. p. 361. *et seqq.*

Israel, he would have deprived his narrative of an internal character of truth.

The ingenuity of this view is unquestionable. Yet it is a mere hypothesis. All that appears probable in it is that the author made use of Persian annals. That he confined himself to a bare extract from them, in another language, is unlikely. He did not translate so slavishly as to exclude the utterance of every religious feeling in himself. Had he made an extract from the Persian, as is supposed, he would have employed a much more degenerate and Persified form of the Hebrew language.

Although the Jews venerate this book next to the Pentateuch, its historical character and credibility have been doubted or denied by many Christian critics since the reformation. To this they have been led by the difficulties and apparent improbabilities of the narrative. The circumstance of a national festival having been instituted in commemoration of the events described in the book, and which is mentioned already in the time of Judas Maccabæus (2 Maccab. xv. 36.), is a sufficient voucher for the principal event in the history. A national festival could not have been founded on a mere fable. Hence we must hold that the feast of Purim originated in the manner described.

One of the difficulties lies in identifying Ahasuerus with Xerxes. It is certain that Xerxes agrees better with the description of the Persian monarch given in the book of Esther than any other; and therefore some critics have urged the circumstances connected with his person and reign which militate most against the hypothesis, even when admitting that it is the most probable of any. The historical relations of Xerxes's reign coincide with what the book contains; and the manners and customs of the ancient Persians are likewise accordant. The folly, sensuality, and cruelty of Xerxes, as known from profane writers, confirm the credibility of his divorcing the queen because she would not appear in obedience to his drunken command, on an improper occasion; his decree that all the wives throughout the empire should obey their husbands; his permission to the grand vizier to extirpate a considerable portion of his subjects; his speedy condemnation of that favourite; his elevation of Mordecai, one of the very people who had been devoted to destruction, to the highest dignity in the kingdom, and his loading him with honours, are in harmony with the Persian practices and the character of the monarch. Vashti was divorced in the third year of his reign, and Esther was raised to the same place in the seventh; the celebrated expedition against Greece intervening. It cannot justly be inferred from the author's silence respecting this expedition, that he knew nothing of it, as De Wette asserts; for it did not concern his purpose in writing. It is true that we read of measures being taken, *soon after* Vashti's divorce in the third year of the monarch's reign, for choosing a new queen; while the selection of Esther did not take place till the seventh year (i. 3. &c., ii. 16.); and also that virgins were gathered together the second time; but the espousal must have been deferred till after the invasion of Greece, and the

virgins already assembled dismissed till they were recalled to the king's harem after his return from Greece. We are also reminded by De Wette of the difficulty arising from the fact that history speaks of other amours and of another spouse of Xerxes after the seventh year of his reign, viz. Amestris; but the Persian kings were not satisfied with one royal spouse. Besides Amestris, Esther may have become a special favourite, and have been raised to the dignity of queen. Another difficulty has been supposed to lie in the fact that Xerxes reigned no more than eleven or twelve years, as Hengstenberg and Krüger reckon; for at the time when Haman and Mordecai should have been his grand viziers, Artabanus had supreme influence over him. But it is not proved that he reigned no more than twelve years; and even if it were, the history of the book goes no farther than the twelfth year of his reign, not being carried on till his death.

De Wette supposes that the main weakness of the narrative consists in the fact that Esther concealed her pedigree not merely till ii. 20., but till the catastrophe itself; that Haman suspects nothing of it and of her relationship to Mordecai; that the king likewise knew nothing of it, and is therefore surprised at her request to be delivered from destruction (vii. 5.). But surely Esther had no cause for revealing her descent earlier; since it is likely that the king never asked about the pedigree of his female favourites; and Haman, as vizier, had nothing to do with the royal harem.

More formidable in our view, though Justi, Baumgarten, and Keil make light of it, is the circumstance that, according to ii. 5, 6. Mordecai seems to have been carried away captive with Jehoiachin king of Judah, and thus he must have been about 120 years old at the time of the history, while Esther must also have been an aged beauty. The only way of escaping from this dilemma is to take the commencement of the sixth verse, *אִשָּׁר הִנָּלָה*, who had been carried away, &c. to refer to *Kish*, the last name in the preceding verse, not to Mordecai. But this seems unnatural and improbable. The writer would appear to have intended otherwise.

The only other difficulty in the narrative worth mentioning is that the Jews, in consequence of the edict procured by Mordecai to frustrate that of Haman, should not only have stood on the defensive, but have become aggressive, falling upon the Persians and killing upwards of 75,000. We can see however nothing incredible in this, especially as the king permitted the Jews not merely "to stand for their life, but to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish all the power of the people and provinces that would assault them." (viii. 11.) It was natural that the Jews when assaulted should be exasperated, and revenge themselves as much as they could. The writer does not praise their murderous act. He simply narrates it. When men's evil passions are thoroughly roused, they burn with the desire to kill and not spare. A spirit of revenge breathes through the book. The massacre in question is not without parallels, even in the history of European nations. Why then need it be thought incredible in Persia? On the whole, we cannot detect many improbabilities in

the history. Only one or two present difficulty to the inquirer. For the rest, it is consistent with itself, and in harmony with all that we know of Persia and her kings at the time. It is a truthful history of real events.

The canonical authority of the book has sometimes been doubted, because it is not cited by Philo or in the New Testament, and omitted in some ancient Christian catalogues of the sacred writings. As to the silence of Philo and the New Testament, it applies to various other books, such as Nehemiah, Lamentations, &c., so that nothing unfavourable can be deduced from it. It is supposed that Melito included it as well as Nehemiah, under the name of *Ezra*. We need not refer to other ancient writers, some of whom appear to have entertained doubts of it because of the apocryphal additions appended at an early period. There can be no question about its forming a part of the Jewish canon before the time of Christ, since it was translated by the LXX. The external evidence is ample on behalf of its canonicity.

It is well known that Luther had a mean opinion of the book because of its internal character. He says, "Though the Hebrews have this last (the book of Esther) in their canon, it is in my judgment more worthy than all of being excluded from the canon."<sup>1</sup> The palliations and defences set up by Sebastian Schmidt and Carpzov, in relation to this language, are lame, when they affirm that it does not refer to the book as it appears in the Hebrew canon, but as it is read by the Romanists with the apocryphal additions. These had been already excluded from the canon by Jerome. Other alleged contemptuous expressions of Luther in allusion to the book as "The book of Esther I toss into the Elbe," are incorrectly quoted; the true translation being, "The *third* book of Esther I toss into the Elbe," as Hare has shown.<sup>2</sup> Another passage, where the Reformer is supposed to allude to the book of Esther, is, "When the Doctor was correcting the translation of the second book of the Maccabees, he said, I dislike this book and that of Esther so much, that I wish they did not exist; for they Judaize too much, and have much heathenish extravagance. Then Master Forster said, The Jews esteem the book of Esther more than any of the prophets." "The combination of the book with that of the Maccabees," says Hare<sup>3</sup>, "as well as Forster's remark, leaves no doubt that Luther spoke of the book of Esdras." We doubt much the correctness of this opinion respecting the book to which Luther referred. Forster's remark appears to us to favour the application of the Reformer's words to the canonical book of Esther. This is confirmed by the fact that Luther did not translate the third book of Esdras, or as it is termed in the LXX. and English versions, the *first* book of Esdras. Nor did he translate the fourth (English Bible *second*) book of Esdras, which does not exist in Greek. Doubtless the great Reformer judged of Esther by its religious tone and spirit, and finding a blank there, he applied strong diction in its depreciation.

<sup>1</sup> De Servo Arbitrio, vol. iii. Jena. Lat. p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> Vindication of Luther against his recent English assailants, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 221.

## CHAP. XII.

## THE BOOK OF JOB.

THE book of Job derives its title from the prominent person presented in it to the reader, whose prosperity, severe afflictions, and exemplary patience under them, succeeded by restoration to more than original happiness in this life, are set forth with marvellous power and skill. The contents are briefly the following.

In the land of Uz lived a pious man named Job. He was the richest of all the men of the East. On a certain day *the sons of God* came to present themselves before Jehovah. Among them was one called Satan, who, being interrogated respecting Job, replied that his piety was not of a kind to withstand a reverse of fortune. Jehovah gave Satan permission to tempt him, on condition that his person should be untouched. Accordingly all his property and children are suddenly destroyed. A similar scene again takes place between God and Satan, when the latter receives permission to make the experiment upon Job's own person, with the restriction to spare his life. Forthwith the adversary departed, and smote Job with a loathsome disease over his whole person. In the midst of all these calamities, domestic and personal, he retained his integrity, not sinning with his lips, but patiently submitting to the dispensation of the Almighty. Three friends of his, hearing of his misfortunes, came to mourn with and comfort him. But in the first instance they sat beside him in perfect silence seven days and nights, none uttering a word. Such is the historical introduction or prologue to the body of the work, consisting of the first two chapters, and written in prose.

This is followed by three series of controversy or dialogue between the sufferer and his friends, the first ushered in by Job's cursing the day of his birth, amounting to a complaint against the divine procedure as arbitrary and unjust. Suspecting the cause of his friends' silence to arise from the view they take of the origin of his condition, he gives impatient vent to his wounded feelings in rash and vehement complaints. This leads at once to the discussion. The friends can no longer refrain from expressing their opinion of the cause of his misfortunes. Eliphaz speaks first. He reproves the sufferer's impatience, calls in question his integrity by insinuating that God does not inflict such punishment on the righteous, but sends trouble only on the wicked. Finally, he advises him not to strive with the Almighty, but to seek a renewal of the divine favour by repenting of the sins which must of necessity have provoked such retribution. (iv. v.)

In his reply, Job apologises for the passionate warmth of his complaints by the greatness of his sufferings, complains of the harsh treatment of his friends, and expostulates with God respecting his unmerited misfortunes. (vi. vii.)

The second of the friends, Bildad, resumes the argument of Eliphaz, which he enforces with greater acrimony. He tells him that the

death of his children had been owing to their transgressions; and that if he would be restored to his former prosperous state, he should reform, not murmur. God would not cast away an upright man. (viii.)

In reply, Job admits that every man must prove deficient when judged by the standard of God's perfect purity, and that it would be vain to contend with Him because of His resistless power. If he were ever so innocent, he would not maintain his innocence, but supplicate his Judge for favour. He then returns to complaint, and in despair wishes for death. (ix. x.)

Zophar follows, administering reproof with greater severity than his companions. He says that a babbler ought to be answered, and a mocker put to shame. As for Job's claim to purity, if God would only speak, it would be seen how baseless it was, and how less retribution had been exacted than had been deserved. The Almighty in his infinite wisdom could discover transgressions unknown even to the doer of them: and the speaker exhorts Job to repentance as the only means by which to recover his former prosperity. (xi.)

The reply of Job contains a censure of their pretensions to superior wisdom. He reaffirms that in the arrangements of providence there is no discrimination with relation to character in man. He acknowledges the general doctrine of God's unlimited sovereignty, declaring that he knew it as well as they; denies that they were right in holding his sufferings to be a retribution for sins; charges them with hypocrisy and uncharitableness; appeals to God and maintains his innocence; prays that some respite may be granted him before the close of his appointed pilgrimage; and wishes for the time to come when he could be hidden at once in the grave. (xiii. xiv.) Thus the first series of controversy contains three speeches of the three friends, with Job's reply to each.

The second series of controversy begins with another speech from Eliphaz more vehement than the first, but in the same strain still. He condemns the confidence with which Job had asserted his innocence, proves from past experience that providence never allows the wicked to escape punishment, and therefore that Job's afflictions must be looked upon as symptomatic of wickedness. (xv.) In reply, Job says he has heard enough from pretended friends, who had merely aggravated his distress. He then resumes the strain of complaint, professes his unconsciousness of any wickedness that could have brought him to such a state, desires that his friends should argue no longer or remain longer with him, and looks to death as his last resource. (xvi. xvii.)

Bildad's second discourse is similar to the first, inculcating the general idea that Job's sufferings are the tokens of God's displeasure at his wickedness. It contains no exhortation like the former, not calling upon Job to confess and forsake his sins that he may obtain forgiveness. (xviii.)

In reply, the sufferer complains bitterly of the cruelty of his friends, and the hard treatment of God also; he craves pity, wishes that his words, so culpable in their eyes, were written down, for then they would be fairly considered; and professes his belief that God would

yet appear to vindicate the justice of his cause against his accusers. (xix.)

The second speech of Zophar enlarges upon the sure downfall and portion of the wicked. (xx.)

The reply of Job dwells upon the fact that the wicked are often favoured in this life. They often spend their days in prosperity and terminate them in peace. In direct antagonism to Zophar, he represents the wicked as especially prosperous in the world. (xxi.)

The third debate or series of controversy is opened as before by Eliphaz, who asserts more directly than before that Job's misfortunes were the result of his crimes; charges him with specific sins; and affirms that it is vain to suppose they have escaped God's notice. He concludes with renewed exhortation to repentance and prayer. (xxii.)

In reply, Job complains of the hardship of having no opportunity for self-vindication. If he could find God, he is confident that he should be able to establish his righteousness, and be acquitted. But this he cannot do, for the Almighty appears to be inflexible in his purposes of anger towards him. The wicked, on the contrary, for the same cause, escape punishment in this life and are prosperous. (xxiii. xxiv.)

The rejoinder of Bildad expresses very briefly the majesty and holiness of God, before whom man cannot be pure. (xxv.)

Job commences his last discourse with an allusion to the very small help furnished by Bildad towards an illustration of the topic discussed; after which he acknowledges God's power and greatness, and proceeds to admit that there is truth in what the friends have advanced concerning the danger of a wicked life; though he himself is not guilty. The blessings which the hypocrite and sinner enjoy are frequently turned into curses. He then draws a contrast between his former and present state, adverting to himself in the relative situations of life as a husband, a master, a magistrate; strongly protests his integrity; and concludes with an ardent wish for an immediate trial before the Almighty's tribunal. (xxvi.—xxx.)

The controversy now terminates. The disputants appear to be silenced by the concluding discourse of Job. Another speaker is introduced. Elihu states that, being only a young man, he had hitherto refrained from expressing his opinions, but that now he was resolved to declare them; that none of the speakers had confuted Job, but, on the contrary, that Job had silenced them. He finds fault with the sufferer for asserting his innocence as he had done, and thereby accusing God of injustice. He declares the common method of the divine providence in which men are often afflicted for gracious purposes, and maintains that Job was blameworthy for adopting the impious language of evil-doers. The divine chastisements should in every instance be received with submission. He concludes with a fine description of various attributes of Deity. (xxxiii.—xxxvii.)

After the speech of Elihu, Jehovah himself interposes and speaks. In a long discourse, expressed for the most part in the interrogative form, he shows Job the folly of questioning the justice or wisdom of

the divine government, when he was unable to control, or as much as comprehend, the commonest phenomena of nature. The speech of Jehovah out of the whirlwind is of the sublimest kind. (xxxviii.—xli.)

This appeal to Job is followed by an expression of meek submission and repentance on his part (xlii. 1—6.); after which Jehovah expresses displeasure with Eliphaz and the other two friends for speaking wrongly of Him. Job's prayer for his friends is accepted; he himself is restored to prosperity; his flocks and herds are doubled; he receives as many sons and daughters as formerly, and dies after a long life. (xlii. 7—17.) The epilogue, which like the prologue is in prose, consists of xlii. 7—17., representing Job's vindication, and the happy issue of all his trials. The rest of the book, viz. iii.—xlii. 7., is in the language of poetry, giving the dialogue or controversy in which the whole argument lies.

In relation to the *substance* and *form* of the poem, some have ventured to assert that the whole is a fictitious narrative intended to convey instruction in the way of parable. Accordingly they hold that Job was not a real person. This was an old Jewish sentiment; for it is in Baba Bathra (xv. 1.). It has also been advanced by Salmasius, Le Clerc, J. D. Michaelis, Dathe, Augusti, Semler, Bishop Stock, Bernstein, and others. We need not enter upon any formal refutation of a thing now almost wholly abandoned. It is opposed to the spirit and genius of antiquity, which did not create historical persons and the historical circumstances belonging to them. Pure fiction was a gradual and slow process developed in the course of centuries; and belongs to modern literature, not to ancient. The old literature did not comprehend it, as Ewald<sup>1</sup> has well remarked.

An opposite extreme is presented in the opinion of such as maintain that all related in the book is a true and real history. It has been inferred that this was the view of Josephus, because he includes the work among the historical or prophetic parts of the Old Testament. Most of the Rabbins, the fathers of the Christian church, and the older theologians down to Fred. Spannheim and Albert Schultens also adopted it. In favour of it, the Scriptures which mention *the person* Job have been cited. Thus the prophet Ezekiel speaks of him, "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God." (xiv. 14.) As Noah and Daniel, with whom Job is associated, were real characters, it is inferred that Job was the same. In like manner James writes in his epistle, "Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is very pitiful and of tender mercy." (v. 11.) Here it is improbable that an imaginary character should be quoted as an example of patience.

Again, to the LXX. a subscription or appendix is annexed, containing a brief genealogical account of Job, which is supposed to have

<sup>1</sup> Das Buch Ijob, second edition, pp. 15, 16.

been taken from an old Syrian version. In it he is identified with Jobab, who was the fifth in descent from Abraham through Esau, and reigned in Edom. The same is at the end of the old Latin and Arabic versions of the book of Job; but the authority of the latter resolves itself into that of the Greek translation.

Again, the reality of the history is argued from the concurrent testimony of Eastern tradition. Job is mentioned by the author of the book of Tobit, who lived, it is said, during the Assyrian captivity. He is repeatedly mentioned by Mohammed as a real character. His history is known among the Syrians and Chaldeans; and many of the noblest families among the Arabians are distinguished by his name. Even so late as the end of the fourth century, persons went into Arabia to see his dunghill; a fact which attests at least the reality of his existence, as do also the traditionary accounts concerning the place of his abode.

Most of these arguments are futile, particularly the second which is merely conjectural, derived from the slight resemblance between the names Jobab and Job, and is too recent to be received as evidence in a question of this nature; for there is little doubt that the genealogy in question is posterior to the time of the Saviour. The third is wholly drawn from the book of Job itself, having no independent existence as far as we can discover. Traditions respecting Job were circulated in the East because they proceeded from the work that bears his name. Or, if they were entirely independent, they prove no more than the real existence of the person, not the literality and truth of the history contained in the book.

The only pertinent arguments therefore, are those derived from Ezekiel and James. And even they are not indubitable, since fictitious and real characters may be mentioned together; as Lazarus is represented in the bosom of Abraham. But for the reason already assigned, we regard Job as a real personage of antiquity. Still this is far from implying that every thing related in the book is historically true. We may reasonably believe, from the language of Ezekiel and James, as well as from the genius of ancient literature, that Job was no creation of the imagination, without supposing that the book which bears his name contains a literal history. We accept the considerations now adduced as favourable to the supposition of Job's real existence, but not as valid on behalf of the view for which they are sometimes quoted, viz. that the book presents a literal history throughout.

A third opinion, which commends itself on every account to our approbation, is that there was an ancient tradition founded on facts respecting Job, a man who was remarkably upright and had gone through unexampled vicissitudes of fortune, which the writer of the present book adapted to his purpose, enlarging, moulding, and embellishing it as his theme seemed to require. The few circumstances which were current respecting the character of the patriarch he disposed in a manner suitable to the object he had in view. What they were, it is impossible to ascertain. We presume that they were not many. Even then tradition may have blended fact and fiction; which it

was unnecessary to separate. Ewald<sup>1</sup> has endeavoured to show some things which were historical in the time of the poet, and so to exhibit portions of the groundwork on which the latter built. Among these he places the name Job, those of his three friends, the land of Uz, the rare disease *elephantiasis* with which he was afflicted. It appears to us very probable that all these circumstances were historical, not poetical embellishments by the author; and Hengstenberg's attempt to show that they may have been invented, is nothing but gratuitous opposition to Ewald.<sup>2</sup> The endeavour indeed to specify any particulars as belonging to the region of history, leaving others in that of fiction, is adventurous enough; but the critic of Göttingen does not pretend to adduce *all* that may be vindicated for tradition. Although Job is a patriarchal figure, whose real existence cannot well be denied, it does not follow that the theatre of his trials, or his home, was received by the poet from tradition as an historical fact. The land of Uz may be imaginary. Yet we are disposed to regard it as the *real* habitation of the patriarch. Where then should it be looked for? It is mentioned besides, in Jer. xxv. 20., Lam. iv. 21.; but these passages do not determine its precise situation. It lay on the borders of Idumea and Arabia, with Idumea on the south, Judea on the west, and Arabia on the east. Some would reckon it as belonging to northern Arabia, which is not incorrect, because the limits of Syria to the south, and of Arabia, were never strictly defined. The LXX. rendering is *Ἀβουίτις*; and Ewald<sup>3</sup> thinks that the appellations Esau and Uz were originally the same. By this appertionment of the land, the incursions of the Chaldeans and Sabeans through which Job is said to have lost his possessions are geographically appropriate; but if with Jahn<sup>4</sup> we identify it with the valley of Damascus, which could not have been so extensive as to warrant the expression "all the kings of the land of Uz" (Jer. xxv. 20.), the pertinency is impaired. Fries<sup>5</sup> has recently endeavoured to investigate the locality of Uz more minutely, and has identified it with the territory el Tellul, which is bounded on the west by the Hauran mountainous tract, on the south and east by the great wilderness el Hammad, and stretches northwards as far as the thirty-third parallel. The point has not been materially advanced by his dissertation.

Few who have reflected on the subject will hesitate at the present day to adopt the view now stated, viz. that the writer took a tradition prevailing in his time respecting Job and embellished it in a manner suited to promote his leading design. *The basis* of the poem is historic truth. But it is impossible to carry out the theory that *all is true history*. The entire plan and structure bear the impress of fictitious narrative. The book is pervaded by a uniform design, and is artificial in arrangement. The speeches are elaborately poetical; the language highly wrought. How could Job, afflicted with a

<sup>1</sup> Das Buch Ijob, u. s. w. p. 19. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Ijob, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Studien und Kritiken for 1854, p. 299. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Article Job, in Kitto's Cyclopædia.

<sup>4</sup> Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 768.

loathsome disease and most wretched in mind as well as body, utter long discourses presenting all the evidence of careful finish? How could the friends also have spoken in the highest style of poetry, with such uniformity of design and fulness? Did the Deity himself speak literally and audibly out of the midst of a whirlwind? There is also an artificial regularity of numbers throughout, especially three and seven. Job had seven sons and three daughters. His substance was seven thousand sheep and three thousand camels. When the time of restoration comes, his possessions are doubled; while the number of children is the same as before. After his troubles he lives twice the age of man, viz. 140 years. His friends are three. There are three series of controversy between him and his friends, each consisting of three dialogues, except the last. The prologue bears the stamp of fiction on its surface; for it is contrary to all verisimilitude that a literal dialogue of the kind reported should have taken place between God and Satan; or that the latter should have presented himself on two successive occasions among the sons of God, in the immediate presence of the Almighty, and thence descended to earth again. The suddenness and rapidity with which one misfortune after another befalls the sufferer, beginning with the least calamitous and ending with the heaviest, are also unlike the recital of real occurrences. These and other phenomena in the book compel the critic to believe that the greater part of it consists of fictitious circumstances bearing upon the moral end which the author had in view. The sentiments put into the mouths of the speakers cannot be other than the effusions of the poet's heaven-inspired genius. The philosophic doubter's mental struggle is transferred to the hero of the story. The searchings of his own mind are embodied in a descriptive dialogue admirably devised. The attempted reply of Barnes to these considerations is pointless and puerile, proceeding on a false basis. This commentator has discovered that the several speeches succeeded one another at intervals, which gave full time for reflection. There was ample time to arrange each reply before it was uttered. The debate was protracted, and systematic, and regular! Here every thing is supposed to be literally and historically true.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the structure of the book there has been diversity of opinion among critics. Some have pronounced it an *epic* poem, as Stuss, Lichtenstein, Ilgen, and Good. The last writer believes that it has all the prominent features of an epic as described by Aristotle himself; such as unity, completion, grandeur in its action; loftiness in its sentiments and language; multitude and variety in the passions which it develops. The characters too are discriminated and well supported.<sup>2</sup> But we perceive no propriety in calling it an epic poem. The prologue is opposed to this notion; and the narrative begins at the historical commencement instead of following the rule laid down by Horace,

“Semper ad eventum festinat, et in medias res  
Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit.”

<sup>1</sup> Commentary on Job, Introduction, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Good's Introductory Dissertation to Job, sect. 2.

The *dramatic* form of the poem has been often observed. Indeed it can hardly escape the notice of the most careless reader. In this view some, as Mercer and Beza, style it a tragedy, with divisions into acts and scenes, attributing a regularity to it which it was not intended to present. Tried by the Greek drama it can hardly lay claim to that appellation, as has been shown at length by Lowth.<sup>1</sup> It contains no plot or action; exhibits one uniform succession of things without change of feature from beginning to end; while the manners, passions, and sentiments are such as might be expected in the situation. There is no doubt, however, of the form being dramatic. The dialogues are in metre; the poetry is of the sublimest description; the parties are introduced speaking with great fidelity of character; strict history is not observed, fiction giving effect to the whole; the parts are regularly distributed, and an air of completeness marks the entire work. It may therefore be called the divine drama of the ancient Hebrews, unique, peculiar, original; distinguished above all the other books not merely by the elevation of its subject, but the art with which the matter is arranged—the completeness with which the poet has seized a great idea and invested it with a living body of flesh and blood, fresh and finished. It is the greatest, most sublime composition which Hebrew genius inspired of God has produced. In it poetry has shown her highest art. Yet the gifted spirit who composed it remains in miraculous concealment, his very name being unknown, as well as his place of abode. Probably his contemporaries were not alive to the sublime and unique excellence of his work, towering as it did above all the effusions of the Hebrew muse, and overleaping centuries of the slow growth of ideas among the Hebrews. His very prose is poetical. It has been observed by many, that the dialogues of the speakers may be distributed into *strophes*; and accordingly they are so arranged by Koester.<sup>2</sup> In like manner, Ewald has endeavoured to penetrate into and eliminate a strophic structure. But we incline to think that he has searched for and found more artificiality of this kind than was intended by the original writer. There can be no doubt that the poet employed the elaboration of art in the disposition of his theme; that it is laid out with masterly skill; that genius is observable not only in the working out of the great topic, but in the shape it has received from his plastic hand; and that poetic art is combined with lofty conception; but we doubt the existence of such strophic divisions as Ewald has discovered. They belong largely to his own subjectivity.

Some critics, as Keil, prefer to call its form *lyric*; but this is true only so far as the lyric is included in the dramatic. In like manner it embraces something of the epic, which has led to the hypothesis of its being an epic poem. Others, objecting to the idea of calling it a poem of any kind, refer it to the department of moral or religious

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, xxxiii. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Das Buch Hiob, u. s. w., 1831.

philosophy. They prefer to characterise it as a philosophical, religious discussion, in a poetical form.<sup>1</sup>

The theme of the book has been differently apprehended. From the various views taken of the integrity and unity belonging to the whole this was to be expected. It is first necessary to settle whether it should be accepted as coming from one author in its present state; or whether various parts were subsequently added. We believe that the doubts thrown upon the genuineness of the prologue and epilogue, of xxvii. 7—xxviii. 28., and of xl. 15—xli. 26., are groundless. What has been advanced against the discourse of Elihu, xxxii.—xxxvii., is more plausible. But after careful and anxious consideration of the objections, we must maintain the genuineness of this portion also, though it has peculiarities which cause the critic to hesitate.

Regarding the book as a whole, composed at first just as it now is, what is the problem discussed by the writer? It is this, how the sufferings of the righteous are related to the government of a righteous God. How can they be consistent with the divine justice? Connected with the problem, and indeed a part of it, though only incidentally discussed, is the relation of the prosperity of the wicked to the same righteous government.

We can conceive the difficulty which a Jewish mind would have in resolving a problem of this nature. The Mosaic religion presented temporal rewards and punishments for virtue and vice. According to it, the good are rewarded and the wicked punished, in this life. It did not unfold immortal life beyond death, in which the seeming inequalities of the divine dispensations should be adjusted. The most pious Hebrew had but a faint conception of a future state. His vague notions of Hades were unconnected with rewards and punishments. The author of this poem endeavours to penetrate the mystery which hung over the problem. Suspecting that the prevailing opinion respecting God's display of His justice by means of prosperity and adversity, was not well-founded, and perceiving that the righteous often suffered, while on the contrary the wicked succeeded in their designs; he felt the force of experience in relation to the question. He knew that there was a better way of judging about the distribution of the good and evil which befalls men than the old-established one. Unable to believe that the righteous always suffer because they have committed grievous misdeeds, and that the wicked are always punished *judicially*, he endeavoured to arrive at a deeper and more comprehensive view of the ways of Providence towards men. On the one hand, the justice of God must be maintained. Whatever takes place under his government and control must be right. On the other, the lives of the pious who suffer, cannot be overlooked. How is the Deity just in allowing them to fall into grievous misfortune? The three friends of Job represent the current faith of the nation, viz., that the good and bad which befall men in this life are according to their virtuous conduct. If, therefore, the righteous are visited with adversity, they must have committed such sins as bring

<sup>1</sup> See Noyes on the book of Job, Introduction, p. xi. 2d edition.

upon them God's retributive justice. A faith of this kind, though the current one, must not, however, be identified with the true theocratic or Mosaic doctrine. Umbreit correctly says, that "the doctrine of a retribution bounded by this life, does not necessarily flow from the spirit of the Hebrew theocracy when rightly understood."<sup>1</sup> The law was silent respecting future rewards and punishments. It did not deny that there would be such. This silence of the law led to the conception of misfortune in this life being simply *judicial* or *retributive*, its amount indicating the amount of sin committed.

Job himself presents a better view than this, viz., that the justice of God cannot be vindicated on the exclusive ground of adversity and prosperity. External calamities are not the proper test of sins committed. The solution of the problem, however, is not given by Job. What he says seems to set forth the first struggles of a mind like the writer's, emerging out of the old perverted Mosaism into the light of a full consciousness that there is often a marked opposition between the condition and merits of men; that their lot is so unequal as to impugn the universality of the maxim; affliction is the invariable consequence and punishment of crime. The doubts are put into the mouth of Job, who expresses them in strong and often irreverent language. His spirit, wrung with unutterable sorrow, gives vent to its feelings in words too unqualified. He overstates the case; for he appears to say that the wicked are generally more prosperous than the righteous. In the bitterness of his soul he blames God himself, calling in question the justice of his moral government because he cannot see the harmony between it and the integrity of innocent sufferers.

In the speeches of Elihu, the manifestation of God, and the historical conclusion of the book, the poet's solution is given. The substance of what Elihu states is, that when good men are afflicted, they are subjected to a salutary discipline which will be withdrawn as soon as it has effected its purpose. He adduces *the moral influence* of afflictions. Admitting, as he does, that calamities befall good men, he intimates that they are not sent as *mere* punishments of past offences, but as correctives of something which needs reformation. In this manner, Elihu brings out the subjective side of the disputed question. The Supreme Being himself is then represented as speaking, and deciding the controversy. He convinces Job of his inability to fathom the divine counsels, makes him feel that the sufferings of the good take place agreeably to a predetermined purpose, and that it is wrong to lose sight of the power and wisdom of Deity. The reasonableness of entire confidence in the arrangements of Providence, and unqualified submission to them, is strikingly set forth. Job's humiliation and repentance are followed by his restoration to more than former prosperity. Thus the righteousness of God is manifested in connection with grace. The solution of the problem, as far as it *is solved* by the author, lies in the speeches of Elihu, the addresses of God, and the renewed condition of the sufferer. God's

<sup>1</sup> See Umbreit's new version of the book of Job, &c., translated by Gray, vol. i. p. 5.

justice is compatible with the calamities of the good because those calamities are removed when divine wisdom sees they have effected their true purpose. Even if this solution could not have been eliminated, the manifest folly of questioning the counsels of the Almighty should prompt to unqualified submission. What is man that he can comprehend the moral government of God?

It cannot be truly said that the solution is as clear or satisfactory as the whole case demands. It can be fully given only under the Christian dispensation where life and immortality are brought to light. But when one reflects on the state of religious knowledge at the time, the dimness that overshadowed a future life, the want of apprehension of rewards and punishments hereafter, he will wonder at the far-seeing genius of the man who could penetrate so deeply into the mystery of the question. Under his religious ethics it is so far cleared up as to prevent despair, and to silence murmuring at the inequalities of the divine dispensations. The suffering righteous are not left without comfort. Afflictions are not always judicial. They are *corrective* and *preventive*. Even though their design in the case of individuals could not be known, they should lead to the entire submission of the heart to God,—to a perfect faith in the wisdom as well as justice of the Most High. It is a marvellous advance, on the part of the gifted writer, into the highest region of religious knowledge, to show that piety may be *disinterested*, as in the case of Job. Indeed this is the utmost point at which the virtuous spirit can arrive, eved under the New Testament. It is near that elevated region of true Christianity which the apostle John so beautifully exhibits, when he represents the believer as loving God because *He is love*, not because He has a reward to bestow in a future life. *That love of God in Christ* could not be educed under an outward and sensuous dispensation like the Jewish, which was merely intended to prepare the way for a better; yet the writer of the poem before us goes a great way towards it in showing the disinterestedness of Job's piety.

Let us see more particularly how the theme is developed. Here great skill, combined with true poetic spirit, is displayed in the way it is treated. The prologue introduces the problem to the attention of the reader. An eminently pious man is suddenly overwhelmed with misfortunes. Satan has obtained permission from God to inflict these upon him. *He* is represented as the direct cause of them, though it is obvious, from the allegorical scene in heaven, that God intends a trial of Job's virtue. The sufferer remains true to the Lord, notwithstanding the loss of all his earthly possessions, his children, a severe disease affecting his own person, and the evil suggestion of his wife. Friends come to console him. Their long silence, however, as they look at him with feelings of compassion, irritates his mind. He breaks the silence in language of vehement and impassioned complaint, cursing the day of his birth and wishing he had not been created. Here then is an indirect accusation of the divine righteousness in the government of the world, provoking the friends who had come to comfort him, to reply to his irreverent utterances. Then begins a discussion between Job and his three friends, respect-

ing the cause of the sufferings endured by the righteous. The argument is conducted in the form of a dialogue or controversy. It is developed by the instrumentality of human disputation. The substance of all that the friends allege is, that misery always implies guilt,—that every one who is punished in this life is punished for his sins,—and therefore, that Job is suffering the just reward of some great crime or crimes which he has committed. They look upon the outward state of men as the index and evidence of the favour or displeasure of God. Good and evil are distributed in this life according to desert. Hence they exhort Job to repent of the guilt which the divine punishments inflicted upon him show he had contracted.

The reply to this on the part of Job is that he is upright, and that he is hardly dealt with by God who afflicts equally the righteous and the upright. He is so confident of the justice of his cause as to avow his conviction that God will hereafter manifest himself as the vindicator of his character; and reproaches his friends with advancing against him unjust accusations in order to ingratiate themselves with the Almighty.

The narrative is of progressive interest, according as the speakers become warmer and more impetuous. At first they are more cautious in their assertions, but gradually become less guarded, uttering broader and more sweeping statements. Thus the three merely insinuate at the commencement that Job's great afflictions must have been caused by great sins; but at length they openly charge him with secret crimes. They speak with greater asperity, and repeat their charges of impiety against Job more strongly. On the other hand, Job's defence, at first mild and moderate, becomes more impassioned. He asserts his innocence with greater confidence, denies the frequency of the divine judgments on wicked men, affirming uniform prosperity to be their lot, and maintains that should God himself erect a tribunal he would be acquitted there.

It is remarkable with what consummate ability the writer has put into the mouths of the three friends the same sentiments, differently expressed according to the age and character of each. Eliphaz, who always takes the lead as being the oldest, speaks with more dignity and importance; Bildad, the second, has more sharpness and warmth, but less fulness and dexterity in arguing; Zophar, the third, who is the youngest, begins very violently, but soon becomes tame and weak.

There is no doubt that both parties are wrong in the dispute, though they utter many sentiments right and true in themselves. The general drift of their statements tends to a false conclusion. The friends err in supposing that the sufferings of the righteous in this life are always the result of crimes on their part—that sins are invariably punished in this life, virtue invariably rewarded, by outward adversity and prosperity respectively. In like manner, Job is wrong in maintaining his integrity so unqualifiedly as to accuse God of injustice in his moral government. Because he has witnessed the frequent prosperity of the wicked, and cannot see in his own case why the Deity should grievously smite, he rebels against the righteous administration of the Almighty.

He has the advantage of his opponents in the argument, but has no adequate apprehension of the evil of sin. Taking a superficial view of sin, he is penetrated with an excessive idea of his own innocence. Unable to see that calamity may be sent for a *gracious* as well as *judicial* end, he necessarily maintains an exaggerated opinion of his own purity.

It is obvious that the friends are worsted in the discussion. Job reduces them to silence, Zophar not venturing to say anything in the third and final series of the entire controversy. The way is thus prepared for a new disputant. Elihu, as a young man, had properly waited till Job and his friends had spoken. He shows that both the sufferer and his friends were wrong; the latter in asserting that greater sufferings imply greater crimes, and that they are always punishments for sins committed; the former in arguing with the Divine Being, and calling in question His justice. Accordingly he adduces some thoughts on the disciplinary character of calamities. Affliction is intended to *correct*, to show men their inherent sinfulness, and thus lead them to the exercise of a child-like faith in the goodness of God, who withdraws the affliction when it has led to humility. Happiness, even in this life, is restored to such as receive affliction in a spirit accordant with that which sent it. The *goodness* as well as justice of the Almighty is seen in it, leading the truly righteous to a higher worldly happiness. The whole creation shows the Almighty's power and justice; how then can one assert that he suffers innocently?

After the appearance of Jehovah, who speaks out of the whirlwind and shows how foolishly Job had spoken in questioning the divine justice, the sufferer submits to God and repents of his offence. The three friends are censured for their maintenance of an invariable connection between outward condition and the state of the heart towards God and man, as well as for their harsh treatment of a friend in distress.

The character and speech of Elihu have often been misapprehended. Thus Herder represents his expressions as the feeble, prolix babbling of a child. In harmony with this view, Bertholdt, Umbreit, Vaihinger, Hahn, Noyes, represent him as a conceited, assuming talker, coming forward with an air of great consequence, assuming, bold, supercilious, adding little or nothing to the solution of the problem, certainly not giving the true explanation of the cause of Job's afflictions, so that none thinks it worth while to reply to him. All this appears to us to arise from a total misapprehension of what Elihu *really* says. The manner of his coming forward is in harmony with his youth and inexperience. Yet he is not only warm but earnest. And it should be remembered, that a striking contrast is intended to be produced between his manner and that of the Deity, who is introduced immediately after him. The state of the problem is *substantially advanced* by Elihu. Indeed the germ of the solution lies in his sentiments. All that Elihu says accords with what is spoken by the Almighty, as well as with the historical conclusion of the book. If the problem be not solved there, it receives no adequate solution in the entire work.

The more we study the nature and design of this wonderful pro-

duction, the more are we impressed with the fact, that profound and scriptural views of sin are needful towards an apprehension of its theme. The more superficial the idea of sin, the less likelihood will there be of understanding the theme discussed, and especially the drift of Elihu's discourses. The inherency of sin in human nature must be felt and acknowledged before the righteousness of God can be reconciled with the sufferings of the virtuous and prosperity of the wicked. Man's *comparative* not *absolute* innocence even at his best estate should be seen as a great cardinal fact, making room for the introduction of an element which will illuminate the sufferings of the most righteous and vindicate the ways of God.

If the fundamental idea of the work has been rightly stated, it follows that many accounts which have been given of its purport are incorrect. Thus Hirzel<sup>1</sup> and others think that the design of the writer was to show the weakness and untenableness of the old Mosaic doctrine of compensation by a striking example, to withdraw every support from it, and to establish a better doctrine in its room. This hypothesis, which has been introduced into England by Froude<sup>2</sup>, and is founded on what is called the *old, genuine* work, implies that the speeches of Elihu are of later origin. In any other case its advocates would allow its inadequacy. But we must reject it as inadmissible for the following reasons.

1. It represents the Mosaic doctrine of recompense as a poor, miserable thing — as mere Jewish superstition. "Unjewish in form," says Froude, "and in fiercest hostility with Judaism, it hovers like a meteor over the old Hebrew literature, in it but not of it."<sup>3</sup> If the tendency of the book be so strictly anti-Mosaic, how came the Jews to admit it into the national canon?

2. It proceeds on the supposition of perfectly innocent sufferers. Accordingly its advocates regard Job as upright and sinless, believing his own protestations with regard to himself in every particular. Surely this is incorrect.

We are willing to allow that *the prevailing doctrine of retribution* is shadowed forth in the discourses of the three friends, but not the *genuine theocratic one*. They give it in the light in which it was commonly held among the mass of the Jewish people, as derived from *the Mosaic law*. They pervert by unduly extending it, as if sin was always punished in this world with a degree of outward intensity proportioned to the greatness of it. Now Judaism, destitute of all distinct reference to a future state of rewards and punishments, did not deny or forbid disinterested virtue. It gave ready occasion to misrepresentation by fostering a selfish view of religion. It presented retribution in this life as a lower motive, adapted to the Jewish mind in former ages, without meaning to exclude higher and purer motives. The inference was easily drawn from it that outward sufferings in this world were invariably the punishment for sins, and in proportion to their enormity; though the inference was not legitimate.

<sup>1</sup> Hiob, erklärt, u. s. w., p. 2. first edition.

<sup>2</sup> The Book of Job, reprinted from the Westminster Review.

<sup>3</sup> p. 9.

An effectual refutation is furnished by the speeches of Elihu, which the advocates of this hypothesis omit as spurious, confining their attention to the fierce conflict between the old and the new faith as represented by the three friends and Job respectively. But the old and the new faith—the Mosaic doctrine and the later doctrine of Scripture—the Old Testament generally and the New, are not here antagonistic to one another, as alleged. When we consider that the one was initiatory and objective, the other spiritual and subjective,—that rewards and punishments in another life were not made known under the Mosaic economy, while they are fully brought out under the New,—we shall cease to wonder at the prominence of the connection between temporal good and religion in the Old Testament. The Mosaic doctrine, however, makes no exception in favour of innocence and freedom from sin. Neither does any part of the Bible. In holding forth the doctrine of retribution for sin, it states what runs throughout all revelation. There is no such thing in the world as absolute innocence or sinlessness. Hence we cannot allow that the friends of Job set forth the *true* Mosaic doctrine; nor that Job himself is a faithful representative of a more recent and better one, which was just beginning to dawn upon the mind of the gifted writer, and possibly a few of his philosophical contemporaries.

Others, with more plausibility, think that the problem discussed is that of full acquiescence in the divine counsels and will, without venturing to pronounce any decided opinion respecting the ways of Providence or the causes of prosperity and adversity in this life. All doubts should be silenced before the thought of an omniscient and omnipotent governor of the world. Unlimited acquiescence in the arrangements of infinite power and wisdom is man's sole duty. According to this view the question proposed is not solved. It is merely, as has been said, *negatively solved*.

Apart from the comfortless doctrine thus presented, which could not satisfy the thinking Hebrew spirit, the hypothesis in question necessitates the excision of several portions of the book as spurious. Were there no more than from the third to the twenty-seventh chapter, the design of the writer might be that now specified; but as the work stands, it is utterly improbable. The hero of the poem is anxious to penetrate the mystery of divine Providence, and is not reproved by the Deity for so wishing. And the history of Job himself is opposed to the view. The issue of his sufferings and happy restoration are a justification of the righteous government of God. Hence the divine plan is not represented as a problem covered with impenetrable darkness, into which man's prying eyes should not look. In reference to *individuals*, indeed, its mysterious side is strongly set forth; but not *generally*. Although therefore this hypothesis has had many advocates, Stuhlmann, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Von Cölln, Knobel, Vatke, &c., it must be rejected as untenable.

Less likely than the preceding is the hypothesis of those who assign to the theme of the book a national reference. This is done to a greater or less extent by several writers, who suppose that the nation, suffering, oppressed, and captive, or at least the pious part of it, are

depicted by the afflicted Job; and that they are directed to a better faith as well as a firmer confidence in the righteous government of God. Agreeably to this view, some think that the friends of Job represent the prophets with their ordinary admonitions, whom the poet afterwards blames for having spoken amiss. Such allegorical interpretation is most fully carried out by Warburton, who understands by the three friends Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem; and by Job's wife the idolatrous women with whom the Jews had contracted marriages.<sup>1</sup> He believes, of course, that the book was written after the return from the captivity. The German advocates of the view, however, do not run into such excess. As the book was composed before the Chaldean captivity, it cannot symbolise the national troubles then. Nor indeed can it have been intended to depict the national calamities at any period. How can Job be an appropriate representative of a people who suffered for their great sinfulness and apostasy from God? The hero of the poem maintains his integrity; and therefore he cannot depict the guilty people deservedly punished. And it is thoroughly against every correct view of the prophetic order to suppose Job's friends *their* symbolisation. The problem proposed in the book mainly relates to individuals. It is difficult with reference to *individual* sufferings. How can the divine righteousness be vindicated with relation to personal piety? Good men are grievously afflicted; while bad men prosper and prevail in the world. Here the problem becomes intricate. But if it be viewed in relation to a whole nation, it loses its importance and mysteriousness. Nations are always punished in this world for their wrong doings, in a marked and visible way that cannot be mistaken. It is otherwise with individuals. If the question had borne a national reference, it must have received another answer.

But while rejecting the hypothesis in question, it is possible, or rather as we think probable, that the state of the people generally was in the writer's mind when he thought of the problem proposed in this remarkable composition. The kingdom to which he belonged was in a decaying condition. Every thing was tending downwards. Amid deep and melancholy musings on the national affairs, he was led to consider the question of the righteous moral government of God mainly in its application to individuals.

Another hypothesis we may merely mention, as it has found no supporters beyond its author. Baumgarten-Crusius supposes<sup>2</sup> that the idea of true wisdom is developed in the book. The different stages of it, first simple piety, then a legal mind, then a conscious and wise religion, are represented by Job, the three friends, and Elihu respectively. Here the discourses of Deity are omitted in the various steps of wisdom. The whole is so arbitrary that a simple mention will suffice.

Others suppose that the book is intended to unfold the doctrine of the soul's immortality. This hypothesis, formerly advocated by Michaelis<sup>3</sup>, has been revived by Ewald<sup>4</sup> who ingeniously develops

<sup>1</sup> Divine Legation of Moses, book vi. section 2.

<sup>2</sup> Opuscula Theologica, p. 174. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung in das alte Testament, vol. i. p. 23. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Das Buch Ijob, p. 10. *et seqq.* 195. *et seqq.*

it as the leading idea of the work. He thinks it was necessary that the fundamental conception of the book should rest upon the everlasting duration of the human spirit as its certainty, for the purpose of conducting to a successful issue the struggle against the ills which befall humanity. External evil as such is not necessarily the consequence and punishment of sin. It stands in no actual relation to the internal excellence of man. It merely excites the spirit to a higher consciousness, whence it is led to feel its eternal nature, and so to overcome outward calamity by rising above it. The book of Job has the merit of preparing deeper views of evil and of the immortality of the soul, transmitting them as fruitful germs to all futurity.<sup>1</sup>

The propounder of this view admits that it is to be found in a very few passages, viz. xiv. 13—15., xvi. 18, 19., and especially xix. 23—29.; as also that it was wholly new to the poet, who ventures to introduce and explain it very briefly, as it were out of a first necessity. It always remains in the distant background. But surely if it be the fundamental idea of the book, and perfectly new withal, the writer must have felt the necessity, not only of timidly introducing but also of establishing it, that it might obtain currency among the intelligent pious of his nation. Its novelty, if it be the central idea of the poem, would have secured a prominent place for it. We cannot but believe that the contents of the book in general are opposed to making the doctrine of immortality the fundamental idea. Besides, as Hengstenberg remarks<sup>2</sup>, the epilogue is adverse to the hypothesis. There a solution of the problem proposed is contained in the shape of outward facts. Job receives the double of what he had lost. But in Ewald's view he had lost nothing, and should not have been outwardly recompensed. As little accordant is the hypothesis with the prologue, or the speeches of Deity. The former shows that the calamities of Job are a temptation only, which cannot be lasting, and must therefore be a *reality*; while the latter are far from addressing the sufferer as though he should be insensible to calamity, because it has no real relation to his immortal nature. It need hardly be said that the speeches of Elihu ill accord with the hypothesis; but Ewald agrees with those who regard them as a later appendage.<sup>3</sup>

With relation to the *unity* and *integrity* of the book, various portions have been considered later interpolations or additions, by certain critics, such as the prologue (i. ii.) and epilogue (xlii. 7—17.). But nothing advanced against these sections is sufficient to show their spuriousness. They agree well with the rest of the book in ideas, language, colouring, and artificiality. The objections made to them are not of much importance; such as their *prose-form*, distinguishing them from the body of the poem; the use of the name Jehovah instead of other names of Deity that prevail elsewhere, *Eloah*, *El*, and *Shaddai*; and certain discrepancies existing between them and the poem itself. It is not difficult to account for such phe-

<sup>1</sup> Das Buch Ijob, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Article Job in Kitto's Cyclopaedia.

<sup>3</sup> See Hävernick's *Einleitung*, vol. iii. § 291.

nomena. The prologue and epilogue are narratives for which prose is the appropriate vehicle; not speeches or dialogues where poetry is the fitting medium. The use of the names of Deity seems to have been regulated by circumstances. Where the author himself speaks, he employs the genuine theocratic name *Jehovah*, both in the prologue and epilogue, as in other places. The other names arise from the fact of the writer laying the scene and dialogues among those who did not belong to Israel, in patriarchal times. It is needless to examine the discrepancies supposed to exist between the prose parts and the poem, because they are founded on misconception. The work would appear naked and mutilated without the exordium and conclusion; the speeches would be unintelligible: whereas they form a suitable and important part of the entire work, the one introducing the problem which the writer meant to discuss; the other summing up and setting forth the result of the whole. We sympathise with the sufferer when we learn from the prologue what he was; which we could hardly have done otherwise; for though he vehemently asserts his innocence, his own testimony of himself could not prevail against the representations of the three friends so far as to awaken a deep interest in his behalf.

In regard to chapters xxvii. xxviii., after Kennicott had attributed to Zophar the last eleven verses of xxvii., viz. 13—23., because in them Job seems to renounce his former opinions and fall in with those of his opponents<sup>1</sup>, Bertholdt followed him<sup>2</sup>; while Stuhlmann<sup>3</sup> assigned xxvii. 11—23. to Zophar, and the 28th chapter to Bildad; Bernstein<sup>4</sup> pronounced all from xxvii. 7—xxviii. 28. spurious; and Knobel<sup>5</sup> regarded as such only the 28th chapter. Eichhorn ingeniously imagined the eleven verses which Kennicott assigned to Zophar to be a summary by Job of his adversaries' opinions. None of these conjectures can be approved. The chapters should not be disturbed in any way; nor is there any good reason for supposing them interpolated either wholly or in part. The inconsistency between what Job utters in xxi. and what he says in xxvii. has been greatly exaggerated. The true explanation is, not that he retracts what he had uttered in the precipitancy of passion; but that he limits what he had already affirmed of the prosperity of the wicked; and makes such due concessions as were necessary to obviate misconception on the part of his opponents. He had before dwelt on the flourishing state of evil-doers, setting forth the one side of the picture strongly and absolutely in opposition to the three disputants; now he candidly owns that punishment sometimes overtakes the guilty, and so far allows that his friends were right. But this concession is not inconsistent with his main position, viz. that the innocent often suffer. That position had been stated in such a way as to give room for misconception, especially on the part of disputants like those before him; it had been pronounced *absolutely*; and now that they are

<sup>1</sup> Dissertatio generalis, ed. Bruns, p. 539.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, vol. v. pp. 2163, 2164.

<sup>3</sup> Exeg. Krit. Bemerkk. p. 76. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Ueber das Buch Hiob, in Keil and Tschirner's Analekta.

<sup>5</sup> De Carm. Jobi argum. fin. et dispositione, &c., p. 27. *et seqq.*

silenced, Job can calmly limit it lest it might be thought that he denied *all* punishment to the guilty. In the 28th chapter, however, he shows that the mystery respecting the distribution of happiness and misfortune among men was still unsolved; for the hidden wisdom of God is there described.

Again, the section xl. 15—xli. 26., containing descriptions of the river-horse and crocodile, has been suspected, or declared to be spurious by critics like Eichhorn, E. Meier, Ewald; on insufficient grounds, as we think. Ewald, who is the ablest exponent of these grounds, refers to the fact of its being inconsistent with the design of Jehovah's second speech, where the mere human relation, not that of the dead and animal creation, to the problem of the Divine righteousness, is adduced; to the want of connection between xl. 6—14. and the section before us; to the prolixity of the latter compared with the flowing, soft ease of the former; and to the different peculiarities of language.<sup>1</sup> All this is too arbitrary and subjective to be of much force, arising in a great measure from an endeavour to find such logical ability and symmetry in every part as the most acute modern can require. It is erroneously presupposed, that the two divine attributes of omnipotence and righteousness are treated separately, the one in Jehovah's first speech (xxxviii. xxxix.), the other in his second (xl.); whereas this is not the case. The style of description merely shows the art of the poet in giving a different and suitable form to each one of his pictures; and the difference of language is slight, as has been shown by Hirzel and Hahn.

The genuineness of Elihu's discourses has been most exposed to objection. There is more reason for questioning it than that of any other portion. Yet after a careful consideration of all that has been put forward by the critics who range themselves on that side, we are compelled to retain the speeches as an original part of the work. It would be vain to deny that there are suspicious circumstances about them; and we are willing to allow those circumstances all the value they can claim. The principal reasons for discarding all that Elihu utters (xxxii.—xxxvii.) are the following.

(1.) Elihu is not mentioned in the prologue or epilogue, neither is any judgment pronounced upon his speeches as on those of the three friends. Here it is taken for granted that all the persons who appear in the drama should be introduced into the prologue; and that Elihu's discourses belong to the same category as those of the three friends. But Jehovah, who appears afterwards, is not mentioned in the prologue. Nor should Elihu, who was not one of the friends of Job, be placed in the same situation with them. He occupies another platform, and was not intended to be introduced by the poet until the three friends were silenced, for the purpose of showing Job the error he had committed, and bringing forward a solution of the problem. No blame could be attached to Elihu, because he spake the truth; and to have mentioned him with commendation would have been inconsistent with the antique simplicity of the book. Hence he is not mentioned in the epilogue.

<sup>1</sup> Das Buch Ijob, p. 312.

(2.) The discourses of Elihu remove the connection between those of Job and Jehovah, obscure the contrast in which they stand to one another, anticipate, and so render superfluous, what the latter contain, because they are occupied with a solution of the problem; whereas the discourses of the Deity inculcate unconditional submission to His almighty power and hidden wisdom. We are unable to perceive any material interruption of the connection between the last speech of Job, and that of the Deity. Does the commencement of Jehovah's speech in the 38th chapter necessarily imply that Job had just spoken before; or is the conclusion of Job's speech in xxxi. 38—40. broken off and imperfect, as the book now is? Neither of these facts is obvious. Even if there be some interruption of the connection, it is of little consequence, since critics sometimes see or fancy they see what would be an improvement of the work which they are studying. When it is affirmed that Elihu's speeches weaken those of the Deity by forestalling what they contain, the affirmation would be valid only on the assumption of their presenting the same ideas, or giving a complete solution of the problem. But this is not the case. Elihu prepares the way for the divine appearance. What he says is a natural introduction to the speech of the Deity. It is meant to show the sufferer that afflictions are not simply punishments, but gracious and salutary discipline, teaching man a due submission to God, who then appears to Job in majesty and power that he may be fully humbled by a contemplation of condescending grace. It was impossible that Elihu could have avoided anticipating something of the argument of the Deity. All the speakers do so more or less. How could they otherwise discourse of His works and ways? To us, it seems that the appearance and language of Elihu are a fitting preparation and contrast to those of Jehovah who follows up what His creature had said by inspiration, inculcating unqualified subjection to the divine counsels which had been so irreverently impugned.<sup>1</sup>

(3.) Elihu misunderstands or perverts the language of Job (xxxiv. 9., xxxv. 3.). These passages are not perverted. Rather is their genuine tendency and import shown. The words of Job *imply* what Elihu says. Certainly he does not ascribe to the sufferer worse sentiments than he has expressed, as is apparent from the 21st chapter.

(4.) Job is mentioned by name in the speech of Elihu, but not by the three friends. Little weight can be attached to this trifling circumstance. There must be some difference of manner in different speakers. It is unreasonable to look for absolute uniformity.

(5.) The strongest argument is founded on the style and language. The diction is peculiar, different from that of the other parts. It has a stronger Aramæan colouring. Elihu uniformly employs certain expressions, forms, and modes of speech for which others are as uniformly found in the remainder of the book. This argument has been copiously answered by Stickel.<sup>2</sup> The following particulars put together appear to us a sufficient reply to it. There is some difference of style and language in the discourses of the other speakers. Certain

<sup>1</sup> See Hävernicks's Einleit. iii. p. 369. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Hiob, u. s. w. p. 248. *et seqq.*

favourite expressions divide them off one from another. Hence it is natural to suppose that the language of Elihu should be proportionably distinctive. And it can be shown that so many peculiar expressions and modes of connection, so many phrases and word-significations of the book occur in these discourses, as to make identity of authorship probable. It is true that the language put into the mouth of Elihu has its own characteristic peculiarities. But they have been greatly exaggerated by the opponents of the authenticity of this portion. It is scarcely fair to reckon up every single term which stands in what Elihu says, for another term in the remainder of the work, without taking into account the peculiar conception embodied, and its connection with the general sentiment of the place. Subtracting words whose use is resolvable into the circumstances under which they are presented, few peculiarities will remain to occasion difficulty. The difference is *intentional*, originating in the art of the author. Every speaker has his own manner and style; Elihu must have his. And as *the appearance* of the latter is strikingly marked, what *he utters* must be so. He was a young man, occupying a different relation to Job from that of the other speakers. He had a distinct stand-point of his own, prominent and unique. The Aramæisms in Elihu's speeches are certainly more numerous than elsewhere. If, as Stickel supposes, Elihu was of Aramæan descent (xxxii. 2.), these will mark him out as such. They are then introduced designedly and appropriately. But this supposition is unnecessary. The poet employs peculiarities of expression to mark the peculiarities of his character, showing youthful fire by the highly poetic method of utterance.

(6.) It has also been said that the speech of Elihu is weak, prolix, studied, obscure; the only true foundation for which assertion is, that it is more diffuse and less argumentative than the discourses of the three friends. In questions of subjective taste, some critics are liable to go too far, as De Wette seems to have done on this point.

On the whole, we feel that the peculiarities of style and diction in Elihu can be accounted for in a good degree by considerations like those now advanced. That *all* have been satisfactorily explained, we will not take upon us to affirm. Something peculiar still remains, after all that has been adduced by way of explanation. The rough and heavy diction still excites suspicion, in conjunction with an approach to prolixity and other peculiarities. We cannot deny that the critic who is well acquainted with Hebrew style is liable to be unfavourably impressed with regard to the original connection of this part of the poem with the rest. Yet the difficulties on the other side are greater. Those who maintain the spuriousness cannot readily explain how and why some writer, a century or more after the original one, undertook to add to a work of such towering sublimity. It must have been felt by every intelligent Hebrew acquainted with the book, that it proceeded from a master-spirit soaring far above any poet of his nation in comprehensiveness of thought and power of imagination. Where was the man possessing a similar inspiration to add to it? The nearer any second writer approached the other, the more

averse would he be to tamper with a production so lofty in its reach. It would have been a hazardous task; and had it been attempted, it is not likely that the insertion would have been readily received.

It would be amusing, were it not most discreditably uncandid, to notice the way in which the speech of Elihu is mentioned by one who has tried to introduce into this country the exploded view of Hirzel. "The speech of Elihu is now decisively pronounced by Hebrew scholars not to be genuine."<sup>1</sup> Certainly, De Wette, Knobel, Hirzel, Ewald, Magnus, and others, are excellent Hebrew scholars. But there is no mean Hebrew scholarship on the other side. Jahn, Rosenmüller, Umbreit, Stickel, Hävernick, Hahn, Schlottmann, Hengstenberg, are at least entitled to mention. They ought not to be wholly ignored, as if the question were settled. It is not one that can be decided in a day, on the side of the spuriousness of the portion, because of the language.

Those who think that the poem contains a real narrative have been anxious to investigate the age of Job. Though the point is of no moment in the eyes of him who takes a right view of the book, it is otherwise regarded by many. The chief circumstances adduced for the purpose of determining the age of him who is described in the work, are the air of antiquity pervading the manners recorded; the length of Job's life, which seems to place him in the patriarchal times; the allusions made to that species of idolatry which was the most ancient, and which is a decisive mark of the patriarchal age; the nature of the sacrifice offered by Job in conformity to the divine command, viz. *seven oxen and seven rams*, suitable to the respect entertained for the number seven in the earliest ages; the language of Job and his friends, who, being all Idumeans or Arabians, converse in Hebrew; the allusion to the most ancient kind of writing, by sculpture; the reckoning of riches by cattle; the word *Kesitah*, translated a piece of money, signifying a lamb (xlii. 11.) Such are the particulars mentioned by Magee<sup>2</sup> and Hales<sup>3</sup> in favour of the patriarchal period. It is obvious that several of them are worth little, such as the age of Job, 140 years, the language of Job and his friends, &c. &c., because they confound the fictitious with the real. The attempts which have been made to specify *the precise* time at which Job lived are ridiculous at the present day. Kennicott<sup>4</sup>, for example, gives a table of descent in which Job is made to be contemporary with Amram the father of Moses: Hales, by astronomical calculations, fixes the time of Job's trial to 184 years before the birth of Abraham; while others describe him as living in the days of Isaac; of Jacob; of Joseph; between the death of Joseph and the exodus. Heath, like Hales, fixes the very year in which he died, viz. fourteen before the exodus. All such conjectures proceed on the possibility of arriving at a genealogy of Job and his three friends; whereas the thing is *impossible*. It is therefore idle waste of time to indulge in assump-

<sup>1</sup> Fronde on the Book of Job, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Discourses on the Atonement, &c., vol. ii. part 1. p. 58. *et seqq.*, ed. 1816.

<sup>3</sup> Analysis of Sacred Chronology, vol. ii. p. 53. *et seqq.* 2d edition.

<sup>4</sup> Remarks on Select Passages of Scripture, p. 152.

tions so gratuitous and baseless. All that can be said with truth is, that the principal character of the poem is placed in patriarchal times. Tradition seems to have fixed him there,—and correctly so, in all probability. Job and his friends, supposing those friends to have been real personages, lived in a period of primitive simplicity, when each man acted as high priest in his own family, before the institution of an established priesthood. It is not necessary to suppose that the writer of the book transported the leading personage in it to a time anterior to that in which he had been placed by the current account on which he built the composition. Dismissing all useless inquiries like those relating to the precise time at which Job lived, and his genealogy, let us rather advert to the age and author of *the book*. Here opinions have been very diverse, ranging over the entire space from before Moses till after the Babylonish captivity.

1. Some assign the work to the pre-Mosaic time, conjecturing at the same time that Job himself, Elihu, or a contemporary, wrote it. Although respectable names may be cited in favour of this view, such as Lowth, Schultens, Peters, Magee, Hales, &c., it is justly abandoned by every good critic at the present day. Proceeding on the mistaken idea of identifying the patriarchal antiquity diffused throughout the work with the age of the writer himself, it needs no refutation. The time when the book appeared and the time when Job, supposing him to be a historical person, actually lived, should not be confounded. All that has been adduced in favour of the great antiquity of the poem, as though it were the oldest extant, is trifling; and for Job himself as the author, all that can be said is, “there appears no good reason to suppose that it was not written by Job himself.”<sup>1</sup> It is nugatory to assert that he lived after his calamities an hundred and forty years, which afforded ample leisure; the art of making books was known in his time and by the patriarch himself; the record of his own imperfections and failures is such as we should expect from him; and he has shown in his own speeches that he was abundantly able to compose the book. Such is the flimsy argument which Barnes adduces for Job’s being the *compiler* or *editor* of this remarkable book, with the exception of the record of his own age and death. Yet as if this were not enough, the same writer conjectures that Moses adopted it and published it among the Hebrews as a part of divine revelation, and entrusted it to them to be transmitted to future times!<sup>2</sup>

2. There is also little foundation for placing the work in the Mosaic period, and assigning it to Moses himself or some contemporary. It is true that the Talmud refers it to him as the author, that Saadiah shared the opinion, and that it prevailed among the Greek, Latin, and Syrian fathers. Even in recent times it has found advocates in Michaelis, Jahn, Hufnagel, Palfrey, &c. Perhaps the point which has had most weight in favour of Moses as the writer is the coincidence of many expressions in the work with those found in

<sup>1</sup> See Magee, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction to Commentary on Job, § iv. 5. 6.

the Pentateuch, and Genesis in particular. Jahn has collected expressions occurring in Job which seldom appear elsewhere, except in the Pentateuch; showing also that forms of speech found in the later books, not in the Pentateuch, rarely exist in the book of Job; and that the latter has some terms peculiar to itself, which went into disuse before the later Old Testament books were written.<sup>1</sup> All this is of little avail against overwhelming considerations on the other side. The antique character is indeed well preserved throughout, as was required by the patriarchal existence of the chief person described in the poem. But everything is remote from the Mosaic law. The narrative has no point of contact with a national worship. A written law is ignored. Jewish history and ritual have no existence, as far as the work indicates. Nothing is theocratic. Feeling the force of these considerations, those advocating the Mosaic authorship generally assume that the great lawgiver wrote it during his sojourn in Midian, between the time of his flight from Egypt and return thither. But the period in question has all probability against it. The problem discussed is not one that would have taken such deep hold of the mind before the time of the Mosaic law. On the contrary, it implies familiarity with that law. The views presented of sin, of guilt, of punishment, are of a kind to involve the idea of continued subjection to that rule of life. Besides, there are certain ideas belonging to a later religious development than the Mosaic period; as is manifest from their first appearance in the book of Psalms. Compare what is said of *Sheol* or *Hades* in iii. 17—19., vii. 9. &c., xiv. 10. &c., xvi. 22., xvii. 13. &c. It cannot be denied also, that the author has various allusions to the Pentateuch, as xv. 7., xxvi. 7. &c., xxxviii. 4. &c. compared with Gen. i. 2.; iv. 19. and x. 9. with Gen. iii. 19.; xii. 7—10. with Gen. i. 19—25. and ix. 2.; xxvii. 3. with Gen. ii. 7.; xxii. 6. with Exod. xxii. 26., Deut. xxiv. 6. 10—14. Reminiscences of the prescriptions in the Pentateuch respecting strangers, the poor, the suffering, widows and orphans, appear to have been in the mind of the writer in passages like vi. 27., xxiv. 2—4. 9. The prohibition of the worship of the stars contained in Deut. iv. 19., xvii. 3., gave origin to xxxi. 26, 27. Even verbal reminiscences have been traced in various places, as in v. 14. compared with Deut. xxviii. 29.; xxxi. 11. with Levit. xviii. 17. The reason why the poet does not refer more definitely to the Jewish writings and history, but expresses himself in general terms, lies in the plan of the book, and the leading desire to maintain the character of an antique simplicity throughout. Besides, he did not intend to discuss the problem on the ground of divine revelation, but to a considerable extent independently of it. The sacred books of the Jews he knew to be destitute of the true solution; they rather embarrassed it; and therefore he could not do otherwise than argue it on the ground of religious consciousness and experience. The mode too in which the subject is treated points to a later period. Lyric poetry was not then in its infancy. The gnomic poetry too had

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 786. *et seqq.*

been cultivated. The form of the whole is highly finished. It is elaborate and artificial. The parallelism of members, and general structure approaching to the strophic, betoken a flourishing age of poetry when it had left far behind incipient and cruder attempts. In short, both in conception and execution, it belongs to an age of reflective refinement which cannot be looked for prior to David. The post-Mosaic and later period of the production before us we consider fully proved by the character of the language, which is already degenerate, the refined art of composition, the exuberance of poetical diction, and *especially* the problem discussed. Till we happened to see Barnes's introduction to the book, we had supposed that the notion of an unusual number of Arabisms in the book had been exploded. Yet it reappears there, and plays an important part. Every judge of Hebrew style sees at once that there is no more Arabism in the diction of Job than in some other poetical books; and that any apparently antique cast in it proceeds from the skill of the poet throwing himself back to the patriarchal period of his hero, not from the fact of the writer himself having lived so early. The language was already decaying in the time of the poet, for it verges towards Aramæism; as any Hebrew critic easily perceives.

3. Another view places the time of composition during or after the exile, and has been adopted by Le Clerc, Warburton, Grotius, Bernstein, Gesenius, Knobel, Umbreit, Hartmann, Vatke, and others. In favour of the Chaldean period has been adduced the linguistic character of the book. The language has an Aramæan form, betraying the late Hebrew literature to which the book belongs. But similar Aramæisms are found in the earliest poetry. They belong to the poetic dialect and the poetic costume. Comparing the book in this respect with any of those late writings which are confessedly characterised by Chaldaisms, it is somewhat different. The language is tolerably pure, and but partially tainted with decay. We cannot indeed say, with some, that it is as pure as could be reasonably expected in any poem of the same length at any age of the Hebrew language; for it has undoubtedly marks of Aramæan degeneracy. Yet it has not very much evidence of this nature. Hence little weight can be attached to the consideration in question. Another particular urged on behalf of the same date is the alleged national tendency and reference of the poem. The sufferings and teleology of the Jewish people harmonised with and suggested the theme. We believe that this view has arisen from a mistaken apprehension of the leading scope of the work. The nation cannot have been allegorically represented by the suffering Job, for how can that be reconciled with his stoutly maintained innocence and integrity? The religious element of Hebraism, as well as the true import of the theocracy, forbid the supposition. All national reference in the book is wanting. The disheartening view of human life need not have originated in the depressed Chaldean period; for the world always presents numerous examples of righteous men suffering. And that the meaning is *symbolic*, cannot be rendered in the least degree probable.

Still further, the ideas contained in the book respecting the angels and Satan are supposed to be of late and foreign origin. How the doctrine of good angels exhibited in Job is different from that of the Pentateuch, particularly Genesis, it is difficult to discover. Ewald, who thinks that the representation here given is intermediate between the old Mosaic doctrine and the later one, has failed to put forward his position in a clear and convincing light. He supposes that as yet the separation between the countless number of existing spirits into good and bad had not been made; and that Satan does not yet appear, as he does subsequently, at the head of an innumerable host of malignant spirits.<sup>1</sup> Angels are represented as serving and fulfilling the will of God in relation to man's salvation; and surely this idea of them is in all parts of the Old Testament. As to the alleged Persian origin of the doctrine of Satan, it has not yet been proved. On the contrary, various writers, and Hengstenberg in particular, have shown the untenableness of the position that the great evil spirit, the prince of darkness of the Oriental mythology, was transferred to the Jews in the Babylonian captivity. And it is not less futile to represent the Satan of this book as altogether different from the great evil spirit so called afterwards. When Herder, Ilgen, and Eichhorn represent him as a sociable spirit, one of the sons of God with whom the Lord holds gracious discourse, they altogether mistake the meaning of the description given of him. Does he not wish to tempt the patriarch? Does he not desire to inflict evil on man? Is not the suggestion put into his mouth against Job a wicked one? Hence Ewald himself is reluctantly obliged to confess that the Satan of Job is the later evil spirit, though he proceeds to magnify and sharpen the difference between them to an unjustifiable extent, as though the old Mosaic ideas about this spirit were in a transition state, merging into other and very different notions.

The strongest objection to the date of the Chaldean exile lies in Ezek. xiv. 16. &c. &c., from which the existence of the book in that prophet's day is obvious. In like manner Jeremiah, whose prophecies are largely characterised by imitation, seems to have read it. Compare Jer. xx. 14—18. with Job. iii. 3—10.; Jer. xx. 7, 8. with Job xii. 4., xix. 7.; Jer. xvii. 1. with xix. 24.; Jer. xlix. 19. with Job ix. 19.; Lam. ii. 16. with Job xvi. 9, 10., xxvii. 23.; Lam. iii. 7—9. with Job xix. 7, 8.; Lam. iii. 14. with Job xxx. 9.; Lam. iii. 15. with Job ix. 18.

Where then is the date of the book to be fixed? Is there any probability of settling it more precisely between the time of Moses and the Chaldean period? Keil<sup>2</sup>, Schlottmann<sup>3</sup>, and others refer the poem to the flourishing period of Hebrew poetry, or the age of Solomon. With this view they enumerate various allusions to it found in Isaiah and Amos, such as Isaiah xix. 5. compared with Job xiv. 11.; Isa. xix. 13, 14. with Job xii. 24, 25.; Isa. lix.

<sup>1</sup> Das Buch Ijob, pp. 62, 63.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> Hiob verdeutsch und erläutert, p. 108. *et seqq.*

4. with Job xv. 35.; Amos iv. 13. with Job ix. 8.; Amos v. 8. with Job ix. 9., and xxxviii. 31.; Amos ix. 6. with Job xii. 15. These references, however, are indistinct, and do not show the use of the book by the prophets in question. Rather are there a few marks of the use of Amos and Isaiah by Job. Thus ix. 8. strongly reminds the reader of Amos iv. 13.; xviii. 16. of Amos ii. 9.; xii. 15. of Amos ix. 6. In like manner, xiv. 11. seems to be formed from Isa. xix. 5., perhaps also xii. 24. &c. after Isa. xix. 13. &c. Zech. i. 10, 11., iii. 1, 2., and vi. 5. are based upon the first and second chapters of Job. The same critics have also directed attention to the correspondence in ideas and language between Job, the Psalms, and Proverbs. Even some of the older Davidic Psalms (and not merely those composed in the Chaldean period) are said to present marks of agreement, showing that they were written about the same time with our book. It is difficult, however, to say whether the writer of certain Psalms copied from Job, or the author of Job from them. Apart from the uncertainty attaching to the authorship of many Psalms formerly attributed to David, and still vindicated for him by such critics as Hengstenberg; we are unable to see the correctness or cogency of the examples given by Keil of reminiscences out of Job in certain later Psalms, such as cii. civ. cvii. cxlvii., as well as of the use of Psalm xxxix. 14. in Job ix. 27., x. 20.; Psal. lviii. 9. in Job iii. 16.; Psal. lviii. 10. in Job xxii. 19.; Psal. ciii. 15, 16. in Job vii. 10. and xiv. 2. The only clear instance in which the writer of Job drew from a Psalm is that in Psalm xxxix. 13. All the words and phrases of this verse occur in various parts of the book before us, as Job vii. 19., xiv. 6., x. 20, 21., vii. 8. 21. It may be also that the sentiment in the fifth verse of the same Psalm was taken and amplified in Job vi. 8—12., vii. 7., xiv. 13., xvi. 21, 22. On the whole, it is clear to us that the writer of Job lived after David; and that there is some coincidence of sentiment as well as of expression between various early Psalms and the poem under consideration; but such coincidence, with the exception of the 39th Psalm, is not of a kind to show that the one copied the other. It may be sufficiently accounted for by the general uniformity of the religious ideas expressed in the Old Testament, and by similarity of subject.

The coincidences between Job and the Proverbs are more striking. The description of Wisdom, the representations of Hades, and numerous words and phrases, have been adduced to show that both were written about the same time.<sup>1</sup> The most obvious correspondences are in Job xv. 7. and Prov. viii. 25.; Job xxi. 17. and Prov. xiii. 9., xx. 20., xxiv. 20.; Job xxviii. 18. and Prov. iii. 15.; Job xxviii. 28. and Prov. i. 7. Here we must hesitate in believing that the contemporaneousness of the writings should be inferred from the agreement in question. Still less can it be said with Heiligstedt<sup>2</sup> that the writer of the Proverbs, or at least of the first nine chapters, copied the book of Job. The contrary is as probable, to say the least; for the post-Solomonic origin of those chapters is not settled. We will not

<sup>1</sup> See Keil, p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> Commentarius in Jobum, proœmium, p. xxiii.

however affirm that the author of the poem before us imitated parts of the book of Proverbs. And it is asserting too much when contemporaneousness of origin is assigned to both productions because of the accordance of sentiments and sometimes of words which they present. Similarity of subject; practical philosophy and the results of experience being set forth in both; together with that uniformity of religious conceptions which pervades the Old Testament, will explain the phenomenon in question.

We attach no importance to another feature in the book which Keil adduces as contributing to place it in the reign of Solomon, viz. the richness of new views and images drawn from nature and first suggested to the Israelites by the commercial traffic of the time. To this head belong the notices of remarkable animals, the river-horse, crocodile, ostrich; costly things, as gold of Ophir, pearls or corals, &c. &c.<sup>1</sup>

If it could be clearly shown that Isaiah alludes to the book of Job, as Hengstenberg<sup>2</sup> and others believe, we should get a limit beyond which the age of the latter should not *descend*. But we are unable to perceive that Isaiah plainly refers to it. It is impossible to *carry it up* beyond the time of David; for with him began a new era of sacred literature, after which alone it could be produced.

In view of all the phenomena, the beginning of the seventh century is the most likely date. A time of national degeneracy is the most likely to have given birth to it. When the Jewish state was declining, when morals were extensively corrupt and the laws of justice violated, when the power of the nation was broken and calamities assailed the good and bad alike, the theme of the book must have pressed itself most heavily on the meditative mind of the poet. Hence it should be dated after the Assyrian captivity and before the final deportation of the Jews to Babylon. Who the gifted writer was, is a question that cannot be answered. His person is unknown. Perhaps he dwelt alone and apart in the midst of his nation, a solitary spirit possessing extraordinary insight and inspiration for his day. Some suppose that he was a foreigner, not an Israelite. But this idea is utterly untenable. The reception of the work into the canon, and its characteristic features, are opposed to the assumption. As to the country in which it was written, none other has as good a claim as Palestine itself. Several of the older theologians thought that the book was a translation from an Aramæan or Arabic original. A remark occurs in the Appendix of the Septuagint to the effect that it was rendered from the Syriac. Some Rabbins were also of the same opinion. All such views are now justly exploded. Others have thought that the writer was an Idumean, as Herder and Ilgen imagined; or a Nahorite, as Niemeyer believed. Eichhorn, with greater probability, held that he was an Israelite born in Arabia. The book itself gives no countenance to these hypotheses. The author was undoubtedly an Israelite, for the genius of Hebrew culture shines forth with an unmistakable light from amid the system of philosophy

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Article Job in Kitto's Cyclopædia.

which the author designedly erected on the soil of Arabia. Though he avoids the name of Jehovah, the covenant God of his fathers, in the body of the poem, conformably to the locality where the scene is laid; he constantly introduces it in the prologue and epilogue. And though Job and his friends use the appellations אֱלֹהִים, אֵל, אֱלֹהֵי; the genuine Hebrew name of Deity, *Jehovah*, occasionally appears, as in xii. 9., xxxviii. 1., xl. 1. 3. 6., xlii. 1.<sup>1</sup> More recently, Hitzig and Hirzel thought of Egypt as the country in which it was composed; while Ewald went so far only as to assign the origin of xl. 15—xli. 26. to that region. This rests on the fact of the author's intimate acquaintance with Egypt, as seen in his book. The description of the working of mines in xxviii. 1—11.; his knowledge of the Egyptian Mausolea, iii. 14. &c.; of the myth respecting the phoenix, xxix. 18.; of the vessels of bulrushes, ix. 26.; the Nile-flags, viii. 12.; the Nile-horse and the crocodile, xl. 15—xli. 26., have been brought forward as examples. But it has been shown by Stickel<sup>2</sup> that these do not constitute a valid argument. An intelligent Hebrew might well know such things without having seen them; and if he were possessed of graphic power, he could present them forcibly and vividly to the mind of his readers. It is not necessary that he should have actually witnessed what he describes in such vivid colours. He had both inspiration and genius, which supersede copying from outward phenomena. It is possible, as Stickel and Schlottmann endeavour to show, that he lived in southern Judea, not far from the frontier, where he would have opportunities of seeing caravans, mines, &c., but it is by no means necessary to account for the knowledge he exhibits. And as to the agreement between him and Amos of Tekoa in dialectic peculiarities<sup>3</sup>, little weight can be assigned to it; the coincidence being slight and easily resolvable into other causes. On the whole, all attempts to locate the author either permanently or at the time he wrote the book in Egypt, or near the frontier in the south-east part of Palestine, appear futile. He was a native Hebrew living in his own nation; and need never have gone out of it or near the south-eastern boundary, as a qualification for writing the work. For aught that appears to the contrary, he may have had his home in the centre of the theocracy, Jerusalem itself; though it is more probable that he lived out of the metropolis.

“Who,” says Herder, “shall answer our inquiries respecting him to whose meditations we are indebted for this ancient book, this justification of the ways of God to man, and sublime exaltation of humanity, —who has exhibited them too, in this silent picture, in the fortunes of an humble sufferer clothed in sackcloth and sitting in ashes, but fired with the sublime inspirations of his own wisdom? Who shall point us to the grave of him whose soul kindled with these sublime conceptions, to whom was vouchsafed such access to the counsels of God, to angels and the souls of men, who embraced in a single glance the heavens and the earth, and who could send forth his living spirit,

<sup>1</sup> See Umbreit, vol. i. pp. 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> See Stickel, p. 276.

Hiob, p. 263. *et seqq.*

his poetic fire, and his human affections, to all that exists, from the land of the shadow of death to the starry firmament, and beyond the stars? No cypress flourishing in unfading green marks the place of his rest. With his unuttered name he has consigned to oblivion all that was earthly, and, leaving his book for a memorial below, is engaged in a yet nobler song in that world where the voice of sorrow and mourning is unheard, and where the morning-stars sing together."<sup>1</sup>

The preceding account of the principal topics connected with the book of Job would be thought imperfect without some notice of the remarkable passage in xix. 25—29., a passage which has been much contested among critics. As every attempt at a true explanation of it must be based on a faithful version, and as the English translation is very incorrect in this instance, we shall preface our remarks with a faithful version of the original words.

But I know, my Vindicator lives,  
And will stand at last upon the earth;  
And though after my skin this [body] be destroyed,  
Even without flesh shall I see God;<sup>1</sup>  
Yea I shall see him for myself,  
Mine eyes shall behold him, none other [shall do so];  
My reins pine away [with longing], within me.

Opinions have been divided between referring the words in question to deliverance from temporal distresses, without any allusion to a future state, and the view which regards them as containing a noble confession of faith in the Redeemer. Perhaps the two views have been too sharply contrasted with one another. Were we required, however, to choose between them, we should undoubtedly prefer the former, for the following reasons.

First: to regard Job as here expressing his firm faith in the Redeemer is opposed to the general drift of the book. The belief in a future state of retribution would have been a new and important element, giving a more satisfactory solution of the problem than that which appears in the work. As it is found nowhere else, it is not likely that it occurs here in a solitary passage. Had it been enunciated by the writer of the poem, he would doubtless have made it more prominent; since it contained a better solution than any indicated by the speakers. The answer given to this argument by Dr. P. Smith<sup>2</sup>, is utterly insufficient. "It should be recollected that, in a poetical book, the matter is disposed considerably according to the taste and choice of the writer; and that a more vivid impression might be made, by presenting a capital circumstance with its brightness and force collected into one point, than would be produced if it were dispersed through the general composition." We must consider the present passage in connection with *the main problem discussed in the book*. The interpretation which refers it to the Messiah and a future life anticipates the solution of the problem afterwards given; shooting besides so far ahead of it as to vitiate the natural development of the philosophy at which the mind of the writer had arrived.

<sup>1</sup> Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, translated by Marsh, vol. i. pp. 120, 121.

<sup>2</sup> Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i. p. 185., 4th edition.

Secondly : the interpretation in question is inconsistent with various declarations of Job himself in other places, as vii. 7, 8, 9., x. 20—22., xiv. 7—15., xvii. 11—16. It is strange that xiv. 7—15. should be thought by any to afford a proof of the resurrection of the body, since it teaches the very opposite. In explaining the words “Man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?” and those that follow, “As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up; so man lieth down and riseth not; till the heavens be no more they shall not awake nor be raised out of their sleep” (verses 10—12.), the comment is offered by Henderson, “Confessedly nowhere in this world; his place knoweth him no more. But he still exists, he still is somewhere in the world of spirits. The patriarch then proceeds in the most positive terms to deny that man has any resurrection to expect in the present world; but here again he breaks off, and teaches that, though he should not awake or be raised out of the sleep of death during the continuance of the material heavens, yet he shall when they shall be no more.”<sup>1</sup> The meaning here attached to the words, “till the heavens be no more they shall not awake,” &c., is incorrect. The true sense is *they shall never awake*. The phrase “till the heavens be no more” is employed to express the longest duration; and is equivalent to עַד בְּלִי יָרֵחַ, *till the moon be no more* (Psal. lxxii. 7.), both being synonymous with עַד עוֹלָם, *to eternity*. The key to the true sense is to be found in those passages where everlasting duration is attributed to the heavens, as Psal. lxxxix. 36, 37., cxlviii. 6.; Jer. xxxi. 36. It is true that in Psal. cii. 27., Isa. li. 6., the idea of the dissolution of the heavenly bodies is indicated; but that fact merely shows that some persons under the Old Testament were farther enlightened than others. To say on the ground of these passages that Job expresses his belief that men would only continue in the grave till the heavens should pass away, and then awake to a new life, is to put opposition between the things compared, for then the fate of a tree would *not* be better than that of a man, whereas it is so depicted in the context. Besides, the whole doctrine of the book forbids the interpretation proposed. Hence it is clear that the resurrection of the body is not hinted at in the paragraph, xiv. 7—15. It has also been affirmed that the other passages just cited imply no more on the part of Job than the belief that when he should die, he would not again appear on the earth, which does not exclude the concomitant belief of the doctrine of a resurrection to life in a future world.<sup>2</sup> But this is little better than quibbling. The point is, would one give utterance to *such* language, if he believed in the resurrection of the body? The idea of his doing so is utterly improbable. But indeed the words in xvii. 13—16. mean more than that the speaker would not again appear on the earth. They imply that Sheol to him was a dark place, full of gloom, where cherished hopes of life and happiness perish: “If I wait, the grave is mine house: I have made my bed in the darkness. I have said to corruption, Thou art my father: to the worm, Thou art my mother, and my sister. And

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Barnes on Job.

<sup>2</sup> Henderson, *Ibid.*

where is now my hope? As for my hope, who shall see it? They shall go down to the bars of the pit, when our rest together is in the dust." He wishes for death as the termination of his miseries, not as introductory to a new life of happiness. Whatever notions of Sheol he may have had, they were indistinct and shadowy, ill according with an express confession of faith in the Saviour.

Thirdly: even Elihu, who gives the most rational and Scriptural account of the design of afflictions, never alludes to a future life of retribution as a topic of consolation. God himself does not refer to it. And yet it should properly have been referred to in Elihu's discourse, where the solution of the problem discussed by the writer is given.

Fourthly: the Jewish commentators, in searching for proofs of the doctrine of a future life in the Old Testament, do not adduce this as appropriate.<sup>1</sup>

What then is the meaning of the place? In it Job expresses his confident expectation that God will one day vindicate his integrity from the unjust accusations of his friends, and stand up as a judge to decide the cause in his favour. Though he should be reduced to a skeleton, he believes that he shall yet see God interpose on his behalf. Had the speaker then no idea whatever of a future life? We cannot go so far as to assert he had not. Some faint foreboding of another state seems to have been in his mind at this particular time. It was, however, dim and vague. There was nothing clear or substantial about it, for it appears nowhere else. It is likely that he was not aware of the extent of meaning to which a calm thinker might carry out his words; or rather, the poet who puts such language into Job's mouth had occasionally a dim foreboding of a life to come. Yet it was not *defined*. Rather was it a mere groping towards something beyond the present world; and consequently the source of no consolation. The term translated *Redeemer* means *Vindicator*, *Avenger*, and applies to God. Job expresses a confident expectation that God would yet appear and *vindicate* the justice of his cause as well as his integrity; which is done accordingly, but not to the extent that the sufferer anticipates. Thus we agree with those who refer the passage to something temporal—to the vindication of Job's character; without denying that the poet has also put into the words a glimmering conception of another state.

The objections made to this view are weak and invalid, such as "the writer possessed whatever knowledge the Jewish nation had with respect to a Messiah and a future state."<sup>2</sup> Doubtless he *did* possess this knowledge; and yet it cannot be shown that the belief of a future state at the time we have fixed the writer, went beyond what has now been assigned as the meaning of the passage. If more be attributed to Moses and the former prophets, to David and Solomon, or any others, it is so assigned incorrectly; being based on erroneous interpretations of passages. Again, when we are reminded that "the patriarchs from whom the tradition of divine truths had descended to

<sup>1</sup> See Noyes's Translation of the Book of Job, p. 144. *et seqq.*, 2d edition.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i. p. 185.

Job," confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on earth, and desired a better country, that is, a heavenly one,"<sup>1</sup> two things are overlooked or misapprehended, viz. that Job was most probably *not* a Jewish patriarch; and that, even if he were, the writer of the book merely makes Job the vehicle of communicating his own sentiments. The assumption, moreover, that this passage was "dictated by the SPIRIT of prophecy" to the patriarch Job, who did not understand "the full import and extent of what he was moved" to speak<sup>2</sup>, is wholly gratuitous. When it is also insinuated, that the sense by which the words are referred to Messiah and the resurrection, to a future state of happiness in the enjoyment of God, is "required, even necessitated, by them taken in their fair meaning and connection,"<sup>3</sup> we utterly deny that the sense in question is required. Where is the Redeemer ever called גּוֹעַל, *Goel*, *blood-avenger*, in the Old Testament? Out of the forty-four places in which that participle occurs in the Hebrew Bible, it is nowhere applied to the Messiah. It is often tropically applied to God as redeeming and delivering men from the bondage of Egypt, from the Babylonish exile, &c. (Exod. iii. 6.; Isa. xliii. 1.; Psal. cvi. 10.); but it is *not once* employed as an epithet of the Messiah. The meaning attributed by Dr. Smith to the words עָלַי יִפְרוּ יָקוּם, viz. *he shall arise in triumph over the ruins of mortality*, is unauthorised and erroneous. "He shall arise upon the dust," i. e. *he shall appear after I am dead*, or literally arise over the grave. In like manner, his version, *even from my body*, is incorrect.

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## CHAP. XIII.

### ON THE BOOK OF PSALMS.

THE general title of all the Psalms in the Hebrew text is תְּהִלִּים, *songs of praise*, because they are occupied with the praises of God. At the conclusion of the Davidic Psalms, the epithet תְּפִלוֹת, *prayers*, is applied to them generally. (Psal. lxxii. 20.) The collection is styled by the Rabbins סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים, סֵפֶר תְּפִלוֹת or סֵפֶר הַתְּהִלִּים, *book of hymns*. In the Roman edition of the LXX., taken from the Codex Vaticanus, this book is merely styled ψαλμοί, *Psalms*; but in the Alexandrian MS. it is entitled ψαλτήριον μετ' ᾠδαῖς, *the Psalter with odes or hymns*. There is no good reason for thinking that the name בְּנוֹמוֹרִים, once obtained as the title instead of the present תְּהִלִּים, as a writer in Kitto's Cyclopædia imagines. The book is a collection of a hundred and fifty poems of unequal length, from two verses, like the hundred and seventeenth, to nearly two hundred, as the hundred and nineteenth. It is divided into five books,—in imitation, as some think, of the Pentateuch,—which are marked by doxologies at the close. The first book, סֵפֶר אֶחָד, comprises Psal. i.—xli. and concludes thus: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting. Amen and Amen." (xli. 13.) The second book, סֵפֶר שְׁנַיִם, includes Psal. xlii.

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i. p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 187.

—lxxii., and ends with the words, “Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things. And blessed be his glorious name for ever: and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen and Amen. The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.” (lxxii. 18—20.) It is absurd to regard this with Bishop Horsley as the close of the 72nd Psalm, and not of a division of the whole book. He mistakes the meaning altogether when he writes, “The sense is, that David the son of Jesse had nothing to pray for, or to wish, beyond the great things described in this psalm. Nothing can be more animated than this conclusion. Having described the blessings of Messiah’s reign he closes the whole with this magnificent doxology,” &c. &c.<sup>1</sup> Such view of the doxology is wholly incorrect, besides being connected with an erroneous interpretation of the psalm itself. The third book, *שְׁלֹשִׁים*, embraces Psalms lxxiii.—lxxxix. and terminates thus: “Blessed be the Lord for evermore. Amen and Amen.” (lxxxix. 52.) The fourth book, *אַרְבָּעִים*, includes Psalms xc.—cvi., concluding with the doxology, “Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting; and let all the people say, Amen. Praise ye the Lord.” (cvi. 48.) The fifth book, *חֲמִישִׁים*, extends from Psalm cvii. to cl., terminating with, “Praise ye the Lord.”

The division into five books is of great antiquity, being recognised in the Septuagint version. But whatever partitions have been made in the collection, it constituted but one book in the canon; whence Peter in Acts i. 20. quotes it as *the book of Psalms*; and it is accordingly enumerated as a single book in all catalogues of the Old Testament Scriptures.

Little value attaches to this five-fold division. Another classification might be more useful, if it were based on internal character, or even on external form. But it is difficult to obtain a good principle of classification. The contents are so varied, the transitions from one method to another so sudden, the changes of feeling and expression so rapid, that the different poems cannot be strictly classified. De Wette arranges them thus:—

1. Hymns in praise of God; (a) as God of nature and of man, viii. civ. cxlv.; (b) as God of nature and national God, xix. xxix. xxxiii. lxx. xciii. cxxxv. cxxxvi. cxxxix. cxlvii.; (c) as national God, xlvi. lxxvii. lxxxv.; (d) as Saviour and friend, of Israel, xli. xlvi. lxxvi.; of individuals, xviii. xxx. cxxxviii.

2. National Psalms, referring to ancient national history, and the people’s relation to Jehovah, lxxviii. cv. cvi. cxiv.

3. Psalms of Zion and of the temple, xv. xxiv. lxxviii. lxxxii. lxxxvii. cxxxii. cxxxiv. cxxxv.

4. Psalms relating to the king, ii. xx. xxi. xl. lxxii. cx.

5. Psalms containing the supplications and complaints of the pious distressed. (a) Personal, vii. xi. xxii. lv. lvi. cix. (b) National, xliv. lxxiv. lxxxix. lxxx. cxxxvii. (c) Personal and national combined, lxix. lxxvii. cii. (d) Reflections on the wickedness of the world, x.

<sup>1</sup> Critical notes upon the Psalms, note on verse 20. of lxxii.

xii. xiv. xxxvi. (e) Didactic Psalms on the retributions of life, xxxvii. xlix. lxxiii. (f) Thanksgiving for deliverance, xxxiv. xl.

6. Religious and moral Psalms. (a) Odes to Jehovah, xc. cxxxix. (b) Expressions of religious conviction, hope, confidence, &c. xxiii. xci. cxxi. cxxvii. cxxviii. (c) Development of religious or moral ideas, i. cxxxiii. (d) Poems containing religious doctrine, xxxii. 1. (e) Proverbs in an alphabetical series, cxix.<sup>1</sup>

This division, founded on the nature of their contents, is too complex and minute for practical purposes.

In relation to the degree of inspiration and mode in which they are expressed, he divides them into hymns and odes, poems, elegies, didactic poems.<sup>2</sup> Tholuck<sup>3</sup> is inclined to divide them according to the subject-matter, into songs of praise, of thanksgiving, of complaint, and of instruction.

A better classification, as well as a simpler one, is founded on the tone of pious feeling expressed, according to which all may be put into three divisions. 1. Psalms of praise and thanksgiving, as viii. xviii. xix. xxiii. xxix. &c. 2. Psalms expressing complaint and penitence or sadness of spirit, as iii.—vi. &c. 3. Didactic Psalms, as i. xiv. xv. xxxii. xxxvii. &c. These three kinds arise from different tones of feeling — the joyous, sad, and calm.

Between the Hebrew original and the Greek and Vulgate versions there is some diversity in the arrangement and distribution of the Psalms. The following table will show the variations:—

| HEBREW TEXT.      |   |   |   | LXX. AND VULG.     |
|-------------------|---|---|---|--------------------|
| Psalms ix. and x. | - | - | - | Psalm ix.          |
| xi.—cxiii.        | - | - | - | x.—cxii.           |
| cxiv. & cx.       | - | - | - | cxiii.             |
| cxvi.             | - | - | - | cxiv. cxv.         |
| cxvii.—cxlvi.     | - | - | - | cxvi.—cxlv.        |
| cxlvii.           | - | - | - | cxlvi. & cxlvii.   |
| cxlviii.—cl.      | - | - | - | cli. (apocryphal). |

Hebrew MSS. also present some diversity in the distribution of the Psalms. Thus the 42nd and 43rd are joined together as one composition in thirty-seven codices of Kennicott and De Rossi. This arrangement is adopted by several critics, as Ewald, De Wette, Von Lengerke, Sommer, and Olshausen; while others reject it, as Hengstenberg and Keil. We have little hesitation in adopting the former opinion; as both Psalms form one composition of three stanzas. Hengstenberg's reasons for keeping them apart are far-fetched and artificial.<sup>4</sup> In like manner, the ninth and tenth are, after the example of the LXX. and Vulgate, placed together by some critics as one poem. The grounds for so doing are well stated by Hupfeld<sup>5</sup>, and are quite satisfactory.

The 19th is divided into two by several critics, viz. into verses 2—7. and 8—15. The nature of the contents and other circumstances justify this view. The last half forms a complete, inde-

<sup>1</sup> Commentar ueber die Psalmen, Einleitung, p. 3. 4th edition.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> Commentar, u. s. v. Einleitung, p. xxv.

<sup>4</sup> Commentar ueber die Psalmen, vol. ii. p. 351. *et seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Die Psalmen, vol. i. pp. 168, 169.

pendent composition of itself, and is of later origin than the first.<sup>1</sup> In like manner Ewald, Sommer, and Olshausen separate the 24th into two distinct compositions. But although the parts do not agree well together, there appears to us no valid reason for putting them asunder.

With the exception of thirty-four, viz. i. ii. x. xxxiii. xliii. lxxi. xci. xciii.—xvii. xcix. civ.—cvii. cxi.—cxix. cxxxv.—cxxxvii. cxlvi.—cl., called in the Talmud *orphan* Psalms, all have shorter or longer inscriptions or titles. To such titles great obscurity belongs. They refer to the poem itself, characterising perhaps its nature; and are sometimes accompanied by the name of the author and the historical occasion of the composition. Sometimes they consist merely of the author's name. Others are musical or liturgical notices.

מִזְמוֹר, *Mizmor*, *song* or *poem*, with a musical accompaniment. This word is prefixed to many Psalms, but seldom alone as in xcvi. In c. it is connected with לְתוֹדָה, *for thanks*; in xcii. it is joined with the object of the Psalm.

שִׁיר, *Shir*, *song* or *ode*, occasionally united to the preceding term, as in xcii., perhaps pleonastically. In xlv. occurs שִׁיר יְדִירוֹת, *song of loves* or *loveliness*, i. e. *a lovely song*. Others interpret *a song of love*, which is less likely, because the adjective in the feminine plural seems to be used for a substantive. We do not agree with Hengstenberg, that the words "can only be rendered" a song of the beloved ones, meaning the lilies or king's daughters mentioned in the context.<sup>2</sup> The same title prefixed to הַמַּשְׁעֵלוֹת, in Psalms cxx.—cxxxiv., is translated in the authorised version *a song of degrees*. In cxxi. it is לַמַּשְׁעֵלוֹת instead of הַמַּשְׁעֵלוֹת. What the meaning of the phrase is, is quite uncertain. The renderings of the LXX. and Vulgate throw no light upon it: ᾠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, *canticum graduum*. Perhaps they refer to the opinion of the Jews that the Psalms in question were sung upon the fifteen steps which led to the women's court in the temple; but this is untenable. Others suppose that they were *pilgrim-songs* which the Jews chanted on their journeys to the yearly feasts at Jerusalem. "This explanation," says Hengstenberg, "is undoubtedly the correct one." The contents, however, do not support it. Others again think that they were *songs of return* from the captivity to the Holy Land. But this is equally unsuitable to the matter of some. Luther understood the expression as signifying an elevation of the voice, of the key, &c. But that is quite improbable. According to Gesenius<sup>3</sup>, it denotes the gradually progressive rhythm of thought peculiar to these Psalms, a phrase or clause in one sentence being repeated in the next with an addition, forming a kind of climax or progression both in the ideas and terms; for example:

1. I lift up mine eyes to the hills  
From whence cometh my help.
2. My help cometh from Jehovah,  
The Creator of heaven and earth.

<sup>1</sup> See Hupfeld, pp. 405, 406.

<sup>2</sup> Commentar, u. s. w. ii. p. 408.

<sup>3</sup> Allgem. Literat. Zeitung, 1812, No. 205.

3. He will not suffer thy foot to be moved ;  
Thy *Keeper* *slumbers* not.
4. Behold, neither *slumbers* nor sleeps  
The *Keeper* of Israel.
5. *Jehovah* is thy *Keeper*;  
*Jehovah*, thy shade, is on thy right hand.
6. . . . .
7. *Jehovah* *keeps* thee from all ill,  
*Keeps* thy soul.
8. *Jehovah* *keeps* thine outgoing and incoming  
From henceforth even for ever.<sup>1</sup>

But it is impossible to discover this peculiarity in them all; while it frequently appears in others not belonging to the fifteen. Hengstenberg indulges in an ingenious hypothesis for the purpose of retaining the genuineness of the titles, and the old explanation of *pilgrim-songs*. Inasmuch as four of them are ascribed to David (cxxii. cxxiv. cxxxi. cxxxiii.), and one to Solomon (cxxvii.), he decides that these were sung by the people as they went up to Jerusalem before the captivity, conjecturing that they were made the basis of a whole series or system designed for the same use after the return. An inspired writer added accordingly ten Psalms of his own in a studied and artificial manner. All this hypothesis is nothing but improbable conjecture which has nothing to recommend it; on the contrary, its artificiality determines its rejection.

The title again contains the mere designation of the author, as לְדָוִד, in Psalms xxv.—xxviii. xxxv. xxxvii. ciii. cxxxviii. cxliv. and לְשִׁלְמֹה, lxxii.; an announcement of the writer with the historical occasion, xxxiv.; an appellation of the Psalm together with the author, מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד, Psalms xv. xxiii. xxix. cxli. cxliii.; לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר, xxiv. ci. cx.; מִזְמוֹר לְאַסָּף, l. lxxiii. lxxix. lxxxii.; מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד לְהַזְכִּיר, *a Psalm of David to bring to remembrance*, xxxviii.; מִבְּתָם לְדָוִד, xvi.; לְדָוִד תְּפִלָּה לְמִשְׁחָה אִישׁ אִישׁ הַאֱלֹהִים, xvii. lxxxvi.; תְּפִלָּה לְדָוִד, xc.; תְּהִלָּה לְדָוִד, cxlv.; מִשְׁבִּיל לְאִיתֵן הָאָזְרָתִי, lxxiv. lxxviii., and מִשְׁבִּיל לְדָוִד מִשְׁבִּיל, lxxxix.; שִׁיר מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד, cviii.; שִׁיר מִזְמוֹר לְאַסָּף, lxxxiii.; שִׁיר מִזְמוֹר לְבְנֵי קִרְחַי, lxxxvii.; שִׁיר מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד, cxliii. cxlviii.; שִׁיר מִזְמוֹר לְבְנֵי קִרְחַי מִזְמוֹר שִׁיר, cxlviii. cxlviii.; שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת לְדָוִד, cxxii. cxxiv. cxxxii. cxxxiii.; שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת לְשִׁלְמֹה, cxxvii.; מִזְמוֹר שִׁיר חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת לְדָוִד, xxx.<sup>2</sup> With regard to *Michtam* in some of these prefatory designations, Psal. xvi. lvi.—lx., it has been understood as meaning *golden*, i. e. of *peculiar excellence*; or *written in golden characters* like the Moallakat of the Arabians. Why the Psalms so designated should have this title of distinction more than others, it is impossible to say. They do not merit it preeminently. Others interpret *sculptured* or *engraved* as on some monumental tablet. Hence the LXX. render *σθηλογραφία* or *εἰς σθηλογραφίαν*; and the Vulgate, *tituli inscriptio, in tituli inscriptionem*. There is nothing in their contents determining them especially to such a use. Others, deriving the noun from a verb *to hide*, give it the sense of *hidden*, intimating either that the Psalms to which

<sup>1</sup> See De Wette's Commentar, u. s. w. Einleit. pp. 56, 57.

<sup>2</sup> See Keil's Einleitung, p. 384.

it is prefixed were written by David in exile; or, as Hengstenberg supposes, a *mystery* or *secret*, indicating the depth of doctrinal and spiritual import in these sacred compositions. The contents do not warrant either of these hypotheses. Gesenius, De Wette, and others explain the term simply as a *writing* by interchange of ך with ך, so that the word is equivalent to מִכְתָּב. This yields a suitable meaning. Yet Hengstenberg and Olshausen object that the two words מִכְתָּב and מִכְתָּב are independent roots which never pass into one another, and therefore they reject the interpretation. It is the best that has been proposed. Hupfeld's recent investigations have thrown little light on the word.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to *Tephillah*, which also appears in two Psalms with the name of the writer, and without it in xc., cxlii., it means *prayer*, *poem addressed to the Deity*. In the 142d Psalm it is in apposition with *Mascil*.

*Tehillah*, *song of praise*, is prefixed only to the 145th. The word was originally used in a more restricted sense, a *hymn*; but was afterwards extended to all spiritual songs.

*Mascil*. Besides occurring in inscriptions, this term appears once in the text, Psal. xlvii. 8. The LXX. translate *συνέσεως* or *εἰς σύνεσιν* (*συνετώσ*, xlvii. 8.); the Vulgate *intellectus* (*intelligentiæ*), or *ad intellectum* (*sapienter*, xlvii. 8.). The common interpretation is *didactic poem*, from מִשְׁפָּה, *to understand*; but this does not accord with the nature of all the Psalms so designated. Gesenius explains it a *didactic poem*, so that this special word was afterwards transferred to other kinds of odes.<sup>2</sup> Ewald<sup>3</sup> explains it a *skilful, melodious poem*, equivalent to *fine, ingenious, finished*. It appears to us more probable that the noun was a general term for *poem*, as the Arabic شعر properly stands for *intelligentia*, and afterwards for *poesis*. Poets were the *sages, learned men* of the ancient world, *poetæ docti*. De Wette<sup>4</sup> prefers this interpretation.

Many titles appear to be of a musical or liturgical kind, as —

מִנְחָה, which occurs in fifty-five inscriptions; the word itself *before* the designation of the poem (lxvi.), or the name of the poet (xi. xiii. xiv. xix. — xxi. xxxi. xxxvi. xl. — xlii. xliv. xlv. xlvii. xlix. lxiv. lxx. lxxviii. lxx. lxxxv. cix. cxxxix. cxl.), and historical notices (xviii. li. lii.), making up the title; or the word occurring *after* different notices referring to the nature of the Psalms, their authors, occasion, and object. Some consider the word to be the Syriac infinitive, *to be sung*. But the more common opinion is that it is the participle of the verb מִנַּח, *to preside over*, used in a musical sense 1 Chron. xv. 21. It appears to designate *the superintendent of the musical choir*, or *head singer*. In this case the ך refers to the giving of it over to the chief musician for public exhibition. Olshausen<sup>5</sup> has thrown some difficulties in the way of this interpretation which are not for-

<sup>1</sup> Die Psalmen, p. 308. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Lexicon Manuale, s. v. מִשְׁפָּה.

<sup>3</sup> Die poetischen Bücher des alten Bundes, erster Theil, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Commentar, u. s. w. p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Die Psalmen erklärt, u. s. w. Einleitung, pp. 24, 25.

midable. It is certainly usual to regard ל in the titles of Psalms as indicative of authorship. Accordingly this commentator takes it so here, the author of *the musical accompaniment* or *of the Psalms themselves*. But the proposed interpretation is less likely than the common one.

The addition to לְפִנְנָצָה of בְּנִינֹת, or עַל נְיִנָּה, (lxi.), refers also to the music, *with the music of stringed instruments as an accompaniment*. The latter term נְיִנָּה is in the singular number and construct form, *on a stringed instrument, with an instrumental accompaniment*; but should probably be pointed as a plural. The addition of עַל הַשְּׁמִינִית (vi. xii.) refers to the time, *upon the eighth or octave*. Of the appendage עַל הַגָּתִית (viii. lxxx. lxxxiv.), the most probable meaning is an *air* or *tune* borrowed from the Philistine city of Gath. Gesenius understands it of *an instrument* invented or used there. The LXX. have ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν, and the Vulgate, *pro torcularibus*, both deriving it from *Gath*, a wine-press.

Another appellation occurring in titles along with לְפִנְנָצָה is לְדִוְתָן (xxxix.), or עַל־דִּוְתָן (lxii. lxxvii.), which probably refers to the musical choir of Jeduthun, who was one of David's chief musicians. It is used of his family or descendants, not of himself. Some, as Hengstenberg, think that it refers to *himself* in the 39th Psalm; and to his *family* or *descendants* in the other two Psalms, since the prefixes or prepositions are somewhat different; but it is better to take them synonymously. That the phrase refers to a *tune* or *air*, as Ewald<sup>1</sup> thinks, is less likely.

Another appendage to לְפִנְנָצָה is עַל מַחֲלָה (liii. lxxxviii.). The LXX. do not translate it. Perhaps it denotes a musical instrument. Some, comparing the Ethiopic, find it nearly equivalent to the Greek κθάρα, or *harp*. Others think that it refers to a *tune* or *air*. Hengstenberg's interpretation of the phrase, according to which it is an enigmatical enunciation of the subject of the Psalm, *upon disease*, the spiritual malady with which all mankind are infected, is wholly untenable. In the 88th Psalm it is followed by לְעֵנוֹת, which appears to denote *for singing, to be sung*. Ewald, after the LXX. and Vulgate, connects it closely with the preceding, *to sing after machaloth*.<sup>2</sup> Hengstenberg's hypothesis concerning it *regarding the tribulation* must be rejected.<sup>3</sup>

Another appendage to the same title of *the president of the singers* is לְאֵל הַנְּחִילֹת (v.), the likeliest explanation of which is, *after flutes, with the accompaniment of flutes*. Hengstenberg, after the LXX. and Vulgate, refers it to the subject of the Psalm, *as to inheritances*, which is less probable. Hupfeld has shown that *flutes* may have been used along with other instruments in the worship of God. The use of לְאֵל seems equivalent to עַל.

Another accompaniment of the same word is עַל־מוֹת לְבָן (ix.), an expression very obscure. It is rendered by the LXX. ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων τοῦ νόου; and by the Vulgate *pro occultis filiis*. Some alter

<sup>1</sup> Die poetischen Bücher, u. s. w. i. p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> See on Psalm 88th.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 174, 175.

the present reading. We prefer putting the two words על מוֹת together, על־מוֹת, and taking the term so formed with Forkel, Gesenius, and De Wette, as the designation of a mode, similar to the *Jungfrau-Weiss*, Virgin-mode, of the German master-singers (עֲלִיָּה, *upgin*). In this manner it is brought into conformity with על־מוֹת in the title of the 46th Psalm. What אֵלֶּךָ means it is hard to tell, to the son. Perhaps it was the first word of some other poem, in the style or to the air of which this Psalm was composed. The various opinions respecting the title may be seen in Hupfeld.<sup>1</sup>

Another appendage of לְמִנְצָחַם is על אֲזֵלֶת הַשָּׁחַר (xxii.) *after the hind of the morning*. Some think that it relates to the subject of the Psalm. Hengstenberg supposes accordingly that *the hind* is a poetical figure for persecuted innocence; and *morning*, for deliverance from distress. Others regard the phrase as denoting *the rising sun*, to which the Arabian poets give the name *gazelle*. It is best to look upon the phrase as *the title* or principal thing in some other poem, to the melody of which this Psalm was intended to be sung. Hence it denotes *an air*. Other interpretations may be seen in Rosenmüller.

Another accompaniment of the same is על יוֹנָת אֵלֶם רְחֻקִים (lvi.), the meaning of which is exceedingly obscure. The LXX. translate ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων μαμακρυμμένους; the Vulgate, *pro populo, qui a sanctis large factus est*. The words are probably the commencement of some other ode, to the air of which this Psalm was to be set. We should translate them, *after dove of the distant terebinths*, reading אֵלֶם as if it should be pointed in the plural, אֵלֶם, or be read אֵלִים. Very improbable appears to us the enigmatical explanation of Hengstenberg, *concerning a mute dove of distant persons*: the *dove* being an emblem of suffering innocence, the second word meaning uncomplaining submission, and *the distant ones* the Philistines. It thus describes David an innocent sufferer among strangers.

Another appendage of the word denoting the chief musician is על שִׁשְׁבִּים (xlv. lxix. lxxx.), על שִׁישָׁן (lx.). Perhaps both are the same, the one being the plural of the other. Gesenius thinks that the noun means an instrument, so named perhaps from its lily-formed shape; perhaps *cymbalum*, cymbal. Olshausen regards it as a designation of the tune or air. Hengstenberg takes it as an enigmatical description of the subject of the Psalm or Psalms, which is improbable. With שִׁישָׁן, in Psal. lx., and שִׁשְׁבִּים, in Psal. lxxx., is connected the difficult word עֲדוּת. Hengstenberg and others think that it means *the law*, which is called *the testimony* in 2 Kings xi. 12. Gesenius is inclined to take it in the general sense of *revelation, poem*, as the poetic writers of the Psalms often appeal to a revelation. More probably, as we think, does it refer to an air or tune.

Another accompaniment of the same word is אֶל־תִּשְׁחַת (lvii. lviii. lix. lxxv.), *destroy not*, which was probably the commencement or title of some unknown poem, to the melody of which these Psalms were sung. Hengstenberg refers it to the subject of the Psalm to which it is prefixed; a supposition wholly untenable.

<sup>1</sup> Die Psalmen, vol. i. p. 63.

הָלַח occurs seventy-one times in the Psalms (in thirty-nine Psalms), and three times in Habakkuk, commonly at the end of a short stanza; but in Psal. lv. 20. lvii. 4., Hab. iii. 3. 9. in the middle of the verse, yet at the end of a member of it. It is needless to enumerate the different opinions respecting it. It must not be considered as belonging to the text and connected with the sense, but as a musical sign. What that sign is, is very uncertain. According to Gesenius<sup>1</sup>, it denotes a *pause*, intimating that the singing should cease, and the stringed instruments be introduced; while Hengstenberg refers it to the sense as well as the music; a pause in the latter coming in where the feeling requires a resting-place. Thus it is of equal import as regards the sense and the music. Both interpretations rest on the same etymology, הָלַח, *to rest*, the change of the harder ח to the softer ל being common. To this etymology Keil<sup>2</sup> has objected that there is no trace of the interchange of these letters in pure Hebrew, but only in Aramaean, and later Aramaising writers like Jeremiah. It has also been shown by Sommer<sup>3</sup>, that the sense given by Gesenius does not suit in many places. Its position at the end of Psalms is contrary to Hengstenberg's hypothesis, as it would be understood of course that the music should cease at the end of a hymn. As this critic thinks it indicates a pause in the sense, he asserts that the translators who omit it certainly do wrong, a remark with which we have no sympathy, as in our view it has nothing to do with the sense. Objectionable however as the words of Hengstenberg are, those of his disciple are far more so. Alexander, improving on his master, says, "like the titles it invariably forms part of the text, and its omission by some editors and translators is a mutilation of the word of God."<sup>4</sup> Such offensive and dogmatical orthodoxy needs no castigation.

The most copious investigation of the meaning of the word is that of Sommer, whose opinion is adopted and largely illustrated by Keil. Both these critics come to the conclusion that it denotes the falling in of the sound of the priests' trumpets into the psalm-singing and the playing of the stringed instruments by the Levites, expressive of an urgent invocation of Jehovah. Hence it occurs only in certain Psalms; and even there in peculiar places where the poet has given utterance to the warmest aspirations of his heart, the liveliest feelings and hopes, or the deepest complainings of his soul before God, and by that means would secure a hearing. This exposition is founded upon, and was suggested by, the Greek translation διάψαλμα, *interlude*. Notwithstanding the ingenuity with which it is brought forward, and the great pains bestowed upon its development, we confess that it appears to us most uncertain. It is very artificial and complex. Hengstenberg has made some objections to it, which are not met by the counter remarks of Keil.<sup>5</sup>

It is probable that the word has reference to the musical accom-

<sup>1</sup> Lexicon Manuale.

<sup>2</sup> In Hävernick's Einleit. iii. p. 385.

<sup>3</sup> Biblische Abhandlungen, i. p. 1. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> The Psalms translated and explained, vol. i. p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> In Hävernick's Einleit. iii. p. 120. *et seqq.*

paniment. It may be derived from לָלַחַד, *to elevate*, and mean *for elevation, up*, i. e. loud or clear. It is admitted that this derivation is far from being certain; that it is open to some objections in a verbal view. We cannot see the force, however, of one objection urged against it by Hengstenberg<sup>1</sup>, viz. that in Psal. ix. 17. it comes after *Higgaion, meditation*; because we hold that meaning of *Higgaion* to be untenable. Both together in this verse mean *the music loud*. Thus *Higgaion* is derived from הִגְיָה, *to make a noise*. The same sense is suitable in the only other place where *higgaion* occurs, viz. xcii. 4., *rousing, loud music*. We reject Keil's explanation, *piano*.

A word appended to some titles is לְהִזְכִּיר (xxxviii. lxx.) The LXX. represent it by εἰς ἀνάμνησιν; the Vulgate, in like manner, have *in rememorationem*. The most natural explanation is *for remembrance*, to bring to remembrance, to recall the remembrance of the speaker to God. Michaelis interprets it *at the offering*<sup>2</sup>; which is founded, as De Wette appositely remarks, on the alleged but uncertain signification of הִזְכִּיר, *to offer as a sacrifice*. Yet Ewald substantially adopts the view of Michaelis, explaining the word to use as a frankincense-offering and (at the offering of frankincense).

In the title of the 60th Psalm, לְלַמֵּד occurs with מִזְמָרָם. The literal meaning of the word is *to teach*. Probably it means *to be taught, to be committed to memory*. Compare 2 Sam. i. 18.

The genuineness of the titles has been debated. Some contend that they are an original part of the Psalms to which they are prefixed, having proceeded from the writers themselves. This opinion was probably held by all the fathers, with one exception, viz. Theodore of Mopsuestia. In modern times it has been adopted by Clauss, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil, Alexander. Vogel stands on the opposite side, since he denied the genuineness of all. Bertholdt, De Wette, Hitzig, Ewald, Von Lengerke, Olshausen, take the same view substantially. In favour of the titles it has been alleged,—

1. That it was customary with Hebrew and Arabian poets to prefix their names to their own poems.

2. The fact that all the Psalms are not provided with them, and that the inscriptions present the greatest variety of form, contents, length, shortness, &c. Had later collectors prefixed them by conjecture, it is argued that they would not only have furnished many with them that are now without, proceeding on the ground of their contents, which would easily have led to the probable conclusion; but would also have given to them greater uniformity.

3. The contents of the Psalms favour the same view. The musical notices had already become unintelligible to the post-exile period, and are found in no later Psalms than those of David and his singers. The others relating to the character, authors, historical occasion, and immediate design, show that they are original and genuine, by the fact that they are often confirmed by the historical books without being taken from them by mere conjecture; and also that they agree well with the subject-matter, contain no notices demonstrably false, but only

<sup>1</sup> Commentar, u. s. w. vol. i. pp. 62, 63.

<sup>2</sup> Kritisches Collegium, u. s. w. p. 419.

such as have been deemed erroneous or unsuitable because of wrong dogmatic, æsthetic, and critical prepossessions.<sup>1</sup>

These arguments are not valid or convincing. We believe that the weight of evidence is on the other side of the question.

The first consideration has some force, but not so much as has been thought. The titles in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1., and Isa. xxxviii. 9., 2 Sam. xxii. 1., favour the conclusion. It may have been the custom for prophets to designate their predictions by their names; yet that does not prove it to have been followed by Hebrew poets generally. The poems in Exod. xv., Deut. xxxii. xxxiii., Judges v., contain the names of the poets, but only in connection with the narrative, *not in a proper title*.

There is no force in the second argument. The authors of the titles had no conjectures to give in regard to the titles of many Psalms, and therefore they affixed none. The great variety of inscriptions is owing to the various persons from whom they proceeded.

The unintelligibility of the titles in the post-exile period rests upon the circumstance of their being so to the Septuagint translators. But another and better reason may be found to account for it in their case, than remoteness of time from the date of composition. De Wette has remarked, that the remoteness of the Egyptian translators from Jerusalem, and their separation from the temple-service there, prevented them from becoming acquainted with devotional music and other similar matters, for which reason they failed to understand the titles.<sup>2</sup>

That the historical notices in the titles are confirmed by the historical books, and were independent of them in their origin, may be allowed in some cases. In others, we must believe that they were derived from the Old Testament books themselves, as in Psal. xxxiv. 1. compared with 1 Sam. xxi. 13.; Psal. liv. 2. compared with 1 Sam. xxiii. 19. It need not be urged against this by Keil, that notices are wanting in some Psalms which owed their origin to historical circumstances (xlvi. xlviii. lxxxvii. &c.) or presented rich material for historical conjectures (xx. xliii. lxi. &c.); while they are found in other Psalms whose contents furnished no ground for them (xxxiv. liv. lvii. lx. &c.).

The assertion that the titles agree well in every case with the subject-matter of the Psalms to which they belong, is one which has been directly contradicted by many critics. To prove the truth of it would require a minute and particular examination of all Psalms to which historical notices are prefixed, for the purpose of rendering it palpable. This has been done for the most part by Hengstenberg and Keil. Yet it is impossible for any impartial critic to believe that they have succeeded in making good their position. Notwithstanding the ingenuity of Hengstenberg, in conforming the contents to the titles, he has utterly failed in several cases. Having taken up an untenable position, he cannot maintain it. It appears to us unquestionable that the titles prove to be occasionally incorrect. Both the

<sup>1</sup> Keil's Einleit. pp. 385, 386.

<sup>2</sup> Commentar, u. s. w. Einleit. p. 21.

author and the occasion are sometimes given erroneously. It is easy to aver, that doctrinal, æsthetical, and critical prejudices lead to the conclusion now stated. Such prepossessions are not all on one side. We know no commentator on the Psalms who has more of them than Hengstenberg, by whom they have been transmitted to his followers, Keil and Alexander. Thus we look upon the title of the 34th Psalm as incorrect. The Psalm has no relation to the conduct of David at the time specified. It is evidently of later origin, having been written for a liturgical purpose. In like manner, the title of the 54th is not justified by the contents, being incorrectly taken from 1 Sam. xxiii. 19. The fifth verse alone shows the notice at the commencement to be untenable. We are also inclined to think that the title and occasion of the 51st Psalm, as given at the beginning of it, are suspicious. How can the last two verses agree with David or David's time? The composition was much later than David.

Some critics have taken a middle course with respect to the titles of the Psalms, supposing that to the ancient and genuine ones, others have been added more recent and often false. Accordingly, Rosenmüller and Stark consider all the titles relating to music of late origin. It is impossible to separate the genuine originals from the later ones by any principle which can claim approval. As long as some are thought to be spurious, all are liable to the same suspicion.

Various inscriptions now prefixed to Psalms seem to have arisen from a combination of notices taken out of different sources. This is apparent in the case of the 88th Psalm, whose title has the three nearly synonymous terms *שִׁיר*, *מִזְמוֹר*, *מִשְׁכָּל*; and Heman the Ezrahite is named as the author, besides the sons of Korah. It would also appear that copies did not always agree in relation to the titles. Thus in the LXX. inscriptions appear which are wanting in the Hebrew text. Occasionally too those now found in that version represent a different title from the one in the Hebrew.

In summing up our observations on this point, we rely on the following considerations against the originality of the titles.

1. The inscriptions are sometimes at variance with the contents. This is admitted by most. Even Tholuck feels the force of it so much in Psal. xiv. xxv. li. lxix. as to resort to the most gratuitous assumption that xiv. 7., xxv. 22., li. 20, 21., lxix. 35—37., are later additions which were appended when the Psalms in question were sung during the Babylonish captivity. To take the expressions in these verses figuratively or spiritually, as Calvin and Hengstenberg do, yields a sense altogether improbable. The Psalms belong to the captivity.

2. The Greek and Syriac versions exhibit these titles with many variations. Thus the Hebrew inscription of xxvii. is in the Greek version, "before being annointed;" while xciii.—xcvii. are furnished by the same version with inscriptions where the Hebrew has none. Now it may be that the ancient translators prefixed titles where none existed at first; but they would hardly have altered them, had they considered them sacred or original. Surely they would have refrained from tampering with what was genuine and authoritative.

The conclusion at which we arrive is, that the titles proceeded from later persons than the authors themselves. It were rash to assert that *all* had this origin; but by far the greater number must have arisen so. The individuals who put them there did so by tradition and their own conjectures. Sometimes the former had determined the author and occasion; at other times persons followed their own judgment, taking occasionally the historical books of the Old Testament as a help. Under such circumstances, we cannot expect uniform accuracy. It is better to judge for ourselves than to follow them with implicit confidence. Some titles already existed, before the collectors of the five books began to put a number of Psalms together; others proceeded from the collectors themselves; while others may have been affixed by the person or persons who completed the canon.

The following authors are named in the titles:—

1. To Moses the 90th is attributed by a very ancient tradition. And we are inclined to believe that the inscription here is correct.

2. To David 73 are assigned, viz. iii.—ix. xi.—xxxii. xxxiv.—xli. li.—lxv. lxxviii.—lxx. lxxxvi. ci. ciii. cviii.—cx. cxxii. cxxiv. cxxx. cxxxiii. cxxxviii.—clxv. We cannot believe that all these are rightly ascribed to him. Several undoubtedly do not belong to him; while others are uncertain. Such, however, as are authentic show high poetic inspiration. Their variety too manifests a mind comprehensively endowed. In the hymn, the poem, the elegy, the didactic ode, the royal singer excels. Doubtless the various situations in which he was placed contributed to nurture the poetic genius, storing the mind and memory with images and illustrations drawn from very dissimilar sources. The many-sided singer of Israel appears in the manifold richness of his capacious heart. His writings express almost all varieties of feeling and spiritual experience, great depth and liveliness of sensibility, strong faith of the heroic order, hope in high exercise, depression, despondency, and all the moods of spirituality. The diction is also varied—difficult as well as easy of comprehension, soft, diffuse. It may be said that the characteristics of David's Psalms are softness, elegance, and pathos. Only occasionally does sublimity appear; as in the 18th and 19th. The majority of his odes are occupied with supplication and complaint: and these are not of the highest poetical merit.

3. To Solomon are assigned lxxii. and cxxvii. Of the former, however, he is rather the subject than the writer. The latter seems not to have been written by him. It is post-exilian. Probably the conjecture assigning it to Solomon arose from referring *the house* in verse 1. to the temple, and *the beloved of the Lord* in verse 2. to Solomon. Compare 2 Sam. xii. 25.

4. To Asaph are attributed 12 psalms, viz. 1. lxxiii.—lxxxiii. Asaph was David's chief musician, and an inspired psalmist besides, as we learn from the books of the Chronicles. Here again, it is certain that Asaph did not compose all that are given to him in the titles. Even Keil allows him but 7 out of the 12, viz. 1. lxxiii. lxxvii. lxxviii. lxxx.—lxxxii. Yet this number should be farther reduced. Most

of the twelve belong to a much later period than that of Asaph himself. Hengstenberg and Keil think that all came from himself or from members of his family, among whom the gift and office of their ancestor were hereditary. It is arbitrary, however, to understand by Asaph sometimes himself and sometimes his descendants.

5. The sons of Korah were a Levitical family of singers who still continued that employment in the reign of Jehoshaphat. (2 Chron. xx. 19.) Their head in David's time was Heman. (1 Chron. vi. 16. &c., ix. 19.) Eleven Psalms are ascribed to them, viz. xlii. xliii.—xlix. lxxxiv. lxxxv. lxxxvii. lxxxviii. Most of these are falsely attributed to the Korahites, certainly the 42nd Psalm; though Tholuck and others strongly persist in maintaining the opposite.<sup>1</sup>

6. To Ethan the Ezrahite, one of David's musicians, is assigned the 89th Psalm. This is surely erroneous. The composition is much later, viz. after the Chaldean conquest.

Fifty Psalms are anonymous, viz. i. ii. x. xxxiii. xliii. lxvi. lxvii. lxxi. xci.—c. cii. civ.—cvi. cvii. cxi.—cxvi. cxvii. cxviii. cxix. cxx. cxxi. cxxiii. cxxvi. cxxviii.—cxxx. cxxxii. cxxxiv. cxxxv. cxxxvi. cxxxvii. cxlvi. cxlvii.—cl. Some of these were probably written by David, or belong to his time. The greater number are later. Many belong to the decaying period of the nation; still more to the time of the captivity. In fixing their probable dates, it appears to us that Hengstenberg and Keil have made numerous mistakes, consisting chiefly in giving them a higher date than what properly belongs to them.

It has been remarked, that none of the prophets are named as the authors of Psalms in the titles. The Septuagint indeed gives as authors Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, probably from conjecture only. The circumstance in question has been regarded as unfavourable to the correctness of the tradition embodied in the titles.

The question of Psalms having been composed in the Maccabean period has greatly divided the opinions of critics. It cannot be denied that there are some whose contents suit that age, such as 44th, 60th, &c. &c. Rudinger, Hermann Van der Hardt, Venema, E. G. Bengel, Bertholdt, Paulus, Kaiser, Hitzig, Hesse, Olshausen, Von Lengerke, take the affirmative view. But there are opposing circumstances which render it very doubtful. The canon was closed before that time, according to all evidence existing on the subject. The prologue of the Greek translator of Jesus Sirach's book appears to imply that the grandfather mentioned in it lived at the commencement of the Maccabean time; and yet in his days the law, the prophets, and *the other books* (the hagiographa) already existed. And how could Maccabean Psalms get into the first, second, and third books of the whole collection? It is easy to conceive how they might have found their way into the last book; but as to their reception into the first, it is quite different. Another consideration is, that incorrect ideas respecting the origin of these new Psalms could

<sup>1</sup> See Tholuck's Uebersetzung und Auslegung der Psalmen, u. s. w. pp. 212, 213.

scarcely have got into such general currency within a few years as to be incorporated into the titles. How comes it also, that the language of the so-called Maccabean Psalms is as pure as that of the oldest, which belong to the time of David and Solomon? How does it present so few traces of the degeneracy which appears in several of the late Old Testament books? It cannot be explained on the principle of slavish imitation of the earlier. Again, the close agreement of single verses in these alleged Maccabean Psalms with various passages in the prophetic writings belonging to an earlier period, especially with Jeremiah, as well as with other parts of the Old Testament among which the Lamentations should be mentioned, is adverse to their Maccabean origin. We naturally think of the same period giving birth to writings distinguished by great mutual affinities. The likeness is so striking that Hitzig has been led to conjecture similarity of authorship; ascribing many Psalms to Jeremiah, a few to Isaiah. Putting these considerations together, we are inclined to dispute the Maccabean origin of any Psalms; believing that they can be *better accounted for* in other ways. It is true that Olshausen<sup>1</sup> has recently tried to obviate some of these objections, but with little success. We agree on the whole with Gesenius, Hassler, De Wette, Hengstenberg, Keil, and others, in denying the existence of Maccabean Psalms.

Respecting the collection and arrangement of the Psalms, two very different views have been advanced. Some think that the whole book was collected and compiled by one man, and that one principle runs throughout. The similarity of contents, the likeness of their tendency and destination, their internal union, regulated the existing arrangement. Agreeably to this internal principle of similarity and analogy in individual poems, the first place in the collection was assigned to the Psalms of David and his contemporaries, Asaph and his choir of singers, Heman and other Korahites, who are reckoned the creators and masters of the lyrical poetry in the Psalms. The compositions of these master-singers were then divided according to the prevailing usage of the two names of Deity into three books, in the first of which, containing only Psalms of David, Jehovah is predominant; in the second, containing Psalms of David and his contemporaries, the sons of Korah, Asaph, Solomon, and some unknown poets, the name Elohim is predominant. The third, containing the Psalms of Asaph and the Korahites, received its position partly from its mixed, *i. e.* Jehovah-Elohistic, and partly from its pure Jehovistic, character. Within these three books the individual Psalms are so arranged according to the same law of analogy, as to have a link of union either in their internal mutual relation to one another, in the similarity of the occasion on which they were composed and the design they were intended to serve, in their common title, in their agreement in *ideas* and *words*, their coincidence in certain characteristic images and expressions, or finally, in several of these particulars together. Thus the Psalms are put together as the links of

<sup>1</sup> Die Psalmen erklärt, u. s. w. Einleitung, p. 9. *et seqq.*

a chain; the anonymous Elohim-Psalms (xliiii. lxvi. lxxi.) being not only incorporated with the second book, but also two anonymous Jehovistic Psalms (x. xxxiii.) being embodied in the first; while the Davidic Psalm lxxxvi. is inserted among the Korahite poems of the third book. The first and second Psalms are placed at the head of the collection in consequence of their common introductory designation and their internal relation to one another.

The remainder of the collection is similarly arranged in accordance with the succession of time; so that after the Psalm of Moses (xc.), which as the oldest stands at the head of this collection, comes a decade of anonymous ones reaching from Solomon to the time of the exile (xci.—c.); then a series of poems written during the exile and till Ezra; then the collection of pilgrim-songs (cxxx.—cxxxiv.), succeeded by the last group of temple and halleluyah Psalms. In the three last groups are inserted those Davidic Psalms which either served as patterns to later poets, or by their prophetic contents refer to the future condition of the kingdom of God in its contest and victories.

The general conclusion drawn from this uniformity of plan in the arrangement is, that the whole proceeded from one person, who did not live before the time of Nehemiah, to which the latest Psalms belong. It is conjectured that Ezra was this collector; since he was contemporary with Nehemiah.

Such is the view elaborated by Keil on the basis of Hengstenberg's lucubrations.<sup>1</sup> It were idle to deny that it is ingenious and plausible in many things; though its complexity and artificiality speak against its adoption. Nothing appears to us more improbable than that the present arrangement proceeded from one person. It cannot have originated with Ezra; because it is now an acknowledged thing among the best critics that he was not the inspired collector and redacteur of the canon; and there is no other foundation for ascribing the collection of the Psalms to him than this old tradition that he completed the canon of the Old Testament. It is certain that the canon was closed later than the time of Ezra, as various books written after him show.

All the phenomena lead to the conclusion that the collection was made gradually. It is likely that the first book was the oldest put together. The writer's intention seems to have been, to furnish songs of David exclusively. It cannot be that David himself made the collection, because it contains several which are not his, such as the 14th.<sup>2</sup> Besides, as De Wette remarks, David would hardly have bestowed upon himself the honourable epithet of *servant of Jehovah*, which is annexed to his name in two of the titles, xviii. xxxvi. The time when the first book was made must be placed after the Babylonian exile, on account of the 14th Psalm, which appears to belong to the captivity; or later in the opinion of others. The second book was subsequently added. It would seem to have formed out of two

<sup>1</sup> See Keil's Einleit. § 116. and in Hävernicks's Einleit. p. 275. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> In order to maintain the Davidic origin of this poem, Tholuck assumes most arbitrarily that the seventh verse is a liturgical addition! See Uebersetzung, u. s. w. pp. 61, 62.

or more small collections; for Psalms xlii.—xlix. are from the sons of Korah, and li.—lxv. from David. If the first book was made after the captivity, the second must own the same origin. In it also occur poems which were written during or after the captivity. The third book also originated in smaller collections; for the Psalms of Asaph stand together at the commencement of it (lxxiii.—lxxxiii.); while lxxxiv.—lxxxix. are for the most part Korahite ones. Only one Psalm in it is attributed to David, viz. the 86th, erroneously as it would appear. Jahn conjectures that the collector of this third book, wishing to add his own collection to the preceding one and not having particularly in view the songs of David, subjoined to the 72nd Psalm the formula signifying that the Psalms of David were ended.<sup>1</sup> This is probable, since the words are intended to separate what precedes from what follows—to mark later additions; like the analogous phrases in Job xxxi. 40. and Jer. li. 64. We do not believe, with Olshausen<sup>2</sup>, that the collector of the second and third books was one and the same person because in the greater part the predominant use of the name of Deity is the same, viz. *Elohim*. On the contrary, since *Jehovah* predominates from the 84th Psalm onwards, it must be concluded that the second and third books were made up by different persons. It is arbitrary to suppose, with Olshausen, that the last six Psalms of the third book were a later appendix by another hand. And it is equally arbitrary to suppose, with Ewald<sup>3</sup>, that the eight Psalms, xcii.—c., were moved out of their original place after the 72nd, by a very old mistake. The last two books were collected and added in the same manner as the rest. They are mostly liturgical, and also of the latest age. It is likely, as in the case of the other books, that they were formed out of minor collections; for in the fourth book xcii.—c. bear a certain likeness to one another; and in the fifth book, the *halleluyah-Psalms* begin with the 104th, while the songs of degrees, cxx.—cxxxiv. stand together. The entire collection was made considerably after the return from the captivity, and before the translation of Jesus Sirach, 130 B. C., when the entire Psalms were translated into Greek; and even before the Chronicles were written. This last fact is inferred from the circumstance that a temple-song is placed in David's time by the writer of the Chronicles which is borrowed from the latest portions of the present collection. Even the doxology, forming the conclusion of the fourth book, is included in that temple-ode. (1 Chron. xvi. 7—36.)

There can be little doubt that the collectors of the various books were guided by a religious aim. The Psalms were written and gathered at last into one whole, for public as well as private use.

The subject before us admits of many hypotheses. And many such have been propounded; as may be seen in Bertholdt and later critics. Whatever speculations may be indulged in respecting the different books composing the whole collection, it is clear to us that it arose gradually, out of smaller collections already existing; for the unevenness and dissimilarity of the titles, the double insertion of the

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 719.

<sup>2</sup> Die Psalmen erklärt, u. s. w. Einleit. p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Die Poetischen Bücher, i. pp. 193, 194.

same Psalm, as in the case of the 14th and 53rd, the dispersion of poems proceeding from the same writer or writers throughout all the five books, the closing formula of the second book, viz. *the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended*, show that one uniform plan does not pervade the whole; and that it was not formed on one principle. There are also *peculiar* repetitions, such as the 70th, consisting of the last five verses of the 40th, which corroborate the same conclusion. But while the want of order and regularity *predominates*; there is unquestionably *a certain* order. Thus the greater number of David's Psalms, those of the sons of Korah, those of Asaph, as also the songs of degrees, stand together. Occasionally too, similarity of contents appears to have led to the juxtaposition. Still there is *no one pervading principle* of arrangement; as Hengstenberg and his follower Keil incorrectly argue. Sometimes a principle may be detected in a part, sometimes not; showing that the different books were uncritically, and to a certain extent arbitrarily, combined out of minor collections.

The usage of the names Jehovah and Elohim in different parts of the entire collection is somewhat peculiar. In the first book, Jehovah appears 272 times; Elohim (absolutely) 15 times. In the second book Jehovah occurs 30 times; Elohim 164 times. In the third book, Jehovah appears 44 times; Elohim 43. In the last two books together, Jehovah is used 339 times; Elohim but 7. How is this distinction of the names of Deity to be explained? How is it that the appellation Jehovah is designedly omitted in a series of Psalms; its place being supplied by Elohim even where Jehovah is always employed elsewhere? Some, as Ewald<sup>1</sup>, resolve the fact into the subjectivity of those who collected the different parts together. They interchanged the names according to their own taste. This view appears to us utterly improbable. The collectors would not have ventured to meddle with the text in this manner. They left it, as we think, untouched. Others, as De Wette<sup>2</sup>, resolve it into the different ages of the Psalms. This is insufficient, because the writers of the Psalms in which Elohim prevails lived in centuries when Jehovah was the usual appellation. Delitzsch<sup>3</sup> thinks, that the origin of the distinction lies in imitation of the Pentateuch, where the two names are discriminately employed; a hypothesis quite arbitrary and improbable. On the other hand, Keil<sup>4</sup> accounts for it by design on the part of the writers, to meet and counteract the influence arising from the contracted notions of the surrounding heathen with their national and local deities, over the covenant people, who might be led by that means to think of Jehovah, the God of Israel, as a limited national God. This view appears to us as improbable as the rest. It is too artificial, attributing to the sacred writers what would scarcely have influenced their writing to so great an extent. We are therefore inclined to resolve the fact into the peculiar liking of many poets for the name Elohim; a view which Delitzsch's objections do not re-

<sup>1</sup> Die Poetischen Bücher, u. s. w. pp. 191, 192.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 467.

<sup>3</sup> Symbolae ad Psalmos illustrandos isagogicae, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Einleitung, p. 293., and in Hävernick's Einleit. iii. p. 277. et seqq.

fute. The collectors, noticing the prevailing usage of Jehovah in some Psalms, and of Elohim in others, were influenced by it in part in arranging books or particular collections.

The Psalms are properly *lyric*, that is, they are songs or odes. This is the earliest kind of poetry among any people, being the immediate expression of the feelings as they arise, simple, spontaneous, unstudied. Accordingly, all the emotions of the mind are poured forth in these compositions. Every elevation and depression of the soul is expressed in them. The essential peculiarity, however, of the lyrical song consists in the form which is given to it by the musical accompaniment, or rather the beautiful rhythm and time for which it is adapted both to be sung and played to.

De Wette calls the Psalter a *lyrical anthology*, because it contains the lyric productions of different authors at various periods, the title "Psalms of David" being merely a *denominatio a potiori*. This anthology, however, contains merely the remains of the lyric poetry which appeared among the Hebrews. In Gen. iv. 19—24., Exod. xv., Judg. v., we have lyric specimens earlier than David's time. The directions of Moses immediately before his death have also the appearance of being cast in the same form. The lyric reached its culminating point in David, who carried this kind of poetry to its greatest perfection. Whether the lyric poetry of the Hebrews was exclusively devoted to the service of religion and to public worship, may appear at first sight uncertain. We believe that it was not; especially as David's elegy over Saul and Jonathan is still preserved; and also the song at the well in Num. xxi. The Song of Solomon has also been referred to, which belongs to common life; and the 45th Psalm itself is considered by many of an entirely secular character. But whatever view be taken of the last two poems, it is probable that very few secular songs were composed. Almost all were of a religious nature. They were dictated by those emotions towards God which constitute alike their life and beauty.

Those who have failed to perceive the comprehensive nature of lyric poetry, containing within itself, as it does, the germs of other species, have found in the Psalms, besides lyrical poems, *ethic* or *didactic* ones, such as the 119th and the alphabetical ones generally; *elegiac* poems; *enigmatic*, or rather as they should be termed, *gnomic*; and *idyls* or short pastoral poems. These species lie dormant in the lyric, which readily passes over into them. So also the *dramatic*; the nearest approach to which we have in the 24th Psalm. But we must decidedly object to the opinion of Horsley, that "the far greater part of the Psalms are a sort of dramatic ode, consisting of dialogues between persons sustaining certain characters."<sup>1</sup> Such *dialogue-psalms*, as they are called, are for the most part the offspring of imagination. The writers have sometimes thrown their ideas into forms which *appear* to involve different speakers, merely to give animation and vivacity to their compositions. To suppose in any case actual alternate choirs, is an unnecessary refinement.

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Translation of Psalms, p. xiii. Theological Works, vol. iv.

It is almost superfluous to state, that all the Psalms, or even the majority of them, were not composed for use in the public worship. Some were evidently written with that design; the rest with no such object.

There is a class of Psalms which bears many marks of imitation. Those which are plaintive in tone belong to it; for it is observable that they have considerable similarity in contents and scope. The ideas and phrases are little varied. This phenomenon some account for by referring such compositions to the national calamities of the Hebrews, by which they were suggested. But many Jews were thrown into the same situation at different periods. Tokens of imitation are also found in the alphabetic and halleluyah Psalms. As a general rule, the oldest Psalms are the freshest and most original in matter, form, and language.

The age of particular Psalms and their language are not always or generally in the proportion to one another which might be expected. Purity and ease of diction characterise the later rather than the earlier ones. Even in ideas, some of those after the captivity, such as the Psalms of degrees, are equal to David's. It has been proposed as a rule, by De Wette<sup>1</sup>, that a Psalm is older in proportion to the difficulty and awkwardness of its phraseology as well as the fulness, freedom, and compression of its ideas; and later in proportion to the ease, elegance, and facility of its language, besides the perspicuity, and exact arrangement of its matter. This may be accepted with some modification. Accordingly, the poetical merit is often in an inverse proportion to the age; some of those attributed to the sons of Korah and belonging to the exile, or even after it, occupying a high rank in sublimity, beauty, and elegance.

In considering the *Messianic character* of the Psalms, there are two extremes which ought to be avoided. One is, that of referring them all to Christ; as though they found their consummation and fulfilment in his person and kingdom. The other is, that of excluding him from such Psalms as undoubtedly relate to his person and sufferings. Some few are directly prophetic of the Messiah. Others have a secondary and spiritual reference to him. A considerable number of Psalms belong to the latter class. Hence they bear a primary and secondary reference; the one to the person or experience of David, who was both the illustrious ancestor and a type of Messiah; the other to David's greater son, the Messiah. Or, the primary sense pertains to some pious sufferer, while the higher and secondary applies to Christ. The only clear examples of directly and exclusively Messianic Psalms are the 2nd and 110th; for which we have the express authority of the New Testament. In attributing the 2nd to Christ, we are not at all convinced by Hupfeld's arguments<sup>2</sup> of the incorrectness of the view in question; nor can we approve of his saying that David being named as the writer, in the Acts of the Apostles, shows nothing more than the current tradition of the time. We believe that the Psalm is properly Messianic; and

<sup>1</sup> Commentar ueber die Psalmen, Einleitung, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Die Psalmen, vol. i. p. 16. *et seqq.*

that it was composed by David. Examples of the second class are furnished by the 16th and other Psalms. In every case, it is best to have the sanction of the New Testament for both kinds of Messianic odes; else the interpreter will run to excess. Thus some explain the 72nd of Messiah, without necessity or warrant. In looking into the New Testament we find numerous passages of particular Psalms quoted in connection with Christ. But it must not be inferred from that fact, that they are *predictive* of him in different ways. Thus the eighth Psalm, 4th, 5th, and 6th verses, though applied to him in Heb. ii. 6, 7., is not *predictive* of his person. In like manner, the allusion in Matt. xxi. 16. to the second verse of the same, merely shows that the truth expressed in the words quoted was exemplified in the case of the children uttering hosannas in the temple to Jesus. The simple citation in the New Testament of a passage from a Psalm does not imply the Messianic character of the passage itself; much less of the whole Psalm in which it stands. Many circumstances must be taken into account by him who would properly investigate the Messianic reference of a particular Psalm. No general rules can be given for ascertaining it. Dr. Noyes thinks, that "in regard to some of the references made to the Psalms by Paul and Peter, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, it seems necessary to suppose that they were not inspired as critics and interpreters."<sup>1</sup> This idea appears to us unwarranted by all the phenomena of inspiration. The apostles were always inspired; a fact consistent with the supposition that in some quotations of the Psalms we see their own subjectivity, or the prevalent interpretation of the Jews in their day, rather than absolute, infallible truth. Yet this happens but seldom. We do not believe that Acts iv. 25., xiii. 33. are examples of it; as Noyes, after De Wette and others, maintains. Instances, however, may be seen in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Bishop Horsley supposes that those Psalms which were composed by David himself were prophetic, because, at the close of the Psalmist's life, he describes himself and his sacred songs in this manner: "David the son of Jesse said, and the man who was raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet psalmist of Israel, said, the Spirit of Jehovah spake by me, and his word was in my tongue." (2 Sam. xxiii. 1, 2.) "It was the word therefore of Jehovah's Spirit which was uttered by David's tongue. But it should seem the Spirit of Jehovah would not be wanted to enable a mere man to make complaint of his own enemies, to describe his own sufferings just as he felt them, and his own escapes just as they happened. But the Spirit of Jehovah described by David's utterance what was known to that Spirit only, and that Spirit only could describe. So that, if David be allowed to have had any knowledge of the true subject of his own compositions, it was nothing in his own life, but something put into his mind by the Holy Spirit of God; and the misapplication of the Psalms to the literal David has done more mischief than the misapplication of any other parts of the

<sup>1</sup> Translation of the Psalms, Introduction, p. 10. 2d edition.

Scriptures among those who profess the belief of the Christian religion.”<sup>1</sup>

The reasoning in this passage appears to us radically unsound and fallacious. When it is affirmed that the Spirit of Jehovah spake by David; it is not meant that whatever David wrote was the utterance of that Spirit. When it is said that Jehovah’s word was in David’s tongue; it is not intended to convey the meaning that what his tongue always expressed was the direct suggestion of the Deity. The extension of such language to *all his compositions* is quite gratuitous. The phraseology is general, implying no more than that David was under divine inspiration. Whatever was the subject of his compositions—himself or the Messiah—he wrote under *the general superintendence* of the Spirit. We cannot and should not separate things known or unknown—things he could utter with and without the Spirit;—for the Spirit was in him continually; when he described his own sufferings as well as when his language referred to the great spiritual Deliverer to come. With these sentiments, we repudiate all such exposition as Horsley’s when he says, that of the Psalms alluding to the life of David “there are none in which the Son of David is not the principal and immediate subject. David’s complaints against his enemies are Messiah’s complaints, first of the unbelieving Jews, then of the heathen persecutors, and of the apostate faction in later ages. David’s afflictions are Messiah’s sufferings. David’s penitential supplications are Messiah’s, under the burden of the imputed guilt of man. David’s songs of triumph and thanksgiving are Messiah’s songs of triumph and thanksgiving for his victory over sin, and death, and hell.”<sup>2</sup> This is mere fancy, not exposition. The right-minded interpreter must discard allegorisings of the kind specified. The references to Christ which the Psalms embody are usually indefinite. They are neither precise nor explicit; showing that the writers had no clear or distinct ideas of the expected Messiah. Where there are *direct prophecies* of him, the case is otherwise. But such prophecies are rare; and some individual passages in Psalms which have been supposed to contain unequivocal predictions respecting his person or government, or both, should not be properly called predictions. Hence we cannot adopt the opinion of Bishop Horne that the Psalms treat of “the advent of Messiah with its effects and consequences; his incarnation, birth, life, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, kingdom, and priesthood.”<sup>3</sup> In *some* passages some of the particulars just enumerated are alluded to; but usually in terms of general and vague import.

How admirably the Psalms are adapted to the purposes of Devotion is shown by their use in all ages. The subjects presented in them to our meditation are various. They treat of the perfections of God, the constant providence he extends over his creation, his moral government, his parental character, his afflictive dispensations, the future Messiah, his kingdom and priesthood, and all the moods of the spiritual mind. The writers passed through every variety of

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Translation of the Psalms, pp. xi. xii. vol. iv. of Theological Works.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Preface to Commentary on the Psalms.

religious frames and experiences; so that the expression of their convictions and emotions corresponds, with remarkable exactness, to those of the devout mind wherever it is found. The phases of the spiritual life appear in this treasure-house of devotion; and therefore the prayers and praises of the church have been offered up in its language to the throne of grace from age to age. "Where," says Luther, "do we find a sweeter voice of joy than in the Psalms of thanksgiving and praise? There you look into the heart of all the holy, as into a beautiful garden, as into heaven itself. What delicate, sweet, and lovely flowers are there springing up of all manner of beautiful, joyous thoughts towards God and his goodness. On the other hand, where do you find more profound, mournful, pathetic expressions of sorrow, than the plaintive Psalms contain? There again you look into the heart of all the holy; but as into death, nay, as into the very pit of despair. How dark and gloomy is everything there, arising from all manner of melancholy apprehension of God's displeasure! I hold that there has never appeared on earth, and never can appear, a more precious book of examples and legends of saints than the Psalter is. For here we find not merely what one or two holy men have done, but what the Head himself of all the holy has done, and what all the holy do still; how they stand affected towards God, towards friends and enemies, how they behave and sustain themselves in all dangers and sufferings. Besides, all manner of divine and salutary instructions and commands are contained therein. Hence too it comes, that the Psalter forms, as it were, *a little book of all saints*, in which every man, in whatever situation he may be placed, shall find Psalms and sentiments which apply to his own case, and are the same to him as if they were for his own sake alone so expressed that he could not express them himself, nor find nor even wish them better than they are."<sup>1</sup> The Psalter must ever be the chosen companion of the pious through all the changes of life.

In regard to the ethics of the Psalter, considerable diversity of opinion exists. According to some writers, the system of morality exhibited is in accordance with the purest spirit of religion; the duties of universal love, of forgiveness and kindness to enemies, of benevolence and mercy, being forcibly set forth as they are in the Gospel of Christ; while others think the forgiveness of enemies and universal charity were not so well apprehended or exemplified by the Jewish psalmists as by the apostles and early Christians. The question turns in a great degree upon the imprecations contained especially in the fifty-fifth, sixty-ninth, hundred and ninth, and hundred and thirty-seventh Psalms. Various methods have been adopted for the purpose of bringing these peculiar expressions into accordance with the mild, forgiving, spirit of the Christian religion.

1. By many they are explained as *predictions*; the imperative mood in Hebrew being often used for the future tense. But the

<sup>1</sup> Preface to the Psalter.

imperative and future tense are not employed interchangeably. Each has its appropriate office. There are cases, indeed, in which the imperative approaches very near to the future (or imperfect); and also in which the future stands for the imperative, *ex. gr.*, with negative particles, and as the expression of the third person of the imperative, &c.; but still it would be unphilosophical to say that they may be used interchangeably. Both come under the one class of *voluntative*, as Ewald<sup>1</sup> phrases it. Both are used to express conditions of *the will*. Speaking generally, the imperative is the highest ascent of the will; its shortest and most decided expression. The future is a less emphatic utterance of the speaker's will. This characteristic difference of the two is variously modified by abbreviation and enlargement. Nordheimer says that "the choice between the two modes of expression depends rather on the writer's taste than on any strict rule of construction:"<sup>2</sup> we should prefer saying, that the choice depends, to a great extent, on the *feelings* of the writer at the time. And this is the very point before us. The imperative, however, cannot be properly employed in *predictions*. The future may be so used; but the imperative refuses that office. Hence the imperatives which occur in these imprecations can only be referred to the writers' feelings or desires, showing what they are.<sup>3</sup>

2. Another explanation is offered in the following passage: "The persons to whom the imprecations refer were inveterate adversaries, plotting against the life of the psalmist, and maliciously intent upon effecting his ruin. To pray to be rescued from their wicked devices was clearly lawful; and, considering their numbers and persevering malignity, his escape might seem utterly impracticable without their entire overthrow or extirpation; a prayer for their destruction, therefore, was equivalent to a prayer for his own preservation and deliverance. Besides, they were for the most part not only personal enemies, but hostile to the people of Israel, rebels to their heavenly King, and violators of His commands. To desire the punishment of such characters arose, it may be fairly presumed, not from personal vindictive feelings, but from a regard to religion and hatred of iniquity; and was in fact tantamount to desiring the Almighty to vindicate His glory by inflicting the chastisements which they deserved, and which He has denounced against the proud contemners of His laws. . . . Imprecations, therefore, made with the limitations, and originating in the motives just mentioned, so far from being liable to the charge of maliciousness and revenge, are in accordance with the purest spirit of religion, and with the exercise of the most extensive charity."<sup>4</sup>

This account of the imprecations is sufficiently laboured and artificial, proceeding upon a view of the speakers' motives and their enemies which is purely conjectural. Certain feelings are put into the hearts of the psalmists, and those against whom they pray;

<sup>1</sup> Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> Hebrew Grammar, vol. ii. p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Roediger's Gesenius, pp. 239, 243, 244.

<sup>4</sup> Holden's Christian Expositor, vol. i. p. 418. *et seqq.*

for the purpose of arriving at a conclusion. It appears to us entirely insufficient to explain the imprecations in question. That it does not reach the whole case may be seen from the 137th Psalm 9th verse: "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones." In the 109th Psalm, 6th and following verses, we read, "Set thou a wicked man over him: and let Satan stand at his right hand. When he shall be judged, let him be condemned: and let his prayer become sin. Let his days be few, and let another take his office. Let his children be fatherless and his wife a widow. Let his children be continually vagabonds and beg: let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places. Let the extortioner catch all that he hath; and let the stranger spoil his labour. Let there be none to extend mercy unto him: neither let there be any to favour his fatherless children. Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out. Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered with the Lord; and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out." Here we remark, that a *real individual* is meant; not an ideal person as the type and representative of the whole class of the speaker's oppressors. This is admitted even by Alexander. Some one person is singled out as the subject of imprecation. Not only is the prayer directed against himself, but his children also; his posterity generally. Were *they* the malignant and persevering enemies of the psalmist, whose entire overthrow was a necessary condition of his escape? Even the iniquity of *the fathers* of the individual is introduced, with the view of its being remembered against the descendant: and it is requested that the sin of his *mother* should not be blotted out. What have *these* to do with the adversary's own malignity; or why should they be brought up against him? We know that part of the Psalm in question is applied in the New Testament to the treachery of Judas and his miserable fate; but that is not the primary or principal sense. The sufferer prays *in the first instance* and *directly* for the punishment of enemies and of one in particular against whom he launches forth the direct imprecations, wishing that the consequences of transgression might be extended not merely to the children, but *to the parents*. In like manner, it might easily be shown that the explanation is insufficient in the case of the other Psalms; such as the sixty-ninth. Our Lord is not the exclusive, or even immediate subject of this last; as is manifest from the confession of sin in the fifth verse. Neither is the subject of it an ideal person, representing the whole class of righteous sufferers of whom Christ was one, and the representative. The Psalm refers in the first place to certain persons who had an actual existence when it was written; for on this supposition alone is it intelligible. In the twenty-seventh verse the Psalmist prays, "Add iniquity unto their iniquity, and let them not come into thy righteousness." Here is a prayer that sin may be followed by the natural effects of sin; and that the persons should not participate in the divine pardon. Suppose that they were persevering and malignant enemies of the speaker, was it necessary for his escape from their devices that they should not be pardoned?

Did a regard to religion and hatred of iniquity prompt this petition? Certainly not. We know it is often said, that the enemies against whom the psalmists pray were the enemies of God himself and rebels to his authority; but this does not help the explanation. God's enemies will be cut off. But is it consistent with the purest morality to wish that they may not be pardoned; that they may be "blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous," *i. e.* effaced from the divine decree, as Alexander interprets it? What has man to do with the divine decrees? It is also said that the psalmist (David) stands in these and other instances as the type and representative of Messiah; but even granting this assumption, and allowing him to be the writer of all the imprecatory Psalms (which we do not), it does not follow that everything he says and does should be right and proper. All his actions and words are not stamped with infallible authority, simply because he was a type of Christ in his *official* capacity.

3. A somewhat different explanation is furnished by Prof. Edwards, the substance of which is thus given by a writer in Kitto's Cyclopædia, who adopts it. "Only a morbid benevolence, a mistaken philanthropy, takes offence at these Psalms; for in reality they are not opposed to the spirit of the gospel, or to that love of enemies which Christ enjoined. Resentment against evil-doers is so far from being sinful, that we find it exemplified in the meek and spotless Redeemer himself. (Mark iii. 5.) If the emotion and its utterance were essentially sinful (1 Cor. xvi. 22.), how could Paul wish the enemy of Christ to be accursed (*ανάθεμα*); or say of his own enemy, Alexander the coppersmith, 'the Lord reward him according to his works' (2 Tim. iv. 14.); and especially, how could the spirits of the just in heaven call on God for vengeance? (Rev. vi. 10.)"<sup>1</sup>

The statements here advanced are derived from Hengstenberg, and appear to us entirely incorrect. In Mark iii. 5. we read of Jesus, "And when he had looked around about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts," &c. Here anger and grief are attributed to the Saviour. But are these feelings similar to such as prompted the words, "As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him; as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him. As he clothed himself with cursing like as with his garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones. Let it be unto him as the garment which covereth him, and for a girdle wherewith he is girded continually" (Psalm cix. 17—19)? They are not. The cases bear no analogy. Resentment against evil-doers is wholly different from malediction and imprecation. The Saviour's holy mind was entirely separated from the latter; as we see by the prayer he taught his disciples, and by his whole conduct. Granting the explanation of 1 Cor. xvi. 22. which is assumed, and the genuineness of the optative reading in 2 Tim. iv. 14., we do not identify "the spirit of the gospel, or the love of enemies which Christ enjoined," with occasional utterances of any one Christian,

<sup>1</sup> See the original article in the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1844, p. 97. *et seqq.*

whether he be an apostle or not. The individuality of inspired persons is not wholly absorbed by their inspiration. But, indeed, there is little or no vindictiveness in the expressions of Paul compared with those to which we have referred. They are of another kind. The highly poetical and figurative language in Rev. vi. 10. should not be brought into juxtaposition with the imprecations before us. The Apocalyptist merely intended to set forth the idea that the desert of the persecutors of the saints — their guilt before God — is very great. It would *almost seem* as if the happiness of the martyrs' souls were incomplete till they see their desire on their enemies. But the mode of expression is *mere symbol*. The writer, accordingly, represents the slain as crying for vengeance for the purpose of setting forth the enormity of the guilt incurred by their destroyers. The contrast heightens the picture. How different this is from the case of such persons as the psalmists, every one sees. The language is peculiar and unique. Nothing appears to us more injurious to the cause of Christianity than the attempt to find a sanction in it to revenge. "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." And it is wrong to have recourse to the highly-wrought passage in Rev. vi. 10. for the purpose of justifying vindictive feelings. The plain reader of the Psalms will see that the imprecations to which we are referring are the ebullitions of natural and unsanctified feeling which Judaism itself was meant to repress; but which Christianity is far better fitted to subdue, and does in reality subdue *to the extent it is received into the heart*. Vindictiveness of the kind specified is abhorrent to the genius of the Redeemer's religion, whose essence consists in the golden maxim, "Do unto others as you would wish them to do unto you." Thus the explanation in question is untenable because dishonouring to the teachings of the Saviour and his apostles. It finds an analogy where there is none. Hengstenberg also adduces in the list of these analogies, the woe upon Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum (Matt. xi. 20, &c.); the woes pronounced upon the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii.); the words of Peter to Simon Magus, "thy money perish with thee" (Acts viii. 20.); and Paul's exclamation to the high priest in Acts xxiii. 3., "God will smite thee, thou whited wall." It is easy, however, to see that these are not proper analogies. They are not prayers for vengeance. Nor are they even in the form of a wish. They are predictions in the mouth of the Saviour and the apostles.

We need not allude to other modes of explaining the language in these imprecatory Psalms in a milder and less obnoxious sense than it seems to bear. Every one that we have seen offered appears to us insufficient and unsatisfactory. The following considerations should be taken into account by the expositor.

1. The prayers in question are expressed in the language of poetry. Hence some of the ideas and expressions probably arose from the desire of poetic effect. They belong to the impassioned diction of poetry, and originated in the effort to body forth its vehement conceptions rhetorically; not to vindictive feelings calmly entertained or deliberately uttered.

2. Some of these prayers were composed by David in a state of war. At that time prayer for the destruction of enemies was equivalent to prayer for preservation and success. What is harsh, therefore, is incidental to a state of warfare. We do not say that this fact justifies the use of such expressions now. It does not warrant their employment by private Christians with respect to personal enemies. Neither should it be applied to the case of Christian ministers praying for success for the arms of their country, which is tantamount to prayer for the destruction of the enemy. It has nothing to do with the Christian dispensation; but should be judged entirely by the character of the old economy, to which it belongs. The Christian economy stands apart from all such effusions in prayer. What was allowable in the Old, may not be allowable in the New dispensation. Hence the prayers in question do not justify Christian ministers praying for confusion to their enemies. Neither do they sanction the custom of thanking God on national festivals, that He enabled our ancestors to conquer their enemies.<sup>1</sup> After every extenuating circumstance has been duly weighed, we believe that the precepts and spirit of Christ repudiate these imprecations against enemies. Nor is it strange that persons whose *conduct* was not always right should have occasionally uttered *language* of corresponding character. Under peculiar circumstances of exasperation and base ingratitude, is it not conceivable that holy men should sometimes express personal feelings inconsistent with their prevailing disposition and with the spirit of true religion? "If now," says Tholuck, "the question be proposed, whether we are necessarily led to adopt the conclusion that the unholy fire of personal anger never and in no case mingled itself with the fire of the psalmists, in itself holy, we dare not assert this even of the holy apostles. Whether, in an excited discourse, the wrath be such as is not right before God, or such as that with which even Christ kindled, may be commonly perceived from the nature of it, viz. when satisfaction in the idea of daring even to be an instrument of the divine retribution is visible; or when special kinds of retribution are prayed for with evident satisfaction; or when it is perceptible that the representation of them is connected with delight on the part of the speaker, &c. In Psalms cix. and lix. particularly, many expressions have a passionate character. In like manner cxlix. 7, 8., cxxxvii. 8, 9., lviii. 11., xli. 11., may have arisen from a similar feeling. About others, individual feeling will decide differently."<sup>2</sup> In opposition to this, Hengstenberg asserts that the position which our Lord and his apostles assign to the Psalms refutes the idea of the unholy fire of personal irritation mingling with the holy fire of the psalmists. They are regarded as a portion of the word of God; and it is precisely the most severe of the so-called vindictive Psalms which are applied to Christ, and considered as spoken by him, and are therefore pronounced worthy of him. (Psal. xli. lix. cix.)

<sup>1</sup> See Noyes's Translation of the Psalms, Introduction, p. 14. second edit.

<sup>2</sup> Uebersetzung und Auslegung der Psalmen, pp. lxiii. lxiv.

Our Lord and his apostles regarded the book of Psalms as a portion of the *Scriptures* in which *the word of God* undoubtedly is. But they did not say, or lead us to infer, that all the Psalms throughout are *the word of God*. Thus Hengstenberg has confounded two different things. Again, it conveys a very erroneous idea to affirm that the vindictive Psalms are considered *as spoken by Christ*, and therefore pronounced worthy of him.<sup>1</sup> Let us examine these statements.

In the 41st Psalm the words, "Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me," are quoted in the New Testament (John xiii. 18.), and applied by our Lord to himself and Judas. This does not prove that the succeeding words of the Psalm, "But thou, O Lord, be merciful unto me, and raise me up, that I may requite them," properly apply to Christ. Besides, the entire composition refers primarily and principally to a righteous sufferer. Some one is depicted in whom the whole class of like-minded sufferers find a representative. To that class the Messiah belongs. He is included in it as the most illustrious member. That the Psalm has no chief or exclusive reference to him is manifest by the confession of sin in the fifth verse. The language is generic, and applies to the Messiah only in part. To affirm that the language "raised me up that I may requite them" is his; is to calumniate his character as set forth in the New Testament.

Again, in the 69th Psalm the language, "For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up; and the reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen upon me" (verse 9.), are referred to Christ in John ii. 17.; "They that hate me without a cause are more than the hairs of mine head" (verse 4.), to the same, in John xv. 25.; "They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink" (verse 21.), to Christ also, in John xix. 29.: "Let their habitation be desolate; and let none dwell in their tents" (verse 25.), to the same, in Acts i. 20. All this does not prove that the imprecations in verses 22—28. were uttered by the Messiah, for it does not follow that because one part of a Psalm is applied to Christ in the New Testament, the whole belongs to him. The subject of the Psalm is a righteous sufferer living, as it would appear from the 35th and 36th verses, in the time of the Babylonish captivity. The Messiah is neither the immediate nor the exclusive reference; as is plain from the confession of foolishness and sin in the fifth verse. It is applied to the Messiah as one of the class of righteous sufferers: whence however it does not follow that every trait in the Psalm belongs to him. In fact none belongs to him except what is expressly stated to do so in the New Testament. It is not affirmed in Acts i. 20. that Christ uttered the wish respecting Judas contained in the 25th verse of the Psalm; nor would it have been consistent with his disposition.

Again, the 8th verse of the 109th Psalm is quoted by Peter as written in the book of Psalms, and applied to the case of Judas

<sup>1</sup> Hengstenberg's Commentary, translated, vol. iii. p. lxxiii.

Iscaiot. (Acts i. 20.) But it is not meant that the words thus cited were intended as a prediction of Judas. They are not a prophecy in any sense: and all that the quotation implies is that the words suit the case of the traitor. They are accommodated by the apostle to him. There is not the shadow of proof that the Saviour speaks in the Psalm. It is almost blasphemy to assert that of him. We do not think, moreover, that David was the writer of it. These remarks will enable the reader to perceive that the assertion of Hengstenberg, "the so-called vindictive Psalms are considered as spoken by Christ, and are therefore pronounced worthy of him," is baseless. Christ in no instance utters the words of the three Psalms in question. He is not set forth as the speaker directly and immediately. He is not the subject of them. *Some of their expressions found their highest adaptation in the relations of his personal history.* At least, they are applied to him as one of the class of pious sufferers. But this is a mere secondary and incidental reference, extending no farther than is expressly affirmed.

Hengstenberg also asserts "that in the Psalms we have before us not the aimless and inconsiderate expression of subjective feelings, but they were from the first destined for use in the sanctuary; and the sacred authors come forth under the full consciousness of being interpreters of the spiritual feelings of the community, organs of God for the ennobling of their feelings. They give back what in the holiest and purest hours of their life had been given to them."

All this is mere assumption. Where is the evidence that the psalmists come forth under the full consciousness of being organs of God? Does he who wrote thus, "Preserve my soul; for I am holy" (Psal. lxxxvi. 2); or the writer of, "The Lord rewarded me according to my righteousness; according to the cleanness of my hands hath he recompensed me: for I have kept the ways of the Lord, and have not wickedly departed from my God: for all his judgments were before me, and I did not put away his statutes from me: I was also upright before him, and I kept myself from mine iniquity. *Therefore* hath the Lord recompensed me according to my righteousness, according to the cleanness of my hands in his eyesight" (Psal. xviii. 20—24.); does either of these writers stand forth in the entire consciousness of being an organ of God for the ennobling of the feelings of the community? We believe not. And it is incorrect to say that all the Psalms were originally destined for use in the sanctuary. That there were private collections out of which the five books arose, shows an opposite opinion in those who were better able to judge of the point than Hengstenberg.

The system of morality which allowed of these maledictions was imperfect. This is in keeping with the entire character of the Jewish system, which was confessedly imperfect; being designed to operate on a low state of moral and spiritual culture. It was necessarily adapted to the sensuous condition. The expressions already quoted indicate a temper of mind different from that which the gentle spirit of Christianity inculcates. These Jewish psalmists had not learned the forgiveness of enemies in the way afterwards taught and exemplified by

Him for whose teachings their law was but a schoolmaster. Jesus taught his followers to forgive as they hoped to be forgiven; a lesson not exemplified in these imprecations. Hence these writers knew universal love and forgiveness of injuries very imperfectly. But it may be asked, was an unmerciful and revengeful sentiment ever suggested by the Holy Spirit? Certainly not. Inspiration does not necessarily and always imply *suggestion by the Holy Spirit*. It does not exclude *individuality*, or suppress the exercise of the human faculties; and therefore an unmerciful sentiment may find entrance into a canonical work.\* Inspiration admits of degrees; and does not usually reach the extent of *absolute infallibility*. Admitting of degrees, it necessarily partakes of imperfection.

If these remarks be correct, the view given by Hengstenberg of the Old and New Testament teaching respecting the spirit of love is erroneous. This writer argues that the spirit of placability was as prevalent and powerful under the Old as it is now under the New Testament, from the emphatic declarations of the law of God against revenge (Lev. xix. 18.; Exod. xxiii. 4, 5.); because the strongest and most numerous passages against revenge are to be found in the Old; and because Paul borrows the words of the Old in Rom. xii. 19, 20. He also refers to the following: Prov. xxv. 21., xx. 22., xxiv. 17, 18. 29.; Job. xxxi. On the other side we refer to Psal. xviii. 37—43., liv. 5., xcii. 11., xciv. 2., cxxxvii. 8.; Jer. xi. 20., xv. 15., xx. 12., l. 15.; Lam. i. 21, 22., iii. 64. We admit that as far as the promulgation of an *express law* under the Old Testament *coming from God himself* is concerned; so far the declarations of the ancient are as clear as those of the modern economy; but the very nature of Judaism, which was local and limited, led the Israelites to entertain feelings towards other peoples that were alien to the spirit of Christianity. The strict laws against the seven nations inhabiting Judea had an indirect tendency to make the Jews hate all their enemies. They thought themselves authorised to regard all who were not within the pale of their church as enemies. Because it was enjoined upon them "Thou shalt love *thy neighbour*" (Lev. xix. 18.) which meant *a fellow Jew*, they drew from it the opposite, Thou shalt hate thine enemy. With the heathen they were commanded to have no intercourse. Hence the narrow prejudices, the haughty sentiments, the hostility, they were prone to foster against all such as did not belong to their favoured nation. It will be seen above that the passages are not so numerous which speak against revenge in the Old as in the New Testament. Besides, they relate to the intercourse of Jew with Jew, for the most part; while the passages of the gospel are characterised by the most extensive benevolence towards all nations and peoples. Heathen nations are not included in the one; while the other includes all. It is true that the heathens are not specially excluded. They are not mentioned, because the Jews were kept separate from them. The morality of the Old Testament, as

\* See De Wette's admirable remarks in his *ueber die erbauliche Erklarung der Psalmen*, p. 11. *et seqq.*, and Bleek, *ueber die Stellung der Apokryphen*, reprinted from the *Studien und Kritiken*, pp. 46, 47.

far as it proceeded directly from God in the way of law, and as far as it extended, was as pure as that of the New Testament, but it did not reach so far because of the particularism of the Jewish religion. The nature of that religion was unfavourable to a universal and expansive love to all mankind, especially to heathen enemies.

There is no doubt that God tolerated revenge in certain cases under the Old Testament, to avoid greater evils, as "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," &c. (Exod. xxi. 24.) The relations of a man who had been killed might take revenge on the murderer. (Num. xxxv. 16—18.) But these are not allowed under the New Testament. They are absolutely forbidden. And in the entire compass of the Jewish Scriptures we do not find a command like this, "*Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.*" (Matt. v. 44.)

Since these remarks were written the essay of Riggenbach<sup>1</sup> has come to hand, in which he treats of the love of neighbour with special reference to the relation between the Old and New Testaments. We cannot see, however, that he has added anything to the subject. In one instance at least, he has ventured upon an untenable assertion, viz. in Psal. cxxxvii. 9., where by the word rendered *little ones* he understands *young, petulant boys*; a sense not at all justified by usage, as may be seen in Gesenius.

The sentiments we have now expressed are confirmed by the authority of Dr. Durell, whose critical abilities were of no ordinary kind. He writes: "The common opinion is, that these imprecations are prophetic denunciations of God's judgments upon impenitent sinners. This in some cases may be true; but surely it cannot be so in all those parts where they are announced by the imperative; where the author imprecates, not against *God's* enemies, not against the enemies of *the state*, but against *his own* enemies. The most probable account of this matter in my humble opinion is this, that God Almighty (though in a particular sense *the God of Abraham and his offspring*) did not interpose by his grace, or act upon the mind of his peculiar people, not even of their prophets, in an extraordinary manner, except where He vouchsafed to suggest some future event, or any other circumstance that might be for the public benefit of mankind. In all other respect (I apprehend) they were left to the full exercise of their free will, without control of the divine impulse. Now God had abundantly provided, in that code of moral and ceremonial institutes which He had given his people for their law, that *the poor, the fatherless, the widow*, and *stranger* should be particularly regarded; whence they ought to have learnt *to be merciful as their Father in heaven is merciful*; and it must be confessed that we sometimes find such behaviour and sentiments in the Jews with respect to their enemies as may be deemed truly Christian. See Psal. xxxv. 13, 14. &c. But, in that very system of laws, it was also for wise reasons ordained, that they should have no intercourse with the seven nations of the *Canaanites*;

<sup>1</sup> Studien und Kritiken for 1856, h. l. p. 117. et seqq.

but should absolutely exterminate them; whence they unwarrantably drew this inference, that they *ought to love their neighbours*; but HATE THEIR ENEMIES, as our Lord declares, Matt. v. 43. From these devoted nations they extended the precept to the rest of mankind, that they were not within the pale of their church; nay, sometimes to their own *domestic* enemies, those of their own blood and communion, with whom they were at variance. Hence, therefore, the horrid picture which is drawn of that nation by the Greek and Roman authors; from whom I forbear to bring any instances, as they are well known; and so numerous, that they might fill a volume.

“How far it may be proper to continue the reading of these Psalms in the daily service of our church, I leave to the consideration of the legislature to determine. A Christian of erudition may consider those imprecations only as the natural sentiments of Jews, which the benign religion he professes abhors and condemns; but what are the illiterate to do, who know not where to draw the line between the law and the Gospel? They hear both read, one after the other; and I fear too often think them both of equal obligation; and even take shelter under Scripture to cover their curses. Though I am conscious I here tread upon slippery ground, I will take leave to hint, that, notwithstanding the high antiquity that sanctifies as it were this practice, it would, in the opinion of a number of wise and good men, be more for the credit of the Christian church to omit a few of those Psalms, and to substitute some parts of the Gospel in their stead.”<sup>1</sup>

The right of the book of Psalms to a place in the canon has never been disputed. These compositions are often quoted by our Lord and his apostles, as well as referred to the Holy Spirit. The following is a list of passages thus cited in the New Testament:—

|                 |   |   |   |                                                                |
|-----------------|---|---|---|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Psal. ii. 1, 2. | - | - | - | Acts iv. 25, 26.                                               |
| ii. 7.          | - | - | - | Acts xiii. 33.; Heb. i. 5., v. 5.                              |
| v. 9.           | - | - | - | Rom. iii. 13.                                                  |
| viii. 2.        | - | - | - | Matt. xxi. 16.                                                 |
| viii. 4—6.      | - | - | - | Heb. ii. 6—8.                                                  |
| viii. 6.        | - | - | - | 1 Cor. xv. 27.                                                 |
| x. 7.           | - | - | - | Rom. iii. 14.                                                  |
| xiv. 1—3.       | - | - | - | Rom. iii. 10—12.                                               |
| xvi. 8—11.      | - | - | - | Acts ii. 25—28. 31.                                            |
| xvi. 10.        | - | - | - | Acts xiii. 35.                                                 |
| xviii. 49.      | - | - | - | Rom. xv. 9.                                                    |
| xix. 4.         | - | - | - | Rom. x. 18.                                                    |
| xxii. 1.        | - | - | - | Matt. xxvii. 46.; Mark xv. 34.                                 |
| xxii. 8.        | - | - | - | Matt. xxvii. 43.                                               |
| xxii. 18.       | - | - | - | Matt. xxvii. 35.; Mark xv. 24.; Luke xxiii. 34.; John xix. 24. |
| xxii. 22.       | - | - | - | Heb. ii. 12.                                                   |
| xxiv. 1.        | - | - | - | 1 Cor. x. 26.                                                  |
| xxx. 5.         | - | - | - | Luke xxiii. 46.                                                |
| xxxii. 1, 2.    | - | - | - | Rom. iv. 7, 8.                                                 |
| xxxiv. 12—16.   | - | - | - | 1 Pet. iii. 10—12.                                             |
| xxxvi. 1.       | - | - | - | Rom. iii. 18.                                                  |
| xl. 6—8.        | - | - | - | Heb. x. 5—7.                                                   |

<sup>1</sup> Critical Remarks on the Books of Job, Proverbs, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, by D. Durell, D. D., Principal of Hertford College, and Prebend of Canterbury. Oxford, 1772. 4to. pp. 179, 180.

|                    |   |   |   |                                                                             |
|--------------------|---|---|---|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Psal. xli. 9.      | - | - | - | John xiii. 18.; Acts i. 16.                                                 |
| xliv. 22.          | - | - | - | Rom. viii. 36.                                                              |
| xlvi. 6, 7.        | - | - | - | Heb. i. 8, 9.                                                               |
| lxviii. 18.        | - | - | - | Ephes. iv. 7, 8.                                                            |
| lxix. 9.           | - | - | - | Rom. xv. 3.                                                                 |
| lxix. 21.          | - | - | - | John xix. 28, 29.; Matt. xxvii. 34. 48.; Mark xv. 36.; Luke xxiii. 36.      |
| lxix. 22, 23.      | - | - | - | Rom. xi. 9, 10.                                                             |
| lxix. 25., cix. 8. | - | - | - | Acts i. 20.                                                                 |
| lxxviii. 24.       | - | - | - | John vi. 31.                                                                |
| lxxxii. 6.         | - | - | - | John x. 34.                                                                 |
| xc. 11, 12.        | - | - | - | Matt. iv. 6.; Luke iv. 10, 11.                                              |
| xciv. 11.          | - | - | - | 1 Cor. iii. 20.                                                             |
| xcv. 7—11.         | - | - | - | Heb. iii. 7—11., iv. 3. 5—7.                                                |
| xcvii. 7.          | - | - | - | Heb. i. 6.                                                                  |
| cii. 25—27.        | - | - | - | Heb. i. 10—12.                                                              |
| civ. 4.            | - | - | - | Heb. i. 7.                                                                  |
| cx. 1.             | - | - | - | Matt. xxii. 44.; Mark xii. 36.; Luke xx. 42.; Acts ii. 34, 35.; Heb. i. 13. |
| cx. 4.             | - | - | - | Heb. v. 6.                                                                  |
| cxii. 9.           | - | - | - | 2 Cor. ix. 9.                                                               |
| cxvi. 10.          | - | - | - | 2 Cor. iv. 13.                                                              |
| cxviii. 6.         | - | - | - | Heb. xiii. 6.                                                               |
| cxviii. 22, 23.    | - | - | - | Matt. xxi. 42.; Luke xx. 17.; Acts iv. 11.; 1 Peter ii. 7.                  |
| cxviii. 25, 26.    | - | - | - | Matt. xxi. 9.; Mark xi. 9.; John xii. 13.                                   |
| cxxxii. 11, 17.    | - | - | - | Luke i. 69.; Acts ii. 30.                                                   |
| cxl. 3.            | - | - | - | Rom. iii. 13.                                                               |

In the Septuagint version, as also the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic translations, another Psalm, in addition to the 150th, occurs. As it was never in the Hebrew, it is manifestly apocryphal, though ancient. The following English translation of it is from Brenton's Septuagint.

*“This Psalm is a genuine one of David, though supernumerary, composed when he fought in single combat with Goliath.*

“I was small among my brethren, and youngest in my father’s house: I tended my father’s sheep. <sup>2</sup>My hands formed a musical instrument, and my fingers tuned a psaltery. <sup>3</sup>And who shall tell my Lord? The Lord himself, he himself hears. <sup>4</sup>He sent forth his angel, and took me from my father’s sheep, and he anointed me with the oil of his anointing. <sup>5</sup>My brothers were handsome and tall; but the Lord did not take pleasure in them. <sup>6</sup>I went forth to meet the Philistine; and he cursed me by his idols. <sup>7</sup>But I drew his own sword, and beheaded him, and removed reproach from the children of Israel.”

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## CHAP. XIV.

### THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.

THE Proverbs of Solomon embody the result of Hebrew reflectiveness on the divine revelation given in the Mosaic law, and attested in the particular providence by which the chosen people were led. The doctrines of revealed truth were received into the consciousness

of the nation, and thus became motives to action. They formed part of the spiritual life, developing themselves in the form of ethical maxims. Concentrated as Hebrew wisdom, they appear sometimes in short, unconnected sentences and gnomes; sometimes as connected conversations covering the entire field of religious apprehension and practical piety. In every case, they are opposed to the folly of sin, which is represented as leading to destruction and death. The book of Proverbs presents piety in a practical and comprehensive aspect. Its aphorisms and sayings embrace the duties of piety towards God, of justice and benevolence towards man, of temperance, continence, and moderation; as also precepts pertaining to the education of the young, and affecting the conduct of rulers and subjects. It forms in short a code of ethics far superior to similar collections among heathen nations however enlightened, because it is based upon those divine communications which came from heaven to the Jews, distinguishing them from all other peoples. It is not the product of man's independent reflection on the ways and works of God, or on the relations of men to one another and to their Creator; but the concentrated result of the Hebrew mind of a certain age digesting and developing those principles which the Mosaic law exhibits more or less fully — either plainly or in germ. It is the code of Old Testament morality.

The form of the sententious sayings of which the book consists is various. Sometimes the sentence consists of a position and its opposite; sometimes of proverbs and comparisons; sometimes of instructive images and profound riddles. Their form thus corresponds to their nature, which is almost boundless.

The Hebrew word *מִשְׁלֵי*, whose plural is employed as a general title to the book, properly signifies *similitude* or *comparison*. Hence it is used of *parables* (Ezek. xvii. 2., xxiv. 3). By a natural transition it is applied to pithy sentences or apophthegms, because they present for the most part two things or two ideas compared with one another. The meaning of the word was gradually extended so as to embrace any apophthegm. Nearly synonymous with *מִשְׁלֵי* is *מְלִיצָה*, which means *a dark saying*, one needing interpretation; not an *ironical* one, as Ewald holds; nor an *elegant, splendid saying*, as Delitzsch and Keil assert. (Prov. i. 6.) So too *הִיָּקָה*, *a knotty saying* or *riddle*, one whose sense is enigmatical or difficult of solution. (Prov. i. 6.)

Although *מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה*, *proverbs of Solomon*, or the abbreviated *מִשְׁלֵי*, *proverbs*, be the common title of the book, yet it is styled in Baba Bathra *סֵפֶר הַבְּרָחָה*, *book of wisdom*. The fathers of the Christian church usually call it *σοφία*, *wisdom*, and *ἡ πανάρητος σοφία*, *all-virtuous wisdom*, titles which they also apply to the proverbs of Jesus Sirach, and the apocryphal book of Wisdom. Such appellations seem to have originated with the Egyptian Jews, among whom the book of Wisdom was composed.

The book may be divided into seven parts separated from one another by different titles; viz.—

I. Ch. i.—ix. II. Ch. x.—xxii. 16. III. Ch. xxii. 17—xxiv. IV. Ch. xxv.—xxix. V. Ch. xxx. VI. Ch. xxxi. 1—9. VII. Ch. xxxi. 10—31.

The first part contains a connected description and commendation of wisdom as the highest good to be sought. The second and third are of a miscellaneous character. Three sections may be distinguished in the first, each consisting of three chapters, i. 8—iii. 35., iv.—vi., vii.—ix. Prefixed is a general title relating to the whole book, and a preface, i. 1—7. In the first subdivision, the father admonishes his son to yield up his heart willingly to the paternal admonition, first *negatively*, warned by the seductive allurements of sin (10—19.), then *positively* (20—33.). This is followed by the blessed and beneficial consequences of a willing and earnest striving after wisdom, inasmuch as it leads to the knowledge and fear of God and to righteousness of life, preserving its possessor from the evil way of perverse men and the death-bringing path of the adulterous woman. The third chapter contains single precepts, in following which wisdom manifests itself in action. The second section contains a more copious unfolding of the announcement in i. 8, 9. in three paragraphs. In the third section (vii.—ix.) folly and wisdom are introduced as thinking, living forms, and depicted according to their characteristic nature.

The second part has for its commencement the new inscription, *The Proverbs of Solomon*. It is distinguished by a collection of individual sayings setting forth wisdom and the fear of God on the one hand; on the other, folly and sin in their manifold qualities and manifestations, as well as in relation to their different consequences. These sentences are mostly connected very loosely with one another. (x. 1—xxii. 16.) In the 374 verses of this section, every verse is completed and rounded off in two members, with the solitary exception of xix. 7. Each verse is intelligible by itself, the sense being finished within it.

The third part contains a number of apophthegms which are represented as the words of the wise. These are better connected with one another. It has a copious introduction (xxii. 17—21.) followed by *the words of the wise*, and contains a sort of appendix (xxiv. 23—34.), having a number of individual sayings generally in the form of commands and prohibitions, which is also represented as the production of *wise men* (xxiv. 23). Here the sense generally runs through two or three verses together; and many verses consist of three members.<sup>1</sup>

The fourth part (xxv.—xxix.) contains, according to the title, *Proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out*. It is a new collection of sayings, chiefly characterised by comparison and antithesis. Here the association of ideas is frequently marked by the recurrence of a leading word which serves as the connecting link of gnomes, *ex. gr.* מִלֵּי מֶלֶךְ, *Kings*, xxv. 1, 2.

<sup>1</sup> See Keil in Hävernick's Einleit. iii. p. 388. *et seqq.*

The fifth part contains the words of Agur, setting forth true wisdom and its realisation in life, in a very artificial dress. (xxx.)

The sixth part exhibits certain doctrines for a king, which his mother taught king Lemuel. (xxx. 1—9.)

The seventh part is an encomium on the virtuous woman, in the form of an alphabetical poem. (xxx. 10—31.)

The scope of the book is plain. It is to instruct men in true wisdom and understanding, the essence of which is a right apprehension of the divine will, and a sincere fear of the Lord. All the precepts and apophthegms bear upon this, teaching men in all the circumstances of life to act with reference to their Creator and Preserver whose providence extends to all their actions.

With respect to the authorship of the book, we must be guided in some degree by the inscriptions, as well as the actual nature of the contents. The title to the second part, viz. x. 1—xxii. 16. is plain, *the Proverbs of Solomon*. And we see no good reason for doubting the accuracy of it. There is no person known to us from Scripture to whom these proverbs could be ascribed with equal reason. In the first book of Kings it is related that Solomon uttered three thousand proverbs (1 Kings iv. 32.), of which many are probably preserved in the book. Their number and variety are not so great as to transcend the gifts and wisdom of David's son. It is not necessary to suppose that they are the productions of a whole nation, either for the reason that they are too numerous for one person; or because many of them relate to private and rural life; Solomon not being sufficiently familiar with the one, and not participating in the other. Hence we are not moved by any such considerations of De Wette to call in question the authenticity of x.—xxii. 16. At the same time, it is evident from internal phenomena that Solomon did not put this part in the form in which it now appears. Proverbs occur in various places in a similar form, as xiv. 12 re-appears in xvi. 25., xxi. 9. and 19. coincide; x. 1<sup>a</sup> is in xv. 20<sup>a</sup>; x. 2<sup>b</sup> in xi. 4<sup>b</sup>; x. 15<sup>a</sup> in xviii. 11<sup>a</sup>; xv. 33<sup>a</sup> in xviii. 12<sup>b</sup>: xi. 21<sup>a</sup> and xvi. 5<sup>b</sup>, xiv. 31<sup>a</sup> and xvii. 5<sup>a</sup>, xix. 12<sup>a</sup> and xx. 2<sup>a</sup> are analogous. These repetitions can hardly have proceeded *directly* from the author himself. Bertheau adduces in favour of different authors the differences which are observable in the structure of the proverbs, and the relation of the two members of a verse to one another<sup>1</sup>; but we cannot attach weight to this consideration. It is unreasonable to expect uniformity in respect to the structure and members of verses in which apophthegms lie, from a highly gifted man like Solomon, or indeed from any writer of genius. But it is calculated to excite suspicion against oneness of authorship when we find the same ideas recurring in many proverbial sayings. One author would scarcely have repeated one theme in so many ways differing but slightly from one another. In consequence of such repetitions both of ideas, and of the forms in which they are expressed, it is difficult to believe that Solomon wrote this part *as it is*. It is most probable that we owe the chapters in question to the industry of a compiler. And

<sup>1</sup> In Exeget. Handbuch, part 7. Einleit. p. 24.

it is likely that he used different sources, oral or written. Bertheau supposes that such sources did not always sufficiently attest the Solomonic authorship of the proverbs which the compiler took from them, especially as he wrote down many out of his own memory. In his endeavour to put together none but Solomonic sayings he was in danger of admitting into the collection those of other men. And this happened accordingly.<sup>1</sup> Stuart's explanation is different, but no better. "Many, perhaps most of these proverbs, were such as common sense and long experience had for substance already suggested to the minds of intelligent men. They were floating among the common people, and subjected thereby to more or less disfigurement or change. Solomon's mind, under divine influence, could easily recognise such of these proverbs as were true and useful; and, acknowledging them to be so, he transferred them into *written* language, so that they might be rendered permanent in their true and proper sense, and be thus guarded against alterations. These common maxims of life, thus sanctioned by him when in such a state, became *authoritative* and general truths. Of course, we may properly assign the *authorship* of them to him; for he selected them, adopted them, and published them as consonant with his own views. They were only of *traditional* currency before this; but now they became a part of Scripture under the sanction of Solomon."<sup>2</sup> Here too much importance is attached to Solomon *selecting* and *writing* proverbs; whereas it is merely said that he *spoke* three thousand proverbs. There is no evidence that he *wrote* his own proverbs; much less that he selected and wrote down others. Besides, *proper authorship* implies more than adopting and transferring into writing what already existed. We see no better mode of accounting for the title of the second part than that the compiler used both written and oral sources, endeavouring to take from both what was thought to belong to Solomon. And the greater number *do* belong to the wise monarch. Some however do not; nor is it likely that the compiler supposed all to be his. Along with Solomon's he took several others which were in part imitations. And he prefixed the title *Proverbs of Solomon* because the *greater part* of the contents unquestionably proceeded from him. *A potiori fit denominatio* is a principle which justifies the title to us; and justified it in the eyes of him who compiled x.—xxii. 16.

In relation to ch. i.—ix. there is some reason to hesitate about the Solomonic authorship. The general title and preface (i. 1—7.) obviously refer to the whole book as it now is. It cannot be shown that what immediately follows is designated as belonging to Solomon, else why should there be another title in x. 1.? Does not this title imply a distinction between what follows and precedes, as if the latter did not proceed from Solomon? This reasoning is plausible but precarious, because i. 8—ix. 18. may have been in existence before what is now prefixed to it and separately circulated with its own title. Still less reliance can be placed on the allegation of

<sup>1</sup> In Exeget. Handbuch, part 7. Einleit. p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See Commentary on the Book of Proverbs, Introduction, p. 34.

De Wette respecting i.—ix. that its didactic and admonitory tone, together with the strict injunction of chastity, agree better with the character of a teacher of youth, a prophet, or a priest, than a king like Solomon<sup>1</sup>; as if a keen observer cannot be found in any situation of life.

An attentive examination of ch. i. 8—ix. 18. will lead to the conclusion that there is in it a collection of admonitions, proceeding from different persons, all having one object, viz. to encourage the young man to strive after the attainment of wisdom. For,—

1. Single paragraphs are separated from those in their vicinity, not merely by their contents, but by a peculiar external form. Thus some paragraphs are completed in the course of ten verses, as i. 10—19.; iii. 1—10., 11—20.; iv. 10—19.; viii. 12—21., 22—31. If the whole proceeded from one and the same author, it would be remarkable that he should adopt this strict law only here and there; especially as nothing in the contents could have occasioned departure from it in some cases, not in others.

2. The difference in sentence-making and the whole grouping of the language is so great as to favour the assumption of different authors. Thus the greater part of the second chapter consists of one long sentence wearily drawn through nearly twenty verses; whereas in other places where the same subject is treated of, the diction is easy, flowing, and appropriate, as in vii. 5—27.

3. In vi. 1—19., there is an interruption of the connection. In the fifth chapter an admonition to attend to the doctrine of the speaker, follows the warning against intercourse with a strange woman; after which we naturally expect a continuation of the sayings just commenced; but, on the contrary, in vi. 1—19., warnings and advices are given relating to different situations in life, comprehended in four paragraphs, after which, in the 20th verse, we find a new exhortation to hearken.

4. Numerous repetitions occur in i. 8—ix. 18. This is particularly the case with relation to two leading topics, the strange woman, and wisdom. The former is described no less than five different times; while the latter is referred to more or less fully eight times. Surely the same writer would scarcely repeat himself so often within so brief a compass.

This is confirmed by the fact that parts i. and ii. proceeded from different authors. For,—

1. In i. 8—ix. 18., almost all the verses consist of *synonymous parallels*; whereas in the second part, the *antithetic* and *synthetic* parallelism prevails. This fact favours diversity of authorship in the two parts.

2. The poetical character of i. 8—ix. 18. is of a much higher order than the other parts of the book. The second part even approaches the style of prose, while the first possesses that grandeur and elevation which distinguish true poetry.

3. Again, the use of Elohim separates i. 8—ix. 18. from x. 1—xxii. 16. In the second chapter this appellation occurs twice

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, § 281. p. 418

ii. 5. 17.; whereas Jehovah is elsewhere employed, except in Agur's appendix, xxx. 5. 9. Thus the writer of the second chapter seems to have been an Elohist.

4. Many paragraphs in i. 8—ix. 18. are headed with the address *my son*, whereas this appears but once in the second part, xix. 27.<sup>1</sup>

Considering these discrepancies in style, manner, and contents, not only between the contents of the first and second parts, but of the chapters composing the first part alone, the probability is that the sayings of various authors are put together in the collection i. 8—ix. 18., and that Solomon himself was not the writer. When Ewald says that the piece is an original whole, well-connected, and proceeding as it were out of one gush, he overlooks the internal evidence.<sup>2</sup> As little discernment is shown by a writer in Kitto's Cyclopædia, who affirms "that it is a continuous discourse, written in the highest style of poetry, adorned with apt and beautiful illustrations, and with various and striking figures." It is *possible* that Solomon may have compiled the first part—possible even that he may have written some portions and compiled the rest, as Stuart conjectures; but it is not very probable. At what time the different authors lived cannot be determined. They could scarcely have been all contemporary. Ewald<sup>3</sup> has pointed out some resemblances between images and expressions in the first part of our book and Job. Thus Wisdom is spoken of in a similar strain in Job xxviii. as in the first, third, and eighth chapters of Proverbs. Yet it would be hazardous to assert that the writer or writers made use of the book of Job, or even that some sections originated at the same period as that remarkable work. Ewald has tried to show that the first part of the book was written much later than the second, three centuries at least, arguing from the diversity of language, form or manner, and external relations of life. But we cannot perceive the validity of his arguments, which have all been answered by Bertheau, Keil, and Stuart. The difference of language between them is not very great; and nothing to justify a wide separation in point of time. All that can safely be asserted is, that the first part was put together in its present form much later than Solomon; that it proceeded from various writers, among whom it is likely that Solomon himself was one; and that they all did not live long after the king himself. We do not think that Solomon himself acted in part as *the compiler* of the first division.

The portion xxii. 17—xxiv. did not proceed from Solomon, because there are two notices or titles which attribute it to various authors. In xxii. 17. the disciple is instructed to hear *the words of the wise*; and in xxiv. 23. it is said, that these sayings were written *by the wise*. Hence we infer that the collection proceeded from different authors. And this is confirmed by internal evidence.

(1.) The structure of the verses is different from that of the pre-

<sup>1</sup> See Bertheau, Einleitung in die Sprüche Salomo's, p. xxi. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Die Dichter, u. s. w. vol. iv. p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 38.

ceding part. It is by no means so regular. In the former, the verses consisting of two members usually contain seven words, rarely eight. But here verses of six, seven, or eight words are intermingled with others of eleven, and even of fourteen and eighteen words. The even proportion also of the members is often interrupted, so that no trace of parallelism appears.

(2.) Very seldom is a sentence completed in one verse. Most frequently it occupies two verses, often three, and even so many as five (xxiv. 30—34.).

(3.) Here, as in the first part, the address *my son* appears, xxiii. 19. 26., xxiv. 13., and the admonition is frequently addressed to the hearer in the second person. But in the preceding part *my son* occurs but once.

(4.) Though proverbs of similar import are sometimes brought together, so as to form a rounded circle of admonitions, yet they are not generally so arranged.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to tell when these proverbs were written. Nothing in the language leads to a later origin than x.—xxii. 16. Bertheau thinks that they proceeded for the most part from one poet, because there is a peculiarity of diction which appears but seldom in the other parts, viz. the rendering a subject or object emphatic by repetition of the pronoun, *ex. gr.* xxii. 19. 28., xxiii. 14, 15. 19, 20. 28., xxiv. 6. 27. 32. The *compiler* seems himself to have put xxii. 17—21. It has been observed that this portion bears an analogy to i. 8—ix. in object and contents; and therefore it may have proceeded from the same *author*, or the same *compiler*. But the first cannot be held; and it is improbable that Solomon himself compiled either i. 8—ix. or the present portion. We do not believe with Stuart that the king added the present to the preceding parts, having found it already made and approving of it.<sup>2</sup> It was compiled after Solomon.

With regard to xxv.—xxix., it is affirmed at the commencement of the division, that it contains the proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah copied out. On comparing it with x.—xxii. 16., we find a great number of proverbs repeated, with slight deviations. Hence we infer that the compilers of both parts used the same sources. Comp. xxv. 24. with xxi. 9.; xxvi. 13. with xxii. 13.; xxvi. 15. with xix. 24.; xxvi. 22. with xviii. 8.; xxvii. 13. with xx. 16.; xxvii. 15. with xix. 13.; xxvii. 21. with xvii. 3.; xxviii. 6. with xix. 1.; xxviii. 19. with xii. 11.; xxix. 22. with xv. 18. &c. Only in one instance do we find the repetition of a proverb here which is in the third part; comp. xxviii. 21. with xxiv. 23.

The appendix in chap. xxx. contains the words of Agur. Who Agur was, we are unable to tell. According to the English version Agur the son of Jakeh delivered the precepts to Ithiel and Ucal; and many conjectures have been made about these proper names. Agur can scarcely be a symbolic name for Solomon; as Jerome and several Rabbins thought. Nor is it at all likely that the names Ithiel and Ucal, *With-me-God, I am strong*, were formed by the poet him-

<sup>1</sup> See Bertheau, pp. xxiv. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Commentary on the Proverbs, Introduction, p. 42.

*These names were not made by the poet*

self to designate a class of conceited free-thinkers, as Keil supposes.<sup>1</sup> As little verisimilitude attaches to the notion of Lemuel being a fictitious name, *To God, one devoted to God*, as Eichhorn and Ewald have conjectured. But we should point the Hebrew differently, as Hitzig<sup>2</sup> and Bertheau recommend, whence arises the translation "the son of her who is obeyed in Massa. Thus spake the man, I have toiled for God, I have toiled for God and vanished away." Keil tries to disprove and refute this version, without effect. It is impossible to tell whether these words of Agur are extracts from a larger work of his; or whether they were found in their present state by him who appended them to the preceding parts. After the words of Agur in chapter xxx., come those of Lemuel (xxx. 1—9.) which his mother is said to have taught him. It has been conjectured, with great probability, that the mother of Lemuel was the queen of Massa, mentioned in the preceding inscription; consequently Agur and Lemuel were brothers. That both appendices were drawn from the same source, is likely from the contents as well as the titles. Agur and Lemuel did not live before Hezekiah. Probably they lived soon after. The fine poem in xxx. 10—31. is drawn from a different source, as its contents, style, and character are quite dissimilar. It is in praise of the virtuous woman, and is alphabetical. Hence it belongs to a comparatively late period of Hebrew literature; such artificial productions not appearing till the seventh century. It may therefore be placed in that century.

Taking our stand-point in the time of Hezekiah, when the fourth division was made, and considering that neither Agur nor Lemuel lived long after, and the alphabetical poem could not have been earlier than the seventh century, we are brought to the general conclusion that the book in its present form first appeared either at the close of the seventh, or more probably the beginning of the sixth. The compiler of the whole; or, if such be not assumed, the appender of the last part, lived more than three centuries after Solomon. The manner in which the book originated is not easily discovered. We may either conceive of it as gradually increasing from small beginnings to its present compass by receiving new additions at different times; or we may recognise *one compiler*, who put it into the form it now has. Of the two hypotheses the former is the more probable. In the introductory part, i. 1—7., the writer says that he intends to give not merely the proverbs of Solomon, but *the words of the wise and their dark sayings*. Hence he meant to take into his book xxii. 17—xxiv. But ch. i. 8—ix. forms an appropriate introduction to the whole. It was designed to occupy the commencing part and no other, for there only is it in place. And there is no reason for supposing that the writer of the first seven verses did not also compile and put into their present shape i. 8—ix. and x.—xxii. 16. The latter is expressly promised; the former also as we think, because both contain either the sayings of the wise king, or the maxims of others *similar* to his. Hence the author of i. 1—7. meant to take into his

<sup>1</sup> See Hävernick's Einleitung, iii. p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> See Zeller's Jahrbücher for 1844, p. 283.

book i. 8—xxiv. All were composed by him as they stand. The fourth collection (xxv.—xxix.) also, was probably added by the same person. Nor is there anything in the fifth, sixth, and seventh parts, which is against their having been incorporated into the whole book by the compiler to whom we owe the other parts. Thus the entire work was written, arranged, compiled, and completed as it now is, by one and the same person; of whom we know nothing more than that he lived after the time of Hezekiah.

If then the third division contain nothing but the words of the wise; and the three appendixes loosely added to the body of the book, containing the words of Agur, Lemuel, and the encomium on a virtuous wife, are the words of the wise also; if in like manner i. 8—ix. does not belong to Solomon, or at least in part only; why does the final redactor from whom the title and preface proceed (i. 1—6.) call the whole *the proverbs of Solomon*? *A potiori fit denominatio.* The greater part of the contents is his. Solomon was the real author of the main portion. We cannot assent to the opinion of Bertheau, that the final compiler wished merely to designate Solomon as the author of the *manner* and *purport* of the book, not of the proverbs contained in it.

The canonical authority of the book of Proverbs is attested by numerous quotations in the New Testament; as,

|              |   |   |   |                                                   |
|--------------|---|---|---|---------------------------------------------------|
| Prov. i. 16. | - | - | - | Romans iii. 10. 15.                               |
| iii. 7.      | - | - | - | Romans xii. 16.                                   |
| iii. 11, 12. | - | - | - | Heb. xii. 5, 6.                                   |
| iii. 34.     | - | - | - | James iv. 6.                                      |
| x. 12.       | - | - | - | 1 Peter iv. 8.                                    |
| xi. 31.      | - | - | - | 1 Peter iv. 18.                                   |
| xvii. 13.    | - | - | - | Romans xii. 17.; 1 Thess. v. 15.; 1 Peter iii. 9. |
| xvii. 27.    | - | - | - | James i. 19.                                      |
| xx. 9.       | - | - | - | 1 John i. 8.                                      |
| xx. 20.      | - | - | - | Matt. xv. 4.; Mark vii. 10.                       |
| xx. 22.      | - | - | - | Romans xii. 17.                                   |
| xxv. 21, 22. | - | - | - | Romans xii. 20.                                   |
| xxvi. 11.    | - | - | - | 2 Peter ii. 22.                                   |
| xxvii. 1.    | - | - | - | James iv. 13, 14.                                 |

As the Proverbs are written in poetry, they partake of the poetic parallelism of members. And a careful attention to such parallelism will remove obscurity from some of them. Especially do they abound in *antithetic* parallels which give point, force, and elegance to the sentiments inculcated. Opposition of ideas and diction is peculiarly favourable to the emphatic enunciation of wise sayings. The ethics of the book are such as were suited to the Jewish economy, and what might have been looked for in it. They are pure and right as far as they extend. But they do not reach the height of New Testament morality. They are not so spiritual. The motives presented are not of the most elevated sort; because they arise out of prudence rather than love. Disinterestedness does not characterise them as it does the motives presented by Christianity. The encouragements offered to a life of virtue are prudential; being founded on an earthly retribution. Indeed the writers appear to have had no conceptions of a future state of rewards and punishments. Hence they could only look to the service of God in this world. "Higher and more disin-

terested and affectionate motives are necessary for the formation of a perfect character, a character which shall command our highest esteem and love.<sup>1</sup>

In the eighth chapter occurs a description of *Wisdom* personified. As it is universally admitted that the first part (verses 1—11.) contains an elegant personification of wisdom in the abstract, it may be presumed that the same is continued throughout. But many suppose that from the twelfth to the thirtieth verse, *Wisdom* is the divine Logos, the second Person in the Holy Trinity. The writer, it is thought, passes from a consideration of the excellence of wisdom, to the contemplation of the eternal, hypostatic Word. We confess ourselves disinclined to this view on the ground of simple exegesis. It appears far-fetched and unnatural. We may glance at the arguments adduced in its favour by Holden.

Several circumstances in the passage ascribed to wisdom cannot belong to an attribute.

1. An attribute cannot be the *beginning*, origin, or efficient cause of God's operation in the work of creative power.

2. It cannot be *born*.

3. It cannot be *by* or *near* the Deity.

4. It cannot rejoice *in his sight*.

5. It cannot be called the *fabricator* or framer of the world.

Some particulars can only be affirmed of the second Person in the Trinity, as,

6. *Wisdom* is declared to have been produced by an eternal generation. (verses 22, 24, 25.)

7. It is declared to have been anointed, set apart, and ordained to certain offices, and invested with power and dignity from everlasting. (verse 23.)

8. It is declared to have been the efficient cause or creator of the world. (verse 22, 30.)<sup>2</sup>

With reference to these we observe, that if wisdom be figuratively treated as a personage, she must have had a beginning. Hence she is said to be the *firstling* or *first creation* of God's formative power, because all the works of God were performed by her aid. She existed before any of them. Again, as she is styled the *firstling* or *first creation*, her *birth* may be equally predicated. Both express the one idea of *rise* or *origin*. *Wisdom* as a personage may be said to be *by* or *with* the Deity, with propriety. In like manner it is consistent with the poetical imagery to say that she rejoices *before him*, or in his immediate presence. It is also an unfounded assertion, that she cannot be called the *fabricator* of the world. The *artificer* is a most pertinent epithet.

When it is affirmed that the writer of Proverbs describes wisdom as produced by *an eternal generation*, we demur to the correctness of the statement. A proper translation of the words does not justify it.

<sup>1</sup> See Noyes's Translation of the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles, p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> See Holden's Attempt towards an improved Translation of the Proverbs of Solomon, p. 189.

The idea of wisdom being inducted into her office by *anointing* is both poetical and suitable. Wisdom is *not* declared to be the *efficient cause* or creator of the world in verses 22. 30., as is alleged by the expositor.

There is a remarkable inconsistency and confusion in Holden's observations. He admits the personification in the first part of the chapter, but denies it in the second. Discarding the figurative character of wisdom in the latter, he contends that it refers to a *person*, though according to that very personification which he rejects, it is treated as an august and dignified *personage*. He refuses to admit one kind of personage, who is sufficient to satisfy all the requirements of the place, to make room for another personage who cannot be higher than an *attribute* of Deity because an attribute of Deity is *but Deity himself in one aspect of his nature*.

Various expressions in the paragraph appear to us inconsistent with the interpretation which refers wisdom to the second Person of the Trinity.

The 22nd verse says, Jehovah *created me*. The best judges admit that the verb  $\text{בָּרָא}$  means here *to create*; not *possess* as the English Bible has it. So it is translated by Ewald, Hitzig, Gesenius, and the LXX., Targum, Peshito. Hence, according to the true sense, if the passage refer to the Son, he must be a *created being*, as the Arians hold. Holden interprets, "possessed me by right of paternity and generation. The Father possessed the Son, had, or, as it were, acquired him by an eternal generation."<sup>1</sup> What this language means we are unable to fathom. It is certainly based on an improper version of the verb. Again, in the 24th verse we read of wisdom being *born*, which is equivalent to *created* in the 22nd verse. This does not agree with the idea of the second Person in the Trinity, who is described here, if described at all, *in his divine nature alone*. But Holden has a method of applying the expression to the Son. "I conclude it is applied to him in the sense of *bringing forth*, expressive of his divine and eternal generation"<sup>2</sup>—an explanation unintelligible to us. The place has no relation to the doctrine of the Trinity. There is in it nothing more than a bold personification, in a highly poetical style, of the antiquity, excellence, and dignity of wisdom. It is allegorical; and presents an allegorical personage to the reader.

The entire character of the description, which goes into poetical details for the sake of embellishment, agrees best with the personification of wisdom. If the Son of God be literally described, it is difficult to discover the suitability or congruity of the whole. And we leave the advocates of the ultra-orthodox view to vindicate the description, understood in their way, from the charge of *bitheism*. "When wisdom," says Holden, "is represented as rejoicing in his sight, does it not naturally lead us to think of a distinct person?"<sup>3</sup> But "a distinct person" violates the divine unity. It is to make two Gods instead of one. We allow of a *distinction* in the divine nature; but not of *distinct persons*, one rejoicing in the presence of the other,

<sup>1</sup> Attempt towards an improved Translation of the Proverbs of Solomon, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Attempt, p. &c. 186.

from eternity. On the whole, the advocates of the Deity of Christ would do well to omit the present passage in proving that doctrine; for it only serves to weaken their cause. Every one who is a correct judge of Hebrew diction must see that it furnishes precarious support.

Having these sentiments respecting the eighth chapter of Proverbs, we cannot but object to the language of Holden in proclaiming, "nor do I hesitate to pronounce the eighth chapter of Proverbs an indubitable attestation to the Divinity and Eternal Filiation of the Son of God."<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAP. XV.

### THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

THE title of this book is derived from the Septuagint version *ἐκκλησιαστής*, signifying *a preacher*, or one who harangues a congregation. In Hebrew it is called *קהלת*, which is translated *preacher* in the English version. The title or inscription with which it commences is, "The words of Koheleth the son of David, king of Jerusalem." Various interpretations of the word have been proposed which it is unnecessary to examine. Some think that it is equivalent to *συναθροιστής*, *a collector*; but this is contradicted by the contents of the book as well as by the usage of the verb *קהל*, which means to collect *persons* not *things*. Others think that it denotes an *academy* or *assembly* of philosophers. Others again, as Ewald and Hitzig, look upon the word as meaning *wisdom itself*, *preaching wisdom*; Solomon being looked upon by posterity as the incarnation of such wisdom. In this manner the feminine termination is accounted for, as also the construction of the word both with the masculine and the feminine. The view appears to be the correct one, agreeing substantially with the Septuagint version. There is little doubt that Solomon is meant by the title, who is introduced as speaking in the book.

The contents are comprehended in four discourses.

I. After proposing the general theme in the second and third verses that all is vanity, Koheleth shows the vanity of theoretical wisdom applied to the investigation of things; and then of practical wisdom directed to the enjoyment of life, arriving at the result that man by his efforts cannot obtain abiding good. (i. ii.)

II. The second discourse begins with a description of the absolute dependence of man on a higher, immutable providence, succeeded by an answer to the inquiry after the *summum bonum*, that there is no higher good for man than to enjoy himself; but that such good cannot easily be attained amid the many disappointments which are observable on earth. Under these circumstances, however, a man should strive after happiness through the fear of God and a conscientious fulfilment of duty, trusting in the providence of the Most

High, and setting a proper value on earthly possessions by means of contentedness with the share bestowed by God, and cheerful enjoyment of the benefits received. (iii. 1—v. 19.)

III. In the third discourse, the writer sets forth the vanity of striving after riches, develops the true practical wisdom of life, and shows how it is to be gained, notwithstanding all the incongruities of earthly life. (vi.—viii. 15.)

IV. In the fourth discourse, these incongruities are more particularly examined, maxims being laid down at the same time for the true enjoyment of life; after which the whole is summed up in the enunciation of the same sentiment which stands at the beginning, viz. that solid, unchanging happiness is not to be found in earthly things.

Each of these four discourses may be divided into three sections, thus: i. 2—12., i. 12—ii. 19., ii. 20—26; these belong to the first part. iii. 1—22., iv. 1—16., iv. 17—v. 19.; these belong to the second discourse. vi. 1—12., vii. 1—22., vii. 23—viii. 15; these are in the third discourse. viii. 16—ix. 16., ix. 17—x. 20., xi. 1—xii. 8.; these belong to the fourth part. Each one of these subdivisions Vaihinger<sup>1</sup> endeavours to reduce to strophes and half-strophes; but with great artificiality and little success.

The theme of the book is the vanity of all earthly things and efforts as propounded in the first and second verses: "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?" This is repeated at the close. "Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher, all is vanity." (xii. 8.) The same fundamental idea is treated of in each of the four discourses from a new point of view which had been prepared in the preceding one. It is developed with progressive clearness, till the solution comes forth at the end. The writer carries on a kind of philosophical discussion. His work seems to be the last exhibition of the struggle between the old Hebrew view of the world and its affairs, and the newer, higher view of life created by the reflection of the best minds in the nation under divine influence. In each discourse a difficulty or objection arising out of the last is taken up and solved, till, in the concluding one, the full solution of the problem is given, viz., that God will bring every thing into judgment hereafter. A future state of retribution clears up the mystery and dissipates all scepticism respecting the course of the present world. The first discourse is pervaded by melancholy and doubt. It is filled with the language of complaint and dissatisfaction. Since the course of earthly things is unalterably fixed, rendering all efforts to obtain happiness by the acquisition of wisdom and the pursuit of pleasure unsatisfactory; it would appear that the object of earthly existence is the present enjoyment of the good things within reach. Yet man cannot procure this at his own pleasure; it comes from God. This last circumstance forms an objection, which is considered and resolved in the second discourse. It is true that the cheerful, undisturbed enjoyment of life comes from the hand of God, and it is vanity to suppose that man though possessing wisdom can procure it by his own efforts; yet God,

<sup>1</sup> In the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1848, p. 442. *et seqq.*

who has connected everything with time and circumstance, disposes of events rightly and well, this very limitation to man's effort being intended for the purpose of teaching him to fear God. But here a new knot appears. It is the lot of many men not to enjoy the good things of life which they have acquired. This idea, which is stated subordinately in v. 12—16., becomes the leading idea of the third discourse. Though the enjoyment of the possessions acquired through the favour of God is often thwarted, man should endeavour to attain to the true and contented experience of life by cheerfully using the earthly things given him, exercising true wisdom and avoiding the folly which is so common. Yet, at the end of this third section the mystery appears, "there are righteous to whom it happens according to the doing of the wicked; and there are wicked to whom it happens according to the doing of the righteous." Accordingly, the fourth and last discourse shows that, since there is an overruling providence whose ways we cannot fathom, nothing remains but to direct the view to a righteous state of retribution hereafter, applying wisdom and the fear of God to the satisfying of the spirit. It is remarkable to see how the doubts and difficulties resulting from a contemplation of the present life are kept before the mind of the reader till the conclusion. The condition after death appears quite dark to the writer, judging from iii. 21., ix. 5. 10., because the time had not arrived for the full solution of the problem to be given, in the doctrine of immortality. The conclusion of the work lies in xii. 8—14. The 8th verse contains the theme, viz. that all earthly occupations and circumstances are vanity; while the 13th and 14th verses give the general scope of the whole, which is, to teach the fear of God in relation to a future judgment. Thus the true enjoyment of the good things of life is recommended in connection with and in subservience to the fear of God, whose judgment will hereafter clear up all seeming irregularities, and reward the works of men as they deserve.

We cannot but think that the book is pervaded by a deep ethical and religious philosophy. While every thing earthly is unsparingly exposed in all its vanity, and the pursuits of men are shown to be disappointing and delusive, all is not vain which lies within their reach. The fear of God and cheerful acquiescence in his arrangements are strongly inculcated. Gloominess and disappointment would hang over the relations of life did not God purpose to bring every thing hereafter into judgment.

The plan and scope of the book are very obscure, and therefore have been frequently misapprehended. Vaihinger appears to have been the first who clearly exhibited them.<sup>1</sup> He has been followed by Keil, in Hävernicks Introduction to the Old Testament. At the same time, he has needlessly entangled himself with the investigation of strophes and half-strophes, after the example of Koester. It is conceded that the form of the work is poetic, rhetorical, dialectic. The connection of ideas internally, as well as the outward form, show careful arrangement on the part of the writer. Amid apparent freedom and discurs-

<sup>1</sup> In the Studien und Kritiken for 1848.

siveness, he never loses sight of his theme, but pursues it much more closely and consecutively than a superficial reader may perceive. The internal connection never ceases; nor does a new subject commence here and there. On the contrary the one theme is pursued throughout.

From misunderstanding the book many unjust charges and suspicions against it have arisen. The rabbinical writers relate<sup>1</sup>, and their account is confirmed by Jerome<sup>2</sup>, that the Jews were disinclined to receive the book into the canon, in consequence of some heresies and contradictions which they supposed to exist in it. But these doubts were suppressed in consequence of the expressions it contains towards the close relative to the fear of God and the observance of his laws. Within the old Christian church similar doubts were not unknown. Thus Theodore of Mopsuestia denied the divine inspiration of the book. It is not too much to say, that all such charges or suspicions are based on mere misunderstanding. The principal accusations have been urged by Knobel<sup>3</sup> and De Wette<sup>4</sup>, which are —

1. The view of life presented in the book inclines to Epicureanism. It recommends the comforts and enjoyments of life. But this is connected with the fear of God and active piety. Nowhere is sensuality commended; rather such enjoyment of the good things of the world as is accompanied with a contented, submissive, and thankful spirit. When we look at the end of the book, we see clearly that the writer is far from enjoining an Epicurean pleasure; for pleasure is there limited by a consideration of the judgment of God, and the consequences of man's doings. The accusation in question is based on mere isolated passages.

2. It has also been said, that a certain fatalism appears in the writer's sentiments respecting the government of the world. Every thing in providence is eternally unchangeable. This gives rise to a moral scepticism, because man is unable with all his efforts to accomplish what he aims at. Here again individual passages only have been looked at, to the neglect of others. All the fatalism that is inculcated is in harmony with the tenor of the Bible, which teaches that man can do nothing of himself. The sovereignty of God does not destroy responsibility; and moral retribution is clearly set forth at the end of the book. This is inconsistent with the fact of scepticism.

3. Some passages, like iii. 21., have been thought to throw doubt on immortality. That is true, because it was the writer's design to leave the point doubtful *in the present stage of the discussion*. The time had not then come for bringing out the full solution of the problem. The writer meant to depict the progress of a perplexed state of mind; and therefore he employs this language. The discussion was still advancing. *At the close* he asserts his belief in the doctrine of immortality; *here* a like affirmation would have disturbed the unity and

<sup>1</sup> See Pesikta Rabbati, f. 33. c. 1. Midrash Coheleth, f. 311. c. 1. Vayikra Rabba, sect. 28. f. 161. c. 2. See also a curious passage explanatory or palliative of the Talmudic sentences, in R. Isaac Aramah, given by Preston in his work on Ecclesiastes, Preliminary Discourse, p. 13. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Comment. in Ecclesiast. xii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Commentar ueber das Buch Koheleth, 1836.

<sup>4</sup> Einleit. p. 421. *et seqq.*

orderly procedure of his discourse or disputation. We do not agree with Hengstenberg<sup>1</sup>, in thinking that the accusation in question proceeds on a wrong grammatical perception; as if the ך (iii. 21.) should be rendered as the article, and ought not to be considered interrogative. All the ancient versions, LXX., Vulgate, Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, make it the interrogative; so does Luther; and so most recent critics. When Hengstenberg says that the ך according to its punctuation "cannot be the interrogative but must be the article," we regard the affirmation as incorrect, because the letter sometimes takes a dagesh after it, and that dagesh being here suppressed on account of the guttural following, the short vowel is lengthened.

It is unnecessary to enumerate the very various and conflicting views which have been given of the plan pursued by the writer of the book. Mendlesohn's learning and ability have failed to show the true scope and outline; for he errs in thinking that the two principal topics treated of are the evidences of the immortality of the soul, and the duty of cheerfulness in this life with a contented enjoyment of it, besides a recollection of duties to God who will bring us to account. When obliged to admit that "the discussion of these topics is interspersed with various recommendations, religious, political, and domestic, which come under no general denomination,"<sup>2</sup> he confesses that he has misapprehended the unity and object of the whole. Yet Preston has followed him as a faithful guide, adopting his views and recommending them to the English reader. While some could see no unity or plan in it, as Nachtigal, Stäudlin, Schmidt; others thought that it contains a dialogue between two parties, an inquirer and a teacher; and tried by this means to introduce a certain unity. Eichhorn<sup>3</sup> and a few others adopted this idea. The genius of Ewald first began to penetrate the obscurity of the book and to establish a close connection between the different parts. Perceiving its rhetorical and dialectic character, he endeavoured, with but partial success, to unfold the general plan, and consecution of ideas.<sup>4</sup> It was reserved for Vaihinger to complete what Ewald failed to fulfil, by showing the internal progress of the proposed theme in the hands of the author, the objections started and obviated in each of the four discourses, and the satisfactory result arrived at. Whoever mistakes the general outline of the book, and the gradual development of the fundamental idea discussed in it, must be in the dark respecting its nature and use. Those who wish to see the different theories which have been entertained respecting the method and design of the work must have recourse to Keil<sup>5</sup> and Stuart.<sup>6</sup> The character of the work is analogous to that of Proverbs. It belongs in part to the didactic poetry of the Hebrews; many places having a *gnomological* cast. But the Proverbs are dis-

<sup>1</sup> In Kitto's Cyclopædia, art. Ecclesiastes.

<sup>2</sup> The book of Solomon called Ecclesiastes, by Preston, prelim. dissertation, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, vol. v. p. 269. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Die Dichter, u. s. w. vol. iv. p. 194.

<sup>5</sup> In Hävernick's Einleit. vol. iii. p. 449. *et seqq.*

<sup>6</sup> Commentary on Ecclesiastes, Introduction, p. 10. *et seqq.*

connected, sententious sayings; whereas we have here a philosophical discourse, where ideas and maxims are linked to one another in a poetical form. The gnomes and sentences which stand in the book of Proverbs in an isolated position are here interwoven with the thread of the argument, as it develops itself dialectically.

Almost all the older interpreters ascribed the work to Solomon. This arose from the circumstance that Koheleth appears speaking in the person of the wise king. (i. 12. 16., ii. 4. &c., xii. 9. &c.) Yet Solomon is not named as the author either in the inscription or the body of the work. The first who called in question the Solomonic origin of the work was the sagacious Grotius, whom most recent critics in this respect follow. There are conclusive reasons for denying that the son of David wrote it.

1. The writer separates himself from king Solomon in i. 12., where he represents Koheleth as saying, "I was king over Israel in Jerusalem." Whether this language be explained on the supposition that the writer sometimes forgets his fiction, or that it was consciously penned, is unimportant. The past tense *was* instead of the present, and the addition *in Jerusalem* point to a time after Solomon, when the kings of the Israelites had another royal residence, in Samaria. The answer of Holden and Preston to this argument is so weak that we need not cite it.<sup>1</sup> Because David reigned both in Hebron and Jerusalem, and Solomon only in the latter city, it is asserted that the place of residence is mentioned. It is also alleged by Holden, that Solomon may as well call himself king over Israel, as at the beginning of Proverbs, which are his work. But the book of Proverbs in its present form, and the expressions at the commencement respecting Solomon, did not proceed from the king himself.

2. Various circumstances uttered by the speaker do not suit king Solomon; or are inappropriate in his mouth. He complains bitterly of oppression, of judicial injustice, of the elevation of fools and slaves to high offices, &c., which Solomon would not have done, unless he meant to write a satire upon himself. Besides, the writer says (i. 16.), "Lo, I am come to great estate, and have gotten more wisdom than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem; yea, my heart had great experience of wisdom and knowledge;" which is incomprehensible in the lips of Solomon himself, but suitable to him in the mouth of a later writer. In like manner, the author says of his successor (ii. 12. 19.), "For what can the man do that cometh after the king? even that which hath been already done. Yea, I hated all my labour which I had taken under the sun; because I should leave it unto the man that shall be after me. *And who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool?* Yet shall he have rule over all my labour wherein I have laboured," &c. &c. In like manner v. 7. would be a satire on his own reign. In viii. 3. unlimited obedience to a king is enjoined, even in relation to an evil command. In reply to these considerations, Holden informs us that "under the adminis-

<sup>1</sup> Attempt to illustrate the Book of Ecclesiastes, Preliminary Dissertation, p. xviii.; and Preston's "The Hebrew Text and a Latin Version of the Book of Solomon, called Ecclesiastes, &c." Preliminary Discourse, p. 6.

tration of Solomon the great and powerful were doubtless at times tyrannical, judges were often partial, and men were sometimes preferred to offices for which they were neither fitted by their talents nor their virtues. These evils, which the most consummate wisdom cannot entirely prevent, the king himself might lament, as well as any of his subjects, without being self-condemned.<sup>1</sup> How the writer came to know all this, he does not inform us. It is purely imaginary. In like manner some of the passages are explained away by Preston, after Mendlessohn, so as to be unsuitable to king Solomon. But the natural sense is reluctant to give way.

3. The strongest argument against the authorship of Solomon is the character of the language, which is of a late complexion. Aramaean words and forms show clearly that it belongs to the post-exile period. Philosophical expressions also of late origin are peculiar to the book. Of later Chaldaisms may be specified אָלַל, *if*, vi. 6.; וַיִּזַע, *to tremble*, xii. 3.; זָמַן, *time*, iii. 1.; בְּיַשָּׁר, *to be fortunate or happy*, x. 10., xi. 6.; כְּדוּרָה, *a province*, ii. 8., v. 7.; בְּתוֹמָם, *a decree*, viii. 11.; בְּפֶשֶׁר, *interpretation*, viii. 1.; שָׁלַט, *to rule*, ii. 19. &c.; שָׂפָטוֹן, *ruler*, viii. 4. 8.; תָּבֵן, *to be straight*, i. 15., vii. 13. &c.; תְּפִיף, *mighty*, vi. 10.; רָבַר, *long ago*, i. 10., iii. 15., vi. 10. &c.; מַה־שֵּׁ, *that which*, i. 9., iii. 15. &c.; בָּטַל, *cease, fail*, xii. 3.; עֲגִין, *thing, matter*, ii. 26., iii. 15. &c.; בְּנוֹ-חַיִּים, *son of nobles*, x. 17.; הַיּוֹן, *without*, ii. 25.; רְבֵלָה, *pregnant*, xi. 5. Philosophical expressions are such as הַיֵּשׁ, *the being or nature of a thing*, ii. 21., viii. 14. &c.; a number of abstract forms as הִלְלוּת, *foolishness*, x. 13.; סְבָלוּת, *folly*, i. 17., ii. 3. &c.; שְׂחָרוּת, *youth*, xi. 10.; שְׂבָלוּת, *slothfulness*, x. 18.; יִתְרוֹן, *good*, i. 3., ii. 11. &c.; טוֹב, *good*, viii. 12, 13.; הַלֵּק, *the lot of man in life*, ii. 10., iii. 22. &c.; הִשְׁבֹּן, *reason, understanding*, vii. 25. &c.; רְעוּת, *pursuit*, i. 14., ii. 11. &c.; רָעִיוֹן, the same as last, ii. 22.<sup>2</sup> The examples now given are impervious to the sifting process which Herzfeld<sup>3</sup> has applied to Knobel's list, by means of which he finds no more than between eleven and fifteen *young Hebrew* expressions and constructions; and between eight and ten Chaldaisms. This number is too few. Ewald, no mean judge, asserts that the Hebrew is so strongly penetrated with Aramaean that not only single often-recurring words are entirely Aramaean, but the foreign influence is infused into the finest veins of the language.<sup>4</sup> Here we are surprised to find Preston affirming that the "Chaldee, Arabic, and Hebrew, having all emanated from the same source, it is manifestly impossible to pronounce with certainty, on a word occurring in so confessedly an ancient (?) book as Ecclesiastes, that it belongs to either of the two former and not to the latter, because the farther we trace these dialects back, the greater will be their similarity: and even supposing some of the words to be foreign and Aramaic, Solomon may easily have acquired them through his constant intercourse with the neighbouring nations, or from his foreign wives, especially as this book was written late in life." Such feeble argumentation is unworthy of so good a Hebrew scholar.

<sup>1</sup> Attempt, &c. pp. xv. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> See Knobel, u. s. w. p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Kohleth uebersetzt und erlaeutert, 1838.

<sup>4</sup> Die Dichter, u. s. w. vol. iv. p. 178.

What serves to confirm the inference which one must draw from the language as to its lateness is a comparison with that of Proverbs which is strikingly different. The one belongs to the first period of the language, when it was pure; the other, when it degenerated and became Chaldaising. And the class of subjects to which both belong are not so diverse as to account for this difference of diction. Both belong to the same class, *the didactic*. Hence Preston's assertion, "that the difference of style may be fully accounted for by the different nature of the subjects," should be met with a direct negative.

We are aware of the fact, that there are a few terms common to the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. But these are resolvable into the study of the writings of Solomon and of the old Hebrew gnology. No weight belongs to them as isolated terms, when set over against the general colouring of the style in Ecclesiastes, which is undoubtedly Chaldaising. Hence the composition of the book belongs to an unknown author living after the exile. When he introduces Solomon as speaking, he adopts a harmless form, without intending to produce a supposititious volume. As Solomon had the highest reputation for wisdom, he appeared the fittest person to be taken as the discourses on so many topics. That he is not introduced in his individual capacity, follows from the name *Koheleth*. He is the representative of wisdom; and besides he had passed through a varied life where he had many opportunities of experiencing the vanity of all earthly things. As speeches are put into the mouths of Job and his friends; so here Solomon as *Koheleth* is introduced as the speaker.

If any thing were wanting to show the certainty of the conclusion deduced from all the phenomena specified, especially from the character of the language, we should refer to the manner in which Holden tries to meet them. He even goes so far as to question the existence of Chaldaic expressions in the book. "Although a few words used by the author of the Ecclesiastes occur nowhere else except in the Chaldee part of Daniel and in the Targums, none have been produced in form and inflection *unequivocally* Chaldaic; and for any thing that appears to the contrary, they may have been pure Hebrew words, in familiar circulation while that language continued to be vernacular." Again "Chaldaisms in fact supply no sure criterion to determine the late origin of a work in which they are found; for Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic, having emanated from one common source, the higher we ascend the greater will be the resemblance."<sup>1</sup> This is extraordinary logic, which may be safely left to determine its own worth.

We trust that no one will be tempted, in consequence of *the mere mode* in which the writer of Ecclesiastes sets forth his work, to indulge in the illiberal language of censure against all sound critics, who upon the ground of safe evidence, deny the Solomonic authorship. "It would be injudicious," says Holden, "it would be dangerous, it would be irreligious to desert this combined testimony [that Solomon wrote the work] for bold assertion and ingenious conjecture."<sup>2</sup> The fiction by which Solomon, under the title *Koheleth*,

<sup>1</sup> Preliminary Dissertation, pp. xi. xii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. xxv.

is introduced as speaking is an innocent one. Certainly it was not meant to deceive any one; for the past tense is used, "I *was* king," to which is added "over Israel in Jerusalem;" while at the close (xii. 9, 10.), the first person is laid aside for *the third*. The dress or costume in which the ideas of the unknown writer are conveyed is transparent.

As to the date of the book, it is difficult to settle it. Those who think with Hengstenberg that the canon was completed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah maintain of necessity, that Ecclesiastes did not originate later than that. But the opinion in question is undoubtedly incorrect; as well as that of Josephus, who seems to fix the final settlement of the canon in the reign of Artaxerxes. In determining the age of the book, neither hypothesis respecting the canon should influence our decision, especially as both are untenable.

The contents, as well as the diction, point to a period subsequent to the exile. They give a gloomy view of the world. The philosophy of life presented is dark. It would seem that the people were oppressed by heathen magistrates. They suffered injustice and violence. They felt the severity of arbitrary government. Tyrannical rulers were emboldened to continue their doings, because punishment was protracted. (viii. 11.) Slaves were suddenly promoted to the highest offices. (x. 6, 7.) The governors were sensual, avaricious, incapable, and indolent men. (x. 15—19.) When we add to this that idolatry is never alluded to; but that the people were outwardly devoted to Jehovah and attached to the temple worship (v. 1—7.); we think of the later period of the Persian government in Palestine, which probably became severe and odious at the last. Notwithstanding the external worship of the Lord, the people appear not to have been pious. Instead of finding the cause of their outward and continued misfortunes in themselves—their impenitence and unbelief—they were tempted to indulge in sorrowful complaints of the distress of the times, and doubts respecting the righteous character of the divine government; for the author sets forth admonitions against murmurings, and in favour of contentedness with the unalterable arrangements of divine Providence. There is considerable similarity between the descriptions found in the book of Malachi and Ecclesiastes. Both present a prevailing self-righteousness—an endeavour to obtain justification by works. Outward attachment to the forms of religion with little or no spiritual life, characterise the times in which both works appeared. The prophecies of Malachi even contain examples of the dialogue-form of discourse, approaching to that of our present work which appears as a discourse or series of discourses addressed to an assembly of hearers. Hence we are led to conclude that the author lived in the later period of the Persian government, not long after the time of Malachi, *i. e.* 350—340 B. C. Perhaps the beginning of the Macedonian dominion is too late. At any rate it contains neither Grecian philosophy nor words. Accordingly, Rosenmüller, Knobel, Ewald, De Wette, place it about the later period of the Persian rule, or at the commencement of the Macedonian era. Others bring it down later; Zirkel, Bergst, and

Bertholdt, to the space between Alexander the Great and Antiochus Epiphanes; Hartmann to the Maccabean period; and Hitzig to 204 B. C. The last hypothesis is artificially deduced from various passages, as viii. 2., x. 16—19., vii. 26., ix. 13—15., viii. 2—4., x. 5—7., xi. 2., by a series of arbitrary historical combinations; and has been refuted by Hahn.<sup>1</sup> Hitzig's objections to its composition in the Persian period are trivial.<sup>2</sup>

The analogy of Ecclesiastes to the Wisdom of Solomon which was written in Greek, is striking. Both purport to come from Solomon; and both regard wisdom as personified in him. No Hebrew book comes so near Ecclesiastes as this apocryphal one. But though the latter was written in Egypt; it is evident that Ecclesiastes was not. It is a Palestinian production. Jerusalem was the writer's home. (viii. 10., v. 1—7.)

Although Ecclesiastes is not quoted in the New Testament, yet it was in the canonical list at the time of Christ and the apostles; and formed a part of the sacred collection which they sanctioned. Hence there is no reason for doubting its authority. The New Testament writers had no occasion to cite it, as the subject discussed lay at a distance from their immediate teachings; or is treated in a method not well suited for quotation. Nothing unfavourable to its character can be drawn from the fact in question.

## CHAP. XVI.

### SONG OF SOLOMON.

THE first verse styles the Song of Solomon שִׁיר הַשְּׁרִירִים, *a Song of Songs*, i. e. according to the Hebrew idiom, *the most excellent song*; and assigns its authorship to Solomon, the ל before שִׁלְמֹה designating *the writer*, as in the inscriptions prefixed to many Psalms.

The most important question connected with this work is, what is its subject? All agree that it is love; but *what kind of love*, it is difficult to ascertain. Is it *human love*, that which exists between man and woman; or is it *spiritual love*, such as exists between God and the soul, or Christ and his church? We shall give the chief considerations in favour of both hypotheses.

1. From a very early period the book has been explained as allegorical both by Jews and Christians. As far as we can trace the matter in history, Origen was the first who illustrated the book allegorically. Admitting the historical sense, which regards the poem as an epithalamium on the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter, he adopts a hidden sense or divine allegory beneath the garb of the other, according to which the church, or the soul of the

<sup>1</sup> In Reuter's Repertorium for 1848, xiv. p. 104. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> In the Exeget. Handbuch, part 7. p. 121.

believer, converses with the Redeemer. Jerome says, that Origen wrote ten books of commentaries on the poem, containing twenty thousand *stichi*; and in his epistle to Damasus, he observes, that whereas in his other works Origen had excelled all others; in that on Canticles he surpassed himself. This view was adopted by Jerome and most of the fathers; and has always been the prevailing one among Christians. It is of little importance to mark the distinction between such as maintain a historical basis or sense *besides* an allegorical one, and those who reject the foundation of historical truth, maintaining the poem to be a simple allegory; because, with both classes of expositors, the hidden or spiritual sense is that which the writer meant to convey. The Chaldee paraphrase or Targum regards the work as a figurative description of God's gracious conduct towards his people in delivering them from the bondage of Egypt, in conferring singular favours upon them during their wanderings in the wilderness, and finally establishing them in the promised land. Abenezra, belonging to the twelfth century, exclaims: "Abhorred, abhorred be the thought that the Song of Songs should be put among the works of fleshly lust! On the contrary, it must be understood in the way of parable: and unless its loftiness were great, it would not have been put into the collection of the sacred writings; and there is no difference of opinion upon it." In Midrash Shir, a historical and allegorical commentary on the Song, it is said, "that their wise men had disputed about the authority of Ecclesiastes, but never had any debate about the divine authority of this book." Rabbi Akiba expresses himself thus: "Far be it from any Israelite to say that the Song of Songs pollutes the hands, or is not holy, because the whole world is not of so great value as that day wherein the Song of Songs was given to Israel; for all the Hagiographa are holy, but the Song of Songs is most holy; and if there has been any difference of opinion about Solomon's writings, it has only been about Ecclesiastes." "Ten songs are sung in this world," says the Targum, "but this song is the most excellent of them all." The Jews also compared the three books which bear Solomon's name to the three parts of the temple which he built; the Proverbs to the porch; Ecclesiastes to the holy place; and the Canticles to the most holy, signifying that it is a treasury of the highest and most sacred mysteries of Scripture.

2. At the commencement, we meet with the moral of the poem, which serves as a key to its meaning throughout: "The upright love thee" (verse 4.), *i. e.* men of rectitude, or righteous men love thee. The Bridegroom is here shown to be the righteous one whom all souls love. The object of the love described is the Righteous One, whom all righteous persons do love. This is as plain a key as the nature of the allegory authorises us to expect.<sup>1</sup>

3. That this is not a song of human loves is clear, from the commencement to the end. It opens with the language of the female, "let him kiss me;" it abounds with her praises of his person, and her dispraises of herself, of her person, and her conduct; it invites

<sup>1</sup> Congregational Magazine for 1838, p. 149.

other females to love him; and it speaks of him as her brother, and of her as his sister. In the third verse the bride says, "The virgins love thee." "On the supposition of an ordinary love-song this is a monstrous violation of all propriety. The jealousy of female love could never endure that one who courted her should tell her, whatever he might think, that the maidens loved him, and should make her tell it him too." The fifth verse has, "I am black but comely." "Did ever human lover make her whom he calls the fairest among women say this of herself, however disparagingly an humble female may think of her own beauty." "If thou know not... go... and feed thy kids beside the shepherds' tents." (verse 8.) "Here again the discrepancy with human loves is shocking, not to say ludicrous." "Thy cheeks are comely with rows (of jewels), thy neck with chains (of gold)." (verse 10.) Here we arrive at those luxuriant descriptions of the bride's person which afford evidence that the theme is solely spiritual.<sup>1</sup>

Again, "The larger part and the most magnificent part of this poem is occupied with the praises of the bridegroom, to whom his bride is mere foil, in every particular, except when *he* speaks of her in the language of love. Now, though the ancients often spoke of themselves in a way that ill suits our ideas of modesty, and though females in the East were depressed below the rank they hold with us, none of these considerations can account for the relative positions which the bridegroom and bride assume in this song." "The calling of the bride 'sister' neither accords with Solomon's marrying Pharaoh's daughter, nor with any human conjugal ideas, except the incestuous ones of the Cleopatras, which were abhorrent from Jewish sentiments; and the same may be said of the bride's wishing the bridegroom were her brother, who sucked the breasts of the same mother."<sup>2</sup>

4. The characters introduced are all spiritually applied elsewhere. The covenant relation which subsisted between Jehovah and the people of Israel is frequently represented by the emblematical union of a married pair. (Hosea i. ii. iii.; Ezekiel xvi.; Jerem. iii.; Isaiah li. 17—23.) In like manner the relation of Christ to his church is described in the New Testament by the purest exhibition of the marriage state. Christ is called the bridegroom of his people. The church is the bride, the Lamb's wife. The first disciples of our Lord are called friends of the bridegroom, and children of the bridechamber. (Matthew ix. 15.; John iii. 29.) When the bride expresses her desire to be *drawn*, we are reminded of God's language by Hosea (xi. 4.), "I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love;" or the promise of our Lord himself, "I will draw all men unto me" (John xii. 32.). Ch. i. 7. *feedest* (Isa. xl. 11.; John x. 3.). Chap. ii. 3. *fruit* (Matt. xxvi. 29.); verse 8. *voice of my beloved* (John x. 3, 4.). Chap. iv. 1. 7. *fair, no spot in thee* (Eph. v. 27.). Chap. v. 2. *my beloved — knocketh* (Rev. iii. 20.). Chap. vi. 10. "fair as the moon, clear as the sun" (Rev. xii. 1.). Chap. viii. 14. *make haste, my beloved* (Rev. xxii. 17. 21.). In the second chapter the bride

<sup>1</sup> Congregational Magazine for 1838, p. 149. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 151, 152.

is compared to the rose and the lily, which images are repeatedly applied to the church of God by different prophets. (Compare Hosea xiv. 5.; Isa. xxxv. 1.) The resemblance of the church to a *dove* is in perfect harmony with our Lord's making that bird a pattern to his disciples. The allusion also to *foxes*, as the types of tyrants and heretics, is quite in the Scripture style. Thus many parallels justify and confirm the spiritual interpretation of the poem. This is especially the case with the 45th Psalm, which is an epitome of Solomon's Song. That Psalm speaks solely of the marriage of Christ and the church: why should we not form the same conclusion concerning the Canticles? <sup>1</sup>

5. It has been usual from a remote antiquity, with oriental nations, to teach religious doctrines, and inculcate devotional sentiments, under the disguise of amatory and drinking songs. This is the case with the songs of Hafiz, a Persian writer of the fourteenth century. The love-poems Nisamis, Leila and Medsnun, Jussuf and Suleicha, have been explained allegorically by the commentators. This usage of expressing the intercourse of the soul with God in productions apparently of an amatory nature, which prevailed extensively among the Persians, Turks, Arabians, and Hindoos, has been copiously illustrated by Lane, who was present at some of the religious exercises of the Mohammedan dervishes in Cairo. "The darweesh," says Lane, "pointed out the following poem as one of those most common at zikrs, and as one which was sung at the zikr which I have begun to describe. I translate it verse for verse; and imitate the measure and system of the original, with this difference only, that the first, third, and fifth lines of each stanza rhyme with each other in the original, but not in my translation.

"With love my heart is troubled;  
And mine eye-lid hindereth sleep:  
My vitals are dissever'd;  
While with streaming tears I weep.  
My union seems far distant:  
Will my love e'er meet mine eye?  
Alas! Did not estrangement  
Draw my tears, I would not sigh.

"By dreary nights I'm wasted:  
Absence makes my hope expire:  
My tears, like pearls, are dropping;  
And my heart is wrapt in fire.  
Whose is like my condition?  
Scarcely know I remedy.  
Alas! Did not estrangement  
Draw my tears, I would not sigh.

"O turtle-dove! acquaint me  
Wherefore thus dost thou lament?  
Art thou so stung by absence?  
Of thy wings depriv'd, and pent?  
He saith, 'Our griefs are equal:  
Worn away with love, I lie.  
Alas! Did not estrangement  
Draw my tears, I would not sigh.

<sup>1</sup> Congregational Magazine for 1838, pp. 200, 201.

“ O First, and sole eternal !  
 Show thy favour yet to me.  
 Thy slave, Ahmad El-Bekree  
 Hath no Lord excepting thee.  
 By Tâ-Hâ, the Great Prophet !  
 Do thou not his wish deny.  
 Alas ! Did not estrangement  
 Draw my tears, I would not sigh.”

I must translate a few more lines, to show more strongly the similarity of these songs to that of Solomon; and lest it should be thought that I have varied the expressions, I shall not attempt to render them into verse. In the same collection of poems sung at zikrs is one which begins with these lines: —

“ O gazelle from among the gazelles of El-Yemen !  
 I am thy slave without cost:  
 O thou small of age, and fresh of skin !  
 O thou who art scarce past the time of drinking milk ! ”

In the first of these verses we have a comparison exactly agreeing with that in the concluding verse of Solomon's Song; for the word which in our Bible is translated a “roe” is used in Arabic as synonymous with “ghazal” (or a gazelle); and the mountains of El-Yemen are “the mountains of spices.” This poem ends with the following lines: —

“ The phantom of thy form visited me in my slumber:  
 I said, ‘ O phantom of slumber ! who sent thee ? ’  
 He said, ‘ He sent me whom thou knowest ;  
 He whose love occupies thee.’  
 The beloved of my heart visited me in the darkness of night:  
 I stood, to show him honour, until he sat down.  
 I said, ‘ O thou my petition, and all my desire !  
 Hast thou come at midnight, and not feared the watchmen ? ’  
 He said to me, ‘ I feared; but, however, love  
 Had taken from me my soul and my breath.’ ”

Compare the above with the second and five following verses of the fifth chapter of Solomon's Song. — Finding that songs of this description are extremely numerous, and almost the only poems sung at zikrs; that they are composed for this purpose, and intended only to have a spiritual sense (though certainly not understood in such a sense by the generality of the vulgar); I cannot entertain any doubt as to the design of Solomon's Song. The specimens which I have just given of the religious love-songs of the Muslims have not been selected in preference to others as most agreeing with that of Solomon, but as being in frequent use; and the former of the two as having being sung at the zikr which I have begun to describe.<sup>1</sup>

That the poets of Hindostan indulged in similar compositions is shown by a reference to the Gitagovinda, the production of a celebrated Hindoo poet named Jayadeva. This is a mystical poem, intended to celebrate the loves of Crishna and Radha, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodness and the human soul. It may be found in the third volume of the Asiatic Researches; or at the end of Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on the Canticles.

<sup>1</sup> Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 215. *et seqq.*

6. "In what part of the Hebrew Bible can we find any composition of an analogous nature? All—every Psalm, every piece of history, every part of prophecy—has a *religious* aspect, and (the book of Esther perhaps excepted) is filled with *theocratic* views of things. How came there here to be such a *solitary* exception, so contrary to the genius and nature of the whole Hebrew Bible? It is passing strange, if real amatory idyls are mingled with so much, all of which is of a serious and religious nature. If the author viewed his composition as being of an amatory nature, would he have sought a place for it among the *sacred* books? And subsequent redactors or editors—would they have ranked it here, in case they had regarded it in the same light? I can scarcely deem this credible. So different was the reverence of the Jews for their Scriptures from any mere approbation of an amatory poem as such, that I must believe that the insertion of Canticles among the *canonical* books, was the result of a full persuasion of its *spiritual* import. Had the case stood otherwise, why did they not introduce other secular works, as well as this, into the canon?"<sup>1</sup>

Among such as adopt the allegorical or spiritual interpretation, considerable diversity of opinion exists. We have already seen that the Targumist explains it as a figurative description of God's conduct toward the Jews in delivering them from Egypt, guiding them through the wilderness, and conveying them in safety to the promised land. Abenezra, again, regards it as containing a history of the Jews from Abraham to the Messiah. Rosenmüller looks upon it as an allegory describing the mutual loves of Solomon and Wisdom. This view had been held before by Leo Hebræus and Abrabanel. Kaiser thinks that it is a historico-allegorical song relating to Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah as the restorers of a Jewish constitution in the province of Judah. Hahn finds in it the idea, allegorically carried out, that the kingdom of Israel was called to overcome heathenism at last with the weapons of love and justice, to be brought back to peace and fellowship with it, and consequently with God. Hug regards it as a dream-poem in which Solomon is said to represent king Hezekiah, the Shulamite the ten tribes, and her love, the longing of these tribes to be reunited to this king. Delitzsch and Nögelsbach regard it as a poetically idealised description of a love-relation experienced by Solomon, through which the idea or mystery of marriage is dramatically developed as an image and type of the union of the Lord with his church. The most common view is, either that it represents the union between Christ and the church, or the union of an individual believer's soul with Christ. Perhaps the least objectionable of these allegorical expositions is that of Keil, according to whom, under the allegory of the marriage-love of Solomon and the Shulamite, is depicted, in dramatic-lyric choruses, the mutual love subsisting between the Lord and his church, agreeably to its ideal nature resulting from the choice of Israel to be the church of Jehovah. Thus every interruption of this communion arising from

<sup>1</sup> Stuart's Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon, pp. 342, 343. ed. Davidson.

the infidelity of Israel is made the occasion of a closer consolidation of the covenant of love, through a return to the true covenant-God and his unutterable mercy.

On the other hand, many recent interpreters contend for the literal explanation of the book.

1. In no part is it affirmed or implied that the work is allegorical. Such intimation is given in every instance of Bible allegory, either in the structure or by some annexed expression, so that the sense and design cannot be mistaken. (Judges ix. 7—20.; 2 Kings xiv. 9, 10.; Psal. xlv. lxxx.; Isa. v. 1—7.; Ezek. xvi. xxxvii. 1—14.; Acts x. 10—17.; Gal. iv. 22—31.; the parables of our Lord, the Apocalyptic visions.)

2. In all the passages of Scripture which make a figurative use of the marriage-contract and state, the *general* idea of the marriage union is chiefly dwelt upon, without going into many or minute details; while the *religious signification* is constantly brought out. But here *particulars*, not the *chief subject*, form the whole composition. We scarcely find the central point at all, if it consist in the actual marriage,—the sacred union—of Christ and his church. The embellishments of scenery, action, and conjugal endearment are abundant and perplexing, hiding what is said to be the principal thing. All is decoration and colouring.

3. The reverence for Jehovah which existed in the Hebrew mind would have prevented a writer from composing a poem to illustrate the love existing between God and his people. Would he have used, in addressing Jehovah, such language as, “Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth; for thy caresses are better than wine?” Would he have spoken to the High and Holy One in the language, “Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away?” Would Solomon have addressed his Creator in the language, “The voice of my beloved! Behold, he comes, leaping upon the mountains, bounding over the hills. Like a gazelle is my beloved, or a young hind, &c.?” Such expressions applied to the High and Lofty One that inhabiteth eternity are irreverent, unsuitable, and inconsistent with the sublime prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple.

4. There are traces in the Mishnah of doubts having been entertained among the Jews respecting the book. Thus we read in tr. *Jadaim*. “R. Jehudah saith, ‘Canticles make the hands unclean, but Ecclesiastes is [subject] to a dispute [difference of opinion].’ R. José saith, ‘Ecclesiastes does not make the hands unclean, but the Canticles are [subject to] a dispute.’ . . . . R. Simeon Ben Azai said, ‘I have it as a tradition from the mouths of seventy-two elders, on the day they inducted R. Eleazar ben Azariah into the president’s seat, that Canticles and Ecclesiastes [both] make the hands unclean.’”<sup>1</sup> The treatise *Pirke Aboth* refers to similar doubts about the authenticity. We are also told by Origen and Jerome, that the Jews forbade any one to read the book till he was thirty years of age; a restriction approved by those fathers. This prohi-

<sup>1</sup> See eighteen treatises from the Mishna, translated by the Rev. D. A. De Sola and the Rev. M. J. Raphall, p. 362.

bition was extended to the beginning and end of Ezekiel and the first part of Genesis, but for a different reason,—*the difficulty of understanding them*; while in the case of the Canticles, moral danger led to the restriction. “It is a part of the glory of genuine revelation to have no mysteries, as the heathen had, into which only select persons were to be initiated. There are indeed passages in the Pentateuch and the Old Testament historical books, which are not desirable to be publicly read, but this is purely on account of the archaic simplicity of some expressions, a simplicity consistent in that state of society with the most perfect purity and gravity; but that a whole book, which is maintained to consist entirely of the sublimest scenes of devotion, the purest exercises of divine life in the human soul, should yet be unfit for general use, appears not well in accordance with the idea of writings given for men’s universal benefit, to make them ‘wise unto salvation.’”<sup>1</sup> Besides, “Do Christian ministers who are at liberty to select their own church lessons, commonly or frequently take them from this book? Do they not, in act at least, confess that an insuperable moral feeling stands in the way?”<sup>2</sup>

5. It is extravagant to apply the language to the devotional exercises of a believer; for it is far different from the deep humility, the reverence, and godly fear, which ever accompany the prayers and praises of the redeemed.

6. The book makes no mention of Jehovah, his dominion, laws, sanctuary, or worship. It includes no lessons of faith, obedience, and piety towards God, or duty to man.

7. The total silence of our Lord and his apostles in relation to the book appears to authorise the idea that it was little known or regarded by the Jews of Palestine; and that the Great Teacher, as well as his disciples, had no desire to rescue it from obscurity or oblivion.

Such are the principal arguments of those who reject an allegorical, and adopt a literal, exposition. In the particular view, however, they take of the book, they are by no means agreed. Thus some look upon it as a drama representing the victory of true love, or the reward of fidelity. Such substantially is the hypothesis of Jacobi, Hezel, Ammon, Stäudlin, Lindemann, Umbreit, Koester, Ewald, Hirzel, Böttcher, Hitzig. Others again regard it as an epithalamium or nuptial song, on the occasion of Solomon’s marriage with the Egyptian princess, or with some Israelite bride distinguished for beauty and virtue. So Grotius, Bossuet, Harmer, and others. Others think that it is a collection of erotic idyls, as R. Simon, Herder, Doederlein, Kleuker, Paulus, Eichhorn, Gaab, Jahn, Pareau, Doepke, De Wette, Hartmann, Magnus, Heiligstedt, Good, Sir William Jones. All the literalists, and those who find in it both a literal and allegorical sense, are divided about its representing connubial love, or pure love between the sexes before marriage, or the love of the head of a harem to one of its members. The most recent expositor (Hitzig), adopting the same view as Ewald and Umbreit, supposes the subject of the poem to be a beautiful country maiden of Shulem

<sup>1</sup> Pye Smith, in the Congregational Magazine for 1837, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

brought into the harem of Solomon. But she is truly and passionately in love with a shepherd; and this love arms her with strength and virtue to resist all the allurements of the king, to withstand all the sayings of the court ladies; so that at last Solomon gives up his wooing, and dismisses the inflexible maiden to her home. Thither accordingly she goes in the company of her friend, who had hastened to her on the wings of love.<sup>1</sup>

It is very perplexing to decide between the discordant views which have been noticed. On either side—the literal or the allegorical,—grave difficulties lie, which it is impossible to clear away. Whichever view be adopted, it is exposed to many objections. Hence the choice depends on the number of perplexing circumstances involved in the respective expositions. As a preliminary observation, it appears to us that the reception of the book into the canon implies its sacred character in the view of those who admitted it. The Jews who placed it there attached a spiritual meaning to it; else they would not have dignified it with such a position. It owes its place to its supposed allegorical character. Hence the question arises, Are we bound to follow the same view of a work as was held by the person or persons who collected the books? Did they act by infallible inspiration in settling the canon of the Old Testament? Bishop Warburton answers in the affirmative. Believing that the canon was settled by Ezra, he says, “Ezra wrote, and we may believe acted, by the inspiration of the Most High, amid the last blaze indeed, yet in the full lustre of expiring prophecy.”<sup>2</sup> “And such a man,” adds Bishop Gleig, “would not have placed any book that was not sacred, in the same volume with the Law and the Prophets.” But this strong language is based on error. There are conclusive arguments which show that Ezra did not complete the canon. The Jewish tradition is, that the men of the great synagogue did so, of whom Ezra was one; and that Simon the Just, who lived a considerable time after, was the last member of that synagogue. Who shall say that the men of the great synagogue (supposing the Jewish tradition historically correct, for it has been questioned with good reason) acted by infallible inspiration in placing and arranging the books? All the probabilities of the case are against the idea. And even if they were inspired, that fact would not ensure the infallibility of their actions. We hold, therefore, that while the collectors of the sacred books may have put the Canticles into the Hagiographa, believing them to have an allegorical sense; we may or may not adopt their opinion respecting the object and nature of the book. In other words, we are at liberty to depart from their view. What, then, is to be determined respecting the subject? What is the love which the book depicts? Is it love between man and woman; or between Jehovah and the church; or the soul and Jehovah; or Christ and the soul? Is the sense literal or allegorical?

<sup>1</sup> See Hitzig's *Das Hohe Lied erklärt*, Vorbemerkungen, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Bishop Gleig in his *Introduction to Stackhouse's History of the Bible*, vol. i. p. xxiii.

Another observation has been suggested by various remarks in Stuart's Defence of the Old Testament Canon, which is, that no stigma should be cast on those critics who regard the poem as *amatory*. When Stuart writes "amatory nearly all the German neologists suppose it to be"<sup>1</sup>, we cannot but regard the remark as an insinuation for the purpose of prejudicing the mind against such as take the same view. He would have his readers look upon them as leaning to neology. This is unfair; for men quite as orthodox as he, Dr. Pye Smith, Dr. A. Clarke, Dr. Boothroyd, and Mr. Hewlett, abide by the literal meaning and reject the mystical. No man's fair reputation should be affected by his view of the Song of Solomon; for evangelical doctrine is entirely independent of the point. Belief in the divine origin of the Scriptures rests upon another basis.

The following considerations are submitted to the reader with much diffidence and hesitation, as those which have contributed to our opinion. They are stated together because their *combined* force has influenced the view to which our mind has been brought.

1. One consideration adverse to the allegorical explanation is, that the poem itself contains no clear intimation of its being intended to bear a mystical or spiritual sense. It is neither expressly stated, nor obscurely hinted, that another than the obvious meaning was designed by the writer. In all analogous cases, we have some such direction in the allegory itself — something which serves to keep the expositor from taking the literal sense to be the chief or only one. Unless a sanction of this nature for the allegorical interpretation be found in the poem, it is unwarrantable to adopt it. Otherwise a mere human hypothesis is presented. We know that it has been denied that a divine direction for the allegorical interpretation is contained in the 80th Psalm; but that is incorrect; for the *heathen* in the eighth verse, and the seventeenth verse where *the man of thy right hand* and the *son of man* mean Israel, show what is meant by the vine from Egypt. It has also been said, that the statement of Nathan to David (2 Sam. xii. 1—4.) was not suspected to be a parable. But this is by no means certain. The king could scarcely avoid a suspicion of its purport, unless his conscience had become insensible, which we can hardly suppose to be the case. When the phrase in the fourth verse, "the upright love thee," is adduced by Bennett as a divine key to the allegory, the sense of it is entirely misapprehended; for the true rendering is, "they love thee uprightly."

2. There is not much in the book suited to the occasion of conjugal love. A bridegroom seldom appears. A bride is not often mentioned. Nothing is more incorrect than the statement that "Solomon appears all through the poem as the royal spouse, made glad in the day of his espousals."<sup>2</sup> Had the poem been designed as allegorical, the bridegroom and bride should have appeared throughout; for the covenant relation subsisting between Jehovah and Israel, as well as the love between Christ and the church, is always represented under the emblem of *conjugal* love. The only part of the

<sup>1</sup> Page 341. ed. Davidson.

<sup>2</sup> Bennett, in the Congregational Magazine for 1838, p. 152.

poem in which espousals are described is in iii. 6—v. 1.; the rest of it has relation to other love. The nuptials of Solomon with one of the daughters of Jerusalem are celebrated only in that one section, which forms but a small part of the entire poem. Surely this fact does not harmonise with the hypothesis of a mystical explanation.

3. There is no sufficient ground for an allegorical interpretation of the Song in any other part of Scripture. Here it is often argued, that the 45th Psalm authorises us to interpret the Song of Solomon spiritually. The Psalm in question having been *supposed* to describe the love between Messiah and his church; its analogy to the poem before us pleads strongly for a like allegorical explanation. But it does not follow, because the sixth verse of the Psalm is quoted in the New Testament in favour of Christ's divinity, that the Psalm is *generally descriptive* of Messiah. There is no reason for holding that it has Christ for its subject, and must be allegorically explained of his love to the church. Modern exegesis repudiates this interpretation; and therefore the analogy between Canticles and the Psalm fails.<sup>1</sup>

4. All the analogies adduced from the Old Testament, and especially the Prophets, where Jehovah's relation to the Jewish people is described under the figure of marriage, are irrelevant; because the subject is different here. It is not a wedded relation which forms the subject of the poem, but pure ante-nuptial love. Hence those who build an allegorical explanation on the ground of descriptions depicting the covenant relation of Jehovah to his people under the figure of marriage, build on a false foundation.

5. That the poem depicts the mutual love of Christ and the church, which is a very common supposition, perhaps the prevailing one, appears to us exceedingly improbable *under the Jewish dispensation, and from the pen of a Jewish writer*. It would evince a clearer insight into the future, and a more detailed account of what was to be under the Christian dispensation, than any analogous example would warrant us to infer. An entire book exhibiting the reciprocal love of Christ and his redeemed church, under a dark and preparatory economy like the Jewish one, veiled so much that the most devout Jew could hardly have suspected or entered into its meaning, is a phenomenon out of place in the Jewish books; especially at a period so long antecedent to the advent of the Messiah.

6. The following language, supposed by the allegorical interpreters to be spoken by Jehovah to Israel, or by Christ to his church, appears to us indecorous and irreverent on that hypothesis:—

“ Behold thou art fair, my love ! behold thou art fair !  
 Thou hast doves' eyes within thy locks;  
 Thy hair is as a flock of goats that appear from Mount Gillead ;  
 Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are even shorn,  
 Which came up from the washing,  
 Of which every one bear twins,  
 And none is barren among them ;  
 Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet,  
 And thy speech is comely ;

<sup>1</sup> Comp. De Wette's Commentar ueber die Psalmen, pp. 323, 324. and Olshausen's Remarks in the Exegetisches Handbuch, part xiv. p. 199.

Thy temples are like a piece of a pomegranate within thy locks.  
 Thy neck is like the tower of David  
 Buildd for an armoury,  
 Whereon there hang a thousand bucklers,  
 All shields of mighty men;  
 Thy two breasts are like two young rocs,  
 Which feed among the lilies." Ch. iv. 1—5.

So is this addressed to the same by the Lord,

"How beautiful are thy feet with shoes, O prince's daughter!  
 The joints of thy thighs are like jewels,  
 The work of the hands of a cunning workman;  
 Thy navel is like a round goblet which wanteth not liquor;  
 Thy belly is like an heap of wheat set about with lilies;  
 Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins;  
 Thy neck is as a tower of ivory;  
 Thine eyes like the fish-pools in Heshbon, by the gate of Bathrabbim;  
 Thy nose is as the tower of Lebanon which looketh toward Damascus.  
 Thine head upon thee is like Carmel,  
 And the hair of thine head like purple;  
 The king is held in the galleries [captivated by thy locks].  
 How fair and how pleasant art thou, O love for delights!  
 This thy stature is like to a palm-tree,  
 And thy breasts to clusters of grapes.  
 I said, I will go up to the palm-tree;  
 I will take hold of the boughs thereof,  
 Now also thy breasts shall be as clusters of the vine,  
 And the smell of thy nose like apples,  
 And the roof of thy mouth like the best wine that goeth down sweetly,  
 Causing the lips of those that are asleep to speak." Ch. vii. 1—9.

On the other hand, the following language in the mouth of the church or believers, addressed to Christ, is equally unbecoming and irreverent.

"I raised thee up under the apple-tree:  
 There thy mother brought thee forth;  
 There she brought thee forth that bare thee." Ch. viii. 5.

When we consider that the verb translated "I raised thee up" should be "I attracted thee to love," or, "I enticed thee," the phraseology in question approaches much nearer the profane.

We hold that all such language is unsuitable, coming from Christ to believers, or from believers to Christ. It is unsuitable from Christ to believers, because it contains highly-wrought and extravagant encomiums upon them. Redeemed sinners can scarcely be the subject of such admiring and laudatory strains proceeding from the Lord. It is unsuitable from believers to Christ, because it is inconsistent with the humility and penitence they are commanded to cherish towards him. Such expressions as, "I am sick of love;" "I am a wall and my breasts like towers;" "when I should find thee without, I would kiss thee . . . . . I would lead thee and bring thee into my mother's house, who would instruct me: I would cause thee to drink of spiced wine of the juice of my pomegranate," &c. &c., appear to us very inappropriate to right-minded believers in communion with the Redeemer.

7. While we are aware of anthropopathy in the Scriptures, the affections or emotions of the human soul being ascribed in direct

terms without any qualification whatever to the Supreme Being, not even excepting those in which human frailty and imperfection most appear, we perceive in this poem a departure from the ordinary method of Scripture. The imagery of love is drawn out into minute details of personal parts and properties repugnant to a western mind; which could not have been otherwise than repugnant to a devout Jewish mind; and which are unlike the inspired descriptions elsewhere given. The prolixity and particularity of the book are beyond any thing found in the Old Testament, especially in relation to the person of the Lord. Had the poem, long as it is, dealt more in generals—had the figures been confined to outline and sketching—they would have presented a better claim to an allegorical interpretation, because more in harmony with images relating to the Deity elsewhere; but taste and propriety, as well as Scripture analogy, are violated by the tedious minuteness with which *the one sentiment* is treated, viz. that God loves his church and is loved of it.

8. The tendency of the sensual imagery appears to us quite the reverse of that which has been ascribed to it, “admirably fitted to excite pious and devout affections in holy souls—to draw out their desires to God—to increase their delight in him, and improve their acquaintance and communion with him.”<sup>1</sup> In opposition to this, we should be inclined to think, that the imagery of the poem would have a different effect on the oriental mind. The glowing imagination and exuberant emotions of the orientals would be liable to injury in their devotions, by using a help of this nature. This seems to have been felt by the Jews when they forbade its perusal to persons under thirty years of age. The Jewish religion was sufficiently sensuous in its character, without needing a stimulus of this kind to inflame it. Even with our cold western temperament, and all the spirituality of the new dispensation, it is difficult for Christians generally, even the most advanced, to peruse it with profit. Indeed we have reason to believe that it is commonly neglected. It is not discoursed upon from the pulpit. It is not read in the family for devotional purposes. It is passed over in private reading, except by such as have a curiosity about it. There is a general shyness with regard to its perusal. Professor Stuart says, that it is “the safer and better course to place the Canticles, as the Jews did, among the *גנוזים*, or books withdrawn from ordinary use, and betake ourselves rather to the Psalms, and the Proverbs, and the Prophets, and the New Testament.”<sup>2</sup> But why do this, if it expresses, as he says it does, “the warm and earnest desire of the soul after God?” The conduct of the Jews with regard to it shows that they apprehended some danger to the mind; and is inconsistent with its alleged devotional tendency. Why should a book have been given of God to the people of Israel for their spiritual good, if it could not be commonly read without such a restriction? It might as well not have been given, as far as very many were concerned, because they died before arriving at the age of thirty. But Stuart will have it to be a book “for Oriental Christians

<sup>1</sup> Rev. John Brown of Haddington, in his *Self-interpreting Bible*.

<sup>2</sup> On the Canon of the Old Testament, p. 355.

brought up very differently from us.”<sup>1</sup> He would exempt most occidental Christians from reading it for edification. This is going directly against *the practice* of the Jews, for whose spiritual advancement it is declared to have been written. We have no hesitation in saying, that western Christians, with their cooler temperament, are far less liable to abuse it. If any can extract wholesome and spiritual food from it, *they* ought surely to do so. Yet what is the case? They commonly avoid it. It is far more liable to do harm to a Jewish or oriental mind than an occidental one; and therefore we infer that it was not meant to have a mystical meaning.

No weight belongs to the religious love-songs of the Mohammedan dervishes as analogous examples to the Canticles; because the first specimen quoted by Lane directly introduces the Supreme Being, a circumstance which at once marks it as religious in its character, under the garb of love. The second specimen is only given in part; and no decisive conclusion can be drawn from a mere extract. On the supposition that the Supreme Being is not introduced into any part of it, the fact of its being sung as a devotional hymn by the Mohammedans does not prove that it was intended by the writer for such. Their *application* cannot be taken as an evidence of *the original scope*.

In relation to the Hindoo poem, the Gitagovinda, its religious character is intimated at the close; so that it is unlike the Canticles. Besides, Chrisna is the chief incarnated deity of the Hindoos; whereas only human characters are introduced into the Canticle. There are also allusions in the poem to other gods. It is difficult to judge of the pantheistic poems of the Sufis, and especially of Hafiz. Some think that these mystic poets themselves attached nothing more than a literal sense to their songs; although the commentators upon them have found another besides. Sir William Jones inclines to the opinion of those who believe that the poets in question, whenever they appear to convey a secret sense, employ that expedient simply as a pretext for deceiving their credulous and superstitious countrymen; and indulge in pleasure with the greater licence.<sup>2</sup> Umbreit is of the same opinion.<sup>3</sup> And this is favoured by the fact, that the poetry of Hafiz had no mystic sense in the eyes of the Persian doctors themselves, since Sadius, the most erudite of all the interpreters, explained it literally; and the chief men of Shiraz were reluctant to allow sepulture to the poet because of the impurity of his poems. Thus it is more probable that Mohammedans and other commentators attributed an allegorical sense to what the Persian poets themselves wrote literally. “But after all, the great objection remains to any conclusion drawn from the pantheistic mystic poets, whether of Persia or India, whether Mohammedans or Hindoos, namely, that their productions are founded on a religion and philosophy entirely different from the Jewish. The Canticles are productions of a different country, and separated from any of the songs of the Sufi poets by an interval of nearly two thousand years. The

<sup>1</sup> On the Canon of the Old Testament, p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Umbreit's Lied der Liede, p. 5.

Jewish religion has nothing in common with the pantheistic mysticism on which those songs are founded. There is nothing in the Old Testament of a similar character. If any production similar to those mystical love-songs had existed in the religious literature of the Hebrews, undoubtedly we should have found some of them in the book of Psalms, which comprises compositions from the age preceding that of David to a period long after the return of the Jews from the captivity at Babylon. But in the most fervent Psalms, the forty-second for instance, nothing of the kind is found. Neither is any thing similar to these mystic songs ascribed to the Jewish sects, as described by Josephus and Philo. Nothing of the kind is laid to the charge of the Essenes. It is needless to say that nothing approaching to a like character is found in the New Testament. Nothing similar is discovered even in the allegorical paraphrase of the Targumist on the Canticles. All those religious love-songs are founded on the Sufi religion, or rather religious philosophy, which, whether it was borrowed from India, as Von Hammer supposes, or arose independently among the Mahometans, according to the opinion of Tholuek, has no connection with or resemblance to the Jewish. It is as different from the latter as darkness from light. The argument, therefore, which is drawn from the mystical songs of the Mahometan devotees for ascribing a mystical character to the Canticles is without foundation.”<sup>1</sup>

Most of the arguments derived from the internal character of the poem against the supposition of its being a song of human love, rest upon misapprehension of the meaning; or transfer occidental ideas and manners to oriental persons and times. He who does not keep in view the immense difference between the oriental and occidental mind — the luxuriant imagination and glowing ardour of the one expressing itself in hyperbolic diction, compared with the subdued character and coolness of the other, restrained by culture as well as innate tendency from sensuous luxuriance — must fall into error in judging of the poem. It is an eastern production; and must be judged by the eastern standard of morals and taste. We are far from denying that it has excited the devotion of some very pure minds, as those of President Edwards, Rutherford, and M'Cheyne; or that it may not be spiritualised, so as to yield instruction and minister to piety. But the question still recurs, was this its original design; or is it derived from the mind itself of the reader, nourished as that mind has been, by other Scriptures of plainer import? Has the mystical interpretation been fairly *taken from* the poem; or has it been *put into* it by the imagination of the expositor? We cannot but think that the latter is the case; for the spiritual explanations given are of the most far-fetched character; not fairly suggested by the words, but superinduced on them by the ingenuity of commentators. The truth of this statement will appear from the following comment upon viii. 5. “I raised thee up under the apple-tree: there thy mother brought thee

<sup>1</sup> Noyes's New Translation of the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles, pp. 131, 132.

forth; there she brought thee forth that bare thee." The church is here supposed to address herself to Christ. "I raised thee up under the apple-tree, I have many a time wrestled with thee by prayer, and have prevailed. When I was alone in the acts of devotion, retired in the orchard, under the apple-tree, as Nathanael under the fig-tree, meditating and praying, then I raised thee up, to help me and comfort me, as the disciples raised him up in the storm, saying, Master, carest thou not that we perish? and the church (Psalm xlv. 23.) Awake, why sleepest thou? . . . There thy mother brought thee forth, the universal church or believing souls, in whom Christ was formed (Gal. iv. 19.) They were in pain for the comfort of an interest in thee, and travailed in pain with great sorrow; so the word here signifies; but they brought thee forth, the pangs did not continue always, they that had travailed in convictions, at last, brought forth in consolations, and the pain was forgotten, for joy of the Saviour's birth." Such is the mystical interpretation of the sober Matthew Henry. The same is given by Brown of Haddington. But Thomas Scott considers it as the language of Christ, not of the church, departing in that case from the Masoretic punctuation.

The form of Canticles has been very variously represented. Some regard it as one continued connected poem; while others look upon it as consisting of detached and separate pieces having little or no connection. Sir William Jones and Dr. Good looked upon it as an *idyl*, or rather a number of *idyls*, all forming one whole. Bossuet regarded it as a drama or pastoral eclogue, consisting of seven acts, each act filling a day, concluding with the Sabbath. Others, as Lowth, suppose it to be an epithalamium, or nuptial dialogue. Its form approaches nearer to the dramatic than to any other species of poetry. There are dialogue, scenes, localities in it. But it is not a regular drama. A definite number of acts, five for example, as Ewald supposes, cannot be made out. Neither can scenes be clearly counted. There is no chorus, no plot. Sometimes the description approaches the nature of idyl, as in v. 12—14.; sometimes it is essentially lyric, as in ii. 8—17. There is an unity in the whole, though not so close as some have supposed. This unity and integrity can be seen, notwithstanding the arbitrary attempt of Magnus to split up the poem into fragments, supplements, and multiform glosses. The internal unity is shown by the inscription *song of songs*, referring to what follows, by the similarity of contents and object, the uniform designation of persons, Solomon, the daughters of Jerusalem, &c. The beloved one is denoted by *גוּרִי* or *נַפְשִׁי*, שְׂאֵהְבָהּ נַפְשִׁי, he whom my soul loveth: the loved maiden is also described by the same phrases. In addition to these particulars, a number of characteristic expressions, images, and turns present themselves in all parts; while whole sentences recur. Hence we have no hesitation in maintaining the integrity as well as unity of the composition.

The object of the poem appears to be to depict true, chaste love in humble life. The sections or scenes are the following. After the inscription in the first verse, i. 2—8. represents a maiden newly taken from the country into the royal harem. i. 9—ii. 7. Solomon ap-

pears in the harem soliciting the Shulamite or innocent country maiden in vain. ii. 8—iii. 5. the Shulamite speaks alone. iii. 6—v. 1. depicts the espousals of Solomon, not to Pharaoh's daughter, but to one of the daughters of Jerusalem. In v. 2—vi. 3. the Shulamite speaks to the women of the palace, of her beloved. In vi. 4—vii. 1. Solomon speaks to the Shulamite, gives up the attempt to entice her; afterwards she speaks with her beloved. vii. 2—12. refers to Solomon and concubines. In vii. 12—viii. 4. the Shulamite hastens to return home with her friend; and in viii. 5—14. she arrives at her home. Various difficulties occur with respect to the speakers in the sections; which cannot now be resolved. Thus in the 2d, 3d, and 4th verses of the first chapter, unless the words of the Shulamite and the women in Solomon's harem be distinguished, the meaning will be misapprehended.<sup>1</sup>

Viewing the subject of the poem in the light now presented, it is fraught with moral instruction. It warns against impure love, encouraging chastity, fidelity, and virtue by depicting the successful issue of sincere affection amid powerful temptations. The innocent and virtuous maiden, true to her shepherd lover, resists the flatteries of a monarch, and is allowed to return to her home. At the same time, glances are afforded us of the voluptuous pleasures of the harem; while wedded love is seen in its most attractive form. Mason Good, though believing the poem to be an allegory, thinks that even as affording a happy example of virtuous love between husband and wife, the work is entitled to the honour of constituting a part of the Sacred Scriptures.<sup>2</sup> Surely if this be correct, it is equally entitled to the same honour, when viewed as describing the victory of true antenuptial love. Still we are inclined to believe that the persons who put it in the canon regarded it as allegorical. They understood it in a mystical sense; though that was not intended by the writer.

The author of the poem is said in the title to be Solomon; and therefore this has ever been the traditional opinion. In confirmation of it the circle of images recurring, and references to material things have been adduced. The language has also been appealed to as having various analogies with that of the Proverbs. But on the other hand, the title is no proof of authorship; since we have seen that in the case of the Psalms, the titles were prefixed by ancient editors, and are sometimes incorrect. In the present instance, there is internal evidence that the title did not proceed from Solomon; who would scarcely have pronounced his composition to excel all others of the kind, praising it as *the most excellent* or *surpassing* song. And there are indications in the poem that Solomon did not write it. The subject of it is not one which he would have undertaken; for it is a severe censure on himself. He could scarcely have been brought to expose his shame in this public manner, except by the most powerful agency of the divine Spirit. Here is the triumph of innocent virtue tempted to sin by the king himself. It is therefore, as Hitzig says, a psychological impossibility that he would have written the composi-

<sup>1</sup> See Hitzig's *Das Hohe Lied* erklärt.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Good's *Song of Songs*, Preface.

tion. The circumstance that he is introduced as speaking does not prove him to be the writer; since others are likewise introduced by the poet. Besides, David is mentioned in such a manner as if he were not the author's father (iv. 4.); and the words of viii. 11. show that the writer was not contemporary with Solomon. As to the figures which appear, the number of the names of animals, as well as of the productions of nature, plants, marble, sapphire, &c. &c., they show no more than that the writer lived in the flourishing time of the Jewish state, near that of Solomon. The analogies of language between Proverbs and Canticles<sup>1</sup>, are resolvable in some cases into imitation, the former being the original source; in others, they are merely accidental, such as might happen under any circumstances.

At what time *after* Solomon the poem was written cannot be exactly determined; for none will venture to affirm now, with Dr. Pyle Smith, that it was written by some one during the reign of that monarch, though not by himself. The fact that *sixty* and *eighty* wives and concubines are mentioned in vi. 8. is no indication of its being written after Solomon had begun to multiply wives, but before he had proceeded to the length mentioned in the history (1 Kings xi. 3.).<sup>2</sup> Poetical and round numbers are used indefinitely. We believe that the composition belongs to the time immediately succeeding Solomon's. The descriptions of himself, and of what was in his day, are fresh and life-like; as though they proceeded from eye-witnesses, or from such as conversed with eye-witnesses. The tower of David is mentioned, as though it still had a garrison; Tirza flourishes, being spoken of even before Jerusalem; and the tower of Lebanon, which looked towards Damascus, is a prominent object in the landscape. The language too is such as belongs to the Solomonic period; the Aramaisms by which some have brought it down till after the captivity being resolvable into the highly poetic character of the work; or being capable of parallelism in old pieces like the song of Deborah. There is nothing in them to show that they belong to the later and degenerate time of the language; especially if they belong to northern Palestine, as Ewald and Hitzig think.

The uniform insertion of the *yod* in all copies, in spelling the name of David, which induced Kennicott<sup>3</sup> to bring down the date far later than Solomon, is of no consequence, because it occurs but once (iv. 4.), and is also found in Amos and Hosea (Amos vi. 5., ix. 11.; Hosea iii. 5.).

The true explanation of all the peculiarities of diction, which have been adduced in favour of a late composition, is the northern birth-place of the poem. The author probably belonged to the kingdom of Israel. Of Judah he could scarcely have been a member, not only on account of the subject, but also the absence of the name of Jehovah and similar phenomena; which one in the neighbourhood of the splendid temple with its numerous priests and imposing ritual,

<sup>1</sup> See a list of these in Keil's *Einleitung*, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> See Smith in the *Congregational Magazine* for 1837, pp. 416, 417.

<sup>3</sup> First Dissertation on the State of the Printed Text, pp. 21, 22.

would scarcely have exhibited. The mention of Tirza before Jerusalem favours the same conclusion. Everything points to a time soon after Solomon, and to an inhabitant of northern Palestine. Accordingly, Hitzig cannot be far from the truth, when he dates the work twenty-five to thirty years after the death of Solomon, 950—946 B. C.<sup>1</sup>

Various questions have been agitated respecting this book, which appear to us *unnecessary*. They have been at least *improperly discussed*. Thus *the divine authority* of the book has been called in question by some, and defended by others. In *the divine authority* is implied the inspiration of the work, or rather of its writer. Supposing the propriety of introducing such matters in connection with the Song of Solomon, which we can scarcely do, the mode in which they have been treated appears to us irrelevant and unsuitable. Thus, in favour of the divine authority evidence is adduced to show that it is the authentic production of Solomon—evidence external and internal. But this has nothing to do with the point in question. The divine authority, as it is called, is unaffected by the fact of Solomon or another being the writer. Whether the royal son of David composed it, or an unknown author, is of no consequence; provided it formed one of the canonical books of the Old Testament, and was always there from the completion of the canon. Doubtless it was so. It was not added after the canon was closed, either surreptitiously or openly; on the contrary, it was received with the rest of the Hagiographa and always acknowledged as one of that collection. There is not the shadow of evidence in favour of its having been intruded into the collection of Old Testament writings, at any time subsequent to that in which the canon was completed, either in the period antecedent to the coming of Christ, or at any time after. It was taken by the ancient Jews, and inserted like any other of the Hagiographa; and there it has retained its place ever since, having come down to us through the hands of the Jews, who watched over their holy books; as well as of the ancient Christians, who preserved both the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures uncorrupted.

From these remarks it will be seen, that we attach no weight to the attempts which have been made to shake the credit of the canonical position occupied by the Song of Solomon.

Another question which has been mixed up in part with the last, respects the inspiration of the book, *i. e.* of the person who wrote it. Very improperly, as we conceive, has this been associated with, or made to depend upon, the view taken of the nature of the poem. If any think it to be a poem whose subject is chaste human love, they ought not on that account to deny that it proceeded from an inspired man. Neither should the advocates of its allegorical character conceive that they alone take the view of it which is consistent with divine inspiration. Such as consider it an inspired book need not *necessarily* regard it as a sacred allegory; such as look upon it as an amatory effusion, need not *necessarily* affirm it to be uninspired. Misconception and

confusion have arisen from insisting upon one or other of these two positions. With such sentiments, it appears to us irrelevant to adduce as an argument for the divine authority of the poem, that "when spiritually interpreted it contains nothing but what is in perfect agreement with the other books of Scripture."<sup>1</sup> As little weight should be attached to the argument against the divine authority "that there is no sufficient ground for an allegorical interpretation of the book."<sup>2</sup>

Those critics who have investigated the nature and contents of the book in the light of *canonical authority* and *inspiration* appear to us to entertain very inadequate notions of what such important words imply. They attach incorrect ideas to them, at least in part; and have therefore misapprehended the entire question. It would have been far better to examine the book apart from them. Canonical authority and inspiration are topics which should be discussed by themselves, on a wider basis than that supplied by the Song of Solomon. Of one thing we feel convinced, that some better evidence than any which has yet been adduced, of the position, that "the Song of Solomon is not a part of the Holy Scriptures written by inspiration," must be presented, before we allow the book to be condemned.

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## CHAP. XVII.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROPHETS.

THE theology of the Old Testament is divided by Oehler<sup>3</sup> into three parts, viz., Mosaism, Prophetism, and Hebraism; and we have now to illustrate the second.

The most usual appellation of a prophet was נְבִיא, *i. e.* one inspired of God for a definite purpose, and speaking out of such inspiration. Another name is רֹאֶה, *seer*. The latter was the older name, as we learn from 1 Sam. ix. 9. It is probable that the title נְבִיא was first used in the schools of the prophets, having been introduced there by Samuel himself for the sake of distinction, since the seers in Israel till Samuel were mostly common soothsayers who assumed to themselves an insight into futurity. Still the old name was afterwards retained, especially in solemn diction. A third appellation is הַנֵּה, which is synonymous with the preceding one, all the difference being that it is more poetical. In point of meaning it is used interchangeably with רֹאֶה; and both with נְבִיא in 1 Chron. xxix. 29. So far as the vision of the prophets was directed to the people's safety they are often called *watchmen*, שֹׁמְרֵי צִבִּיּוֹת. They are also called *messengers of Jehovah* (מַלְאָכֵי יְהוָה), and *men of God* (אֲנָשֵׁי אֱלֹהִים).

It has been asserted by some, as by Ewald<sup>4</sup> and Hävernicks<sup>5</sup>, that the word נְבִיא has the meaning of *speaker*, *Sprecher*. Accordingly it is active

<sup>1</sup> Congregational Magazine for 1838, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Prolegomena zur Theologie des alten Testaments, p. 87. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Die Propheten des Alten Bundes, vol. i. p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 6.

in signification. But Koester<sup>1</sup> and others more correctly argue, that the form is passive, from the Arabic root سَمِعَ; equivalent to נָסַח; and that the analogy of similar words, as well as usage, favour a passive signification, *one divinely inspired*, to which the idea is superadded, *who speaks forth from such inspiration*. The name refers to the divine inspiration; while רָאָה and הִזָּה refer to the form in which it was communicated. *Watchman* relates to one of the practical ends for which the prophets received their gift.

As prophecy is but one of the many forms in which the divine Spirit reveals himself among men, it is apparent that the prophets were the interpreters of Jehovah's will to the covenant-people. They spoke in the name of God by whom they were sent. Their gift was not the result of their own powers or reflectiveness; nor had it any connection with evil spirits; it was the operation of God on their minds. Theirs was a clearer insight into the counsels of heaven, a higher view of things, than any common man could obtain in an ordinary way. Past and present lay before their view. They had also glimpses of the future. Animated and moved by the Spirit of God, they had a perception which was denied to others—occupying as they did a higher platform of spiritual vision. And what they saw by virtue of their inspiration, they uttered with a living power and elevation fitted to arrest the attention of others.

It is apparent that in order to be a prophet a man must be pious. None but the converted could be fitting instruments of the Deity. Hence we read in the second Epistle of Peter (i. 21.) *holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*. Sometimes the Deity may employ bad men as organs for the utterance of his will, such as Balaam; but they are exceptional cases.

Generally speaking, every one was a prophet to whom God revealed his mind. In this wide sense there were prophets from the commencement of man's history. With Adam and his wife the Deity is represented as living in confidential and near intercourse, till they fell. They were therefore at least *the recipients* of prophecy; and in an extended sense Adam may be called a *prophet*. Lamech's poem is the first recorded prophecy uttered by men. (Gen. iv. 24.) Noah was also a prophet, not merely because Jehovah communicated his will to him, but because he himself prophesied. (Gen. ix. 25.) Still more conspicuous was Abraham, who is called *the friend of God*, and is the first person who is expressly styled a *nabi* or prophet. Isaac too, to whom God appeared once when he was awake, and once in the night, uttered a prophecy respecting his sons immediately before death. So also did Jacob, whose remarkable blessings, pronounced just before his decease, were literal prophecies. Joseph, in like manner, had notable dreams communicating supernaturally facts. Moses was a *prophet*. It is true indeed that he is never expressly styled *prophet* in the Pentateuch; but the words in Deuteronomy xxxiv. 10, "and there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses,

whom the Lord knew face to face," warrant the opinion that he was an illustrious and peculiarly privileged one. Accordingly he wrought many signs and wonders before a whole nation. Hosea calls him *the prophet*, without naming him. (xii. 13.) Miriam insinuates that she had the gift of prophecy. (Num. xii. 2.) So also does Aaron in the same place. The seventy elders were prophets. (Num. xi. 16, 17, 24—30.) Balaam uttered peculiar prophecies. In the history of prophecy thus far we see a gradual development. As our first parents lived in near relationship to the Deity in the garden, there was no need of prophets. But when mankind multiplied, and departed from the true God, rendering themselves unworthy instruments to whom and through whom he should communicate his counsels, it was necessary that certain pious men should give utterance to the divine revelations they received, lest the knowledge of God should be lost among the people. Such men were virtually *prophets*, though they had no specific commission as such. The most conspicuous of the patriarchs, who together are called *prophets* in Psal. cv. (15th verse), is Abraham, with whom God deigned to hold frequent intercourse, and to whom the object of all prophecy was revealed. Moses is more illustrious still; because he was the mediator between God and man in receiving the law, by which the people became the covenant-people of the Most High. He is the greatest of prophets, standing in some respects above them all. By him it was promised that God should send prophets to the people; and a special law secured for them authority and safety. (Deut. xviii. 15—22.) But the succession of the particular prophets to whom Moses referred, those in whom the prophetic gift was attached to the prophetic office, did not begin immediately after him. For a length of time his greatness overshadowed the future; so that very few ambassadors of God appeared in the nation till the time of Saul. In a few instances men of God called attention to the law; and Joshua, Gideon, and Jephthah, were favoured with some revelations; but they are feeble images of the prophet. During the times of Joshua and the Judges, only some were susceptible of the divine spirit; for the nation was in a state of disorder.<sup>1</sup> Deborah is called a prophetess. An anonymous prophet is spoken of in Judges vi. 8—10.; and another declares the divine judgment coming on Eli. (1 Sam. ii. 27—36.) It is not so clear as Hengstenberg imagines<sup>2</sup>, that in the age of the Judges prophecy exerted a powerful influence. The instances in which it existed were scattered and comparatively rare. Though prophets then operated influentially, they were scarcely sufficient to penetrate or affect extensively the mass of the people. But in the period reaching from Samuel to Malachi, we first find prophets in the full signification of the term—men who exercised the gift as their peculiar calling. Here also we meet with a special institute, the so-called *schools of the prophets*, where the gift was cultivated by preparation and study. The inspired ambassadors of God now appeared in greater numbers, and with more definite functions. The causes of

<sup>1</sup> See Koester, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> See the article Prophecy in Kitto's Cyclopædia.

this difference may be various. The spirit of the people generally may have been more susceptible of such inspiration, when they had emerged out of their rude, unsettled state, and become conscious of their unity as a covenant-people. But *the relations of the times* were the chief cause. Kings had been newly appointed. This was an innovation on the old republican theocracy. Despotic as these monarchs were by disposition, they could ill brook the restraints of the law, or adapt their measures to its requirements. Hence prophets were needful to supplement their deficiencies, to check their despotism, and keep before their view a monotheistic religion which they were slow to follow. This order of men interfered with all the more important affairs of the state; threatened the rulers with judgments when they acted unfaithfully towards the covenant-God, blamed them when they did wrong, and pointed to a distant and prosperous future when the time swere specially dark. They were both *religious teachers* and *active politicians*. Interfering as they did with public measures in the nation, always with proper motives and for the true welfare of the people, they were *sound politicians*. And as the nation's outward prosperity was intimately connected with the observance of God's worship, they could not but mix up religion with their politics. Indeed the two things were inseparable.<sup>1</sup>

Prophecy has a close relation to the law. The latter, with its commands and prohibitions, requires absolute and unlimited subjection of the whole man to the revealed will of God, in all spheres and relations of life; so that he may be brought to feel his need of redemption, from a consciousness of inability to render perfect obedience to the divine commands. In this way the legal institute of the Old Testament was the schoolmaster, or rather the *παιδαγωγός*, *the slave who conducts a child to the house of the schoolmaster*, to lead to Christ. But in order to do this service effectually, prophecy was superadded, not merely as a promise of divine grace and future redemption, but an incipient realisation of the predicted communion of God with his people. The law could not renew the heart, nor excite love to God in the soul; prophecy prepared the way for this consummation. In itself too it presented a union of the divine and human—an actual communion with the Deity, which, while it pointed to the consummation of the divine kingdom in the hearts of men, already presented a true pledge of its future realisation. The prophets always take their stand upon the law. They do not place themselves above it, as though it ceased to be to themselves a rule demanding obedience. They neither add to nor take from it. They explain its requirements and enforce its authority. They bring out its spirit by opening up a higher apprehension of its import. Unfolding its genuine acceptation, they anticipate to a certain text the proper and full significance, viz. that obedience to the will of God is the true sacrifice well pleasing in His sight; and so prepare for the time when the whole covenant-people should be penetrated with the divine spirit as willing instruments of the Most High. In thus interpreting the law, they manifest its spirit, and therefore announce the

<sup>1</sup> See Koester, p. 44.

scheme of salvation, and future development of the divine kingdom. The main business of the prophets therefore was to interpret and enforce the law of God. And that a people like the Jews needed to be continually called to a sense of its claims, the history sufficiently shows. As far as relates to the moral law the prophets might well enforce its authority, because it is immutable. And as to the ceremonial law, they could sometimes ascend above its forms to its spirit—to the times when a new covenant should be made with the house of Israel and the house of Judah—external sacrifices giving way to the true sacrifice of the heart and life which God requires. But though they had occasional glimpses of the future, when the Mosaic sacrifices should cease, they never thought of altering them, or of tolerating their non-observance. Those sacrifices were a necessary discipline, preparing the people for that which they foreshadowed. But the prophets were sometimes enabled to get beyond the form to the underlying substance, and so to denounce undue reliance on ritual observances as outwardly efficacious, glancing forward to the period when the *moral* law should be inscribed on the heart as a subjective rule of conduct, the *ceremonial* being done away by virtue of one great offering in which Messiah should show the moral power of self-sacrifice to God. In every case, the prophets adhered to the law generally, because they insisted upon its spirit, and tried to preserve *that* in living activity within the covenant-people.

The Mosaic theocracy is built upon two fundamental principles, which are both *religious* and *political*. Accordingly the entire ministry of the prophets consisted in nothing else than an application and development of these maxims in relation to the wants of the period. The first was, that Jehovah had chosen Israel for his peculiar people, implying that He had been chosen as their king. The second was, that this divine King rewards and punishes according to the obedience or disobedience of his subjects; prosperity and adversity following the one and the other respectively. In the application of these maxims to *politics*, the prophets constantly inculcated faithfulness to God and his law as the only safety of their country. Such was their simple announcement—the burden of all their declarations to the rulers and princes of the nation. There is also a political principle in the prohibition of an attachment to foreign things, or alliance with foreign nations. Their *moral* and *religious* maxims naturally stand in close connection with the political ones. Here they deal with the law of Moses, to which they were bound, according to Deut. xviii. 18., and of which they were alike the interpreters and guardians. And as a germ of development lies in the Mosaic monotheism, which must exhibit its energy as soon as the nation was penetrated with a higher spiritual life, the prophets were the means of unfolding it. They already began to go beyond the letter and seize upon the *spirit* of the law. All defended monotheism as the fundamental law of the theocracy. They also corrected the current errors of a common anthropomorphism: thus when *the repentance* of God was mentioned, it was added, “he is not a man that he should repent.” His wrath is not a human passion. (Hos. xi. 9.; Micah ii. 7.) The prophets also

began to develop the germ of a belief in immortality, as is shown by Isa. xxvi. 19.; Ezek. xxxvii. 3.; Dan. xii. 2. They also ennobled the doctrine of a virtuous life by referring the common retribution-theory to higher motives. (Isa. viii. 20.) Their ethics were most favourably manifested in the inculcation of the sentiment, *obedience is better than sacrifice*. (Hos. vi. 6.) So Joel addresses the people, "Rend your heart, and not your garments." (ii. 13.) Of the same import is Micah vi. 6—8. This leads us to see the value they attached to the ceremonial law. They did not set aside sacrifices as such, but rather the abuse of their observance, consisting in a performance of them as a mere external thing. Some passages which seem to imply censure of the law, such as Isa. i. 13, 14.; Amos v. 25.; Isa. xliii. 22—24.; Jer. vii. 22.; Ezek. xx. 25., do not bear this sense when properly understood. The last prophets certainly speak of the removal of the visible theocracy belonging to one people. Jeremiah does so in xxxi. 31. Hence they had a premonition of the fact that Judaism was merely a temporary institute.<sup>1</sup>

As true patriots the prophets not only *censured* and *threatened*, but *comforted* the people. They pointed to a future time of prosperity and peace. The most powerful means which they employed for this end were Messianic prophecies. Present distress awakened a longing for something better; and that longing was linked to a certain person who was to bring deliverance and redemption to the people of God. The expectation of Messiah was feeble and faint at the commencement of the human history. Nor did it appear with any prominence till the period of the prophets, when it was first clearly announced and gradually increased in definiteness as the time rolled on. These Messianic prophecies are general and ideal. The outlines are broad and seldom specific. All the prophets place the manifestation of Messiah in the last period of the world's history; the oldest making the political aspect of the ideal more prominent; the younger, the moral and religious aspect. The former represent him as the author of Israel's external splendour; the latter regard him as a prophet bringing the knowledge of God to all the heathen. The book of Daniel describes his person more minutely than any other prophetic work.

We must now speak of the mode in which these inspired messengers received their prophetic material, internally and externally; and afterwards of the way in which they uttered it, orally or in writing. The susceptibility of prophecy was essentially an internal thing. It was an inspiration or spiritual condition of the mind. Yet it was attached to something external, being connected with preparatory circumstances and a peculiar manner of life.

1. The prophetic gift was not an enduring or perpetual possession. Prophecy, considered as a state of mind, was not constant. It was temporary and transient, consisting in *single inspirations*, so to speak, not a *long-continued one*. Thus the seventy-two elders who assisted Moses prophesied but once. The same was the case with Saul among the prophets. Even Moses, the exemplar of all the prophets,

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Koester, p. 230. *et seqq.*

had often to wait for a divine communication before he knew what to do. Thus prophecy was not at the disposal of those favoured with it, whenever they pleased.

The prophets possessed the capacity to receive the divine Spirit by a clear intellect and moral earnestness, or "wisdom and fortitude," as they are called in the Talmud<sup>1</sup>; but these qualifications themselves are ascribed to the Spirit's power. Hence we must conceive of them as qualified by a certain state of mind, and then as receiving the gift of prophecy. Prayer and pious meditation were means by which they prepared themselves for obtaining inspiration.

Among the external preparations to which prophecy was more or less attached may be mentioned association with bodies of prophets, where music and poetry were employed as a means of exciting the higher emotions of the soul. The object for which these confederations existed was to assist the contemplation of divine things, and to promote theocratic politics. The law was the subject of study. From such schools issued hundreds of men who gave a mighty impulse to the cause of righteousness in the nation. All lived together in a kind of league or bond of brotherhood. The pupils who were trained by the senior members were called *sons of the prophets*; and the latter, regarded as *spiritual parents*, were styled *fathers*. (2 Kings ii. 12. 15, vi. 21.) These schools, however, did not possess an exclusive privilege to prophecy. Every true prophet did not belong to an association. Various prophets were apparently independent of such schools. And though all the members had the common appellation *nebiim*, many were not *prophets*. Perhaps the majority were simply teachers of the people; or had nothing more in view than their own edification and growth in piety. All the sons of the prophets did not become prophets; and all the prophets were not brought up in schools; as the example of Amos shows.

The divine call to the prophetic office was an indispensable thing; and therefore the true prophets were accustomed to rely upon it, in order to strengthen their authority. (Amos vii.) Accordingly they describe it at length, as Isaiah does in the sixth chapter of his book. And though the call may have been an internal thing scenically represented by a vision, believers and the prophets themselves looked upon it as directly divine.

Whether the prophets were inaugurated into their office by unction is doubtful. The only particulars which favour anointing are, that *Jehovah's anointed* in Psal. cv. 15. is parallel with *prophets*; and in 1 Kings xix. 16. Elijah is divinely commanded to anoint his successor Elisha. The latter is the only historical example of prophetic unction; and appears to be exceptional. All the prophets, however, were looked upon as *spiritually* anointed, because they were inspired. Nor does the imposition of hands appear to have been practised at the entrance of prophets upon their office. We read indeed of Joshua being set apart in that manner and receiving the divine Spirit; but not of the official prophets. Music is mentioned twice among the inspiration-media of the prophets. When

<sup>1</sup> Massec. Sanhedrin, as quoted by R. Albo.

Elisha was asked his advice on a certain occasion, he caused a minstrel to be brought, and as the latter played, the hand of the Lord came upon Elisha. But as he belonged to the prophetic association, and as we read in 1 Sam. x. that those belonging to the prophetic schools had psaltery, harp, tabret, and pipe before them as they went in procession, this usage may have been peculiar to the prophets' schools, since it is not mentioned elsewhere. The employment of music must have been intended to attune the mind to calmness, allaying evil passions, if such existed; and to raise it by the soft harmony of numbers to the contemplation of the divine. As has been well said<sup>1</sup>, music brings a tone out of the higher worlds into the spirit of the hearer.

The susceptibility of prophecy did not belong exclusively to any one sex, age, or condition. Various *prophetesses* are mentioned in the Old Testament — Miriam, Deborah, Hannah mother of Samuel (1 Sam. ii.), Huldah (2 Kings xxii. 14.), Noadiah (Neh. vi. 14.). Jeremiah was called to the office when he was an inexperienced youth. Some were prophets who occupied a distinguished rank in society, Moses, David, Isaiah, Daniel; but Elisha was a ploughman, and Amos a herdsman who gathered sycamores. Yet the majority lived a poor and toilsome life. Sometimes this was matter of choice, as in the prophetic schools where asceticism was practised for the purpose of hardening the disciple against rough usage and persecution in the future; and where meditation on divine things was favoured by withdrawal from earthly cares. Offerings and presents were brought to these schools by benevolent individuals (1 Kings xiv. 3.; 2 Kings iv. 1. 38. 42.); but occasionally the inmates suffered hunger, and went out into the fields to gather herbs. Hengstenberg affirms that the offerings which by the Mosaic law were to be given to the Levites, were brought by the pious of the kingdom of Israel to the schools of the prophets, and appeals to 2 Kings iv. 42.; but this does not support the assertion. In solitary and wild places they built their own dwellings and cut down the timber required. (2 Kings vi. 1. &c.) Their apparel was simple and coarse. They wore nothing but the plain tunic or under garment, in which state they are called *naked*. (1 Sam. xix. 24.) Their principals had a mantle as a distinction of office. Thus Samuel is represented as covered with a mantle; and Elijah wore a leathern girdle (2 Kings i. 8.). This was imitated by the false prophets, as we learn from Zechariah (xiii. 4. &c.). The notices that remain respecting the manner of life in these training institutions are scanty, and therefore it is difficult to get a true picture of it. They existed at different places, as Rama, Bethel, Gilgal, Jericho, (2 Kings ii. and iv. xxii. 14.). The reason why they were dispersed among many cities of Israel lay in the character of the places, and the people inhabiting them. They were located where they were most needed — where the Israelites most required the admonitions and reproofs such schools were likely to administer. Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha are mentioned as principals of them. Hengsten-

<sup>1</sup> Koester, p. 254.

berg thinks, that what is recorded of these schools in the kingdom of Israel, is not directly applicable to the kingdom of Judah; and that their organisation and regulations were not as settled in the latter as in the former. The picture which he draws of them in the kingdom of Israel *may be* true and accurate; but it is certainly filled up in part from his own imagination.<sup>1</sup>

Putting together various notices of the Old Testament respecting these schools of the prophets, we get this picture of them, viz. that they were associations of young men who united with the view of preparing themselves the better to promote religious culture generally, and to maintain the theocratic spirit in particular. They lived in large companies, in certain places; and procured subsistence partly by the spontaneous productions of the earth, partly by husbandry, by keeping cattle, and by the contributions of the pious. Thus, besides the exercises adapted to their proper prophetic calling, they pursued the usual avocations of life for their support. In both respects they were instructed and superintended by the older and more distinguished prophets, who either dwelt among them, or visited them in their peregrinations. Any one who had an inclination for the prophetic office was allowed to enter into these prophet-colonies. Some continued there all their lives, as has been inferred from the fact that there were married pupils of the prophets; while some went forth to prosecute the work independently. Hence these schools have been compared with the Pythagorean league.<sup>2</sup>

Whether such as left still continued to be members of their colleges, is uncertain; though Hengstenberg asserts it, relying, as would appear, on the fact related in 2 Kings iv. 1. &c., where the widow of a pupil belonging to the schools of the prophets regarded Elisha as the person bound to take care of her. Such as married did not leave on that account. Hengstenberg incorrectly intimates the contrary.<sup>3</sup>

The prophets who laboured independently of these associations also lived in a simple and poor style. Lest they should be suspected of corruption, and because the false prophets prophesied for money, they were obliged to show their contempt for riches and refuse gifts. (1 Kings xiii. 8.; 2 Kings v. 16.) Isaiah wore sackcloth, the dress of mourning. (Isa. xx. 2.) Daniel and his companions preferred to live on water and vegetables. (Dan. i. 8. 12.) Very often; they had to suffer for their faithful speaking and conduct. They were refused the liberty of prophesying (Amos ii. 12.; Isa. xxx. 10.); were mocked and despised (Isa. xxviii. 9.; Ezek. xxxiii. 31. &c.). Kings, priests, and princes hated them, so that they were occasionally compelled to suffer hunger (1 Kings xix. 4.); to live in caves upon bread and water (1 Kings xviii. 13.); and to endure the rigours of imprisonment (Jer. xxxvii. 13., xxxviii. 4.). Kings sent persons to assassinate them (2 Kings vi. 32.); and the people stoned them. Nor were these outward injuries and misfortunes all they had to undergo. In consequence of their sympathy with the people they were exceedingly

<sup>1</sup> Article Prophecy in Kitto's Cyclopædia.

<sup>2</sup> See Tennemann's Geschichte der Philosophie, vol. i. p. 89. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Knobel's Prophetismus, vol. ii. § 3.

grieved in announcing fearful judgments impending. (Isa. xv. 5., xvi. 9.; Hab. iii. 16.) But, however painful the task, they were impelled to speak out; and were sometimes comforted in their sorrow by Jehovah himself.

Generally speaking, it was when asked by their fellow-countrymen that they delivered their prophecies as answers. Such consultation is called *asking the Lord* (Isa. lviii. 2.; 1 Sam. xxii. 13.); a fact proving that their answers were regarded as revelations of the Almighty will, and not private opinions. When they addressed the people without their advice being asked, circumstances demanded that they should speak. Persons of distinction commonly sent messengers to them for counsel (Isa. xxxvii. 2.); or the prophets sent their replies by messengers (2 Kings v. 10.). When inwardly prompted to deliver oracles to the people, they stood forward in public places where their appearance might expose them to general indignation; but where at the same time their messages would be more readily communicated to all. In Jerusalem, where they were most numerous, they usually chose the temple. Their replies were mostly couched in short, pithy words, uttered by a strong impulse from within, and in a manner fitted to make an impression. Thus Moses says to Pharaoh, "Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness." (Exod. v. 1.) After Nathan had related his parable to David, he adds, "Thou art the man." (2 Sam. xii. 7.) Sometimes there are dialogues between prophets and their opponents, as in 1 Kings xxi. 17., between Elijah and Ahab; in xxii. 24., between Zedekiah and Micah; in 2 Kings vi. 32., between Elisha and Jehoram; in Amos vii. 10., &c between Amos and Amaziah; in Isa. vii., between Isaiah and Ahaz; in Jer. xxviii., between Jeremiah and the false prophet Hananiah.<sup>1</sup> After prophecies began to be written, those orally delivered became longer. There is good reason for believing that they spoke with considerable gesticulation, in an impassioned and solemn tone. Inspired men delivering messages so weighty — orientals too, possessing the characteristic fire which distinguishes the east from the west, — their voice, manner, and gestures bore the outward impress of an irresistible impulse of the spirit within. Hence they were often looked upon as raving madmen. In Hos. viii. 1., Jehovah commands the prophet, "Set the trumpet to thy mouth," *i. e.*, let thy voice resound in loud and thrilling tones. Comp. also Isa. xl. 9., lviii. 1. But the most significant thing within the range of outward gesticulation was some symbol accompanying what was said for the purpose of making more palpable the object of address, and exciting the attention of the hearers. We refer to *didactic signs* or *emblematic representations* not falling under the head of the miraculous. Thus Samuel says to Saul, "Behold that which is left! set it before thee, and eat." (1 Sam. ix. 24.) When the same king afterwards laid hold upon the skirt of the prophet's mantle, and rent it, the latter employed it as symbolic: "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day." (1 Sam. xv. 27, 28.) In

<sup>1</sup> See Koester, p. 258. *et seqq.*

like manner, Ahijah divides Jeroboam's mantle into ten pieces, as a symbol of the ten tribes. (1 Kings xi. 29 & c.) The dying Elisha commanded Joash, first to shoot an arrow out of the window, and then to smite upon the ground with the bundle of arrows, as a symbol of his conquering the Assyrians. Instead of a real, outward thing, the symbol sometimes consisted of a fictitious narrative, fable, or parable, as in the case of Jotham (Jud. ix.), Nathan (2 Sam. xii.), and the woman of Tekoah (2 Sam. xiv.).<sup>1</sup>

The earliest trace of prophetic writing is that of *Moses* (Deut. xxxi. 24.), who committed to rolls or books, not only laws, but prophecies. The next is a notice of Samuel, Gad, and Nathan having composed the history of David. An epistle from Elijah after his death, is said by the writer of Chronicles<sup>2</sup> to have come to Jehoram. (2 Chron. xxi. 12.) After Moses's, no written prophecies remain older than 800 B. C., when Joel, Amos, and Hosea placed theirs on record. Nearly 300 years had elapsed since the foundation of the prophet-schools by Samuel; yet nothing earlier survives. Hence the *living word* must have been chiefly employed for that period of time. After Elijah and Elisha had carried prophetic activity to its highest practical point, showing what the living ministry of such men could effect, and when the two kingdoms were verging towards decay, written oracles were extensively applied. This could not have taken place without an important reason, however imperfectly we may now apprehend it. Perhaps oral teaching had lost some of its efficacy through custom; as the common soon begins to be less attended to. The present being unprosperous and gloomy, the prophets opened up to the pious of the nation a store of consolation in the future, in the contemplation of which the spirit might find relief. Coming events were more momentous in their issues, and therefore required to be chronicled. The Messianic age, as it drew nearer, needed greater prominence, and corresponding treatment, to keep it more steadily before the eye of the people. From about 800 B. C., therefore, and onwards, we find an uninterrupted series of written prophecies, each having relation more or less to the preceding. Whether the prophetic schools gave rise to written oracles now lost, we cannot assert. It is uncertain whether some prophetic psalms were composed by members of them. More probable is it that in these schools annals, biographies, and histories were written, which served as materials to the compilers of the books of Samuel and the Kings.

It is conjectured by Koester<sup>3</sup>, that the prophets wrote at first short, pregnant words—themes, as it were, for oral discourses—on tablets which they put up in public. Calvin and Carpzov, entertaining a similar view, thought of the contents of these tables as a sort of programme fastened to the doors of the temple. References to tables are found in Isaiah and Habakkuk; the former having written a significant name, Maher-shalal-hash-baz, on a smooth tablet (Isa. viii. 1.); the latter having been commanded to write a vision and make it plain

<sup>1</sup> See Koester, p. 261. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Winer's Realwörterbuch, vol. i. p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> Koester, pp. 265, 266.

upon tables, in characters so large as to be read at a glance by the hasty passer.

When addresses delivered orally were committed to writing, we do not suppose that they were literally and exactly noted down. They were revised, enlarged, and improved. Some were written that had not been previously spoken; such as the oracles of Joel, Nahum, and Habakkuk. Probably most of Ezekiel's were promulgated merely in writing. The extended description of the temple in the concluding chapters was not delivered orally. Sometimes they themselves made a collection of their writings, as was the case with Joel and Habakkuk; probably too with Hosea and Ezekiel. Sometimes, however, posterity collected their oracles, which had been left in separate parts. A prophetic book or collection of oracles was termed a *book of Jehovah*, סֵפֶר יְהוָה. (Isa. xxxiv. 16.) Jeremiah dictated his prophecies to Baruch, who wrote them down in a roll; and when Jehoiakim ordered it to be burnt, he dictated them anew. (Jer. xxxvi.) When their contents were mysterious at the time, they were ordered to be sealed up. (Dan. xii. 4.)

On the return from the Babylonish captivity there was an existing literature of earlier prophets, which was read and appealed to. To it new oracles were appended. (Isa. xliii. 12. 18.) Now too the collection of the prophets was gradually completed. To the book of the three greater prophets the book of the twelve minor ones was annexed, arranged symmetrically, as has been supposed, in four trilogies, viz. Hosea, Joel, Amos; Obadiah, Jonah, Micah; Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah; Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

In regard to the *form* of prophecies, it was usual for these inspired men to illustrate the subject somewhat copiously; beginning with censure, and concluding with hopes of better, *i. e.* Messianic times. Sometimes the address took the shape of a prayer. (Isa. xxv.) Sometimes it was a lyrical ode. (Isa. xxix.) But these are exceptions to the general rule. A proper address to the hearers was the ordinary method, issued mostly in Jehovah's name, rarely in the prophet's own, sometimes in both together. (Isa. i. 2, 3.) The principal media through which the prophetic materials were communicated are the *marshal*, *dreams*, *visions*, and *symbolical actions*.

1. By the first we mean every kind of allegory, pure or mixed, such as fables, apologues, parables, personifications; examples of which are seen in Ezek. xvii., Isa. v., Zech. xi., Ezek. xxiii., Hosea. ii. This *marshal* or allegorical dress is simpler and more natural in the older prophets; in the later ones more obscure and far-fetched, as in Ezekiel.<sup>1</sup>

2. Dreams first appear as prophetic costume in the post-exile times. Thus Daniel narrates a dream (vii. 2, 3.).

3. Visions were commonly used by the prophets, where the matter was such as language could not describe in proper words. Amos was the first who saw future things of earth, depending on heavenly causes, in vision, in such a manner as that *Jehovah himself* is said to

<sup>1</sup> See Koester, p. 271.

have shown them to him. Isaiah has but one vision, and that connected with his calling to the prophetic office; while Hosea, Nahum, and Zephaniah have none. Two occur in Jeremiah (i. ii. and xxiv.). Ezekiel has many visions, descriptive of the divine majesty and the course of divine providence in the future. Those in Zechariah and Daniel are more like dreams, and bear the stamp of artificiality.

A question has been proposed respecting the *objectivity* or *subjectivity* of these visions. In other words, it has been inquired whether they were all outwardly real and true, or whether their reality and truth were only internal. The latter, for various reasons, appears to us the correct view. Images of things superhuman and spiritual were presented to the minds of the prophets, who believed that they were subjectively *real* and *present*, in some cases. In other cases such images were nothing but conceptions to which the prophets gave this symbolic dress. Thus the vision painted by Isaiah of a live coal being laid upon his mouth, and so taking away his sin, is simply employed by the prophet as a way of teaching the necessity of purity to the ambassador of God. He could not believe that this was an actual and real thing. Nor do we suppose that images of a live coal and altar were set before his inward eye in a unique picture. In like manner, Jeremiah seeing the rod of almond-tree and scething-pot, is merely the symbolic dress of an idea. Here the imagination of the inspired prophet bodied forth a vision, in order to put forward in a palpable light the conceptions suggested to his mind. We do not believe, with many, that such visions were made to the prophets in a trance or ecstasy. Perhaps their mood of inspiration was then higher and their spirit more excited: but when those moments were past, and in cool reflection they began to describe the vision in writing, they must have been conscious of nothing more than a mental phantasmagoria. They could not have seen God himself, for he is invisible; neither could they have *believed* that they saw him: they merely saw his angel, *i. e.* his representative, unreal and shadowy. Had they seen what was real and actual, they would have depicted it outwardly as a sensuous object, which would have been contrary to the command in the decalogue (Exod. xx. 4.).<sup>1</sup> But we shall allude to this point again.

Among the peculiarities of prophetic announcement are *symbolical actions* which the prophets are said to have performed. The question has been differently answered, whether they were *actual* and *historical*; or merely *internal*, confined to the minds of the prophets themselves. The latter opinion is the correct one, for various reasons.

1. Some of them were impossible. Thus Ezekiel was commanded to lie on his left side 390 days, and 40 days on the right side. He must not turn from the one to the other. Jeremiah was ordered to take a wine-cup, and send it to all the nations to drink of it. Accordingly he took it to the kings of Egypt, Arabia, Persia, Media, &c. &c., "*and all the kings of the north far and near.*" (Jer. xxv. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Koester, pp. 274, 275.

&c.). Ezekiel was commanded to take the roll of a book and eat it. (Ezek. ii. 9., iii. 2, 3.)

2. Others contain what is unworthy of Deity, or inconsistent with decency and propriety. They must therefore be regarded as the mere dress or costume of prophecy. Thus Hosea was commanded to take a wife of whoredoms; and accordingly he took Gomer, by whom he had several children. (chap. i.). The object of this was to depict the idolatrous disposition of the nation. If this were a real fact, then was adultery commanded of God for the purpose of enforcing the truth that Israel was faithless to Jehovah. Hengstenberg has well shown that the action was not historical, but merely symbolical and mental. Ezekiel was commanded to bake with man's dung the bread he ate while lying on his side for a long time.

3. In some the means bear no proper relation to the end. The two do not correspond. Thus Jeremiah was directed to put a linen girdle on his loins, to go to the Euphrates, and hide the girdle there in a hole of the rock. Accordingly he does so, returns from the long journey, and after many days is ordered to take the girdle from its place. But the girdle was found to be good for nothing. (Jer. xiii. 1—10.) This was done to prefigure the people's destruction. It is mere fiction. Jeremiah was also ordered to send bonds and yokes to all the neighbouring kings, to show their subjugation. (xxvii. 1. &c.) Ezekiel was directed to take a sharp knife and cut off the hair upon his head, then divide it into three parts and destroy them by fire, sword, and dispersion, preserving but a few hairs to bind in his skirts, &c. (v.)

4. Some are expressly represented as vision or internal phenomena. Thus in relation in Ezek. viii.—xi. the prophet says that he was transported in spirit. "We must remember," says John Smith, "that the prophetic scene or stage upon which all apparitions were made to the prophet, was his imagination; and that there all those things which God would have revealed unto him were acted over symbolically, as in a masque, in which divers persons are brought in, amongst which the prophet himself bears a part: and therefore he, according to the exigency of this dramatical apparatus, must, as the other actors, perform his part, sometimes by speaking and reciting things done, propounding questions, sometimes by acting that part which in the drama he was appointed to act by some others; and so, not only by speaking, but by gestures and actions, come in, in his due place, among the rest; as it is in our ordinary dreams, to use Maimonides' expression of it. And therefore it is no wonder to hear of those things done which indeed have no historical or real verity; the scope of all being to represent something strongly to the prophet's understanding, and sufficiently to inform it in the substance of those things in which he was to instruct that people to whom he was sent. And so sometimes we have only the intelligible matter of prophecies delivered to us nakedly, without the imaginary ceremonies or solemnities. And as this notion of those actions of the prophets that are interweaved with their prophecies is most genuine and agreeable to the

general nature of prophecy, so we shall further clear and confirm it in some particulars."<sup>1</sup> The same view is given by Maimonides.

5. Some were probably historical facts. All such as are not impossible, or unsuitable as means to the end proposed, or unworthy of the Deity, or inconsistent with decorum, or expressly related as *internal* not *external* facts, may be classed among the *really* done. Thus Isaiah gives significant names to his children (vii. viii.). Jeremiah is ordered not to marry and beget children (xvi. 1. &c.). Ezekiel is commanded not to mourn for the death of his wife (xxiv. 15.). Zechariah is ordered to take silver and gold and make a double crown for the high priest (vi. 11.).

Jeremiah and Ezekiel make most use of symbols. They belonged to the priestly line; and as the Jewish worship was distinguished by its symbolical rites, they naturally employed symbols more frequently than other prophets.

There were many false as well as true prophets. These promised prosperity without repentance, and preached peace without inculcating purity. As the false prophets did much mischief among the Jewish people, leading them away from God and counteracting the salutary influence of the true, it was important that the Israelites should distinguish the one from the other. The criteria of genuine prophecy are laid down in the Mosaic law; and all the prophets appeal to them. (Deut. xiii. 1—5., xviii. 20—22.) What are they?

1. The most usual thing connected with the manifestation of a prophet was a *sign* or *wonder* (אֵיּוֹת or מוֹפְתִים), as expressed in Deut. xiii. 1. Thus when Moses was divinely called, Jehovah promised him a *token* or *sign* that he was sent of God, viz. the celebration of a festival on Mount Sinai. (Exod. iii. 12.) Afterwards his staff was changed into a serpent; and his hand having been suddenly affected with leprosy was as suddenly healed. Gideon requested of God a sign that he was sent to save Israel from the hand of the Midianites. (Jud. vi. 17.) A sign was announced to Eli relating the destruction of his house, viz. that his two sons should die in one day. (1 Sam. ii. 27.) Isaiah offers Ahaz a sign; and when the king would not choose one, the prophet himself gives it, the birth of Immanuel. In these and other instances a sign signifies some palpable and impressive token, which claims to be divine, and so attests the person who utters or does it. The thing which constitutes the mark must be referred to God interposing in the affairs of individuals, that they and others may be assured that a divine mission belongs to such individuals. The significance of these אֵיּוֹת may refer to the future, or to the past and present. The two words usually translated *sign* and *wonder*, when found together (אֵיּוֹת, *sign*, and מוֹפְתִים, *wonder*), are distinguished in Deut. xiii. 2. The latter is more restricted in meaning, referring to the *future alone*. They are therefore equivalent to *sign* and *omen* respectively.<sup>2</sup> In all cases, these attestations imply the operation of superhuman power. *Viewed as marks of true prophecy*

<sup>1</sup> Select Discourses, p. 239. ed. 1821.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Koester, p. 206.

they are miraculous; though very often they are not *miracles*. But signs alone are not sufficient to attest a true prophet. Hence,

2. *The accomplishment* of prophecy affords a stronger evidence of its genuineness: an incipient and a complete fulfilment; a springing or germinant, and a completed sense; a preparatory or typical, as well as an entire, accomplishment. A very expressive word is applied to the former in Isa. xlii. 9., xliii. 19., viz. צֹמֵץ, *to sprout forth* or *shoot*. It is also termed נִיִּשׁ, *a sign*, or *presage* of what is to follow. This preparatory fulfilment was an assurance to such as witnessed it, that the future would be fully realised, being at once a foretaste and a warrant of all that was declared. Doubtless the final accomplishment alone affords *demonstration* of the truth of prophecy. Other predictions were not of this nature, relating to one event alone, or to a single series of events in the future. Where the event or events were proximate, these were available to the prophets' contemporaries as a testimonial in their favour; and indeed were mainly employed for that purpose. Where an incipient fulfilment near enough was not furnished, it was necessary that the prophets should secure the confidence of their contemporaries in that portion of their prophecies which related to remote events, by some predictions respecting events of speedy occurrence. This accounts, as Jahn has remarked<sup>1</sup>, for the fact that they sometimes foretold proximate events of little moment with as much care as others of far higher importance. Examples of such proximate events, comparatively unimportant in themselves, occur in 2 Sam. xii. 14., xxiv. 11—14.; 1 Kings xi. 31, 32., xiii. 5., xiv. 6. 12. Jeremiah's claims were authenticated by the fulfilment of his prediction that Shallum should die in prison and see his native land no more. (Jer. xxii. 11, 12.) Isaiah's divine mission was established when his wife bore him the son symbolically called Immanuel; and when the thing he had said should take place within three or four years after the son's birth actually happened.

3. The true prophet was known by his announcing only what was worthy of God. *He spoke in the name of the Lord*. (Deut. xviii. 22., xiii. 1—5.) This implied that what he said agreed with the Mosaic law, with the other true prophets, and with itself. The Holy Spirit, by whom he was moved, could prompt only to what was true, holy, and consistent. False prophets indeed sometimes spoke in the name of the true God; but their predictions were not fulfilled; and therefore their claims could be easily detected. It is obvious that the prophets who spoke *in the name of other gods*, were impostors. The law of Moses condemned such to death (Deut. xiii. 2—6.), even though their predictions should be accomplished. Treason against the king, who was none other than Jehovah, was capitally punished.

Let us now consider the different *modes* of prophecy. Here different distinctions and degrees have been made by Jewish and Christian writers, most of which are given by Carpzov.<sup>2</sup> Maimonides enumerates as many as eleven degrees of prophecy.<sup>3</sup> If the word be

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Introductio ad Libb. Bibl. pars iii. p. 14. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Moreh Nevochim, p. 315. *et seqq.* ed. Buxtorf.

taken in its wide sense, equivalent to *revelation of the will of God to whomsoever communicated*, the division made by Carpzov is as convenient as any other, viz. *civil*, *sacerdotal*, and *prophetic* revelation. The first is exemplified by the use of the lot, as in the case of Achan (Josh. vii. 14.); of Saul and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiv. 42.); of Jonah (i. 7.): the general principle being enunciated in Prov. xvi. 33.: "The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord." The *priestly* was by the Urim and Thummim (Exod. xxviii. 29, 30.; Lev. viii. 5—9.), into an examination of which we need not now enter.<sup>1</sup> What we are concerned with is, prophecy in its more *specific sense*—that peculiar revelation of the will of God connected with the prophetic order. Here the basis of a classification lies in Num. xiii. 6, 7, 8.: "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches," &c. According to this passage the steps or gradations of prophecy are *dreams*, *visions*, *conversation with the Deity*.

1. *Dreams*.—In this remarkable state, when the spirit is free as it were from the earthly incumbrance of the body, the divine will was not unfrequently communicated to men. The lowest place in the region of prophecy belongs to dreams, because they are often vague, and not readily distinguishable from ordinary cogitations or fancies. Those which came from God and marked his interposition were ascertained either by the fulfilment of what they announced as future, or by their agreement with the result of sober reflection in waking hours. In all cases, a strong impression must have been left on the mind of the dreamer, that the revelations were of divine origin. Every one who had such dreams was not a prophet on that account. Thus Pharaoh and his servants, Nebuchadnezzar, &c., were favoured with divine dreams. He only who received their signification from God, in addition to themselves, was a prophet. Thus to Abraham were announced the bondage of his posterity in Egypt and deliverance from it, accompanied with the promise of long life to himself. (Gen. xv. 12. &c.) Such too was the case of Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 7., xl. 8., xli. 16.); and of Daniel (ii. 27., vii. 1.). The example of the last is peculiar; *the dream of another*, as well as *its interpretation*, being disclosed to him.

2. *Visions*.—In the waking state the prophets *saw* things. Balaam, in allusion to this state, is said to have his *eyes open*, i. e. the eyes of the mind. What is seen must either be *human* or *divine*. In the case of the former the *thing itself* is seen, or a *symbol* i. e. an outward representation of it. We behold either things themselves, or their images. But *divine* things can only be seen in an inward ideal representation. Thus when Micaiah says, "I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left" (1 Kings xxii. 19.), and when Isaiah similarly

<sup>1</sup> See Smith's Select Discourses, p. 253. *et seqq.* ed. 1821; Henderson's Divine Inspiration, p. 113. *et seqq.*, 2d edition.

writes, "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple," &c., all that is meant is, that they saw *in fancy* or *idea* Jehovah as a King enthroned. Outward imagery is employed to set forth the idea the more impressively. Such anthropomorphism was necessary to the people of that time, who could not rise to the height of *abstract* monotheism. We are aware that there are other modes of explaining these appearances of Jehovah; and that difficulties more or less formidable are connected with every interpretation: but the present is not the place to enter into their consideration. Indeed, we cannot even mention all the explanations proposed.

All vision must necessarily be obscure. This is implied in the words of Num. xxiv. 17., "I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh."

Some have supposed that when visions were seen, the prophets were in *trance* or *ecstasy*. This does not differ much from the view of Hengstenberg, viz. that during the continuance of such visions there was a complete cessation of intelligent consciousness, or, a state of entire passiveness. Having already combated this erroneous opinion, we shall not now repeat the remarks. All that appears to us tenable is, that the mind of the prophets was raised above the influence of material impressions. Its powers were concentrated in the contemplation of supernatural things. It was a state in which the prophets appeared almost carried out of themselves; so unconscious were they of external and material objects. The spirit completely triumphed over the body, so that it was *engrossed* with *ideas* not *sensations*. Intelligent consciousness did not cease. Rather was it sublimated, refined, and stretched to a high pitch of excitement; the body and sensations being unfelt. This is different from proper *trance* or *ecstasy*. The difference between a dream and a vision is supposed by Smith to lie in circumstantials rather than any thing essential. The one was certainly superior to the other, because a vision represents things more to the life, and belongs to the prophet while he is awake. According to Maimonides and Smith, a vision often "declines" into a true dream; for which they quote the example of Abraham. (Gen. xv. 1. &c.) We should rather say, that dream "succeeded" vision in that instance.

Allied to this seeing of *visions*, and virtually included in it, is *hearing the word*. This is a higher and surer mode of prophecy. What the prophet hears is called *the word of Jehovah*, i. e. *divine instruction*, the revelation of the divine will. On this account the prophets announce *the word of the Lord* (Jud. iii. 20.; 1 Sam. xv. 16, 17.); and Balaam is termed a *hearer of the words of God* (Num. xxiv. 4.). This *hearing of the words of Jehovah* must not be understood in a gross sense; as if the Deity, who is pure Spirit, needed articulate sounds to communicate his will to the prophets. The language is *anthropomorphic*, both in adaptation to the weakness of man's intellect, and also for the sake of making a stronger impression. *Hearing the word of Jehovah* is equivalent to the reception of a divine message, which comes to men in various ways, *mediate* and *immediate*. Those

who heard such words received supernatural communications to be promulgated to others. But they did not receive the disclosures of the heavenly will through the actual production of articulate words on the part of Deity, as Henderson<sup>1</sup> erroneously argues. It is derogatory to the Divine Being to assert that He produced audible and articulate sounds, conveying messages to men by words in the air. "There cannot be," says this writer, "the least incongruity in his (Jehovah's) having occasionally done that himself immediately, for the attainment of certain great and important ends, which is ordinarily effected through the instrumentality of organs adapted and appointed for this purpose."<sup>2</sup> Yes, there is *great* incongruity. To reason thus, as if God immediately produced certain component, intelligible words, is to mistake the general purport of anthropomorphic diction.

3. The most eminent of all the modes of communicating the divine will to man was *conversation with God*. This was granted to Moses alone, of whom God said, "With him *will I speak mouth to mouth*, even apparently, and not in dark speeches," &c. Hence we read in Deuteronomy (xxxiv. 10.) that there arose no prophet subsequently *like unto him, whom the Lord knew face to face*. What is exactly implied in the phraseology *speaking mouth to mouth*, when applied to the intercourse of a creature with the Creator, it is not easy to define. *Very close* communion is doubtless involved in it. Moses apprehended the will of God *immediately*, without any symbolical vehicle. He received revelations from the Most High without the mediation of an angelic power or symbolic representation. It cannot be supposed, however, that Moses stood in this near relation to God *during his whole life*. He was not so favoured at all times. The language should be restricted to certain times; as when he received the law on Sinai. He was then in a peculiar condition resembling ecstasy.

How far Jesus was elevated above the highest prophet of the Old Testament need not now be stated. He had neither dreams, nor visions, nor ecstasies. Like Moses, he stood in the most intimate relation to God, not merely at some seasons, but *always*. He was constantly in closest union with the Deity, he and the Father being *one*. The divine and the human were manifested in him in the highest and most glorious combination.

4. When the different kinds of prophecy now mentioned ceased, they were succeeded, according to the Jews, by the *Bath Kol*, i. e. *daughter of a voice*, some voice which was heard as descending from heaven, directing them in any affair as occasion required. Smith<sup>3</sup> notices two or three places in the New Testament which he understands of this *daughter of the voice*, or *successor of prophecy*, viz. John xii. 28, 29.; Matt. iii. 17., xvii. 5, 6.; but the conjecture is groundless.

The prophetism of the Old Testament begins, properly speaking, with Samuel, and ends with Malachi, i. e. from 1100—400 B. C. Hence it occupies a period of about 700 years. This may be conve-

<sup>1</sup> See Divine Inspiration, &c. &c. p. 71. 2nd edition.

<sup>2</sup> See Knobel's Prophetismus, vol. ii. p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Select Discourses, p. 279.

niently divided into four smaller sections of time, viz., the older time, 1100—800; the Assyrian period, 800—700; the Chaldean period, 625—536; the post-exile period, 536—400.<sup>1</sup>

1. The older period. — During it the prophets were very numerous. They formed associations, and were united as an order, among the people, somewhat analogous to the order of priests. Looking at prophecy itself in its gradual development throughout successive centuries, this may be called the iron age. The golden and silver will be noticed afterwards. The prophets exhibited the greatest energy and power at the time referred to. There was a certain rough wildness belonging to them which shows the kind of people with whom they had to do. Here Elijah is the type. On him the elevated truths of religion exerted a marvellous influence. It was in consequence of this remarkable efficacy of the Divine Spirit upon Elijah that a number of disciples appeared; whence the internal force of prophethood diminished in proportion to the diffusion of the gift. But still the prophets usually occupied an independent position. They were in both kingdoms of Israel and Judah, but were more numerous in the former, because the prophetic schools were there. In the succeeding periods, these inspired men were almost confined to the kingdom of Judah. Union and cooperation appeared among them now. Their views and efforts partake of uniformity and plan, so that they were a distinct party. It is also observable that at this time they took upon them in part the administration of theocratic ceremonies. Their functions were less distinct from the priests' than afterwards. Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha offered sacrifices; Gad and Nathan made regulations respecting music in the sanctuary. But in the succeeding periods, the priestly order managed the department of public worship as exclusively belonging to themselves. It would also appear from the historical books, that these prophets were chiefly distinguished by action. They stood apart from the people in their original undivided power. Hence they were respected and obeyed without contradiction. Like a foreign and awe-inspiring manifestation of the divine power — an external form of greatness in contrast with the people — they set themselves as a wall against heathenism in every shape, putting forth unusual energy in opposition to earthly potentates. They did not penetrate far into the spiritual life of the mass. Rather did they overpower them by the magnitude of their deeds as well as the pregnant energy of their words. The people looked up to them as persons far removed from their low sphere of humanity by the wonderful exhibitions of a superhuman energy which struck directly at its object with fearless aim. As popular speakers they were less cultivated than their successors. Their speeches were simple and prosaic — spontaneous outbursts of zeal; — short, moral addresses, admonitory, threatening, promising, censuring, advising. They were brief, energetic, practical; without poetic ornament and oratorical fulness, or far-reaching depth and comprehensiveness. Their successors present more culture as speakers and writers. And

<sup>1</sup> See Knobel's *Prophetismus*, vol. ii. pp. 18, 19.

their addresses are more copious and profound, looking farther into the future. In form and manner they are more poetic and oratorical. The prophets of this time did not found a *proper prophetic literature*. What they wrote was rather of the nature of historical and biographical essays. Such were the productions of Gad, Nathan, Shemaiah, Iddo, and Jehu. But after them we find a proper prophetic literature. Not only were the popular discourses of their successors of a literary nature; but even things which had not been delivered orally were committed to writing, to serve as permanent instruction for the people of God. The defects belonging to the prophecy of this early time were such as adhered to it out of the pre-Mosaic, heathen period.

To this time belong Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Ahijah, the old prophet at Bethel (1 Kings xiii. 1. &c.), Micaiah the son of Imlah (1 Kings xxii. 25.), Elijah, Elisha, Shemaiah, Iddo, Azariah, Hananiah, Jehu his son, Jahuziel, Eliezer, Zechariah son of Jehoiada, and an anonymous prophet who dissuaded Amaziah from undertaking an expedition against the Edomites (2 Chron. xxv. 7.).

2. The Assyrian period, 800—700 B. C. The relation of the Assyrians to the covenant-people is the central truth which regulates the prophetic phenomena of this time. To it belong Amos, Jonah, Hosea, Zechariah (2 Chron. xxvi. 5.), Isaiah, Zechariah son of Jeherechiah (Isaiah viii. 2.), Oded, Joel, Micah, Nahum, Hosai (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19.). In this second period, reaching from Joel, Amos, and Hosea, to king Manasseh, we recognise the golden age of prophecy, its culminating point being attained in Isaiah. Here the difficulties it had to encounter were of the most formidable nature. Externally it was not at once respected and obeyed. On the contrary, it was often a subject of ridicule and scorn. The people and their rulers were not willing hearers of the threatening messages conveyed to them. But the greatest obstacle was from within. Some forgot their high calling and yielded to the flatteries of the great. Tempted away from genuine prophetic virtue, they lowered their position. These therefore were to be withstood. All the resources and capabilities of the true prophets were summoned to overcome such defection. And the thing was accomplished. They wrestled victoriously with these dangerous enemies. Exhibiting the highest self-denial, freedom, and versatility, they attained to an elevated stand-point of the highest and purest influence in relation to their own time, and of eternal moment to all generations. Here we have the loftiest manifestation of prophets as speakers and writers together. Writing was with them the consequence and fruit of public speaking and acting. It was therefore, in a measure, subordinate to the wonderful ministry which they exercised in public. They were writers *because* they were religious orators of the highest order, enunciating spiritual truths of universal import to mankind.<sup>1</sup>

To this golden succeeded the silver age of prophecy, comprehending the Chaldean and post-exile periods, in which it was accompanied with less energy and fewer external manifestations.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Knobel, vol. ii. p. 25. *et seqq.*

3. The Chaldean period, 625—536 B. C., reaches from the downfall of the Assyrian empire to the end of the exile. Here the relation of the Babylonians to the covenant-people is the chief topic, around which others are grouped. To this belong Obadiah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Urijah of Kirjath-jearim (Jeremiah xxvi. 20—23.), Habakkuk, Ezekiel, Daniel.

4. The post-exile period 536—400 B. C. is distinguished by the fact, that in it the prophets labour for the restoration of the theocracy in a far better form than it had yet assumed. To this belong Haggai, Zechariah son of Berechiah, Malachi.

Here prophecy was limited very much to the clear, pure, divine word, distinguished from imperfect modes of revelation, such as dreams. Violent gesticulations and outward signs were less prominent; and so far it showed a higher development than was attained even in the last period. It had penetrated more extensively into the life of the people; having overcome all the deteriorations to which it had been exposed. The prophets are now writers more than speakers. They calmly unfold the ideas of their inspired minds. Unlike what took place in the preceding period, when *the written* was a true copy of the forcible and directly efficacious *spoken* discourse, the prophet in his leisure hours substitutes for the spoken the written discourse. This accounts for the fact that visions appear more frequently. More art was now required for bodying forth with effect the truths committed to writing. And visions were adopted as vehicles or means of presenting ideas. But here they are of a more artificial character than such as are found in the older prophets. This very artificiality, however, is a mark of decay. Compared with the living breath of the old genuine prophecy it is but a feeble thing. It is only a one-sided manifestation of eternal truth. We might trace the gradual sinking of prophecy from the time of Jeremiah, who was the greatest master of this its last form, and his disciple Ezekiel, till its cessation with Malachi. Old oracles are now repeated. The richness of the ancient prophets supplies ideas, images, and words also, to the later. Imitation and copying are apparent.

In this manner we might describe the gradual unfolding of prophecy from Moses till Malachi, dividing it, with Knobel, more objectively into four periods; or with Ewald<sup>1</sup>, more subjectively, into the three ages just noticed, each marked by peculiar phenomena.

The iron age was the time of action; the golden, of action, speech, and writing united; the silver, of writing. In the first, priesthood and prophethood were partly mixed. Even the high priest had his oracle, according to law, *i. e.* *the Urim*; and other priests encroached upon the province of the prophets. In the second age, prophecy was entirely separated from the priesthood; and heathen oracles sank immensely below the dignity of true prophecy. The gifted men now spake and wrote with a living freshness corresponding to the internal fulness of their minds, exhibiting in all their movements extraordinary self-denial and freedom. In the third age, prophecy partook

<sup>1</sup> Die Propheten, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 36. *et seqq.*

more of the calm, written expression, of ideas springing up spontaneously, not struggling for utterance nor bursting forth with irresistible energy, but allowing opportunity to be enunciated with artificiality and elaboration. The questions with which prophecy was occupied during the early time were less important, being incidental things relating immediately to the events of the day, though necessarily connected with the kingdom of God however remotely. Those which characterised it during the second period were the universal questions of all time; while in the last period, general truths were unfolded, whose germ, at least, was already contained in the writings of the highest prophets. It was an age of the *exposition* and *evolution* of ideas enunciated before.<sup>1</sup>

It must be apparent to every one who has studied the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, that the whole of it is not extant. The present pieces are but a part of what antiquity possessed. This fact, for as such we regard it, might be inferred from the extent of what remains, which bears little proportion to the number of prophets. Joel presupposes older prophetic writings no longer extant (iii. 5.; English, ii. 32.), as the *Lord hath said*; a phrase which alludes to the well known expressions of older prophets, not to his own oracles. So too Hosea alludes to unknown pieces (vii. 12., viii. 12.). In Isa. ii. 2—4. and Micah iv. 1—4., is contained the same extract from some older oracle no longer extant. Other examples might be given.<sup>2</sup> And it is almost needless to add, that the prophetic books are not now in their original state. They have been variously disposed and arranged by later hands. Most of them have suffered greater or less alteration. The text itself, indeed, is tolerably pure from foreign admixture; except that a few glosses have intruded here and there. Jeremiah's words have been most freely dealt with. In the case of others, collectors and compilers usually confined themselves to arrangement, in their own peculiar way; besides prefixing inscriptions in different places. But in investigating a topic of this nature, great caution is needed, lest the higher criticism run into excess, and arbitrary conjecture supply the place of sober induction. Hence Ewald<sup>3</sup>, who has many acute remarks which cannot be neglected by the inquirer, has adopted a course with the view of explaining the state in which the prophetic books now are, which we cannot agree with, because it is largely the offspring of a capricious subjectivity. He has not succeeded in pointing out the processes through which the books passed till they became very much what they now are. Perhaps the subject is of a kind to baffle all such attempts. It is an adventurous region, into which the person who enters will find embarrassment at every step. Historical evidence fails; and where that is wanting, the evidence that lies within the books themselves is of a very difficult and delicate nature.

It is useless to attempt any enumeration of all the prophets in the Old Testament. The Rabbinical account makes forty-eight prophets and seven prophetesses. But the Christian fathers do not agree with

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Ewald, *Propheten*, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 35. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Ewald, *Die Propheten*, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 54. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 55.

this; nor with one another. Clement of Alexandria<sup>1</sup> reckons thirty-five prophets and five prophetesses; Epiphanius<sup>2</sup>, seventy-two prophets and ten prophetesses; Pseudo-Epiphanius<sup>3</sup> names twenty-five prophets; Isidore of Spain<sup>4</sup>, thirty-one prophets and three prophetesses.<sup>5</sup>

In the preceding sketch of Prophetism, we have limited the observations to the Old Testament, as that was our exclusive topic. They will apply, however, *in substance*, to the New Testament also; for prophecy in both differs more in *degree* than *nature*. Those who wish to prosecute the subject may be referred to the able volume of Koester<sup>6</sup>, and the longer treatise of Knobel.<sup>7</sup>

The prophetic books of the Old Testament are sixteen in number, the Lamentations of Jeremiah being usually considered as an appendix to his predictions: and are commonly divided into two classes,—1. The greater prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel; 2. The minor prophets, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Jonah, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. They are called *greater* and *lesser* not from personal considerations, but in relation to the extent of their writings. The order in which they are placed is not the same in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint. Instead of Daniel following the third greater prophet, viz. Ezekiel, he is put in another division of the Hebrew Bible, the Hagiographa, after Esther. In the Greek version he follows Ezekiel. In the Hebrew, the minor prophets stand thus: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; but in the Greek translation they are arranged, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. Neither in the Hebrew nor in the Greek are they disposed in chronological order.

The writings of the twelve minor prophets are particularly valuable for their notices of numerous events relating to the history of the kingdoms of Judah, Israel, Babylon, Idumæa, Egypt, Moab, and Ammon. Few of these are noticed in the sacred history; and profane history is barren with regard to them. Hence the productions in question are a kind of supplement to the history of the times in which they appeared, and those succeeding years of which they prophesied.

It is of some importance to have a correct idea of the respective times in which the prophets lived and wrote, because it serves to illustrate their meaning. A good scheme of arrangement is desirable. But many of those proposed are useless, or objectionable on other grounds. That of Van Til, adopted by Francke, is cumbrous and inconvenient. In some particulars it is incorrect. According to it,

<sup>1</sup> Stromata, i. p. 335. ed. Sylburg.

<sup>2</sup> In Cotelierius's Patres Apostolici, vol. i. p. 295. ed. Clerici.

<sup>3</sup> Epiphani Opera, vol. ii. p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. vii. Origin. cap. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See Carpzov's Introductio ad Libros Propheticos, p. 64 *et seqq.*

<sup>6</sup> Die Propheten des alten und neuen Testaments, Leipzig, 1838.

<sup>7</sup> Der Prophetismus der Hebræer vollständig dargestellt, Breslau, 1837, two parts.

four periods are made out, viz. I. Prophets who delivered their predictions during the continuance of the Jewish polity, under which are the two subdivisions, (1.) in Judah and Israel; (2.) prophets who delivered predictions against other nations. II. Prophets who delivered their predictions between the carrying of the Israelites into captivity by the Assyrians, and the first expedition of Nebuchadnezzar. Here also are two subdivisions, (1.) in Judah; (2.) prophets who delivered predictions against other nations. III. Prophets during the Babylonish captivity who delivered their predictions, (1.) concerning the Jews, (2.) against the enemies of the Jews. IV. Prophets who delivered predictions in Judea after the captivity.

Another table has been given by Bishop Gray in his *Key to the Old Testament*, taken from the tables of Newcome and Blair, with a few exceptions. But this list is not sufficiently precise; and various dates in it are palpably incorrect. Dr. Pye Smith<sup>1</sup> has also exhibited a synoptic table of the prophets with the contemporary kings of Judea, and other states connected with the times and history of the prophets, which is much superior to Gray's. And were it entirely correct, we should at once transfer it to our pages. But it cannot be regarded as such. The following has therefore been attempted as a more probable account of the exact times when the prophets wrote.

Mr. Horne, who followed Gray's table, distributed the times in which the prophets flourished into three; viz. 1. Before the Babylonian captivity. 2. Near to and during that event. 3. After the return of the Jews from Babylon. This arrangement is convenient in some respects. It is certainly superior to Jahn's. We prefer the division into four periods already given, but shall follow the order of the books in the English Bible.

The table in the next page exhibits the prophets in their supposed order of time.

<sup>1</sup> On the Principles of Interpretation, as applied to the Prophecies of Holy Scripture, p. 74.

|                 | B. C.                 | Judah.                                           | Israel.                        |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Joel            | - between 877 and 847 | Joash                                            | - Jehoaahaz.                   |
| Jonah           | - - 825 &c.           | (lived under) Amaziah                            | - Jeroboam II.                 |
| Amos            | - - - 790             | Uzziah                                           | - Jeroboam II.                 |
| Hosea           | - between 784 and 740 | Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz                             | - Jeroboam II.                 |
| Isaiah          | - - - 758             | Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah                   | - Menahem,                     |
| Micah           | - - - 750             | Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah,                          |                                |
| Nahum           | - between 713 and 711 | Hezekiah.                                        |                                |
| Habakkuk        | - - 650—627           | Josiah.                                          |                                |
| Zephaniah       | - - - 627             | Josiah.                                          |                                |
| Jeremiah        | - - - 627             | Josiah.                                          |                                |
| Daniel          | - - - 604             | Zedekiah, the Captivity.                         |                                |
| Ezekiel         | - - - 595             | Jehoiachin.                                      |                                |
| Obadiah         | - - - 580             | After the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. |                                |
| Jonah (book of) | - - 570?              | Captivity.                                       |                                |
| Haggai          | - - - 520             | - - - - -                                        | - Darius Hystaspes.            |
| Zechariah       | - - - 520             | - - - - -                                        | - Darius Hystaspes.            |
| Malachi         | - - - 410             | - - - - -                                        | - Sogdianus, Darius<br>Nothus. |

## CHAP. XVIII.

## THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH.

FEW particulars are known respecting Isaiah the prophet; nothing indeed but what we find in his own writings. He was the son of Amoz, whom Rabbinical tradition makes the brother of king Amaziah. As to the identification of Amoz with the prophet Amos by Clement of Alexandria and some other fathers, it arises from ignorance of Hebrew, where the names have a different orthography (אִמּוֹס and אִמּוֹז), though in Greek they are the same (*Ἀμώς*). We learn from various passages that Isaiah was married and had three sons (vii. 3., viii. 3. 18.) with symbolical names, Shear-jashub, Maher-shalal-hash-baz, and Immanuel. His wife is called אִשְׁתֵּי יְיָ, *a prophetess*, i. e. *the wife of a prophet*, not that she had a prophetic gift, as Grotius and Hengstenberg think. Like Elijah, he wore a garment of hair-cloth (xx. 3.), though he does not appear to have led a life altogether ascetic. His residence was in Jerusalem not far from the temple. He prophesied under the kings of Judah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. (i. 1.)

At what time in the reign of Uzziah he began to prophesy cannot be determined. Abarbanel thinks that he appeared as a public teacher in the early years of his reign; while others, both Jews and Christians, suppose that he prophesied several years before the death of that monarch, reasoning from 2 Chron. xxvi. 22., and Isaiah vi. on insecure grounds. It is better to suppose that he began immediately before the death of Uzziah, in the last year of his reign. It has been disputed whether his ministry extended to the reign of Manasseh. Gesenius and Möller suppose that it *did* reach the time of this king, relying on exegetical grounds that are uncertain. The following reasons are adduced for the opinion in question:—

1. We see from 2 Chron. xxxii. 32., that Isaiah wrote the life of Hezekiah. Hence he survived that king.

2. There is a Rabbinical and patristic tradition, to which also the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is supposed to allude (xi. 37.), that the prophet was put to death by Manasseh, being sawn asunder.

3. If the authenticity of chapters xl.—lxvi. be admitted, Isaiah appears to have lived under Manasseh. The style of this second part of the book is so different from that of the first part, that a considerable time must have elapsed between their composition. Besides, the nature of the contents is applicable to the reign of Manasseh, not to Hezekiah's. The writer censures the gross idolatry prevailing, the sacrifice of children to idols, the wickedness of rulers, &c., which does not suit the reign of the good king Hezekiah.

Little weight attaches to these considerations; at least they are not conclusive. Gesenius has shown<sup>1</sup> that 2 Chron. xxxii. 32.

<sup>1</sup> Commentar ueber den Iesaia, vol. i. p. 24. *et seqq.*

admits of another interpretation, and affords no sure basis for the inference derived from it. The prophet may have written Hezekiah's biography up to a certain point, and not till his death. The Rabbinical tradition is uncertain. Nor is it likely that Hezekiah, though a pious king, could have succeeded in abolishing *all* idolatry and gross abuses during his reign. The personal character and efforts of the monarch could only reach a certain length, as appears from the case of Josiah. Besides the complaints in the second part may allude to the reign of Ahaz.

The chief considerations against extending the prophetic ministry of Isaiah till Manasseh's time lie in the inscription of the book. There Hezekiah is mentioned as the last; none of the single prophecies having a title of its own reaching farther than the fifteenth year of Hezekiah. Some good reason should be found for supposing that any prophecy goes beyond that date. Besides, too great an age is assigned to the prophet by placing him under Manasseh. "Although," says Hengstenberg, "we were to suppose that Isaiah, as well as Jeremiah, was called to the prophetic office at an early age—perhaps in his twentieth year—he, nevertheless, in the fifteenth year of Hezekiah, up to which date we can prove his ministrations by existing documents, would have reached quite, or nearly, his seventieth year, which is the usual duration of human life; consequently, at the time of the accession of Manasseh, he would have been about eighty-four years old; and if, with the defenders of the tradition, we allow that he exercised the prophetic functions for about seven or eight years during the reign of Manasseh, he must at the period of his martyrdom have attained to the age of ninety-two. This indeed is quite possible."<sup>1</sup> It is, however, very improbable.

Taking the year of Uzziah's death (vi. 1.) as the commencement of his prophetic labours, which was 759 B. C., and inferring from xxxix. 1. that he lived till 703 B. C., he discharged his prophetic functions during a period of fifty-five or fifty-six years. Longer than this he cannot be supposed with much probability to have laboured.

With regard to arrangement and plan, it is difficult to say how the individual discourses and parts were put together. Some have tried to find a chronological arrangement in them; but this view cannot be sustained by anything approaching to probable evidence. Others again, as Vitringa and Jahn, suppose that similarity of contents led to the grouping together and succession of the various portions. Neither can this hypothesis commend itself to the acceptance of critics. More ingenious and plausible is the view of Drechsler and Keil, who assume the principle of a successive unfolding of the prophetic work, corresponding to the historical course which his mission took, and resulting from it; agreeably to which the constituent parts are united in one whole complete in itself, pervaded by de-

<sup>1</sup> Article Isaiah, in Kitzo's Cyclopædia of Bibl. Lit.

signed connection and constant development, so that both the relation of time and similarity of contents are joined with this plan in beautiful harmony. It is supposed that the entire mission of the prophet has for its object and centre the two events of his time which constituted an epoch for the theocracy, — the march of the united kings of Aram and Ephraim against Jerusalem; and Sennacherib's invasion of Judah. Accordingly, it is believed that the single parts of the book are disposed around these occurrences into two great groups of prophecies, in such a manner as that the discourses spoken respecting the events in question form the centre of each group; the other prophecies being subordinated to these discourses either as preparing the way for and preceding them, or as following them in the character of a farther development of their consequences for the future of God's kingdom. The first group is said to consist of ii.—xxvii.; the second of xxviii.—lxvi.; the seventh chapter in the former, the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh in the latter, forming the focus of each group; and the first chapter containing a prophetic address to contemporaries and introductory to the entire collection.<sup>1</sup>

This view is much too artificial and complex to be followed as the original plan of the book. It may be safely said, that neither the prophet himself, nor the compiler, supposing them different persons, was guided by it. It is an attempt to introduce method and unity into a work which presents no definite or well arranged plan carried out in a uniform manner. As little success has attended Hävernicks's attempt to point out a regular disposition of the materials according to a distinct principle.<sup>2</sup> We are unable to perceive any one pervading or guiding principle running through the entire book and moulding its present form. Neither chronological succession, nor the grouping together of similar materials, nor the successive unfolding of the prophet's mission, nor any great event described, constituted the focus of the whole. Sometimes the chronological principle has influenced the arrangement of particular parts; sometimes homogeneousness; sometimes neither appears. Both have operated in a degree; while in some cases the juxtaposition has been accidental.

The work is most naturally divided into four books or groups of prophecies, viz. I. chap. i.—xii.; II. chap. xiii.—xxiii.; III. chap. xxiv.—xxxix.; IV. chap. xl.—lxvi. The pieces in I. are only in part chronologically distributed. In II. they are chiefly disposed on the principle of similarity. The greater part of III. is chronological. So also the fourth. In no division, therefore, do we recognise the purely chronological, or the purely material arrangement. Both are more or less united. Which of the two was the guiding one it is not difficult to discern. The *subject-matter* was regarded more than the proper *succession of time*.

In attempting to describe the contents of each book or division,

<sup>1</sup> See Drechsler's *der Prophet Jesaja uebersetzt und erklärt*, Theil 1. p. 30. *et seqq.*, and Keil's *Einleit.* p. 238. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Einleit.* ii. 2. p. 63. *et seqq.*

we must determine the minor parts, and fix as nearly as possible their character; for very different opinions are entertained respecting them. Let us consider the genuineness and time of the pieces in chap. i.—xii. It is commonly conceded that this first book contains authentic oracles of Isaiah belonging to the first period of his prophetic ministry. But it is difficult to discover the separate times when each was composed.

The first chapter is supposed by most of the older interpreters to have proceeded from the time of Uzziah, or the years when Jotham ruled over the nation on behalf of his father Uzziah who was still alive. On the other hand, Calvin, Lowth, and Hendewerk place it under Jotham. More probable is the opinion of Hensler, Gesenius, De Wette, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Movers, Knobel, Hävernick, that it belongs to the time of Ahaz. But we are rather inclined to assign its origin to the reign of Hezekiah, after the invasion of Sennacherib. The condition of the kingdom of Judah reduced to Jerusalem alone, the afflicted state of the people visited as they had been with sore judgments and having little of religion except a dead ritual service, agree well with this time. The contents are general, and serve to characterise the whole period of Isaiah's ministry in all essential features. Hence it was prefixed as an introduction to the entire collection.

Chapters ii.—iv. form a connected prophecy depicting a prosperous condition of the people, when they were powerful, rich, luxurious, corrupted by intercourse with foreigners. Some, as Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Movers, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, Stähelin, Alexander, Henderson, refer it to the first years of Ahaz, chiefly on account of iii. 12. But this view has been refuted by Caspari.<sup>1</sup> It must therefore be placed in the last years of Jotham, *before* 743, for it announces the incursion of the confederate Syrians and Israelites into Judah in the time of Ahaz. The reasons for this view are well stated by Knobel.<sup>2</sup> The opinion of Hengstenberg, Drechsler, Caspari, and Keil, that it belongs to the first years of Jotham, when he was regent in the lifetime of Uzziah, is untenable.

The fifth chapter contains a prophecy younger than that in ii.—iv., and must therefore be placed in the commencement of Ahaz's reign. Nearly the same condition of the people is implied in it.

The sixth chapter is ascribed in the first verse to the year of Uzziah's death, and there is no reason with various critics for supposing it to have been written later. The most natural interpretation is that which refers it to the very commencement of the prophet's entrance upon office, as describing his original inauguration. The vision does *not* contain a new designation, merely to introduce with greater solemnity the prophecy that follows.

Chapters vii.—xii. contain four discourses all belonging to the time of Ahaz, viz. vii., viii.—ix. 6., ix. 7—x. 4., x. 5—xii. The last three

<sup>1</sup> Beiträge zur Einleit. in das Buch Iesaia, u. s. w. p. 272. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Der Prophet Iesaia erklärt, u. s. w. p. 13. *et seqq.* ed. 1.

are only about three quarters of a year later than the first, but appear to have been committed to writing some time after they were spoken, when the prophetic announcements began to be confirmed. Attempts have been made by Gesenius, Knobel, Ewald, and Hävernicks, to determine the particular times of each more minutely, but without success.

It is hardly worth while to allude particularly to the attacks which have been made on some parts of this first division, since the genuineness of the whole is now commonly admitted. In consequence of the great similarity between ii. 2—4. and Micah iv. 1—3., some, as Koppe, Rosenmüller, Maurer, De Wette, Hitzig, Ewald, think that both Isaiah and Micah took the prediction of an older unknown prophet. That older prophet was not Joel. We adopt this hypothesis, rather than the supposition of Isaiah borrowing from Micah, who was a younger contemporary, or Micah from Isaiah, which latter is contradicted by the character of the language in both. A similarity in ideas and diction is observable in chap. i.—v. and various passages of Micah, which can be accounted for by the contemporaneousness of the two prophets; but the close parallel between ii. 2—4. and Micah iv. 1—3. can be rationally explained only in the way mentioned. The objections advanced by Gesenius against the authenticity of vii. 1—16. have been refuted by various critics, by Kleinert, Hitzig, and Hävernicks. The verses in question are a historical introduction to the prophecy that follows. The attack of Ewald<sup>1</sup> on xii. is feeble. The chapter is a hymn of praise in a lyric form, expanding the idea of xi. 15, 16. There is no valid reason for denying its authenticity, as both Umbreit and Hävernicks have shown.

The second division, viz. xiii.—xxiii., contains, with one exception (xxii.), a series of prophecies against foreign nations.

xiii. 1—xiv. 27. This prophecy refers to the fall of the Babylonian empire and the destruction of the metropolis, Babylon itself. Separating xiv. 24—27. from the preceding, it has been assumed by many critics that xiii. 1—xiv. 23. proceeded from a much later writer than Isaiah, one living towards the termination of the Babylonian captivity. Their arguments, if such they can be called, in favour of this hypothesis, have been well refuted by Hävernicks and Alexander. The chief cause which has led so many astray here, is the erroneous view of prophecy they take. As long as prophetic foresight is limited to the gropings of human sagacity, without any supernatural element, such prophecies as the present will be totally misunderstood. The prophets possessed more than a political knowledge of external circumstances. They were favoured with some apprehension of the internal relation of outward events, such as the position of Babylon in regard to the kingdom of God. When it is said that the spirit and views are foreign to Isaiah, the assertion is radically incorrect; while the style and diction are by no means dissimilar, or so far

<sup>1</sup> Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. i. pp. 288, 289.

coincident with those of the later prophets, as to repudiate their Isaiah-origin. All the considerations advanced by Knobel are fallacious.

Later prophets have imitated and used the chapters under consideration. Thus Hab. ii. 6. &c. contains an obvious allusion to Isaiah xiv. 4. &c. Compare also ii. 9. with Isaiah xiii. 9. 11., xiv. 13. &c. In Zephaniah i. 7. *הַקִּדְיִשׁ קִרְאֵי* may be compared with Isaiah xiii. 3. and iii. 11.; ii. 13—15. resembles Isaiah xiii. 20, 21, 22. The imitation found in succeeding prophets is more observable, as in Ezekiel vii. 17. and xxi. 7. from Isaiah xiii. 7.; Ezekiel xxxii. 12. &c. from Isaiah xiv. 4. The connection between the present oracle and Jeremiah l., li. is so striking that almost every verse of the thirtieth chapter has a parallel in the latter.<sup>1</sup>

In like manner the circle of ideas, images, and expressions in these chapters belong to Isaiah. Thus the erection of a banner as a signal to call distant nations together to fight the Lord's battle (xiii. 2. 5.) reappears in v. 26., xi. 10. 12., xviii. 3., xlix. 22., lxii. 10. The shaking of the hand (xiii. 2.) reappears in x. 32., xi. 15., xix. 16., xlix. 22. The comparison to Sodom and Gomorrah (xiii. 19.) is similar to i. 7. 9., iii. 9. The insertion of songs is like Isaiah's manner; compare xiv. 4. &c. with v. 1. &c., xii. The figure of *breaking the staff* (xiv. 5, 6.) has its parallel in x. 24., ix. 3. The felling of the cedars of Lebanon (xiv. 8.) reappears in xxxvii. 24. In like manner the personification of the cypresses rejoicing over one (xiv. 8.) is similar to xlv. 23., lv. 12.

The idioms of Isaiah appear in *אָרְצֵי קִרְתָּהּ*, xiii. 5., comp. xlv. 11.; the union of *עָבֵי*, *הַפְּאֲרָה* and *גְּאֹן*, xiii. 19., comp. iv. 2., xxviii. 1. 4, 5.; *שְׁעָרִים*, xiii. 21. and xxxiv. 14.; the form *קִרְרָה*, xiv. 6. and viii. 8. 23.; *גִּזְרֵי*, xiv. 19. and xi. 1.; *סָרְרָה*, xiv. 6., comp. i. 5., xxxi. 6.; *עָלְיִי*, xiii. 3. and xxii. 2.; *וְרַע* in a bad sense xiv. 20. and i. 4. The figurative is explained in xiv. 9. 13, 14., comp. i. 5, 6, 7.<sup>2</sup>

The genuineness of xiv. 24—27. is undisputed, and favours that of the preceding prophecy with which it is closely connected. Besides, Jeremiah, in his oracle against Babylon, which imitates the present prophecy (l. 17, 18.), has had respect to the connection of Babylon and Assyria, saying, "Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria." Hence Jeremiah (l. 17, 18.) may almost be considered, with Drechsler, as an authentic interpretation of xiv. 24—27. To separate the verses in question from the preceding prophecy, and to assume that they are the fragment of a larger oracle against Ashur belonging to Isaiah, as many do, is quite arbitrary; besides the difficulty of finding a suitable place for them. Nor is the matter facilitated by regarding them as a small, independent oracle; because the want of an inscription, and the nature of the contents, where no one is addressed, forbid it. Thus the passage xiv. 24—27. belongs to what goes before; and as it is admitted to be authentic, the oracle of which it

<sup>1</sup> See Kueper's *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex*, p. 124. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Drechsler *der Prophet Iesaia*, u. s. w. Th. 2. p. 116. *et seqq.*

is the conclusion should be considered authentic also. Hence we ascribe xiii. 1—xiv. 27. to Isaiah himself.

The prophecy in question must be referred to the early part of Ahaz's reign. It was composed before the catastrophe of Senacherib, because of the conclusion (xiv. 24—27.), which announces the downfall of Assyria. Presenting as it does various points of contact with the preceding discourses (comp. xiii. 4. with ix. 4.; xiv. 5, 6. with ix. 4., x. 5. 24.), it appears to be an enlargement and continuation of the oracle respecting Ashur. Accordingly, it may be dated soon after x. 5—xii. 6., as Vitranga and Drechsler have rightly inferred.

It is commonly said that the prediction against Moab in xv. and xvi. proceeded from an older prophet, was repeated by Isaiah and adapted to his time, with an epilogue subjoined (xvi. 13, 14.). Hitzig has tried to identify the unknown prophet with Jonah<sup>1</sup>; and with him agree Maurer and Knobel. The grounds for this hypothesis appear to us insufficient; such as the soft-hearted interest in a foreign nation elsewhere an object of hatred (xv. 5., xvi. 9. 11.) which Isaiah does not manifest; a number of peculiar and partly rare ideas and applications which are without parallels (xv. 3. 5. 8., xvi. 8, 9.); a number of similar unexampled phrases and words; and the general strain of the discourse. The description is said to be stiff, heavy, clumsy; it wants power and easy flow; the enumeration of places is dry, not to be compared with x. 28. &c.; its whole character is antique. All this is exaggerated assertion, and insufficient to set aside the authenticity of the portion before us. There is certainly a perceptible difference in the diction and manner; but the antique air is owing to the fact that Isaiah refers to the prophecies of the Pentateuch respecting Moab, in Numb. xxi. 27. &c., xxiv. 17., and, announcing their fulfilment, assumes the manner and form of those old prophetic sayings. Hence arise the short sentences in which the discourse progresses, and the monotonous connection formed by the use of the particles *כי* and *על־כֵּן*. On the other hand, evidences of Isaiah-origin in the oracle are not wanting; such as its dramatic character, as well as similarities both of manner and language. Thus the manner in xv. 5., xvi. 11. is the same as in Isaiah xxii. 4. With the archaic *נִדְחִים*, *outcasts*, xvi. 8., compare xxvii. 13. The description of the vineyard and grapes in xvi. 7. &c. is similar to that in v. 1. &c. The commencement in xv. 1. is analogous to xxiii. 1. Compare also the words *בְּשָׁנֵי שְׂבִיר*, *like the years of an hireling*, xvi. 14., with xxi. 16.; *קָעַט מְזַעַר*, *small and feeble*, xvi. 14., with x. 25., xxix. 17.; *נִקְלָה כְּבוֹד*, *the glory is contemned*, xvi. 14., with iii. 5. But we must refer to Drechsler, Hendewerk, Hävernich, Kleinert, and Keil, for other particulars, remarking, that the insertion of so long a foreign prophecy without the writer's own elaboration of it, is without analogy in the prophetism of the Old Testament. It is difficult to fix the date of this oracle against Moab; but the most probable one is the termination of Ahaz's reign. This may be inferred from

<sup>1</sup> Des Propheten Jonas Orakel ueber Moab. 1830.

the contents, which represent a number of cities that formerly belonged to the part of the kingdom embraced within the ten tribes on the other side Jordan as possessed by Moab; and no likelier time can be found for their occupation by the Moabites than after Tiglath-pileser had carried away the ten tribes on the other side Jordan (2 Kings xv. 29.), when the Moabites seized the opportunity to recover their old possessions north of the Arnon. Again, the 14th verse of the 16th chapter may refer to the time of Shalmaneser's march against Samaria, which probably brought at the same time the threatened destruction upon Moab. If this be correct, there is no reason for supposing the epilogue, consisting of 13th and 14th verses, to be of later date than Isaiah himself; since it does not say that another than Isaiah had formerly composed the oracle; neither does the word *נִשְׁאָר* in the 13th verse necessarily apply to a remote period, as may be seen from 2 Sam. xv. 34. The 13th verse means that the prophecy was not new, but had been revealed to himself, or others, long ago. We reject the gratuitous supposition of Henderson, that the postscript is the work of an inspired writer in the following century<sup>1</sup>; as well as that of Alexander, that it was added by divine command in the days of Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>2</sup>

The prophecy respecting Aram and Ephraim (xvii. xviii.) may be looked upon as a connected discourse. It is regarded by Drechsler as belonging to the commencement of Hezekiah's reign.<sup>3</sup> Shalmaneser accomplished what is predicted of Ephraim in xvii. 3—6. 9., and of Damascus in xvii. 1. No valid reasons exist for dividing these chapters and so destroying their unity.

Chapter xix. contains a prophecy against Egypt, which may be divided into two parts, 1—15. and 16—25. Doubts of the Isaiah-origin of various verses have been expressed, as though some were a late insertion. Thus Gesenius suspected verses 18—20.; while Hitzig looked upon 16—25. as forged by Onias, the builder of the temple at Leontopolis, for the purpose of justifying himself in that step. These hypotheses need no refutation; though they have been carefully and triumphantly demolished by various critics, among whom we refer to Knobel, Drechsler, Caspari, and Hävernich. Both parts are closely connected, the second containing references to the first; as will appear on a comparison of verses 16. and 17. with 1. &c. Verses 19. and 20. form a contrast to 3. and 4.; and the 17th refers back to the 12th. Both the ideas and language bear Isaiah's authentic impress. Compare, for example, *בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא*, *on that day*, verses 16. 18., with Isa. iv. 1, 2., vii. 18. 20, 21. 23. &c.; *תְּנוּנָה*, *tumult, shaking*, verse 16., with x. 32., xi. 15. This word only occurs once besides in Isa., viz. xxx. 32. *וְעַן עֲצָה עָלַי*, *to purpose against*, verse 17., with verse 12., xiv. 26., xxiii. 8, 9.; *אָמַר* ? *to say to*, verse 18., with iv. 3., xxxii. 5., lxi. 6., lxii. 4. &c.

<sup>1</sup> The book of the Prophet Isaiah, &c. &c. p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> The prophecies of Isaiah, earlier and later, &c. &c. p. 306., Glasgow edition.

<sup>3</sup> See Studien und Kritiken for 1847, p. 857. *et seq.*, and Drechsler's *der Prophet Jesaja*, u. s. w. Th. 2. pp. 87. 229.

This oracle belongs to the same time as the last, *i.e.*, to the beginning of Hezekiah's reign. Those who refer it to the time of Manasseh, believing that it alludes to the Egyptian dodecarchy and Psammetichus, as Gesenius, Grotius, Koppe, Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, and Maurer do, are mistaken; as has been shown by Knobel and Hitzig.

Chapter xx. is confessedly authentic, and was written very soon after the preceding one. It relates to the same subject, Egypt and Ethiopia.

The oracle against Babylon in xxi. 1—10. is usually classed with that in xiii. 1—xiv. 23., and attributed to the same unknown writer, living towards the close of the Babylonian exile. The considerations advanced respecting both pieces are the same, and proceed on the same false view of the nature of biblical prophecy. Their authenticity, however, is amply attested, by the inscriptions, which cannot be arbitrarily rejected; by the fact that several succeeding prophets, who appeared before the exile, present reminiscences and imitations of them; by genuine Isaiah-ideas and linguistic peculiarities. This has been shown by Drechsler, Hävernick, and Kleinert. Thus Hab. (i. 13.) calls the Chaldeans בּוֹנֵי רֵיִם, *treacherous*, from Isa. xxi. 2. Hab. ii. 1. is an imitation of xxi. 6. 8. In Nahum ii. 11. the phrase חֲלָהּ חֲלָהּ is a reminiscence of חֲלָהּ חֲלָהּ, Isa. xxi. 3. The use of it by Jeremiah is more definite. Compare Jer. li. 33. with Isa. xxi. 10.; l. 2. 38., li. 8. 47. 52. with Isa. xxi. 9.

The following ideas and modes of expression are peculiarly Isaiah's: the designation of the prophets as watchmen, xxi. 8.; compare lii. 8., lvi. 10., and xxi. 11, 12.; the correspondence of xxi. 7. 9. to xxii. 6, 7.; of xxi. 3, 4. to xxii. 4. Besides, xxi. 1—10. presents considerable points of similarity to chapters xiii. and xiv.

The idioms of Isaiah are found in the union of שָׁרַר and בָּנָה in xxi. 2., with which compare xxxi. 1. and xxiv. 16. So too קוֹיִת for קוֹיִן in xxi. 2. and xxix. 11.

The alleged difference of description and style is insufficient to overthrow the positive arguments which bespeak the Isaiah-origin. The oracle in question should be placed soon after that in chapter xx., in the reign of Hezekiah.

Chapter xxi. 11, 12., containing an oracle against Edom, and 13—17. against the Arabians, also belong to the reign of Hezekiah.

There is no reason for dividing chapter xxii. into two distinct, independent prophecies. Both should be taken together; and it is admitted that Isaiah wrote them. The first part, viz. 1—14. applies to Sennacherib's invasion of Jerusalem; the last, 15—25. to Shebna. Gesenius, Hitzig, and De Wette refer the former to the time of Sennacherib's invasion; but this is too late, for the attack upon Jerusalem is announced as future (8—11.). At the time of Sennacherib's expedition against Jerusalem, the predicted elevation of Eliakim in place of Shebna had already taken place (xxxvi. 3. 22., xxxvii. 2.). Hence the two parts appear to be properly placed in chronological succession; and belong to the time between Samaria's fall and Sennacherib's expedition against Judah.

The prophecy relating to Phœnicia, and especially Tyre, contained

in chapter xxiii., has been ascribed by Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and Movers to a later writer than Isaiah; the last-named critic specifying Jeremiah as the author.<sup>1</sup> This view is connected with that interpretation of the oracle which finds the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar the main subject. According to Hitzig, a Chaldean dominion could not be spoken of before 625 B. C.; and therefore it is argued that the oracle must be later than Isaiah, since in the critic's opinion there was no foretelling of future events. But it appears to us that none of the arguments advanced against the Isaiah-authorship are sufficient to overthrow it, though it cannot be denied that the style in 1—14. is weak and generally inferior to Isaiah's, so much so that Ewald ascribes it to a contemporary or disciple of Isaiah.

Many words and phrases are Isaiah's, as רוקם and נָגַל in verse 4. as in i. 2.; עֲלִיָּה, verses 7. 12., as in v. 14., xxii. 2., xxxii. 13.; יְרוּ נָקָה, verse 11., as in v. 25. Compare verse 13. with xxxii. 14., xvii. 1. מִיַּמֵּי אֲנָקָם, xxiii. 7., occurs in xxxvii. 26. The union of בְּתוֹלַת בַּת in the 12th verse appears in xxxvii. 22., xlvii. 1. הַקֵּל in the 9th verse occurs in viii. 23. The 9th verse may also be compared with iv. 2., xiii. 19.

Admitting its authenticity, which has been well defended by Knobel<sup>2</sup>, and its integrity, which has been defended by Gesenius, Hävernick, and Drechsler — for there is no reason why verses 15—18. should be separated from the rest — we are inclined to refer the prophecy to the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. The two principal objections to the view of those who refer it to the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser are, that the *Chaldees* are expressly mentioned in the 13th verse, and that the attempt of Shalmaneser upon Tyre was abortive. To this it is answered, that in the 13th verse the Chaldeans appear not as independent conquerors, as they do in the time of Habakkuk and Jeremiah, but as dependent on the Assyrians, or auxiliaries to them. But the phrase עָם לֹא הָיָה points to an independent existence and power on the part of the Chaldeans. The other objection lies, it must be admitted, equally against the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar; for, though that lasted thirteen years and the result is not mentioned in history, it is manifest, from the next siege by Alexander the Great, that the city was not entirely destroyed, as Isaiah intimates. Not, indeed, till the middle ages did this take place. Hence there is reason for the view of Alexander, who regards the prophecy as generic, not specific—a panoramic picture of the downfall of Tyre from the beginning to the end of the destroying process, with particular allusion to the siege by Nebuchadnezzar. Chapter xxvi. of Ezekiel, where the prophecy is resumed and manifestly applied to the Chaldeans, shows that this is the view of it here intended.

The generic prophecy in chapters xxiv.—xxvii., whose interpretation is so difficult, has been ascribed to some other than Isaiah on account of its contents, certain peculiar doctrinal representations (xxvi. 19., xxiv. 21., xxv. 8.), the mode of writing which has paro-

<sup>1</sup> In the Tübingen Quartalschrift, H. 3. p. 506. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Der Prophet Iesaja, u. s. w. p. 151. *et seqq.*

nomasias, reminiscences, reduplication, tautological parallelism, and a number of parallels to other pieces of the book whose authenticity is also denied. Hence the oracle is supposed to have been written later than the time of Isaiah, either during the Babylonish exile or afterwards.

Here opinions have been very diverse respecting the meaning of the prophecy, a fact which has influenced the judgment of critics in rejecting its authenticity. We believe that it is connected with the preceding prophecies. It forms a summary and comprehensive close to them. The prophet takes the judgments about to be inflicted on the single peoples, races, and individuals of the apostate world, and weaves them together into one general description of a great judgment upon the collective enemies of God. Out of this universal visitation of the antichristian world, the scattered children of God are redeemed, and the divine kingdom erected in glory and happiness upon the ruins of its enemies. The general character of the description excludes all specific application. The prophet speaks of a country and of confusion in it, as well as of one or more cities, without any determinate marks by which they can be identified; of enemies, violent and tyrannical rulers, whose downfall is the subject of exultation, and who cannot be specifically ascertained. In like manner, he mentions cities and high walls, fortifications and strongholds, to be thrown down and levelled with the ground, without any nearer description of them. This favours the hypothesis that all the enemies and opponents of the kingdom of God which were described individually in the preceding chapters (xiii.—xxiii.) are here comprehended in a group. Accordingly, the entire apostate world, not excepting the theocracy itself, is visited with confusion and distress; and the salvation which succeeds is represented as extending to all nations of the earth, so that the scattered remnant, saved out of all countries, shall glorify God; and the exiles in Assyria and Egypt returning, shall bow down to Jehovah in the holy mountain, in Jerusalem.

That the prophecy is an authentic production of Isaiah may be inferred from its position in relation to the individual oracles that precede, and its similar tenour to theirs. Thus Moab, the leading enemy of the theocracy, reappears, the prophet predicting its ignominious and total destruction, in conformity with the description of the same hostile power in chapters xv. and xvi. In like manner, Egypt and Assyria reappear, as representing the antitheocratic powers of the world. (Comp. xxvii. 13. with xi. 11. 16.) The rooting out of idolatry is described as the destruction of altars, images of Astarte and the sun. All this is in the manner of Isaiah, as Ewald himself admits.<sup>1</sup>

Besides, it exhibits numerous images, phrases, and expressions, characteristic of Isaiah, such as the comparison with a drunken man (xxiv. 20. like xix. 14.) with a hammock (xxiv. 20. like i. 8., where the same word is used), the figure of stormy beating rain (xxv. 4. like iv. 6. and xxviii. 2.), of bringing forth wind and chaff

<sup>1</sup> Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 507.

(xxvi. 17, 18. like xxxiii. 11.), the comparison of the theocratic people with a vineyard (xxvii. 2. &c. like v. 7., iii. 14.) In like manner, the form of the thanksgiving ode in which the people celebrate the deliverance they experienced resembles that of the ode in chapter xii. Characteristic of Isaiah are the expressions, "for the Lord hath spoken" (xxiv. 3., xxv. 8., compared with i. 2. 20., xxi. 17., xxii. 25., xl. 3., lviii. 14.); "in the midst of the earth" (xxiv. 13. compared with v. 8., vi. 12., vii. 22., x. 23., xix. 19.), a phrase peculiar to Isaiah among the prophets; the union of שָׁמַיִם and אֲרֶצָה, the latter occurring only in Isaiah (xxvii. 4., compare v. 6., vii. 23., ix. 17., x. 17.); שֶׁמֶשׁ, *sun*, and לְבָנָיִם, *moon* (xxiv. 23., comp. xxx. 26.); הָיָה joined to הָיָה (xxvi. 4., comp. xii. 2.); מְנוּחָה (xxiv. 6., comp. x. 25., xvi. 14., xxix. 17.), תְּהוֹמוֹת (xxiv. 10., comp. xxix. 21., xxxiv. 11.), עֲלֵיזִים (xxiv. 8., comp. xxii. 2., xxxii. 13.), צְהִלָּה (xxiv. 14., comp. x. 30., xii. 6., liv. 1.)<sup>1</sup>

Later prophets have also made use of this oracle; as xxiv. 1. by Nahum ii. 11.; xxiv. 2. 4. by Jeremiah xxiii. 10, 11.; xxiv. 17, 18. by Jeremiah xlvi. 43, 44.; xxvi. 21. by Ezekiel xxiv. 8.; xxvii. 1. by Ezekiel xxix. 3.

The time when the prophecy was composed was immediately after those which precede.

The prophecies in xxviii.—xxxiii. refer to the same subject, viz. the Assyrian invasion, and are nearly of the same date, *i.e.* the first fourteen years of Hezekiah's reign. Chapter xxviii. announces the destruction of Jerusalem as impending (comp. verses 1—4.); while in xxxiii. 7, 8. the invasion of Sennacherib appears to have already taken place, and is represented as present. Accordingly, the former chapter dates before the sixth year of Hezekiah; the latter in the fourteenth year of the same king. The intermediate chapters fall between these times. Hitzig, Händewerk, and Caspari, have attempted minutely to discover the years and seasons when the chapters were composed; but to little purpose, as has been shown by Umbreit, Hävernick, and Keil. The authenticity of these prophecies is almost universally allowed by the recent critics. Ewald, indeed, supposes chapter xxxiii. to have proceeded from a disciple of Isaiah; but his representations are highly arbitrary and wholly untenable.<sup>2</sup>

Chapters xxxiv. and xxxv. have been usually dated in the time of the Babylonish captivity, and therefore pronounced not to be Isaiah's. This conclusion is deduced from the analogy they present to other pieces supposed to have been written in the exile, as well as the parallels in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Obadiah; the burning hatred manifested against Edom; the exaggerated and bombastic character of the descriptions; the later ideas and style. Accordingly, such passages as xxxiv. 4. in relation to xlii. 10.; 11. &c. to xlii. 20. &c.; xxxv. 1. &c. to xxxv. 12.; xl. 5. to lx. 1., lxii. 11.; 3. &c. to xl. 1. &c. 9. &c.; 5. &c. to xlii. 16.; 6. &c. to xliii. 19. &c., xlvi. 21., xlix. 10. &c.; 8. to xl. 3. &c., xlix. 11., lxii. 10.; 10. to li. 11. are adduced.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Drechsler, Theil. 2. p. 224. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Hävernick's Einleit. u. s. w., ii. 2. p. 141. *et seqq.*, and Caspari's Beiträge zur Einleitung in d. Buch Jesaja, u. s. w. p. 25.

This argument stands or falls with the assumption of the impossibility of the prophet throwing himself into a later period than his own, like that of the Babylonian captivity; of the correctness of the assumption that chapters xl.—lxvi. did not proceed from Isaiah himself; and of other smaller pieces in the first division being also unauthentic. As to the revengeful malice against Edom and the heathen generally, all that is implied in such descriptions as xxxiv. 2, 3. 5. &c., xxxv. 8., is the opposition of the antichristian world to the kingdom of God and its consequent destruction. Edom is not to be taken singly as a distinct nation. It is the representative of the church's enemies. And surely it is right and proper that the prophet, full of the Spirit of God, should point out the fearful destruction impending over all powers and peoples which are the persevering enemies of Jehovah and his people. With relation to the later superstitions, foreign notions, &c. &c., the allegation rests on preconceived ideas and peculiar interpretations which may well be questioned. New representations and images, not found in the older books, may surely have been advanced by Isaiah, provided he be reckoned a true prophet. The alleged later diction and words cannot be relied on as an argument; since the forms and terms are so few compared with such as are truly Isaiah's. In favour of the Isaiah-origin of these chapters is their close connection with the preceding ones, and the fact that they have been used by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah. So far from the parallels with Jeremiah and Ezekiel favouring their late origin, they speak for an earlier one, since the two latter prophets, as well as Zephaniah, copied the ideas, images, and language of the chapters before us. It has been alleged, indeed, by Ewald and Umbreit, that the writer of chapter xxxiv. had before his mind the substance of the cognate chapters in Jeremiah and Ezekiel; but this *reverses* the true process. Still less probable is the hypothesis of Movers and Hitzig, that the passages in Jeremiah l. and li., which are parallel to Isaiah xxxiv., were interpolated in the former.

Both chapters, xxxiv. and xxxv., form one connected discourse, and should not be separated. They may be dated at the time of Sennacherib's invasion; and are *general* rather than *specific*. All the enemies of the theocracy are to be fearfully visited; after which a blessed era to the people of God commences. Edom represents Zion's collective enemies — the antichristian powers of the world generally. The figures employed are bold and striking; the language indefinite. Hence the prophecy cannot be restricted to any one subject. It was not meant to be so applied. It is vague and shadowy, referring to no particular event or series of events. Rather does it show the anticipations and foreshadowings of a mind partially enlightened of the Spirit — so partially and imperfectly as to be confined within the range of vague generalities respecting the kingdom of God on earth.

Chapters xxxvi.—xxxix. form an historical appendix to the preceding discourses of Isaiah, giving an account of the invasion of the Assyrian army under Sennacherib, and its total overthrow, Hezekiah's sickness and recovery, and the message of the Babylonian king to him. The

consequences of the annihilation of the Assyrian army to the theocracy generally, and to king Hezekiah in particular, are thus related. The same narrative is found in 2 Kings xviii. 13—20. xix. with the exception of Hezekiah's song of thanksgiving (Isa. xxxviii. 9—20.). What relation the two accounts bear to one another is matter of conjecture rather than evidence.

Some suppose that the text in Isaiah is more original than that in the Kings. Such is the view of Grotius, Vitringa, Paulus, and Hendewerk. On the other hand, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Maurer, regard the books of the Kings as the source whence the later writer in Isaiah's collection derived his account. Others again, as Koppe, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Umbreit, Knobel, De Wette, Keil, Ewald, Hävernick, believe that both drew from a third and older source, probably from *the Chronicle of Judah* often quoted in the books of Kings and Chronicles.

We believe that neither the narrative in 2 Kings was taken from that in Isaiah, nor *vice versâ*. The former contains various particulars not found in Isaiah; while Isaiah has more than 2 Kings, such as the thanksgiving song of Hezekiah and the notice of Sennacherib's murder. Comparing the two texts, it appears, that the one in 2 Kings is more correct, complete, and original than the other. Its critical goodness is much superior to that in Isaiah; while marks of abridgment and careful elaboration are more apparent in it. At the same time, the text in Isaiah is *sometimes* more correct and original than that in the Kings. Hence we are led to the conclusion, that both were derived from a common source; the narrative in 2 Kings being nearer to the original in form and diction than that in Isaiah, where greater freedom has been used. There can be little doubt that this third narrative was more copious than either now extant. In 2 Chron. xxxii. 32. we read that *the vision of Isaiah*, in which the acts of Hezekiah were written, was incorporated with the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. Now *this vision of Isaiah*, or the part of it containing the life of Hezekiah, cannot be identified with the book of Isaiah, or chapters xxxvi.—xxxix., because the relation subsisting between the extract from the Chronicle of Judah in 2 Kings xviii.—xx. and the chapters before us forbids it. It was rather a biography of Hezekiah and Ahaz (2 Chron. xxvi. 22.), perhaps a history of contemporaneous events, which the prophet wrote, and which was incorporated into the Chronicles of Judah and Israel. The writer of the books of Kings extracted from it his narrative of Hezekiah with historical fidelity and accuracy, but not literally. The narrative in those books, as it now stands, did not proceed from Isaiah himself. It is *substantially* his, because it is taken from what he himself composed. As the compiler of the books of Kings did not make the extract *verbatim*, but altered it somewhat, Isaiah can be no more than the remote, not the immediate and direct writer of it in its present form. What then is to be said of the narrative in Isa. xxxvi.—xxxix.? Did Isaiah himself write it? Are the variations from the first copy his own? When his prophecies were being collected, did he take the contents of his previous production and incorporate

them, giving such form and shape to them as seemed suitable to his purpose? So Keil, Alexander, and others imagine. But there are circumstances adverse to this view. The account of Sennacherib's murder (xxxvii. 38., comp. 2 Kings xix. 37.), which presupposes the thing as having already happened, can hardly have preceded the death of Isaiah. As nearly as possible, the death of the Assyrian monarch was 696 B.C. Again, the use of יהויה in xxxvi. 11. 13. shows a later writer than Isaiah, since the term could not have been common till long after the destruction of the ten tribes, leaving Judah alone. Alexander does not answer this consideration when he says, "it is altogether probable that from the time of the great schism between Ephraim and Judah, the latter began to call the national language by its own distinctive name;"<sup>1</sup> for *mere assertion* is not reply.

In xl.—lxvi. we have a series of connected discourses which cannot well be dissevered. That they proceed from one author, are pervaded by the same spirit, and exhibit the same style, has been commonly admitted, since Gesenius undertook to show their unity. The subject is the same throughout; and the mode of treating it uniform. But the authorship and age have been disputed. Since the commencement of the higher criticism in Germany, the chapters in question have been commonly ascribed to an unknown prophet living towards the end of the Babylonian captivity. This opinion has been advanced by so many eminent judges of Hebrew diction, and that with unhesitating confidence, that it appears almost presumptuous to dispute it. But it has not met with uniform acceptance among good critics themselves. Though advocated by Justi, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Gesenius, Hitzig, Knobel, Maurer, Ewald, De Wette, Umbreit, Hendewerk, it has been combated by Beckhaus, Greve, Möller, Jahn, Dereser, Kleinert, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil, Henderson, Alexander. The following are the arguments against the authenticity, as stated with great particularity by Knobel.

1. The discourse of the prophet turns altogether on the redemption of Israel from exile, which was effected by the Medo-Persians under Cyrus, through the overthrow of the Babylonian empire. But Isaiah lived upwards of 100 years before the Babylonian exile; and as every prophet attaches himself to the historical relations of his own time, the author can only have lived during the captivity. Other prophets of the period to which Isaiah belongs never predict a *Babylonian* exile; much less a deliverance from it. And suppose Isaiah to have taken an ecstatic leap out of the Assyrian into the Chaldean period, how did he come to predict *release from* the Babylonian exile, without having first predicted the exile itself?

2. The exile is a present thing with the author; while the destruction of Judah is past and the better time future. Jehovah had been *long* angry with his people; Judah is lying waste; the Jewish cities, with Jerusalem and the temple, are heaps of ruins; the prophet complains of the oppression of tyrants and the delay of redemption, and often announces that the freedom and restoration of Israel are

<sup>1</sup> Earlier and later Prophecies of Isaiah, p. 512.

just at hand; he even adduces the steps which Jehovah had already made towards redemption through Cyrus, and promises farther arrangements for that end. All this is future to Isaiah; nothing of it present or past.

3. The author shows an accurate acquaintance with the relations of the oriental world at the time of the exile. He points to disunion among the Babylonians; calls Cyrus by name as the subduer of the Babylonian power; refers to his past victories; to his conduct towards the Egyptians; to the western peoples united under Cræsus against him; to his victory over these; and generally follows Cyrus's undertakings with his discourses. Of all this Isaiah could *suspect*, much less *know*, nothing. To the appeal to a peculiar divine revelation on such points is opposed the fact, that such revelation belongs to the department of the religious and moral, without extending to notices of a historical and political nature. And if God opened up to the prophet these less important things; how could he leave him in error regarding the far more important restoration of the theocracy, which did not happen, as the writer expected and announced, ex. gr. in chapters lx. lxi.?

4. In like manner the writer knows the relations of the exiles down to the most minute particulars. Thus he is perfectly acquainted with the parties among those exiles, ex. gr. the *idolatrours*, who make to themselves images, sacrifice children in groves and valleys, present offerings in gardens and on bricks, sit in graves and hollows, eat swine's flesh, persecute the pious, &c.; the *godless* who intrigue, and execute violent and bloody deeds, so that right and righteousness have disappeared from the midst of the exiles; the *false*, who are addicted to selfishness and riot; those *worshippers of Jehovah who fast* to show him honour, and while they seek salvation do yet violate the sabbath and abuse their dependants; *the heathen* among the exiles, who fear to be shut out from salvation; *the dispirited*, who imagine that they are forsaken of Jehovah, and do not believe in redemption; *the pious*, who flee to Jehovah for restoration but are persecuted; *those occupied with a plan to erect a temple to the Lord* in Babylonia, &c. None but an exile could write thus, not Isaiah, who especially could not predict that the exile would not better the people, but must rather have hoped the reverse, as all the pre-exile prophets.

5. The author speaks almost constantly of the exiles in the second person, directing his words, sometimes to the pious, sometimes to the godless, sometimes to the people generally. He puts questions to them, encourages them not to be afraid, censures and chides, addresses long and severe lectures to them, admonishes them to return to Jehovah and to mend their ways, calls upon them to forsake Babylonia, &c. Such discourses are unsuitable in the mouth of Isaiah, who, living 150 years earlier, could merely *prophecy* of the exiles; they are applicable only to a prophet living among the exiles, and therefore sometimes speaking of the people in the first person plural. The writer mentions himself as being *sent* to the exiles to comfort them; he has spoken to them since the first appearance of Cyrus; his prophecies have already come to pass in part; he will not be

silent till Jehovah restore Jerusalem; he appoints others also with the same object; he finds little faith, and is maltreated by the ungodly, who deride him during his addresses. These are statements which none except an exile-prophet could make of himself.

6. The writer complains of the continuance of misery and delay of deliverance; calls upon Jehovah to subdue the oppressors; and in a long prayer asks him ardently and beseechingly to accomplish deliverance at the last. So could not Isaiah do, but rather one living in the exile; for the importunate request for deliverance from a distress which had not yet come, and was to continue for a time as a righteous punishment, would have been entirely out of place.

7. Jeremiah once fell into great distress because he had predicted Judah's overthrow by the Babylonians; but he does not appeal in his defence to these discourses, which presuppose the most melancholy condition of Judah. Hence the discourses did not exist in his time, and are not Isaiah's.

8. There is a great difference of spirit and views between Isaiah and our author. The latter has the most abundant expectations, ex. gr. respecting the return home, the new heavens and the new earth which Jehovah's splendour would illumine like the sun, the glory and riches of the new Jerusalem, the great age of the Jews which was to be expected, and their relation to the Gentiles. All this is foreign to the more natural manner of Isaiah, and attests at the same time the later period; for which too the designation of Judah and Jerusalem as a sanctuary, the affixing of value to the observance of the sabbath, and the idea of a God who gives himself little concern about the earth, are evidences. Many favourite things of our author's, ex. gr. combating the gods with arguments, and an apology for Jehovah as the only God, the proof of Jehovah's Godhead derived from his prophecies, the servant of Jehovah, and the idea of a vicarious endurance of punishment, do not appear in Isaiah. Other particulars are *in contradiction to Isaiah*, as the expectation of a theocracy without a visible king; whereas Isaiah cannot dispense with a king.

9. The manner of the writer is different from Isaiah's. It is true that he writes like Isaiah in a very animated, fiery, and lively strain, but much more flowing and smooth, as also more copious and prolix; he repeats a great deal, and certain formulas frequently recur, ex. gr. *I am Jehovah, and there is none other; I am the first and the last; to whom will ye compare me? I raised up, called Cyrus; Who hath declared from the beginning, prophesied as I? I have declared, said it of old; fear not, I am with thee.* To this head belong numerous appositions, ex. gr. *Jehovah who stretched out the heavens, spread forth the earth; who formed Israel, created &c. servant Jacob, whom I have chosen; created, formed, &c.* The frequent designations of Jehovah as Israel's creator (בָּרָא), former (יָצַר), redeemer (גָּאֹל), saviour (מוֹשִׁיעַ), *having mercy upon* (מְרַחֵם), *comforter* (מְנַחֵם), do not once appear in Isaiah. In like manner, it is peculiar to the writer to represent Jerusalem as a person, the people as the wife of Jehovah, and Jehovah as the father of the Israelites; to double words for the sake of emphasis, ex. gr.

*I, I*; *they, they*; *behold, behold*; and frequently to apply personification and prosopopœia. All this is either wholly foreign to Isaiah, or foreign in the manner that appears here; while representations like lvii. 7. &c. are quite impossible in him.

10. The *usus loquendi* of the writer is quite different from Isaiah's. To his peculiarities belong צָמַח, *to sprout*, i. e. *to arise*; קָרָא, *to preach*; מִשָּׁפֵט, *הַדָּבָר עַל לֵב, עֲלָה, הַשִּׁיב, שִׁים*, *to break out into exultation*; מִשְׁפַּט, *הַדָּבָר עַל לֵב, עֲלָה, הַשִּׁיב, שִׁים*, *the religion of Jehovah*; צָדָק, *prosperity, salvation*; צָדָקָה, *the same*; הָעַם, *the inhabitants of the earth*; בָּאֵין, *as nothing*; בָּלִיבָשָׁר, *all flesh*; שָׂר וְשָׂרָה, *wasting and destruction*, the use of the adjective and participle as a substantive neuter, mostly in the plural feminine, ex. gr. קְדָמוֹת, *ancient things*; רֵאשִׁימוֹת, *former things*; רְבוֹת, *great things*; נְסֻרוֹת, *secret things*; הַדְּבָרוֹת, *new things*; אֲתִיבוֹת, *things to come*; בָּאוֹת, *the same*. These expressions appear for the most part in our author, and characterise him as a very peculiar writer. Most important are the linguistic elements, betraying a later time. The writer uses a number of expressions which are found either in his composition only, or in the later books; and which must be explained chiefly by the Aramæan, ex. gr. זָאֵל, *to be unclean*; גָּשָׁשׁ, *to grope*; טָפַח, *to span*; בָּנָה, *to name*; מָחָה, *to strike*; מָתַח, *to spread out*; סָנַר, *to pray to*; גָּשַׁק, *to kindle*; גָּשַׁם, *to breathe*; בָּעָה, *to cry*; צָוַח, *the same*; צָעָה, *to bow, stretch*; קָרַח, *to kindle*; חָצִין, *repentance*; צִיר, *idol*; צָפָה, *veil*; רָפֵיט, *dirt*; שׁוֹבֵב, *apostate*; הַקְּתִיר, *without*; פָּגַיִם, *to be averse*; the formulas, *what dost thou*; *peoples and tongues*: סָרְגִינִים, *princes*, is a Persian word. In like manner, our author employs a number of words in significations and relations borrowed in part from Aramæan, appearing only in later authors so far as they are not peculiar to him, and all betraying a great advance in the language, thus showing a later period, as, הֵאִיר, *to kindle*; אֶמְיִן, *to designate*; בָּחַר, *to try*; בָּרַעַע, *to hatch*; חִדַּשׁ, *to restore*; בָּהֵן, *to make priestly*; בֹּוֹל, *to measure*; הוֹלִיד, *causatively, to cause to beget*; הוֹעִיל, *to profit*; מוֹנֵג, *transitive, to cause to dissolve*; הִמְלִיט, *to bring forth*; נָהַר, *to shine, be hot*; עָמַד, *to appear*; פָּגַע, *to meet*; פָּתַח, *to be loosed*; פָּתַח, *intransitive (xlvi. 8., lx. 11.)*; הִרְבִּיץ, *to lay*; הִרְגִיעַ, *to set, establish*; רָעִין, *intransitive (xlii. 3.)*; אֶחָד, *succession of time*; בֵּוֹל, *stock of a tree*; גָּזַע, *race, generally*; הַמִּוֵּן, *riches*; זָר, *a strange god*; חָלִי, *suffering, generally*; הַמְּצִין, *employment, affair, business*; חֲרָבָה, *shame*; חַרְבִּיץ, *messenger, prophet*; מְרֻסָּן, *poor*; עָד, *lawgiver*; פְּסָל, *a molten image*; צָרָה, *distress*; הֵן, *if*; יָתֵר, *exceedingly*; בָּתָּהּ, *together*; עַל לְ, *in proportion to*. The same holds good of word-forms, ex. gr. the Aramæisms אֶנְאֵלְתִי and אֶתְלִי. None but the author has a Pihel of פָּאֵר, a Hiphil denominative of פָּח, a Hithpael of נִמַּר, פָּתַח, and שָׁעָה, as well as the nominal forms אֶפְלוֹת in the plural, עֲלָה, for עֲלָה, and תַּלְבִּשָׁת, and נִגְהָה, מַעֲרָבָה, מַעֲצָבָה, עֲנָלָה, for עֲנָלָה, and תַּבְּנוֹת, מַעֲרָב, מַעֲרָבָה, אֶתִּי for אֶתִּי, אֶתִּי for אֶתִּי, שׁוֹמֵם, עֲלָמִים, מוֹתִים. Many words are to be explained by the Arabic which may have had an influence on the Hebrew of the exiles in the intercourse of the Arabians with the Babylonians; for example, גְּלוֹמִיד, *unfruitful*; הַרְדִּיִם, *uneven places*; הָהָה, *to dream*; הָבַר, *to know*; הַטָּם, *to shut*

up; תְּרַצְבוֹת, *bands*; גִּצָּח, *moisture*; עֲנִית, *to moisten or refresh*; צָרַח, *to cry*; שֶׁבֶל, *train*; שֶׁרֵב, *mirage*.<sup>1</sup>

Such is a summary of the argument against the genuineness of the last twenty-seven chapters presented by Knobel. Doubtless the critic imagines that by collecting the various details accumulated by previous writers, and then drawing them out in lengthened array with systematic minuteness, he has strengthened his cause; but whatever it has obtained in extent, it has lost under his hands in force. We shall now make a few general observations suggested by his first six statements.

It appears to us, that incorrect views of the nature of biblical prophecy lie at the basis of much that is here set forth. The prophetic gift did not exclude the transference of the possessor in spirit into the future. On the contrary, a supernatural insight into futurity was either included in that gift, or accompanied it. Inspiration of a nature to comprehend some knowledge of the future is not psychologically impossible; and it should not be tacitly assumed as such. The prophets were not confined to their own times. Their vision stretched beyond contemporary events and influences into remote periods. Hence we have no sympathy with such as *virtually* or *plainly* deny the ability of the prophetic order to glance at the future, or to declare events still in the womb of time.

It is a mistake to suppose that the entire discourse turns upon the deliverance of Israel from the Babylonish exile. The writer does not take a firm historical stand-point in the captivity. Had he lived at the time supposed, he would have described things very differently. It is true that Knobel and his fellow-critics endeavour to show a minute delineation of historical circumstances and parties relating to the captives in Babylon, favourable to the assumption of actual converse with them; but in representing *the exact acquaintance* of the writer with peculiarities in the situation of the exiles, much incorrect interpretation is given. Or, if it be not incorrect, it is one-sided, because general descriptions are *appropriated* and *restricted* to particular things which they were not meant to designate specifically. The radical error committed by the opponents of the authenticity, is the supposition that the chapters in question depict the deliverance of the Israelites from Babylon, *and nothing else*, except what immediately bears on that event. All their exegesis rests upon this hypothesis, and is moulded by it most injuriously. Such exegesis is far too narrow. It cramps the poetic delineations of the prophet, by forcing them into the one crucible of actual history, where they resemble prosaic details and countenance the opinion of their being drawn from actual observation. The prophets of the Old Testament deal, for the most part, in generalities. Their descriptions do not descend into minute particulars or events. Rather do they embrace a broad outline. Nor are Isaiah's discourses dissimilar. They do not depict specific events, circumstances, or persons, but move within a wide sphere, and take a wide range. The contents of the prophecy

<sup>1</sup> Der Prophet Iesaja, Einleitung, p. xxiii. *et seqq.*

before us are in a great measure *ideal*. The stand-point of the prophet is *ideal*. He takes his position in the future. The time of the exile is that into which he carries his view so completely as that he seems to live and act in it. But his stand-point is *not historical*. He is merely transported in spirit to the period of captivity; absorbingly so, forgetting almost that he is not *actually* there. Accordingly the traits are *ideal* and *spiritual*; the delineations general. The exile is a time in which Jehovah would reveal his omnipotence and Godhead over the false gods of the heathen, by the overthrow of Babylon and its gods, as well as by the redemption and glorification of his people Israel. There are no historical details respecting the downfall of Babylon, such as are found in Jeremiah. The return of Israel from the captivity is not described in definite traits. It is true that Cyrus is mentioned by name; but he is not represented as the king of Persia. He is an oriental hero raised up by Jehovah to execute His purposes respecting the Chaldeans; and the mode in which he is spoken of corresponds with the ideal position of the prophet. In like manner, when the writer addresses the people reproached and complaining in Babylon, presents Jerusalem and the cities of Judah as destroyed, the land desolate, the Chaldeans in the height of their power, he does it in a manner so ideally poetical as to show that he did not live with the people in exile, but was merely carried out in spirit into the time when these things should actually exist. In conformity with this, what is prophesied of Israel's redemption from Babylon and their return to Zion, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and of the cities of Judah, partakes largely of an ideal character, so that it were absurd to *limit* it to the literal return of the exiles into their own country through the intervening wilderness, to the building up of old ruins and the restoration of the cities destroyed by the Chaldeans. The literal return from Babylon, and the local changes immediately following it in Jerusalem and Judea, form but a small item in the delineations of the prophet. The merely historical is *subordinated* to the spiritual and ideal. Had the author lived towards the end of the exile, among the enthralled Jews in Babylon, the historical circumstances which make up the ground of the prophetic picture would not have been what they are; but would have centred in the appearance of Cyrus and the relations of that particular period. Instead of this, the great doings of God towards his people under Moses and Joshua form the basis whence a glowing picture is spread out of the redemption of Israel, and its return to the sacred land, a redemption so glorious as to outshine former manifestations of the divine power.

What then, it may be asked, is the subject of the prophecy before us? Alexander answers, that it is "neither the Egyptian nor the Babylonian bondage, nor deliverance from either, but the whole condition, character, and destiny of Israel, as the chosen people, and the church of the Old Testament."<sup>1</sup> This reply is scarcely satisfactory. The chief *historical* subject is certainly the deliverance of Israel from Babylon, and restoration to their own land. This, however, is set

<sup>1</sup> Earlier and later Prophecies of Isaiah, p. 569.

forth in a peculiar way. The prophet sees it but dimly. Hence he describes it in very indefinite language. And inasmuch as it was an important event in the history of the Old Testament church, he surrounds and envelopes it with ideal hopes and anticipations of a better condition of the church of God, of a greater deliverer than Cyrus, a more satisfying atonement for sin than the sufferings of the pious part of the nation, a brighter manifestation of the divine power than was seen in any past deliverance from the oppressor. As the prophet's notions were vague, so are his descriptions. In looking into the future, the spirit which was in him led him to employ very indefinite and poetical language, the force of which he did not perceive. He had faint foreshadowings of the church's future. His language can never be fastened down to "the whole condition, character, and destiny, of Israel as the chosen people." It *should not* be so confined, because it was not so intended. Its peculiar character exhibits its capability of being applied to certain conditions of the church. In this way it may admit of various fulfilments, and is especially realised in the New Testament church. But it does not describe the state of that church *continuously*, because it is not meant for a formal or systematic account of any one phase, or of all the phases together. Certain things connected with Israel, the Old Testament Israel and the New, are set forth in language vague and indefinite—the expression of the prophet's gropings and hopes—linked to and suggested by the future deliverance of the Jews from Babylon.<sup>1</sup>

Were it at all necessary to show the psychological possibility of prophetic foresight, and the probability of Isaiah's taking his ideal stand-point in the future, we might adduce various considerations tending to the result that ideas similar to those enunciated by Isaiah respecting the future of the theocracy were current in his time. They were not wholly new then. The prophet had only to link his own anticipations to such as were already diffused among his order, or the pious portion of the people. Thus Micah predicted the deportation of Judah to Babylon, and their deliverance (iv. 10.). The very mode in which Isaiah announces to king Hezekiah the carrying away of all his treasures and sons to Babylon, as well as the manner in which the monarch receives the information (xxxix. 6—8.), show that the idea was not new. Besides, other prophets are transported in spirit into the future, describing it as present, such as Hosea xiv. 2. &c. In Micah iv. 10., the prophet addresses the Jewish people in the Babylonian exile. So, also, in vii. 7. 11., the same stand-point in the exile is assumed.

These observations may assist the reader in seeing how much Knobel, and those whom he follows, have mistaken the import of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah. By virtually rejecting prophetic foresight, and narrowing the discourse to the deliverance from Babylon with the accompanying events and influences, they prepare the way for a denial of its authenticity. By making the descriptions *specific* and *definite*, they render the opinion that the writer lived in the exile,

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Ewald's *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, vol. i. pp. 27, 28.

and addressed contemporaries, much more plausible. But the prophet, looking into the future, sees beyond the people's deliverance from Babylon, and their return to Jerusalem. That is a mere key-note to his inspired musings. He launches forth, with bold flight, into the future destinies of the church,—perceives a suffering Mediator expiating the sins of the people,—indulges in bright hopes, paints ideal scenes, and gives expression to comprehensive aspirations. Whatever ideas he himself attached to the words employed—and we do not imagine those ideas to have assumed a specific form, or to have had a specific reference in his mind—it is certain that he looked beyond the deliverance from Babylon and the restoration of the Jews at that time to a more glorious era, which was merely pre-figured by the other; when the Messianic hopes of the oppressed and suffering people should find their consummation. His discourse is not connected or consecutive; it moves onward, without advancing much beyond where it commenced. The theme is the same, treated somewhat variously in different parts. It does not receive a gradual and progressive development under the hands of the prophet, because it is apparent that his views of the future church were vague and dim. The spirit which was in him did not point to any particular state of Israel at a particular time, nor unfold the peculiar workings of Providence at a marked crisis of history. On the contrary, the traits are universal; depicting prosperity and adversity, unbelief and faith, apostasy and obedience, so that they apply to the church or to individuals in all times. Whether the writer *meant* them to be thus applied is doubtful. We suppose he did not. He had no clear thinking on the subject.

*The difference of manner* between the author of these last chapters and Isaiah cannot be denied. Here the method is clearer, more flowing, more copious and comprehensive, than in the pieces of the first part confessedly belonging to the prophet himself; for there brevity and condensation prevail. In the first part, the images are not drawn out, as they are in the second. Frequently, they are only intimated, and then suddenly dropped. Hence there is an abruptness in the method, which contrasts with the smooth and easy flow of the last twenty-seven chapters. This diversity of description in the earlier and later discourses of the prophet may be explained by several considerations, without having recourse to different authorship. Difference of subject should be regarded. The discourses of the first part are mostly of a threatening character. They refer to judgments and desolations more than to coming prosperity and good. Accordingly, brevity and energy of expression are best adapted to them. They become more striking and effective by a compressed form of expression. On the other hand, an easy flow and fulness of discourse is better suited to the latter chapters of the book, where the announcement of plenteous salvation constitutes the great theme. In conformity with the comprehensive character of the subject, deliverance from the effects of Jehovah's displeasure and restoration to his favour, the reader expects richness of expression and abundant imagery. Besides, the prophecies of the first part were

uttered publicly before the people in agitating circumstances, while those of the latter were written towards the close of the prophet's life, when he had partly withdrawn from the outward activities of his office, and could calmly set forth the result of the communications he had received respecting the future of Jehovah's kingdom on earth. He could then elaborate at his leisure the higher views of the theocracy which his spirit aspired to reach. And surely Isaiah was a many-sided man who could employ more than one method, if needful. All that we know of him leads to the conclusion that he was not shut up to one way of presenting his ideas. He was master of many moods. His endowments were various, and his style diversified. In him largeness of mind made an outlet for itself of corresponding breadth and fulness. Those, therefore, that would cramp him down to one uniform manner, do violence to the greatness of intellect and heart which gave him a pre-eminent position among the servants of God.

In relation to the peculiarities belonging to the later prophecies which do not occur in the earlier, they are accounted for by the nature of the subject. In a piece of such compass as twenty-seven chapters, it is natural to find peculiar ideas and expressions. Some of the peculiarities in question are not *prevailing ones* in the later prophecies. Others rest on a false basis, such as אֲרָקָה, אֲרָק, to which are attributed the signification, *salvation, victory*; רִיבּוֹנִיּוּת, *religion*; קָרַר, *to prove*; which words should be understood in their usual sense. Other idioms occur in the earlier prophecies, as *the emphatic repetition of words, the accumulation of predicates, &c.*

The later diction, or Chaldaisms, to which appeal has been made, proves little. The language is tolerably free from Chaldaisms. This is evident from the fact that so few have been accumulated in the entire twenty-seven chapters. Some Chaldaisms may be found in writers earlier than Isaiah, even in the Pentateuch, as Hirzel has shown.<sup>1</sup> The nature of the Hebrew language, and the history of the people using it, account for this fact. Others are employed because they are more poetical, as אֲרָקָה, lxiii. 3., and רִיבּוֹנִיּוּת, liii. 10. Some words, as קָרַר (xli. 25.), may be explained by the intercourse of the Jews with the Assyrians, in the days of Isaiah. Besides, not a few of the alleged Chaldaisms and Arabisms are incorrectly so called. At the same time, if Hirzel meant to say that the four examples of Chaldaism which he gives from Isaiah be the only real ones in the book (vii. 14., xxix. 1., xviii. 7., xxi. 12.), he was certainly mistaken.<sup>2</sup> There are other unmistakeable ones in the last twenty-seven chapters, which he has not noticed. And when Jahn affirms that, after repeated perusals, he can find only two words of a later age than Isaiah's in the later prophecies, viz., אֲרָקָה, li. 14., lxiii. 1., and קָרַר, xli. 25., which, however, he thinks, after all, are not Chaldaising and modern, he is egregiously in error.<sup>3</sup> Such advocacy of

<sup>1</sup> De Chaldaismi Biblici origine et auctoritate critica.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 485.

the truth can only render the defence of it more difficult, as Gesenius intuitively saw.<sup>1</sup>

Forms and constructions are falsely explained. What is termed a later usage, is resolvable into poetical licence, or is no later usage at all. In this way, the list accumulated by Knobel out of preceding writers may be reduced to an inconsiderable extent—inconsiderable in comparison with other phenomena favourable to the authenticity of the chapters. An example or two will suffice to verify these remarks. וְיָצַק, xlv. 14., *to appoint*. The usual meaning of *strengthen* is preferable. וְיָצַק, *law-giver*, lv. 4. Here the sense which the word elsewhere has should be retained, *witness*.

The argument taken from Jer. xxvi. is a mere *argumentum e silentio*, which can prove nothing apart from far weightier ones. In this case it is entirely overborne by the fact that Jeremiah and Ezekiel were acquainted with these later prophecies of Isaiah.

On the whole, we must express our conviction of the weakness attaching to the long and laboured argument of Knobel and his fellows against the authenticity of the portion before us. Even in the part of it that relates to style and diction, where these critics ought to be most in their element, it is inconclusive. The later character of the language, supposing the prophecies to have been written towards the close of the exile, cannot be sustained by a number of separate expressions here and there, or of occasional forms and constructions. It would require a more frequent, uniform, and pervading element of the later usage to present the argument in a convincing light. The effort to find later forms and words is obvious, from the doubtfulness and positive inapplicability of several adduced; showing that occasional phenomena pointing to the later diction are perfectly reconcileable with an Isaiah-origin and period. Had these prophecies been addressed by a Jewish exile to his countrymen living among them, the later Chaldaising nature of the style would have been more definite and extensive; the diction would have been coloured by it throughout, which it certainly is not.

It is possible to conceive that the writer of these chapters *imitated* the purer diction of former times, as the prophets Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi did, whose style is almost free from Chaldaisms. But a post-exilian was differently situated from them. They belonged to the newly-returned colony; whereas he was in a position similar to that of the Chaldaising Ezekiel. It would even have been more difficult for him to have written pure Hebrew, because he spent his youth in a country where Chaldee was spoken, which Ezekiel did not. "In addition to this," as Hengstenberg well remarks, "it ought to be mentioned that an artificial abstinence from the language of their times occurs only in those prophets who entirely lean upon an earlier prophetic literature; but that union of purity in diction with independence, which is manifest in the attacked portions of Isaiah, is nowhere else to be found."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Commentar, u. s. w. vol. iii. p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Article Isaiah in Kitto's Cyclopædia.

The following positive arguments may be stated in favour of the authenticity of the present chapters.

1. They are repeatedly and expressly attributed to Isaiah in the New Testament. Thus, John i. 23., *As Esaias the prophet spake*, is an introductory formula to the passage, Isaiah xl. 3. In like manner, we read in Matt. xii. 17., *That which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying*, prefixed to Isaiah xlii. 1. &c.; in Matt. iii. 3., *He that was spoken of by Isaiah the prophet, saying*, prefixed to Isaiah xl. 3. &c.; in John xii. 38., *That the word of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled which he spake*, prefixed to Isaiah liii. 1. &c. These, and similar quotations, plainly show that our Lord and his apostles believed these chapters to have been written by Isaiah himself.

2. In the book of Jesus Sirach, called Ecclesiasticus, which was written in the second century before Christ, there is a testimony to the authenticity of the portion in question. In xlvi. 22—25. we read “For Ezekias had done the thing that pleased the Lord, and was strong in the ways of David his father, as Esay the prophet, who was great and faithful in his vision, had commanded him. In his time the sun went backward, and he lengthened the king’s life. He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Zion. He showed what should come to pass for ever, and secret things or ever they came.” This commendation especially refers to the later prophecies of Isaiah.

3. According to Josephus, Cyrus was led by the prophecies of Isaiah respecting him to give permission to the Jews to return and rebuild the temple. The edict issued by that king confirms Josephus’s statement; for in it it is announced that the Lord God of heaven had given him all the kingdoms of the earth, and had charged him to build him an house at Jerusalem. (Ezra i.) This can only refer to the latter part of Isaiah; and Kleinert<sup>1</sup> has shown that the edict employs even many of the words belonging to the prophecies. Supposing the prophecies spurious, Cyrus must have been deceived by a supposititious work, which is quite incredible. And Ezra, in writing as he did about the edict, committed a fraud upon his readers—a supposition in direct opposition to his character. The conduct of Cyrus is inexplicable, except on the admission that what Ezra and Josephus relate was correct, viz. that the prophecies of Isaiah had induced the king to take a step so singular.<sup>2</sup>

4. The oldest testimony for the authenticity of these prophecies is the inscription in i. 1., in which it is stated that Isaiah wrote the prophecies following. It has been doubted, indeed, whether this inscription proceeded from Isaiah himself or a compiler. If it proceeded from the latter, the latest date at which it could have been made was at the reception of the book into the canon. This time is very uncertain. It was not so early as Ezra and Nehemiah. There is nothing against the supposition that the title proceeded from

<sup>1</sup> Ueber die Echtheit sämmtlicher in dem Buche Iesaja enthaltenen Weissagungen, u. s. w. p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 134. et seqq.

Isaiah himself. On the contrary, its relationship to that in ii. 1., which is undoubtedly authentic, favours the Isaiah-authorship. The force of this argument is not weakened by the hypothesis of Koppe, Rosenmüller, and others, viz. that the inscription refers to no more than the first chapter, and that the words "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah," were subsequently added. This *appears* to be favoured by the circumstance that the inscription, as it now stands, does not suit the whole book, the contents not being confined to Judah and Jerusalem but extending to foreign nations. The theocracy, however, is the centre of the prophecies, and all were uttered for its sake. Hence the title is quite appropriate to the entire collection. Nor is the argument weakened by another hypothesis which Gesenius, Hitzig, and others adopt, viz. that the title refers to an original collection of Isaiah's prophecies, either the first twelve chapters or more. This is a mere hypothesis, improbable in itself, and unparalleled in the field of prophetic literature.

5. The use of these prophecies by others shows their existence anterior to the exile; and consequently leads to the inference that they were written by Isaiah. Jeremiah makes considerable use of them. Thus in the tenth chapter of Jeremiah, where the impotence of the heathen gods is described, the language is copied from Isaiah. The following passages also show imitation: Jer. xlvi. 18. 22. 26., compared with Isa. xlvii. 1—3.; Jer. xii. 14., compared with Isa. lvi. 9.; Jer. xii. 11., compared with Isa. lvii. 1.; Jer. v. 25. &c., compared with Isa. lix. 1, 2.; Jer. xiii. 16., compared with Isa. lix. 9—11.; Jer. xiv. 7., compared with Isa. lix. 12.; Jer. l. li., containing a prophecy against Babylon, present many evidences of imitation, which Jahn has presented to the eye in parallel columns<sup>1</sup>; and Kueper has drawn out the whole argument with a minuteness and skill sufficient to convince an impartial inquirer.<sup>2</sup> In like manner, Ezekiel has made use of the chapters before us, as may be seen by comparing Ezek. xxiii. 40, 41. with Isa. lvii. 9.; Ezek. xxiii. with Isa. lvii. 9. Zephaniah has also copied, as ii. 15., from Isa. xlvii. 8.; iii. 10. from Isa. lxvi. 19, 20. Evidence of the same procedure is found in Nahum: ii. 1. appears to be taken from Isa. lii. 1. 7.; iii. 7. from li. 19.<sup>3</sup>

6. On the supposition of these chapters being spurious, it is very difficult to give any rational explanation of their incorporation with the authentic Isaiah. This problem is still more intricate to those who find a farrago of authentic and spurious pieces in the first thirty-nine chapters likewise.

To these external arguments for the authenticity of the portion of Isaiah under review, may be subjoined internal ones.

1. Various intimations point to the real time and position of the prophet. He lived long before the exile, and did not conceal the fact. He asserts that the knowledge of future events, such as the destruction of Babylon and deliverance of Israel, had been revealed to him

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 465. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Jeremias Librarum sacrorum interpres, &c. p. 134. *et seqq.* Comp. also Caspari in Rudelbach and Guericke's Zeitschrift for 1843, ii. p. 48. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See Kueper, p. 137. *et seqq.*

before their fulfilment. Such events are represented as *new, not before heard of*, which Jehovah had caused to be announced before they had given any outward indications of their appearance. (xlii. 9., xli. 21—27., xliii. 9—13., xlv. 21., xlvi. 10., xlviii. 3. 5.) These declarations throw the date of composition back to a period before Cyrus appeared, even if they be restricted to him alone as the deliverer of Israel. But they are of a more general aspect, referring both to the destruction of Babylon and the deliverance of Israel in general.

2. The locality of the writer was not Babylon, as has been affirmed. Ewald makes it to be Egypt, because the northern parts of the Chaldean empire are spoken of as the remote end of the earth (xli. 25. comp. xxiv. 16.); on account of the interest which the author seems to take in Egypt (xliii. 3., xlv. 14. &c.); and because of the special mention of the *Sinin*, i. e. those dwelling in Pelusium; and because swine's flesh is mentioned as offered in sacrifice to idols. (lxv. 4. &c.)<sup>1</sup> But these particulars are no proof that the writer was in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> In like manner, it does not follow from the addresses to Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, in xl. 2. 9. comp. xli. 27., li. 16., lxii. 1. &c. that the speaker lived in Jerusalem, as Hävernick supposes.<sup>3</sup> The state of the people described shows that the prophet belonged to Judah; and lived before the downfall of the kingdom of Judah and the destruction of Jerusalem. His reproofs of prevailing sins, the neglect of sacrifice to Jehovah (xliii. 22. &c.), the prevalence of every kind of idolatry (lvii. 3. &c.), seeking the favour of foreign rulers (lvii. 9. &c.), apply to the time of Isaiah and to the Jews in Palestine. This is confirmed by the circumstance that Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba are spoken of as the leading nations of that time. (xliii. 3., xlv. 14.)

3. The general method of description is analogous to that of Isaiah himself. Thus the prophecy in Isaiah xi. 7—9. is repeated in nearly the same words in lxv. 25. To explain this by *imitation* is a gratuitous assumption. The circle of images is similar, as *the melting of metals* (i. 22., xlviii. 10.), *the closing of eyes* (vi. 10., xlv. 18.), *night and morning dawn* (viii. 20., lviii. 8., xlvii. 11.), *sitting in darkness* (ix. 1., xlvii. 5.), *taking off the veil* (xxii. 8., xlvii. 2.), *a crown for cities* (xxviii. 1., lxii. 3.), *tent and tent-pins* (xxxiii. 20., liv. 2.), *drunken or reeling* (xxviii. 7. &c., xlix. 26., li. 17. &c.). In both parts of the book we seldom find visions related, or symbolical actions performed, though these are frequent in the later prophets. Lyrical pieces are interspersed, as v. 1. &c., xii. 1. &c., lxi. 10., lxiii. 7—lxiv. 11. In like manner, paronomasia and antithesis are frequently used (xxx. 16., and xliii. 23., lxvi. 3, 4.); frequent repetition of a word in the parallel members of a verse (xi. 5., xv. 1. 8., lix. 10. &c.). Objects are accumulated in narration, &c., as has been shown by Kleinert.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Die Propheten des Alten Bundes, vol. ii. pp. 409, 410.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Meier in the Studien und Kritiken for 1848, p. 875. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung ii. 2. p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> Die Echtheit, u. s. w., p. 279. *et seqq.*

4. The diction and linguistic colouring speak in favour of Isaiah-authorship. Peculiarities of this kind belonging to Isaiah in the first part recur in the second. Were these few in number, or insignificant in themselves, they might be called with Hitzig "trifles," or explained as "imitations of the genuine Isaiah," with De Wette. But they are too important and prominent to be so accounted for. Thus, *קדוּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל*, *the holy one of Israel* (xli. 14. 16. 20.), occurs fourteen times in the latter part. In the first part the appellation occurs eleven times. No other prophet has the same idiom; and it occurs nowhere else except three times in the Psalms. The use of *יִקְרָא*, *to be called*, for *to be*, occurs with equal frequency in both parts (xlvi. 1. 4, 5., xlvi. 8. &c., liv. 5., lvi. 7. &c.). Another idiom peculiar to Isaiah is *יֵאמַר לְךָ*, *shall be said to, called* (iv. 3., xix. 18., lxi. 6., lxii. 4.). *יֵאמַר יְהוָה* in parenthetic clauses, for which *יְהוָה אֵמַר* or similar phrases are found elsewhere. *אֲזַכֵּיר*, *mighty*, is used of God only in this prophet (i. 24., xlix. 26., lx. 16.). The poetical term *אֶפְרַיִם*, *offspring* (xxii. 24., xlii. 5., xliv. 3., xlvi. 19., lxi. 9., lxv. 23.). *רַחַב*, *Rahab, Egypt* (xxx. 7., li. 9.). The poetical word *גִּזְע*, *trunk* (xi. 1., xl. 24.). *חֲרִיץ*, *threshing-machine* (xxviii. 27., xli. 15.). *יְגִלֵי מַיִם*, *streams of water*, is only found in Isaiah (xxx. 25., xliv. 4.). *גַּעְצוֹן*, *thicket of thorns*, is found only in vii. 19. and lv. 13. The union of the words *רָם וְנִשָּׂא*, *high and lifted up* (ii. 13., vi. 1., lvii. 15.). *גִּשַׁח*, used of the *drying up* of water (xix. 5., xli. 17.). *הָיָה לְקִדְשׁ*, *to be a burning or destruction* (v. 5., vi. 13., xliv. 15.). *זָרַע*, *brood* (contemptuously) (i. 4., lvii. 3.). *שָׁרַשׁ*, *shoot* (xi. 10., liii. 2.). *הֵנָּה*, *heretofore* (xvi. 13., xliv. 8., xlv. 21., xlvi. 3. 5. 7.)<sup>1</sup>

The best critics commonly admit at the present day that these chapters belong to one time and author, forming a united whole. The writer we have seen to be Isaiah himself; for the grounds adduced against his authorship are insufficient to shake it, being founded for the most part on erroneous views of the nature of prophecy itself.

In relation to the distribution of the whole piece into sections, the best division is that of Rückert<sup>2</sup>, who makes three, each consisting of nine chapters, and marked by a similar close in the first two, viz. xlvi. 22., lvii. 21. In this manner there arise xl.—xlvi., xlix.—lvii., lviii.—lxvi. According to Hävernicks<sup>3</sup>, the first describes the relation of Israel to heathenism; the second, Israel as the centre of salvation to the world; the third, the completion of the theocracy in glory. There is some truth in the sections thus made, and in the subject of each as announced; but the general topic of the first two is substantially the same, what is stated in one being repeated in the other. Hence we cannot agree with the view of Rüetschi, who has endeavoured to point out "a very beautiful and careful disposition of the whole piece," taking for the basis of his essay the division proposed by Rückert. According to this critic, two announcements of what the prophet intends to proclaim stand at the commencement of the oracle (chapters xl. and xli.). Then chapters xlii.—xlvi. form the first and leading division of the whole prophecy, which he subdivides

<sup>1</sup> See Kleinert's *Die Echtheit*, § 7. p. 220. *et seqq.*, and Hävernicks, ii. 2. p. 192. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Hebräische Propheten uebersetzt und erlaütet* i. 1831.

<sup>3</sup> *Einleit.* ii. 2. p. 153. *et seqq.*

into three parts. But we must refer to the essay itself for the plan and progress traced throughout. The ingenious scholar has discovered and developed what the writer himself did not think of, by putting his own ideas into the piece.<sup>1</sup> Alexander justly remarks, that the division made by Rückert is rather *poetical* than *critical*; the whole being a desultory though continued composition.

For obvious reasons those prophecies of Isaiah are most important and interesting to Christians now, which speak of the *servant of God*. If *they* have any reference to the person of the Saviour, as the majority of expositors have always believed, they are invested with peculiar interest. The passages which relate to this *servant* are xlii. 1—9., xlix. 1—9., l. 4—11., li. 16., lii. 13—liii. 12., lxi. The statements here made respecting him are briefly these:—Jehovah had called him from the womb, had protected and constituted him His agent, clothing his word with power. (xlix. 1, 2.) He had put His spirit upon him, and sent him forth as a source of light and health to the surrounding nations. (xlii. 1.) He was to be mild and unostentatious, a mediator between Jehovah and the nations, to open blind eyes and release from spiritual bondage, and to introduce a new dispensation. (xlii. 1—7., li. 16.) He was despised and rejected of men, disfigured with sufferings and bathed in sorrows, yet uncomplaining and patient amid injuries; suffering pain and death, not for any sins of his own, but on behalf of others. (liii. 1—8.) The fruit of his sufferings will correct all errors, and he shall receive a glorious reward (liii. 10—12.), being exalted in proportion to his previous humiliation. (li. 13—15.) The chief opinions respecting this *servant of God* are the following, taking lii. 13—liii. 12. as the basis:—

1. Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and Koester suppose the Jewish people in exile to be meant in their relation to the heathen. The Septuagint version agrees with them in regard to chapter xlii.; and in relation to chapter liii., Abenesra, Jarchi, Kimchi, Abarbenel, and Eichhorn. According to this view the heathen are supposed to be introduced speaking in liii. 1—10. Israel had suffered in place of the heathen who had rejected the Saviour. This interpretation is destitute of all evidence. The heathen are never introduced elsewhere as speaking. Besides, the *servant of Jehovah* is distinguished from the Jewish people in xlix. 6., and the interpretation is either unsuitable to many passages, or can only be adapted to them by an arbitrary and extravagant exegesis.

2. Others, as Paulus, Thenius, Maurer, Von Coelln, interpret the pious portion of the people. This is substantially the same as Henderk's view — the young growth of the nation or young Israel in opposition to the old incorrigible Israel. Against both these it may be urged, that they do not satisfy the conditions of some places where the *servant of Jehovah* seems to be either a more comprehensive or a more definite object; and that they are opposed to the plain meaning of others. The *servant of God* is spoken of as a person in li. 16.; as

<sup>1</sup> See Studien und Kritiken for 1854, p. 261. *et seqq.*

dying and living again after death (liii. 10—12.); and as atoning for the sins of the whole nation.

3. Gesenius, De Wette, Winer, Schenkel, and others suppose that the phrase denotes *the prophetic order*. But the prophets were not sent to the Gentiles, as is stated of the servant of Jehovah. (xlii. 6.) It was no part of their mission to enlighten and save the nations generally. The view of Umbreit is in part the same as this; but he includes the conception of Messiah, the ideal of all the prophets.

4. Hofmann's view is a modification of the two preceding ones, and exposed to the same objections, viz. Israel suffering in their prophetic vocation on behalf of the heathen world.<sup>1</sup>

5. Schumann supposes that the *servant of God* includes both the pious Israelites and prophets, and Christ the Messiah, thus uniting two interpretations. He thinks that the prophet had distinctly in his mind his own times and its relations, and therefore speaks of the fate of the pious Israelites and prophets; while at the same time a definite person arose before his view, who was to be the restorer of the theocratic kingdom; and what he prophesied of him applies, through the influence of the divine Spirit, to the person of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

This view is not far from the truth; but it is a doubtful exposition which separates the ideas of the prophet himself from those of the Spirit by whom he was inspired.

6. Delitzsch considers the *servant of God* as a mere ideal, to which the prophet has given the living portrait of a person; a collective body belonging to the historical present of the prophet, and to which he himself belongs,—the invisible church of the dispersed, consisting of Jehovah's faithful worshippers,—visible indeed in its members, but invisible in so far as it is destitute of the external unity of an association, and possesses only the internal unity of like-mindedness.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever may be said of the piety, fidelity, and self-sacrifice of a portion of the Israelites during exile, their sufferings and endurance cannot be considered a vicarious and expiatory sacrifice for the sins of the nation.

7. It is almost unnecessary to mention such opinions as, that king Uzziah is meant; or Hezekiah; or Josiah; or Isaiah himself; or Jeremiah; or Cyrus. In the three sections xlii. 1—7., xlix. 1—9., lii. 13—liii. 12., the servant of Jehovah is not interpreted alike by the same commentator; so that one critic may be sometimes quoted on behalf of different opinions.

Every one will perceive at a glance that none of the individuals mentioned can be the subject of the prophecies respecting the *servant of Jehovah*.

8. The Messianic view appears to us the only tenable one. The Jews so understood the language of the prophet till their opposition to Christians induced them to renounce that explanation. Accordingly it is found in the Chaldee paraphrase on xlii. 1., lii. 13. But

<sup>1</sup> Weissagung und Erfüllung im alten und im neuen Testamente, vol. i. p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to the Books of the Old and New Testaments, pp. 134, 135., English version.

<sup>3</sup> In Rudelbach and Guericke's Zeitschrift for 1850, p. 34.

Abenesra, Jarchi, David Kimchi, Abarbenel, Sal. Ben Melek (even the Septuagint, xlii. 1—9.) applied chapter liii. to Israel in exile. Christian interpreters always referred the prophecies in question to Christ, till the higher criticism, pervaded by scepticism, turned away many from the Messianic explanation. This view is proved to be correct by many quotations in the New Testament. Comp. xlii. 1. &c., with Matt. xii. 18. &c.; xlix. 6. with Acts xiii. 47.; xlix. 8. with 2 Cor. vi. 2.; lii. 15. with Rom. xv. 21.; liii. 1. with John xii. 38. and Rom. x. 16.; liii. 4. with Matt. viii. 17.; liii. 5, 6. with 1 Peter ii. 24. &c.; liii. 7, 8. with Acts viii. 32. &c.; liii. 9. with 1 Peter ii. 22.; liii. 12. with Luke xxii. 37. There is no doubt that our Lord and his apostles believed in the Messianic sense of the appellation. But if the usage of *servant of Jehovah* be carefully observed, it will appear that the person of Christ is not *exclusively* meant. That he *is* intended is unquestionable; else some places are both obscure and inexplicable, especially those where the servant of God is set forth as a Teacher of the Gentiles, a spiritual Deliverer, and a vicarious Sacrifice for the sins of the people (xlii. 1. 7., liii. 4—6.). These and similar statements cannot be properly harmonised with any un-Messianic view. At the same time, the phrase *servant of Jehovah* is used *collectively*. Thus we read in xlix. 3., “He said to me, Thou art my servant; Israel, in whom I will be glorified.” Here the *servant of God* and *Israel* are in apposition; the one explaining the other. In like manner, xliii. 10., “Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord, and (ye are) my servant whom I have chosen.” Here is a combination of plural and singular. Again, xlii. 19., “Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger that I sent,” &c., where Israel or the chosen people are meant, *not* the Messiah, as Henderson absurdly supposes. Since, therefore, the appellation before us is used in two ways, both in reference to *one person*, who is none other than Christ, and *collectively*, of Israel; neither the one nor the other can be adopted *exclusively*. Indeed, the one does not necessarily exclude the other. The Messianic interpretation is consistent with the collective use of *servant of Jehovah*, because the latter denotes *Christ and his church*, the head and the members of his spiritual body, the Saviour and the true Israel, *i. e.* his people viewed in connection with him. No objection can be offered to this view from the fact of Israel in Isaiah meaning *the Jewish people generally*; and of the term having another application to *the New Testament church*, *viz.* the spiritual Israel of the new dispensation. Israel in both applications were alike the chosen people of God, whom he called and set apart to his own service. This interpretation, as Alexander justly remarks, “agrees exactly with the mission both of the Redeemer and his people, as described in Scripture, and accounts for all the variations which embarrass the interpretation of the passages in question upon any more exclusive exegetical hypothesis.”<sup>1</sup> If it be asked, says the same writer, “how the different applications of this honourable title are to be distinguished, so as to avoid confusion

<sup>1</sup> Earlier and Later Prophecies of Isaiah, &c., p. 626.

or capricious inconsistency, the answer is as follows: Where the terms are in their nature applicable both to Christ as the head and to his church as the body, there is no need of distinguishing at all between them. Where sinful imperfection is implied in what is said, it must of course be applied to the body only. Where a freedom from such imperfection is implied, the language can have a direct and literal reference only to the head, but may be considered as descriptive of the body, in so far as its idea or design is concerned, though not in reference to its actual condition. Lastly, when any thing is said implying Deity or infinite merit, the application to the head becomes not only predominant but exclusive."<sup>1</sup>

If the view now given be correct, it will appear that some truth lies in various interpretations which have been assigned to the phrase. The Messiah unites and completes in his own person the offices of prophet, priest, and king. These foreshadowed him under the Old Testament, preparing the minds of the believing Jews for one *greater than the prophets*, on whose law the isles should wait; *more than a priest*, in that he should offer up himself for a sacrifice; *higher than a king*, inasmuch as kings should tremble at his glory. The prophets, priests, and kings of the Old Testament were only three representations of One Person, who should be none such as they exclusively, *and yet all together*. In like manner it is true that the Israelites, as a nation, or the pious portion of them, are included in the appellation, but only in connection with Messiah, as his body or church. When the head suffers they suffer in him and for his sake.

Though Drechsler, followed by Keil, has endeavoured to point out an organic unity in the entire book by tracing a principle running throughout it, which is supposed to correspond to the gradual development of Isaiah's prophetic activity, we are unable to perceive its existence, except in the ingenuity of the critic himself. But that the whole is without plan and confused we do not believe. Neither is it an aggregation of authentic and unauthentic pieces mixed together in an arbitrary and accidental way. Yet the book, in its present form, did not proceed from one gush, as it were: part succeeded part till all the oracles were put together as they now are. Whether the final redaction is traceable to Isaiah himself, as the last act of his prophetic ministry before his death, is extremely questionable. Opposed to the hypothesis is the section xxxvi.—xxxix., which goes beyond the death of Isaiah. Opposed to it also is the general arrangement of the book, which has been regulated by the subject-matter rather than chronology; except in cases where the *chronological* principle might be conveniently united with the *material* one. Had chronological succession pervaded the prophecies, we might have supposed that the author himself arranged them; but the other order argues a foreign hand, whose concern was to bring the contents into a suitable shape for affording a general survey of them. Besides, there is reason for believing that we have not *all* the prophecies of Isaiah,—that some at least have been lost. Not one is extant which can with probability be assigned to the reign of Jotham. Here

<sup>1</sup> Earlier and Later Prophecies of Isaiah, &c., pp. 626, 627.

then is a gap of at least sixteen years. Is it likely that the prophet spent so many years, after having entered upon his ministry, without receiving a divine revelation during them?<sup>1</sup> Hengstenberg<sup>2</sup>, who is reluctant to admit the force of these considerations, *asserts* it as a likely thing that Isaiah uttered no prophecy during all that time which he thought proper to preserve: an assertion purely arbitrary. In like manner the critic *asserts* that the prophetic addresses in the days of Uzziah represented the days of Jotham also. We are reminded too of the fact that the prophets did not write all they uttered. This is true; but would it not be very strange that nothing which the prophet spoke during all the reign of Jotham was worthy of preservation, while the same thing applies to no other reign?

In addition to the considerations already stated for the later redaction of the prophecies of Isaiah, we may appeal to the headings of various oracles, as xvii. 1—11., which is said to be *an oracle against Damascus*, whereas it is rather against *Samaria*. To the collector or compiler also belong those titles which are borrowed from a single word in the oracle itself, as *the burden of the desert of the sea* (xxi. 1.), taken from כִּי־בָרַךְ in the first verse. See also xxi. 13., xxii. 1.<sup>3</sup>

If there be any truth in these remarks, the collecting and arrangement of the various pieces were the work of a later hand. To him belong some of the titles at least. The collection was *begun* by the prophet himself, and *completed after his death*; how long after, it is impossible to tell. Perhaps a considerable time elapsed, affording occasion for the insertion of a piece (xxxvi.—xxxix.) which did not originate with Isaiah himself, in its present form.

Among all the prophetic writings those of Isaiah occupy the first place in respect to the compass and quality of their contents. They exhibit the marvellous elevation of a spirit looking at the present and future in the light of divine truth. None has announced, in like terms to his, the downfall of all earthly powers, or called back secure sinners to the law and the testimony, or unfolded to the view of the afflicted the transcendent glory and fulness of Jehovah's salvation which should arise upon the remnant of Israel forsaken and persecuted. None has depicted the person and sufferings of Messiah with equal clearness, or penetrated so far into the new dispensation. With perfect propriety has he been called *the Evangelist* of the Old Testament. The form of his oracles corresponds to their contents. As the latter are rich, full, sublime, many-sided, so is the manner of their presentation. "He is at once," says Lowth, "elegant and sublime, forcible and ornamented. He unites energy with copiousness, and dignity with variety. In his sentiments there is uncommon elevation and majesty; in his imagery the utmost propriety, elegance, dignity, and diversity; in his language uncommon beauty and energy; and, notwithstanding the obscurity of his subjects, a surprising degree of clearness and simplicity. To these we may add, there is such sweetness in the poetical composition of his

<sup>1</sup> See Kleinert ueber die Echtheit, u. s. w. p. 110. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Article Isaiah in Kitto's Cyclopædia.

<sup>3</sup> See Ewald's die Propheten, u. s. w., vol. i. pp. 58, 59.

sentences, whether it proceed from art or genius, that if the Hebrew poetry at present is possessed of any remains of its native grace and harmony, we shall chiefly find them in the writings of Isaiah; so that the saying of Ezekeil may most justly be applied to this prophet:

‘Thou art a perfect exemplar in all measures,  
Full of wisdom and perfect in beauty.’ (xxviii. 12.)”

Isaiah greatly excels, too, in all the graces of method, order, connection, and arrangement; though in asserting this we must not forget the nature of the prophetic impulse, which bears away the mind with irresistible violence, and frequently in rapid transitions, from near to remote objects—from human to divine.”<sup>1</sup> It is truly remarked by Ewald, that “one cannot say of Isaiah as of other prophets, that he had any special peculiarity and favourite colouring in his general manner of writing. He is neither the mainly lyrical, the mainly elegiac, nor the mainly oratorical and admonitory prophet, as perhaps Joel, Hosea, Micah, in whom a particular colouring predominates. According as the subject requires, every method of discourse, and every interchange of manner, are at his ready disposal; and this is the very thing that establishes his greatness and constitutes one of his most distinguished excellences.”<sup>2</sup>

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## CHAP. XIX.

### ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH.

JEREMIAH was the son of Hilkiyah, a priest of Anathoth, a small place not far from Jerusalem (three Roman miles north of it, according to Jerome). Called to the prophetic office in the thirteenth year of Josiah (i. 2., xxv. 3.), while he was yet a youth, he prophesied under the reigns of Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. Some have thought that his father was the same Hilkiyah the high priest who found the Book of the Law in the temple, as mentioned in 2 Kings xxii. and 2 Chron. xxxiv.; but the circumstance that Anathoth was inhabited by priests of the house of Ithamar, according to 1 Kings ii. 26., while the high priest Hilkiyah was of the house of Phinehas (1 Chron. vi. 4—13.), militates against the supposition. Besides, Hilkiyah the high priest would scarcely have resided with his family out of Jerusalem. He appeared as a prophet in his native place, and exercised his ministry there for a time, so that he must have been well known at Anathoth. (xi. 21.) Keil denies this without sufficient reason, and maintains that the words of xi. 21. do not justify a *prophetic* residence in his native village. But the place where all his more important discourses were

<sup>1</sup> See Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, lecture xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. i. p. 173.

delivered was Jerusalem, especially the temple there. There is abundant cause for believing that he discharged the duties of his ministry with unceasing diligence and fidelity during the forty-two years of its existence (630—590 B.C.); but he met with much opposition and ill treatment from his countrymen. While very young, the men of Anathoth plotted against his life (xi. 18. &c., xii. 5. &c.); and this, with other causes, may have determined him to take up his residence at Jerusalem. It is highly probable that he was respected by Josiah and contributed to the reforms effected by that pious monarch. But he was not acceptable to the people, whose vices he sharply reproved. Under Jehohaz, the successor of Josiah, whose reign lasted but three months, it would appear that, though he was unmolested by the king, he was persecuted by the Egyptian party in Judah because he opposed the alliance with Egypt, which they urged. Hence he complained of his attitude of controversy against the whole land; and would have abandoned the prophetic calling had not patriotism and his religious inspiration prevented. (xv. 10—21.) Under the reign of Jehoiakim he fared much worse. Both king and people mocked, insulted, and persecuted him. To the corrupt priests and false prophets his announcements were particularly obnoxious. Accordingly they apprehended him, and, bringing him before the civil authorities, requested that he should be put to death for his threatenings of destruction to the city; but by the princes, supported by a part of the people and the elders, who quoted Micah's example in his justification, he was declared innocent, and released. Ahikam's influence seems to have prevailed greatly in his favour. (xxvi.) Immediately after this he did not venture to appear in public on account of the animosity of his adversaries. His teachings were not of a kind to please the people, as he required submission to the Chaldeans, and announced adversity. To the corrupt priests and false prophets they were particularly obnoxious. Accordingly we find that when shut up at home, in the fourth year of the same king, he dictated to Baruch all the prophecies he had before delivered, and caused them to be read to the people on a fast-day in the temple. Great was the impression which they made. The princes advised Baruch and Jeremiah to conceal themselves while they tried to influence the king by reading the roll to him. But he impatiently cut the roll in pieces, and burned it in the fire, giving orders at the same time that both Jeremiah and Baruch should be apprehended. In consequence of this he dictated the prophecies to Baruch again, and added others. (xxxvi.) It was probably in the reign of Jehoiachin that Pashur, chief governor of the temple, seized him and put him in the stocks, but released him the next day. (xx. 1. &c.) The Pashur mentioned in chap. xxi. ver. 1. is a different person. Under Zedekiah he was repeatedly imprisoned. (xxxii. xxxiii. xxxvii.) According to chap. xxxviii. he was consigned to a miry dungeon by the princes of the people; and having, by the king's permission, been brought forth by a eunuch, he was kept in confinement till Nebuchadnezzar, having taken the city, delivered him from imprisonment, and gave him the choice either of going to Babylon, or of remaining

in the country. (xxxviii. xxxix.) He preferred the latter, and resided with Gedaliah at Mizpah. But when Gedaliah was murdered, he was forced to fly into Egypt. (xl.—xliii.) Here he prophesied the approaching devastation of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar (xliii. 8—13.), and appears to have died in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem (583), during which Nebuchadnezzar came to Egypt — an event he did not live to see. According to a tradition in the Fathers, he was stoned by his countrymen at Daphne.<sup>1</sup> His grave was subsequently pointed out at Cairo. In 2 Maccabees ii. 1—8. there are other traditions respecting him, equally groundless.

His writings are in Hebrew, except the eleventh verse of the tenth chapter, which is Chaldee; and those at least relating to the seventy years of captivity were known to the prophet Daniel. (ix. 1.)

The book contains prophecies and historical pieces. It may be divided into three parts: —

I. Writings composed before the destruction of Jerusalem. (i.—xxxix.)

II. Prophecies and occurrences after the destruction of Jerusalem. (xl.—xlv.)

III. Prophecies against foreign nations. (xlvi.—li.) An historical appendix (lii.) contains the history of the last king, Zedekiah.

The prophecies are not chronologically arranged.

The first chapter is introductory, and relates to the calling of the prophet. That it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, as Ewald and Hitzig suppose, is a gratuitous hypothesis. In that case it would have been unworthy of the prophet.

Chapter ii. 1—iii. 5. contains the first discourse addressed to Israel, which is severe in its character, and exhibits earnest expostulation. It is likely that it was delivered soon after the commencement of Jeremiah's prophetic commission, as Blayney rightly observes.<sup>2</sup> Hence it may belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth year of Josiah.

Chapter iii. 6—iv. 2. contains an oracle, which is a kind of supplement to the preceding one, promising divine favour to repentant Israel. It is impossible to determine the date under Josiah more exactly than that it followed the preceding discourse immediately; for the charge of hypocrisy against Judah, in the 10th verse, does not show the date to have been some time after the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, as Blayney thinks.<sup>3</sup>

With chapter iv. 3. begins a series of prophecies of similar import, all relating to a desolation of the land by a hostile army as a punishment for the sins of an incorrigible people. These oracles are iv. 3—vi. 30., vii. 1—viii. 17., viii. 18—ix. 25. The event impending was the Chaldean invasion. The date is the reign of Josiah; but it is impossible to determine it exactly; for Hitzig's attempt to place iv. 3—vi. 30. at the time of the Scythian invasion is baseless.<sup>4</sup> Not

<sup>1</sup> See Tertullian contra Gnostic, cap. 8. Hieron. adv. Jovinian. ii. 19. Pseud-Epiphanius de proph. cap. 8. Isidor. Ort. et obit. patr. cap. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Jeremiah and Lamentations, a new translation with notes, &c.; notes p. 11., ed. Oxford, 1784. 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 23, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt, p. 33.

a few have also put chapters vii.—x. into the reign of Jehoiakim instead of Josiah, as Venema, Dathe, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Dahler, Maurer, and Ewald. But the considerations adduced in favour of such date are insufficient, as Hitzig<sup>1</sup> and Hävernick<sup>2</sup> have shown.

It has been thought by Hengstenberg and Hävernick that the contents of chapters i.—x. are not single discourses spoken by the prophet at different times, but a *resumé* of his entire prophetic ministry in the reign of Josiah. ii. 1—iii. 5. is a shorter, and iii. 6—vi. 30., a longer combination of what was independent of particular times, being intended to give the internal bearing of the external reformatory activity of Josiah. vii.—x. present a similar composition, in which the false reliance of the people in the temple is overthrown, and the coming catastrophe announced in all its terrors. To this view we cannot assent, because it is against the analogy of other prophecies. It appears to have originated in the generality of the descriptions, and the absence of definite marks by which they can be assigned to particular years in the reign of Josiah. Besides, it is discountenanced by iv. 3. &c., where it is apparent that a new oracle or series of oracles begins; and also by vii. 1., where is an inscription, after which Jeremiah is addressed, “Stand in the gate of the Lord’s house, and proclaim there this word, and say,” &c. As far as internal evidence reaches, it appears to us unfavourable to the hypothesis in question. It would require the absence of transitions, and the existence of a more continuous narrative, as also the absence of a repetition like that said to be in iii. 6—vi. 30. of ii. 1—iii. 5.

Chapter xi. 1—17. is an oracle in which severe punishment is threatened on account of the people despising the call to keep the engagements of the covenant with Jehovah. The date is in the reign of Josiah. Blayney thinks<sup>3</sup> that it was delivered towards the close of Josiah’s reign, when the people, having forgotten their solemn covenant-engagements made in the eighteenth year of Josiah, are supposed to have relapsed into their former disregard of the divine law. This opinion is probable. The prophecy should be dated immediately after the preceding one, and subsequently to Josiah’s eighteenth year.

Chapter xi. 18—xii. 6. is an oracle against the enemies of the word, and a quieting of the prophet’s discouragement on account of their prosperity. It may be dated after the former one, in the reign of Josiah, though there are no marks to show anything specific as to the time.

Chapter xii. 7—17. relates to a devastation of the land, and contains a prediction concerning its destroyers. It belongs to the reign of Jehoiakim.

Chapter xiii. 1—27. is an oracle respecting the carrying away of the people as a punishment for their ingratitude and pride. In consequence of the 18th verse, where the queen-mother and king are mentioned, the latter being the minor Jechoniah, the prophecy belongs to the reign of Jehoiakim, about 599 B. C.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt, pp. 60, 61.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Notes on Jeremiah, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Hitzig, p. 103.

Chapters xiv. xv. contain a prophecy respecting a severe famine sent to punish the people for their sins, which however does not bring them to repentance; and announce God's resolution to visit the incorrigible without mercy. To this is subjoined a complaint of the prophet, who receives the assurance of divine protection. The date is much the same as the last oracle, *i. e.* the later times of Jehoiakim's reign. Hitzig has arbitrarily separated verses 10—18. of the fourteenth chapter from the preceding xiv. 1—9., and joined them to the end of the twelfth. He has made other divisions, too, in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters, which are groundless.

As to the famine being an actual famine, there can be little doubt, though Hävernick strenuously maintains that it is only figurative, being put for the judicial visitations of God.<sup>1</sup>

Chapter xvi. 1—20. predicts the utter ruin of the Jews by pestilence and deportation. It belongs to the reign of Jehoiakim, not to that of Jehoiachin into which Hitzig puts both it and xv. 1—9. before it.

In chapter xvii. 1—18. the Jews are severely reprov'd for their attachment to idolatry, the consequences of which are also announced; and for their undue reliance on human help. It belongs to the reign of Jehoiakim.

Chapter xvii. 19—27. contains a distinct oracle relative to the observance of the Sabbath. Hitzig places it in the reign of Jechoniah, but it belongs rather to that of Jehoiakim.

Chapter xviii. 1—23. is an oracle threatening the ungrateful people with punishment by the Almighty Ruler; appended to which is an imprecation on the part of the seer against his enemies. Hitzig has endeavoured to show that the date is Jehoiachin's reign; but his method of proof is arbitrary and uncertain.<sup>2</sup>

Chapters xix. xx. This oracle foretels the ruin of the kingdom of Judah and the city of Jerusalem. A severe judgment is announced against Pashur for apprehending and ill treating Jeremiah. The prophet complains of the persecution he met with. Probably the date is Jehoiachin's reign.

The section consisting of chapters xxi.—xxiv. contains a prophecy describing the corruptness of the shepherds, the wickedness of the civil and spiritual rulers of the nation, kings and princes, prophets and priests. It was delivered towards the end of Hezekiah's reign, when the Chaldeans were commencing to besiege the city. On this occasion the prophet, who had been requested by the king himself to inquire of the Lord for his countrymen, takes the opportunity to speak expressly, not only about the future of the whole kingdom, but principally the royal house, the great men and leaders of the people. Hence he goes back and traces the causes of the great evils then present or impending. He adds a vision respecting the fate of the people carried away with Jechoniah, and those left behind in the land.

Chapter xxv. predicts the subjugation of Judah together with that

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> Der Prophet Jeremia, pp. 143, 144.

of the neighbouring peoples, to the king of Babylon for seventy years. It belongs to the fourth year of Jehoiakim.

Chapter xxvi., relating to the personal danger of Jeremiah, belongs to the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, as is stated in the inscription. Hitzig, indeed, argues that it is spurious<sup>1</sup>; but it is found in the LXX. The reason why chapter xxv. is placed before the present one, seems to be because of the comprehensive character of its contents.

Chapter xxvii. 1—22. is an oracle warning Zedekiah and others to give no heed to suggestions counselling revolt from the king of Babylon. It belongs to the reign of Zedekiah.

Chapter xxviii. is directed against a false prophet, Hananiah, whose death is foretold within the year. It belongs to the same time as the last, with which it is closely connected.

Chapter xxix. contains an epistle addressed to the exiles who had been carried away with Jeconiah, admonitory and comforting. Appended to it is an oracle against the false prophet Shemaiah. The time is about the same as the last, but a little earlier.

In chapters xxx.—xxxiii. are predictions of the restoration of Israel. They are placed together because their contents are alike, not because they were written at the same time. Chapters xxx. and xxxi. predict a happy and glorious condition for Israel and Judah. Here the theme is not so much the restoration of the Jews, as their future during the new dispensation, when they should be converted to Christianity, and Israel, consisting of Jew and Gentile, be blessed with salvation. We infer from xxx. 1—3., that these prophecies were not delivered in public in the form they now have, but were composed agreeably to former revelations for the benefit of posterity as well as contemporaries, after the eighth year of Zedekiah's reign.

Chapters xxxii. and xxxiii. relate to the same subject as the last, but are less elevated and comprehensive in their contents. In them are predicted the taking and burning of Jerusalem, the restoration of Judah and Israel, and the glorification of the theocracy. The date is the eighth year of Zedekiah's reign. Why they were put after xxx. and xxxi., though in point of time they precede, is uncertain. Hitzig<sup>2</sup> thinks that it arose from the fact of xxxii. and xxxiii. having been already written, when God addressed the command in xxx. 2. to the prophet. More probable is the explanation of Hävernick<sup>3</sup>, that the nature of the contents which are more general led to the position of the chapters.

xxxiv. 1—7. contains an oracle respecting the fate of Zedekiah. This belongs to the reign of that monarch.

xxxiv. 8—22. contains another prophecy occasioned by the re-enslavement of those that had been set free by their masters. It belongs to the same time as the last.

xxxv. 1—19. records the example of the house of Rechab. This piece belongs to the fourth or fifth year of Jehoiakim.

<sup>1</sup> Der Prophet Jeremia, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 218.

xxxvi. 1—32. relates how a collection of oracles of Jeremiah is burnt, but restored by the author. It belongs to the reign of Jehoiakim.

xxxvii. 1—21. relates to the treatment of the prophet himself; how he was thrown into a dungeon and released, but still kept in confinement. It belongs to the reign of Hezekiah. Hitzig concludes that it was not before the summer of 589.<sup>1</sup>

xxxviii. 1—28. also relates to the treatment of Jeremiah; how he was thrown into a miry dungeon, but again delivered from it. The date is much the same as the last, but somewhat later.

Chapter xxxix. describes the capture of Jerusalem, with its consequences, and how it fared with the prophet at that time. An oracle concerning Ebedmelech is appended. Of course this belongs to the reign of Zedekiah.

Chapters xl.—xliv. are historical, giving an account of the prophet's life, after the destruction of Jerusalem, among the people whom the Chaldeans left in the land before and after the flight into Egypt. They may be thus divided: xl. 1—6., where we read that Jeremiah has his choice to go to Babylon, or remain in Judea; xl. 7—xli. 18., stating how the dispersed Jews repair to Gedaliah, his murder by Ishmael, and the release of those who were captives under him; xlii. 1—22., showing how the prophet dissuades his fellow-countrymen from going down into Egypt; xliii. 1—13., relating how his advice was rejected, and the consequent departure into Egypt, where Jeremiah foretels the invasion and conquest of that country by the Chaldeans; xliv. 1—30., denouncing destruction to all the Jews who willingly went down to Egypt, and persevered in their idolatry, &c. Thus this section is related to the preceding *chronologically* as well as by subject.

xlv. 1—5. is an oracle containing a promise to Baruch that his life should be preserved by a special Providence. According to date, it should be after chapter xxxvi.

In chapters xlvi.—li. we have a series of oracles against foreign nations.

xlvi. 1—12. is a triumphal discourse respecting the defeat of the Egyptians.

xlvi. 13—28. contains a threatening oracle against Egypt, which was to be conquered by Nebuchadnezzar. Both were occasioned by Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Pharaoh Necho, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim.

In chapter xlvii. is a threatening prediction respecting the Philistines, who were to be subdued by Nebuchadnezzar.

Chapter xlviii. contains a similar prediction respecting Moab.

xlix. 1—6. is a prediction of the destruction of Ammon.

xlix. 7—22. is against Edom.

xlix. 23—27. is against Damascus.

xlix. 28—33. is against Kedar and Hazor, or the nomad Arabs.

All these prophecies in chapters xlvii., xlviii., and xlix., were oc-

caused by the same event as those in xlvi., and consequently belong to the reign of Jehoiakim.

xlix. 34—39. predicts the conquest of Elam by the Chaldeans. This was delivered in the beginning of Zedekiah's reign, according to the inscription. But the inscription is incorrect. The date is the same as that of the preceding prophecies, as is shown by the coincidence of the place occupied by the prophecy here and in xxv. 25., as well as the similarity, for example, of verse 36. to verse 32., and of verse 39. to 6.

Chapters l. and li. contain a prophecy against Babylon, belonging to the fourth year of Zedekiah, according to the epilogue, li. 59—64.

Chapter lii., containing an account of the catastrophe of Judah and Jerusalem, and the later fortunes of Jehoiakim, was appended after Jeremiah's time.

Although any chronological table can only be an approach to the truth, the following may be offered as an attempt:—

| UNDER JOSIAH.  | UNDER JEHOIAKIM.                                                                   | UNDER JEHOIACHIN. | UNDER ZEDEKIAH.                                                                                                                          | AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY. |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Ch. i.—xii. 6. | Ch. xii. 7—<br>xviii. xxv.<br>xxvi. xxxv.<br>xxxvi. xlv.<br>xlvi. xlvii.—<br>xlix. | Ch. xix. xx.      | Ch. xxi.—xxiv.<br>xxvii. xxviii.<br>xxix. xxx.—<br>xxxiii. xxxiv.<br>xxxvii.<br>xxxviii.<br>xxxix. xl.—<br>xliv. xlix. 34<br>—39. l. li. | Ch. lii.                           |

The diversities of expositors are greatest in determining the dates of the first twenty chapters, as may be seen in De Wette<sup>1</sup>, where the times from Movers, Maurer, Knobel, Hitzig, Ewald, &c., are given. It would be tedious to adduce all the circumstances which lead to the dates just assigned. They are not very palpable or convincing in themselves; nor can any good data be got for this purpose. We must take such as exist, and use them in the best manner possible.

The first chapter serves as an introduction to the whole book; and the inscription in i. 1—3. we should be inclined to limit to chapters i.—xxxix., in opposition to the opinion of Hävernick and Keil.

The greater number of the pieces contained in the book of Jeremiah have escaped the ordeal of negative criticism unharmed. Their authenticity and integrity have been admitted. This shows that the individuality of the prophet is well marked and easily discerned. But all the parts have not been allowed to pass as authentic or genuine. The following have been combated.

x. 1—16. is maintained by Movers<sup>2</sup>, De Wette<sup>3</sup>, and Hitzig<sup>4</sup>, to be unauthentic, except the verses wanting in the LXX.; viz.

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. § 219. a. pp. 331, 332.

<sup>2</sup> De utriusque recensione Jerem. indole, &c., p. 43. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. p. 326.

<sup>4</sup> Der Prophet Jeremia, u. s. w. p. 82.

6—8. 10., according to the last critic; though De Wette holds these verses to be interpolations in the Masoretic text. This is done on the ground of the warning against soothsaying and idolatry in verses 2—5., and the Chaldee eleventh verse, which are supposed to show a writer living in the time of the exile. And as the mode of writing is that of Isaiah xl.—lxvi., the piece is attributed to the pseudo-Isaiah.

These considerations are quite insufficient to support the conclusion derived from them. When it is said that the warning in verses 2—5. would have been useless, and out of place to the contemporaries of Jeremiah, some parts of the preceding chapter are overlooked (ix. 24, 25.), where to the people of Judah dispersion among the heathen is announced as a punishment for their idolatry.

But the eleventh verse is an interpolation, which interrupts the connection, and cannot be looked upon as originating in the desire of the prophet to warn his countrymen against idolatry, even before they should be carried to Babylon, and to suggest to them words for answering the Chaldee-speaking idolaters there; because *the introductory terms*, as well as the words themselves, are in Chaldee. The verse interrupts the argument, and is spurious. The style of the section is certainly like that of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, as Kueper has shown by a comparison of phrases and words.<sup>1</sup> But this is owing to the manner of Jeremiah, which is to imitate earlier prophets. Besides, ideas and expressions in the verses are peculiar to Jeremiah; so *תְּבַלְבַּל*, used of *idols*, occurring in verses 3. 15., is similarly applied in ii. 5.; *אֱוֹתָם*, for *אֱתָם*, verse 5.; and *בְּעַת הַבְּקָרָה*, verse 15., are found in viii. 12., vi. 15., xlix. 8., xi. 23. It is a gratuitous assumption to say that the pseudo-Isaiah imitated the prophet here, as Ewald and Umbreit assert. Nor can any weight be attached to the omission of verses 6, 7, 8. 10, in the LXX., who often took great liberties with the Hebrew text.<sup>2</sup>

Again, chapter xxv. 11*b*—14*a*. are pronounced spurious by Hitzig, chiefly because of the specific nature of the prophecy respecting the seventy years' captivity in Babylon. He supposes that the last half of the fourteenth verse belongs to the first half of the eleventh. The last half, however, of the thirteenth verse is an interpolation, because the predictions against the nations which occur in the book afterwards cannot have formed part of it when the prophecy in this 25th chapter was delivered. It is possible, indeed, that the words may have been inserted by the prophet himself after the completion of the book; but it is not probable.

xxvii. 7. is pronounced spurious by Movers, Hitzig, and De Wette, chiefly because it is omitted in the LXX. But the Greek translators must have omitted it, because it did not agree with their opinion respecting the duration of the exile. In like manner, xxvii. 16—21. cannot be an interpolation or interpolated because given in another form in the Greek version, since the trans-

<sup>1</sup> Jeremias Librorum Sacrorum interpres atque vindex, p. 175. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Hävernick's Einleit. ii. 2. p. 224. *et seqq.*

lators took liberties with the text. The real cause why it is rejected is the want of belief in *predictions*. Accordingly, both Movers and Hitzig declare it to be a *vaticinium ex eventu*.

xxxiii. 14—26. is also said to be an interpolation, both on internal and external evidence. Internal grounds are found in the promise of the absolute perpetuity of the Davidic and Levitical succession (17, 18, 21, 22.). But no lineal descendant of David, after Zedekiah, occupied his throne; and the Levites continued to officiate no longer than the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The LXX. also omit the verses. The alleged difficulties disappear as soon as the true interpretation is discovered. Both David and the Levites must be considered in their relation to the Messiah. They typified him in his kingly and priestly offices. Their line was perpetuated and fully realised in him. Hengstenberg has well defended the paragraph against Michaelis and Jahn, setting forth its true meaning.<sup>1</sup>

Another interpolation has been discovered in xxxix. 1, 2. 4—13. Here again both internal and external grounds are alleged against the words. The former are, the confounding of the time when the famine pressed sorest with that of the taking of the city, the contradiction between 11—13. and xl. 1—6., and the misapprehension on the part of the interpolator of lii. 15., as seen in the 9th verse. The external argument is the omission of the passage by the LXX. But these are quite insufficient grounds. Even Hitzig does not acknowledge the validity of some of them. Hävernicks's refutation, which is confirmed by the diction bearing the impress of Jeremiah's own authorship, is convincing and conclusive.<sup>2</sup>

In like manner chapters xxvii. xxviii. xxix. are said to have been elaborated by a later than Jeremiah. This has been inferred from the forms of the names, יְרֵמְיָהוּ, יִרְמְיָהוּ, יִרְמְיָהוּ, &c., and the predicate so often added to the name of the prophet הַנְּבִיא (xxviii. 5, 6. 10—12. 15., xxix. 1.), which is wanting in the Septuagint. These circumstances are of little moment. The forms of the names in question are used interchangeably with the fuller ones, and occur not merely in these chapters, but elsewhere in the book. They are also used by all writers of an intermediate and later period. As to the predicate attached to Jeremiah's name, it stands in opposition to the false prophets. He alone was the true prophet, to whom the name belonged of right; and the tenor of these chapters required that the contrast should be marked.<sup>3</sup>

Again, chapters xxx.—xxxiii. are said to have been elaborated by a later hand,—by the pseudo-Isaiah. The chief proof of this is the style and manner of expression employed. But this is sufficiently explained by the peculiarity of Jeremiah to lean upon older prophets. Prophecies relating to the same subjects naturally bear some marks of similarity; and it is universally admitted that Jeremiah is characterised by imitation. Movers finds another

<sup>1</sup> Christologic, vol. iii. p. 602. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 232. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See Kuempfer's Jeremiah, &c., p. 201.

proof in Zechariah viii. 7, 8., where there is a quotation from Jeremiah xxxi. 7, 8, 33., and where in the 9th verse the author is spoken of as one who lived in the day that the foundation of the house of the Lord of hosts was laid. Hence the writer must have been contemporary with Zechariah himself. But there is no quotation here from Jeremiah. The passage said to be such is made up of words selected from different prophets; and the mention of *prophets* in the plural is evidence that Zechariah did *not* refer to *one*.<sup>1</sup> For these and other reasons Hitzig justly rejects the external argument. Nothing can show the arbitrariness of the criticism which has been employed in pointing out interpolations and similar phenomena in these chapters, more strongly than the great difference of opinion between Movers and Hitzig respecting them. All that has been advanced against their complete authenticity is as nothing when set over against the positive proofs in their favour.

Chapter xlviii. is said not only to have been interpolated by the pseudo-Isaiah, but also to have been enriched with additions by a second elaborator. Such is the judgment of Hitzig. But we do not believe that the judgment is sound. The interpolations which proceeded from this last person are said to betray unacquaintedness with historical and geographical relations, and a want of power over the Hebrew language. Hence he is put into the Maccabean period. All this is mere subjectivity. The argumentation of Hitzig, if indeed it can be called such, is baseless, as has been shown by Hävernicks.<sup>2</sup> The alleged interpolations prove no more than that the prophet has freely reproduced the predictions of Balaam and Isaiah against Moab.

The predictions against Babylon in chapters l. li. are said either to be spurious or interpolated. The latter is now the favourite hypothesis, having supplanted the former; and is advocated by Movers, De Wette, Hitzig, and Nägelsbach. De Wette ascribes the interpolations and redaction of the piece (not its authorship, as Henderson erroneously states) to the pseudo-Isaiah; whereas Ewald, rejecting the authenticity, had attributed the authorship to him.

The arguments of both parties, of those who reject the authenticity and of those who, while maintaining substantial authenticity, find interpolations and the marks of a later hand elaborating the whole, are combined by Keil<sup>3</sup> in one summary view, as follows:—

1. There are many repetitions in which Jeremiah's genuine manner is seen only *in particulars*, though in numerous passages; and the places repeated are often entirely modified and altered.

2. There are new ideas entirely foreign to Jeremiah, referring to a later time: Babylon already conquered by Cyrus, though, contrary to expectation, spared and not destroyed; a kingdom thoroughly deteriorated, and unable to avert its final overthrow; the prophetically violent rebellion against the Chaldean rulers, and the public summons to all the brethren living in Babylon to flee from a city consigned to destruction, and return to the holy land; the undisguised designation

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Kueper, p. 149. *et seqq.*, 171. *et seqq.*; and Hävernicks ii. 2. p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. p. 294. *et seqq.*

of the Medes and other northern nations as the deadly enemies of Babylon. All this is foreign to Jeremiah, improbable, and even impossible in his case.

3. The play upon the names  $\text{שׂוֹנְאֵי}$  for  $\text{קִבְּלֵי}$  (li. 41.);  $\text{לֵב קָטִי}$ , *heart of mine opponents*, for  $\text{בְּשׂוֹנְאֵי}$  (li. 1.); and similar paraphrastic words for Chaldean names (l. 10.).

4. There are words entirely new, peculiar to Ezekiel and still later writers, as  $\text{מִטָּוֶה}$ ,  $\text{מִטָּוָה}$  (li. 23. 25. 57.);  $\text{גִּלְגָּלִים}$  (l. 2.) *prophets causing to err* (l. 36.);  $\text{מִבְּרִיחַ}$ , *to banish* (l. 21. 26., li. 3., also xxv. 9.).

5. There is great similarity between l. 27., li. 40., and Isaiah xxxiv. 6., &c.; between l. 39. and Isaiah xxxiv. 14.; between li. 1. 60. &c., and Isaiah xxxiv. 16.

These arguments are not formidable. As to 1., it is well known that Jeremiah is accustomed to repeat himself. But it is asserted that the repetitions of Jeremiah are more in the mass; and that in them he is faithful to himself. This is incorrect to a large extent. In the use of former utterances the same freedom and independence are shown here which are visible elsewhere; while all are appropriate. Many particulars stated in No. 2. will not stand the test; and beneath all lurks the one preconceived idea that *proper prediction* did not belong to the prophets. The unbiblical notion that the prophets never foretold definite future events, has tinged much of this negative criticism of the prophetic writings.

It is a misconception of the ideal stand-point of the prophet in the future to suppose that he speaks of the conquest of Jerusalem as already past. He uses indeed the preterite tense; but that arises from his seeing the events internally as present. Hence such expressions as  $\text{גִּלְגָּלִים}$  (l. 2.) are easily explained, especially as it is put beyond doubt by the future  $\text{מִבְּרִיחַ}$  in the ninth verse. There are not a few places in which the conquest is shown to be *impending*, not *past*, as l. 3. 8. 9. 14—16. 18. 21. 26. 29. 34. 41—46. 51. &c. As to the spirit he manifests towards the Chaldeans—revenge, burning zeal, haste and impatience, sarcasms, and ferocious joy—nothing is recognised in it inconsistent with a true prophet. The Babylonians were the enemies of God and the theocracy; the redemption of the covenant people demanded their overthrow. The enemy of Babylon was the friend of God. When the *Medes* are named as the leading foes of Babylon, the fact shows that the writer lived before it was taken, since in the post-exile writers Cyrus is commonly called the king of Persia. (2 Chron. xxvi. 22.; Ezra, i. 1. &c., iv. 5. &c.)

In relation to No. 3., such play on words is not unknown to Jeremiah, as may be seen in xx. 3., xxii. 11. 24. 28.

No. 4. is of little consequence, though proceeding from Ewald.  $\text{בְּרִיחַ}$  is taken from Isaiah xlv. 25.;  $\text{גִּלְגָּלִים}$  from Leviticus xxvi. 30., Deut. xxix. 16. The other words derived from the Babylonians may surely have become known to *Jeremiah* as well as Ezekiel who was not much younger than he.

No. 5. The similarity between the 34th chapter of Isaiah and the present chapters is palpable. It arises, however, from the fact of

Jeremiah having read the former, and imitated the ideas and expressions in it after his manner.<sup>1</sup>

It is admitted even by Hitzig, that the *usus loquendi*, imagery, style, turns of expression, show Jeremiah to have written this prophecy; and as to the interpolations, which are differently specified by critics, the assumption of them rests upon mistaken views of prophecy generally, or upon incorrect opinions respecting the authenticity of the places which they copy either in Isaiah or Jeremiah himself.

Chapter lii. is almost verbally the same as 2 Kings xviii.—xxv. 30., forming an historical appendix to the prophecies of Jeremiah which terminate with the words at the close of chapter li. in the 64th verse. Some, however, suppose that it was written by Jeremiah himself, and appended to the collection of his prophecies, to serve as an historical account of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and a supplement to the narrative.<sup>2</sup> It is scarcely probable, however, that Jeremiah himself survived the circumstances related in verses 31—34.; and moreover, the account of the downfall of the kingdom is incomplete. The statement too in Jeremiah li. 64., *thus far the words of Jeremiah*, implies that what follows did not proceed from him. Others, as Keil, think that the chapter in question contains an extract made by the collector of Jeremiah's prophecies, out of a copious description of the last days of Judah composed by Jeremiah or Baruch.<sup>3</sup> This is unlikely. Others suppose that the appendix was taken from 2 Kings. It is no objection to this view that verses 28—30. are wanting in 2 Kings; since they may easily have been interpolated. Nor is it a valid objection that 19—23. contain more copious accounts than those in 2 Kings xxv. 15—17., because the writer or compiler may not have been shut up to the one source, without liberty to add, subtract, or utter any new thing. The idea that the section having been appended by Jeremiah to his own prophecies was taken and put into the books of Kings is unlikely. Ewald regards it as an extract from the annals of the kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

The arrangement of the prophecies is different in the Hebrew and the Septuagint. In the latter, those respecting foreign nations occupy another position, coming after xxv. 13. They are also differently disposed, as the following table shows:—

| Hebrew Text. |   |   |   | Text of LXX. |
|--------------|---|---|---|--------------|
| xlix. 34—39. | - | - | - | xxv. 34—39.  |
| xlvi. 2—12.  | - | - | - | xxvi. 1—11.  |
| 13—28.       | - | - | - | 12—26.       |
| 50, 51.      | - | - | - | 27, 28.      |
| xlvi. 1—7.   | - | - | - | xxix. 1—7.   |
| xlix. 7—22.  | - | - | - | xxix. 7—22.  |
| xlix. 1—6.   | - | - | - | xxx. 1—5.    |
| xlix. 23—33  | - | - | - | xxx. 6—11.   |
| xlix 23—27.  | - | - | - | xxx. 12—16.  |

<sup>1</sup> See Kueper's *Jeremias*, &c., p. 106. *et seqq.*, and Hävernick's *Einleit.* ii. 2. p. 236. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Hävernick, *Einleit.* ii. 2. p. 248. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Einleit.* p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, vol. ii. p. 22.

| Hebrew Text.     | Text of LXX. |
|------------------|--------------|
| xlvi. - - - -    | xxxv.        |
| xxv. 15—38.      | xxxii.       |
| xxvi. xlv. - - - | xxxiii.—li.  |
| li. - - - -      | lii.         |

The change in the order in which these prophecies are arranged is seen in the following table:—

| Hebrew Text.      | Text of LXX. |
|-------------------|--------------|
| Egypt - - - -     | Elam.        |
| Philistines - - - | Egypt.       |
| Moab - - - -      | Babylon.     |
| Ammon - - - -     | Philistines. |
| Edom - - - -      | Edom.        |
| Damascus - - -    | Ammon.       |
| Kedar - - - -     | Kedar.       |
| Elam - - - -      | Damascus.    |
| Babylon - - - -   | Moab.        |

Besides this, on comparing the Masoretic recension and the Septuagint text, a number of larger and smaller variations are seen, for which it is difficult to account. Jerome, who is followed by Grabe, attributes these deviations to the mistakes of transcribers; which is most improbable. Why should the transcribers of Jeremiah have made so many more mistakes than those of other books made up of pieces not collected by the writers themselves? Spohn accounts for them by the carelessness and arbitrariness of the Greek translator. This is substantially the view taken by Keil, who dwells upon the mistakes and arbitrary procedure of him who put the book into Greek, as he blundered, added to, abridged, explained, attempted to improve, the original before him. Others, as Michaelis, Eichhorn, Jahn, Rosenmüller, Dahler, assume a twofold recension of the book, reckoning either the Greek or the Hebrew the more complete and purer one; but with many diversities attributable to the translator, or to the Hebrew and Greek transcribers. The most probable hypothesis appears to be this of a double recension, implying, however, that neither the Masoretic nor the Greek has preserved the text in its original condition. Sometimes the one, sometimes the other, presents the true form; but neither *wholly*. By carefully collating them both, the primitive text may be approximated. The question is one that admits merely of presumptive evidence. It cannot be settled by *a priori* considerations; nor should it be judged by prepossessions in favour of the Masoretic recension, or of the Greek text. By putting together both texts, and carefully weighing them in the same scale, their relative value may be determined with probability.

1. The Septuagint has additions to the Masoretic text, for the sake of completing, illustrating, or strengthening the sense, taken from other places or parallels. Thus, in iii. 18., *καὶ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν χωρῶν*: iii. 19., *γένοιτο κύριε*: vii. 4., *ὅτι τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ὠφελήσουσιν ὑμᾶς*: xiv. 13., *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*: i. 17., *ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τοῦ ἐξαιρεῖσθαι σε, λέγει κύριος*.

2. The Masoretic text has also similar additions which are wanting

in the LXX. We cannot say, however, with De Wette, that they are more numerous than the interpolations of the Greek. The reverse seems to be the fact. vii. 27., וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ אֲלֵיךָ וְקָרַאת אֲלֵיהֶם וְלֹא יִשְׁנֹנָה, this is taken from verses 13. 26. xxviii. 11., בְּעוֹד שָׁנְתָם יָמִים, taken from the third verse. xxviii. 16., בִּי קָרָה דְּבַרְתָּ אֶל יְהוָה, Other examples may be seen in Movers, De Wette, and Hitzig.

3. Many additions of this kind which the one text has in one place, the other text has in another. Thus, xlix. 24. in the Hebrew, “anguish and sorrows have taken her as a woman in travail.” In viii. 21. the LXX. have ὠδῖνες ὡς τεκτούσης. Heb. xxiv. 10., “and to their fathers:” a similar addition is in the LXX., xvii. 23.

4. The Masoretic text has a few larger unauthentic additions, as viii. 10—12. taken from vi. 13—15.

5. Both texts have *ornamental* additions, which are not taken from another part. Thus, in xiv. 15. the LXX. have ἀποθανοῦνται: xx. 9. בְּלִבִּי.

6. More frequently in the Septuagint, less frequently in the Hebrew, occur additions which are designed to make the sense or the thing itself more apparent. xxxv. 5., אֲלֵיהֶם, xix. 1., πρὸς μέ. In xlvii. 4. the additional words שְׁדָר יְהוָה אֶת פְּלִשְׁתִּים וְשָׂאֲרִית אֵי בְּפִתוֹר, disturb the sense. The LXX. give a simpler and more suitable meaning, “The Lord shall destroy the remnant of the islands.”<sup>1</sup>

7. In both texts different readings occur in different places, which are mostly intended to make the sense easier. xxii. 5. ποιήσῃτε, LXX., equivalent to תַּעֲשִׂי, according to the fourth verse, instead of תִּשְׁמְעִי.

8. In both texts occur the usual variations of reading arising from writing the same word or letter twice, or from taking a gloss into the text. Thus, the Masoretic reading, בְּיַרְיָנְלָהּוּ הוּא, was probably הוּא בּוֹר הַגְּדֹל. In vii. 24. בְּשִׁרְרוֹת is a gloss taken from such passages as xvi. 12., xviii. 12., ix. 13.

9. In the 52nd chapter the LXX. follow the text of 2 Kings xxv. We do not however think that, on this account, or intrinsically, it is older than the Masoretic text of 52nd, and therefore to be preferred, as De Wette believes.<sup>2</sup>

On the whole, we are disposed to think that the preference should be oftener given to the Masoretic than the Greek recension. The latter is judged much too unfavourably by Movers and De Wette. On the other hand, Kueper, Hävernick, and Keil, in defending the Masoretic text on every occasion, and attributing all the variations to the Greek translator and his transcribers, err in the other extreme, advocating things incapable of maintenance. We fully admit that most of the examples of blundering ignorance, arbitrariness, carelessness, designed additions and abbreviations, &c., heaped up by Keil<sup>3</sup> with great particularity, are real ones; but he has passed over analogous specimens which might be taken from the Hebrew. All the difference is that the number is much less in the latter. And it is

<sup>1</sup> See Movers De utrisque Recensionis, &c., indole, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Movers, and De Wette's Einleit. p. 327. et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. p. 300. et seqq.

very much less than Movers supposes; for not a few of his examples will not stand.

Wichelhaus<sup>1</sup> has written an elaborate dissertation, with the view of upholding the integrity of the Hebrew text; but, notwithstanding all the care and industry he has expended on the subject, we believe that he has been unsuccessful. Why should the translator of Jeremiah be so unlike the translators of the other books as to make changes and innovations far more radical than any which *they* attempted? Is it not surprising that he should have indulged in an arbitrary method to which any of *their* peculiarities are but a feeble approximation? "That the Alexandrian interpreter of this book," says Wichelhaus, "with little restraint of himself, should proceed so confidently in changing the text, and be carried away to such an extent as to express sentiments obviously irregular, is not greatly to be wondered at."<sup>2</sup> Few impartial critics will approve of this statement, believing, as they must do, that so singular an exception to the rest *must* strike the reader as surprising. It is a hopeless task to lay the *just* burden of so many transpositions, changes, omissions, and additions, on the Greek interpreter, whoever he was. Even though he may have been incompetent for his task, which we do not deny, yet he was not singular in *that* respect. On the contrary, he seems to have been as well qualified for translating Jeremiah, as was the person who rendered Isaiah into Greek; and Jeremiah, besides, is not a very difficult book,—certainly not so difficult as Ezekiel. Were it needful we might easily show how much more probable, in the judgment of the higher criticism, is the explanation which attributes various discrepancies to corruption in the Hebrew, rather than the Greek. It cannot indeed be denied that the hypothesis of Movers is vulnerable in some of its details, as he explains them; but no better method of harmonising the two documents has been proposed than his, viz., that they present *two recensions* of the original text, *neither* of which is the original and authentic one. Out of *both*, the higher criticism must call forth a text approaching very near the true one, since the corruptions are divided between them. The chief fault in Movers's ingenious essay is his attributing more corruption to the Hebrew than the Greek; whereas the reverse is in our opinion more probable.

According to a statement in chapter xxxvi., the prophecies before uttered by Jeremiah were committed to writing by Baruch; and when the roll containing them was burned, they were rewritten and enlarged. There is no reason for supposing, with Movers, that in xxxvi. 9. the *fourth* year should be read instead of the *fifth*. The roll was written in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and destroyed in the fifth. That the second roll contained not merely the words of the first, but many others, we learn from xxxvi. 32. The collection thus made again by Baruch, from the mouth of Jeremiah, cannot be pointed out in the present book. The inscription in i. 1—3. refers downward as far as the deportation to Babylon (chapter

<sup>1</sup> De Jeremiæ versione Alexandrina, Halis, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> Pages 176, 177.

xxxix.); and from chapter xxi. later pieces belonging to Hezekiah's time are mixed with earlier ones.

The origin of the present collection, as presented in the book of Jeremiah, cannot now be discovered. Historical testimony is wanting in regard to the manner in which the work was formed. All that can be conjectured respecting it is derived from the state of the book itself, as it now appears. Hence very different hypotheses have been framed respecting the composition of the entire work; its gradual growth, formation, and arrangement. The views of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Meyers, and Hitzig may here be safely omitted; as they are very artificial, arbitrary, and improbable, though differing much from one another. All proceed on the assumption that Jeremiah himself took no leading part in the present arrangement, but that it was the work of one or more compilers. It is not surprising that De Wette should object to them as insufficient to explain all the phenomena. Much more probable is the view of Ewald<sup>1</sup>, with which that of Hävernick<sup>2</sup> substantially agrees. Even here, however, there is cause for hesitation; for we cannot assent to various things stated by Ewald. His ingenuity is, in this case, as elsewhere, exposed to the charge of arbitrariness.

We suppose that after the destruction of the Jewish state Jeremiah enriched the earlier collection of his prophecies with those delivered subsequently to the fourth year of Jehoiakim; and put together such as related to the people of Israel, adding the threatenings against foreign nations, and the promises of better times for Israel. In this manner the book has *some* plan. It is disposed according to a certain principle; and is the very reverse of what Blayney calls it, "a preposterous jumbling together of the prophecies of the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, in the seventeen chapters which follow the 20th according to the Hebrew copies."<sup>3</sup> The arrangement is not chronological. It is so only in part; for besides the chronological principle another was influential, viz. that of similarity of matter.

Five books or sections may be distinguished:—

I. Chapters i.—xxiv. These contain reproofs of the sins of the Jews, and the announcement of impending punishment. Here the chronological principle is subordinated to the arrangement of similar matter.

II. A general review of all nations, the heathen as well as Israel (xlv.—li.), which chapters have been transposed; with an historical appendix, chapters xxv.—xxix.

III. A representation of the hopes which Israel was warranted to entertain, chapters xxx.—xxxiii.

IV. Chapters xxxiv.—xxxix. contain a number of short utterances proceeding from the prophet at different times, and put together because they are all of a historical nature.

V. Chapters xl.—xlv. relate to the prophet after the destruction of Jerusalem, among the remnant of the people in Palestine, with an appendix concerning Baruch, xlv.

<sup>1</sup> Die Propheten, u. s. w. p. 15. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Notes on Jeremiah, p. 3.

Einleit. ii. 2. p. 206. *et seqq.*

VI. lii. is a later appendix.

Where different parts were written, whether in Egypt or Palestine, it is impossible to tell. The arrangement, as it now exists, is different in some places from what it originally was. The pieces against foreign nations have been thrown to the end of the book. Various interpolations have also been made; while verses and inscriptions have been occasionally transposed. Accordingly the primitive order, as it proceeded from Jeremiah, or from Baruch under his eye, has been somewhat disturbed. Some person or persons put their hands to the prophecies, and made different alterations in them, after the decease of the prophet. The *final* redactor was not Baruch, as Keil thinks. We must look for him at a later time; how long after we cannot tell.

The chief predictions relating to the Messiah are xxiii. 5, 6., where the mediatorial kingdom of Messiah is foretold. He is there called *Jehovah our righteousness*. In xxxi. 31—40., the new dispensation introduced by Christ is spoken of. And in xxxiii. 14—26., the perpetuity of his regal and sacerdotal offices is affirmed. Some have also found a distinct prediction of the miraculous conception in xxxi. 22., "the Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, a woman shall compass a man." But this is incorrect, the original words not bearing such sense. The meaning is, the Jewish church (here compared to a woman) will return to *Jehovah* (the man or husband) from whom she had apostatised.

In the New Testament a few passages are quoted from Jeremiah, as Matt. ii. 17., xvi. 14.; Heb. viii. 8—12.; Matt. xxvii. 9. The last place occasions some difficulty, because the citation is not from any part of Jeremiah's book, but rather from Zechariah xi. 12, 13.

The style of Jeremiah is such as was to have been expected from the character of his mind and the spirit of the times during which he lived. It is marked by feeling and pathos. He could not but be mournful amid the desolations of his country; and accordingly his tone is subdued, sorrowful, low-pitched. His mode of writing is soft, weak, diffuse, full of repetitions, and of standing ideas as well as expressions. The rhythm is not strongly marked; and the succession of ideas is devoid of height or comprehension. His flights are but short and occasional. Sorrow had bowed his spirit to the ground, and doubtless affected the language in which it found utterance; yet his mind was not originally of such a cast as to soar high, or to grasp great ideas with force and present them with corresponding energy. Sometimes, indeed, the thoughts are elevated and independent, as in iii. 16., vii. 22. &c., xxxi. 31. &c. Sometimes also the mode of writing is compressed and energetic; as in the first twelve chapters. But this was not his usual method; since, though not uniform, he is commonly unoriginal and diffuse. The prophecies against foreign nations present the most favourable specimens of his manner and style. In them the tone is stronger and more animated. There the style attains to a kind of rhythm, after which it strives in vain in other places; though the attempt is apparent. The tone generally speaking is higher in *threatenings*; while in *admonitions*, it sinks down almost to the level of prose. Long ago Jerome remarked a certain rusticity in

the expression<sup>1</sup>, of which Lowth says he could discover no vestige.<sup>2</sup> Probably it lies in the nature of the diction, which, as we might expect from the period, is degenerate and Chaldaising, as Knobel<sup>3</sup> has fully exemplified. Lowth judges too favourably when he says that in the last six chapters Jeremiah approaches very near the sublimity of Isaiah; and the repetition of the same assertion by Henderson, "there are portions of the book which little, if at all, fall short of the compositions of Isaiah,"<sup>4</sup> occurs in a form still more incorrect. Scarcely more than half the book is poetical.

The symbolical images contained in the prophet's visions are of an inferior order (i. 4—19., xxiv.). Nor are the symbolical actions, most of which are purely allegorical, not having actually occurred in outward history (xiii. xviii. xix. 1—13., xxvii. xxxii. xxxv.), skilfully contrived, with the exception of the last two.

We have said that most of the symbolical actions were purely allegorical, nothing of what is actually described having happened in Jeremiah's outward history; and if anything were wanting to show the correctness of this view, we should appeal to Henderson's attempt to explain them literally, especially his exegesis of xiii. 1—7.

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## CHAP. XX.

### THE LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH.

THE Hebrew name of these elegies is *איִתּוֹ*, *How*, which is the first word, according to a Jewish custom of designating a book by the initial term. They were likewise called by the Jews from their contents, *קִינּוֹת*. By the LXX. the Greek word *θρήνοι* is employed as the title; which passed in the Vulgate into *Lamentationes*. They are *five* in number, not *three*, as Schumann asserts.

In 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. we read, "And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel; and behold, they are written in the Lamentations." De Wette thinks that this literary notice of the Chronicle-writer implies the author's belief that the Lamentations of Jeremiah were sung on the occasion referred to.<sup>5</sup> But it is not said that Jeremiah *wrote* his lament; or that he caused others to write it. All that is implied in the words is, that there was a collection of elegies or mourning odes for the dead, to which the lamentations of the singing men and women belonged, and which was used at the solemnities of interment con-

<sup>1</sup> Praef. in Jerem.

<sup>2</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Jeremias Chaldaizans, 1831. The list here given needs sifting. Comp. also Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. iv. p. 150. *et seqq.* Jahn's Einleit. iii. p. 558.

<sup>4</sup> The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah and that of the Lamentations, introductory dissertation, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Einleit. p. 408.

ducted on the decease of different kings.<sup>1</sup> Nor is there any foundation for the opinion of Augusti<sup>2</sup>, that these lamentations were borrowed from that collection mentioned in the Chronicles. We believe that our Lamentations formed no part of the national collection at any time.

Various writers are of opinion that the Lamentations were composed by the prophet on the death of Josiah. This was held by Jerome and Ussher; but not by Josephus, as is often asserted, among others by Keil in his Introduction to the Old Testament. Neither should Dathe and Michaelis be quoted as its advocates; since both altered their view. There is no foundation for such an hypothesis. The whole tenor of the Lamentations is against it. The destruction of the holy city and temple, the overthrow of the state by the Chaldeans, had already taken place; and the prophet bewails these national calamities.

The contents are briefly these:—

1. In the first elegy the prophet begins with lamenting the sad reverse of fortune which his country had experienced, admitting, however, that all her disasters were the just consequence of national apostacy. Jerusalem herself is introduced to continue the complaint and solicit the divine compassion. Eusebius<sup>3</sup>, Horrer, and Jahn, suppose that in this elegy the prophet deplores the deportation of Jehoiachin and ten thousand of the principal Jews to Babylon. (2 Kings xxiv. 12. &c.) This is very improbable, as is also the hypothesis of Pareau<sup>4</sup>, that it was composed after the siege, which had been raised for a time, recommenced. (Jer. xxxvii. 5.)

2. In the second the writer describes the dire effects of the divine anger in the subversion of the civil and religious constitution of the Jews. He represents the wretchedness of his country as unparalleled; and accuses the false prophets of having contributed to her ruin by false messages. Jerusalem is entreated to cry to God with deep repentance for the removal of his heavy judgments. Jahn thinks<sup>5</sup>, that it was composed on the conquest of the city; and Pareau agrees with him.

3. Here the writer describes his own severe sufferings, and sets forth the inexhaustible mercies of God as the source of hope; exhorting his fellow-countrymen to patience and resignation under the divine chastisements. He asserts God's justice, and maintains that none has a right to complain when he is punished according to his deserts. Finally, he prays for deliverance, and vengeance on his country's enemies. Pareau supposes that this elegy was composed after Jeremiah's deliverance from the pit. (Jer. xxxviii. 6—13.)

4. In the fourth elegy the poet contrasts the present wretched condition of the nation with its former prosperity, ascribing the change chiefly to the profligacy of its priests and prophets. The people confess their sins. Their enemies, the Edomites, are threatened with coming judgments, and Zion is comforted with the hope of a final

<sup>1</sup> See Kalkar's *Lamentationes critice et exegetice illustratæ*, p. 43. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Einleit.* p. 226. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> In a *Catena ap. Ghisler*, iii. b.

<sup>4</sup> *Threni Jerem. philol. et crit. illustratæ*, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Einleit.* vol. ii. p. 572.

cessation of her calamities. Pareau supposes that the elegy was written after the Chaldeans had broken into the city, and Zedekiah was taken prisoner. (Jer. xxxix. 1—5.)

5. This elegy is in the form of a prayer, in which the people deplore the loss of their country and the miseries under which they groaned, supplicating Jehovah to pity their wretchedness, and restore them to his favour. According to Jahn and Pareau, this elegy was composed *after* the destruction of the city. It is not likely that the poems were written during the siege, storming, and taking of the city, as is supposed by Pareau; for amid the abominations and horrors of such scenes, they could scarcely have been calmly composed in an artificial form like that which they present. Probably all were written between the second and third deportation of the people, except the fifth, which appears to have been composed after the final destruction of the city, perhaps in Egypt. It is impossible to determine the exact times and circumstances in which each originated. They must have been written very soon after one another, yet not precisely at the same time, nor probably all in one place. The conjecture of Tomline<sup>1</sup>, that while Jeremiah mourns the desolation of Judah and Jerusalem, he may be considered as prophetically painting the still greater miseries they were to suffer at some future time, is without foundation, the 22nd verse of the fourth chapter not supporting it, as he incorrectly supposes.

Diversity of opinion has existed respecting the connection subsisting between these five poems. The older critics, Eichhorn and Bertholdt, looked upon them as isolated productions composed by Jeremiah at different times; the former asserting that the compiler endeavoured to bring connection into them by putting them together. But more recent scholars have endeavoured to show that they form in themselves a connected whole. In this respect, however, they have not been very successful. De Wette, Ewald, Keil, have tried to describe the nature of that connection; but by no means convincingly, as Thenius has proved.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to point out any close relation of the elegies to one another, so as that they should present a complete whole; yet we believe that all the diversity belonging to them is accounted for by the assumption of a short interval or intervals of time having elapsed between their composition. The leading idea in all is much the same. Bishop Lowth's description is sufficiently accurate when he says, "that the whole bears rather the appearance of an accumulation of corresponding sentiments than an accurate and connected series of different ideas arranged in the form of a regular treatise."<sup>3</sup>

The form of these poems is peculiar. With the exception of the last, they are *acrostic* or *alphabetical*. The first two consist of long verses, with three lines each. Every line, again, is regularly subdivided into two parts of unequal length, by a *cæsura* in the sense. The third agrees with the first two in these particulars, but has the

<sup>1</sup> Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. pp. 112, 113.

<sup>2</sup> Die Klagelieder erklärt, Vorbemerkungen, p. 119. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, translated by Gregory and edited by Stowe, p. 189.

additional characteristic of every line beginning with a letter of the alphabet in succession, so that each verse begins three times with the same letter, and is divided by the Masoretes into three verses. The fourth elegy is distributed into verses having two lines of unequal length, with a cæsura. In the fifth, alphabetical arrangement is abandoned, except that the number of letters in the alphabet has regulated the number of the short verses, each consisting of two lines.

The form is not carried out in all places with undeviating regularity. Here and there it is broken. Thus, in i. 7. and ii. 9. verses of four lines each occur in the midst of those that have but three; and in 2, 3, 4. the verse  $\aleph$  stands before the verse  $\beth$ . Hence some officious critics have attempted to alter the text, transposing or emending most unwarrantably where no change should be attempted.

The author of these elegies has been all but universally regarded as Jeremiah. Tradition names him as the writer, as may be seen in the LXX., Jerome, the Targum, and the Talmud. Of these witnesses the first two alone are of value; for the Targum referred to is post-Talmudic, and the place in the Babylonian Gemara ascribes the authorship of the books of Kings to Jeremiah, and states other absurd opinions. At the commencement of the Greek translation the following sentence occurs: "And it came to pass, after Israel was taken captive, and Jerusalem made desolate, that Jeremias sat weeping, and lamented with this lamentation over Jerusalem, and said." This has been copied into the Vulgate and Arabic versions. It is debated whether or not the verse in question existed in the Hebrew copies from which the Greek version was made. Thenius thinks<sup>1</sup>, from the tenor of the words, that they were taken from the Hebrew; and in reply to the question why the redactors of the Hebrew text transmitted to us, did not receive the verse, forming as it did a constituent part of the Hebrew MS. containing the Lamentations, he says that the persons mentioned were in doubt whether Jeremiah composed the *first* elegy. We do not agree with this opinion. Jerome seems to have regarded the verse as spurious; at least he did not admit it into his version. With the old tradition respecting authorship, most critics think the contents, spirit, tone, and language to be in harmony. Such is the judgment of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Keil, and others; but Thenius objects on the ground that there is a perceptible difference among the poems. According to him an ordinary æsthetic feeling may perceive a distinction between the second and fourth, compared with the first and third. The former two are pronounced truly excellent, freely moving, well arranged, and naturally progressing songs; the latter, much weaker, struggling with the form, artificially elaborated in manifold ways, accumulating images here and there, running into one another and issuing in reminiscences, though in other respects they are excellent, and their contents entirely suitable.<sup>2</sup> In pursuance of such

<sup>1</sup> Die Klagelieder erklärt, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 120.

comparison the critic asserts that the person who wrote ii. and iv. cannot have written iii. 1—20., since it is impossible that passages like the latter could have proceeded from Jeremiah, who preserves measure and moderation even in the most animated parts of his prophecies, and no where lays himself open to the charge of springing from one image to another, as is the case here. It is added that i. iii. v. were written under relations which do not apply to Jeremiah, as appears from i. 9 c. 11 c., iii. 34. &c., v. 4, 5, 9, 10.; and that various passages in them refer to the peculiar condition of the writer and to a time subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem by several years. (Compare i. 1. 3., iii. 25. &c., 34. &c., 58. &c., v. 18.) Finally, the critic declares that it is impossible to explain satisfactorily the fact that in ii.—iv. the verses beginning with  $\text{ב}$  precede  $\text{ו}$ ; while in i. the usual alphabetical order appears. On these grounds mainly Thenius supposes that all the elegies did not proceed from Jeremiah. The second and fourth belong to him; whereas the first was written by a poet who was left behind in the land of Palestine, some time after the destruction of Jerusalem; and the fifth was composed by a person acquainted with the second; the third was written by another. The analogies between i. iii. and v. are accounted for by the circumstance that their authors were contemporaries of Jeremiah, and probably fellow-citizens, who had heard the prophet, and perhaps possessed some of his written utterances.

These particulars do not appear sufficient to justify the conclusion which Thenius derives from them. The great stumbling-block, in his eyes, seems to be iii. 1—20., whose manner of expression differs from the usual method of Jeremiah. The images certainly follow one another in quick succession, and are dissimilar to places where Jeremiah complains of his fate; as Jeremiah xv. 10. 15—18., xviii. 19. &c., xx. 7—18; but the difference of circumstances will go far to account for the diversity in question. Here the prophet speaks not so much in his own name as in that of the faithful Israelites. Wishing to give a condensed view of the miseries to which he and the people of God had been subjected, he accumulates images in rapid succession, for that purpose. That the style of Jeremiah was not always the same—diffuse, weak, repetitious; that it is sometimes characterised by strength and variety of imagery, may be seen in the sixth chapter. When the latter part of that chapter, especially, 24—30., is compared with the verses before us, the probability of these too having proceeded from the prophet himself increases. To say that he *could not* have written them, is to limit the range of his powers and the extent of his inspiration.

When it is asserted that i. iii. and v. were written in relations that do not suit Jeremiah, there is room for hesitation and dispute. What is there in i. 9 c. or 11 c. that is not applicable to the prophet? or in iii. 34. and following verses? or in v. 4, 5, 9, 10.? Nothing, as we believe; on the contrary, v. 53, 54. are exactly applicable to the situation of the prophet.

Nor is it necessary to suppose that the three poems, i. iii. v., must

have been composed some years after the destruction of Jerusalem, with the exception of the last. The passages in i. and iii. adduced by Thenius do not support the opinion; and even if they did, the prophet might have composed them a few years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

As to the difference between the alphabetical order in ii.—iv. and i., little weight can be attached to it, whatever may have been the cause. It is satisfactorily enough accounted for by the fact that the prophet did not wish to bind himself to one artificial method; but, becoming weary of the fetters, or, for the sake of variety, introduced diversity. We should not refer it to *forgetfulness* on the part of Jeremiah, as Bertholdt does<sup>1</sup>; nor to *accident* with Ewald.<sup>2</sup> Why should not the writer be allowed the freedom implied in this circumstance? Surely there is no proof that the order of the letters  $\aleph$  and  $\beth$  was fluctuating in the time of Jeremiah, and that the author of i. followed the new order, Jeremiah the old.

In opposition to every objection that can be urged against the Jeremiah-authorship of i. iii. v., the same writer affords unmistakable evidence of his identity in all. Everything agrees with Jeremiah himself—spirit, manner, and language. He appears as an eyewitness who had himself suffered the bitterest things along with others. (Compare iii. with Jeremiah xv. 15. &c., xvii. 13. &c., xx. 7. &c.; iii. 64—66. with Jeremiah xvii. 18.; iv. 17—20. with the entire fifth elegy.) Here, as in Jeremiah's book, the dispersion of the people with the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple are said to arise from the iniquities of the covenant-people. (Compare i. 5. 8. 14. 22., iii. 39. 42., iv. 6. 22., v. 16., with Jeremiah xiii. 22. 26., xiv. 7., xvi. 10. &c., xvii. 1. &c.) Their sinful trusting in false prophets and profligate priests (compare ii. 14., iv. 13—15. with Jeremiah ii. 7, 8., v. 31. &c. &c.); their false hopes of security in Jerusalem (iv. 12. with Jeremiah vii. 3—15.); vain trust in the help of feeble and faithless allies (compare i. 2. 19., iv. 17. with Jeremiah ii. 18. 36., xxx. 14., xxxvii. 5—10.), are characteristic of the prophet himself.<sup>3</sup> The diction too is his. Negligence of style, monotony, frequent repetition of the same ideas and images, appear here. Characteristic words and turns of expression present themselves in great number, as is shown by the frequently used  $\text{שָׁקַר}$  and  $\text{בַּת עֲמִי}$ , ii. 11. 13., iii. 47, 48., iv. 10. compared with Jeremiah iv. 6. 20., vi. 1. 14., viii. 11. 21., xiv. 17., xxx. 12. &c.;  $\text{בָּיִם}$ , or  $\text{יָרֵד דְּמָעָה}$ , i. 16., ii. 11. 18., iii. 48. &c. compared with Jeremiah viii. 23., ix. 17., xiii. 17., xiv. 17.;  $\text{בְּתוֹלַת בַּת עֲמִי}$ , i. 15., ii. 13. compared with Jeremiah xiv. 17., xlv. 11.;  $\text{קִנּוּר}$ , ii. 22., compared with Jeremiah vi. 25., xx. 3. 10.;  $\text{זוֹלָל}$ , i. 11., compared with Jeremiah xv. 19. Chaldaising forms are such as  $\text{שׁוֹמְמִין}$ , i. 4.;  $\text{יִשְׁנָא}$  for  $\text{יִשְׁנָה}$ , iv. 1.;  $\text{מִטְרָא}$ , iii. 12.;  $\text{הַעֵיב}$ , ii. 1.;  $\text{שְׁרֵי}$ , i. 14. A few peculiar words are,  $\text{לִשְׁקַר}$ , i. 14.;  $\text{שְׁתָּם}$ , iii. 8.;  $\text{בְּפֶשֶׁת}$ , iii. 16.;  $\text{צָפַר}$ , iv. 8.;  $\text{תַּאֲלָה}$  and  $\text{כְּגִנְת־לֵב}$ , iii. 65;  $\text{שָׂמִים}$  used of men, i. 13. 16.,

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. v. p. 2321.

<sup>2</sup> Die poetischen Bücher des alten Bundes, part 1. p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> See Hävernick's Einleit. vol. iii. p. 515.

iii. 11., iv. 5. ; ש prefixed, ii. 15., iv. 9. Words of peculiar forms are מִשְׁבֵּת, i. 7. ; מְדוּחַים, ii. 14. ; בְּוִיחָה, ii. 18., iii. 49.<sup>1</sup>

The style of these poems is admirably adapted to the leading topic, and has been excessively praised by Lowth. "There is not extant any poem which displays such a happy and splendid selection of imagery in so concentrated a state. What can be more elegant and poetical than the description of that once flourishing city lately chief among the nations, sitting in the character of a female, solitary, afflicted, in a state of widowhood, deserted by her friends, betrayed by her dearest connections, imploring relief, and seeking consolation in vain! What a beautiful personification is that of 'the ways of Sion mourning because none are come to her solemn feasts!' How tender and pathetic are the following complaints:—

'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?  
Behold, and see, if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow, which is brought  
upon me,  
With which Jehovah hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger!  
For these things do I weep; mine eye runneth down with water;  
For far from me are they that should comfort me, that should restore my  
strength;  
My children have perished because the enemy prevailed.'

(i. 14. 16., Noyes's Translation.)

But to detail its beauties would be to transcribe the entire poem."<sup>2</sup> Although there is much pathos and elegance in various parts of these elegies, we believe that the encomiums heaped upon them by Lowth are extravagant. The very artificiality of them is an evidence that they are not of the highest order. "I consider," says De Wette, very justly, "I consider the alphabetic arrangement as a contrivance of the rhythmical art, an offspring of the later vitiated taste. When the spirit of poetry is flown, men cling to the lifeless body, the rhythmical form, and seek to supply its absence by this. In truth, nearly all the alphabetical compositions are remarkable for the want of connection, for common thoughts, coldness, and languor of feeling, and a low and occasionally mechanical phraseology. . . . The Lamentations are, indeed, possessed of considerable merit in their way, but still betray an unpoetic period and degenerated taste."<sup>3</sup>

The Lamentations are placed after the book of Jeremiah, in the Septuagint and Vulgate, in consequence of the tradition which assigns their authorship to the prophet. In several printed editions of the Hebrew Bible, particularly those published by Christians, they occupy the same position. Jerome says that Jeremiah and the Lamentations were counted but one book, in consequence of the desire to reduce the books to twenty-two—the number of the letters in the alphabet. But, according to the Talmudical order which is followed in editions of the Hebrew Bible published by Jews, the Lamentations are among the five Megilloth, in the third division or Hagiographa. Whether the original place was after Jeremiah, or among the Hagiog-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Pareau's *Threni Jerem. phil. et crit. illustrati, Observatt. generalior.* § 6—8.

<sup>2</sup> *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. xxii.*

<sup>3</sup> *Commentar ueber die Psalmen, Einleit.* p. 58.

grapha, as now, is doubtful, notwithstanding the dogmatical assertion of Henderson, "there can be little doubt that, originally, they immediately followed, or formed the concluding part of the book of that prophet.<sup>1</sup> We incline to take the former view. The Jews believe that the book was not written by *the gift of prophecy*, but by *the Spirit of God*; which is given as a reason for not putting it among the prophets. But the distinction is a gratuitous one. Probably *the liturgical character* of these elegies led to their present place among the *C'tubim* or Hagiographa.

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## CHAP. XXI.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET EZEKIEL.

EZEKIEL (*i. e.* God strengthens) was the son of Buzi, of the sacerdotal race. In the eleventh year before the destruction of Jerusalem he was carried into captivity into Mesopotamia, along with king Jehoiachin and the principal men of the people. There the captives formed a colony near the Chaboras, a tributary of the Euphrates (i. 1. 3., iii. 15.). He had a house at Tel-abib, and was married. In the fifth year of his exile he opened his prophetic mission, *i. e.* 594 B. C.; and he continued his teaching till the sixteenth year after the destruction of Jerusalem. Hence, he prophesied nearly twenty-two years. (xxix. 17.) It has been inferred from the words of the first verse, "Now it came to pass, in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month," &c., that he commenced his ministry in the thirtieth year of his age; but the conclusion does not flow from the premises. According to Michaelis and Rosenmüller, the reckoning there is from the era of Nabopolassar the father of Nebuchadnezzar. Others, however, take the era to be that of the finding the book of the law, in the eighteenth year of Josiah. (2 Kings xxii.) The latter view, though held by Jerome, Ideler, Hävernick, and others, is less probable, as Hitzig<sup>2</sup> has shown; who, after Joseph Kimchi, dates the thirtieth year from a jubilee-year. Whichever era be adopted, the difference of time is insignificant. We prefer the first. As Ezekiel does not call himself a youth when he began to prophesy, though Jeremiah so speaks of himself, there is no foundation for the opinion that he was a youth when carried captive. Yet Josephus ventures to make the assertion; and Hävernick<sup>3</sup> adventurously objects to it the matured character of a priest which appears in his writings, as well as his intimate acquaintance with the temple-service. Even were this the case, and

<sup>1</sup> The book of the Prophet Jeremiah, &c., &c., p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Der Prophet Ezechiel, erklärt, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Commentar ueber Ezechiel, p. 8.

he had performed the duties of a priest in the temple, no certain conclusion could be drawn as to his age, notwithstanding the condition in Numbers iv. 3. It does not follow, however, from i. 3., that Ezekiel actually discharged the priestly functions. The dignity came to him by virtue of his descent from Levi. Among his companions in misfortune, the Jewish exiles, he was highly respected; for the elders of the people often came to him to ask his advice. (viii. 1., xiv. 1., xx. 1., xxxiii. 30. &c.) Whether he prophesied or lived beyond the time indicated in his work, is uncertain. There are no authentic accounts relating to his death; for those collected in the Pseudo-Epiphanius, in his lives of the prophets, are fabulous. It is there related that he was put to death by the chief of the people, in the place of his exile, because of his having reprovèd him for idolatry; and that he was buried in the field of Maur, in the tomb of Shem and Arphaxad. In later times, his sepulchre was pointed out between the Chaboras and Euphrates. Jerome supposes that, as Ezekiel was in part contemporary with Jeremiah, who prophesied in Judea, while Ezekiel delivered his predictions in Mesopotamia, their prophecies were interchanged for the consolation and encouragement of the captive Jews. This, however, is a most improbable hypothesis.

The prophecies of Ezekiel are put together in one well-arranged book. They may be most conveniently divided into three parts:—

I. Visions and prophecies before the destruction of Jerusalem. (i.—xxiv.)

II. Prophecies against foreign nations. (xxv.—xxxii.)

III. Prophecies after the destruction of Jerusalem. (xxxiii.—xlviii.)

These general divisions contain the following parts:—

I. 1. Ezekiel's call to the prophetic office; his commission, instructions, and encouragements for performing the duties. (i.—iii. 21.) 2. A circumstantial announcement of the destruction coming upon Judah and Jerusalem, on account of the wickedness and idolatry of the people. (iii. 22—vii.) 3. A cycle of visions and prophetic discourses relating to the rejection of the covenant-people, with a copious description of the guilt of the people, their rulers, priests, and false prophets. (viii.—xix.) 4. Several discourses, in which the idolatry of the people is reprovèd, and the fearful judgment coming upon Jerusalem proclaimed. (xx.—xxiii.) 5. The destruction of Jerusalem and its inhabitants is figuratively delineated. (xxiv.)

II. 1. Prophecies against the Ammonites. (xxv. 1—7.) 2. Against the Moabites. (xxv. 8—11.) 3. Against the Edomites. (xxv. 12—14.) 4. Against the Philistines. (xxv. 15—17.) 5. A prophecy against Tyre and Sidon. (xxvi.—xxviii.) 6. A prophecy against Egypt. (xxix.—xxxii.)

III. This part contains predictions respecting the restoration of the theocracy: 1. Of the future salvation of Israel in its conditions and basis. (xxxiii.—xxxvi.) 2. In its development, from the reanimation of the people to their victory over all enemies of the divine

kingdom. (xxxvii.—xxxix.) 3. The renewal and glorification of the theocracy in the Messianic period. (xl.—xlviii.)

In the first division, chronological order is observed. Thus, chapters i.—vii. belong to the fifth year of the captivity, as is expressly stated in i. 1. Chapters viii.—xix. belong to the sixth year, as is affirmed in viii. 1. Chapters xx.—xxiii. belong to the seventh year, as stated in xx. 1. Chapter xxiv. belongs to the ninth year. (xxiv. 1.) The prophecy xxvi.—xxviii. was delivered in the eleventh year of the exile (xxvi. 1.); that in xxix. 1—16. in the tenth year (xxix. 1.); that in xxix. 17—xxx. 19. in the twenty-seventh year (xxix. 17.); that in xxx. 20—xxxi. in the eleventh year (xxx. 20., xxxi. 1.); that in xxxii. 1—16. in the twelfth year (xxxii. 1.); that in xxxii. 17—32. in the twelfth year (xxxii. 17.). Thus predictions against foreign nations present *chronological* and *material* order united; while the order of time is exactly followed in such as relate to Israel. The former were delivered either immediately before, during, or soon after, the destruction of Jerusalem.

The prophecies in the third part were delivered in the twenty-fifth year of the exile, and the fourteenth of the destruction of Jerusalem. (xl. 1.)

As the book consists of forty-eight chapters, it divides itself very naturally into two equal halves; the first half containing oracles before the fall of Jerusalem; the last half, oracles after that catastrophe. The event in question forms the centre and culminating-point of the book, on which account the description in xxv. 2. supposes it past. Each of the twenty-four chapters, again, resolves itself into three sections, viz. i.—vii., viii.—xix., xx.—xxiv.; the middle one containing as many chapters as the other two together; and xxv.—xxxii., xxxiii.—xxxix., xl.—xlviii.

It is observable, that the foreign nations which are threatened with destruction are limited to *seven*. This is not without design, else Sidon would scarcely have been introduced besides Tyre. Judgment is first predicted against the neighbouring nations, Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines, which appear in open rebellion against the theocracy: then follow the prophecies against Tyre and Sidon. These enemies represent respectively the power of heathenism fallen away from God, in active opposition to the theocracy, and with carnal security sunk in sin, forgetful of God. The picture is completed by Egypt, the old enemy of the covenant-people, representing heathenism in both aspects at once, — active rebellion and haughty security in relation to the theocracy. In consequence of this *material* order, the chronological one in these prophecies against foreign nations is not followed; for the three in xxix. 1—16., xxx. 20—26., xxxi., are all of more recent date than xxiv.

With respect to the authenticity of Ezekiel's prophecies, doubts have not been numerous or continued. Indeed the oracles before us bear the stamp of the prophet's individuality in ideas and language so strongly, that there is little room for scepticism. Oeder and Vogel wrote against the authenticity of the last nine chapters. Corrodi attacked chapters xxxviii.—xlviii. The latter was fully

answered by Beckhaus, Eichhorn, and Jahn, who also made a few general remarks upon the views of Oeder and Vogel. An anonymous writer in the "Monthly Magazine" for 1798 also attacked chapters xxv.—xxxii. xxxv. xxxvi. xxxviii. xxxix. As his remarks were published in Gabler's "Theological Journal" for 1799, Jahn replied to them with needless particularity. There is no use at the present day of bringing forth these old objections from their resting place of obscurity. Let them be consigned to oblivion. It may be well, however, as Oeder made considerable use of Josephus, to allude to the passage of the Jewish historian, in which he appears to say that Ezekiel wrote *two books* of prophecies. The words, literally translated, are these: — "Not only did he (Jeremiah) deliver beforehand such predictions to the people, but also the prophet Ezekiel, who first wrote and left behind in writing two books concerning these events."<sup>1</sup> There are three views that may be taken of this passage. One is, that the two books Josephus speaks of are combined in the one work now extant, the latter book consisting of chapters xl.—xlviii.; the second, that a book has been lost which the prophet wrote; and the third, that the last nine chapters are the second book, assigned to Ezekiel, but incorrectly so; put with the authentic work in the same manner as Baruch and the so-called epistle of Jeremiah were frequently combined with Jeremiah's prophecies. The first is the prevailing opinion, viz. that the present book was originally two, which were subsequently united. Against this it has been urged that there is not a shadow of evidence that the present work was ever divided into two; and besides, Josephus himself reckons twenty-two books in the Old Testament canon, of which only one belongs to Ezekiel. Eichhorn, by an ingenious conjecture, supposes that Josephus is speaking of Jeremiah, not Ezekiel; and that *ὁ δὲ πρῶτος* is equivalent to *ὁ δὲ πρῶτος*. But this is very improbable.<sup>2</sup>

In favour of the second view various passages in the Fathers, from Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Lactantius, purporting to have been written by Ezekiel, are adduced, which do not appear in the present book. These passages are given by Fabricius<sup>3</sup>, and commented on by Oeder.<sup>4</sup> Carpov<sup>5</sup>, however, after Le Moyne, thinks that they were derived from Jewish tradition embodied in *Pirke Aboth*.

The third view is adopted by Oeder; but against this, internal evidence is overwhelming. If the preceding chapters were written by Ezekiel, the last nine were also composed by him.

On the whole, we suppose that the Jewish historian has either committed an error in speaking of Ezekiel as the author of two books, or meant two parts of the book now extant.

More recently Zunz<sup>6</sup> has put forth the opinion that Ezekiel and his vision stand nearer to the Persian epoch and culture than is commonly believed. The last nine chapters may belong, as he sup-

<sup>1</sup> Antiqq. x. 5. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. vol. iv. p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Codex Pseudepigraphus Vet. Test. pp. 1118, 1119.

<sup>4</sup> Freie Untersuchungen ueber einige Bucher des alten Testaments, p. 354. *et seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Introductio ad Libb. bib. V. T. part iii. p. 203.

<sup>6</sup> Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge, u. s. w. p. 157. *et seqq.*

poses, to the age of Cyrus; and the Talmud even says that the book of Ezekiel was written by the great synagogue. The considerations adduced on behalf of this hypothesis evince uncritical haste and doctrinal prepossession. They are founded on some peculiarities of manner, particularly the *speciality* of various prophecies; and on language and style. But it is needless to examine his separate allegations, since they have been refuted by Hävernick.<sup>1</sup>

The manner in which the present book of Ezekiel was made up cannot be ascertained more definitely than that the prophet himself appears to have left in writing all the oracles in their present form. He speaks of himself throughout in the first person with but two exceptions, which are easily explained. It has been conjectured by Gramberg<sup>2</sup> and Hitzig<sup>3</sup> that they were not orally delivered, either wholly or in part, but were circulated only in writing; a conjecture for which there is no evidence. As little probability is there for the opinion of the latter critic, that the first twenty-four chapters were not composed till after the destruction of Jerusalem; the very definite predictions in xii. 13., xxiv. 1. &c. &c., being merely *vaticinia ex eventu*. All this arises from the denial of proper *prediction*, and is utterly uncritical. A well arranged plan appears to pervade the whole book. It is put together in a connected and definite method, coinciding with the prophetic ministry of Ezekiel. Hence we are justified in assigning the redaction of it to himself. If indeed traces of later elaboration could be pointed out, or if transpositions could be shown here and there, we should refer the final redaction to some other hand; but the attempts to do either have proved nugatory. When Jahn thinks that the oracles against foreign nations have been transposed, he mistakes the principle on which they are arranged<sup>4</sup>; and it is pure hypothesis to say, with Bertholdt and Eichhorn<sup>5</sup>, that the collection was gradually formed out of single rolls or various smaller collections. Nor is Ewald's arbitrary attempt to account for the origin of the work, by supposing that it arose from various written prophecies gradually combined after the time of the prophet himself, any better.<sup>6</sup> The most plausible consideration he urges is, that two little pieces must have got into a wrong place, from some unknown cause; viz. xlv. 16—18. which belonged to xlv. 8.; and xlv. 19—24. belonging to xlv. 14. But even Hitzig admits that the second is now in its right place; and, although he assents to the opinion of Ewald as to the first, the piece is equally unobjectionable. Modern subjectivity should not be transferred to the times and persons of the Old Testament. On the whole, we can find no valid reason for refusing to allow that the book, as now arranged, proceeded from Ezekiel himself, not having been materially disturbed, or arbitrarily transposed in any place by a later compiler.

The Masoretic text of this book is not pure. Indeed it is more

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 271. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Geschichte der Religionsideen, ii. p. 403.

<sup>3</sup> Der Prophet Ezekiel, Vorbemerkungen, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Einleit. ii. p. 593.

<sup>5</sup> See their Einleitungen on Ezekiel.

<sup>6</sup> Die Propheten, u. s. w. vol. ii. p. 207. *et seqq.*

corrupt than that of any other, with the exception of Jeremiah. The contents of the work are peculiar, and must have been often unintelligible to an ordinary reader. The text of the Septuagint does not differ so widely as in the case of Jeremiah from the Hebrew; but it presents considerable deviations notwithstanding; and may be used with caution in restoring the original. The Peshito or old Syriac may also be applied in some cases; but by no means so frequently or advantageously.<sup>1</sup>

In the character of Ezekiel we see a marked decision and energy. His natural disposition appears to have been vigorous and firm. Hence he was admirably qualified to oppose the prevailing corruptness of the age. With force, fire, and vehemence does he perform the functions of the prophetic office, subordinating all his personal affairs to the work into which he had thrown his soul. The man is absorbed in the prophet. Combined with such power and energy we see the genuine priestly inclination. He was sprung from a race of priests; and had been educated amid Levitical influences. Many evidences of this bias of mind appear in his writings, as in viii.—xi., xl.—xlviii., iv. 14., xx. 12. &c., xxii. 8. 26., xxiv. 16. Accordingly he attaches great value to sacred usages. But this is scarcely a sufficient warrant for saying, with some critics, that his spirituality was contracted; or that he had a one-sided conception of antiquity obtained from books or traditions. If he had an idea of the spiritual import of the law and the symbolic nature of ceremonial observances, his mind was not injuriously affected by priestly education. That his spirit was richly endowed, and cultivated to a considerable extent, is apparent from his accurate knowledge of the law, of the national history, of foreign nations and their affairs, and of architecture. Indeed his life was more literary than practical; though he combined both excellences, the literary and the practical, in a degree to which his contemporary Jeremiah could lay no claim. The extraordinary richness of fancy, and the wonderful fire which he displays in his discourses, show more of the orator than the poet. There can be no doubt that, both by natural endowment and divine illumination, he was admirably fitted to be a powerful instrument in the hands of God of awakening the slumbering energy of the people in exile, and withstanding the corrupt influences to which they were so liable in a foreign land, especially by reason of their hard-hearted apostasy from Jehovah. The method of his prophecies is manifold and variable. Sometimes the discourse is didactic, with which he interweaves proverbial expressions. Examples occur in chapters xii.—xix. Here his sentences are drawn out with rhetorical fulness and breadth, with scarcely anything of the poet in them. But where lyric songs are inserted, as in xix. xxvii. xxxii., there is poetical elevation, because the subjective feelings of the writer find freer play. He is most characterised, however, by symbolical and allegorical representations, unfolding a rich series of majestic visions, of bold images in which reality is often disregarded, image and fact

<sup>1</sup> See Ewald, ii. p. 218.

being mixed up together; of colossal symbols showing the strong impressions made on the mind of the prophet in a foreign land. Besides, there are a great number of symbolical *actions*, embodying vivid conceptions on the part of the prophet. (Compare iv., v. 1. &c., xii. 3. &c., xxiv. 3. &c., 15. &c., xxxvii. 16. &c.)

It has been remarked that artistic skill is manifested by the prophet in a preponderating degree; and therefore most of his prophecies should be looked upon as purely *literary* productions.<sup>1</sup> This remark of De Wette is scarcely correct. Skill *does* appear in his discourses; but not to the extent, or of the kind, specified. On the other hand, Hävernäck affirms that his skill is the historical skill of the narrator of internal facts—a purely reproductive and not a productive faculty—manifested in the full and true giving back of his inward conceptions in their immediateness and originality.<sup>2</sup> This also is hardly correct. While *the prophet* everywhere appears, *the writer* appears also; and the skill he shows belongs to the *latter*, not the *former*. If Ezekiel were an original prophet throughout, if he showed no dependence on the older masters, or imitation of them, Hävernäck's representation might be allowed; but he was evidently well versed in books, in the literature of his nation, in the relations and measurements of architecture; and therefore his skill as a writer is exhibited in the matter and manner of his prophecies: not that the prophet is thereby *overpowered*; but that prophet and artistic writer are united in a greater degree than is shown by any of his contemporaries.

The mode of representation, in which symbols and allegories occupy a prominent place, gives a dark, mysterious character to the prophecies of Ezekiel. They are obscure and enigmatical. A cloudy mystery overhangs them which it is almost impossible to penetrate. It is no wonder that ancient writers often complain of such darkness. Jerome calls the book “a labyrinth of the mysteries of God.”<sup>3</sup> It was because of this obscurity that the Jews forbade any one to read it till he had attained the age of thirty.

The style of Ezekiel has been judged of differently by different critics. Its variableness has led to this in part; for it is uneven and many-sided. Bishop Lowth says: “Ezekiel is much inferior to Jeremiah in elegance; in sublimity he is not even excelled by Isaiah; but his sublimity is of a totally different kind. He is deep, vehement, tragical. The only sensation he affects to excite is the terrible. His sentiments are elevated, fervid, full of fire, indignant; his imagery is crowded, magnificent, terrific, sometimes almost to disgust; his language is pompous, solemn, austere, rough, and at times unpolished; he employs frequent repetitions, not for the sake of grace or elegance, but from the vehemence of passion and indignation. Whatever subject he treats of, that he sedulously pursues; from that he rarely departs, but cleaves, as it were, to it; whence the connection is in general evident and well preserved. In many

<sup>1</sup> De Wette's Einleitung, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> Commentar, p. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Præfat. in xiv. commentarior. in Ezechielem libr.

respects he is perhaps excelled by the other prophets; but in that species of composition to which he seems by nature adapted, the forcible, the impetuous, the great and solemn, not one of the sacred writers is superior to him. His diction is sufficiently perspicuous: all his obscurity consists in the nature of the subject. Visions (as for instance, among others, those of Hosea, Amos, and Jeremiah) are necessarily dark and confused. The greater part of Ezekiel, towards the middle of the book especially, is poetical, whether we regard the matter or the diction. His periods, however, are frequently so rude and incompact, that I am often at a loss how to pronounce concerning his performance in this respect."<sup>1</sup>

Although, as Michaelis remarks<sup>2</sup>, the matter be entirely dependent on taste, yet, like him, we cannot here agree with Lowth. As to Newcome's vindication of the style against Michaelis, it is wholly unsuccessful and not worth quoting. The prophet should not be compared with Isaiah in sublimity. Indeed, very few instances of the sublime appear in him. Nor is there much of the true spirit of poetry, or of great and original conceptions. Yet the style is beneath the conception. The language does not keep pace with the progress of ideas. It wants variety, roundness, and beauty. The bolder and more poetical the ideas, the more prosaic is the way in which they are expressed. The prophet amplifies and decorates the subject with great art and luxuriance, especially in symbolic and allegorical transactions. Ordinarily the language sinks down very near to the region of prose, becoming verbose and diffuse. Even where it is of an elevated nature, it is overladen with words and artificial. The diction is still more degenerate than that of Jeremiah. It is mixed with Aramæan words, or corrupted with Aramæan forms. Thus we find אֶרְחָא, xxvii. 31.; נְבִיָּה, xxxi. 5.; לְרִפְי, xvi. 20.; בְּרִפְי, xvi. 22.; אֶרְחָא, xli. 15.<sup>3</sup>

He has a number of constantly recurring expressions, especially, "they shall know that I am Jehovah," v. 13., vi. 10., xiv. 8. 23., xii. 15. &c.; or "they shall know that there hath been a prophet among them," ii. 5., xxxiii. 33.; "the hand of the Lord was there upon me," i. 3., iii. 22., xxxvii. 1., xl. 1.; "set thy face against," iv. 3. 7., vi. 2., xiii. 17., xxi. 2., xxv. 2., xxviii. 20. &c.; "as I live, saith the Lord God," v. 11., xiv. 16. 18. 20., xvi. 48., xvii. 16., xviii. 3., xx. 31. 33., xxxiii. 11., xxxv. 11.; the title *Son of Man* applied to the prophet himself, ii. 1. 3. 6. 8., iii. 1. 3. 4. &c.; the designation of the people as "a rebellious house," ii. 5, 6. 7, 8., iii. 9. 26, 27., xii. 2, 3. 9., xvii. 12., xxiv. 3.; "thus says Jehovah," בְּה אָמַר אֲדָנָי יְהוִה or בְּה אָמַר אֲדָנָי יְהוִה, ii. 4., iii. 11. 27., v. 5. 7, 8. 11., vi. 3. 11., vii. 2. 5. &c., xi. 8. 21., xii. 25., &c. occurring more than eighty times.

His language also shows a dependence on other writings, especially on the Pentateuch, and that in a greater degree than Jeremiah's. In this respect it coincides with the latest of the Hagiographa.<sup>4</sup> In like manner Jeremiah's writings have been used, as may be seen from

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> See Zunz, p. 159. note e.

<sup>3</sup> Notes on Lowth.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Zunz, pp. 160, 161. note f.

v. 2. &c., xiv. 13. &c., xii. 16., xiii. 10. 16., xi. 19., xviii. 31., xxxvi. 25. &c., xii. 14., xvii. 20.<sup>1</sup>

According to Hävernick<sup>2</sup> and Keil<sup>3</sup>, the originality of Ezekiel is shown by a great number of expressions which do not occur elsewhere, and which were probably in part first formed by himself. But such originality is not a very high attribute apart from the quality of the terms themselves. The prophet in several cases was obliged to make such words, in consequence of the peculiar subjects he treats of.

There are various Messianic prophecies in Ezekiel, as that in chapter xxxiv. 11—31., where the condition of the church is described under Messiah the King, called *David*. Indeed the last three prophecies are Messianic, viz. that relating to the mountains and house of Israel (xxxvi. xxxvii.); that respecting Gog and Magog (xxxviii. xxxix.); and the final description of the new sanctuary and city of Jehovah (xl.—xlviii.).

In the first of these three remarkable predictions, Ezekiel sees the mountains of the holy land utterly desolate and a reproach to the heathen. (xxxvi. 3—5.) The members of the house of Israel appear to him like dry dead bones in the midst of a valley. (xxxvii. 2. 11.) But when the Spirit of God breathes upon them, they rise up an exceeding great army. This resurrection will be accomplished when the fulness of the Gentiles shall have been brought in, the converted Jews being incorporated with the Gentile church into one spiritual community. (Rom. xi. 25, 26.)

As to the prophecy of Gog and Magog (xxxviii. xxxix.), it is obvious that the first appellation was formed by the prophet himself to correspond with the second, meaning the *king* or *prince* of Magog. The latter is a name for the Scythian tribes, those rude uncivilised peoples that have been out of the circle of civilisation and history, and are yet to occupy a prominent place in the affairs of the world and the church. Gog and Magog are representative of the heathen power, — of all peoples and influences which are without, and therefore opposed to the kingdom of God. They symbolise the united forces of the world — the kingdom of heathen darkness and death in contrast with the divine theocracy — being equivalent to what is elsewhere termed *Babylon*. The antichristian elements of this world are in perpetual hostility to the true church. Between them and the kingdom of God there will be a last deadly struggle. Babylon and Jerusalem will appear in open conflict: Gog and Magog on the one side, Messiah on the other. This conflict is the culminating point and consummation of all that is said in Scripture of the enmity of the heathen to Jehovah's kingdom, and the judgment upon that enmity. In it, as the closing and severest struggle, all finds its last fulfilment. We believe it to be still future.<sup>4</sup>

The third and last Messianic prophecy refers to the new temple and the new city. (xl.—xlviii.) This has respect to a time yet to come, when the Jews as a people shall be converted, and incorporated with

<sup>1</sup> See Ewald, vol. ii. pp. 208, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> See Baumgarten in Herzog's Encyclopædie, article Ezechiel.

the Christian church. The description is more symbolical than literal. The temple, priesthood, sacrificial worship, Sabbath, and new-moon festivals, are for the most part Jewish costume enclosing and conveying Christian ideas. Referring, as they mainly do, to the conversion of the Jews to Messiah, they are necessarily connected with the enlargement of the Christian church, by the fulness of the Gentiles flowing into it. Baumgarten says truly, that we must learn to recognise in these high and glorious descriptions not merely the final form of Israel, but also the last normal state of the converted Gentile church. We do not, however, think with him, that the latter will be received into the former, and find in the law of Israel its national disposition according to the law of God. Rather will the converted Jewish people be received into the enlarging Gentile church, and become with it one spiritual body. We do not suppose that Israel will be restored *as a nation* to their own land, and converted to the belief of the Messiah, Jesus the crucified one; else we should hold with some, among whom Baumgarten seems to place himself, that the temple should be rebuilt and its worship restored; on the contrary, the Jews will hereafter be absorbed into the communion of the Gentiles, and both become one in Christ. It is to this future enlargement and glorification of the Messianic church that the prophecy of Ezekiel alludes.

Here a question arises *how far* the three prophecies in the latter part of Ezekiel's book are Messianic. Are they wholly so? Do they relate solely to the Christian dispensation? If so, most critics will believe that they *remain* to be fulfilled. Or should they be connected with events in the Jewish dispensation *as well as* with the fate of Christianity? Is their application twofold or even more? Do they foreshadow things connected with both dispensations, related as type and antitype—prelibation and accomplishment—incipient and final fulfilment? The choice lies between these two views; for none who has a right perception of the nature of prophecy will think of *confining* such predictions to events under the Jewish economy. Even Henderson<sup>1</sup>, who tries to restrict the three to the Israelites restored to their own land, their enemies the Idumeans, and Antiochus Epiphanes, *is obliged* here and there to introduce the Messianic time; as if the spirit and tenor of the language refused to be crushed into the narrow crucible of his arid exegesis.

We are inclined to think that *premonitory* fulfilments, so to speak, should not be neglected in the interpretation of these remarkable predictions. In the first, the Idumeans should not be stripped of their literal individuality, and converted into a mere symbol of the enemies of God's kingdom under the New Testament dispensation. The prophecy refers to these inveterate foes of ancient Israel; but it swells out beyond them to the enemies of the church at a future period. It had an *incipient* fulfilment in Edom and the restored captive people. At the same time its *full* accomplishment is future. All antichristian powers in their opposition to the Messianic theocracy are intended.

<sup>1</sup> See the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, translated from the original Hebrew, with a Commentary, &c., &c. p. 168. *et seqq.*

They are the principal and highest subject of the prophecy. In the second, not merely are Antiochus Epiphanes and his armies represented as invading Palestine and spreading desolation through the country, but a terrible and final conflict between the antichristian power of the world and the spiritual kingdom of Christ is also and chiefly depicted. The one conflict was but a feeble type and instalment of the other. The prophecy, with its springing and germinant sense, comprehends both. In the third, including the last nine chapters, the restoration of the material temple after the return of the Jews from captivity is not the main or only topic described. The things which the temple and its services foreshadowed are also referred to, *i. e.* the New Testament church in her glorious time of enlargement and prosperity, after the Jews shall have been converted. By this mode of interpretation we avoid the two extremes into which many expositors have fallen. On the one hand, we repudiate the narrow, Jewish, literal acceptance into which some Judaising Christians have run; on the other, we do not lose ourselves entirely in symbol and allegory, as Hävernick and his follower Fairbairn. The outward and literal is preserved, while the internal and spiritual is equally maintained. All is not resolvable into the bare facts of Jewish history; neither is all resolvable into Messianic facts and truths with a Judaic envelope.

The literal interpretation of the last nine chapters appears to us wholly untenable from the single fact, that Henderson himself, who advocates this view, can maintain it no farther than the termination of chapter xlvi., *i. e.*, as far as the temple and its ordinances are concerned. The description in chapter xlvii. he holds to be symbolical, while that in chapter xlviii. again, is literal.<sup>1</sup> Such arbitrariness of interpretation can be justified by nothing but exegetical necessity. And none such exists in the present case. It is wholly incorrect to say that the vision in chapter xlvii., "though connected with, is to be regarded as distinct from, that of the temple."<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, the nine chapters contain one vision, as the expositor himself unconsciously remarks at the close, "Here endeth this remarkable vision."<sup>3</sup> One insuperable objection to the literal sense of the part relating to the temple and its ordinances is, that the dimensions assigned to it in xlii. 16—20. are incredibly large; for they would cover more space than was ever comprehended in the entire city of Jerusalem. The answer of Henderson to this is a mere evasion: "The prophet here employs an architectural hyperbole, with the view of conveying the idea of sufficient amplitude;" that is, although the prophet meant that he should be understood literally, and gave the proper dimensions of the temple, he stated in this place *far more* "reeds" than the literal number! Surely, he either wrote figuratively, or made an incorrect statement. The temple was not completed according to the plan proposed and described by Ezekiel. This is admitted even by Bennett, a Jew. "Having justly considered," says he, "all the circumstances, they [the returned Jews] determined to adopt the plan of Ezekiel in

<sup>1</sup> The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, p. 187. *et seqq.*    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 212.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 219.

its *principal parts* only; viz. the actual Temple and the Sanctuary, with its adjoining buildings, which formed the western side of the proposed fabric, as we find testified in Mishnah Midoth. The remaining and less essential parts, such as the halls, porches, courts, &c., they judiciously determined to defer until a more favourable opportunity, when the increase of the population, and the prosperous state of the commonwealth, should justify the completion of the plan in its full extent, agreeably to the scriptural direction given to Ezekiel. They accordingly contented themselves for the present with a smaller and a simpler building, or with the remnants of the first temple, as we are told from the same authority.<sup>1</sup> With this agrees the statement of Hävernick, that the temple and its ordinances were not restored according to the pattern furnished by Ezekiel. Hence, we are surprised at the assertion of Henderson, that "Hävernick's statement [to this effect] is altogether a gratuitous assumption. It is a point on which we have no positive historical data to enable us to decide." If so, why does the commentator add, with singular inconsistency, "The discrepancies, however, that have been detected between the ancient temple, and that described by Ezekiel, are non-essential," &c.<sup>2</sup> There is little doubt that the dimensions given by the prophet are *ideal* to a considerable extent; for if they were literally carried out and actually followed, they would form a building immensely large and magnificent, far exceeding in size and proportions the temple of Solomon, or that of Zerubbabel, or even Herod's.

The spiritual or figurative interpretation of the vision must be accepted, if not exclusively, at least chiefly. The prophet does not speak so much of the restoration of the material temple then in ruins, as of that which it foreshadowed. The vision is mainly Messianic. It points to the new dispensation, and has therefore an allegorical or figurative meaning. The worship of God was to be restored. The temple, priesthood, and sacrifices were to reappear, not merely in the old material form, but in a higher and nobler aspect. A spiritual kingdom, a nation of priests offering spiritual sacrifices, were to arise as the consummation of former things. By the advent of Christ the theocracy was to be reanimated with new life, and assume more glorious proportions than before. The New Testament church, with her pure ordinances, was to represent the fulfilment of hopes long cherished by the pious Jews; when God should build up the walls of Zion and reign in the midst of his people. According to this view, we are under no necessity of violently separating the vision into two parts, and understanding them differently. All refers *ultimately* to the gospel dispensation with its rich abundance of blessings.

Those who desire to see a very minute and lengthened exposition of the temple and its buildings, as described in Ezekiel (chapters xl.—xlii., and xlvi. 19—24.), should consult Böttcher's *Proben*, pp. 218—365., Leipzig, 1833, 8vo., to which are prefixed two plates showing the outlines and proportions of the prophet's ideal architecture. To this very

<sup>1</sup> The Temple of Ezekiel, &c. &c., p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, &c., p. 188.

learned work should be added that of Mr. Solomon Bennett, entitled "The Temple of Ezekiel;" namely, an elucidation of the 40th, 41st, 42nd, &c., Chapters of Ezekiel, consistently with the Hebrew original. London, 1824. 4to. Here, too, are given a ground-plan and bird's-eye view. We may also refer to Thenius's elaborate Appendix to his Commentary on Kings, "Das vorerilische Jerusalem und dessen Tempel;" where, in addition to minute descriptions and careful plans of Solomon's temple, there are also remarks on that described by Ezekiel. But has not the erudite commentator erred in his ideas of the actual size and measurements of the latter? Are all his calculations in § 12. correct, so as to justify the conclusion drawn in the last paragraph of that section?

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## CHAP. XXII.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET DANIEL.

DANIEL, the fourth of the greater prophets, was a youth of noble birth, who was carried captive in the reign of Jehoiakim, along with other young men of distinction, to Babylon. He lived there at court under the name of *Beltshazzar*, and was instructed in the wisdom and literature of the Chaldeans. Steadfast in adhering to the faith of his fathers, he was richly endowed by the Most High with the knowledge of wonderful visions and dreams; so that having been able to interpret two remarkable dreams of Nebuchadnezzar (chapters ii. iv.), he was exalted to the dignity of overseer, or president, of the wise men of Babylon. (ii. 48.) Under succeeding Chaldean princes he continued in high favour, and was celebrated for his wisdom. (v. 11., viii. 27.) The last Babylonian king, Belshazzar, on the night of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, in revelling with his court, used the sacred things plundered from the temple at Jerusalem as drinking-vessels; when suddenly he saw a mysterious hand tracing illegible letters on the wall. Daniel being called in, read the writing, and applied it to the conquest of the kingdom. The fulfilment immediately took place. The following king, Darius the Mede, or Cyaxares II., made Daniel first of his three chief ministers. His enemies having plotted against him, he was cast into a lions' den, and miraculously delivered. He continued, therefore, in high favour under the government of Darius, and lived till the reign of Cyrus. (vi. 29., x. 1.) In what year of the reign of the latter he died, is uncertain; because the time appears to be different in i. 21. and x. 1. According to the former, he died in the first year of Cyrus; the latter seems to indicate that he was alive till the third.

Though Daniel lived throughout the captivity, it does not appear that he returned to his own country when Cyrus permitted the Jews

to revisit their native land. On this point, indeed, Jewish and oriental traditions are contradictory; for while some make him return, others say that he died and was buried in Babylon or Susa.

He was contemporary with Ezekiel, who mentions his extraordinary piety and wisdom. (xiv. 14. 20., xxviii. 3.) Even during his lifetime, these qualities seem to have become proverbial. As his life was so remarkable, it easily led the superstitious to attribute to him a number of miraculous things, and so to dress it out with fables. Though he was carried away when still a youth, he must have been at least ninety years of age at his death.

The statement in the first verse of the first chapter, viz., "in the *third* year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it," has given rise to much discussion. Some, as De Wette, Hitzig, &c., affirm that the statement is incorrect, because, according to Jer. xxv. 1., xlvi. 2., the fourth year of Jehoiakim is the first year of Nebuchadnezzar; and, according to xxv. 9., the Chaldeans had not yet come against Jerusalem in the fourth year; nor yet, according to xxxvi. 9., in the fifth year of Jehoiakim. History knows of no other deportation of the Jews, besides that under Zedekiah, than the one which took place under Jehoiakim in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar. (2 Kings xxiv. 12. &c.) The Chronicles alone (2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. &c.) mention a deportation of Jehoiakim. Hence it is conjectured that the author may have used this last passage, and put the time, the *third* year, out of 2 Kings xxiv. 1.<sup>1</sup>

However formidable this difficulty may appear, it is not perhaps insuperable. Hengstenberg<sup>2</sup>, whom Keil follows, thinks that the third year of Jehoiakim may be regarded as the *terminus a quo* of Nebuchadnezzar's coming. This king *set out*, or *put his army in motion*, in that year. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, he overthrew Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 2.), which was immediately followed by the reduction of Jerusalem. According to this interpretation, the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim might be the *first* of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, since the events so important to Judah in the first year of the public appearance of Nebuchadnezzar then happened. The fast in the fifth year of Jehoiakim may have been instituted as a time of mourning *for the taking of Jerusalem in the preceding year*; not to avert the invasion of the Chaldeans. It is uncritical to say that, because 2 Kings xxiv. 12. &c. is the only passage in the Hebrew Scriptures which speaks of a deportation under Jehoiakim in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, there was therefore none other; for the *argumentum e silentio* is invalid.

The twenty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah does not agree with this view. The prophet there says that he had declared the word of God to the Jewish people from the thirteenth year of Josiah *even unto this day*; but they had not hearkened. (ver. 3.) In like manner, the Lord had sent unto them all his servants, the prophets; but the

<sup>1</sup> See De Wette's Einleitung, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Die Authentie des Danicel, p. 55.

people had not hearkened to them. (ver. 4.) The burden of those prophets' message was, "Turn ye again now every one from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land that the Lord hath given unto you and to your fathers for ever and ever. And go not after other gods, to serve them, and to worship them, and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands, and I will do you no hurt." (ver. 5, 6.) The prophet himself continues: "Therefore thus saith the Lord of Hosts; Because ye have not heard my words, behold, I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant, and will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof," &c. &c. (verses 8, 9. &c.) Down to the time when this prophecy was delivered, which was in the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim (xxv. 1.), God had done the people no hurt. Hence, we infer that in the *third* year of Jehoiakim (Daniel i. 1.) what is related at the commencement of Daniel's book had not happened. If it be said that the *total destruction* of the Jewish state is threatened in Jer. xxv. 9—11., and that the occurrences of Daniel i. 1—4. do not amount to this, we reply that the latter were at least a fearful punishment; whereas the language of xxv. 1—7. implies no such castigation, but admonishes to repentance. At that time, viz. the fourth year of Jehoiakim, *God had done them no hurt.* (verse 6.) Thus the solution offered must be rejected.<sup>1</sup>

Hofmann<sup>2</sup>, Hävernick<sup>3</sup>, Oehler<sup>4</sup>, and Stuart<sup>5</sup>, suppose that the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar occurred the year before the battle at Carchemish. In that case, Jerusalem was taken in the *third* year of Jehoiakim. The twenty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah cannot be reconciled with this opinion. There, the fourth year of Jehoiakim is mentioned so as to preclude a prior invasion of Judea by the Chaldeans in the preceding year. It is the commencement of the judgments inflicted on the disobedient people by the instrumentality of the Chaldeans. Had the metropolis been conquered a year before by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim been made tributary, an emphatic prophecy of this kind from the mouth of Jeremiah, specifying the fourth year of Jehoiakim, is inexplicable. It might also be shown that this view is contrary to the extracts from Berosus given by Josephus.<sup>6</sup>

No explanation which has yet been proposed, suffices to remove the difficulty before us. There seems to be a chronological mistake. But it need not be assumed that it was made by Daniel himself. It is the work of a later hand, as we shall see hereafter.

On the ground of this alleged mistake, as also of Ezekiel's mentioning Daniel as a pattern of righteousness and wisdom when he was still young, the historical existence of the prophet has been

<sup>1</sup> See Herbst's *Einleitung*, ii. 2. p. 106. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Die Siebzig Jahre des Jeremia*, u. s. w. p. 9. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Neue kritische Untersuchungen ueber das Buch Daniel*, p. 62. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> In *Tholuck's Litterarischer Anzeiger* for 1842, p. 395. *et seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Commentary on the book of Daniel*, excursus i. p. 19. *et seqq.*

<sup>6</sup> *Antiqq.* x. 11. 1. and *contra Apion*, i. 19.

doubted. The writer of the book is thought to have falsely put an old mythic or poetical personage into the circumstances which are recorded. Von Lengerke and Hitzig think that he was a celebrated hero who lived in a mythic age; while Ewald puts him in the Assyrian captivity, at the court of Nineveh. But the passages in Ezekiel that speak of Daniel give no countenance to fictions of this nature. There is no improbability in supposing that, though a youth when carried to Babylon, Daniel may have attained to the fame for wisdom and righteousness which Ezekiel's language implies, after he had been appointed chief of the magi, *i. e.* thirteen or fourteen years since he had left his native land. The place the name occupies, between Noah and Job, was not regulated by chronology. The climax led to the arrangement in question.

The book of Daniel is divided into two parts; the one historical, the other prophetic, consisting of chapters i.—vi. and vii.—xii. respectively. The principle of arrangement is neither the *chronological* nor the *material*, exclusively. Both have been taken into account, and coalesce.

I. In the first chapter there is a brief narrative of the circumstances of Daniel's life, when he was carried captive to Babylon in the fourth year of Jehoiakim; how he and his three friends were educated and employed at court. (i.)

The second chapter contains an account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream concerning a colossal image composed of different metals, and a stone that broke it in pieces, with the interpretation given by Daniel,—explaining it of four great monarchies, and their destruction by the Messiah's kingdom. The head of gold represented the Babylonian empire; the silver breast, with silver arms, the Median empire; the brazen belly and thighs represented the Persian empire; the legs and feet, which were partly of iron and partly of clay, represented the Grecian empire, which was divided after the death of Alexander the Great. "The stone cut out of the mountain without hands, which brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold," represented the kingdom of the Messiah, which was to become universal. The section or chapter concludes with an account of the promotion of Daniel and his friends to high honours. (ii.)

The third chapter or section gives an account of the miraculous preservation of Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, who were cast into a fiery furnace for refusing to worship a golden image that had been set up by Nebuchadnezzar. (iii. 1—30.)

In the fourth section, Nebuchadnezzar relates, in the form of a public confession addressed to the people who were subject to him, how Daniel, by interpreting a dream, had predicted to him the punishment of his pride; and how it had come to pass. The monarch lost his reason, and was driven from the conversation of men for seven years; after which he was restored to reason and his throne. Now, therefore, he extols the God of heaven. (iii. 31—iv. 34.)

The fifth section relates to the history of Daniel under Belshazzar, who, while revelling in his palace, and profaning the sacred vessels

which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem, is alarmed with the figure of a hand writing mysterious characters on the wall, which Daniel interprets of the overthrow of the king and his kingdom. In the same night the monarch is slain, and the Babylonian empire transferred to the Medes and Persians. (v.)

The sixth chapter relates how a conspiracy was formed against Daniel under Darius the Mede, in consequence of which he was cast into a den of lions; but that being miraculously preserved, Darius published a decree that all men should glorify the God of Daniel. (vi.)

II. With the second part begins a series of visions.

The vision of the four beasts, relative to the four monarchies of the world, opens the series. The first beast, a lion with wings, represented Nebuchadnezzar, the head of the Babylonian empire; the second beast, a bear with three ribs in the mouth, Darius the Mede, whose empire, the Median, was divided into three satrapies. It had no complete independent existence of itself. All its importance lay in its future. The third, a leopard with four wings on the back, and four heads, represented Cyrus, the head of the Persian empire. The four wings are Persia, Media, Babylonia, and Egypt; and the four heads are Cyrus's four successors—Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius Hystaspes; while Xerxes and Darius Codomannus are merged into one in the indistinct view of the prophet. The fourth beast, most terrible and strong, with iron teeth and ten horns, among which an eleventh horn came up, and rooted out three of the ten, symbolises Alexander and his kingdom.

The ten kings symbolised by the ten horns are: 1. Seleucus Nicator (312—280 B. C.); 2. Antiochus Soter (279—261); 3. Antiochus Theus (260—246); 4. Seleucus Callinicus (245—226); 5. Seleucus Ceraunus (225—223); 6. Antiochus the Great (222—187); 7. Seleucus Philopator (186—176); 8. Heliodorus, who had virtually possession of the throne, after Seleucus Philopator was poisoned (xi. 20.); 9. Demetrius, the rightful heir to the throne after the death of his father Philopator, who was sent to Rome as a hostage instead of Antiochus Epiphanes; 10. Ptolemy IV. Philometor, for whom his mother Cleopatra, the sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, bespoke the Syrian throne. The last three were dispossessed of the throne by Antiochus Epiphanes. (vii. 24.) Heliodorus was expelled by Eumenes and Attalus in favour of Antiochus. Demetrius, referred to in xi. 20., was set aside, and not allowed to take possession of the throne to which he was the rightful heir. Ptolemy Philometor was prevented from occupying the throne by Antiochus. (xi. 22—28.)

The little horn means Antiochus Epiphanes, who is said to have made war with the saints and prevailed against them; but the Most High took away the dominion, and put an end to the church's oppression, by giving all power to the Son of Man, who comes in the clouds of heaven. (vii.)

The eighth chapter contains a vision of a ram with two horns, against which comes a he-goat with a notable horn between his eyes, and destroys it. The ram represents the Medo-Persian empire, the two horns being the Medes and the Persians, or Darius and Cyrus;

and the he-goat, the Grecian. The notable horn between the eyes of the he-goat is Alexander the Great; and the four horns that spring up on the fracture of the great one, are the four kingdoms arising out of the monarchy of Alexander, viz. the Macedonian in the west, the Syrian in the east, the Egyptian in the south, and the Thracian in the north. The little horn which arises out of one of the four, which waxed exceeding great even to the host of heaven, cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, took away the daily morning and evening sacrifice, and desolated the sanctuary for 2300 days, is Antiochus Epiphanes. (viii.)

The ninth chapter contains the revelation which Daniel received respecting the seventy weeks of years. The prophet, understanding from the prophecies of Jeremiah that the seventy years' captivity was now drawing to a close, humbled himself in fasting and prayer for the sins of his people, and implored the restoration of Jerusalem. While in this act of confession, the angel Gabriel is sent to him, who announces that the holy city should be rebuilt and peopled, even in troublous times, and should subsist for seventy weeks, at the close of which it should be destroyed. (ix.)

The last section contains the fourth prophetic vision, in the third year of the reign of Cyrus. After fasting and supplication, Daniel receives information respecting the farther development of the kingdom of God. From Cyrus, the prophecy briefly follows the course of Persian history, till Xerxes's expedition against the Greeks, comes to Alexander (ver. 3.) and the fall of his kingdom (ver. 4.), and then relates the events of the Ptolemy-Seleucidian wars till Antiochus Epiphanes, who began to hate the religion of Israel, and when a new expedition against Egypt was frustrated by a Roman fleet, turned the whole force of his indignation against the sanctuary, the worship of God, and the faithful adherents of the covenant-people. Here Rome first appears to the view of the prophet, but remotely; for in xi. 30. the ships of Chittim refer to the Roman fleet; and in the eighteenth verse, a *prince* points out Scipio. The *little help* in xi. 34. is the Maccabean. The vision does not end with the death of Antiochus, but glances forward to the time of the general resurrection. (x.—xii.)

We must now look back at a few particulars which have been the subject of much discussion.

It is generally and rightly admitted, that the same four powers or kingdoms, are described in the second and seventh chapters. The imagery used to depict them is different, but the things represented are identical. The traditional and prevailing interpretation has always been that the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedo-Grecian, and Roman empires are depicted. Hengstenberg, Hävernack, Hofmann, Caspari, Keil, Auberlen, have advocated this view more or less ably; and there is no doubt that it appears to satisfy the conditions of the imagery, as far as these two chapters are concerned. But there are circumstances in the succeeding parts that render it improbable.

Redepenning and Hitzig understand by the head of gold, Nebu-

chadnezzar ; by the silver breast and arms, Belshazzar ; by the body, the Medo-Persian ; by the legs and feet, the Grecian empire. This is so unlikely and incongruous as to require no particular remark.

Bertholdt and Stuart hold that the first monarchy is the Babylonian ; the second, the Medo-Persian ; the third, that of Alexander ; the fourth, that of his successors. In opposition to this, we shall only state that the book before us represents the Grecian kingdom as one. (viii. 21.)

Eichhorn, Von Lengerke, Ewald, Delitzsch, make the first the Babylonian ; the second, the Median ; the third, the Persian ; the fourth, that of Alexander and his successors. This is the view which we have followed.

Against the traditional interpretation which makes the fourth empire the Roman one, it may be remarked :—

1. In the seventh chapter, the little horn which exalts itself and persecutes the church of God, arises out of the fourth empire, or, at least, from among the ten horns of it. In the eighth chapter, the little horn arises out of one of four horns belonging to the empire represented by the he-goat, which in no case is the Roman empire. If, therefore, the little horn described in these two chapters be the same — and the character assigned to both agrees, for they act in the same way towards Jehovah, his people, and his religion — the fourth kingdom in the seventh chapter, and that described in viii. 8., must be the same, since the little horn arises out of the one and the other alike. If the fourth empire mean that of Alexander and his successors, the description of the little horn applies to Antiochus Epiphanes. In no sense, however, did Antiochus arise out of the Roman empire. He was a Syrian.

It is possible to regard the descriptions of the little horn in the seventh and eighth chapters as belonging to the same person or power and yet to pronounce the fourth empire the Roman one, by identifying the little horn with *the pope* of Rome, as Bishop Newton does in the seventh chapter, and Wintle after him, who says, “the more general and better opinion refers it to Antichrist, or the papal usurpation.”<sup>1</sup> But that is to confound two things which are quite distinct, for Antichrist is *not* the pope. He is a person who has not yet appeared ; or, rather, whose full manifestation is still future. And it is evident that he is destroyed before the Son of Man commences his reign ; and therefore *he* cannot be meant. Besides, the little horn in the eighth chapter cannot mean the pope, for his power was to last only 2300 days — which days are *nothing but days ; not years*, as has been incorrectly asserted.<sup>2</sup> Indeed Newton and those who commonly follow his view, inconsistently make the little horn *the Roman temporal power* in the eighth chapter ; whereas, in their view, it ought to be the same as in the preceding chapter, i. e. *the pope*.<sup>3</sup>

2. The fourth empire is subverted and destroyed at the com-

<sup>1</sup> Daniel, an improved Version attempted, &c., note on chap. vii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See this proved in Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. iii. p. 510 *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See Dissertations xiv. and xv.

mencement of the Messianic kingdom, as is plainly stated in ii. 44, 45. We know, however, that the Roman empire stood for a considerable time after the coming of Messiah. Other arguments against considering the fourth the Roman empire, are given by Stuart<sup>1</sup>, but are not all valid.

The strongest considerations in favour of the traditional interpretation of the fourth empire, are drawn from the New Testament; and accordingly Hengstenberg and Hävernick appeal to Matt. xxiv. 15., Mark xiii. 14., for proof that the destruction of the Jewish state by the Romans was predicted by Daniel. The quotations refer to Dan. ix. 26, 27. To this Stuart replies, that there is no *prediction*, but *mere similarity of events*. What Daniel described as happening once, was about to happen again.<sup>2</sup> The answer is not sufficient or satisfactory, as will appear hereafter.

The view we have adopted is liable to doubt and objection: this is freely admitted. Accordingly, Auberlen affirms that the book of Daniel knows but one Medo-Persian kingdom which succeeded the Babylonian; in which, first Media, then Persia, bore rule. It is also stated, that Darius the Mede was insignificant; that personally he took no active part in the conquest of Babylon, reigning there only some two years; and that Media and Persia are combined and spoken of as one kingdom in viii. 20., v. 28., vi. 9. 13. 16.<sup>3</sup> All this is of less weight than would appear at first sight. The Medes and Persians are distinguished throughout the book; the former *not* being merged in the latter. They are named in succession, the one following the other, in v. 28., vi. 8. 12. 15. Darius is not a person of insignificance in the view of Daniel; on the contrary, prominence is assigned to him as a *Mede, of the seed of the Medes*, vi. 1., ix. 1., xi. 1.; while, on the other hand, Cyrus is distinguished as a *Persian*, vi. 28. In vi. 28. the kingdoms of Darius and Cyrus are expressly separated into two: "In the reign (kingdom) of Darius and in the reign (kingdom) of Cyrus the Persian." In like manner, Cyrus is called the king of Persia, x. 1., which Darius never is. That the dominion of Darius the Mede was important, notwithstanding its brief duration, is evident from x. 13. and xi. 1., for he is represented as withstanding the angel twenty-one days, till Michael came to help. The first year of Darius is the year of Israel's redemption from the Babylonish captivity. It is true that the vision in chapter viii. represents the Medo-Persian empire together in the form of a ram; but even there, the two kingdoms are distinguished as two horns—the one larger and of later growth than the other; viz., the Persian in relation to the Median. On the whole, the book of Daniel appears to present the Median kingdom as an independent one, between the Babylonian and Persian empires. It formed a transition from the one to the other; and in that light may be considered of comparatively little importance in itself; but it had a momentous and independent character in

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Commentary on Daniel, p. 173. *et seqq.*, and 205. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 190, 191.

<sup>3</sup> See Auberlen's *der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis*, p. 189.

relation to the history of Israel, and therefore in the view of the prophet.<sup>1</sup>

Into a perplexed subject like the prophecy of the seventy weeks in the ninth chapter, it would be out of place here to enter. We shall merely indicate a few particulars respecting it. Those weeks are manifestly divided into  $7 + 62 + 1$ , and are weeks of years, *i. e.* 490 years. It is said in the 26th verse, that, after the sixty-two weeks, *i. e.* at the beginning of the first week, *an anointed one*, מְשִׁיחַ, is cut off; the people of a *prince*, גִּי, destroys the city and temple; and even unto the end of the war desolations are inflicted. In the 27th verse, it is related that many remain firm in their adherence to the covenant in this week, in the middle of which the sacrificial worship is interrupted by violence; which interruption continues till the consummation determined be poured on the desolator. This first week is the time of Antiochus's persecution; *the half week*, the time at which the persecution attains its highest point, corresponding to the time, times, and half a time, in vii. 25. and xii. 7. From history we learn that after Onias III., מְשִׁיחַ, the anointed one, had been murdered (176 B. C.), Antiochus plundered the temple at Jerusalem (170 B. C.), slew 80,000 Jews, and took 40,000 prisoners, polluted the sanctuary, and proceeded as if he meant to extirpate the Israelites and their religion. From 170 to the year of his death 164, is seven years; in the middle of which, *i. e.* 167, the cessation of the daily sacrifice, and the introduction of the statue of Zeus Olympius into the temple, occurred. This first week, as we have taken it, is preceded by sixty-two weeks, during which Jerusalem is rebuilt in troublous times (ver. 25.). If we reckon these 62 weeks = 434 years from the year 170, *i. e.* the beginning of the first week, we reach 604 B. C., viz. the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and first of Nebuchadnezzar, a year decisive of the fate of Jerusalem. So far all appears plain; but the calculation is soon disturbed when *the seven weeks* come to be disposed of. What is to be done with them? Can we put them, with Hofmann<sup>2</sup>, Wieseler<sup>3</sup>, and Delitzsch<sup>4</sup>, *after* the  $62 + 1$ , not *before*? Do they follow the 63, coming last in the 70; so that the end of them and of the 70, is coincident? This is favoured, according to Delitzsch, by a comparison of verses 24. and 27., which shows that the termination of the 63 and of the 70 weeks cannot coincide, since, in the former, it is marked by judgment upon the desolator; while, in the latter, it is marked by the fulfilment of prophecy, and finishing of transgression. Wieseler and Hofmann think that the termination of the seven weeks, or of the seventy, is not marked in history. They find no recorded event to which it corresponds. Hofmann, with whom Delitzsch seems to agree, thinks that these seven weeks were meant to be an object of search (*ἔρευνᾶν*) to the faithful, when the thing prophesied did not take place at the termination of the sixty-three weeks. We confess that this is unsatisfactory.

<sup>1</sup> See Delitzsch in Herzog's Encyclopædie, article Daniel.

<sup>2</sup> Weissagung und Erfüllung, vol. i. p. 296. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Die 70 Wochen und die 63 Jahrwochen des Propheten Daniel, p. 124. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Article Daniel in Herzog's Encyclopædie.

But Delitzsch refers the first part of the 25th verse to the Messiah. "Know, therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks." This is the final restoration of Jerusalem. *The word*, i. e. the joyful command, goes forth from God that Jerusalem must be finally restored, and that seven weeks are to elapse till the high priest and king, Jesus Christ, appear, in whom the glory of the new Jerusalem is perfected. The latter part, again, of the same verse, refers to a temporary rebuilding of Jerusalem, and a partial fulfilment of the prophecy. Here again the difficulty arises of bringing the 7 weeks = 49 years to the birth of Christ, for 163-49 do not reach to that event.

What leads us to reject this explanation, as well as that of Wieseler and Hofmann relative to the placing of the seven years after the 63, will be seen from the following remarks.

We begin with the latter part of the 26th verse, viz. "and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate." Such language can apply only to Antiochus Epiphanes, because of its parallelism to the descriptions of the same person in viii. 9-14., xi. 21-45. *The prince that shall come* is Antiochus. Going backward to the first part of the 26th verse, "And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and," &c., we inquire, Do these words, with which the succeeding ones are closely connected, relate to a different subject, person, and time? The presumption is, that they do not. They describe a thing which stands in connection with the abominable desolations of Antiochus. This is more probable when it is observed that the word משיח, *without the article*, does not mean "the Messiah," but merely *an anointed one*, which may refer to any Jewish priest or king; it is even applied to Cyrus in Isaiah; and when לֹא לְנֶפֶשׁ cannot mean "not for himself," but most probably, with Steudel and Hofmann, "there is none to it," i. e. "no anointed one to the people." Accordingly the words in the first part of the 25th verse may refer to Onias III., the high priest of the Jews in the time of Antiochus. Coming next to the 25th verse, we look upon it as a very improbable thing that the 7 weeks, though mentioned *before* the 62 weeks, should be numbered *after* them. It is natural to take them *as the commencement* of the 70, since they are *named* at the commencement, 7 + 62 + 1. It is also arbitrary to refer, with Delitzsch, the first part of the verse to the final rebuilding of Jerusalem, or the theocracy by Messiah, and the second part to a prior and literal rebuilding, which preceded the other. Transpositions of this sort are violent, and should be avoided. In both clauses the rebuilding is the same. The structure and language of

the verse also show that "Messiah the Prince" cannot mean Jesus Christ; the words being literally "an anointed one, a prince." And the context indicates that he is not the same as "the anointed one" in the 26th verse. Who is meant is obscure; and we have not room at present to enter into a detailed inquiry which would be necessary to throw light upon this person. Going back still to the 24th verse, the language of it is plainly Messianic; for the effects of Christ's coming and atoning for sin are described. The terms can scarcely be applied to a lower subject.

These brief observations must suffice on a most perplexing subject. The view now presented has encountered, however, much opposition. Many have thought that the entire passage in ix. 24—27. is Messianic; and that the fourth empire is the Roman not the Grecian. All such critics object to the opinion now advanced, as may be seen in Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and Auberlen. But the difficulties, both philological and exegetical, against their hypotheses, are insuperable. If it be thought strange that we cannot point out in history *the prince and anointed one* spoken of in ix. 25., nor date the issuing of the decree to restore and build Jerusalem, which is supposed to constitute the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks, as *the prince and anointed one* does the *terminus ad quem* of the seven weeks, let it be remembered that the *terminus a quo* of Hengstenberg and others, *i. e.* the 20th of Artaxerxes, making the *terminus ad quem* the public appearance of Christ at the end of the 69 weeks; the *terminus a quo* of Auberlen, *i. e.* the return of Cyrus to Jerusalem, 457, making the *terminus ad quem* the martyrdom of Stephen, after which the Gospel passed over to the Gentiles, A. D. 33; and other calculations of the same kind, are exposed to insuperable objections, being built upon various arbitrary assumptions.<sup>1</sup>

The prophetic character of the book of Daniel is attested by our Lord in Matt. xxiv, 14., where we learn that the words of Daniel in ix. 26. refer to the desecration of the temple in the Roman war. This is not contrary to their allusion to Antiochus and his desecration of the temple, which was the primary and sole sense in the view of the prophet himself; for the same prophetic utterances may and do refer to more events than one. They are partially, but not completely, fulfilled at once, having a *springing* or *germinant* sense. In this way the sense of a prophecy may not be at once exhausted; it remains in the course of history, and is gradually realised by successive events of a similar kind, prefigurative of one another. Thus the desolations of Antiochus were again enacted by the Romans. And the apostolic predictions of Antichrist lead us to expect that a persecuting blasphemer of like spirit with Antiochus is to come at the end of days, when this prophecy of Daniel will be *exhaustively* and *perfectly* fulfilled. Each succeeding fulfilment foreshadows and prepares for the last one. With such views we do not assent to the remarks of Stuart, who denies that in this and similar cases there is

<sup>1</sup> See Brief Remarks on the Seventy Weeks mentioned by Daniel, in Bennett's The Temple of Ezekiel, &c., p. 117. *et seqq.*

no proper *prediction*, and therefore no proper *fulfilment*. All that he contends for is a simple declaration of a *historical fact*. We believe that there is more than *mere similarity* of events. The words of Daniel express more than what this scholar assigns to them in saying, "what he has described as happening in ancient times is about to happen now."<sup>1</sup> There is a *providential connection* between the events described by the prophet and those happening at the time when Jerusalem was surrounded by the Roman armies, in consequence of which the one foreshadowed the other, and therefore the prophecy includes both; the one in the foreground of the seer's vision, the other behind, but not less intended. It was not *fulfilled* in the one or the other series of events *exclusively*.

Whether the fourth empire, which in Daniel's view was the last and filled the background of the picture in his internal vision, was prefigurative of another succeeding one, we cannot venture to affirm. The thing is not impossible. If it be likely, then the typical and antitypical blend together, and the features of the former are more fully realised in the latter, so as to fulfil the prophecy more satisfactorily. It may be that the Grecian empire was intended to foreshadow the Roman in outline; and although Daniel meant the one, and saw but one fulfilment of his words, there is nothing against the supposition that there was another empire and a second fulfilment, which, though lying beyond the horizon of his spiritual vision, was yet included in the full picture by the Spirit of God. Perhaps the advocates of the two views which regard the fourth dynasty as the Grecian and the Roman respectively, might find here a point of union which would prevent their exclusive attachment to one favourite hypothesis, and harmonise the jarring elements hitherto preventing agreement.

That the entire book was written by one person is now no longer doubted. Eichhorn indeed assigned different authors to chapters ii.—vi., and vii.—xii., the former preceded by the introduction i.—ii. 3.<sup>2</sup>; and Bertholdt<sup>3</sup> assumed various writers for the different sections; but these unfounded hypotheses are now discarded. The two leading divisions are so related as that the one implies the existence of the other. Both have the same characteristics of manner and style, though a considerable portion of the book is in Chaldee, and the remainder in Hebrew; *i. e.* ii. 4—vii. 28. in the former. Mutual references between single sections may be seen in iii. 12. compared with ii. 49.; v. 2. compared with i. 2.; v. 11. compared with ii. 48.; v. 18. &c. compared with iv. 22. &c.; vi. 1. compared with v. 30.; viii. 1. compared with vii. 1.; ix. 21. compared with viii. 15. &c.; x. 12. compared with ix. 23.; and between the historical and prophetic divisions in ii. 28., iv. 2., vii. 10., compared with vii. 1, 2. 15.; v. 6. 9. compared with vii. 28.; iv. 16., v. 6. 10. compared with vii. 28.; iii. 4. 7. 31., v. 19., vi. 26. with vii. 14. &c.

<sup>1</sup> Commentary on Daniel, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, vol. iv. p. 515. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, vol. iv. p. 1543. *et seqq.*

If, then, the entire book proceeded from one person, the question arises, who was he? To this we reply, Daniel himself, for which the following arguments may be stated:—

1. Daniel is often named in the second part as the receiver of the revelations communicated. Thus we read in vii. 2., “I saw in my vision by night,” &c. Similar expressions occur in verses 4. 6. &c., 28., viii. 1. &c., 15. &c., ix. 2. &c., x. 2. &c., xii. 5—8. In these places he speaks in the first person; whereas in the historical narrative contained in the first six chapters, the third person is employed, which is natural. In xii. 4. the writer evidently implies that he was Daniel. “But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.” Against this De Wette adduces the circumstance that the fifth book of Moses, Ecclesiastes, the Book of Wisdom, Tobit, are ascribed, by various notices in themselves, &c., to authors from whom they did not proceed. It has not, however, been shown satisfactorily that Moses did not write Deuteronomy. We believe that he *did* compose it. The books of Wisdom and Tobit do not occupy the same position as a canonical one; and what is conceded in their case does not apply, of course, to any work included in the sacred collection. The only part of De Wette’s argument possessing validity is that which relates to Ecclesiastes. And even there the parallel is vitiated by the fact that the writer of Ecclesiastes drops the mask, especially at the conclusion, allowing his readers to see through the disguise he assumed. (Compare xii. 9. &c.) He is not at all careful to conceal the fiction.

2. Jewish tradition has uniformly assigned the book to Daniel. This is seen by its reception into the canon. The compilers of the sacred books were very uncritical and credulous, if they admitted a supposititious work among the rest. The Jewish synagogue has also acknowledged its authenticity.

3. Christ himself recognises the prophecies of Daniel as real and true: “When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place,” &c. It appears, also, that in discoursing of his coming to destroy Jerusalem, he employed ideas and expressions occurring in this book. (Matt. xxiv. 30., xxv. 31., xxvi. 64.) Far be it from us to say here with De Wette, “Christ neither wished, nor could he, according to the nature of the case, be a critical authority.”<sup>2</sup> But though he may not have purposed to appear on any occasion as a critical authority, would he have called Daniel *a prophet*, or have referred one of his predictions to the impending destruction of Jerusalem, if the one had been a fictitious personage, and the other no prophecy at all? Would he have made the mistake himself; or, knowing the truth, either led others into error, or fostered them in it? We believe not. Neither ignorance nor error can be attributed to him; nor can we think that he would have connived at a mistake of this nature in others. After the example of their divine Master, the apostles

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 388.

seem also to have believed that Daniel wrote the prophecies in his book. (See 2 Thess. ii. 3. compared with Dan. vii. 8. 25.; 1 Cor. vi. 2. compared with Dan. vii. 22.; Heb. xi. 33. compared with Dan. vi. and iii.)

4. Josephus relates that the Jews showed Alexander the Great the prophecies respecting him in the book of Daniel, when he entered Jerusalem; and that he treated them more leniently on that account. This has been doubted by some; and indeed it is not unlikely that the story is embellished. Some details may have been added by the historian. We know that Josephus is not always trustworthy. Yet the substance of the narrative cannot well be rejected; for the fact that Alexander did treat the Jews favourably is explained by it. Otherwise his conduct is inexplicable. The relation bears the marks of truth in itself, and has been vindicated by Hengstenberg and Hävernick. It is an evidence at least of the existence of the book before the Maccabean period.

5. The Septuagint version shows traces of acquaintance with the book of Daniel, by bringing into the passage in Deut. xxxii. 8. the doctrine of guardian angels belonging to heathen kingdoms. "When the Most High divided the nations, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God."

6. The book of Daniel was used by the writer of Baruch, which latter was composed in the Maccabean period. This is evident from comparing the first and second chapters of the apocryphal work with the ninth of Daniel. Hitzig accounts for the similarity by attributing both works to one and the same person<sup>1</sup>; which cannot be maintained, as Fritzsche has shown.<sup>2</sup> In like manner the first book of Maccabees presupposes a knowledge of the Septuagint version of Daniel on the part of the writer. (See i. 54. and Dan. ix. 27., ii. 59. &c. and Dan. iii.)

7. The Alexandrian version of the book of Daniel is of such a nature as to indicate that it was made considerably after the Hebrew work appeared; not contemporaneously with it. Such arbitrary treatment of the original would scarcely have been attempted, except some time after the latter. Besides, the Greek contains a number of special allusions to the persecutions of Antiochus; showing that it was made when the impression caused by those cruelties was fresh.

8. The state of the language employed corresponds to the time of the captivity when Daniel lived. The writer is familiar both with Hebrew and Chaldee, passing with ease from the one to the other, according to the nature of the subject. The fact presupposes that his readers were acquainted with both. Now this is unsuitable to the Maccabean period, at which time the Hebrew had been supplanted by the Aramæan. The people had learned, by intercourse with the Babylonians, the Chaldee dialect; and had not yet forgotten their mother tongue, the Hebrew.

Although this argument has been advanced by Hengstenberg,

<sup>1</sup> Die Psalmen, u. s. w. vol. ii. p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Kurzgefasstes Exeget. Handbuch zu den Apocryphen, i. p. 173.

Hävernick, Welte, Keil, and others, we attach no weight to it. It is weak and useless, because there are other books in Hebrew, written after the exile, such as Ecclesiastes, Chronicles, &c., showing that the Hebrew continued in use after the exile, at least among the learned.

9. The Hebrew of the book of Daniel has considerable affinity to that of the books written at the time of the exile, especially Ezekiel. Thus, פתבני, i. 5. *the king's meat* (בני, Ezek. xxv. 7.); חַיִּב, i. 10. *to cause to forfeit*; and הוֹב, *debt*, Ezek. xviii. 7.; סָפַר for פָּתַב, x. 21. and Ezek. xiii. 9.; לְבוּשׁ בָּדִים, x. 5. *clothed in linen*, and Ezek. ix. 2. 11.; זֶהָר, xii. 3. *brightness*, and Ezek. viii. 2.; הַצִּיָּבִי, viii. 9. *the pleasant land* (of Israel), and Ezek. xx. 6. 15.; בְּרִאָדָּם, viii. 17. *son of man*, frequently used in Ezekiel.

Von Lengerke accounts for this by *imitation*.<sup>1</sup> The writer of the book of Daniel copied Ezekiel. But this is to beg the question.<sup>2</sup>

10. The Aramæan of the book coincides with the Aramæan of the book of Ezra, and is distinguished from the Chaldee dialect of the oldest Targums by many Hebraisms. Thus ה instead of ס occurs as the final letter of feminine nouns. See vi. 23. and Ezra vii. 17, 18.; Dan. vii. 7. The conjugation Aphel is as the Hebrew Hiphil, ii. 25., vi. 29., vi. 7.; and Ezra v. 12., vi. 17.; Dan. ii. 24.; Ezra v. 14. &c. So in the infinitive, Püel נִשְׁלִיחַ, ii. 14., and similarly בִּתְרָה, Ezra vii. 14. In like manner, verbs, *Lamed He* instead of *Lamed Aleph*, as נִרְבֵּה, iv. 8.; בָּעָה, ii. 16. *Patach furtive*, which is foreign to the Chaldee, properly speaking, is found in נִשְׁלִיחַ, v. 24., and Ezra vii. 14. The dual number also occurs in ii. 34., Ezra vi. 17., Dan. vii. 7. 41. We have also the segholate forms תִּרְוֶה, תִּרְוֶה, תִּרְוֶה. A passive præter is formed by uniting the participle peil with the sufformatives of the præter, as in Dan. v. 27, 28. 30., vi. 4., vii. 4. 6. 11.; Ezra v. 14.<sup>3</sup> ה, characteristic of Aphel, is retained in the future and participle between the preformative and the verb, Dan. v. 29.; Ezra v. 12. &c. The place of Ittaphal is supplied by Hophal, Dan. iv. 33., vii. 11.; Ezra iv. 15. יִדַע is treated as a verb *pe nun*, Dan. ii. 9. 30., iv. 22.; Ezra iv. 15.; of which only one example has yet been found in the Targums, Ruth iv. 4. This conformity between the Aramaising of Daniel and Ezra can scarcely have arisen from imitation of one by the other, since each shows his independence by a number of peculiar forms. Thus, in Daniel, we have the plural terminations לָהֶן, לָכֶן; in Ezra לָהֶם, לָכֶם. In the former, both forms, הַפִּיּוֹן and הַפִּיּוֹ, occur; in the latter only the abbreviated form. In Daniel we have אָזַל, *to go*, vi. 19.; for which Ezra has הִרְבֵּה, v. 5., vi. 5. Daniel has גְּזַבְרִין, *treasurers*, iii. 2. 3.; whereas Ezra has the sibilant letter in the noun, גְּזַבְרִי, i. 8., vii. 21.: for גְּזַבְרִי, *a dunghill*, in Dan. ii. 5., iii. 29. גְּזַבְרִי appears in Ez a vi. 11.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Das Buch Daniel verdeutscht und ausgelegt, p. 1x.

<sup>2</sup> See Hävernick's neue Kritische Untersuchungen, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Winer's Grammar of the Chaldee Language, translated by Hackett, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> See Keil's Einleit. pp. 446, 447.

11. The book manifests an accurate acquaintance on the part of the writer with the historical relations, customs, and manners belonging to the time of Daniel. Among these may be specified the following:—

In i. 7. it is stated that Daniel and his companions, when taken to be prepared for the king's service, received new names. That this was a Chaldean custom we learn from 2 Kings xxiv. 17. The names are Chaldee, and connected with those of the Babylonian gods.

In ii. 5. the king threatens that if the magi could not interpret his dream, their houses should be made a dunghill. This shows an accurate knowledge of the method in which the Babylonian houses were built, as well as of their materials, which were burnt or dried clay.

In ii. 5. and iii. 6. there are evidences of an exact acquaintance with the forms of capital punishment in use among the Chaldeans. The cutting in pieces, and burning in a fiery furnace, were both suited to the character of a barbarous people. In the sixth chapter, a new kind of punishment is described as usual with the Medo-Persians, viz. throwing into a den of lions.

In iii. 21. the dress of Daniel's companions agrees with what is known from other sources of the Babylonian clothing. Herodotus states<sup>1</sup> that the dress of the Babylonians consisted of a linen garment reaching to the feet, over that a woollen coat, and upon that, a white upper covering, thrown around them.

According to v. 2. women were present at the royal banquet. We know from Xenophon<sup>2</sup> that this was the practice of the Babylonian court before the Persian conquest. But the Septuagint, following the practice then prevalent, has omitted mention of the women at Belshazzar's feast.

The accounts of the priestly caste among the Babylonians also coincide with those found in profane writers, as has been minutely shown by Hengstenberg.<sup>3</sup> This is admitted both by Münter and Schlosser.

Daniel never speaks of adoration being offered to the kings of Babylon, although the usage was an ancient oriental one. Arrian states<sup>4</sup> that Cyrus was the first who received such homage, because Ormuzd was thought to be personified in the king of Persia.

In relation to the laws of the Medo-Persians, they were deemed irrevocable when once given by the king. But no such doctrine prevailed among the Chaldeans. See Daniel vi. 8. &c.<sup>5</sup>

In opposition to this argument, it has been contended that there are historical inaccuracies which exclude the idea of an eye-witness and contemporary writer. These will be referred to again, as they are by no means established. We admit that the ground before us is not decisive. It does not possess the weight which Hengstenberg appears to attach to it; for much may have been derived from tradition, and from an acquaintance with Babylon. Yet it is improbable

<sup>1</sup> Historiar. Lib. 1. excv.

<sup>2</sup> Beiträge, vol. i. p. 333. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Hengstenberg's Beiträge, vol. i. p. 311. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cyropæd. v. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. iv.

that an author in the Maccabean times should have been so *uniformly accurate* in his narrative, without having been in Babylon itself.

12. The prophecies of Daniel are conformed to the times of the exile and the personal position of the prophet himself in Babylon. Their form and contents differ from other prophetic writings. After the exile, the theocracy assumed an altered phase. It was virtually merged in the leading dynasties of the world, having lost for a while its own independent character, at least to the eyes of men. Its continuance and further development were mixed up with the progress of the world's history contained in the successive empires that appeared. Hence it could emerge from obscurity and attain its appointed glory only by their destruction. To show the hostility of the world's power to the kingdom of God, it was needful to enter into detailed and special predictions respecting the future of that worldly power, as embodied in the leading empires which successively prevailed. The position of Daniel in the Babylonian court was admirably adapted to the duties he was called to perform relative to the purposes of Deity. Placed in the first monarchy, he could survey its character more accurately, finding in it a historical starting point for his visions. He was learned in the wisdom of the Babylonians, and could employ that learning in the service of his God. He uses more of symbolical language than the purely Hebrew prophets, in accordance with the Babylonish taste. All is designated by material emblems. Beasts are the representatives of kings and kingdoms. The imagery is also cast in a gigantic mould. By this means, the haughty rulers of Babylon might be led to see most intelligibly the nothingness of the earthly wisdom and arts of the wise men in whom they trusted, and apprehend the wisdom belonging to the Omnipotent Lord of heaven and earth, to whom all are subject. And as the divine revelations communicated to the prophet were meant, not merely for the world's rulers, but principally for the covenant-people; the development of the theocracy within earthly history must be represented in clear and definite outlines. It is remarkable that the mode of exhibition varies with the Chaldee and Medo-Persian dynasties, according to the prevailing taste of the two peoples.<sup>1</sup>

It is observable that the vision of the prophet reaches no farther than the Grecian empire. The horizon beyond was dim and misty. He *did see* the coming of Messiah, who was to renew the theocracy, pointing the covenant-people to him as a star of light in the distance to cheer them under heavy persecutions impending; but his notice is brief and general. Is it likely that the prophet could not separate the two dynasties,—that of Alexander and his successors, and the Roman? Was he not so far enlightened as to perceive both in their distinctness? Or, did he present the one as foreshadowing the other, and put into it the traits of both? Such suppositions are not improbable, though we dare not assert anything positive.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Hengstenberg's Beiträge, vol. i. p. 191. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Delitzsch's Article in Herzog's Encyclopædie on Daniel.

Notwithstanding all that has been said on behalf of the authenticity of Daniel, the book has been exposed to many attacks since the conclusion of the eighteenth century. Porphyry, as we learn from Jerome, denied its authenticity; but no other opponent is known, in Christian antiquity, who took the same course as he. Corrodi may be called the first, in modern times, who plainly declared the work to be an impostor's in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. He was followed by Eichhorn, by Bertholdt who was the foremost in giving a critical basis and form to the attack, Griesinger, Gesenius, Bleek, Kirms, De Wette, Redepenning, Rosenmüller, Von Lengerke, Hitzig, Knobel, Ewald. The authenticity has been defended by Lüderwald, Stäudlin, Beckhaus, Dereser, Jahn, Pareau, Sack, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Herbst and Welte, Scholz, Keil, Stuart, Auberlen. Let us glance at the principal arguments on both sides.

1. The position of the book among the Hagiographa shows that it was unknown when the prophetic writings were put together.

To this Hengstenberg replies, that the distinction between the Prophets and Hagiographa is not at all of a chronological kind, but is founded on the peculiar character and office of the writers. The prophetic *gift* should be discriminated from the prophetic *office*. The one was common to all who were inspired; the other to the *regular* prophets, whose office it was to communicate the Divine will to the Jewish people. The books written by these *prophets as such*, formed the second division of the Hebrew Bible. The third contains *in-official* prophecies.<sup>1</sup> This is repeated by Hävernick, Keil, and Auberlen.

The reply in question appears to us entirely unsatisfactory. The distinction made between the prophetic *gift* and the prophetic *office* is a modern one; and when it is attributed to the compilers of the canon, the assumption is baseless. There is not a shadow of proof that it was known to them. Were it necessary to go into the subject of the canon, it might be shown, that the sentiments of Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and their followers, respecting it, are erroneous. The first two divisions were finished before the third was begun or made. We reject in like manner the solution of Stuart<sup>2</sup>, viz. that the *ancient Jews* classified Daniel among the prophets, — the present Talmudic arrangement of the Hagiographa not being the original one. This is based on the authority of Josephus, who classes Daniel among the prophets. But it is useless to argue from the statements of Josephus, as if he meant to give the original arrangement of the books in the three leading divisions — the law, the prophets, the Hagiographa. There is no evidence whatever that he either *gives* that arrangement, or *meant to give* it. He enumerates the books *in his own way*. We are firmly persuaded of the fact, that the Talmudic arrangement is the oldest, and is best attested as such: by it Daniel is put among the *hagiographa*, not among the prophets. Why the book was so placed, we confess our inability to explain. It has

<sup>1</sup> Hengstenberg's Beiträge, vol. i. p. 23. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Commentary on Daniel, p. 426. *et seqq.*

not been accounted for by any critic; and we have not the means of solving the problem.

In connection with the position of Daniel, an objection has been raised from Dan. ix. 2., where it is written, "I Daniel understood by books." It is said that the writer means by the phrase בְּסֵפֶרִים (by the books), the Old Testament as a collection; that it is equivalent to τὰ βιβλία, *the books*, i. e. *the holy books*; and therefore the collection had been completed before his day,—*the canon had been closed*. It is very probable, however, that a Jew living after the close of the canon would have employed the technical word הַסְּפָרִים, equivalent to αἱ γραφαί, to designate the entire collection. Wieseler's<sup>1</sup> opinion that the allusion is to the two Scripture rolls, Jeremiah xxv. and xxix. (comp. xxv. 13., xxix. 1.), is improbable, because of the article here prefixed. Those chapters could scarcely be called *THE books*. Besides, the reckoning of Daniel assumes nothing about the seventy years in Jeremiah xxix., but attaches itself to the 25th chapter. We refer the term in question to some private collection, in which Jeremiah's prophecies were included. The article has an indefinite sense, *some, or a*, as in Judges xiv. 6., 2 Kings iv. 18. Hitzig's objection<sup>2</sup> to this interpretation is valueless.

2. The silence of Jesus Sirach in the 49th chapter respecting Daniel is of some importance, because the alleged historical position of the prophet makes him of consequence. Any argument of this nature, an *argumentum e silentio*, is of little weight, unless it can be shown that there was a necessity for mentioning the person omitted; or, at least, a high probability that he would have been noticed. Neither circumstance applies here. The twelve minor prophets are omitted as well as Daniel. So is Ezra.

3. Daniel is spoken of in a laudatory way, which could hardly have proceeded from himself. Honourable epithets are appended to his name. See i. 17. 19. &c., v. 11. &c., vi. 4., ix. 23., x. 11. To this objection Hengstenberg and Keil reply that some of these laudatory expressions proceed from others, and are no more than a faithful record of what was said of him or to him. Of this nature is v. 11, 12., where the queen says to Belshazzar, "There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father, light, and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him," &c. &c. Sometimes these epithets are designed to glorify God who endowed his servant with marvellous wisdom, as in i. 17. 19. &c., vi. 4. Or they serve to fill out the description given, which would otherwise be incomplete. And they may all be compared with similar expressions respecting himself of the apostle Paul, in the Epistles to the Corinthians. They contain no self-laudation inconsistent with the fact that the book was composed by Daniel himself.

The answer is not entirely satisfactory. Passages like i. 19, 20., vi. 4., are not well accounted for. They are not necessary to fill out the description. They are not similar to what Paul

<sup>1</sup> Die 70 Wochen, u. s. w. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Das Buch Daniel erklärt, p. 146.

says of himself; and the occasion is wholly different. We believe that some of these expressions are not such as are suitable in the case of Daniel himself. He would scarcely have written them. But this does not affect the general authorship of the book, as we shall see hereafter.

4. The later origin of the book is said to be indicated in the corrupt Hebrew and Chaldee diction, as well as the Greek words occurring. Here the following words are adduced, which are found in none of the succeeding books, words of a late age, Chaldee and Persian. בָּנָה, xi. 24. 33., *prey*; מִדַּע, i. 4. 17., *knowledge*; בְּתָב, x. 21., *the writing or scripture*; מְרַעֵד, x. 11., *trembling*; בְּרִתָּמִים, i. 3., *nobles*; אֶפְסָרִן, xi. 45., *a palace*; אֶשְׁפָּר, i. 20., ii. 2., *an enchanter*; גִּיל, i. 10., *an age or generation*; זֶרְעִים, זֶרְעֵינִים, i. 12. 16., *vegetables*; מִכְבָּמִים, xi. 43., *treasures*; הַתְּקִיר, without עוֹלָת or עוֹלָתָה, viii. 11–13., xi. 31., xii. 11., *the daily sacrifice*; הַהֲנִיף, xi. 32., *to seduce to apostasy*; חֲמַף, ix. 24., *to decree*; כְּרָשָׁם, x. 21., *to write down or record*; פְּלִכְוִי, viii. 13. *such a one*; קְרִישִׁים, applied to the Jews, viii. 24. The Syriac infinitive, הַתְּחַבְּרָתָה, xi. 23.; the Persian words, בְּרִז, v. 29., *to proclaim*, בְּרִזֹּו, iii. 4., *a herald*; גְּבִיבָה, ii. 6., *a gift*.

The manner of writing is also pronounced to be partly careless, embarrassed, and obscure; partly laboured and artificial. Other peculiarities are, the omission of the article, the poetical use of the apocopated future, and imitation of the Pentateuch. Daniel makes use, not only of Ezekiel, but also of Nehemiah ix.

Among Greek words are reckoned קִיְתָרוֹס, *κίθαρῆς*, σαμβύκη; סוּמְפֹנְיָה, *συμφωνία*; פְּשַׁלְטִיָּרוֹן, *ψαλτήριον*. (iii. 5. 7. 10.)

The corrupt nature of the Hebrew used by Daniel cannot be denied. Nor can his manner of writing be defended as good. The style is prosaic, even in the prophetic parts; so that Lowth excludes the whole book from the class of poetical writings. The historical descriptions are prolix in details; but the prophetic are more rhetorical and lively. But surely the circumstances of his life and education may account for any defects observable in the style and diction. He was brought up in Babylon and spent his life there. Can it be expected that he should write like a Palestinian Jew who lived in his own country? Chaldee and Persian words also occur in the writings of all who lived at the time of the exile. And that Daniel has some which the rest have not, is a thing which may be said of each one who lived and wrote about the same time. Besides, the Persian words quoted are more correctly, Syriac ones. As to the four Greek words signifying certain musical instruments, they may have been derived from Greece by intercourse between the Babylonians and Greeks. Both the instruments and their names may have been transferred from the one country to the other, as De Wette himself admits. According to the testimony of the ancients, the *σαμβύκη* of the Greeks was of oriental origin.

5. Attention has been called to the *legendary contents* of the narrative part, which is said to be full of improbabilities, of dazzling miracles, and even of historical inaccuracies, resembling no prophetic book of the Old Testament, and presenting descriptions moulded

pretty much after one and the same type. Such a spirit of miracle-seeking, and the religious fanaticism nourished by persecutions which breathes through the book, place it on a level with the second book of Maccabees, and betray its origination in the time of Antiochus.<sup>1</sup>

Here a number of assertions are accumulated which require careful examination; as it is much easier to advance than to prove them. We are inclined to think that they proceed from mistaken views, not only of miracles generally, but of the purpose which the miracles of Daniel in particular were intended to serve. Indeed, the nature of the whole book is imperfectly apprehended, as well as the spirit and customs of the old oriental world, by those who argue in this manner.

The importance which the Babylonians and other ancient nations attached to visions and dreams, and the cruelty of Asiatic despots, attest the probability of Nebuchadnezzar's requirement of the magi not merely to interpret, but to tell his dream on pain of death. The historical truth of the narrative must not be rejected because of the arbitrary command; especially as the monarch may have only intended to try the wise men in commanding them to tell the dream.

The huge and expensive image described in the third chapter, though ridiculed by critics of a certain class, corresponds with the images of the Babylonians, which were marked by colossal size and disproportion. The disproportion between length and breadth, which is sometimes said to render the standing of the image impossible, will not be so great if the form was that of an obelisk. And the epithet *golden* probably means no more than *gilt*.

The refusal of the three friends of Daniel to worship the idol shows their firm faith in the true God. They were martyrs of the olden time. The punishment inflicted on them by Nebuchadnezzar accords with the known cruelty of his disposition.

Again, the madness of the king, noticed in the fourth chapter, is confirmed by a brief notice in a fragment of Abydenus. Hengstenberg also quotes Berosus. But this historian says no more than that Nebuchadnezzar was sick and died. Whether the notice of Abydenus be independent of the Bible account is not clear, though Keil<sup>2</sup> positively asserts its independence. It may perhaps be *traditionally* connected with it.

The non-appearance of Daniel among the other wise men, before Belshazzar, as we see in the fifth chapter, is perfectly intelligible, on the ground that oriental monarchs usually removed from office the priests, astrologers, and physicians of their predecessors. The decree issued by Cyrus (chapter vi.) that no request should be made of God or man for thirty days, except of himself, is not at all incredible, when we remember that the apotheosis of the king as an incarnation of Ahuro-Mazdao is sanctioned by the Zend-religion. Besides, profane history presents analogies. In describing the lions' den, the writer calls it *בֵּי* (vi. 8. 18.); but this does not show that he meant to designate it as a funnel-shaped cistern where there was no air; for the

<sup>1</sup> De Wette's Einleitung, pp. 382, 383.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. p. 455.

word means a *pit* or *hole* of any kind; and in Syriac it is applied to the dens of wild beasts, as well as to prisons.

Among "historical inaccuracies" we may notice the following: The contradiction between i. 5. 18., where it is stated that Daniel and his companions were instructed *three years* in the wisdom of the Egyptians before they appeared in the presence of the king; whereas, according to ii. 1. &c., Daniel interprets the king's dream in the *second year* of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. This is solved by the fact that when Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem, and carried Daniel to Babylon, he had not ascended the throne. He was leader of his father's armies, and is termed *king* by anticipation. Hence Daniel and his friends completed their three years' course of training in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's *actual* reign.

Darius the Mede is mentioned in vi. 1., ix. 1., xi. 1., instead of Cyaxares II. But surely he may be called by different names in different writers. Nothing of consequence can be drawn from the silence of Herodotus respecting him. Josephus<sup>1</sup> states that the son of Astyages had among the Greeks another name, *i. e.* Cyaxares, according to Xenophon. This Cyaxares was uncle of Cyrus, a weak and voluptuous monarch who entrusted his nephew with the management of affairs, and gave him his daughter in marriage, so that Cyrus succeeded to the Median throne. There is no reason for doubting the existence of Darius the Mede, as Von Lengerke and Hitzig do.

A number of difficulties which some think insuperable lie in the accounts of the fifth and sixth chapters respecting Belshazzar's feast and death, and the transference of the Babylonian kingdom to the Medes, connected with them. It is affirmed that the last king of Babylon was not a son of Nebuchadnezzar; that his name was not Belshazzar; and that he was not slain when Babylon was taken by Cyrus.

Two ways of resolving these perplexities have been adopted.

(a.) Hofmann<sup>2</sup>, following Marsham, supposes that the death of Belshazzar (v. 30.) does not stand in connection with the taking of Babylon by the Medes and Persians and the termination of the Babylonian kingdom; but that Belshazzar, the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, is Evilmerodach, who was murdered by his brother-in-law Neriglissar. The notice of Darius the Mede in vi. 1. is appended to the murder of Belshazzar only because what befel Daniel under his reign had to be related at this place. The same view is taken by Hävernick<sup>3</sup> and Oehler.<sup>4</sup> But it is liable to serious objection. According to Berosus, and the canon of Ptolemy, Evilmerodach reigned but two years; whereas the *third* year of Belshazzar (Evilmerodach) is mentioned in viii. 1. Besides, there is a natural and close connection between v. 30. and vi. 1., which shows that the

<sup>1</sup> Antiqq. x. 11. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Die siebenzig Jahre des Jeremias und die siebenzig Jahrwochen des Daniel, p. 44. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Neue Kritische Untersuchungen, p. 71. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> In Tholuck's Literarischer Anzeiger for 1842, p. 398.

downfal of the kingdom is related to the death of Belshazzar as the last king. And vi. 1. is attached by the copulative  $\iota$  to v. 30.

(b.) Belshazzar must be identical with him who, as the last king of Babylon, is called *Nabonnedus* by Berosus, or *Nabonadius* in the canon of Ptolemy, but *Labynetus* by Herodotus. The account of the feast in the fifth chapter of Daniel is confirmed by Xenophon<sup>1</sup> and Herodotus<sup>2</sup>, according to whom Babylon was taken during a voluptuous revel, as had been predicted by Isaiah and Jeremiah. Herodotus says, that Labynetus was even son of Nebuchadnezzar. The queen-mother (v. 10.) may therefore be Nitocris, who is spoken of by Herodotus and Berosus. The account of Berosus is very different, viz. that the Babylonian king was one of the conspirators against Laborosoarchad; had reigned seventeen years when Cyrus invaded the city; that he went out to meet Cyrus; was vanquished, and threw himself into the fortress Borsippa; that he afterwards surrendered to Cyrus, who allowed him to dwell in Caramania, where he died a natural death. Abydenus's account is similar, only that he makes Nabonnidos *the governor* of Caramania after Babylon was taken. The statements of Megasthenes agree in the main with those of Berosus and Abydenus; while Josephus accords. The contradiction is most apparent in what Berosus says of Labonnedus, *τινὰ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος*, involving a denial that he was of royal blood, a statement confirmed by Megasthenes, who says he had no claim to the throne. In opposition to Stuart<sup>3</sup>, we believe that the words of Berosus and Megasthenes involve a denial of Belshazzar's descent from Nebuchadnezzar; and are alike contradictory to Daniel's statement, whether  $\beta$  be taken as *son*, *grandson*, or *descendant*. The question now is, whether the testimony of Herodotus, with whom agree Daniel and Xenophon, is to be preferred to that of Berosus. We believe it should be. It is true that Herodotus was a Greek writer who lived long after the occurrences in question; while Berosus was an older and a credible Chaldee writer. The latter drew his materials from Babylonian tradition; yet it is quite possible that tradition was moulded in such a shape as to soften the disgrace attendant upon the downfall of Babylon and of the empire, and even to deny that one belonging to the royal race was conquered on that occasion.

There is no difficulty in holding that Belshazzar was a mere title of honour; or that Darius the Mede was Cyaxares II., between Astyages I. and Cyrus.

It is also said, that the book of Daniel speaks of *satraps* and *satrap-provinces*, which cannot be thought of under the Babylonians, and at the time Babylon was taken by the Medes and Persians. (iii. 3., vi. 2.) According to Xenophon, *satrapies* must have first existed under Cyrus; according to Herodotus, under Darius Hystaspes. The answer to this is, that neither Xenophon nor Herodotus indicate

<sup>1</sup> Cyropæd. vii. 5. 15. &c.

<sup>2</sup> Historiar. i. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Commentary on Daniel, pp. 144, 145.

that satraps did not exist among the Medes and Babylonians before Cyrus and Darius.

There are also alleged errors in the account given of the wise men at Babylon. The author of Daniel's book names *five* classes of wise men; whereas antiquity knows no more than three. Hence it is inferred that the writer has heaped their names together out of other biblical books, *transferring* the Egyptian  $\text{ἱερογρᾶματῆς}$ , to Babylon, where as yet there was no hieroglyphic writing, and making a distinct class of the  $\text{ἱερίων}$  in ii. 27., whereas the epithet comprehends the whole class of the magi. Here an unwarranted assertion is made by Von Lengerke, viz. that antiquity is agreed in making but three classes of magi. Ctesias speaks only of two; and Strabo<sup>1</sup> expressly speaks of *more than three* classes. We learn also from credible authors, that there was a sacred writing of which the priestly caste had charge, which justifies the use of the word  $\text{ἱερίων}$  as the appellation of a proper priestly class. The assertion respecting  $\text{ἱερίων}$  in ii. 27. is incorrect; since the word, both there and elsewhere in Daniel, has a generic sense.<sup>2</sup>

It is also pronounced incredible that Daniel and his companions, who were so firmly attached to pure monotheism, should be received into the number of the magi.

This objection is difficult only because the accounts in the book do not enable us to judge of the exact relation in which Daniel stood to the magi. To assert that he could not have avoided idolatry by coming into contact with them, is gratuitous, unless it could be shown that the wisdom of Chaldea was absolute falsehood, and that it was impossible for a pious Israelite to have anything to do with it without partaking of the guilt of idolatry. Besides, Daniel and his companions appear simply as *disciples* of the magi, and only so far belonging to their body (ii. 13.); not as *active members*. The elevation of Daniel to be their head forms an exception to the ordinary procedure. On the whole, we see nothing improbable in thinking that they may have been connected with this corporation without injury to their moral character or principles; perhaps even to their benefit, intellectually. All that is written of them in the book comports with the idea that they would not have willingly joined the association had they suspected that it would prove injurious to their piety. The royal mandate may have compelled them to do so; but their own choice would have been otherwise.

In ix. 1. *Ahasuerus* is said to have been the father of Darius the Mede instead of Astyages. But the word appears to have been a mere appellative. It is Persian, coming from a root meaning *lion*. Hence it may have been given to many persons.

Elam is mentioned as a province of the Babylonian empire (viii. 2.), whereas it was a province of the Median empire, as appears from Isaiah xxi. 2. and Jeremiah xxv. 25. Shushan is named as the capital of Elam.

The prediction in Jeremiah xxv. 25. represents Elam not as a pro-

<sup>1</sup> xvi. i. § 6.

<sup>2</sup> See Hävernick's *Neue kritische Untersuch.* p. 66. *et seqq.*

vince of Media, but an independent monarchy, and foretels its overthrow. Elam in viii. 2. does not mean all Persia, but *Susiana* in the wider and usual sense, *i. e.* Elymais and Susiana together. There are no accounts which prove that Susiana was not dependent on Babylon at the time referred to in Daniel. Besides, Daniel was at Shushan only *in vision*, not bodily. That a palace is spoken of at Shushan whereas the palace there was built by Darius Hystaspes according to Pliny, is of no weight; because Pliny's statement is contradicted by all Greek and oriental writers, who represent the place as very ancient. Athenæus says that it was called Shushan on account of the multitude of lilies growing in that region, which is reconcilable with any date of the place.

6. The miracles recorded in the book have been adduced against its authenticity. They are lavishly heaped up, without any apparent object; and are partly unlike those elsewhere related. Such prodigal expenditure of them, without a becoming purpose, is unworthy of the Deity. Underlying this objection is an idea of the impossibility of miracle, or what surpasses the known laws of nature, and exhibits the immediate operation of divine power. That miracles, however, *did* and *do* occur in the history of God's kingdom, we look upon as an undeniable fact. As to their *accumulation*, and the *colossal form* of some related, in the book of Daniel, we believe that both can be justified. A good reason can be assigned for them. Such facts, attesting the divine power and grace, are noted in this book as have a tendency to awe the heathen into forbearance and respect towards the covenant-people, and to bring the proud might of worldly rulers to honour the God of Israel as the Lord of heaven and earth, recognising his supreme control of all that happens in the world, his ability to protect his servants, as well as to punish and bring down the pride of the mightiest potentates of earth. It is true that the miracles here recorded tend to exalt Daniel and his companions; but this arises from the fact that Daniel is the representative of the people of God at the time and place specified. He is the outward impersonation of the theocracy in the sight of the heathen world; so that its maintenance and restoration are inseparably connected with him. The heathen powers among whom his lot was cast were accustomed to colossal forms and figures. Hence the wonders wrought must have a powerfully imposing character, and make a suitable impression on such a people. They must be striking to the outward senses, that the violent upholders of heathenism may be overawed and convinced. And that they *did* produce the desired effect, we see from the termination of the exile; especially from the decree of Cyrus, which expressly honours the God of Israel as the God of heaven, and recommends the erection of a temple to His name.<sup>1</sup>

7. The prophetic contents of the book, it is alleged, are distinguished from other prophetic works by their *apocalyptic* character; for the future of the Messianic kingdom is comprehended in definite relations of time; and the materials so developed are presented in a

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Keil, Einleit. pp. 459, 460.

greater array of symbols, in the form of visions, &c. Such apocalyptic taste, it is argued, which originated with the later Jews, expressed itself in the fabrication of prophecies which were transferred to antiquity, as the analogous sibylline books show. Besides, the events of a remote future, and the destinies of kingdoms not yet existing, are predicted in the most exact and definite manner, including even the enumeration of times. This shows *vaticinia post eventum*.

According to the objection before us, the artificially poetical form of the prophecies evinces nothing more than past events and vague forebodings of the future put into that shape.

It must be admitted that the prophecies of Daniel are more definite and detailed than any in the Old Testament. In like manner they have more chronological statements. A precision and particularity of description mark them as peculiar. The future is indicated in clearer and minuter lines than elsewhere. Yet it is not a mere book of history, describing the time from the overthrow of the Persian dynasty to Antiochus Epiphanes, as Porphyry asserted. The idea of Biblical prophecy is not wanting in it. Setting out from the relations and necessities of the present, pervaded by the fundamental conception of the kingdom of God in conflict with the kingdoms of the world, and victorious over them, the book unfolds this contest according to its progressive gradation in more special details, till the final triumph of the spiritual; reaching far beyond the time of Antiochus, even to the resurrection of the dead at the end of days. The definiteness of the predictions, in chronological as well as other details, differs from other Biblical prophecies not *in essence* but *degree*. Other prophetic books contain definite and precise predictions of events in the remote future. Thus we may refer to the prophecy of Micah (v. 1.) relating to the Messiah, and specifying the little village of Bethlehem as his birth-place. Of the same nature is the prophecy in Isaiah xxxix. 5—7., as well as that respecting the siege and capture of Babylon in Jeremiah l. li. In like manner Isaiah announces to Hezekiah that he should live fifteen years longer (Isa. xxxviii. 5.); Jeremiah tells the false prophet Hananiah that he should die within a year. (Jer. xxviii. 16, 17.) The same prophet foretels the continuance of the captivity seventy years. The prophecies of Daniel, therefore, differ from others not so much in essence as *in degree*. In definiteness of detail and minute precision, they exceed all that preceded. This must be explained partly by the singular position of Daniel, who was set in opposition to the heathen predictions of oriental wisdom; and partly by the special wants of the covenant-people, to whom, during the silence of the prophetic voice in future times, his prophecies were meant to furnish a satisfactory and compensative inheritance.

8. The doctrinal and ethical character of the book is appealed to in favour of a late origin. The view of angels presented is alleged to be of later and foreign growth. In like manner the Christology shows a similar origin. The ethics and asceticism confirm the supposition.

With regard to the angelology (iv. 13., ix. 21., x. 13. 21.), it cer-

tainly agrees with the notices of angels contained in the earlier writings of the Old Testament; where there are such preparatory hints and allusions as coincide with the more developed form of the doctrine in Daniel. Thus the angel-princes mentioned in x. 13. 20., xii. 21., are shadowed forth in *the captain of the Lord's host* spoken of in Joshua v. 14., and in the seraphim of Isaiah vi. 2. The doctrine of guardian spirits belonging to empires appears to be intimated in Isaiah xxiv. 21. And it is plain that what is stated here regarding angels has a close relationship to the prophecies of Ezekiel and Zechariah. (Comp. x. 5. with Ezek. ix. and x.; vii. 9. with Ezek. i. 26., Zech. i.—vi.) Nor is there any proof that the development of the doctrine respecting angels here taught, was influenced by Parsism, as is asserted by Bertholdt. The doctrine of Zoroaster was known long before Darius Hystaspes; for it has been proved by Faucher, Tychsel, and Heeren, that Zoroaster lived *at the latest* under Cyaxares I.; and besides, there is no reference to the seven Amschaspands of Zoroaster in iv. 13., viii. 16., ix. 21. 23., x. 13., xii. 5. &c. It is not till the book of Tobit that we find an angel who is called one of the seven surrounding the throne of God. (Tobit xii. 15.) The peculiar development of the doctrine of angels exhibited in Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Daniel, so far from having been moulded by the influence of Parsism upon Judaism, is owing to the prevalence of vision, which embodies spiritual ideas in living and speaking forms. The angel Raphael in the book of Tobit is introduced into the visible outward world; showing that the ideas respecting guardian spirits, then current, had taken root in the popular faith, whence they were transferred to the book of Tobit by the writer. The other apocryphal works contain scarcely a trace of angelology.

The *Christology* of Daniel (vii. 13. &c., xii. 1—3.) does not contradict the Daniel-authorship. What is there remarkable in the Messiah being depicted as a super-earthly being, or as bearing a close relation to the resurrection of the dead? Was this unknown to the time of Daniel, as Bertholdt asserts? The prophet Micah predicted a Messiah, whose origin is from eternity (v. 1.); and the idea of the resurrection of the body is not new, since it is in Isaiah xxvi. 19. Besides, in Isaiah ix. 6. the Messiah is represented both as God and man, a heavenly person furnished with divine power and glory. Thus there are germs, at least, of the doctrines in question in some earlier prophets. All that can be truly said is, that they are *developed* in the book of Daniel.

As to the ethical ideas supposed to savour of a later period, such as the importance attached to prayer, to fasting, to abstinence from certain kinds of food, we remark, that the efficacy of prayer (Dan. ii. 18., vi. 11., ix. 3., x. 2.) is equally prominent in the Psalms. The custom of praying three times a day (vi. 11.) is justified by Psalm lv. 18. as ancient. In like manner the custom of praying towards Jerusalem is ancient. (Comp. Psal. v. 7., cxxxviii. 2., xxviii. 2.; 1 Kings viii. 44.) The practice would not cease because the temple was destroyed; for the feelings of the heart would still prompt the same position. And it is a mere assumption to say with Bertholdt

that Daniel had a chamber appropriated to prayer, which was a modern Pharisaical invention. Nothing is said about a chamber exclusively devoted to devotional purposes. Frequent fasting was practised in the time of the exile, as we learn from Ezra viii. 21. &c., ix. 3. &c.; Neh. i. 4., ix. 1.; Zech. vii. 3., viii. 19. So also abstinence from unclean food (Dan. i. 8. &c.) accords with Hosea ix. 3, 4.; Ezek. xxii. 26., xliv. 23., xxxiii. 25. The word חֲסִידוּת in iv. 24., upon which so much stress is laid, as if great merit were ascribed to almsgiving, properly means *righteousness*, and is so translated here by Stuart; in which case the objection falls to the ground, and the comparison instituted between the verse and Tobit iv. 10., xii. 9., is annihilated.<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, it will be found that neither the doctrinal nor the ethical ideas of the book are such as betray their origin in the Maccabean times. Both agree with the older canonical literature of the ancient economy; whereas the later apocryphal writings of the Jews, though derived in part from the canonical documents, depart from them in many things, and are even contradictory in some. Occasionally the genuine ideas contained in the canonical lie undeveloped as far as the apocryphal literature is concerned; of which an example is furnished by the conception of Messiah—a *personal* Messiah being unknown to the apocryphal writings; at other times, the genuine ideas of the old Jewish Scriptures have been unfolded under the influence of a superstitious popular belief, as is seen in Tobit xii. 9., where undue efficacy is attributed to alms.

Other objections which have been urged against the authenticity of the book are now abandoned, or they are undeserving of notice by the side of such as have been considered. Whatever difficulties stand in the way of the book's reception into the canon as a true work, fully deserving that position,—and we freely concede the existence of such difficulties, even after the good service done by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Oehler, in attempting to resolve them,—we believe that far greater and more intractable ones lie in the way of thinking that it originated at the Maccabean period. Certainly the contrast between the contents of the book and all the memorials undoubtedly originating at that late time, is strikingly manifest. The feeling among the people of Israel, during those troublous times was, that they had been forsaken of God. His wonderful works were no more wrought on their behalf. The spirit of the nation was sunk in all but hopelessness, being conscious of the glory having departed. But here we meet with wonders on a gigantic scale, showing the mighty arm of Jehovah uplifted on behalf of his servants. Visions presenting grotesque figures of colossal structure are described. Prophecies, too, relating to the empires of the world, stand forth in imposing array, manifesting the presence of the same spirit which wrought in the gifted teachers of an older period. How improbable is it also, that a Jew of the Maccabean time should have had so minute a knowledge of the persons and circumstances belonging

<sup>1</sup> See Hävernick's *nene Kritische Untersuchungen*, p. 32. *et seqq.*, and Oehler in Tholuck's *literarischer Anzeiger* for 1842, p. 388. *et seqq.*

to the Babylonian and Persian empires! The details are varied and abundant, exhibiting an unusual acquaintance with the great empires of the East. Tradition could scarcely have supplied information of this diversified and exact kind; as may be seen by a comparison of the apocryphal books, where the knowledge of Babylonia and interior Asia is superficial, scanty, and inaccurate.

The contents, form, and spirit, are *foreign*, as far as we can judge, to *Maccabean Judaism*. This is obvious to any one who will consider the likeliest conceivable object with which the book could have been composed at the time assigned to it. The most probable purpose which a later author could have had in composing it, was to exhort and encourage the Jews, groaning under the persecutions of Antiochus, to steadfastness. In the first part, he meant perhaps to show the miserable end of the oppressors of God's people by the example of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar; and in contrast, the remarkable preservation of Jehovah's faithful servants, by the example of Daniel and his companions. In the second part, he meant to cherish the hope that the dominion of him who oppressed the Jewish people was near its termination; since the wished-for deliverer, who was to obtain the victory on behalf of the people and worship of God, would shortly appear. Such is the tendency of the book, according to Gesenius, Bleek, and De Wette,—one far more probable than either the hypothesis of Bertholdt, or that of Griesinger. Let us examine it more closely.

The historical portion of the work was *not* adapted to give the encouragement and consolation to the people which they required. *The author* knew the forgery, and therefore the book could afford no comfort to *himself*. Nor could it do so to the people. They were suffering most severely under oppression; thousands had been murdered, and thousands were scattered throughout the land in misery; the sanctuary was defiled; the nation appeared almost on the verge of extinction. In such circumstances, could a few leaves dispersed among the people, containing the narrative of Daniel delivered from the den of lions, and of three youths snatched from a fiery furnace, 400 years before, make any salutary impression upon the unfortunate Jews? Could a sensible Israelite believe that several floating leaves, having a fictitious story upon them, would produce the effect which the writer is supposed to have intended? Surely the well-known and genuine history of the people, as presented in the sacred books, contained far more appropriate examples. In relation to the first, or historical part of the book, it is assumed that the reader must at once have thought of Antiochus Epiphanes, when his attention was turned to Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, the persecutors of the Jews. This may be gravely doubted. Both were dissimilar in relation to their hatred and persecution of the Jews. Antiochus persecuted the Jews because of their faith, tried to extirpate them utterly, and madly desecrated all that was most sacred in their view. But Nebuchadnezzar carefully educated four Jewish youths in the palace, treated them with respect, honoured them with distinctions and rewards, putting them into important posts and offices, and acknowledged that

the God of the Jews was the God of gods. Nebuchadnezzar recovered the use of his reason; Antiochus died in his madness. So also Belshazzar was not a persecutor of the Jews. It is true that, on the night of his great feast, he profaned the holy vessels; but this was not done out of hatred to the Jews; for Daniel was sent for to interpret the mysterious writing, and was rewarded with an important place in the kingdom. Thus, neither the one king nor the other was calculated to portray to the eye of the reader Antiochus Epiphanes. Nor is the prophetic portion of the book well fitted to effect the object assumed, viz. to strengthen struggling contemporaries with the hope of the tyrant being soon punished. The visions are too obscure for this purpose. The 7th, 8th, and 12th chapters are suitable more or less; but yet the visions are shut up with the announcement of the holy place being purified, and those only are pronounced happy who should see the end, *at which time* the dead should rise, and the dominion over all kingdoms be given to the saints. According to the negative critics, the author wrote his book after the appearance of the things announced in the visions, *i. e.* after Judas had conquered the Syrian general Lycias, and re-dedicated the temple; while the notices of time in Dan. viii. 14., xii. 11., and the passages viii. 15., xi. 45. must be later than the death of Antiochus. But surely the Jews did not *then* need consolation. The victory was won, and the temple-worship restored. And how could an Israelite, immediately after the death of Antiochus, write, that when the theocracy should be restored, the dead should rise, and all kingdoms of the world be given over to the Israelites; since there was not the slightest symptom of such events?<sup>1</sup>

In whatever light we regard the prophetic book before us, the difficulties of accounting for its origin in the Maccabean period are infinitely greater than any which lie against the Daniel-authorship. The writer at that late time must have possessed some wonderful influence to induce the Jews to reopen the closed canon and insert his supposititious production. They felt that the spirit of prophecy in the nation had degenerated and died; but here all at once bursts forth a striking prophetic work, surpassing, in various respects, any that had preceded it. Unusually credulous they must have been to give it a place among their holy writings. Had Daniel lived in Palestine we should have suspected the authenticity of the work. But as he was brought up at Babylon, and spent his life there, the miracles and visions connected with his person are in harmony with the place and the empire. He stood as the representative of the theocracy amid circumstances which naturally led to a delineation of the worldly powers opposed to the divine kingdom, and to their annihilation in its presence.

A question now remains, whether Daniel himself put the book he wrote into its present form. It is probable he did not. Some of his countrymen put the prophecies together and prefixed introductory notices respecting the author's person. What leads to this conclusion

<sup>1</sup> See Herbst's *Einleitung*, vol. ii. p. 97. *et seqq.*

is the existence of various particulars, here and there, indicating another hand, such as mention of peculiar excellencies belonging to Daniel (i. 19, 20., vi. 4.), which could scarcely have proceeded from himself, as they are unnecessary laudations in the places they occupy; and the chronological oversight in i. 1. We have already seen that the solutions of this difficulty which have been proposed are untenable. Herbst conjectures that the person who prefixed this notice connected the fact related by Berosus, that Nebuchadnezzar's generals on their first march into Egypt carried off with them youths of distinction, with the captivity of Jehoiakim, through misapprehension of 2 Kings xxiv. 1.<sup>1</sup>

The Greek translator of Daniel has taken great liberties with the text, as is well known. Indeed he has arbitrarily remodelled the book, disfiguring it in a way which shows the prevailing taste of the Alexandrian Jews, and the unscrupulousness of their hermeneutic doings. In consequence of this arbitrary procedure on the part of the translator, and perhaps others besides who had to do with the formation of the version, the later version of Theodotion became much more general than the Alexandrian one, in the old church. Even in the second century it had almost supplanted the latter. In the time of Jerome, Theodotion was read in nearly all churches; and that father declares his ignorance of the reasons which had induced the Alexandrian to be laid aside. For a long time it was thought that the latter had been lost, till it was discovered at Rome, in the Codex Chisianus, in the eighteenth century. It was published by Simon de Magistris, at Rome, in 1772; afterwards by Michaelis twice at Göttingen; then by Segaar at Utrecht, 1775; and latterly by Hahn at Leipzig, 1845.

Whenever this Greek translation adheres to the Hebrew text it is pervaded by an endeavour to attain beauty and purity of expression. Usually, however, it departs widely from the original. When compared with the Hebrew, the text is very different. Sometimes the Greek has considerable additions, as at iii. 24. &c., where the prayer of Asarias is inserted; and iii. 51. &c., where the song of the three men in the fiery furnace is given. Sometimes we find considerable omissions and abbreviations, as in iii. 31—34., iv. 3—6., v. 17—25. 28. Other departures occur in iii. 46—50., iv. 28. &c., v. 1—3. and vi. Individual expressions and sentences are altered in i. 3. 11. 16., ii. 8. 11. 28. &c., vii. 6. 8., ix. 25. 27.

To account for these variations it has been supposed that the Chaldee or Hebrew text has undergone various elaborations from different later hands, because, on comparing Greek words in the additions with Chaldee equivalents, traces have been discovered of their Chaldee original.<sup>2</sup> But the alleged mistakes in translation can scarcely prove an Aramæan original. It is more probable that the translator himself is chargeable with the smaller and larger deviations, because design may be detected in them. They were meant to render the narratives clearer, to introduce a better connection into

<sup>1</sup> See Herbst's *Einleitung*, vol. ii. § 34. p. 104. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Eichhorn's *Einleitung*, vol. iv. § 617.

them, to soften what appeared to be exaggerated, and to make the description of miraculous occurrences more vivid and intelligible. Examples may be seen in iii. 23. &c. compared with the LXX. iii. 49. &c., 91.; iii. 31—33. compared with LXX. iv. 1, 3, 4. See also ii. 5., iii. 1.<sup>1</sup>

The principal additions are three, viz. 1. what is called "The Song of the three holy Children," inserted in the third chapter, between the 23rd and 24th verses. More properly the piece consists of a *prayer*, in which the three men who had been thrown into the fiery furnace ask God to deliver them and put their enemies to shame (1—21.); a brief notice of the fact that, notwithstanding the terrible flame which consumed the Chaldeans who were about the furnace, the angel of the Lord protected the three from all harm (22—26.); and a song of praise to God from the three together. (27—67.) 2. The history of Susanna. 3. The history of the destruction of Bel and the Dragon.

The position of the first piece in the Codex Alexandrinus is after the Psalms, as Hymn ix. and x. This was not an uncommon place in Psalters. Indeed, it has been thought by Fritzsche<sup>2</sup> that the hymns were so arranged in the old Latin version, since they are found in that order in various MS. Psalters and a printed copy also. It was their liturgical use that caused this transposition. They often form a part of Liturgies, on which account they were both abridged and enlarged. The most natural place is the one it usually occupies, after iii. 23. The position of the second piece, which has various inscriptions, such as *Susanna, Daniel, the judgment (διάκρισις) of Daniel*, &c. is commonly in MSS. before the first chapter of Daniel. Accordingly in the old Latin and Arabic it is so placed. But the LXX., Vulgate, Complutensian Polyglott, Hexaplar Syriac, place it at the end, as the 13th chapter of Daniel. The third piece is added as the 14th chapter of Daniel by the LXX.

Were these additions inserted or appended by the translators themselves? It is obvious that Theodotion himself put them into his version, since they coincide exactly with its character. All that he did was to revise the text of the LXX. in his own way, as has been shown by Fritzsche.<sup>3</sup> It is more difficult to decide whether they were introduced into the Septuagint at first. What renders it highly probable that the translator himself placed them in his work is their agreement even to minute particulars with the version itself. The manner is the same. Whether he took what already existed, elaborating it perhaps in his own way; or whether he composed it himself, is not very clear. It is likely that he did *not* compose the pieces himself. This is favoured by the abrupt nature of the first, as well as the inscription of the third piece. He took traditional stories already in writing, and revised them in his own way.

Some have thought that the prayer of Asarias, and the song of the three children, proceeded from different authors, because of the con-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Hävernick's *Commentar ueber das Buch Daniel, Einleitung*, p. xlvii. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Exeget. Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, i. p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 114.

tradition between verse 14., according to which the temple and its worship no longer exist, and verses 30, 31, 61, 62. where both are mentioned as existing. So Hävernick and De Wette think. But may not the writer have slipped in the part he assumed? Forgetting himself in the 14th verse, he goes on in the 15th to complain that there is no longer a prophet in the nation; a complaint which suits *his own time*, but not a time when the temple and its worship did not exist. Theodotion too does not appear to have remarked the discrepancy; at least he allows it to remain. The style of both pieces is the same. Hence it is probable that they were written by one and the same person.

Some have thought that the original text of this first piece was Hebrew or Aramæan, because of its strong Hebraisms (comp. verses 8. 11. 13. 16. 19, 20.). Scholz<sup>1</sup> asserts that there can be no doubt of this; arguing in favour of its having been composed in Hebrew, because the names Ananias, Asarias, and Misael are Hebrew; and because the words *δρόσος*, *ψύχος* occur twice, &c. &c. (verses 41. 45. 44. 48.). But the Hebrew names prove no more than that the Jewish author knew the true appellations of the three; and the two Greek words mentioned stand in a different connection each time. Surely a Hellenist, or Greek-speaking Jew, whose education and style had been formed in a great measure by the Septuagint, could write in this manner. His diction must be Hebraised. Hence we hold the Greek to be the original, as Fritzsche also believes. Theodotion's text of this piece is merely a copy of the LXX. a little altered. The alterations have been made at different times; and the text is throughout a mixed one. A tabular view of their variations is given by Eichhorn.<sup>2</sup>

It is instructive to compare the ancient versions of this piece, such as the old Latin and Vulgate, which are literal, and have been made from Theodotion's text. The Arabic in the London Polyglott is still more literal, taken from the same source. So also the Syriac in the Polyglott is from Theodotion; though it differs from the rest in being free. The Syriac translation published by Bugati is from the Hexaplar LXX.

With regard to the second piece, *i. e.* the history of Susanna, it was debated very early whether the narrative be a purely historical one or not. Julius Africanus advanced several well-founded objections to it, to which Origen replied. We do not approve of some things stated against the truth of the history by Africanus; though Origen did not satisfactorily answer them. Certainly the best arguments were on the side of Africanus; as may be seen even in the brief summary of the controversy given by Fritzsche.<sup>3</sup> After the lapse of many centuries the suspicions and doubts of Africanus were resumed with new additions by Protestants; Roman Catholics adopting the apologetic tone, like Origen. Thus after Eichhorn and Bertholdt had opened up in modern times the true critical method of

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften, u. s. w. vol. iii. p. 520. *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung in die Apokryphischen Schriften, p. 422. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, vol. i. p. 116. *et seq.*

dealing with the production, Mouliniè and Scholz, without tact and taste, appeared as apologists.

It is evident that the production does not present a true history. The marvellous is of a kind to evince the aim of the writer. Even in the places where both texts agree, the difficulties in the way of supposing it a real history are great. But is it a mere fabrication or fable, as Eichhorn supposes? Or is it a parable, as Jahn makes it? Eichhorn adduces the moral of the story in the LXX., verses 63. and 64. "Therefore were the young men favourites with the posterity of Jacob on account of their simplicity. And let us esteem as sons young men of distinguished birth. For such show their piety, and will ever have a spirit of knowledge and understanding." This moral is wanting in Theodotion, and instead of it we read "From that day forth was Daniel had in great reputation in the sight of the people" (verse 64.). Both are reflections of the writer and reviser, showing that they looked upon the history as true. Indeed Eichhorn admits that, according to the copy which bears Theodotion's name, it was meant to be received as a fragment of true history. We see nothing however in either text against the supposition that some truth lies at the basis. A traditional story furnished the writer with the materials. But Daniel had nothing to do with the facts related. He has been arbitrarily brought into connection with them by the writer. Had he been really concerned in the transaction, he must have occupied a different position in the narrative. We believe that a story *substantially* true has been dressed out with fabulous traits. The foundation at least has all the marks of verisimilitude.

The original of the piece was Greek, as the diction shows. The Hebraisms are such as proceed from a Hellenist; no mistake of translation can be pointed out; and there is not the least impropriety in the adaptation of one language to another. The paronomasias (see verses 54, 55. 58, 59.) could not have come from a translator; and Scholz's hypothesis to account for them in conformity with their having been a translator's work<sup>1</sup>, is entirely arbitrary.

The text of Theodotion differs from that of the LXX. It is a revised form of the latter. Theodotion has given greater concinnity and probability to the narrative, enlarging and altering it in different ways. Most of these deviations have been collected by Eichhorn.<sup>2</sup> Though there are many Greek MSS. of Theodotion, the text in all is a mixed one.

The old Latin version taken from Theodotion's text follows the original very literally. In like manner the Vulgate and Arabic are closely rendered from it. There are also three Syriac versions of the same text, viz. that in the London Polyglott, which has not the name of the translator; the second, printed in the same work, usually called the Philoxenian Syriac, from the bishop of Hareclea (A. D. 616); and a third, still unprinted, except six verses from James of Edessa. The first two treat the text freely, altering and enlarging it at times, each in its own way. But the Greek text had been already moulded

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. vol. iii. p. 523.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. p. 457. *et seqq.*

in various ways when they used it. The Philoxenian translator took greater liberties than the other, omitting and adding more particulars. Bugati, who printed the first six verses of the third, has observed that it follows for the most part the Peshito version.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, however, it forsakes it even in remarkable places. Probably the translator merely revised the Peshito, altering it here and there after the Greek. The Syriac version published by Bugati follows its original, the Hexaplar text, very closely.

With regard to the third piece, viz. the history of the destruction of Bel and the Dragon, the character of the story is legendary and fabulous. It is a fact that the temple of Belus was destroyed in the time of Alexander the Great; for he wished to rebuild it: but it is not credible, as here related, that Daniel destroyed it; since we learn from Strabo and Arrian that Xerxes did so. The LXX. leave the *time* of its destruction undetermined; but Theodotion refers it to the time of Cyrus. It is a mere assumption of Scholz's that Xerxes completed what Daniel began.<sup>2</sup> What is said of the worship of *living* serpents in Babylon, is without warrant in ancient history. Scholz indeed refers to Diodorus Siculus, ii. 9., who speaks of large silver serpents which the obelisk of Rhea in the temple of Belus had beside it.<sup>3</sup> But this does not show the worship of *living animals*; nor can the one be legitimately inferred from the other.

We do not think that the story has a true historical basis. It seems to be mere fiction. What led to it, was the sixth chapter of Daniel's book. The design was to show that Jehovah is a great and powerful God who miraculously preserves his faithful servants, in contrast with the falsehood and deception of idolatry. The type is plain in the book of Daniel; but the copy far exceeds the original in the prominence it gives to all that can contribute to the main design of the piece. There is an inscription to it in the LXX., viz. "Out of the prophecy of Habakkuk, son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi." This shows that it was regarded as a prophecy proceeding from Habakkuk, and written by him, agreeing in this point with the text of the LXX., in which Daniel is adduced as a priest and one not well known. As Theodotion revised the piece with the view of appending it to Daniel, he omitted the inscription.

The original of it was Greek, like that of the other additions, for although it is Hebraising, it agrees with the language of a Hellenist. The Greek text of Theodotion in the MSS. is a mixed one which has been repeatedly affected by that of the LXX. It has improved the story in various ways; as Eichhorn has shown by a careful collation of the differences existing between them.<sup>4</sup>

The Vulgate, Syriac, and Arabic versions follow Theodotion, with a few variations. They are literal, especially the Arabic. The Syriac published by Bugati is from the Hexaplar text of the LXX.

<sup>1</sup> See Daniel secundum editionem LXX. interpretum ex tetraplis desumptam, &c., pp. 157, 158.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. vol. iii. p. 526.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Einleit. p. 436. *et seqq.*

It remains for us to speak of the time and place at which these additions to Daniel originated. Speaking of them as found in the LXX., it is not very clear that they were known to Josephus. The passage in his Antiquities x. 11. 7., to which some appeal, does not prove his acquaintance with them; though it is probable that they were not unknown to the Jewish historian who made so great use of the Septuagint. The first mention of Susanna is in Ignatius's epistle to the Magnesians; and in the second epistle of the Roman Clement. But they must have been composed earlier, either in the second or first century before Christ. At that time the Hellenists in Egypt cultivated literature and philosophy; where there is little doubt that these pieces originated. It is true that the Jews elsewhere did not receive them as authentic, and rejected them as uninspired. But the productions were current notwithstanding; and were believed by many. Tradition also dressed them out with additional particulars, and translated them into Aramæan; of which some remains have been pointed out by Delitzsch.<sup>1</sup> A knowledge of them extended even to the Mohammedans; at least the wonderful manner in which Daniel was fed was known to them.

The additions under consideration were circulated among the Fathers in various versions, where they accompanied the canonical Daniel, and came into ecclesiastical use. It is pretty clear that they were regarded as genuine history, and considered in consequence as of equal authority with the canonical writings. The way in which Origen argues against Africanus shows the position assigned to them by the orthodox. But the suspicions of Africanus were not without effect; and most of the Fathers were afterwards induced to separate the additions from the canonical portion of Daniel's book. Yet they still commented upon them, and used them in homilies. Some, however, rejected them, as Apollinaris and Eusebius. The cautious way in which Jerome speaks of them, and the place he gave them in his translation, show his private opinion to have been unfavourable. "Daniel, as received among the Hebrews, contains neither the History of Susanna, nor the Hymn of the Three Children, nor the fable of Bel and the Dragon, all which, as they are dispersed throughout the world, we have added, lest to the ignorant we should seem to have cut off a considerable part of the book, transfixing them at the same time with a dagger."<sup>2</sup> It is idle to affirm with Alber that Jerome used the word *fabula* here in a good sense, meaning a true narrative; the context shows the reverse, for he is speaking of apocryphal *fabulæ* in contrast with the canonical Scriptures. Rufinus, Jerome's opponent, was on the orthodox side. Theodoret has explained the Hymn of the three young men; but passed by the history of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon. The church of Rome allows them to be of equal authority with the rest of the book of Daniel, by a decree of the council of Trent, giving them an equal place in the

<sup>1</sup> See his Habacuci prophetae vita atque ætate, p. 31. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Proem. in Daniel.

canonical Scriptures. The Protestant churches have justly excluded them from the *canonical*, and classed them among the *apocryphal*, writings; though the Anglican and Lutheran churches properly read them for instruction, and so do not debar their ecclesiastical use.

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## CHAP. XXIII.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HOSEA.

HOSEA was the son of Beeri, an unknown citizen of the kingdom of Israel. Some rabbins have confounded the father with Beerah, a Reubenite prince who was carried away by Tiglath-pileser (1 Chron. v. 6.). But the names and persons are quite different. The traditional accounts which speak of him as being born at Belemoth in the tribe of Issachar<sup>1</sup>, are quite uncertain; and it is most probable that he belonged to the kingdom of Israel; not to Judah, as Jahn and Maurer argue. The sending of a prophet out of Judah into the kingdom of the ten tribes would be an extraordinary thing; the only cases of the kind on record being those in Amos vii. and 1 Kings xiii. At all events, it must have been expressly mentioned. His Israelitish origin is attested by the peculiar, rough, Aramaising diction, pointing to the northern part of Palestine; by the intimate acquaintance he evinces with the localities of Ephraim (v. 1., vi. 8, 9., xii. 12., xiv. 6. &c.); by passages like i. 2., where the kingdom is styled *the land*; and vii. 5., where the Israelitish king is designated as *our king*. All that has been advanced in favour of his being of Judah by Jahn and Maurer, has been satisfactorily answered by Hävernack and Simson.

According to the superscription, Hosea prophesied under Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and Jeroboam II., king of Israel. This period is computed by Keil<sup>2</sup> at sixty-five years. Rosenmüller<sup>3</sup>, however, shortens it to forty; and Stuck to fifty-five.<sup>4</sup> So long a duration of office as sixty-five, or even sixty years, is quite improbable. But we cannot agree with Movers that the prophet did not live under Ahaz, and therefore not till Hezekiah's reign; for Knobel has clearly shown<sup>5</sup> that in various passages the condition of the kingdom of Judah under Ahaz is described (v. 13.). The mention of Hezekiah in the inscription is in all probability incorrect. The passage i. 4. must have been written before the death of Jeroboam II. Accordingly, we may take either the last year, or last but one of Jeroboam, as the commencement, *i. e.* 784 or

<sup>1</sup> See Simson's *Der Prophet Hosea erklärt*, u. s. w. p. 1. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Einleit.* p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> *Scholia*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Hoseas propheta*, &c. p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Prophetismus*, vol. ii. p. 158.

785 B.C., and perhaps 740 B.C. as the close, leaving forty-five years for the duration of his prophetic office. There is good reason for doubting the authenticity of the superscription. It seems to have been interpolated by a later hand, from Isaiah i. 1. Hitzig, Ewald, and Simson, have proved its spuriousness by considerations which Hävernäck has vainly endeavoured to set aside.<sup>1</sup> The only part of it, however, that seems erroneous, is the name of Hezekiah. The remainder is confirmed by internal evidence. There is no correctness in Eadie's allegation, that "the first and second verses of the prophecy are so closely connected in the structure of the language and style of the narration, that the second verse itself would become suspicious if the first were reckoned a spurious addition."<sup>2</sup> The only argument in favour of the truth of Hezekiah in the title is derived from x. 14., where it is supposed that there is an allusion to an expedition of Shalmaneser against Hoshea, which took place soon after Hezekiah began to reign. Hence it is inferred, that Hosea lived and prophesied near the same time. But it is very uncertain whether שַׁלְמַנְאֶשֶׁר (x. 14.), *Shalman*, be king Shalmaneser. Rather was he an unknown Assyrian king. The town or city *Beth-arbel*, mentioned in the same verse, is *Arbela* in Galilee, according to Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hävernäck, and De Wette. We prefer taking it to be Arbela on the Tigris, as Ewald does.

The prophecies of Hosea refer principally to the kingdom of Ephraim or Israel; Judah being alluded to only incidentally. This will be apparent from i. 7., ii. 2., iv. 15., v. 5. 10. 14., vi. 4. 11., viii. 14., x. 11., xii. 1. 3.; and therefore Horsley's opinion is incorrect, when he affirms "it has been the occasion of much misinterpretation to suppose that his prophecies are almost wholly against the kingdom of Israel."<sup>3</sup>

The book may be most conveniently distributed into two divisions; the first, containing the first three chapters; the second, the remaining eleven. The former exhibits symbolical representations, and appears to belong to the first part of Hosea's prophetic course, his ministry under Jeroboam, when the judgments of God were impending over the nation.

The nature and meaning of the transactions recorded in the first and third chapters has been much debated. When the prophet was commanded to "go and take a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms," &c. &c. (i. 2.); and again, to "go yet, love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress," &c. (iii. 1.), was he enjoined to do these things really and literally? Was he ordered *actually* to enter into such connubial alliance? Such as have not studied the subject of Old Testament prophetism will naturally adopt this sense as the most obvious one; for it presents itself first to the reader. They will think that the prophet was plainly commanded to go and do a certain thing; that he obeyed the command, and the usual consequences followed. Among the Fathers, this hypothesis was

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> Article Hosea, in Kitto's Cyclopædia.

<sup>3</sup> Theological works, vol. vii. p. 236.

adopted by Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, and Augustine; by most interpreters of the Lutheran church; by Manger, of the Reformed church; as well as by Stuck, Horsley, and Drake. Hofmann, in recent times, has also advocated it. But there are various reasons for rejecting the view in question. Hence others have assumed a parabolic representation, denying an *actual* thing, either external or internal. The prophet was enjoined to go and prophesy in this manner, *as if* he were commanded to do as related. This is the view of Calvin, the Chaldee paraphrast, Bauer, Rosenmüller, &c. It is a sort of modification of the same opinion, when Luther supposes that the prophet performed a kind of drama in view of the people.

Others, again, assume that the prophet describes *real* things, but *inward* rather than *outward*. Jerome, Origen (as may be inferred from Rufinus's testimony), Maimonides, Abenezra, Kimchi, Marek, and Hengstenberg, have supported the view in question. The last-named author is its ablest advocate, on whom such scholars as Hävernicks and Keil rely. It would not be easy indeed to refute the arguments of Hengstenberg. Difficulties multiply on every side when any other view than his is assumed. We cannot suppose that God commanded the prophet when entering upon his office to do something which was contrary to His own law, and which must have hindered the efficiency of it. The meaning of various parts of the third chapter is also involved in great confusion, on any other assumption than that of an *internal* transaction, especially the first verse, for the type and the thing typified will not correspond. And the children mentioned in the first chapter, which were begotten in adultery, and therefore could not be considered the prophet's, contradict the idea of correspondence between the figure and the thing represented. Besides, several years must have been required for the completion of the external transactions recorded, weakening thereby the impressiveness of the symbol. Hence we must look upon the whole as *spiritual* and *internal* machinery, in the mind of the prophet himself. On any other supposition the difficulties seem insuperable; as Hengstenberg has fully shown.<sup>1</sup>

The meaning of the phrases *wife of whoredoms*, and *children of whoredoms*, can hardly be mistaken, after the critical investigations of Hengstenberg and Hitzig. Unfaithfulness *after marriage* is intended. The children are the two sons and daughter born *after wedlock*. Hence, Mr. Drake is mistaken in supposing that "wife of whoredoms" refers to the general character of Gomer *both before* and *after marriage*; as well as in saying that Hosea "was to take the harlot and her base-born children into his house." The children were not born till after marriage.<sup>2</sup> The adulteress referred to in iii. 1. is not the same woman as she who was the prophet's wife in i. 2, 3. The prophet in this transaction was symbolical. He meant to set forth certain truths to the people. Accordingly, the names of both

<sup>1</sup> Christologie, vol. iii. p. 16. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Notes on the Prophecies of Jonah and Hosea, p. 48.

mother and children are significant. She is called *Gomer*, *finishing-stroke*, or *end, completion*; and her father is *Diblaim*, i. e. *double calamities*. The names of the children are Jezeel, Lo-ruhamah, and Lo-ammi; which are explained in the book itself. The figure of marriage and adultery is common in the Old Testament, representing the relation between Jehovah and the Jewish people with the latter's infidelity to their covenant. The nation is the spouse who violated her love-compact by falling into idolatry. We do not think, with Horsley, that distinct parts of the nation were typified by the three children; or with Hengstenberg, that wife and children, taken together, are the people of Israel; but that they refer to three successive generations of the Israelites.

The second division of the book, consisting of iv.—xiv., refers to the prophetic activity after the death of Jeroboam, when the judgments of God upon the nation had already begun—to the threatenings and exhortations uttered by Hosea. Although this second part appears to form a connected whole, several attempts have been made by Maurer, Stuck, and Hitzig, to divide it into separate discourses, as well as to arrange and define such discourses chronologically. But the task is impossible. All is connected and consecutive, forbidding every such undertaking. The absence of any chronological index, of clear marks indicating the commencement and termination of separate pieces or discourses, as well as the systematic progression from wrath and threatening to promise and mercy, forbid all attempts of the kind. And if, with Ewald<sup>1</sup>, we could perceive a careful distribution of the whole into definite, clear, and equable strophes, there would be additional confirmation of this remark. But of such strophes, we cannot recognise the undoubted existence, except in the critic's own subjectivity.

There is no reason for doubting the fact that Hosea himself arranged the prophecies as they now are; the first three chapters containing the substance of what he did and taught under Jeroboam; the last eleven, a connected summary of his discourses during the interregnum after Jeroboam's death, and under the kings Zechariah, Shallum, and Menahem. The first part depicts the apostasy of Israel from Jehovah, and their punishment, with their future restoration and forgiveness; the second is filled with denunciations, threatenings, exhortations, promises, and announcements of mercy.

Ewald thinks that after Hosea had been long active in the northern kingdom, he came to Judah, and wrote his book there.<sup>2</sup> But for this, the considerations adduced are not sufficient proof. The brief notices of Judah (i. 7., iv. 15. &c.) do not show that the prophet became gradually acquainted with Judah, as Hävernäck and Simson justly observe. The prophet lived and wrote in Israel. His book must have been soon in Judah, because the kingdom of Israel continued but a short time after the work appeared; and because Jeremiah has frequently used it in his representations of Israel. Hitzig and Hävernäck find allusions to Hosea in Isa. xxx. 1. (Hos. viii. 4.), and i. 23.

<sup>1</sup> Die Propheten des alten Bundes, vol. i. pp. 127, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 119.

(Hos. ix. 15.); but they are somewhat uncertain. Redslob<sup>1</sup> is the only critic who has called in question the integrity of the book. The passage in vii. 4—10. he supposes, for the most part, made up of marginal glosses; a very arbitrary hypothesis, which it was scarcely necessary for Hävernicks to refute.

Hosea employs the simple prophetic discourse. He has no visions, parables, or allegories, and but two symbolical transactions. (i. 3.) The signification of the symbolical is given by him in unambiguous and plain description; and he falls out of the *symbolic* into *proper* representation. His mode of presenting ideas is distinguished by vivid descriptions, which, however, are always brief; as well as by great wealth of comparisons and images. Frequently does he compare Jehovah to some of the lower animals, as the lion, panther, bear; or to some sensible object, as the dew, the rain. (v. 12. 14., vi. 3., xi. 10., xiii. 7, 8., xiv. 6.) Paronomasias and plays on words occur in ii. 4. 18., iv. 15., viii. 7., xiii. 15. The style is peculiar. It is highly poetical and bold, lively and energetic, corresponding to the powerful ideas embodied. It is remarkable, however, that, among the many forcible images employed, there is so much tenderness and softness. An elegiac plaintiveness is diffused throughout his writing. Jerome has observed that his style is laconic and sententious. Lowth pronounces Hosea the most difficult and perplexed of the prophets. The reasons of this obscurity are *not* the antiquity of the composition, nor the *assumed* fact that we have now only a small volume of his remaining which contains his principal prophecies, and these extant in a continued series, with no marks of distinction as to the times when they were published, or of which they treat, as Lowth thinks<sup>2</sup>; but the *idiosyncrasy* of the prophet, giving rise to peculiar idioms and frequent changes of person. His manner of writing being energetic and concise, negligent of connecting particles, and suddenly leaping from image to image, unavoidably approaches the region of the obscure. The sentences are mostly short and abrupt, without roundness or fulness. The rhythm is lively, but leaping and hard; while the parallelism is deficient in evenness and periodic measurement. The diction is pure, but peculiar and difficult.<sup>3</sup> Among peculiar words and unusual constructions, we may notice such as נִשְׁפָּטִים, ii. 4.; נִבְלֹת, ii. 12.; אֶהְבֵּב חֶבֶי, iv. 18.; נָהָה, v. 12.; מִלֶּךְ יָרֵב, v. 13., x. 6.; שְׁעֵרֵרְיָהּ, vi. 10.; הִבְהֵבִים, viii. 13.; שְׂבָבִים, *particles of dust*, viii. 6.; מִשְׁמָחָה, ix. 7, 8.; פִּלְאֶבֶת, xiii. 5.; אֶהְיֵי, where? xiii. 14.; רַחֵם, xiii. 1. Rare and singular forms of words are such as, תִּרְגְּלֹתִי, xi. 3.; נִאֲמָאֲסָאֵךְ, iv. 6.; חָבֵי, the infinitive mood, vi. 9.; אוֹבִיל, xi. 4.; קָאֵם, x. 14.; פִּלְוִיא, xi. 7.; יִקְרִיא, xiii. 15.; קִימוֹשׁ, ix. 6. Of constructions, may be noticed, לֹא עַל, vii. 16.; אֶל-עַל, xi. 7.; צָדָה עִם, ix. 8.; נִשְׁלָקָה פְּרִים שְׂפָתַיִנִי, xiv. 3.; בְּמִרְיֵי כֶהֵן, iv. 4.; רָבִי תוֹרַתִי, viii. 12.;

<sup>1</sup> Die Integrität der Stelle Hosea, vii. 4—10. in Frage gestellt, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, edited by Stowe, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> See Knobel, Prophetismus, vol. ii. p. 164.

רָעַת רְעִתָּם, x. 15.<sup>1</sup> The first three chapters are in prose; the rest is poetical.

Various quotations from Hosea occur in the New Testament, as in Matt. ii. 15., ix. 15., xii. 7.; Rom. ix. 25, 26. In addition to these, there are some allusions in other books. Bishop Horsley and others suppose that there are many Messianic references of a general nature which lie in the spirit rather than the letter; such as allusions to the calling of our Lord from Egypt, to the resurrection on the third day, to the final overthrow of the Antichristian army in Palestine, the Saviour's last victory over death and hell, &c. &c.<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful, however, whether a variety of these considerations can be properly found in the prophet. They proceed from the imagination of the Christian interpreter, rather than the mind of Hosea himself. The Jewish nation, and Israel in particular, is the main subject of description; some of its future conditions being shadowed forth in the obscure language of poetry, especially its conversion to God.

## CHAP. XXIV.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JOEL.

JOEL was the son of Pethuel, as is stated in the title to his predictions. Nothing certain is known of his family, condition, and pursuits. The traditional accounts in Pseudo-Epiphanius, according to which he was of Bethor, a village belonging to the tribe of Reuben, are unreliable. That he prophesied in the kingdom of Judah, and probably at Jerusalem, follows from various passages, as i. 11., ii. 1. 15., iii. 5., iv. 1, 2. 6. &c., 16. &c. It has been conjectured by De Wette, Knobel, and others, that he was a priest or Levite, because he makes frequent mention of priests, sacrifices, feasts, the temple, &c., showing a great desire for the externals of divine worship. Little weight, however, can be attached to this fact as warranting the conclusion.

The time at which he lived has been differently determined.

(a.) J. F. Bauer assigns him to the reign of Jehoshaphat, *i. e.* 914 B.C.

(b.) Kimchi and others place him in the reign of Jehoram, *i. e.* 889 B.C.

(c.) Some suppose that he prophesied in the commencement of the reign of Joash, *i. e.* 878 and following years B.C. Such is the view of Credner, Movers, Hitzig, Meier, Winer, Ewald, Hofmann, Baur, Delitzsch, Keil.

(d.) Others think that he prophesied under Uzziah, as Abarbanel, Vitringer, Moldenhauer, Rosenmüller, Von Coelln, Eichhorn, Jaeger,

<sup>1</sup> See Simson's *der Prophet Hosea*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Theological Works*, vol. vii. p. 238.

Gramberg, De Wette, Holzshausen, &c. conjecture, *i. e.* between 800 and 780 B.C. This nearly coincides with the view of Hengstenberg and Havernick, who place the prophet in the time of Jeroboam II. and Uzziah.

(*e.*) Bertholdt assigns the prophet to the time of Hezekiah, *i. e.* 725 and following years B.C. He supposes him to have appeared after the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, *i. e.* 718. With him agrees Stuedel.

(*f.*) Justi puts him in the time of Micah.

(*g.*) Several Jewish writers, among whom is Jarchi, with Drusius, Newcome, Jahn, and others, place him in the reign of Manasseh, *i. e.* 696 B.C.

(*h.*) Tarnovius, Eckermann, Calmet, and others, put him in the reign of Josiah, *i. e.* 639 B.C.

(*i.*) Vatke puts him after the exile.

He must have preceded Amos, since the latter commences with a sentence from the former. (Comp. Amos i. 2. with Joel iii. 16.). In like manner he concludes with similar promises. (Comp. Amos ix. 13. with Joel iii. 18.) Other references may be found in Amos vii. 4. to Joel i. 19., and verse 3. to Joel ii. 14. Reminiscences from the same source occur in most of the prophets, from Amos downward. Hence Joel must have prophesied before Amos; that is, before the twenty-seven years during which Jeroboam II. reigned, contemporary with Uzziah. But there are political references which carry the prophet higher than the time of Uzziah. The Phœnicians and Philistines (iii. 4.), the Egyptians and Edomites (iii. 19.), are the only peoples spoken of as hostile to the theocracy. Neither the Syrians nor the Assyrians are mentioned. Hence the prophet could not have lived after Uzziah. But the political relations in which Judah stood to the neighbouring states, in Joel's time, carry us beyond the age of Uzziah. The Philistines, whom the prophet threatens with punishment for wrongs upon Judah still unrevenge (iii. 4. 7.), were humbled under Uzziah, and in part subjected to Judah; after the threatening increase of the Assyrian power under Uzziah, friendly relations were maintained; but we see from iii. 19. that it was now in hostile attitude to Judah; the territory of the Edomites, who had shed the innocent blood of the Jews in their land (iii. 19.), and which Jehovah had not yet avenged (iii. 21.), belonged to Judah, at least the greater part of it, in Uzziah's time. In the time of Joram, Edom became independent of Judah; but under Amaziah it was subdued, and the chief city Selah taken (2 Kings xiv. 7.). This was early in Amaziah's time, when the innocent blood of the Jews which had been shed in the land of the Edomites was avenged, and the prophecy of Joel iii. 19. 21. was fulfilled. Hence Joel must have written before Amaziah's victory over the Edomites in the valley of Salt, and after they became independent under Joram. During the one year's reign of Joram's successor, Ahaziah (2 Kings viii. 26, 27.), and the six years' interregnum of Athalia (2 Kings xi. 3.), the worship of strange gods prevailed; which does not suit the age of Joel, when the Levitical worship flourished. (Joel i. 9. 13, 14. 16., ii. 14.) It was Jehoash

who restored the worship, taking active and zealous measures for its purity and maintenance. But this continued only as long as the young king followed the direction of Jehoiada the priest. After the death of the latter, no more burnt-offerings were brought into the temple (2 Chron. xxiv. 18.), as was usual in the time of Joel. Hence the prophet flourished in the early part of Joash's reign. Accordingly he may be placed between 877 and 847 B.C., *i. e.* within the first thirty years of the reign of Joash.

The prophecy was occasioned by the desolating effects of a terrible plague of locusts, accompanied with scorching drought.

The book contains a single prophecy, and consists of two parts, viz. i. 2—ii. 18., and ii. 19—iii. 21. The first has an exhortation to repentance amid the fearful plague, which address becomes more urgent towards the close; the second contains the divine promise respecting the removal of this judgment upon the people, the destruction of all nations hostile to the theocracy, and the glorification of that theocracy by the richest blessings of nature and the outpouring of the Spirit on all flesh. The two parts are connected by the historical remark intervening, "And Jehovah answered and said to his people," constituting together a united piece. Accordingly the prophecy relating to the future commences with part of the nineteenth verse: "Behold, I will send you corn," &c.

It has been disputed whether the description of the locusts be *literal* or *tropical*. Is a real army of foes meant by the locusts; or does the language refer to those animals alone? The figurative acceptation was anciently adopted by the Chaldee paraphrast, Ephrem Syrus, Jerome, and others. In modern times it has been advocated by Hengstenberg<sup>1</sup> and Hävernick.<sup>2</sup> Where nothing decisive can be said against the literal sense it should be followed. This is the case here. The question turns upon the fact, whether in the first half of the prophecy a *present* or a *future* calamity is depicted. The reader will see that the desolation is a *present* thing, on the ground of which Joel exhorts the people to repentance. There is no intimation that he speaks of future events; and to regard the description as a prediction, is without analogy in the prophets. Though Hengstenberg has endeavoured at length to combat the arguments of Credner in favour of the literal acceptation, and to establish the figurative one, we do not think he has succeeded. The chief considerations adduced for the latter are the 17th and 20th verses of the second chapter: "Give not thine heritage to reproach, *that the heathen should rule over them*" (לְמִשְׁלֵי־כֹּהֲנִים). Here it is said the figure is dropped, and the heathen plainly mentioned. But this is not conclusive unless מִשְׁלֵי meant only to *rule*. It signifies also to *use a by-word against, to mock* any one, as is shown by מִשְׁלֵי מִשְׁלֵי, in Ezek. xii. 23., xvi. 44., and מִשְׁלֵי, in Num. xxi. 27. In vain does Hengstenberg deny this use of the verb, and attempt to explain these parallels otherwise.<sup>3</sup> Ewald rightly translates "dass

<sup>1</sup> Christologie, vol. iii. p. 146. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Christologie, iii. p. 159. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, ii. 2. p. 294. *et seqq.*

Heiden ueber sie *spotten*," "that the heathen should *mock* at them;" and his authority is immensely superior to Hengstenberg's on a philological point.<sup>1</sup> In the 20th verse the word יְבוֹאֵם, *the northern*, is said to be inexplicable on any other supposition than that of a northern army. History knows no example, Hengstenberg asserts, of locusts coming to Palestine out of the north, out of Syria. But it is quite possible for swarms of locusts, of the *acridium migratorium*, to be met with in Irak, Syria, and the Syrian desert; and they might be brought by a north-east wind from the last-named region to Judea, whence the word *northern* is applicable.<sup>2</sup> The same critic calls attention to the alleged fact that in the description of the locusts there is no mention of their *flight*. But surely their flight is implied in ii. 10., "the earth shall quake *before them*;" for the word translated *before them*, יָבֹאוּ, does not mean, as Hengstenberg says, *before (the army appears or arrives)*, but *in their presence*, as its use in the 3rd verse of the chapter and elsewhere proves. None of the particulars urged by this critic against the literal explanation is weighty; while various phenomena belonging to the description apply only to locusts. The effects of the hostile invasion, if such is meant, are confined to the vegetable productions and cattle, no intimation being afforded of personal injury sustained by the Jews.

Some think that the prophecy has a double sense; the primary being, that a plague of locusts should devour the land; the secondary, that the Babylonian or the Assyrian invasion should take place. It appears to us quite unwarrantable to include, in the secondary sense, the invasions of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, by whom the Jews were successively subjugated; just as it is arbitrary in Hengstenberg to extend the figurative meaning to many events,—to the hostile attacks made upon the church generally. The double sense in every form must be rejected, since the prophet describes a devastation *then present*.

Various Messianic prophecies occur in Joel, which are peculiar to himself, viz. that in the time of which he speaks God will pour out his Spirit on all flesh (ii. 28, 29., &c.; comp. Acts ii. 16., &c.); that He will hold a solemn judgment on the enemies of his people in the valley of Jehoshaphat (iii. 2. &c.); that this solemn event will be ushered in by signs in heaven and on earth (iii. 14, 15.); and that a fountain shall come forth from the house of God to water the valley of Shittim (iii. 18.). The last image is carried out fully in Ezekiel. (xlvi.)

The book belongs to the best productions of Hebrew literature. The ideas are vigorous and noble; the diction pure, classical, and elegant. The language is distinguished alike for depth and fulness, and the easy, smooth flow with which it rolls on. We see a rich imagination combined with a nervous style. In regularity of rhythm he resembles Amos; in the liveliness of the rhythm, Nahum; and in both respects Habakkuk.<sup>3</sup> The description of the swarm of locusts,

<sup>1</sup> Die Propheten, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> See Keil's Einleit, p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> See Knobel's Prophetismus, vol. ii. p. 143.

which, like an innumerable army, darkens the sun, spares nothing, but irresistibly passes into the cities and houses, lays waste the whole land, and lastly finds its grave in the sea, is picturesque and natural. The fidelity of the narrative, wrought up as it is with much poetic effect, is attested by various travellers who have witnessed the ravages of this insect. They generally appear in times of great drought (i. 20., ii. 3. 23.), brought by the wind from the desert, and soon covering the entire surface of the country wherever they settle. In a few days their ravages are apparent, the very foliage and bark of the trees being destroyed. (i. 11, 12.) In towns they cover the streets and houses, creeping over the buildings and walls (ii. 7. 9.), and continue their march unchecked (ii. 5. 7. 8.) till they commonly perish in the Mediterranean Sea. (ii. 20.) Ewald thinks that Joel must have spoken and written much; that this little book is not his only composition. The reason or reasons which have led the critic to entertain this view are not of much weight. One thing is certain, that nothing else of Joel's than the present composition has been left to posterity. And it is likely that he himself published the book in the form it now has.

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## CHAP. XXV.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET AMOS.

AMOS was a shepherd of Tekoah, a small town in the kingdom of Judah. Although doubt has been thrown on the fact that he was a native of this place, and attempts have been made to show that he was an Ephraimite, or born in the territories of Israel, no probability attaches to any other view.<sup>1</sup> In vii. 14. Amos himself says, "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was an herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit;" whence it appears that he was not educated for a prophet in the prophetic schools, nor intended to be initiated into that office by men; but that he was a simple herdsman who kept sheep, and cultivated sycamore trees. Without having received previous training, he was called of God immediately to the prophetic office, and furnished with the gifts it required. It is unnecessary to inquire whether the description of himself we have quoted imply that he was *rich* or *poor*. Certainly the word employed, נִזְקֵר, means in 2 Kings iii. 4. a possessor of large herds of sheep. Besides, his prophecies show an acquaintance with the law and the earlier prophets, which would seem to indicate that he had been in comfortable circumstances, and had received an education above the position of a poor man, when he was called to the prophetic

<sup>1</sup> See Baur's *der Prophet Amos erklärt*, p. 41. *et seqq.*

office. It is expressly stated that he prophesied in the days of Uzziah king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, king of Israel, two years before the earthquake. (i. 1.) Nothing more is known of this earthquake than that it took place under Uzziah. (Zech. xiv. 5.) Josephus and others refer it to that prince's usurpation of the priestly office when he attempted to offer incense; but this is inconsistent with the sacred narrative. As Jeroboam died in the fifteenth year of Uzziah's reign, the earthquake could not have happened later than the seventeenth year of Uzziah. Hence we may conclude that Amos prophesied about 790 B. C., and consequently was contemporary with Hosea, with Joel, and in part with Isaiah.

The occasion which led the prophet to deliver his predictions was mainly the state of Israel, incidentally that of Judah also. The former kingdom had been restored to its ancient limits and prosperity. But with this outward prosperity had come luxury, pride, idolatry, immorality, and oppression of the poor. Accordingly the prophet was raised up to declare coming judgments, and to reprove wickedness. And as Judah was not free from the like corruption, she is also threatened and censured. But although the divine judgments impending over the neighbouring nations which oppressed the Israelites, and over Israel and Judah themselves, are announced; a prospect of repentance and restoration is opened before the better portion of the people. These punishments of sin were intended to purify Israel, and lead her view forward to a more glorious time when she should be delivered from neighbouring oppression and enjoy far greater prosperity. The mercy of God was yet to be extended to her when she should have repented.

The book of Amos admits of four principal divisions, viz. —

I. Threatenings of divine punishment on neighbouring nations, Judah, and Israel. (i. ii.)

II. Denunciations of the divine judgments against Israel, both against such as think they have some claim to impunity as belonging to the chosen people, and those who lean on foreign power, despising the prophetic word. (iii.—vi.)

III. Threatening visions spoken at Bethel to the Ephraimites. (vii.—ix. 10.)

IV. Promises of future blessings to the pious. (ix. 11—15.)

Various attempts have been made by Harenberg, Dahl, Bertholdt, and others, to divide the different portions and discourses according to the times at which they were spoken. But this is impossible. The original germ of the whole lies in vii. 1—ix. 10., which the prophet uttered at Bethel. On returning home, he committed those utterances to writing; and expanded them by means of additions so as to fit them for a wider circle of persons, prefixing for this purpose i.—vi.<sup>1</sup> This indeed is denied by Hävernick and Keil, but on insufficient grounds. The hypothesis of Knobel, that iii.—vi. contain the declarations of the prophet at Bethel; and that vii. 10—17. are

<sup>1</sup> See Baur, *der Prophet Amos*, u. s. w., p. 111. *et seqq.*

not in their right place, but should come after the 6th chapter; appears to us untenable.<sup>1</sup> The first division, viz. i. 1—ii. 16., may be regarded as introductory to the rest. It is directed against the neighbouring Gentile nations, the enemies of the covenant-people, who were to be punished for their sins against the living God; thereby showing to Israel how the people of God themselves must be visited with proportionably heavier punishments for their obstinate rebellion against Him who had chosen them from among the nations.

The predictions contained in the work should be carefully compared with the history of the times to which they belong, as described in the books of Kings and Chronicles.

The importance and position of Amos in the development of Israelitism have been well pointed out by Baur. The distinction between an *Israel according to the spirit*, and an *Israel after the flesh*, first distinctly appears in this prophet, who clearly enforces an internal reception of the law, without which all outward works are thoroughly worthless. In him also we have an early intimation that the Gentiles may participate in the prosperity promised to Israel. In connecting with the person of David the idea of a ruler descended from him, he exhibits the incipient conviction that the separation between Jehovah and his people can only take place by a new spiritual creation proceeding from a greater than David. (Comp. ix. 11—15.)

There is little doubt that the prophet himself wrote the book as we now have it. Having fulfilled his mission at Bethel, he enlarged his declarations after his return to Tekoah, so as to deliver to posterity the prophecies he was prompted to express; with a title to mark the time of his activity in the service of God.

The prophecies of Amos are distinguished by clearness, regularity, force, and freshness. The rhythm of the sentences is rounded and periodic; the imagery, which is commonly taken from nature and pastoral life, is fresh, beautiful, full of life. Compare iii. 4. 8., iv. 7. 9., v. 8., vi. 12., ix. 3., i. 3., ii. 13., iii. 5. 12., iv. 2. 9., v. 19., vii. 1., ix. 9. 13. 15. When, therefore, Jerome calls him “rude in speech, but not in knowledge,”<sup>2</sup> applying to him what the apostle Paul said of himself, we must not suppose that the prophet is rude, ineloquent, or destitute of the highest qualities of composition; though Calmet and others seem to have understood Jerome as uttering that opinion. If he meant so, he was certainly mistaken. Lowth, who was no mean judge of style, says, “Let any person who has candour and perspicacity enough to judge, not from the man, but from his writings, open the volume of his predictions, and he will, I think, agree with me, that our shepherd is not a whit behind the very chief of the prophets. He will agree, that as in sublimity and magnificence he is almost equal to the greatest, so in splendour of diction and elegance of expression he is scarcely inferior to any.”<sup>3</sup> Some of his descriptions

<sup>1</sup> Prophetismus, vol. ii. p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Prooem ad Amos.

<sup>3</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, edited by Stowe, p. 180.

of the majesty of Jehovah are in the highest style of sublimity, as ix. 5, 6., v. 8, 9. &c. Perhaps Jerome referred to the *orthography* of Amos, which certainly departs in various instances from the purest, reminding one of the flat dialect of the shepherd. Thus we find *מִצִּיק* for *מִצִּיק*, ii. 13. ; *בִּזְשָׁם* for *בִּזְשָׁם*, v. 11. ; *מִתְעַב* for *מִתְעַב*, vi. 8. ; *מִתְעַב* for *מִתְעַב*, vi. 10. ; *יִצְחָק* for *יִצְחָק*, vii. 16. ; *נִשְׁקָה* for *נִשְׁקָה*, viii. 8. Peculiar expressions are observable in “cleanness of teeth,” iv. 6. ; “the high places of Isaac,” vii. 9. ; “the house of Isaac,” vii. 16. ; “he that createth the wind,” iv. 13.

Baur has pointed out allusions to the prophecies of Amos in Hosea, Zechariah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. And with the exception of the first, it is very probable that he is correct in finding such references. We cannot believe with the same critic that Amos knew and regarded the oracle of Joel, at least in its written form ; or that he aimed to demonstrate the continuous validity of Joel's utterances. That he was acquainted with the Pentateuch, there is abundant evidence in his book, not so much in diction as in sentiment. The allusions to it are numerous. Many passages are based upon, and presuppose, its statements. The Israelites were not ignorant of the law of Moses in the time of Amos, else the prophetic warnings and threatenings would have been unintelligible to them.

There are two quotations from Amos in the New Testament, viz. v. 25, 26, 27. in Acts vii. 42. ; and ix. 11. in Acts xv. 16. Both are attended with no small difficulty ; especially the latter, which receives a Messianic sense in the mouth of James. This is the *consummation* of its meaning. The prediction was not fulfilled at once, nor in abundant temporal blessings, which were, so to speak, only the *incipient fulfilment*. Its *complete* sense could not be brought out till after the Messiah's advent and the glorious effects of his reign.

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## CHAP. XXVI.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET OBADIAH.

ACCORDING to patristic traditions, Obadiah belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and to Bethachamar or Bethacharam in the Shechemite territory.<sup>1</sup> He lived in the time of Ahab king of Israel ; hid the prophets who were persecuted by Jezebel ; and as captain of the third fifty was spared by Elijah whose disciple he had been (2 Kings i. 13. &c.). His grave was pointed out in later times, along with those of Elisha and John the Baptist, in Sebaste. Rabbinical

<sup>1</sup> See Delitzsch, De Habacuci prophetæ vita, &c. p. 60. *et seqq.*

accounts mostly agree; some of them stating that he had been an Edomite, and became a Jew. All this is fabulous. The character of his prophecy shows that he was a Jew; for it treats of the relations of Edom to the theocracy, and predicts its downfall.

The age in which Obadiah lived is much disputed.

(a.) Hofmann, Delitzsch, and Keil, place him under Jehoram, *i. e.* 889—884 B.C., and before Joel.

(b.) Jaeger, Hengstenberg, Caspari, Hävernicks, &c. put him under Uzziah.

(c.) Vitranga, Dupin, Carpzov, Kueper, place him in the time of Ahaz.

(d.) Abenesra, Luther, Calov, J. H. Michaelis, Schnurrer, Winer, Knobel, Ewald, &c. think that he prophesied after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, 588 B.C.

(e.) Hitzig supposes that he was an Egyptian Jew, who wrote soon after 312 B.C.

The reference of the tenth and following verses is to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, at which the Edomites rejoiced. Regarding therefore the preterites employed as involving past time, Obadiah prophesied after the downfall of Jerusalem, *i. e.* after 588 B.C. It is true that the Chaldeans are not expressly mentioned; but they seem to be implied as the conquerors of the Jews. And the description agrees better with the entire destruction of Jerusalem (comp. ver. 11—14. 17.) by Nebuchadnezzar, than with any preceding catastrophe. This is allowed by Hävernicks, Caspari, and others, who think that the prophet lived and wrote in the time of Uzziah. These latter critics regard the preterites as *prophetic*, and therefore as referring to future times. Caspari<sup>1</sup> endeavours to prove at length that Obadiah lived under the reign of Uzziah; but his arguments are weak.

Keil argues, after Hofmann and Delitzsch, that he wrote before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, because of the parallel in Jeremiah xlix. 7—22. which is younger; because of the absence of all reference to the destruction and burning of Jerusalem as well as the Babylonian exile; his mention of the entire body of prisoners belonging to this army of the sons of Israel among the Canaanites as far as Zarith, and of the prisoners of Jerusalem in Sepharad (verse 20.); and the unmistakable imitation of Joel (comp. iii. 17. Obad. verse 17.; Joel iii. 19. Obad. verse 10.; Joel iii. 3. Obad. verse 11. &c.). Accordingly, he refers the entire description to the taking and plundering of Jerusalem under Jehoram, when a great part of the people were carried away into slavery among the Canaanites and Greeks (2 Chron. xxi. 16. &c., comp. with Joel iv. 3. 6., Amos i. 6. 9.), and concludes that Obadiah prophesied before Joel, and under Jehoram, 889—884 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

This reasoning will scarcely bear examination. As to the parallel prophecy in Jeremiah xlix. 7—22., the following considerations are urged for its being later than Obadiah's: that Jeremiah in all his

<sup>1</sup> Der Prophet Obadja ausgelegt, p. 35. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. pp. 331, 332.

prophecies against nations has made use of older ones; that of all the expressions in Jeremiah's prophecy against Edom, peculiar to him and characteristic of his style, not one is found in Obadiah; and, on the other hand, nothing of what Jeremiah has in common with Obadiah reappears in Jeremiah, but bears another stamp; that the prophecy of Obadiah forms a well-arranged whole, having an internal connection and progress; while that of Jeremiah has no progressive development, but puts together different elements, like the parts of a chain, one added to another; and that a comparison of the differences between the two texts throughout is favourable to the originality of Obadiah, and, consequently, to imitation on the part of Jeremiah.<sup>1</sup>

There is some weight in these observations. Jeremiah is doubtless an imitator; and the marks of originality in his prophecy against Edom are wanting. Hence we suppose that both he and Obadiah made use of a piece belonging to an older prophet. Nothing in Obadiah is opposed to this assumption. Keil asserts that it has been refuted by Caspari and Delitzsch; an opinion which may be taken for what it is worth. And we still believe, that it is more natural to regard verses 11—14. as descriptive of the calamity which had come upon Jerusalem from the Chaldeans and the destruction of the kingdom. The restriction put by Keil, or rather by Delitzsch whom he follows, upon *בְּיָוִם אֲבָרְקָם* (verse 12.), upon *בְּגֵי יְהוּדָה* (verse 12.), on *לָהּ* (verse 20.), is not very natural.<sup>2</sup> Instead of Joel borrowing from Obadiah, the reverse is the case. The originality of Joel is generally admitted; and therefore it should not be impaired in the present case. As Obadiah has borrowed from the prophecy of Balaam (comp. verses 4. 18. &c., with Numb. xxiv. 18. 21. &c.); so he has copied some parts of Joel.

The prophecy of Obadiah, which is contained in a single chapter, consists of two parts, viz. verses 1—16. and 17—21. The first part is threatening, announcing the destruction of Edom for their pride and carnal security, as well as for their unseemly rejoicing after the downfall of Jerusalem. The second part is somewhat consolatory, foretelling the glorification of the theocracy and its victory over all enemies of whom Edom is the representative.

The accomplishment of what is foretold took place when the Jews returned to their own land; when the Maccabean princes conquered the Edomites (1 Macc. v. 3—5. 65. &c.); and will be *fulfilled* still more remarkably in the Christian dispensation.

The language is tolerably pure, and the general style has many beauties. Yet it is inferior to that of the older prophets. Interrogations are too numerous, a circumstance which detracts from the effect, especially in the 8th verse.

There are four prophecies by different persons against Edom, viz. Isaiah (xxxiv.), Ezekiel (xxxv.), Jeremiah (xlix. 7—22.), and the present. Isaiah uses the strongest terms, describing Edom's overthrow as utter extinction. His hatred is deep and deadly against it as the enemy of the theocracy. Ezekiel paints the hostile conduct

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. pp. 332, 333.

<sup>2</sup> See Einleit. p. 333.

of the Edomites; and in warm language threatens sanguinary destruction. Jeremiah draws out the ruin of the transgressors in a less vehement and weaker tone. Obadiah is calmer and more subdued, announcing the calamities coming upon the enemy with less passion, but equal confidence.

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## CHAP. XXVII.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JONAH.

THE book of Jonah, called *סֵפֶר יוֹנָה*, derives its name from Jonah the son of Amittai, a native of Gath-Hepher in the tribe of Zebulun. From the unquestionable identity of the prophet with the Jonah son of Amittai mentioned in 2 Kings xiv. 25., there is little doubt that he lived in the time of Jeroboam II., at the commencement of that king's reign, *i. e.* 825 and following years B. C.<sup>1</sup>

The book consists of two parts, viz:—

I. The prophet's first mission to Nineveh, his attempt to flee to Tarshish with the way in which it was frustrated, and his deliverance from the great fish that swallowed him. (i. ii.)

II. His second mission to Nineveh whose inhabitants repented in consequence of his preaching; with the discontent of Jonah who murmured when they were spared. (iii. iv.)

With the exception of the second chapter, containing the prayer of Jonah in poetry, the remainder of the work is plain prose.

In relation to the contents of this singular book many hypotheses have been entertained.

1. It may be taken as literal history, a simple narrative of real events. This has been the prevailing view till a recent period, not only in the Jewish synagogue but also in the Christian church. It has been maintained by Lilienthal, Hess, Lüderwald, Piper, Verschuir, Steudel, Reindl, Sack, Hävernicks, Laberenz, Delitzsch, Baumgarten, Welte, Keil, and others. In favour of it the following considerations are chiefly urged.

The many historical and geographical notices of a genuine historical character indicate the literality of the entire proceedings. Thus, the sending of Jonah to Nineveh suits the relations of that time, when Israel first entered into relations with Asshur (Hosea v. 13., x. 6.); and because only twelve years after Jeroboam's death under Menahem, the great corruption which had been threatened by the prophets from that quarter through Phul, came upon the kingdom of Israel.

The description of Nineveh's greatness (iii. 3.) is in harmony with

<sup>1</sup> See Drake's Notes on the Prophecies of Jonah and Hosea, p. 3. *et seqq.*

notices contained in classical writers. (Diod. Siculus, ii. 3.) Its deep moral corruption is attested by Nahum (iii. 1.) and Zephaniah (ii. 13. &c.); while the mourning of men and beasts (iii. 5—8.) is confirmed as an Asiatic custom by Herodotus.

The fundamental idea of the book excludes all fiction, in connection with the psychologically exact description of the prophet himself, the other persons mentioned, the people in the ship, and the Ninevites themselves. That Jehovah shows mercy to the heathen when they repent, compared with the prophet's conduct, who did not wish them to be partakers of God's grace, stands in strong contrast to the spirit of the later Judaism; as also the description of the heathen mariners, not only praying to their gods, but as soon as they heard of Jehovah, afraid of *his* anger too, and having recourse to him. The Ninevites believing in God and repenting in sackcloth and ashes, in marked contrast with the Israelitish prophet fleeing from the presence of Jehovah, and angry at the forbearance shown to the heathen, even after his own miraculous deliverance, are historical traits which exclude every kind of poetical invention. In like manner its literal character is said to be attested by the reception of the book into the canon among the prophetic writings. Why did not the collectors of the canonical books put it among the Hagiographa, if they thought that it exhibited religious truths in the garb of allegory or fable? But its historical character is put beyond all doubt by the expressions of our Lord as given by Matthew and Luke (Matt. xii. 39. &c., xvi. 4., Luke xi. 29—32.), which throw light upon the typical character of the prophet's mission. The allusions of Christ to Old Testament events on similar occasions, are to actual occurrences (John iii. 14., vi. 48.); and there is no intimation in the Bible of its being a myth, allegory, or parable.<sup>1</sup>

These considerations have weight, especially in their collective character. But they will probably affect different minds very differently. That they have not had much influence over many is apparent from the fact that the majority of recent critics have betaken themselves to other views. Most of the modern interpreters who are able to read the original and to criticise Hebrew style, have abandoned the purely historical hypothesis.

2. Many look upon it as a mere fiction, as Semler, Herder, Michaelis, Stäudlin, Meyer, Hitzig. Others regard it as an allegory, as Herm. Van der Hardt, Less, Palmer, Kraemer. Others consider it a poetical mythus, as Gramberg and F. C. Baur; while Jahn and Pareau regard it as a parable.

3. A more plausible view is, that the book contains a prophetic tradition which is poetically elaborated for a moral and didactic purpose, dressed out with marvellous circumstances, and furnished with mythic materials. This opinion was put forth by Rosenmüller, in brief hints, carried out and improved by Gesenius, and is adopted by Bertholdt, Winer, De Wette, Knobel, Ewald, Friederichsen, &c. It is now the most approved hypothesis in Germany, based upon the

<sup>1</sup> See Keil's *Einleit.* pp. 336, 337.

Phenician mythus of Hercules and the sea-monster. According to tradition, Joppa was the city where Andromeda was chained to a rock, and where she was released from a huge sea-monster by Perseus. Originally identical with this mythus was another, relating to Hesione fettered to a rock in the sea, whom Hercules delivered by springing into the belly of the sea-monster and remaining there alive three days. It is supposed that the mythus in question was spread among the neighbouring Hebrews, and transferred, with such alterations as had been superinduced upon it by the national ideas, to an old prophet, of whom all that was known was, that he once undertook, or intended to undertake, a sea-voyage. The writer intended to employ the popular tradition which had originated thus for a moral purpose.

It is against the view in question that the mythus has little resemblance to the Biblical narratives. Besides, it is improbable that a Hebrew writer should have had occasion to work upon the materials of a Philistine mythus after an Israelitish fashion, as Winer himself asserts.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the objections made to the literal character of the narrative rest upon the denial of miracle. With such we can have no sympathy. Jehovah interfered miraculously in many ways and at many times, for the benefit of his people. The miracle of the prophet being three days and three nights in the great fish's interior, and having afterwards been vomited forth alive, has given rise to the scoffs of infidels, and to much objection. The Scripture does not speak of a *whale*, as many have taken for granted, but of a *great fish*. The species is not defined. It is now commonly thought to have been the *canis carcharias* of the shark species, which is common in the Mediterranean Sea, and is able to swallow a man entire. Bishop Jebb, however, thinks that it was *the whale*; but that Jonah was in a cavity of its throat, — a receptacle capable, according to naturalists, of containing a merchant-ship's jolly boat full of men.<sup>2</sup> This strange hypothesis appears to have been suggested by the Greek word *κοιλία* in the New Testament applied to the part of the fish in which Jonah was. But the corresponding Hebrew word in the Old Testament rejects the sense here put upon *κοιλία*.

The objection derived from the *gourd* is of no force, because the tree was the *Ricinus*, whose properties render the possibility of what is related about it quite intelligible.

Various other objections have been refuted by Hävernick.<sup>3</sup>

It must be confessed, however, that there are circumstances in the book which militate against the exact literality of all that is related in it.

(a.) The character of Jonah himself is a mystery, as described in the work. How could a *prophet* imagine he could flee from the presence of the Lord? Was a prophet so ignorant of Jehovah, the true God, even after he had received a divine commission, as to attempt

<sup>1</sup> *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, vol. i. p. 597.

<sup>2</sup> *Sacred Literature*, pp. 178, 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Einleitung*, ii. 2. p. 338. *et seqq.*

to escape from the eye and control of the Omniscient one? It is no solution of the difficulty to say with one that he must have been partially insane. Does the Almighty select *such* instruments to be his ambassadors? What adds to the perplexity is, that even after the prophet's miraculous preservation and his fulfilment of the second commission, he was angry because the threatenings he uttered were not executed. That God is merciful to the penitent wherever they are found, he did not know.

(b.) The long and toilsome journey to Nineveh undertaken by the prophet into a foreign land is attended with improbability. The case of Elisha, adduced by Hävernick as analogous, is not so. (2 Kings viii. 7. &c.) And then, how is it likely that the heathen inhabitants of Nineveh should listen to a solitary stranger coming among them? It has been assumed that the knowledge of Jonah's miraculous deliverance had reached them and given power to his preaching; but it is a *mere assumption*.

(c.) The prayer of Jonah is poetical. It has both the imagery and form of poetry. Was it uttered, as we now have it, by the prophet under such circumstances? It has all the characteristics of having been put into his mouth by some poet after Jonah. We attribute no weight to the resemblance between its phraseology and that of certain Psalms, especially xlii. xxxi. xviii. Similar circumstances suggest similar images and diction. But the poetical nature of the second chapter is opposed to the idea of its having been uttered as it is, within the fish. Such is the difficulty of believing that the hymn was uttered by Jonah within the fish's belly, that some have had recourse to another translation of the words מִצֵּי הַדָּגָה, *on account of the fish's belly, or out, when out of, the fish's belly*; either of which interpretations is inconsistent with the context and unnatural.

These and other circumstances would incline us to believe that, though Jonah existed as a prophet, had a miraculous deliverance from danger, &c. &c., that in short, although the book contains real history as its basis, yet that the groundwork has been embellished by a writer who lived considerably after the prophet. How far the history is parabolic, and how far real, it is now impossible to determine. We believe that Jonah was a real person and a prophet.

The scope of the book has been thought by some to show the divine forbearance and longsuffering towards sinners, who are spared on their sincere repentance. But this is improbable. The writer intended to counteract the narrow notions of the Jewish people respecting the heathen, whom they considered the object of divine wrath.

By whom and when the book was written, it is difficult to say. That it was not composed soon after Jonah's return to his native land, by himself, internal evidence appears to us to make very probable. The narrative is in the third person, and there are various Aramaisms which can scarcely belong to the ninth century before Christ.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Friedrichsen's Kritische Uebersicht der verschiedenen Ansichten, u. s. w. p. 179. *et seqq.*

The latter cannot be resolved into the intercourse between the territory of Zebulun, to which Jonah belonged, and the northern parts. All that Delitzsch, Hävernck, and Keil have stated, chiefly in reply to the arguments of Friederichsen, appear to us insufficient to show the Jonah-composition of the work. We should place it, on the whole, about the time of the Babylonian exile, with Jäger. Many, however, put it later. Jahn, Knobel, Koester, and Ewald, date it soon after the captivity; others, as Vatke and Hitzig, still later.

Although some, as Spinoza, have thought the work fragmentary in character, others that it consists of different pieces, we are unable to perceive the justness of such views. It looks like a connected whole. The language is uniform; the mode of narration, with the exception of the second chapter, is alike. The commencement and close consist with one another.

At the commencement of Jeroboam the Second's reign, the prophet predicted the successful conquests and enlarged territory of Israel. (2 Kings xiv. 25.) This oracle appears to be lost; for Hitzig's attempt to find it in Isaiah, chapters xv. xvi., is unsuccessful.

The book differs from other prophetic works in this, that while they contain the speeches of the authors, this one presents an incident in the life of the prophet. The doctrines contained in it are, that a prophet cannot elude the impulse of the Divine Spirit; God is the God of the heathen, and has regard to them also; He forgives more readily than He punishes; and, a prophet is not censurable if his prediction is not fulfilled according to expectation.

Some have considered Jonah a type of Christ, an opinion which Delitzsch does not scruple to advance, quite recently.<sup>1</sup> But there is no foundation for it. He was a *sign* to the Ninevites. Neither can his three days and three nights' residence in the fish's belly be called typical of Christ's remaining in the grave for the same period and being delivered from the power of death. The two events resembled one another, and are compared by the Saviour as analogous. But all *analogies* are not types.

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## CHAP. XXVIII.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET MICAH.

MICAH was a native of Moresheth in the neighbourhood of Gath. The epithet מִרְשֵׁתִי, the Morashite, serves to distinguish him from the older prophet of the same name, who lived under Ahab (1 Kings xxii. 8. &c.), also called *Micaiah*. According to the inscription of the book, he prophesied under Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; and

<sup>1</sup> In Rudelbach and Guericke's Zeitschrift for 1840, p. 122.

was therefore contemporary with Isaiah. His predictions are directed against all Israel, especially against Judah; and were probably delivered in Jerusalem, as may be inferred from i. 9.

The authenticity of the inscription, at least in part, has been called in question by various critics, as De Wette, Hitzig, Ewald, &c., because Jeremiah says expressly that Micah predicted the destruction of Jerusalem, in the reign of Hezekiah (Jer. xxvi. 18., compare Micah iii. 12.); because the dangerous relations of the two kingdoms to Assyria and Egypt are presupposed (i. 6—16., iii. 12., iv. 9—14., v. 4. &c., vii. 12.); and because the remaining prophecies contain no reference to another time. Hence it is concluded that the first years of Hezekiah were the time of his prophetic ministry. We confess that these considerations are precarious grounds for questioning the correctness of the inscription. In Jeremiah the elders of the land mention the days of Hezekiah, not because the time when the single oracle in Micah iii. was uttered was still known to them by good historical recollection, as Ewald asserts<sup>1</sup>, nor because they themselves may have lived at that time, as Hävernicks says<sup>2</sup>, for then they must have been above a hundred years old; but because Hezekiah was the only one of the three kings specified in the title who had a *theocratic authority*, since he had attended to the voice of the prophets; and probably Micah put together the separate utterances contained in his book under this king. It is very likely that a later person would have mentioned *Hezekiah alone*, in the inscription. The parallelism of Micah iv. 1—3. with Isaiah ii. 2—4. could be no sufficient reason in the eyes of such an one to go beyond the time of Hezekiah, and to name along with him Jotham and Abaz. When it is said that Micah himself could hardly name Samaria in the inscription, it is difficult to see the reason, since he prophesies the downfall of Samaria by name in i. 6. &c.

The prophecies harmonise well with the inscription, for in them the destruction of Samaria is announced as impending, and Assyria is specified as the most dangerous enemy of the theocracy. In like manner, there is a mutual connection with the prophecies of Isaiah, which speaks in favour of the time indicated in the title. There is a similarity of ideas in i. 3. to Isaiah xxvi. 21.; in v. 1. &c. to Isaiah vii. 14.; in vii. 12. to Isaiah xi. 11. &c.; in vii. 17. to Isaiah xlix. 23. The agreement of iv. 1—3. with Isaiah ii. is obvious.

The book may be divided into three parts, viz.: 1. Chapters i. ii.; 2. iii. iv. v.; 3. vi. vii. Each begins with the same word, *שמעו*, *hear ye*, i. 2., iii. 1., vi. 1. De Wette thinks that *שמעו*, iii. 1., disturbs the connection of the second with the first part<sup>3</sup>: but it rather makes it the closer. Each section is in the form of a prophetic discourse, though it was not spoken as it now is. The three together form a united whole, marked by a certain uniformity of development. Each closes with a promise. The exordium contains a sublime theophany,

<sup>1</sup> Die Propheten des a. B., u. s. w. vol. i. p. 327. note.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 363.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. p. 363.

the Lord descending from his dwelling-place to judge the nations of the earth, who approach to receive their sentence. Samaria shall fall, and Judah too shall suffer injury. (i. 6—16.) Judah shall be carried into captivity, to which is subjoined a promise of the reunion of the whole people. (ii.) Then follows an oracle respecting Jerusalem's destruction because of the wickedness of her rulers and counsellors (iii.); respecting the kingdom of Jehovah out of Zion embracing hereafter all nations; the restoration of the theocracy after the exile; the Messiah and his times (iv. v.); Jehovah's controversy with his people, his reproof of their sins, and threatening them with punishment, his complaints of the corruption of their morals, the hope of the people in Jehovah, and a promise to them. (vi. vii.) The progression is seen in the fact that, in the first discourse, it is announced to Judah that the deadly strokes which should fall upon Samaria would reach to the gates of Jerusalem; in the second, the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, with the deportation of the people to Babylon, are foretold in the strongest terms. In the first, the redemption of the covenant-people from their calamities, and victorious rise out of slavery, are promised (ii. 12. &c.); in the second, positive salvation in the appearance and glory of Messiah. (iv. and v.) The third discourse is hortatory, as well in its threatenings as its promises. The organic partition of the book has been copiously shown by Caspari.<sup>1</sup>

From the unity of the composition we may infer that it originated under Hezekiah. As the worship of idols is severely censured (i. 5., v. 11—13., vi. 16.), the book was probably written before the solemn passover, which was succeeded by the extermination of idolatry throughout the entire land. (2 Chron. xxx. xxxi.) As Samaria, too, was not yet destroyed (i. 6. &c.), it must be dated prior to the downfall of Israel, between 728 and 722 B. C.

If these observations be correct, it is useless to attempt any separation of particular prophecies uttered at different times. The whole was written in the time of Hezekiah as one continued piece. Hence it should not be assumed with Maurer and Hitzig, that the first two chapters were delivered before the fall of Samaria, the next three after it, and the remaining two still later.

The following predictions contained in the book, were, or are to be, fulfilled.

1. The destruction of the kingdom of Israel, which was fulfilled in the capture of Samaria by Shalmaneser.
2. The total destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and the continuance of the desolation for so long a time as that Zion will be like a field, and the temple-mountain a forest hill. (iii. 12., vii. 13.)
3. The carrying away of the Jews to Babylon. (iv. 10, 11., vii. 7, 8, 13.)
4. The return from captivity, the rebuilding of the city and temple, steadfastness in the worship of God, and the peaceful times under the Persian and Grecian dominions. (iv. 1—8., vii. 11. 14—

<sup>1</sup> Ueber Micha den Morasthiten, u. s. w. p. 100. *et seqq.*

17.) 5. The victory of the Maccabees. (iv. 13.) 6. Zion is again the residence of a king. (iv. 8.) 7. A ruler proceeds from Bethlehem, of the race of David. (v. 1, 2.) Some of these events were foretold from 150 to 200 years prior to the time they happened; others are still future; others have been but *partially* fulfilled, and are now proceeding towards their completion.<sup>1</sup>

It is peculiar to Micah that in his Messianic prophecies he mentions Bethlehem as the birth-place of the future Redeemer. (v. 1—4.) Of the Messianic future he has the loftiest and most adventurous hopes, depicting it in highly coloured strains. All enemies shall then lie prostrate in the dust; and the nations stream to Jerusalem to pay their vows there. (iv. 1—8. 13., v. 1—8., vii. 11—17.)

The style as well as the ideas of Micah are not unlike those of his contemporary Isaiah. In general he is clear and distinct, powerful and animated, in many cases bold and sublime. He is rich in comparisons and figures, in tropical expressions which are beautiful and elegant, in paronomasias and plays on words. What gives great animation to his discourse, is a certain particularising of things, and also the introduction of persons speaking. In two instances the dialogue form is employed. (vi. 1—8., vii. 14, 15.) He abounds in rapid transitions from threatenings to promises, and *vice versa*. The rhythm is full and forcible, but not so smooth or rounded as that of Joel and Amos. The parallelism is usually regular; the diction pure and classical, but concise, and therefore difficult here and there. As to the *spirit* and *character* of the prophecies, they are pre-eminent in excellence. A deep moral earnestness pervades them. Humility, piety, trust in God breathe throughout.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Hales has arbitrarily put together three passages in Micah, viz. v. 2., iii. 3., iv. 4., in the order now mentioned; and having given his own version of the Hebrew, which is by no means good, and sometimes positively incorrect, has elaborated a Messianic prophecy which he supposes to be "the most important single prophecy in the Old Testament, and the most comprehensive, respecting the personal character of the Messiah, and his successive manifestation to the world. It carefully distinguishes his human nativity from his eternal generation; foretels the rejection of the Israelites and Jews for a season, their final restoration, and the universal *peace* destined to prevail throughout the earth in the *Regeneration*. It forms therefore the basis of the New Testament," &c. &c.<sup>3</sup>

This and much more in the same strain is extravagant. We object to the arbitrary arrangement of the three passages, by which they are taken out of their own proper connections and put together as one prophecy. The words of v. 2. are quoted by the evangelist Matthew, and applied to the Messiah. They must therefore be descriptive of his person in one sense or other; and we prefer to regard them as *exclusively* applicable to him; for there is no good reason, with many

<sup>1</sup> See Jahn's *Einleit.* vol. ii. p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Knobel's *Prophetismus*, ii. p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> *Analysis of Chronology*, vol. ii. book i. pp. 462, 463.

Jews and Theodore of Mopsuesta, to interpret them of Zerubbabel alone; or with Grotius, of Zerubbabel as a type of Christ, and so of Christ secondarily. The other two places are not so clear in their application to the person of Messiah. Bethlehem is mentioned as His birth-place. Hales, however, is wrong in saying that the prophet carefully distinguishes Messiah's *eternal generation* from his *human birth*. The former he finds in the words, "whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." That the *eternal generation* of Messiah is not meant by the Hebrew phrase "goings forth from of old," is apparent by a comparison of passages where  $\text{קָמַי קָמַי}$  occurs, (vii. 20.; Isaiah xxiii. 7., xxxvii. 26.); and the use of the verb  $\text{קָמַי}$  with  $\text{קָמַי}$ . All that is meant is *the previous manifestations* of Messiah under the old dispensation.

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## CHAP. XXIX.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET NAHUM.

LITTLE is known of Nahum's personal history. He was a native of Elkosh, a village in Galilee. It would appear from ii. 1—3. that he prophesied in Judah respecting the destruction of Nineveh and the fall of the Assyrian empire. (i. 14., ii. 1. &c., 6. &c., iii. 1. &c.)

Some think that, as there was an Assyrian Elkosh (Alkush) which lay on the east side of the Tigris, two miles north of Mosul and three hours from Nineveh; *it*, and not *the Galilean Elkosh*, was the place of Nahum. So Michaelis, Eichhorn, Grimm, and Ewald suppose. But there is no good support for the opinion in question. No Israelite exiles, as far as we know, were carried thither by the Assyrians; and nothing in the language or contents of the book leads to the inference that the prophet was an exile. The time when Nahum prophesied has been variously determined.

(a.) Josephus places him under Jotham.

(b.) Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Gramberg, Knobel, Hävernick, and Keil put him in the reign of Hezekiah.

(c.) Jerome, Calov, Maius, Jaeger, assign the prophecy to the time of the invasion of Sennacherib.

(d.) The Seder Olam, Jarchi, Abarbanel, Grotius, Grimm, and Jahn specify the reign of Manasseh.

(e.) Ewald, Hitzig, and Meier suppose that the prophecy belongs to the period of the later Median struggles with Assyria; either the time of Phraortes, or that of Cyaxares and his first invasion of Nineveh.

It is evident that the prophet lived in the Assyrian period, for he addresses the king of the Assyrians and predicts the fall of Nineveh. The Assyrians at the time of the prophet had manifested hostility to Judah, they had meditated its destruction (i. 11.), they had come up

once against it (ii. 1.); but they should not be able to bring affliction upon it a second time (i. 9.). Judah had been compelled to hear the voice of their messengers (ii. 14.); they had humbled and put a yoke upon her (i. 12, 13.). These allusions can only be to Sennacherib's invasion of Judah, 714 B. C.; for there was none other. It is well known that Sennacherib plundered Judea as far as Jerusalem, desolated the country (2 Kings xviii. 13., Isaiah xxxiii. 1. 8.), sent his messengers to demand the surrender of the metropolis, and imposed a tribute upon Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. xix.). The mention of No-Ammon or Thebes in Upper Egypt, can scarcely be used as a date (iii. 8. &c.), though Knobel so employs it, because Gesenius has shown that a conquest of Thebes by the Assyrians does not suit the context, since in that case the prophet would have expressed himself differently, and made the contrast prominent.<sup>1</sup> Hence we cannot, with Knobel, think of the Assyrian king Sargon as the destroyer of Thebes, 717—715 B. C. As the Assyrians were still powerful in the time of the prophet, and meditating plans against Judah (i. 9. 12.), being not completely humbled as yet, the prophet represents how a stronger and more powerful enemy would come against Nineveh and destroy the Assyrian power. This suits the time immediately after Sennacherib's invasion. We may think, either of the Babylonians as the enemies of the Assyrians alluded to; or rather of the Medes, who freed themselves from the Assyrian dominion 711 B. C., and elected a king of their own. Hence Nahum belongs to about 713—711 B. C., and was a younger contemporary of Isaiah.

The whole book contains but one continuous oracle, and may be separated into three sections corresponding to the three chapters. In the first there is a sublime description of the justice and power of God, showing how terrible he is to his enemies; and therefore the Assyrians will not escape destruction. The second chapter represents Nineveh as besieged, conquered, notwithstanding all its resistance, and utterly destroyed, so as to become a lurking-place for lions. The third chapter shows how Nineveh suffers the merited and shameful fate of No-Ammon in spite of all her efforts to avert her doom. De Wette remarks, that in the last chapter the prophet draws his breath, as it were.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription or title consists of two parts, *the burden of Nineveh* and *the book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite*. It is not likely that the second was added by the same hand which wrote the first, as it does not exactly coincide with it. The second part, which is independent and complete of itself, appears to be the old, original title, standing at the commencement of the oracle. The first proceeded from a later hand, as has been perceived by Bertholdt, Ewald, and De Wette. Hävernicks indeed, followed by Keil, undertakes to defend its originality, but without success. He thinks that if the words in question had been wanting at first, the reader would have been deprived of what was necessary to make the object of the threatenings

<sup>1</sup> See the Hallische Literatur-Zeitung for 1841, No. 1. &c.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, pp. 365, 366.

in the first and second chapters intelligible<sup>1</sup>; as if prophecies were usually plain and definite, or required the hand of the prophet at their commencement to point out their scope and tendency.

Judging from the style and diction, Nahum must have had a rich and lively imagination. His figures are abundant and appropriate; and his mode of writing characterised by freshness and graphic power. In this respect he is inferior to none of the prophets. In one case his fancy's flight is bold and sublime (i. 1—3.). In consequence of this fiery animation, he is hurried from one thing to another, without completing the portrait of what he touches upon. The rhythm is regular and lively; and though the parallelism is generally measured, it is not so periodic or rounded as that of Amos. The language is classical throughout.<sup>2</sup>

The prophet is not devoid of originality, though several reminiscences out of older writers may be detected. These are most numerous from Isaiah (comp. i. 4. with Isaiah l. 2., xxxiii. 9.; ii. 1. with Isaiah lii. 1. 7.; ii. 11. with Isaiah xxii. 5., xxiv. 1., xxi. 3., and Joel ii. 6.; iii. 4. &c. with Isaiah xlvii. 9.). Sometimes the words of the Pentateuch seem to have been in his mind (comp. i. 3. with Exod. xx. 5., xxxiv. 6., Numb. xiv. 17, 18.). But such slight allusions detract little from the originality of Nahum. His independent clearness and rhythmical roundness every reader discovers at once.

Notwithstanding the general admission of the purity belonging to the prophet's language, Hitzig<sup>3</sup> has attempted to show that it has many peculiar features some of which indicate its lateness and its corrupt or Chaldaising character. Examples adduced are טַבְּקָר, iii. 17., which is not Semitic, but may be accounted for by the Syrian invasions; קָכַר, iii. 4., which occurs in the Arabic signification, *to ensnare*, but means rather *to sell*, and therefore has not the sense assigned by Hitzig; the Syriasm גִּהַי, ii. 8., דְּהַר, iii. 2., אֶלְדוּת, ii. 4., are explained by the Galilean origin of the prophet. According to Ewald<sup>4</sup>, בְּנִינָר, iii. 17., and הַצֵּב are Assyrian words: but the former is doubtful; and the sense assigned by him to the latter, as though it were the name of an Assyrian queen, is incorrect. Most of the proofs of later usage given by Hitzig resolve themselves into parallels from Isaiah, and are therefore of no weight.

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## CHAP. XXX.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HABAKKUK.

NOTHING certain is known of the history of Habakkuk. Etymologising Rabbins have absurdly combined his name with the words

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> See Knobel's *Prophetismus*, ii. p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Die zwölf Kleinen Propheten, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> Die Propheten, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 350.

addressed by Elisha to the woman of Shunem, "thou shalt embrace a son" (2 Kings iv. 16.), concluding that he was the son of this Shunemite. According to patristic accounts, he belonged to the tribe of Simeon, and was a native of Beth-zocher, or Bethsachar.<sup>1</sup> By the same authorities it is said that, when Nebuchadnezzar came against Jerusalem in the time of Zedekiah, to destroy it, the prophet fled to Ostracine, a city that lay on the borders, between Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine; but returned, after the withdrawal of the Chaldeans and the emigration of the Jews into Egypt, to his native place, where he followed husbandry, and died two years before the return of the exiles from Babylon. His pretended grave was afterwards pointed out in Ceila, *i. e.* Kegila, a place in the territory of Judah. These accounts can only be regarded as apocryphal.

It may be inferred from the subscription, iii. 19., "to the chief singer on my stringed instruments," that he was of the tribe of Levi; and it has been farther supposed by Delitzsch<sup>2</sup>, that he was officially connected with the efforts made to improve the liturgical temple-music, and must therefore have been a priest. This is favoured by the fact that his prophecy bears the impress of a psalm-like composition more than any other, resembling in its materials the Psalms generally, especially those of David and Asaph. The same critic refers in confirmation of this view to the inscription prefixed to the Apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon in the LXX.; "of the prophecy of Habakkuk the son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi."

Opinions are divided as to the time when the prophet lived.

(a.) Some suppose that he prophesied in the time of Manasseh. Of this opinion are the Rabbins in Seder Olam, Witsius, Buddeus, Carpzov, Wahl, Kofod, Jahn, Hävernack.

(b.) Vitranga, Delitzsch, Kueper, and Keil, think that he lived in the reign of Josiah. The last writer fixes upon 650—627 B.C., or the first twelve years of that monarch.

(c.) Stickel, Jaeger, Knobcl, Maurer, Ewald, Bäumlein, De Wette, Hamaker, Ussher, place him in the time of Jehoiakim.

(d.) Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Justi, Wolf, and others, place him in the time when Judah was desolated by the Chaldeans. In this case, the prophecy is, for the most part, a *vaticinium post eventum*.

One thing is certain, that he either belongs to the Chaldean period, or lived very near its commencement, since his discourse centres in that people, who are even mentioned by name. (i. 6.) The manner in which the prophet speaks of the Chaldeans leads to this conclusion. Their power appears as one that is beginning to be formidable: Jehovah raises up a bitter nation, which shall march through the land and take possession, and is therefore about to perform an incredible work in the days of that generation. (i. 5, 6.) Judah is threatened, but had not yet been attacked. (i. 12., iii. 2. 16.) The description of the Chaldeans generally is of such a nature as to show that they were yet little known to the Jews. (i. 5—11.) Those who

<sup>1</sup> See Pseudepiphanius de proph. cap. 18.; Dorotheus; Isidorus.

<sup>2</sup> Der Prophet Habakuk ausgelegt, p. iii. and 204. *et seqq.*

bring down the prophecy later than Jehoiakim, commonly refer to the third chapter, in which some find the time of the siege of Jerusalem, when Zedekiah was taken and his eyes put out, the walls broken down, and the temple burnt. But these particulars are not referred to in the chapter; and the 16th verse represents the enemy as *coming*. Still we cannot, with many, place the prophet in the reign of Jehoiakim before the battle of Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 2.), because certain particulars lead to a prior date. The invasion of the Chaldeans is represented in i. 5, 6. as a thing unexpected and incredible. Yet it was to happen in the days of that generation (בִּימֵיכֶם, *in your days*). We do not say with Delitzsch<sup>1</sup>, that the word so translated proves the *terminus a quo* of the prophecy to be twenty years before the first invasion of Sennacherib, because of its use in Jer. xvi. 9., Ezek. xii. 25., since it is *relative*, and should not be urged in rhetorical discourse, as Keil<sup>2</sup> appositely remarks; but it intimates at least a prior time to 606—604 B.C., when Nebuchadnezzar's coming was expected and feared. And on comparing Hab. ii. 13. with Jer. li. 58., we see that the one passage is taken from the other; the former being the original, as Kueper has proved. In like manner there is a similarity between Jer. iv. 13. and Hab. i. 8.; Jer. v. 6. 15. and Hab. i. 8. 6., which manifests the use of the latter in the former. It would also appear from ii. 20. compared with Zephaniah i. 7., that Habakkuk prophesied shortly before Zephaniah. Hence he belongs to the reign of Josiah, and before the twelfth year of it when idolatry was abolished and the worship of Jehovah restored; since we learn from iii. 19. that the third chapter presupposes the liturgical songs of the temple. Accordingly, he may be placed before the thirteenth year of Josiah, *i. e.* 650—627 B.C. This was just before the commencement of the Chaldean period.

The prophecy has a dramatic form. Habakkuk asks in a complaining tone; and the Divine answer is threatening. The subject is, the fearful judgment impending over the theocracy, on account of prevailing moral corruption, from the hand of the Chaldeans. (ch. i.) The second chapter announces the downfall of this proud, insolent, and idolatrous enemy. The third contains the answer of the believing church to this twofold revelation. It is a lyrical echo of the impressions and feelings which these two revelations had awakened in the bosom of the prophet, as compared with the wonderful works of the Almighty in the past. The form of a dialogue between God and the prophet is nowhere else so fully carried out as here. Nor is prophecy so intimately united with lyrical poetry in other productions, as in the present. Indeed, Habakkuk is far more independent of other prophets, both in contents and form, than any of his fellow-prophets, except Isaiah. The best period of prophecy is reflected in his oracle. Here prophetic poesy appears to enter into close communion with the Deity and lay hold of His strength, as

<sup>1</sup> Der Prophet Habakuk ausgelegt, p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, pp. 347, 348.

<sup>3</sup> Jeremias librorum sacr. interpres, pp. 75, 76.

though it would not let Him go, in order to revive in the careless people the spirit of a decaying piety. In consequence of the lyric character of this oracle, both in form and contents, various places resemble some of the older psalms and odes. This is most apparent in the reproduction of Psalms lxxvii. 15—20. and lxxviii. 8, 9., in Hab. iii. In like manner, Deut. xxxiii. 2., Judges v. 4, 5. are imitated.

It is unnecessary at the present day to allude to the mistaken procedure of those critics who, like Kalinsky, Bertholdt, Friederich, Horst, Rosenmüller, &c. divide the prophecy into separate parts which are assigned to different times; whereas it is an organic whole.

The manner and style of the prophet are excellent. He writes with extraordinary fire and animation. His representations are lively and fresh; his prosopopœias bold; his figures and comparisons highly appropriate as well as natural. Everywhere we discern the loftiness of his imagination. The theophany in the third chapter shows uncommon sublimity and boldness, having nothing equal to it in the Old Testament. The rhythm is full and powerful, yet equable and smooth; and the parallelism is even and rounded. The diction is pure and classical. Habakkuk on the whole resembles Joel most. The strophical arrangement of ii. 6—20. has been noticed by various critics.<sup>1</sup>

Michaelis has remarked<sup>2</sup>, that Habakkuk is a *great imitator of former poets*, though with some new additions of his own; not, however, in the manner of Ezekiel, but with much greater brevity, and with no common degree of sublimity. This judgment, however, is incorrect. The prophet is one of the most original.

## CHAP. XXXI.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ZEPHANIAH.

ALL that is known of Zephaniah's personal history is what the title states, viz. that he was the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah. There is no parallel to this genealogy in the case of any other prophet; and therefore it has been inferred that his family was distinguished. The same phenomenon has led various critics to identify *Hizkiah* with king *Hezekiah*. We see nothing improbable in this assumption; though Jahn, Rosenmüller, and Knobel have objected to it on grounds which are on the whole precarious. No reliance can be placed on the apocryphal

<sup>1</sup> See Knobel, vol ii. pp. 297, 298.

<sup>2</sup> Notes to Lowth on Hebrew Poetry, p. 401. Stowe's edition.

account that Zephaniah was of the tribe of Simeon, and the territory Sabarthata or Sarabath. He prophesied in the days of Josiah, as the inscription states; which date is confirmed by the contents of the book itself.

At what specific time in the reign of Josiah Zephaniah prophesied, is matter of debate. Whether he should be placed before or after the eighteenth year of that king is somewhat uncertain. It is evident that, in addition to the worship of Jehovah (iii. 4, 5.), the remnant of Baal and other idolatrous rites had not been abolished (i. 4, 5.). The prophet also expects the destruction of Nineveh (ii. 13.). This leads to the time between the twelfth and eighteenth years of Josiah's reign, after that monarch had begun the work of reformation, and before it was completed. (2 Chron. xxxiv. 3. 8.) If in addition to the regular (iii. 4.) there were also idol-priests (צִמְרִים, *Cemarims*, i. 4.); if the worship of Baal and the host of heaven was still continued in public (i. 4, 5.), while we know that Josiah caused all the vessels made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven, to be brought out of the temple and burned, putting down the idolatrous priests (2 Kings xxiii. 4, 5.); the religious reformation commenced by that pious king could not have been completed.

The principal thing relied upon by those who place the prophet after the eighteenth year of Josiah, as Carpzov, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and Delitzsch do, is the mention of "the king's children" in i. 8., according to which it is thought that the two eldest sons of Josiah must have already grown up and exhibited an evil disposition. But this hardly follows, since the threatening merely represents the universality of the judgment about to befall all ranks, even the highest. And the sons of *Josiah's predecessors* may be referred to; as there is nothing to restrict them to himself. Knobel<sup>1</sup> and others also try to show that no weight belongs to the expression שְׂאֵר הַבַּעַל, *the remnant of Baal* in i. 4., but unsuccessfully. Other considerations in favour of the later date have been refuted by Strauss<sup>2</sup> and Hävernick.<sup>3</sup>

The year of Nineveh's destruction foretold by the prophet is usually placed in 625 B.C., and there is no reason for departing from the date; for the accounts of Herodotus respecting Cyaxares are insufficient authority in favour of 605 or 597 B.C. Hence we disagree with Delitzsch in his attempt to unsettle the usual date.<sup>4</sup> Abydenus, Alexander Polyhistor, and Berosus, are more favourable to 625 B.C. On the whole, the prophet belongs to about 627 B.C.

Some divide the book into three prophetic discourses, comprehending the three chapters respectively. De Wette and Strauss make two; viz. chapters i. ii., and iii. It is better, however, with Ewald, Meier, and Hävernick, to regard the book as containing a single prophecy, since it begins with a threatening of judgment upon all the ungodly and violent (chap. i.), and terminates with the promise of future salvation to the believing (iii. 9. &c.).

<sup>1</sup> Prophetismus, vol. ii. p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Vaticinia Zephaniae commentar. illustrat. p. viii. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 396.

<sup>4</sup> Der Prophet Habakuk, p. xviii.

Exhortations to repentance, and promises of deliverance to such as turn to Jehovah, lie between (chap. ii.). The eighth verse of the third chapter shows that it should not be separated from the second. The prophecy is of a general character. We may therefore suppose that it contains a summary of Zephaniah's ministry; and was written for the purpose of giving the result. In consequence of the idolatry and iniquities prevailing in the kingdom of Judah, he proclaims the approaching day of Jehovah's wrath to the impenitent people; not only to Judah and Jerusalem, but also to all neighbouring and distant nations, as a warning to obstinate transgressors, and a means of improving such as were penitent; concluding with a promise of the Messianic salvation arising upon the pious remnant who should survive the judicial process. Generally speaking, the first chapter is a denunciation against Judah for their idolatry; the first three verses of the second speak of repentance as the only means of escaping the divine vengeance; the remainder of that chapter, with the first eight verses of the third, proclaims approaching destruction to all enemies of the Jews; while chapter iii. 9—20. shows the ultimate prosperous state of the church.

The desolation of the corrupt and idolatrous city is commonly supposed to be that threatened, and afterwards accomplished, by the Chaldeans. When Zephaniah prophesied, the Chaldean power began to be formidable and menacing to all the nations. But some think that an invasion of the Scythians is referred to, who, according to Herodotus<sup>1</sup>, made an expedition as far as Egypt, in the time of Psammetichus. Against this view, however, it may be urged that where Jeremiah speaks of the same enemies (iv.—vi.), the Chaldeans are undoubtedly meant; so that although Zephaniah does not name them (i. 7., iii. 15.), the Chaldeans, not the Scythians, are intended. Besides, the narrative of Herodotus leaves it doubtful whether that invasion of the Scythians touched Judah; and the plundering and destruction of Jerusalem, as well as of the other cities, does not suit the Scythians, who plundered the lands only and carried off the booty like hordes of wild barbarians. The other peoples to whom disaster is foretold are the Philistines (ii. 4—7.), the Ammonites and Moabites (ii. 8—11.), the Ethiopians (ii. 12.), and the Assyrians (ii. 13—15.).<sup>2</sup>

The general manner and style of Zephaniah are not remarkable for excellence. He rather occupies an intermediate place between the highest and the lowest; resembling Jeremiah most. He is not destitute of liveliness, and is often graphic in details; nor is he wanting in figures and tropical expressions which are appropriate and partly original. He has also paronomasias and plays on words. He is not, however, an original prophet; for most of his ideas partake of the character of reminiscences out of the earlier ones, as a comparison of the following places will show:—i. 7. with Hab. ii. 20., Joel i. 15. iv. 14., Isaiah xxxiv. 6. and xiii. 3.; i. 13. with Amos v. 11.; i. 14. &c. with Joel ii. 1, 2.; i. 16. with Amos ii. 2.; i. 18. with Isaiah x.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. 105.

<sup>2</sup> See Strauss's *Vaticinia Zephanjæ*, &c. p. xviii. *et seqq.*

23. and xxviii. 22.; ii. 8. 10. with Isaiah xvi. 6. and Amos i. 13.; ii. 14. with Isaiah xiii. 21. &c. xxxiv. 11.; ii. 15. with Isaiah xlvii. 8. 10.; iii. 10. with Isaiah xviii. 1. 7.; iii. 11. with Isaiah xiii. 3.; iii. 19. with Micah iv. 6, 7.<sup>1</sup> There is also little of the poetic spirit in Zephaniah; and, therefore, though the parallelism is sometimes regular, yet it is often unattained in consequence of the language sinking down into prose, having no living rhythm to keep it up. The diction is pure and easy.

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## CHAP. XXXII.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HAGGAI.

ACCORDING to patristic accounts Haggai belonged to the exiles who returned to their native land with Joshua and Zerubbabel. He appeared in the second year of the Persian king Darius Hystaspes (i. 1.), or in the sixteenth year after the return from captivity (520 B. C.). The building of the temple had begun in the reign of Cyrus; but had been interrupted under his successors, Cambyses and Pseudo-Smerdis, through unfavourable representations of the Samaritans. Haggai had induced Darius to cancel the decree of his predecessor on the throne, which forbade the building of the temple; and, supported by his fellow-prophet Zechariah, stirred up the people to resume the undertaking. (Ezra v. 1., vi. 14.) He blamed the Jews that while they built stately houses for themselves they left the temple unfinished (i. 4. 9.), for which reason Jehovah punished them with drought and scarcity, and exhorted them to continue the work which had been neglected, as the favourable time for doing so had arrived. Accordingly Zerubbabel and Joshua set themselves in earnest to the task, along with the people; and the prophet succeeded in maintaining the zeal of the builders by his encouragements and promises, as well as the development of bright prospects in relation to the new temple; so that the house of the Lord was finished in six years. According to the Talmud he was a member of the great synagogue; but the existence of that body is doubted by many. It is not improbable, as Ewald conjectures<sup>2</sup>, that he was one of the few referred to by himself (ii. 3.), who had seen the first temple. The Pseudo-Epiphanius relates that Haggai was buried at Jerusalem among the priests; whence some have thought that he was of the family of Aaron. This is uncertain.

The book contains four prophecies concerning the same subject, the building of the temple. They are connected by time and contents. What relation they bear to his oral discourses it is impossible to tell;

<sup>1</sup> See Kueper's *Jeremias*, &c. pp. 138. 153.; Strauss's *Vaticinia Zephanjæ* commentar. illustr. &c. p. xxviii.; and Delitzsch's *Habakuk*, p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Propheten*, u. s. w. vol. ii. p. 516.

but it may be conjectured that they present the substance of all that he had prophesied. And they must have been written down soon after oral delivery. In the first, the prophet reproves the indifference of the people respecting the building of the temple, which neglect he assigns as the reason why they were punished with great drought and unproductive seasons. He then exhorts them to undertake the work, and encourages them with the promise of divine aid. (chapter i.) The second brief discourse consists of a consolatory promise that the glory of the second temple should surpass that of the first. (ii. 1—9.) The third censures the outward and legal righteousness prevailing among the people, by means of which they were deprived of the divine blessing. (ii. 10—19.) The fourth contains a promise of the future glorification awaiting the royal offspring of David, Zerubbabel, after the downfall of all earthly thrones. Here the Messianic kingdom is obviously intended.

The prophecies in question are addressed to the civil governor Zerubbabel and to the high priest Joshua (i. 1. 12., ii. 2. 21.); and occupy the course of three months (i. 1., ii. 1. 10. 20.). The promises of Haggai, viz. that God will shortly shake all nations, and compel them to contribute to the glory of the temple, and that Zerubbabel shall be God's chosen servant, are peculiar. It is difficult to tell what view the prophet had of the Messianic time. Perhaps he expected the restoration of the theocracy very soon. And why did contemporary prophets make Zerubbabel the new theocratic ruler? Was it because he was zealous for the welfare of the theocracy? Did they really think that he was to be head of the restored and renovated state—the visible representative of Messiah in the new kingdom? We do not think so. Looking upon him as a type of Messiah, Haggai passes at once from the type to the antitype, giving the name of the former to the latter. He expected this new and higher Zerubbabel to appear *shortly*. The time is not specified because it was unknown to him. With these sentiments we should not say with Schumann, that the prophet's view of the Messianic time was confused<sup>1</sup>; or with Sharpe<sup>2</sup>, that "Haggai's promises rise no higher than that foreigners shall send ornaments to the temple, and that prince Zerubbabel shall be God's chosen servant." It was *defective*; but right as far as it went.

As the contents are brief and scanty, it must be supposed that his prophecies were longer as delivered orally. It is strange, however, that they do not appear to have gained force or power by compression; for their tameness is in proportion to their brevity. No distinguishing excellence belongs to them. The views promulgated by the prophet do not partake of a high religious or ethical character. Having the common Jewish view of earthly retribution, he lays great stress on the restoration of the temple and its worship. The motive by which he encourages the people is taken from the present

<sup>1</sup> Schumann's Introduction translated, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Historic Notes on the Old and New Testaments, p. 176.

life. The style and general manner are destitute of poetic power and life. The composition is flat prose, showing a decline in the inspiration of the prophets. Favourite formulas are: *consider or lay to your heart*, לְבַרְבְּרִים שִׁימוּ (i. 5. 7., ii. 15. 18.); *thus saith the Lord of hosts*, יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, נְאֻם (ii. 4. 9. 23.); *Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the remnant of the people* (i. 12. 14., ii. 2. 4.); *frequent interrogatories* (i. 4. 9., ii. 3. 12, 13. 19.). He is on the whole unrhythmical; though often employing parallelism, as in i. 6. 9, 10., ii. 6. 8. 22.<sup>1</sup>

It is often said that Haggai, treating of the advent of Messiah, emphatically terms him "the desire of all nations." (ii. 7.) Thus Thomas Scott writes, "At the appointed time, He, 'the desire of all nations,' whom all nations ought to desire, and in due time would desire; He, in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, and of whose coming a general expectation would prevail, as of some most desirable event," &c. &c. Even Jablonski, in the margin of his Hebrew Bible, puts the words "Messiamque adventurum, desiderium gentium;" and the Vulgate, agreeing with this view, has *desideratus veniet, the person desired shall come*. But the original Hebrew is opposed to this interpretation. In it the verb *come* is plural, and the noun *desire* singular. Some render, "the desirable things of all nations shall come," *i. e.* the precious things or treasures of all nations shall be brought into the temple. This interpretation is advocated at length by Jahn<sup>2</sup>, and adopted by De Wette. But it is liable to exception; for in that case the construct state ceases to be an adjective-description of the latter substantive, and requires another substantive than the noun following. It is also more probable that לְ, *all*, would have stood before the construct state. To the noun rendered *desire* we have a synonymous one, מְבַרְבְּרִים, in Isaiah xxii. 7., Exod. xv. 4. Accordingly we render the word *desire*, with Ewald and Hitzig, *the choicest or noblest*, with which the LXX. coincide, τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ πάντων τῶν ἔθνων, *the choice of all the nations*. All the nations are represented as fearing; but only the *best of them* as giving honour to God. According to this interpretation, an objection advanced against the meaning *the desirable things of all the nations shall come*, *viz.* an impropriety in the verb *come*, when it should rather be *brought*, is obviated. It is certainly unphilological to take the noun *desire* with the plural verb *come*, to designate the Messiah.

<sup>1</sup> See Knobel, ii. p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. in die Bücher des alten Bundes, vol. ii. pp. 661, 662., and Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ generalis, p. 52.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

## THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH.

ZECHARIAH calls himself the son of Berechiah, and grandson of Iddo the prophet. This is the proper meaning of the words, "the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo the prophet." Some, however, think that Iddo was not the *grandfather*, but the *father*, of Zechariah. So the LXX. and Jerome translate; and so several of the Fathers understand the words. This is owing to Ezra v. 1. and vi. 14., where the prophet is named "Zechariah the son of Iddo." In order to reconcile the two assertions, it has been thought that the father's name is omitted in Ezra, and that of the grandfather, as the better-known person, given. We shall afterwards furnish a better reason than this. In the first verse the word *prophet* must belong to Zechariah, not to Iddo, as Jerome understood it. And Iddo is the person mentioned in Neh. xii. 4., as one of the sacerdotal priests who had returned from Babylon with Joshua and Zerubbabel. Like Jeremiah and Ezekiel he belonged to a priestly family, and came to Judea with the returning exiles from Babylon where he was born. As a prophet, he appeared at the same time with Haggai, only two months later; and is mentioned, under the high priest Joiakim, as the head of a family among the priests (Neh. xii. 16.). It would appear from an expression in ii. 4., that he was a young man when called to the prophetic ministry. He attached himself to the older Haggai, continuing the work begun, applying the word of former prophets to his own time, and promoting the development of the theocracy by threatening and promise. As his grandfather was one of the exiles that returned with Zerubbabel, and Zechariah opened his prophetic commission in the second year of Darius, *i. e.* the eighteenth year after the return, when he was still a youth (נֶטָר, ii. 4.); he must have left Babylon in childhood. Hence the patristic accounts in the Pseudo-Epiphanius, Dorotheus, and Isidore, which represent him as advanced in years when he came from Chaldea, must be incorrect. The beginning of his official career coincides with B. C. 520.

The book of Zechariah, as it now is, may be divided into two parts, *viz.* chapters i.—viii. and ix.—xiv. These again may be subdivided as follows: 1. A series of visions revealed to the prophet on the night of the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month, in the second year of Darius Hystaspes (i. 7.). To this series of visions the revelation received in the eighth month of the second year forms an introduction i. 1—6. (chapters i.—vi.) 2. A discourse characterised by admonition and promise, occasioned by a question of the people's addressed to the Lord. (vii. viii.) 3. A discourse apparently descriptive of the contest between the powers of the world and the theocracy, the victory of the latter, and complete subjugation of the former by the manifestation of Messiah. (ix.—xi.) 4. Another discourse representing

the final attack of the powers of the world on Jerusalem, the conversion of Israel to Messiah put to death by the sins of the people, the downfall of the old theocracy, the destruction of all enemies who strive against God, with the ultimate completion and glorification of the divine kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

Let us look at the contents of the first part a little more particularly. After the introduction, in which the people are exhorted to repentance, we have the first vision,—a rider on a red horse among the myrtle trees, symbolising that, though there is general peace throughout the states connected with Judea, the Jews are still in affliction on account of their city and temple, and therefore the time is favourable for the fulfilment of Jehovah's promises to his people. The second vision consists of four horns, and four carpenters who break the horns in pieces. The horns symbolise the heathen enemies of Judah on every side, north, south, east, and west; the carpenters are emblems of the destruction of the hostile powers, and are called four, simply out of correspondence to the four horns; not because four persons are meant, as Calmet erroneously supposed. The third vision consists of a man with a measuring line taking the dimensions of the city, signifying that there should be great increase and prosperity to Jerusalem, especially when the Gentiles should be incorporated with the theocracy under the reign of Messiah. The fourth vision represents the high priest Joshua standing before the angel of the Lord, with Satan at his right hand to resist him, representing the despicable, forlorn, defiled state of the Jewish people, and the forgiven, renewed state of the same, especially of the church under Messiah, of whom both Joshua and Zerubbabel were types. The fifth vision consists of a golden candlestick, with a bowl and seven pipes, fed by two olive trees on the right and left sides respectively, intimating that the Holy Spirit should remove all obstacles in the way of the restoration of the temple and worship, so that the work should be brought to a successful issue; and at the same time the final, complete establishment of Christ's church by the power of the Holy Spirit surmounting all obstacles. The sixth vision consists of a large flying roll filled with curses, representing the quickness and certainty with which transgressors of the divine law, those breaking either the first table (the false-swearer) or the second (the thief), would be punished. The seventh vision consists of an ephah with a woman in the midst of it, carried through the air by two female figures with stork-like wings; the woman, whose name is wickedness, and whose mouth is stopped with lead, being carried away to Babylon. Sin, here personified as a woman, or rather the idolatry of the mass of the nation, is purged away, transported to Babylon as its home. The eighth vision consists of four chariots issuing from between two mountains of copper, drawn by horses of different colours, and represents the swiftness as well as the extent of the divine judgments against the enemies of the theocracy. The ninth is rather a prophecy than a vision, in which the prophet is commanded to place a double

<sup>1</sup> See Keil's *Einleitung*, p. 353.

crown on the head of Joshua the high priest, showing primarily the re-establishment of the civil and religious polity of the Jews under Zerubbabel and Joshua, but principally the royal and priestly dignity of him whom they typified, of *the Branch*, who was to be both king and high-priest of his church. An attendant angel explains to the prophet (though only in part) the preceding visions and scenes.

The seventh and eighth chapters are not a collection of four oracles, but a single discourse delivered in the fourth year of the reign of Darius. Some Jews having been sent to Jerusalem from the exiles at Babylon to inquire of the priests and prophets, whether they were still bound to observe the fasts that had been instituted on account of the destruction of Jerusalem, the prophet was commanded to enforce upon them the necessity of judgment and mercy, lest the same punishment should overtake them as had befallen their fathers. God promised to restore Jerusalem in his favour; encouraged them to the building; and permitted them to discontinue the observance of the fasts they had kept during the captivity, good works being substituted instead.

Under the second general division, ix.—xiv., the first discourse (ix.—xi.) contains a prophecy against Syria, the Philistines, Tyre and Sidon, which were to be conquered by Alexander the Great, and of the watchful providence of God over his temple in those troublous times (ix. 1—8.), the advent of Messiah, the restoration of the Jews to the divine favour, their victory over their enemies, particularly of the Maccabean princes over the princes of the Grecian monarchy (ix. 9—17.). The promise of future plenty, at the close of the last chapter, suggests mention of the means by which it should be procured,—supplication to Jehovah, and not to idols. Restoration to their own land is farther promised, victory over their enemies, and much prosperity. (x. 1—12.) The destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish polity are predicted; after which the prophet relates the manner in which he discharged his office, and the little value set upon his labours. After he had broken the two staves, to denote the annulling of God's covenant with them, he is directed to take the instruments of a foolish shepherd, in order to express the judgments which God was about to inflict on them by wicked rulers. In another view, the prophet here predicts the rejection of the Jews for their contempt of Messiah and valuing him and his labours at the low price of thirty pieces of silver. (xi. 1—17.) The second discourse (xii.—xiv.) relates chiefly to the future condition of the people in Messianic times, the siege of Jerusalem; God's miraculous power displayed on behalf of his people; the twilight breaking into day, denoting the light of the glorious gospel issuing from Jerusalem; and living waters issuing from the same city, representing the great increase and prosperity of the theocratic metropolis or Christian church, when God's name should be honoured in everything, and his worship become universal. The last chapters (xii.—xiv.) are very obscure; and it is difficult to tell whether they relate wholly or in part to the Christian church. Whether they allude to past events connected with Judea and Jerusalem, or events yet to come in the history of the

Holy Land; whether they describe what is wholly past, or wholly future, or partly the one and the other; how far they relate to the Jews and how far to Christians, are questions exceedingly perplexing.

The authenticity of the last part (ix.—xiv.) has been disputed. Mede, Whiston, Kidder, Hammond, Secker, Newcome, ascribed it in part or wholly to Jeremiah. In Germany these chapters were also disunited from Zechariah by Doederlein, Flügge, Michaelis, Corrodi, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Bauer, Forberg, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hitzig, Knobel, Ewald, Meier, Bleek, Paulus, Gramberg, Credner. Pye Smith and Davidson took a similar view. On the other hand, their authenticity has been defended by Carpzov, Jahn, Beckhaus, Koester, Hengstenberg, Burger, Herbst, Hävernicks, Blayney, and Keil.

The following is a summary of the arguments on both sides. In favour of the authenticity are alleged:—

1. The position of the section, and its connection with the undoubtedly authentic writings of Zechariah. How came the collectors of the canon to place these chapters just in their present place, if they be spurious?

2. The language and style lead to the inference that they proceeded from a post-exile period, not only considered in themselves, but as compared with the first part. The language is characterised by a sort of purity acquired in the artificial way of learning, as in the first part. Though the author strives as much as possible to attain to this purity, he betrays himself by some later forms and expressions. To this head belongs the *scriptio plena* in רְוִי, constantly observed. אֶלְנִי is used in an enlarged sense of Israelitish princes, in the earlier books only of the Edomitish ones. The word מְשָׁה (xii. 1.) stands for *prophecy generally*, whereas in older speech it is only applied to *threatening prophecies*. A later Aramaean word is רְחַל, xi. 8. The phrase מִלֵּא קֹשֶׁת is younger, instead of the older קֹשֶׁת רְחַל. (ix. 13.)

To both parts are common the rare expression וְנִשָּׁב, vii. 14., ix. 8.; וְנִשָּׁבֵר, in the sense of *remove*, iii. 4., xiii. 2., the symbolical designation of divine Providence by *eyes of God*, iii. 9., iv. 10., ix. 1. 8.; the uniform peculiarity of paraphrasing the whole by its parts, v. 4., xiii. 1. 3.; the description of the theocracy by the *house of Judah and Israel*, or *Ephraim*, or *Joseph*, i. 12., ii. 2. 16., viii. 15., ix. 13., x. 6., xi. 14. Still farther, the analogous places ii. 14., ix. 9.; the very similar turn in ii. 13. 15. to xi. 11.; the like manner in viii. 14. and xiv. 5.; and the Chaldaisms אָבָה for אָבָה, ix. 8., רָמָה for רָמָה, xiv. 10. &c. &c. should be noticed.<sup>1</sup>

3. In both divisions there is a leaning upon former, and in part very late prophets, a fact which agrees with the post-exile time. Comp. iii. 8. and vi. 12. with Isa. iv. 2., Jer. xxiii. 5. and xxxiii. 15.; iii. 10. with Micah iv. 4.; vi. 13. with Psalm cx. 4.; vii. 14. and ix. 8. with Ezek. xxxv. 7.; xi. 3. with Jer. xii. 5.,

<sup>1</sup> Hävernicks's Einleit. ii. 2. p. 420. *et seqq.*

xlix. 19., l. 44.; ix. 10. with Psalm lxxii. 8.; xiii. 2. with Hosea ii. 19.; xi. 4, 5. with Jer. l. 6, 7.; ix. 5. with Zeph. ii. 4.; xi. 4. with Ezek. xxxiv. 4.; xiii. 8, 9. with Ezek. v. 12.; xiv. 8. with Ezek. xlvii. 1—12.; xiv. 10, 11. with Jer. xxxi. 38—40.; xiv. 20, 21. with Ezek. xliii. 12., xlv. 9.; xiv. 16—19. with Isa. lxvi. 23. and lx. 12.<sup>1</sup>

4. A series of historical references attest the authenticity. Thus the exile is presupposed as past in x. 6., ix. 13. The mention of Javan as the representative of the anti-theocratic worldly powers rests on the prophecies of Daniel (viii. 5. &c. 21. &c.) respecting the relation of the Greek-Macedonian monarchy to the theocracy. In xii. 11. the death of Josiah is supposed to be past. Nowhere is a king mentioned, but only the heads of the people generally; and the Davidic family is spoken of (xii. 7, 8. 12., xiii. 1.), not as a reigning one, but as again to be elevated to distinction in the future. To the same conclusion it is thought that the prominence given to priests and Levites (xii. 12, 13.), to the feast of tabernacles (xiv. 16. compared with Ezra iii. 4., Neh. viii. 17.), and the vast development of the Messianic idea conduct.<sup>2</sup>

On the other side, the following phenomena are unfavourable to the authenticity of the section.

1. In the Gospel by St. Matthew, xxvii. 9., a passage is quoted from Zechariah xi. 12, 13., and attributed to Jeremiah. On this account Mede and other English writers attributed the 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters to Jeremiah as the writer.

2. The prophetic introductory formulas of the first part (i. 1. 7., iv. 8., vi. 9., vii. 1. 8., viii. 1. 18.) are wanting in the second; others, in which Zechariah is not named, being found instead (ix. 1., xi. 4., xii. 1.).

3. The historical stand-point in the second part is different from that of the first. Thus Damascus, Tyre, Philistia, Javan (ix. 1—6. 13.), Assyria and Egypt (x. 10. &c.), are enemies of Judah. The two kingdoms of Judah and Israel are still in existence (ix. 10. 13., x. 6. 7., xi. 14.); the royal house of David (xi. 6., xiii. 1., comp. xii. 7. 12.); idolatry and false prophets (x. 2. &c., xiii. 2. &c.).

4. The two parts differ in style and language. In the first the language is flat, prosaic, without power, almost without rhythm; but in the second, the representation is lively, powerful, possessing poetic force and rhythm; while the diction is antique and pure, not Chaldaising as in the first.

5. Certain standing formulas distinguish both parts. Thus in the first we have *the word of the Lord came unto*, &c. (i. 7., iv. 8., vi. 9. &c.); *thus saith the Lord of hosts* (i. 4. 16. 17., ii. 12., viii. 2. 4. &c.); while these are wanting in the second part, in which the phrase *on that day* frequently occurs.

6. In the first part everything is shrouded in visions, and often difficult to be understood; while the second part is not symbolic.

It is difficult to decide between these opposite views, since something depends on taste, and the peculiar exegesis of paragraphs and

<sup>1</sup> Hävernick's Einleit. ii. 2. pp. 422, 423.

<sup>2</sup> Hävernick, ii. 2. p. 424.

passages. It must be admitted that Hengstenberg<sup>1</sup> and Hävernick have succeeded in answering various arguments adduced by such as deny the authenticity of the second part. The latter has specially weakened various statements made by Hitzig. We do not think that *all* the considerations just stated for and against the section are capable of being sustained. Some are weak and inapposite.

It is generally admitted that there is a palpable difference between the two parts in matter, form, and style. The question therefore is, how are the variations to be explained? Does diversity of subject, scope, and age account for the difference? It may certainly explain *some* peculiarities of manner and style. But we greatly doubt whether it will account satisfactorily for every phenomenon. In our view the defenders of the authenticity, of whom the ablest are Hengstenberg and Keil, have not succeeded in overthrowing all the objections of the opponents; though they have strained every nerve for that purpose. Between the two parts, even after every reasonable deduction has been made, a perceptible difference remains, which points to different writers.

As to the real authorship of the chapters in question, critics have not agreed. Some think that parts of them were written at one time, and parts at another, by different persons; relying in support of their views on various internal phenomena, which are in most cases of a precarious nature. Thus the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters are often separated from the remaining three, both in time and authorship. But it appears to us that the whole section (ix.—xiv.) proceeded from one and the same person, since the grounds alleged by Knobel, Sharpe, and others, for separating it into pieces are small and feeble.<sup>2</sup> Hitzig has adduced various points of contact between all the parts of it, both in ideas and usage of language.<sup>3</sup> We should rely most on the following considerations against its authenticity.

1. The difference of style and manner; ch. ix.—xiv. being so much more poetical and rhythmical than i.—viii. We do not believe that this is satisfactorily accounted for by Hengstenberg and Hävernick, on the ground that the one part contains visions and admonitory discourses addressed to contemporaries, while the other exhibits prophetic pictures of the future; along with the fact that the first was written in youth, the second at an advanced period of life. The second division must have been intended, in part at least, for the prophet's contemporaries as well as for future times. And it is a mere assumption that it was written considerably later than the first, when the prophet was not young. In youth we naturally look for greater poetic fire. The diction also is certainly purer and more archaic in the second part than the first. That there are resemblances between the two in point of language is allowed. The same words and phrases *do* sometimes occur in both. But this scarcely neutralises *all* the diversity. We should account for those analogies

<sup>1</sup> See his *Beiträge*, vol. ii. p. 361. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Knobel's *Prophetismus*, ii. p. 283. *et seqq.*; and Sharpe's *Historic Notes on the books of the Old and New Testaments*, p. 156. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten*, u. s. w. p. 131. *et seqq.*

by imitation; the author of the first part having made some use of the second and earlier one. It is *possible* that the archaic diction of him who wrote chapters ix.—xiv. may have arisen, on the supposition of his identity with Zechariah, from a striving after the pure language of older writers by a process of laborious learning, as Hävernicks supposes; but if this be so, why is it so much more perceptible in the one part than the other? Is it because longer time in acquisition had elapsed? That is very unlikely.

2. Some historical references presuppose a pre-exile position. These are intractable in the hands of Hengstenberg and Hävernicks wishing to accommodate them to the time of Zechariah. Thus Assyria and Egypt are enemies of Judah. (x. 10. &c.) To regard these as types and representatives of the enemies of God's kingdom, is not tenable, as long as Damascus, Tyre, and Philistia are taken historically. Yet Hävernicks adopts this method.

Again, the allusions to the teraphim, false prophets, and idols (x. 2. &c., xiii. 2. &c.) do not harmonise with the post-exile time. It is not sufficient to assert that the prominence of gross idolatry, as it existed before the exile, is not thereby presupposed, but only such forms as were not wanting even after the exile; for vi. 10—14., Ezra ix. 2. &c., x. 3., Nehem. xiii. 23., do not justify the assertion, inasmuch as they fail to show the activity of false prophetism or idolatry.

The mention of a king or kingdom in xi. 6. does not suit the age of Zechariah. It is true, as Hävernicks says, that there is no mention here and in other places of like import of the Davidic family being still in actual possession of the throne. But to say that such a prophecy as this is Messianic, is irrelevant. The passage in xi. 6. occurs in a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, describing the wickedness of the inhabitants; and the allegation of its being Messianic dissipates the propriety and meaning of the language. Even if it be *secondarily Messianic*, the primary sense must refer to historical events connected with a time when a king was upon the throne. The prophecy in xi. 1. &c. &c. is expounded by some, of the destruction by Titus; but we quite agree with Mede in saying, "Methinks such a prophecy was nothing seasonable for Zachary's time (when the city yet for a great part lay in her ruins, and the temple had not yet recovered hers), nor agreeable to the scope of Zachary's commission, who, together with his colleague Haggai, was sent to encourage the people lately returned from captivity to build their temple and to inaugurate their commonwealth. Was this a fit time to foretel the destruction of both, while they were yet but a building? And by Zachary too, who was to encourage them? Would this not better befit the desolation by Nebuchadnezzar?"<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly it would. The reply of Blayney<sup>2</sup> to this is nugatory, resting upon such arbitrary assumptions as, that Darius reigned thirty-six years; that the three prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, did not die before the last year of that king's reign; that

<sup>1</sup> Works, p. 834., Epistle Lxi.

<sup>2</sup> Zechariah, a New Translation, with Notes; note on chap. ix. p. 36. ed. 1797.

Zechariah prophesied again toward the close of his life, publishing at this period what would not altogether have accorded with the period and purport of his first commission.

In xi. 14. we read, "Then I cut asunder mine other staff, even Bands, that I might break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel." Surely this implies that the kingdom of Israel subsisted when the prophet wrote. It appears to refer to the captivity of the ten tribes, when the brotherly feeling between these kingdoms ceased. Passages are adduced by Hävernicks and others from Ezekiel, Malachi, and Zechariah himself, in which the two are still spoken of separately, as Judah and Ephraim; and reference is made to their *reunion* in the Messianic time, when the Jews generally should be incorporated into the church of God. But none of those passages is analogous to the present, in which the separation between the two kingdoms, in respect to brotherly affection, is symbolised. *They* either speak of the two *as separate*, or of *their reunion*; but not of their being sundered, as the present place.

Though these are not the *only* considerations that weigh with us in thinking that Zechariah did not write ix.—xiv., they are the *principal* ones. The unknown writer lived before the exile. He prophesied before Ezekiel, who in xxxviii. 17. &c. seems to have had in his mind Zechariah xiv. 2. &c. This carries us up beyond the time of Jeremiah to whom Mede and others assign ix. x. xi. As the two kingdoms were standing, the writer may probably have been the Zechariah mentioned by Isaiah (viii. 2.), who was the son of Jeberechiah, and lived in the time of Ahaz, 741 B.C. The name Berechiah, whose son Zechariah, the writer of the first part, is said to have been (Zech. i. 1.), is the same as Jeberechiah. As, therefore, the names of both were alike, a later person uncritically put both prophecies together, and gave the whole one title made up of the two inscriptions, one purporting to be an oracle of Zechariah, son of Iddo (Ezra v. 1., vi. 14.); the other belonging to Zechariah, son of Berechiah. In this manner we remove the historical difficulty that in the book of Ezra Zechariah is called the son of Iddo; while in the book of Zechariah himself, he is mentioned as the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo. There is no good reason for separating the time of writing chapters ix. x. and xi.—xiv. as Hitzig<sup>1</sup>, who ascribes them to the same writer, does; for the considerations adduced are too precarious to be converted into marks of time.

In concluding that these chapters did not proceed from the Zechariah of i.—viii., we can attach no importance to the quotation of Matt. xxvii. 9. from Zech. xi., purporting to be from Jeremiah. It is quite impossible to accede to Hengstenberg's opinion<sup>2</sup> that the words of Matthew are but a repetition of the oracle in Jer. xviii. and xix., which was to be fulfilled in the utter extinction and abandonment of the Jewish people. To say that these two chapters form the ground-passage of both Zechariah xi. and the quotation, is an ingenious subterfuge which no critic can allow. As little weight

<sup>1</sup> Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten, u. s. w. pp. 130, 131.

<sup>2</sup> Christologie, ii. p. 257.

can be attached to the *mere assumption* that Jeremiah in Matthew's text is an error which has crept into MSS. Textual criticism must abide by the name as the true reading, and explain it as best it may. Fritzsche has given the most probable origin of the name Jeremiah in Matthew's Gospel, "per memoriae errorem;" notwithstanding the "utter condemnation" dogmatically pronounced upon his explanation by a writer in Kitto's Cyclopædia.

The visions, symbols, and discourses of the first part are mostly in prose. A kind of foreign air and colouring belongs to them which may be explained by the effect of Babylonian cultivation and manners upon the body of the exiles. Not that the prophet himself received his education at Babylon; but that he grew up amid the general influences which that land had upon his countrymen.

It would appear that he made use of Ezekiel, whose visions have a strong foreign colouring. His prophecies have also many repetitions and standing formulas often recurring (i. 3, 4., i. 17. and ii. 13., ii. 13. and 15., iv. 9. and vi. 15., vii. 9. &c. and viii. 16. &c. The diction cannot be called pure or classical, for it undoubtedly Chaldaises. Nothing, therefore, can be farther from the truth than Blayney's assertion, "upon the whole we shall find the diction remarkably pure, the construction natural and perspicuous, and the style judiciously varied according to the nature of the subject."<sup>1</sup> In regard to the character and mode of representation by visions and symbols, there is room for diversity of opinion. The visions are artificially arranged and definite in their outlines; yet there is an obscurity about them which need not have been, had the prophet possessed a higher and more original power of inspiration. The second part contains many elevated and original views of the future. It exhibits rare and powerful images, evincing a rich imagination imbued with youthful freshness and force.

Great difficulty of understanding Zechariah's writings has been felt by most expositors, Jewish and Christian. Jerome says rightly, that he is the most obscure and largest among the twelve minor prophets; and soon after, "We pass from the obscure to the more obscure, and enter with Moses into the cloud and darkness. Deep calls to deep in the voice of God's cataracts; and the Spirit proceeds in wheels, returning to his circles," &c. &c.<sup>2</sup> Similar sentiments of Jewish Rabbis may be seen in Carpzov.<sup>3</sup> These complaints of interpreters about the darkness of the prophecies in Zechariah are well founded. The language is symbolic and highly figurative. Some of the views appear to be ideal, and lose themselves in a misty indistinctness corresponding to the idealistic images floating in the prophet's mind. This is particularly so in the second part, where the Messianic element prevails; and in which it is very difficult to tell how far the writer's stand-point is in the historical present, and how far it is in the ideal future. Does he describe nothing else in some places than the Messianic age in theocratic images and diction?

<sup>1</sup> Translation of Zechariah, prelim. discourse, p. xv. ed. 1797.

<sup>2</sup> Prolog. ad Commentar. lib. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Introductio ad Libros Propheticos, p. 433. 4th ed.

Or has his language an historical application in the Jewish dispensation *as well as* a reference to the time of the gospel? Does he merely put Christian ideas, or ideas descriptive of Christian times, in a theocratic dress; or does his representation take its rise and find its partial fulfilment in the dispensation to which he belonged, then soar away into the more distant scene of a higher economy, the colours of both blending so rapidly that it is impossible to separate them? These are questions which will never be resolved in a satisfactory manner. He who wishes to test their nature may attempt an explanation of the last chapter.

After what has been said, it is scarcely necessary to refute the affirmation of Blayney, "Nor in his language and composition do we find any particular bias to obscurity, except that the quickness and suddenness of the transitions is sometimes apt to confound the boundaries of discourse."<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAP. XXXIV.

### THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET MALACHI.

Nothing is known of Malachi's person. It has even been doubted whether his name be a proper name, or only an appellative. The LXX. translate the inscription of his book "by the hand of *his angel*." (i. 1.) Origen thought that Malachi was an angel sent from God. Jonathan Ben Uzziel remarks (on i. 1.), "Malachi, whose name is called Ezra the scribe." Accordingly, Calmet and others have identified Malachi with Ezra the priest, an hypothesis which does not need refutation. That the two were distinct persons is unquestionable. Vitringa<sup>2</sup> and Hengstenberg<sup>3</sup> hold that the name is merely *official*. In favour of this the last critic quotes the LXX., the Chaldee, and Jerome; but relies especially on the name itself, which he considers equivalent to מַלְאָכִי, in iii. 1., i. e. *my messenger*. This derivation appears to us incorrect. Rather is the name מַלְאָכִי a contraction of מַלְאָכִי ה', just as בָּרִשׁ (2 Kings xviii. 2.) is equivalent to בָּרִשׁ ה' (2 Chron. xxix.), meaning *angel* or *messenger of Jehovah*. The name is significant, as the names of some other prophets are; but that fact does not prove it to be a mere *official title*, or a *symbolical* word, rather than a proper name.

That Malachi was contemporary with Nehemiah is evident from the contents of his book, which presents the same aspect of things as in the time of Nehemiah. Thus there is an almost verbal agreement between his description and that in the thirteenth chapter of Nehemiah. The persons and times appear to be identical. Marriages with heathen wives are censured, the withholding of tithes is found fault with.

<sup>1</sup> Prelim. Discourse to Translation of Zechariah, p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Observationes Sacrae, lib. vi. p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Christologic, vol. iii. 372. *et seqq.*

(Comp. ii. 10—16. with Neh. xiii. 23. &c. ; iii. 7—12. with Neh. xiii. 10. &c. ; ii. 8. with Neh. xiii. 15. &c.) From these circumstances we infer that he prophesied during Nehemiah's second sojourn in Jerusalem, after the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, contributing the weight of his exhortations to the restoration of the Jewish polity, and the accompanying reforms set on foot by the governor of Judea. That he lived somewhat later than Haggai and Zechariah, is apparent both from the fact that he is not named along with them in the book of Ezra, and also that he presupposes the temple-worship again established. (i. 10., iii. 1.) He may be placed, therefore, about 420 B.C., which is the date adopted by Kennicott and Hales.

The traditions respecting him are of a fabulous character, as that he belonged to the tribe of Zebulun, was born at Sopha in the territory of that tribe; that he died young, having assisted as a member of the great synagogue in the re-establishment of order in his native country, &c. &c.<sup>1</sup>

The book consists of a connected prophetic discourse, respecting the relation of Jehovah to his people, which resolves itself into three sections, viz., I. i. 2—ii. 9. ; II. ii. 10—16. ; III. ii. 17—iii. 24. Speaking generally, the first sets forth the loving, fatherly, and merciful disposition of God towards his covenant-people; the second, Jehovah as the supreme God and father; the third, Jehovah as the righteous and final Judge of His people.

I. The Jews having complained that God had showed them no special kindness, the prophet reminds them of the peculiar favour they had received, their country being a cultivated land, while that of the Edomites was laid waste and was to remain so as a perpetual monument of the Divine vengeance. (i. 1—5.) He reproves them for not duly honouring God as a father; for which their rejection is threatened, and the calling of the Gentiles announced. The prophet denounces punishment against the priests for not teaching the people their duty. (i. 6—ii. 9.)

II. He then censures intermarriages of Israelites with women of another country; and also divorces, which had been multiplied for the purpose of contracting these prohibited marriages. (ii. 10—16.)

III. Here the prophet foretels the coming of Messiah and his forerunner John the Baptist under the title of Elias, to purify the priests and smite the land with a curse, unless there was repentance. It is true the hypocritical mass of the people despise a coming judgment, while they confound good and evil. But the day of judgment will come sooner than they expect, at the appearance of Messiah. The righteous and wicked will be separated, and rewarded according to their deeds. The prophecy terminates with enjoining the strict observance of the law, since the people need expect no prophet till the forerunner already promised should appear in the spirit and power of Elias, introducing a new dispensation. (ii. 17—iii. 24.)

<sup>1</sup> See Knobel's *Prophetismus*, vol. ii. p. 385.

What relation the prophecy in its present form bears to the oral teaching of Malachi cannot well be ascertained. Certainly the book does not contain distinct discourses delivered as they now appear. Nor does it contain the outlines of discourses addressed to the people, as Eichhorn supposes.<sup>1</sup> Ewald<sup>2</sup> has endeavoured to show that it presents far more of learned, artificial treatment of a subject, than of living discourse — that it has the character of a *book* rather than a popular *address*. But though true in part, this view is scarcely correct as a whole. It is more probable, as Hävernick<sup>3</sup> believes, that the book presents the substance of oral discourses, whose original character does not wholly disappear even in the mould they have received. A general survey of the prophet's activity appears in the work. The most important particulars of Malachi's prophetic ministry are concentrated in it.

The form in which the prophecy is presented corresponds to the contents. There is an approach to the conversational or dialogue method, which is very different from the dramatic descriptions of the older prophets. But there is no lofty inspiration or fulness of thought. The language is prosaic. Everything manifests the decaying spirit of prophecy. It is said by some that the prophet consulted the practical wants of his time, which is correct; but that does not account for the characteristics of manner and diction. *The effort* to instruct and improve the people is prominent in the somewhat artificial arrangement of sentences, evincing a deficiency of mastery over the materials. Besides, traces of careful study of the ancient prophets appear. The two different forms of prophecy are visible in their united character; viz., the *old prophetic* and the *new dialogistic*, the *spoken* and the *written*, the free outbursting of a full heart, and the colder method of learned life. Ewald has remarked very correctly<sup>4</sup>, that there is a uniformity in the dialogistic manner, which presents a short sentence, and then the sceptical questions of the people, which are copiously refuted; in which characteristic we may perceive the encroaching influence of an incipient scholastic representation upon prophetic discourse. Here it is a mark of the departing prophetic spirit. Considering the late period of the book, the diction is beautiful and smooth. It wants fire and force. A writer in Kitto's Cyclopædia says, with strange incorrectness, that "the style, rhythm, and imagery of his writings are substantially those of the old prophets."

Malachi is the last of the minor prophets, and consequently the latest writer in the Old Testament canon. It has been asserted that ch. iv. 4, 5, 6. (Heb. iii. 22—24.) might alone suggest that he was the last of the Hebrew prophets till John the Baptist appeared; but we are unable to perceive the correctness of the allegation.

The canonical authority of his book is established by various allusions to it in the New Testament, as Matt. xi. 10., xvii. 12.; Mark i. 2., ix. 11, 12.; Luke i. 17.; Rom. ix. 13.

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. vol. iv. p. 464.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. ii. 2. p. 430.

<sup>2</sup> Die Propheten, u. s. w. vol. ii. p. 541. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Die Propheten, u. s. w. p. 542.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION  
TO  
THE APOCRYPHA.

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CHAPTER I.<sup>1</sup>

THE THIRD BOOK OF ESDRAS (FIRST ESDRAS, ENGLISH VERSION).

THIS book is called the *third* book of Esdras in the Vulgate version, where Ezra and Nehemiah are counted the first and second. It was termed by some the *second* book of Esdras, Ezra and Nehemiah being reckoned together as *one* work. But in the old Latin, Syriac, and LXX., it is called the *first* book of Esdras, and is placed accordingly *before* the canonical Ezra. As the contents belong in part to a prior time to that of the canonical Ezra, the position is appropriate. In the editions of the Vulgate which preceded that of Sixtus the Fifth, the Latin translation of the present work stood before the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah; but since that, it has been entirely separated from the canonical books, and has occupied different positions among the Apocryphal ones. The Complutensian Polyglott is without it; and Luther did not translate it because it added nothing of importance to the contents of the canonical Scriptures.

In some editions of the LXX. it is styled *ὁ ἱερεὺς*, *the priest*, which is equivalent to *Ezra*, so called by way of eminence. Thus it is entitled in the Codex Alexandrinus. But the usual title is *Ἐσδρας*, or *Ezra*.

The Greek and Latin fathers often mention the book, and some of them use it against heretics. So Athanasius employs it against the Arians; Justin Martyr, in the dialogue with Trypho; Augustine, and Cyprian. But it never obtained canonical authority. Jerome speaks unfavourably of it. The councils of Florence and Trent decided against its canonical credit; and Protestants have uniformly rejected it. In recent times, it seems to have acquired a just place in Jewish literature; and is now recognised as a document of some value in historical criticism.

The greater part of the work is a translation made in Greek from the Old Testament. On comparing it with the original Hebrew, we see that it is very free in character. The differences are such as can

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the reasons why the Apocryphal books, which are usually printed between the Old and New Testaments, are excluded from the canonical list, the reader is referred to the Appendix to Vol. I.

be accounted for partly by the liberties the translator took with the Old Testament text; partly by the fact that the text was sometimes different from what it now is. Sometimes the Hebrew is abbreviated; sometimes it is made more conformable to the Greek idiom by small additions or omissions. The language on the whole is good Hellenistic Greek, possessing considerable purity and taste. Hence it contrasts very favourably with that of the LXX., and approaches nearer to Theodotion.

The contents are the following:—

I. Chap. i. equivalent to 2 Chron. xxxv. xxxvi., giving an account of the magnificent passover-feast in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, and continuing the history till the Babylonish captivity.

II. Chap. ii. 1—15. equivalent to the first chapter of Ezra, relating the return of the people by Cyrus's permission, under the guidance of Sanabassar.

III. Chap. ii. 16—30. equivalent to Ezra iv. 7—24., describing Artaxerxes's prohibition of the building of the temple, till the second year of Darius.

IV. Chap. iii.—v. 6. contains a peculiar narrative respecting three young men who kept watch over the king, striving to excel one another in uttering the wisest sentence. The contest is conducted before Darius, with all his nobles and princes; and the victor Zorobabel gets permission from the king for the Jews to return to their own country and rebuild their city and temple.

V. Chapters v. 7—73. This portion is substantially the same as Ezra ii. 1—iv. 6., giving a list of the persons who returned with Zorobabel and others; the commencement of the rebuilding of the temple; and the obstacles by which it was interrupted "for the space of two years, until the reign of Darius."

VI. Chapters vi. vii. equivalent to Ezra v. vi. Here it is related how the temple is built under Darius by Zorobabel; is completed in the sixth year of Darius; and the passover kept.

VII. Chapters viii.—ix. 36. This portion is equivalent to Ezra vii.—x., giving an account of Ezra's return with that of his colony in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, and the putting away of strange wives.

VIII. Chap. ix. 37—55. equivalent to Neh. vii. 73—viii. 13., describing the public reading of the law by Ezra.

On comparing the work before us with the canonical writings belonging to the same times, persons, and transactions, various phenomena immediately present themselves as peculiar.

1. The letters contained in Ezra iv. 7—24. are here placed after the first chapter. Which position is the right one? Every thing is suitable and connected in the history as it is given in Ezra iv. 7—24. compared with what precedes and follows; but the order in the Apocryphal work is disturbing.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in 3 Esdras v. 68—71. Zorobabel and his companions refused the proffered assistance of the Samaritans in building the temple on the ground that *Cyrus* had

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Exeget. Handbuch in die Apokryphen, i. p. 5.

commanded *them* to rebuild it. Why appeal to an old command of Cyrus, when the writer had before related that *Darius* had given permission anew? In like manner the 70th verse of the same chapter is inapposite, where Cyrus is again mentioned in such a manner as would lead us to suppose that all which had occurred already had happened under *his* reign; whereas, according to the Apocryphal book, it took place under *Darius*. Josephus, who saw the difficulty arising out of the Apocryphal work, endeavoured to remove it in a singular way. He represents Zerubbabel as coming back again from Jerusalem to Darius, who makes him his body-guard. The Jews said to the Samaritans, according to the historian, that "it was impossible to permit them to be their partners, whilst they only had been appointed to build that temple, *at first by Cyrus, and now by Darius, &c.* Immediately after, the complaint to Darius is, not that the building *was begun again*, but that it was *too strong*, looking more like a citadel than a temple. What surprises one is, that Josephus did not compare the Hebrew, which would have resolved the difficulty at once. But he followed the Apocryphal Esdras without hesitation.<sup>1</sup>

2. The peculiar section in iii.—v. 6. was probably drawn from tradition, and received both its form and shape from the writer. It had no Hebrew or written basis; for the language is original Hellenistic, with the exception of v. 1—6., whose original is lost. The object of the whole is evidently to give the reason why Darius favoured the Jews so remarkably. There is a difficulty about Zorobabel in iv. 13. connected with v. 5. &c. Joacim, the son of Zorobabel, is represented as speaking wise sentences before Darius the king, in the second year of his reign. This has sometimes been removed by emendation.

3. According to ix. 37. &c., the public reading of the law took place under Ezra; whereas, the original text makes it to be much later, under Nehemiah. (Neh. vii. 73. &c.) It is now usually admitted that the account in 3 Esdras is the more correct one. Accordingly the words  $\text{אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ}$ , in Neh. viii. 9. are regarded as spurious. It is against this, however, that we find the words  $\text{Νεεμίας καὶ Ἀθηαρίας}$ , *Nehemias and Atharias* (v. 40.), which may be compared with Ezra ii. 63., Neh. vii. 65. The text seems to be corrupt. Whether the two names be identical, signifying the same person, or the latter be the title of the former, the Hebrew text should be emended.<sup>2</sup>

As to the integrity of the work, it is apparent that we do not possess it in a complete state. The close is abrupt, showing that something is wanting. Hence it may be fairly concluded that, as the last eighteen verses are taken from Neh. vii. 73—viii. 12., the Greek writer added matter equivalent to Neh. viii. 13—18. Zunz thinks that the seven missing chapters (Neh. i.—vii.) stood at first in the present book.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Josephus's *Antiqq.* xi. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Fritzsche in the *Exeget. Handbuch*, i. pp. 7, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 29.

It is difficult to ascertain anything definite about the translator and his time. He was a Hellenist, or Greek-speaking Jew, who lived in Palestine; as v. 47. leads us to suppose. Accordingly Zunz<sup>1</sup> pronounces the new piece iii. 1—v. 6. Palestinian in its origin. No trace of the time when the writer lived can be detected in the work. Josephus was acquainted with it, and followed it in place of the canonical text; so that he must have attached a high value to the contents. (Comp. Antiqq. xi. 1. 1—5., x. 4, 5.)<sup>2</sup> Hence its composition may be placed in the first century before Christ.

There are various versions of the book. The old Latin, which is in Sabatier's work, is not in a very pure state. The Syriac, too, in Walton has suffered in its text. The version belonging to the Vulgate is the old Latin one improved. The Armenian version is useless in a critical respect, if we may judge from the readings of Holmes and Parsons.

It is difficult to discover the object for which this compilation was made. It may perhaps have been intended to present a continuous history of greater extent than that included in the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah; but this is frustrated by its present fragmentary character. De Wette says truly, that it has no historical, but merely a philological and critical value.<sup>3</sup> In applying it, however, to the criticism of the Hebrew text, great caution and care should be used; for the translator not only took many liberties with the original, but fell into numerous mistakes. Hence it becomes a difficult matter, in many cases, to distinguish the authentic readings of the Hebrew recension he followed from his own diversified matter and language. Eichhorn has collated many words, which will serve as specimens to the critic who wishes to pursue the inquiry.<sup>4</sup>

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## CHAP. II.

### THE FOURTH BOOK OF ESDRAS (SECOND ESDRAS, ENGLISH VERSION).

IN the Latin text this production is called *the fourth* book of Esdras, as it is by Jerome. But in the Greek church it was denominated Ἀποκάλυψις or προφητεία Ἐσδρα, *the Apocalypse* or *prophecy of Esdras*. In the Arabic and Ethiopic it is called the *first* book of Esdras, because in them the last two chapters (xv. xvi.) of the Latin text are reckoned an independent production, to which was given the name of the *second* Esdras.

There are three texts of this book, viz. the Latin, which is the oldest, printed in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott, and in the third volume of Sabatier, as well as elsewhere; the Arabic, found

<sup>1</sup> Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, pp. 105, 106.

<sup>2</sup> See Eichhorn's Einleitung in die Apokryphischen Schriften, u. s. w. p. 347. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, p. 441.

<sup>4</sup> Einleitung in die Apokryphischen, u. s. w. p. 354. *et seqq.*

in two MSS. in the Bodleian library, not yet printed; the Ethiopic, published by Laurence from a MS. in the Bodleian, with a Latin and English translation.

There can be no doubt that the Latin is a translation from the Greek. This is apparent from Latin words in it which have been formed from Greek ones; from Græcisms in construction, such as the genitive absolute; and from mistakes in translation resolvable only by means of a Greek original. It is of the same character as the *Versio Vetus*, or old ante-Hieronymian version. All that can be certainly known respecting its age is, that it is older than Ambrose, since his citations from the work agree with the present Latin text. And it is considerably older than Ambrose, if two quotations in Tertullian be really taken from it<sup>1</sup>, as some have supposed, including Oehler, the latest editor of Tertullian.

The Arabic version was translated by Simon Ockley and published by Whiston in his "Primitive Christianity Revived." (vol. iv.) It wants the first two and last two chapters of the Latin, which are in neither of the Arabic MSS. The text is more paraphrastic than the Latin, and appears to have been made independently from the Greek. Besides, the Greek text was different from the one the Latin translator used; as we infer, not merely because four chapters are wanting, but also because a section is inserted in the seventh chapter between the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth verses, which is not in the Latin. Lücke<sup>2</sup> thinks that it was not made before the seventh century.

It is to be regretted that the Ethiopic MS. used by Laurence has many mistakes; and that his version requires correction by means of a better knowledge of the language. Van der Vlis<sup>3</sup> has shown that it was made directly from a Greek text. It is not so literal as the Latin; and not so paraphrastic as the Arabic. The contents agree with those in the Arabic version. All that can be determined respecting its age is, that it was later than the fourth century.

The contents of the book are in brief the following:—

Ezra, a captive in the land of the Medes, receives a command from God to announce to the people that God would cast them off for their disobedience, and turn his grace towards a nation from the East. The mother of the people, *i. e.* Zion, calls upon her children to ask God for mercy. But the prophet calls for righteous judgment upon them. God says to Ezra, that he would give his covenant-people the kingdom of Jerusalem. Ezra received this charge upon Mount Horeb; he delivers it, but is despised. He turns accordingly to the people who were ready for the kingdom of God, and addresses them. After this he sees on Mount Zion a great multitude praising God; and, in the midst of them, the Son of God putting a crown on them.

From the third to the fourteenth chapter inclusive forms a connected whole, having no relation to the first two chapters.

In the thirteenth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, Ezra

<sup>1</sup> Adversus Marc. iv. 16., and De præscript. hæret. 3., from xv. 1. and viii. 20. respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Versuch einer vollständigen Einleit. in die Offenbarung des Johannes, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Disputatio critica de Ezrae libro apocrypho vulgo quarto dicto, p. 77. et seqq.

was in Babylon and troubled in mind. He began, therefore, to pray to God, and acknowledge the sins of the people; but complained that the heathen ruled over them, though *they* were still more wicked. The angel Uriel being sent to him declares the ignorance of Ezra respecting the divine judgments, and advises him not to meddle with things above his understanding. Ezra states that he is content to know only worldly things; yet he asks various questions and receives replies. In consequence of a question put to the angel, the signs of the time to come are declared. The first vision which he sees in his dream terminates with v. 14.; on which, he awakes exhausted. But the angel strengthens him.

On the second night, Salathiel the captain of the people comes to him, complaining of his absence, and requesting him not to forsake the people committed to him in the land of captivity. But Ezra sends him away, and, having fasted seven days, he receives the second vision. Here he asks, why God choosing but one people cast them off; in answer to which he is taught that God's judgments are unsearchable; and that the Divine Being does not perform all at once. God's purpose is eternal. The next world shall follow this immediately. The end of the present world will be attended with great and terrifying natural phenomena, as well as by war among men. He is promised a new vision.

The third vision begins with vi. 35. and reaches to ix. 25.

In ix. 26. it is related that he goes into the field Ardath and does as he was commanded; after which begins the fourth vision, ix. 27 — x. 60.

Chapters xi. and xii. contain the fifth dream-vision.

The sixth vision is in the thirteenth chapter.

In the fourteenth chapter, a voice out of a bush calls him, and tells him that the world is growing old. On his complaining of the law having been burnt, he is commanded to take with him five ready writers, and write all that should be revealed. Having drunk a cup of inspiration, he dictated to the five, for the space of forty days, and they wrote 204 books. The first 134 he was commanded to publish; the last 70 were to be delivered to the wise only.

As the Arabic and Ethiopic terminate here with the fourteenth chapter, they add a few words respecting Ezra's translation to heaven, and give the year of his death very differently. But in the Latin, the voice of God, which had begun to speak to Ezra at the forty-fifth verse of the fourteenth chapter, is continued. A new prophecy is delivered to him respecting the destruction of the nations, especially Egypt. Other places are threatened. The people of God are exhorted to repentance in the mean time.

Before speaking of the age of this production, we must first refer to the Greek text whence the Latin was made. Clement of Alexandria expressly quotes a passage from v. 35. with the introductory formula, "Esdras the prophet says."<sup>1</sup> Some have also thought it is cited in the Epistle of Barnabas (chap. xii.), where, in like manner, Ezra would be termed a *prophet*. But it is more probable, as Lücke

<sup>1</sup> Stromata, iii. 16.

supposes, that the writer of the so-called Barnabas Epistle cited from another apocryphal book. Colesius, Jacobson, and Hefele also believe that in the first Epistle of Clement (chap. l.), there is an allusion to 4 Esdr̄as ii. 16.; while Jachmann finds traces of its use in the "Pastor of Hermas." But these references cannot be allowed. The only sure testimony to the existence of the book in the second century is Clement's. It is quite a mistake to say, as a writer in Kitto's Cyclopædia does, that Irenæus looked upon the book as canonical and divine; for there is no evidence that he was even aware of its existence.<sup>1</sup>

Was the Greek translated from a Hebrew original? John Morin supposed that the book could not have been written in Greek at first, because it is so thoroughly Jewish in every respect. Bretschneider also endeavoured to show from the Latin, that mistakes made by the Greek translator betrayed a Hebrew original.<sup>2</sup> But these are all conjectural. There can be no doubt that it was written at first in Greek; for it is pervaded by Græcisms inconsistent with a version. This has been proved by Van der Vliet.<sup>3</sup>

When was the book written? Here we must regard only *the proper contents*, viz. chapters iii.—xiv.; for the remaining chapters did not originally belong to these. The author was a Jew, as appears from the whole matter and manner. He personates Ezra and his situation, attributing to him wonderful wisdom and inspiration. The name of God is nowhere found but in Israel (iii. 30.); Israel keep the divine precepts, but not the heathen. (iii. 36.). The Messiah is spoken of as future. Even his death is spoken of in a Jewish, not a Christian way. There are also Jewish mythical ideas interwoven with the author's descriptions of land and water, behemoth, and leviathan.<sup>4</sup>

It is *possible* that the Jewish author may have lived after Christ, as some have supposed. Yet it is very improbable. From the quotation made by Clement of Alexandria, it must, if post-Christian, have been written in the first century or beginning of the second after Christ; since it must have been known in the church a considerable time previously to the citation. But such a production as this would hardly have obtained general currency or acceptance among Christians at a time when Judaism and Christianity were in sharp conflict, had it first appeared after the Pauline epoch. Besides, the apocalyptic situation and chronology of it are adverse to its composition after the advent of Christ.

In the eleventh chapter is described an eagle, rising from the sea, which had twelve feathered wings and three heads, denoting the Roman empire. This is taken from the fourth empire of Daniel, which was interpreted to mean the Roman, in the Roman period of Jewish history, *but not before*. This, the current opinion, is followed by the writer of the present book. Hence we are led to see, that

<sup>1</sup> See Lücke's Versuch einer vollst. Einleit. pp. 151, 152.

<sup>2</sup> In Henke's Museum, vol. iii. p. 478. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Disputatio Critica, &c., chapters i. and ii.

<sup>4</sup> See Lücke's Versuch, u. s. w. p. 189. *et seqq.*

he could not have written before the middle of the first century before Christ, when that view of Daniel's fourth empire began to be entertained.

A good deal of ingenious speculation has been indulged in respecting the precise meaning of the twelve wings, three heads, and small feathers growing out of other feathers belonging to the eagle; for the purpose of ascertaining the precise point of Roman history indicated. Laurence<sup>1</sup>, Gfrörer<sup>2</sup>, Van der Vlis<sup>3</sup>, B. Bauer,<sup>4</sup> Wieseler<sup>5</sup>, and Lücke, have tried to eliminate the time by this means; though with little effect. All that can be probably inferred is, that the writer lived in the time of the three heads; and after the middle, which was the larger head, had disappeared. These were Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar. In xi. 35. it is said that the right head devoured the left, *i. e.* Cæsar conquered Pompey. Hence the author wrote after Pompey's death. But he could not have written after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; for this is not mentioned or implied; since such passages as i. 1—29., x. 28—36., xii. 44. &c., relate to the assumed stand-point of Ezra himself, after the destruction of the city by the Babylonians. The last conflict of the Roman empire with the theocracy had not happened, but was impending. Thus the book was composed shortly before the advent of Christ, somewhere about 40 B.C. This is not very different from the date assigned by Laurence, *viz.* between 28 and 25 B.C.; or that of Van Vlis, soon after the death of Julius Cæsar. But Gfrörer, Wieseler, and Bauer assign the date 94 or 95 A.C.<sup>6</sup> Everything conspires to show that its birth-place was Egypt, not Palestine. This is confirmed by the fact that the Jewish Sibyllines allude to Roman history in the same manner; whereas, such references as characterise the Palestinian book of Enoch, are absent.

Laurence rightly perceived that the work must have been early interpolated by the Christians.<sup>7</sup> Things too Jewish were omitted; and glosses were inserted, or additions made, which served to adapt it more nearly to Christian ideas. As an example, we refer to vii. 28., *filius meus Jesus*, my son Jesus, instead of which the Ethiopic has, *my Messiah*; and the Arabic, *my son Messiah*. The Arabic omits *et morietur filius meus Christus*, in vii. 29.; and the Ethiopic, 400 years, in vii. 28.

The later appendix, consisting of chapters xv. and xvi., was written in Egypt, as internal evidence proves. So also the first two chapters. Both betray a Christian origin; for in the first two chapters, the Old Testament people are described as already rejected, and the New Testament people received into their place, while some places appear to be reminiscences of John's Apocalypse (ii. 36. 43—45.); and in the

<sup>1</sup> *Primi Ezrae libri Versio Æthiopica*, General Remarks, p. 317. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrhundert des Heils*, i. p. 70 *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Disputatio Critica*, &c., p. 177. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> In the *Berliner Jahrbüch, für wissent. Kritik*, 1841, p. 837. *et seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Die Jahrwochen Daniels*, p. 206. *et seqq.*

<sup>6</sup> See Lücke, p. 196. *et seqq.*

<sup>7</sup> *Primi Ezrae libri Versio Æthiopica*, General Remarks, p. 317. &c.

last two chapters, an acquaintance with the Apocalypse of John may also be detected (xv. 8. 13. 40.). Neither piece has any connection with the work itself, which consists of chapters iii.—xiv.

It has been found that the Ethiopic and Arabic versions are older and better representatives of the original Greek text than the Latin. This has been inferred, not only from their wanting the four chapters, which were of later origin; but also from the addition in vii. 35, 36., a considerable part of which Ambrose quotes, though it is not in the Latin text.

It has been observed by Van der Vlis, that the Latin translation of chapters i. ii. and xv. xvi. differs from that of the remainder in having fewer mistakes and corruptions, as well as in being derived from Greek written in a better style. Probably the Latin had not at first those chapters. In most Latin MSS. of the book they are wanting.

Various Latin MSS. of the Bible have the last two chapters as the fifth book of Esdras. Laurence mentions one codex in the British Museum which speaks of *the six* books of Esdras or Ezra, *i. e.* Ezra (1.), Nehemiah (2.), Ezra (3.), *i. e.* the first two chapters of the present work, Ezra (4.), *i. e.* the third Esdras in the LXX., Ezra (5.), *i. e.* the fourth book of Esdras (ch. iii.—xiv.), Ezra (6.), containing the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters.

The fourth book of Esdras is a very interesting specimen of the later Jewish apocalyptic literature. As a record of Jewish sentiments on several important points shortly before the rise of Christianity, it deserves no inconsiderable attention. The descriptions are spirited and striking. The original language must have been excellent Hellenistic Greek, corresponding in elegance and manner to the bold, original ideas which it bodies forth. The writer was by no means deficient in invention, mental energy, and artistic skill. It is apparent that Daniel is the type; especially in some visions. To that work and the book of Enoch it has most resemblance. But as Enoch is of *Palestinian*, and fourth Esdras of *Alexandrian* origin, there are diversities between them.

Very few have regarded the book as the authentic production of Ezra, except some fanatics and mystics. A writer in Kitto's Cyclopædia incorrectly asserts that Whiston considered it in this light; whereas that eccentric scholar thought it to be the production of a Jewish Christian about 99 or 100 years after Christ.<sup>1</sup>

The Roman Catholic church always rejected the fourth book of Esdras, not esteeming it canonical; and Luther did not translate it.

<sup>1</sup> See Essay on the Apostolic Constitutions, pp. 38, 39., in his Primitive Christianity revived.

## CHAP. III.

## THE BOOK OF TOBIT.

THE book of Tobit is entitled *βιβλος λόγων Τωβίτ*, a phrase taken from the commencement; or simply *Τωβίτ*, in Latin *Tobias*, *liber Tobiaë*, *Tobit et Tobias*, *liber utriusque Tobiaë*.

The history contained in the book runs as follows:

Tobit, of the tribe of Naphtali, was carried away captive to Nineveh in the time of Shalmaneser king of Assyria. He was a pious and upright man, punctilious in the observance of the law, and free from idolatry. He married Hannah, of his own kindred, and had by her a son, Tobias. Under Shalmaneser his condition was prosperous; for he became his purveyor, and deposited with Gabael at Rages, in Media, ten talents of silver. But under Sennacherib, who killed many of the Jews, he was obliged to flee because of his alms and charity in burying the dead bodies of his countrymen; so that he lost all he had. After Sennacherib's murder, he was permitted to return to Nineveh under Esarhaddon, at the intercession of Achiacharus, his brother's son. Soon after he lost his eyesight through birds, in consequence of his sleeping outside by the wall of his courtyard with his face uncovered, after burying a poor Israelite who had been strangled and thrown into the market-place. But though now blind and poor, he was conscientiously upright. When his wife received the present of a kid, Tobit thought it had been stolen, and got into an altercation with his wife about it, who taunted him with his alms and righteous deeds. Being grieved, he prayed to God that he might die. On the same day, Sara, being reproached by her father's maids, betook herself to God in prayer. She was the daughter of Raguel in Ecbatana, and had lost seven husbands on the bridal night, by the instrumentality of Asmodeus the evil spirit. Raphael accordingly was sent to both.

Expecting death, as he wished, Tobit gave instructions to his son Tobias, telling him of the money left with Gabael in Media. Accordingly young Tobias went to Media to fetch the money, accompanied by an angel, who offered to be his guide, and who called himself Azarias, son of Ananias. On their journey to Ecbatana they came to the Tigris, where Tobias took a fish which leaped out of the river and would have devoured him, drew it to land, and took out of it the heart, liver, and gall, at the command of the angel. He was also advised by the angel to marry Sara, the daughter of Raguel, being the only man of her kindred. When he hesitated on account of what had befallen the maid, the angel taught him how to drive away the wicked spirit. Raguel gave his daughter in marriage to the young man who drove away the wicked spirit, as he had been taught. Asmodeus fled accordingly into the utmost parts of Egypt, where the angel bound him. As Tobias was obliged to stay fourteen days for the wedding feast, he sent the angel to Gabael for the money. The latter brought Gabael himself to the wedding. On the expiration of the

wedding feast, Raguel sent away Tobias and his wife with half their goods, blessing them at their departure. As the travellers approached Nineveh, Raphael advised Tobias to hasten forward before his wife, and apply the gall of the fish to the father's eyes at their first meeting. Tobit recovered his sight by this means. The daughter-in-law was joyfully welcomed, and Tobit's wedding was celebrated seven days. On Tobit's offering the angel half of what he had, the latter immediately took father and son aside, blessed them, and exhorted them to be faithful to their God; telling them that he was Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, and was now returning to heaven. Accordingly he disappeared. We have then a song of praise to God, written down by Tobit, containing prophetic glances into the future. The book closes with various particulars of the family. Tobit attains to an unusual age, and advises his son to leave Nineveh, because it was to be destroyed according to the predictions of Jonah. After the death of father and mother, Tobias removed to Ecbatana, and there died, having first heard of Nineveh's destruction.

There are different texts of this narrative. The Greek text in the Septuagint is the one usually followed, because it was that of the Greek church. There is another revised Greek text, which has been preserved only in part. Closely related to this latter was a Syriac version, which, however, is extant only from vii. 10. There are three Latin versions, varying considerably,—the old Latin, the Vulgate, and one printed by Sabatier among the various readings of the *Versio Vetus*. There are also two different Hebrew texts, one printed at Constantinople, 1517, 4to., for which Fagius afterwards made a Latin translation. The other was first printed by Sebastian Münster, at Basil, 1542, 8vo., and often afterwards. Both are in Walton's Polyglott.

The relation of these texts to one another is of a kind which gives rise to many conjectures. They differ in names, numbers, secondary circumstances, forms and turns of speech; being sometimes shorter, at others longer. But the general basis and form of the narrative is the same in all. Two hypotheses are therefore possible; viz., the various writers elaborated the same materials independently of one another; or there was a written document on the basis of which the present works were made with some degree of independence in the treatment of the materials. The latter hypothesis seems to be the true one; and then the problem presented for discussion is an investigation of *the common basis*.

Those interested in minute discussions of this nature must have recourse to Ilgen's work, in which the first scientific attempt was made to solve the problem in question.<sup>1</sup> Here great critical sagacity and tact are displayed. The result arrived at was adopted by Bertholdt; and, with some exceptions, by De Wette. We believe, however, that the critic's ingenuity constructed a complicated fabric of very frail materials. More successful than Ilgen has been the

<sup>1</sup> Die Geschichte Tobit's nach drey verschiedenen Originalen, dem Griechischen, dem Lateinischen des Hieronymus und einem Syrischen, uebersetzt und mit Anmerkungen exegetischen und kritischen Inhalts, auch einer Einleitung versehen, Jena, 1800.

most recent writer on the subject, Fritzsche<sup>1</sup>, which has arisen from his being of a less constructive propensity.

The Greek text in the LXX., though not the first, is that which approaches nearest of all to the original one. This fact is admitted even by Huet and Houbigant; though Catholics generally prefer the Vulgate. Here the narrative is simplest: by it we can explain why alterations were adopted in the other texts: and it may even be corrected in some places not yet corrupted by means of them; whereas the later texts give no such assistance in passages where *it* had been corrupted before them.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to decide whether the Greek be an original or a version. Ilgen has pointed out many mistakes of *the translator*, as he conceives; but although it is not clear that they all bear the character he assigns to them, some are unquestionably such, as iii. 6., iv. 19., notwithstanding Fritzsche's assertion of the contrary.<sup>3</sup> The Hebraising tone also shows that the original was in Hebrew. The strong barbarisms of diction favour the same view. Hence it was probably written in Hebrew. Fritzsche thinks that a Jew was capable of writing it in Greek as it stands; but it is most unlikely that a *Palestinian* Jew (and from such it must have proceeded) could or would have so composed it. It is true that Origen evinced no knowledge of a Hebrew text, and that the Chaldee from which Jerome translated was a later production; but this is insufficient to shake the Hebrew originality.

The Greek text, of which we are speaking, has been preserved in a tolerably pure state. Holmes and Parsons collated eighteen MSS. of it. The Syriac version printed in the London Polyglott was made from it as far as vii. 9., according to the marginal annotation in Ussher's MS. The remaining part must therefore have been taken from another edition.

Besides this, there is another Greek text in the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, printed by Tischendorf, in 1846; and in 44. 106. 107. of Holmes and Parsons. The first codex contains it from i. 1. to ii. 2., the remainder being lost. The last three MSS. give it from vi. 9.—xiii.; the remaining chapters in them being *the earlier text*. On comparing this text with the preceding one, it appears to be nothing more than a revision. Abbreviations and enlargements are made. Names, numbers, words, are altered. These are usually for the better; at least they are such as make the Greek rounder, fuller, and more perspicuous; for the turns and constructions are improved. Fritzsche has endeavoured to restore the text in question as far as possible; and to exhibit it with the necessary critical apparatus.

The Hebrew text printed at Constantinople and Latinised by Fagius (H. F. in Fritzsche) is nothing more than a paraphrase of the Greek. It does not differ much from the source whence it was taken. There are, indeed, minor changes, consisting in explanatory additions, enlargement of whatever is ascetic in the matter, and various abridgments. There are also many misapprehensions of the

<sup>1</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Die Geschichte Tobit's, u. s. w. p. cxxii. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See Exeget. Handbuch, ii. p. 8., Einleit. in das Buch Tobit.

original. It is apparent besides that the translator had more than one text before him in some places; and that the readings of both texts have been mixed up, more or less, since the version was made. Ilgen assigns it to a Constantinopolitan Jew of the twelfth century; Fritzsche places it a century earlier.<sup>1</sup>

The other Hebrew text published for the first time by Seb. Münster, and marked H. M. by Fritzsche, is simply the revision of an existing text, not a first translation. The old Latin seems to have been the basis on which the redactor worked, and which he treated with great freedom. The alterations made were many; the original text being shortened considerably, and Jewish legendary materials contributing to the disfigurement of the story. Hence the author was a Jew; not a Christian, as Eichhorn<sup>2</sup> conjectured. Ilgen supposes that he lived in Italy in the fifth century; but Fritzsche thinks that this Hebrew text is even younger than H. F.<sup>3</sup>

The old Latin text was first published by Sabatier from two MSS. of about the eighth century. This editor also published the various readings of another codex, defective in many places. He had also another MS. belonging to the Vatican (No. 7.); the text in which differed so much from that of the other MSS. that he judged it to be a different version, though taken from the same Greek original. But the codex is incomplete, containing no more than i. 1—vi. 12., verses 13. and 14. being from the Vulgate. On comparing the latter with the other text, it is obviously later; and the Latin is less barbarous.

Angelo Mai has also printed the citations of the book contained in the *Speculum* of Augustine, which exhibits a very old MS.<sup>4</sup> Judging from these, the text was revised and made easier, often enlarged, sometimes abridged.

The language of the old Latin version is barbarous; and the style diffuse and prolix. It shows the efforts of one who had very considerable difficulty in translating the Greek into Latin. In regard to the original of it, Fritzsche gives the following results of his investigations. 1. The greater part was made from the revised Greek text already described. 2. In various places the usual Greek text was the basis, as vi. 15—17., vii. 15—18., viii. 14—17., xii. 6—9. 11—22., xiii. 6—18. 3. x. 1—xi. 19. is a mixture of both texts. 4. There is a tolerably numerous list of peculiar additions to, and modifications in, the story. Probably the additions belonged, for the most part, to the Latins.<sup>5</sup> The version appears to belong to the second or third century, and to have been made in Africa. The text must have suffered many changes and corruptions in the course of transmission, since the various readings are so numerous.

The Latin text in the Vulgate is a version which Jerome made from a Chaldee copy, as he himself relates. The Greek was not used. There is a considerable difference too between it and the

<sup>1</sup> See the Exeget. Handbuch, ii. pp. 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 418.

<sup>3</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, ii. p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Spicilegium Romanum, vol. ix. after pp. 21—23.

<sup>5</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, ii. Einleit. pp. 11, 12.

Greek; and the story in both is not exactly the same. Thus, the Greek text makes Tobit speak of himself in the first person, and relate his own life; whereas Jerome's version speaks of him in the third person, and assumes another than Tobit as the author. The former is more copious in the moral part; the latter, in the historical.

It has been suspected, with good reason, that although the Greek text was not consulted in making this Latin version, the Chaldee original was not the sole basis of it. The language is too little Hebraising to justify the idea of its being a *proper translation*. The style also is unlike that of Jerome, being much less neat and elegant than his. It agrees in many respects with the old Latin text. Besides, there is a Christian and monkish character about the book as it appears in this form, which could not have belonged to the Chaldee exemplar. It appears more like an extract or abridgment from a larger work, filled out with other traits so as to give more concinnity to the narrative, and adapt it to practical use. Hence it must be inferred, that Jerome used the Chaldee original in a very cursory and arbitrary way. He abridged it without doubt; and paid quite as much regard to the old Latin as to it, in making the present version. The Chaldee was the original basis, as he himself relates; but he must have subsequently used the old Latin very freely in adapting his work to ecclesiastical use. There is more of the latter element in it than of the Chaldee. Accordingly, it is of a mongrel nature. It is strange that Jerome has never mentioned any but the Chaldee copy as the original of his version. As Fritzsche says, he has told *the truth*, but not *the whole truth*.<sup>1</sup>

The translation thus made soon supplanted the old Latin, and became the authentic one of the Latin church. As contained in the Vulgate, it is that adopted by Roman Catholics. Luther translated from it. The version in our English Bibles was made from the Greek.

It has been disputed whether the contents of the book be historical. Scholz<sup>2</sup>, and most others belonging to the Roman Catholic church, suppose the narrative to be *proper history*. In favour of this view it is alleged, that the principal occurrence in the book is brought into such connection with other well-known events as no fictitious story exhibits. The minute account of the tribe to which Tobit belongs, and of many family particulars, are also alleged in opposition to the assumption of a fictitious narrative. Historical and geographical notices, which are always accurate, are adduced on behalf of the same opinion. But these things weigh little over against the general tone and character of the work, with its marvellous contents, and its partial similarity to Job; all favouring another view.

Others, as Ilgen, suppose that the basis alone is historical, the rest being fictitious ornament. The *essentials* are real history; but the filling up of the outline, and the dress in which it is clothed, belong to the writer himself; or were in part traditional, having been orally

<sup>1</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, ii. Einleit. pp. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften, u. s. w. vol. ii. pp. 562, 563.

transmitted for centuries, and received a certain shape in their progress. Any attempt to separate the historical basis from the fabulous elements must, of course, be purely subjective; since proper data are wanting towards the elimination of the respective parts.

A third opinion is, that the whole is a fable, written for some definite purpose. This is held by Jahn, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Fritzsche; and it appears to us most consistent with the contents and tone of the work. There are difficulties which cannot be cleared away on any other hypothesis. Such as,—

Seven angels are represented as standing before God and bringing the prayers of the pious before his throne. (xii. 12. 15.) The angel Raphael, in a human form, gives a false account of his belonging to an Israelitish tribe and family; and makes, with Tobias, a very long journey, above a thousand miles. (chap. v. and following.) The evil spirit Asmodeus burns with lust for the beautiful Sara, and through envy, all the men who approached his beloved were smitten; while the smoke arising from the heart and liver of a fish drove him away; and he was bound by an angel or good spirit in Upper Egypt. (vi. 9. 20., viii. 2, 3.) It is difficult to see how the sparrows could have muted warm dung into both Tobit's eyes at once, depriving him of sight ever after; and how the gall of a very peculiar fish, or rather river-monster, could have restored it. Tobit and Sara are innocently reproached at the same time; both pray for speedy death; and both receive help from the angel Raphael. This is a peculiar coincidence, such as is most uncommon in actual life at the very same time. (chap. iii.) Again, Rages or Raga, in Media, was built by Seleucus Nicator, according to Strabo; and therefore it did not exist before 300 B.C.; whereas, it is here said to have existed in Alexander's time, *i. e.* 700 B.C. It is true that Arrian mentions Raga in the campaigns of Alexander; but he calls it a *land* or *country* (*χωρος*), and does not speak of a town. The book also states that Tobit was carried away by Shalmaneser to Nineveh; whereas the tribe of Naphtali had been already transported by Tiglathpileser. (Comp. i. 2. with 2 Kings xv. 29.)<sup>1</sup>

The historical and geographical difficulties just mentioned are not all insuperable. Yet *some* appear as such. And there are certainly phenomena that are physically incredible, as the blinding and cure of Tobit. The miraculous in this instance takes the shape of the incredible. Hence, most of the particulars enumerated are favourable to the hypothesis which finds nothing but fiction in the story. Besides, the chief names that appear are significant. Tobit or טובי in Hebrew, is *my goodness*; the son Tobias (טוביה), *good is Jehovah*, &c. &c.

If then the history be fictitious, the question arises, What was the object of the writer? What is the moral of the fable? The narrative was intended to show that the truly pious man who perseveres in relying on God, in good works, and in prayer, is well

<sup>1</sup> See Jahn's *Einleit.* vol. ii. p. 896. *et seqq.*

rewarded at last. This may be deduced from the words of the angel to Tobit and his son in xii. 6—10.

It is very difficult to determine the date of the book. At one time the prevailing opinion was, that Tobit wrote the first thirteen chapters; Tobias, the son, the greater part of the fourteenth; some unknown person, perhaps the grandson, having added the last four verses. Later critics, such as Arnold, Sainte-Croix, and Scholz, suppose that the father and son left family memoirs, which were compiled or put together in their present shape by some later person; in the time of the Greek-Macedonian dominion, as Scholz conjectures.<sup>1</sup> But it cannot be made probable that the original was Hebrew, and is now lost. We must take the Greek in the Septuagint as *virtually* the original, and reason from it to the authorship and time. Neither Philo nor Josephus refer to it; and the earliest allusion is after the middle of the second century of the Christian era. Hence there is some reason to doubt, with Eichhorn, whether it be an ante-Christian production. Fabricius places it 100 years after Christ.<sup>2</sup> We believe that Scholz's date is too early. The book represents seven archangels about the throne of God; a doctrine which did not obtain currency among the Jews till after the reign of Darius Hystaspes; for the custom of surrounding the throne of the Persian monarchs with seven councillors of state was introduced by that monarch, and gave occasion to the doctrine in question. We do not think that the work can be placed so late as the commencement of the Christian era; for it is a Jewish production; and the literary monuments of that time proceeding from Jews bear a different character. There is a simplicity and naturalness about it unlike the artificiality and superstitious air belonging to the productions of the first century before Christ. Hence it must be dated, with Fritzsche<sup>3</sup>, either immediately before, or immediately after, the Maccabean period. We prefer the latter. Ewald conjectures that it was composed by a Jew living in the remote East, not much later than the end of the Persian period; and that it was translated out of the Hebrew original into Greek, perhaps in the last century before Christ, or still later.<sup>4</sup> The spirit of the work is decidedly Palestinian. The tone of its ethical doctrine points to the Judaism of that land; which is corroborated by the manner of writing. (See iv. 5. &c., vi. 7. 14., viii. 3., xii. 8., compared with Wisdom viii. 7., 4 Macc. i. 6.) It does not necessarily follow that the author wrote it in Palestine; though that is the most probable opinion. The rising Pharisaism of Palestine may be discerned in the four cardinal virtues set forth in the work; viz., prayer, fasting, alms, and righteousness.

The value of the book cannot well be denied by any impartial judge. The language, indeed, is Hebraising and marked with solecisms; but it has a definite stamp. The story is characterised by originality and simplicity; for which reason it has always been popular. Though the book of Job was evidently in the author's

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, ii. p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Liber Tobiae, Judith, &c., p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Geschichte des Volks Israel, vol. iii. 2. p. 237.

mind, influencing particular portions of the narrative more or less prominently, there is a degree of independence far removed from the copyist. Here piety is delineated in an attractive and interesting manner. Its fruits are described in their salutary and conserving power over men. Human affection is also depicted in an artless and natural way. Religious earnestness pervades the work. The speeches and dialogues are appropriate. They are neither prolix nor unsuitable. Persevering piety unaffected by prevailing corruption is seen in attractive colours, passing through severe trials, but rewarded and victorious in the end. Hence Luther pronounces a very favourable opinion upon the work, calling it *useful and good to read as the production of a fine Hebrew poet.*

The Jews never regarded it as belonging to the canon, as Origen expressly testifies. This is confirmed by the fact that the oldest lists of the Jewish canonical books in the Fathers—in Melito, Origen, and Jerome—omit it; while Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory of Nazianzum, Epiphanius, Hilary, and Jerome, declare it apocryphal.

In the Greek church, Clement of Alexandria quotes xii. 8. as taken from ἡ γραφή, *Scripture*; and therefore he must have regarded it as a sacred book. Even Origen in two places cites it as *Scripture* or *γραφή*, like Clement. But afterwards, in consequence of Origen's declaration concerning it, viz., that the Jews did not use it, and that they spoke against it (Epist. ad Africanum, and de Oratione), the Greek fathers put it among the apocryphal writings.

There is some inconsistency in Origen where he speaks of Tobit in different places; or perhaps he meant to place the opinion of the Jews and the diverse sentiments either of himself or of the Christians generally, in contrast. If he intended the latter, he has not expressed his meaning clearly. De Wette<sup>1</sup> is right in supposing that there is either inconsistency or obscurity in his statements on the point. According to Athanasius, it was not among the *canonical* writings but among those which were proposed by the fathers to be read by such as were growing up and wished to be instructed in the word of piety.<sup>2</sup> It was read by the church as useful for edification; in catechising and preaching it was practically applied; but doctrinally and theoretically it had no authority. This distinction, however, between *canonical* and *apocryphal* afterwards disappeared, if not in the Greek church generally, at least here and there; for in the Nomocanon of the Antiochian church, composed by Bar-Hebræus, Tobit appears among the sacred books.

In the Latin church the work was valued more highly than in the Greek. Thus Cyprian of the African branch frequently cites it; and in such a way as indicates a high appreciation of its value. In one place he calls it *divine Scripture*. Ambrose calls it a *prophetic book*. Hilary states that some wished to add to the list of books Tobit and Judith; and so to make twenty-four, after the number of letters in the Greek alphabet. Indeed, both Hilary and Augustine

<sup>1</sup> Einleit in das A. T. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> See the original passage in Kirchofer's Quellensammlung, p. 9.

use it as *canonical*. The influence of the latter is seen in the reception of the book after his day. The third council of Carthage, A.D. 397, formally declared the canonicity of Tobit; a judgment also pronounced by the Roman bishop Innocent I. (A.D. 405) in an epistle to Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse. Jerome declared that it was not found in the Jewish canon; but he himself expressed no opinion unfavourable to it. In the Roman church the book was canonical, as we see from the decree of Pope Gelasius. And though several fathers spoke of it as the Greek church usually did; yet in this they gave their private sentiments merely; for among the Latins generally it was unquestionably canonical. The decree of the council of Florence in 1439, relating to the work, has been suspected as spurious. The council of Trent (1546) pronounced it canonical, adding an anathema against all who differed in opinion. We have already seen that Luther recommends the book as useful in promoting piety; and Pellican speaks more strongly than he, saying that it is full of the most salutary instructions, pertaining both to faith and morals; and that both language and contents show the author to have been imbued with a prophetic and holy spirit.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAP. IV.

### THE BOOK OF JUDITH.

THE book of Judith relates how a Jewish widow, by name Judith, delivered her native town Bethulia and all Israel from destruction by the Assyrians.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Nineveh in Assyria, made war against Arphaxad, king of Media, who resided in the fortified city of Ecbatana. Having threatened all who would not aid him, he marched against Arphaxad, whom he slew, and whose city he utterly destroyed. After himself and his army, on returning to Nineveh, had indulged in revels for the space of 120 days, he resolved to wreak his vengeance on the whole earth. Holofernes was appointed general. Accordingly, the latter proceeded on his destructive campaign, with orders to spare none that would not submit. With a well-equipped army he marched forward till he went down into the plain of Damascus. Nothing was able to withstand him; he wasted, destroyed, and murdered. The inhabitants of the sea-coast begged for peace; yet Holofernes cut down their groves and destroyed their gods, that all nations might worship Nebuchadnezzar alone. Approaching Judea, he pitched between Geba and Scythopolis, that he might collect all the baggage of his army. Under these circumstances the Jews were afraid of him, and were in great trouble for Jerusalem and the temple. They had but recently returned from

<sup>1</sup> See Fritzsche in the Exeget. Handbuch, ii. Einleit. pp. 18, 19.

the captivity; and the house of God was not long re-dedicated. The high-priest Joakim wrote to charge the inhabitants to fortify the mountain passes; and all the people humbled themselves before the Lord in supplication. Having inquired of the Canaanite princes who the children of Israel were, and having received a brief account of them from Achior the Ammonite, who advised him not to meddle with them except the latter sinned against their God, Holofernes despised the Deity, threatened Achior, and sent him away in custody to be delivered up into the hands of the children of Israel, where he related what had taken place, and was well received. The next day Holofernes's army marched towards Bethulia, laid siege to the place, and cut off the supply of water from it. In consequence of this measure, fearful want soon began to be felt in the city; the people fainted and were dispirited, requesting the elders to deliver it up, who gained the space of five days, after which, should no help come, they promised to surrender. At this part of the history is introduced Judith, a pious, beautiful, and rich widow, who blamed the governors for their promise to yield, and advised them to trust in God. *She* engaged to do a thing which should be perpetually remembered, about which they were not then to inquire; and to deliver Israel within the five days that they had promised to surrender the city to their enemies. After a remarkable prayer to the Lord, she dressed herself gaily, and went forth by night from Bethulia with her maid and the necessary articles of sustenance. Having come upon the first Assyrian watch, she was conducted to the tent of Holofernes, where she was greatly admired for her beauty both by the general and his servants. He asked her who she was, and the cause of her coming. Accordingly, she addressed to him a flattering speech, which pleased exceedingly. She refused to eat of Holofernes's food, and repaired to the valley of Bethulia three successive nights to pray. On the fourth day the general made a feast for her sake, in order the more effectually to win her over to his desires. She complied with the invitation, and appeared so beautiful and attractive at the banquet that his heart was ravished with her. Through the joy of having her company he drank to excess. When all the guests had retired and she was left alone with Holofernes, she prayed to God beside the bed whereon he lay intoxicated, took down his falchion, and at two strokes cut off his head, which she gave to her maid to carry. The two, according to custom, went together to prayer, passed the camp, and arrived safely in Bethulia, where there was now great joy. Achior became an Israelite; and the head of Holofernes was suspended on the wall. As soon as it became known in the camp that the general was dead, there was great noise and consternation; the Assyrians fled; the children of Israel rushed out upon them; the camp was taken and spoiled; and there was great slaughter, the enemy having been pursued beyond Damascus. Much praise is given to Judith, the high-priest comes to see her; she receives Holofernes's tent, all his plate, beds, and vessels, and all his stuff. The women gather around and crown her with a garland of olive. She is then represented as singing a song of praise, escorted by all

the people. Having entered Jerusalem, the people first worship the Lord; and continue feasting for three months. Judith goes back to Bethulia, where she lives in much honour the rest of her days, and dies at the age of 105 years, greatly lamented by all the people, who for a long time after her death were not disturbed by the fear of enemies. (ch. i.—xvi.)

The story has been preserved in several texts, differing more or less from one another. There is first the Greek text connected with the Septuagint, which is the oldest of all. The question then arises, was the book written in Greek? Or, was it translated into that language from the Hebrew or Chaldee? Fabricius, Jahn, and Eichhorn, are in favour of the Greek being the original. But this opinion is manifestly incorrect. The language bears the stamp of a Hebrew original. Everything about it has a colouring which renders it not difficult to tell, for the most part, what was before the translator. As examples which point to a Hebrew source, Fritzsche<sup>1</sup> adduces *κληρονομεῖν*, v. 15.; *διέθετο*, v. 18.; *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις*, which occurs ten times; *σφόδρα* = *רַב*, which is found about thirty times; and the frequent phrase *πλήθος πόλυ σφόδρα*. To these many others might be added. Besides, mistakes of translation appear in i. 8., ii. 2., iii. 1. 9, 10., and elsewhere. It has also been conjectured by Fritzsche, that the confusion which is connected with so many geographical names belongs for the most part to the translator and to transcribers, rather than the original writer. We may therefore regard the Greek version in the LXX. as having been the original one taken from the Hebrew; and, on the whole, faithfully representing the history as at first written. The character of this translation is literal. The person who made it appears to have followed the Hebrew very closely. Yet he was well acquainted with the Greek language, and could have moved more freely had he been disposed. According to Fritzsche, the original text has been most faithfully preserved in Cod. ii.

There are two other forms of the text which depart in a measure from that just noticed as the fundamental one. These partake more of the character of elaborations or revisions of the original; since they present material alterations. The one is found in MS. 58. and in an old Syriac version printed in Walton's Polyglott; the other, in the old Latin and MSS. 19. 108.

The Syriac version was made from the Greek, and adheres to it verbally. The old Latin was also taken from the same source. In it, however, the diction is rough and barbarous; a sort of Latinised Hebrew-Greek, as Fritzsche fitly terms it. The Greek too, was not unfrequently misunderstood by the translator. Sabatier printed it from five MSS.; for a knowledge of which we must be content to refer to him<sup>2</sup>; and also to Nickes<sup>3</sup> and Fritzsche.<sup>4</sup>

The text in the Vulgate version proceeded from Jerome. Here

<sup>1</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, ii. p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 744.

<sup>3</sup> *De Veteris Testamenti codicum Græcorum familiis dissertatio*.

<sup>4</sup> In the Exeget. Handbuch, ii.

the form given to the materials constituting the story is considerably different. Some parts occupy another place. Thus xiv. 5—10. is at the end of the thirteenth chapter. Other parts are omitted, as i. 13—16. Some things are added, as after iv. 11. and xiv. 8. A good deal is abridged; while other places are enlarged. There are numerous deviations in names and numbers; and, on the whole, the sense is frequently dissimilar. The relation of this Latin to the other forms of the text has been copiously pointed out by Cappellus<sup>1</sup>, from whom Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and others, give many specimens of diversity. Hence it must be inferred that Jerome acted freely in rendering the text he had before him. He must have partly rewritten the history. Welte<sup>2</sup> and Scholz<sup>3</sup> think that Jerome made it from the original Aramaean text; but his own words scarcely justify this opinion. It is plain that he had such a text before him; which, however, could not have been the original whence the Septuagint Greek was taken; but he did not *translate* that Aramaean into Latin. The Vulgate Latin is not a *version* from the Chaldee. What use he made of it in the production of his Latin text it is impossible to discover; but it seems to have been slight and trifling. Jerome says that he amputated *the most corrupt variety of many MSS.*<sup>4</sup>, referring to the great variety in the Latin MSS. of the *Versio Vet. Lat.* We believe that he wrought for the most part on the basis of the old Latin version, which agrees in the main with his. It is on this principle that we find in his text Latin forms and expressions which he does not elsewhere employ. Thus the MSS. of the old Latin formed the chief basis of Jerome's translation; but he proceeded so hastily and perfunctorily, that he did not produce a good version. The Chaldee text he may have *occasionally* regarded.

It has been supposed by many that still other texts, in addition to the Greek and Latin with which we are acquainted at the present day, were known to the fathers; because passages are sometimes quoted by them which no longer exist. Thus citations from Origen's works are produced, which have not their originals in the present book of Judith. In like manner, a passage is quoted from Fulgentius of Ruspe, with the same view. But Fritzsche, after an examination of the particular places referred to, has shown that they are not citations from Judith.<sup>5</sup>

The question now arises, is the narrative in the book historical? Have we in it a true history of actual occurrences? Montfaucon, Du Pin, Huet, and others, looked upon the contents as historically true. But against this many considerations may be urged; especially the great historical and geographical inaccuracies that occur. Thus Nebuchadnezzar governs in Nineveh, and is called king of Assyria (i. 7.); whereas his father had destroyed Nineveh, and he was king of Babylon. Arphaxad, king of Media, is said to have repaired

<sup>1</sup> Commentarii et Notæ criticæ in Vetus Testamentum, p. 574. et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> In Herbst's Einleitung, vol. iv. p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 607.

<sup>4</sup> "Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi." Præf. ad lib. Judith.

<sup>5</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, ii. pp. 122, 123

Ecbatana (i. 1.); was one of the most ancient Median monarchs; and was slain by Nebuchadnezzar (i. 6.); whereas Arphaxad is the name of a country. The Jews had returned from captivity (v. 19.); but Nebuchadnezzar had carried them away. Nineveh is still standing, though the Jews had returned from exile. It would appear from the narrative of Holofernes's expedition, that he must have passed twice through Palestine before he heard of the Jews, who were then unknown to him; after which, their country is invaded. (Comp. ii. 12, 13. 15, 16.; v. 1, 2, 3.; vii. 1.) The city of Bethulia is a place quite unknown. According to the account, it must have stood not far from Jerusalem, among the mountains; or in the plain of Esdraelon.

Various attempts have been made to bring the Nebuchadnezzar of the book into connection with history. Those who place the events related in the post-exile time, recognising in him a Persian king, have variously identified him with Cambyses, with Darius Hystaspes, with Xerxes, with Artaxerxes, Oechus, &c. But the unsuccessfulness of these attempts has been sufficiently exposed by Eichhorn and Bertholdt. It is true that many circumstances favour the insertion of the history in the time posterior to the captivity, such as Jehoiakim and with him the Sanhedrim (iv. 8., xv. 8.), standing at the head of the nation, and no king being mentioned; the temple having been re-dedicated by the people who had but recently returned from captivity (v. 18, 19., iv. 3.), &c. Yet other things are against it, as, Nineveh still standing, an expedition against Israel by Nebuchadnezzar of the kind mentioned, &c. &c. Nor have those critics been less unsuccessful who have inserted the history of the book in the time *before* the captivity. The laboured expositions of Scholz and Welte for this purpose are unsatisfactory.<sup>1</sup> Recognising in Arphaxad either Dejoces or his son Phraortes, they are puzzled by Nebuchadnezzar; and accordingly their conjectures on this point are most diverse. Esarhaddon, Saosduchin, Kiniladan, Merodach-Baladan, Nabopolassar, have all been advocated. But why in that case is the king called Nebuchadnezzar? The silence respecting a king in Judea is usually connected with the reign of Manasseh. But the difficulty still remains; for Jehoiakim and the Sanhedrim then appear at the head of the nation *in the time of the kings*; a most unusual circumstance; and *the people* had lately returned from Babylon (iv. 3.), not simply *Manasseh*. Besides, no Jehoiakim is mentioned as high-priest at Jerusalem prior to the exile. The attempts to identify him with Eliakim under Hezekiah (and Manasseh?), or with Hilkiah under Josiah, are altogether arbitrary. In short, the perplexities arising out of the view which assigns the history in the book to the pre-exile period are insuperable; just as those attaching to the other view which fixes it in the post-exile time are. Hence we cannot adopt the opinion which finds actual history here. And it is also arbitrary to look for *substantial* history dressed out and disfigured with oral traditions and transformations, as Sandbücher<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 590. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Erläuterungen der biblischen Geschichte, Theil i. p. 369. *et seqq.*

does. For how can any one separate the *essential* and *historical* from the external shell within which it is encased? How can he divide the true from the foreign and false admixture incorporated with it? All that he can do is merely to rely on his own sagacity, and indulge in endless conjecture.

Grotius<sup>1</sup> supposes that the contents of the book form an historical allegory relating to the insane attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to exterminate the Mosaic worship in Judea. According to him its scope was to console and animate the people on the occasion of Antiochus's invasion of Judea. We must refer to Bertholdt<sup>2</sup> for some remarks against this hypothesis.

No other tenable view of the book remains than that it contains pure fiction. Here it is of little moment what appellation be applied to it; whether *drama*, with Buddeus; or *epopee*, with Artopœus; or *apologue*, with Babor; or *didactic poem*, with Jahn; or *moral fiction*, with Bauer; or *romance*, with Semler; or with Ewald, a *prophetic-poetical narrative* presenting a confused mixture of fiction and history.

Though the history shows a strange jumbling together of materials belonging to different times; yet when viewed as a whole, it is not without naturalness, simplicity, and originality. The principal characters are well drawn, especially Judith herself. In *minute colouring and verisimilitude*, the writer has not been very successful. Viewed from a Christian stand-point, the character of Judith cannot be approved; for although she displays patriotism, courage, and piety, she employs dissimulation, lies, and murder to accomplish her end. Such immorality, in connection with a rigid attachment to the law, cannot comport with the statute-book of the Christian; though there is a parallel in the case of Sisera and Jael. As an *instructive fiction*, which the work appears to us to be, it is well conceived and composed by a Jew under the old dispensation.

It is not easy to determine the time when the book was written. It is first mentioned by Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians. Neither Josephus nor Philo allude to it; nor are there any references to it in the New Testament, though some have thought so. No external evidence is available in deciding the point. We must look at the contents themselves. And even here there is much room for hesitancy and doubt. Movers and Ewald agree in placing its origin in the time of John Hyrcanus; the former in 105 or 104 B.C.<sup>3</sup>; the latter, 130 B.C.<sup>4</sup>; each arriving at his own conclusion in his own way, from combining a number of circumstances in the book, with history. We do not attach any value or power of proof to the particulars adduced by either; though believing that the second century before Christ is the most probable period of origin. The people of the Jews, it is implied, had been long oppressed; the spirit of revenge had been nourished within them; their ideas had

<sup>1</sup> Prolegomena in Librum Judith.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, vol. v. p. 2551. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> In the Bonner Zeitschrift für Philosophie und katholische Theologie, for 1835, p. 47. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Geschichte des Volks Israel, vol. iii. p. 542. *et seqq.*

become legal, narrow, limited in the way they manifested themselves more and more towards the advent of Messiah; the eves of the Sabbath and new moon are mentioned, and also the Sanhedrim (viii. 6., iv. 8., xv. 8.), pointing to the century immediately before Christ, if not to the Christian era itself. Besides, Jewish tradition places Judith in the Maccabean period. The writer then was a Palestinian Jew belonging to the second century before Christ; and the Greek translation in the Septuagint must have been made soon after the original appeared. Other forms of the text, as well as the old Latin and Syriac versions, belong to the Christian era, either the second or third century of it. The object which the writer had in view was to awaken, encourage, and comfort the long-oppressed covenant-people, by showing them that God never forsakes them as long as they are faithful to Himself, but makes a way of escape for them in the severest times by fearfully punishing their heathen oppressors.

The book of Judith was excluded by the Jews from the number of their sacred canonical works. Among the early Christians, it was usually placed along with Tobit and judged of accordingly. It is quoted by Clement of Alexandria and Origen; in the Apostolic Constitutions; by Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine. Such men as Origen and Jerome looked upon it as Apocryphal; but thought that it was conducive to edification, and might therefore be read for its practical use. Others did not make that distinction; and accordingly it was placed by the side of the canonical books. What Jerome means by the *Nicene* synod putting it in the number of the holy books, it is difficult to tell. It is clear that the Latin church valued it more highly than the Greek; for the Pseudo-Athanasius treats it like the canonical writings; Augustine speaks of it as though it were canonical; and the third council of Carthage expressly put it into the canon. The council of Trent took it formally into the number of the inspired writings.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAP. V.

ON THE REST OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER, WHICH ARE FOUND NEITHER IN THE HEBREW NOR IN THE CHALDEE.

THE additions to the book of Esther which are found in the Septuagint and old Latin version are: 1. A dream of Mordecai, which stands in the Greek before i. 1, but is in the Vulgate xi. 1—xii. 6. 2. The edict of Haman, mentioned iii. 12. &c., and placed in the LXX. after iii. 13.; in the Vulgate, xiii. 1—7. 3. A prayer of Mordecai and Esther; in the LXX. after iv. 17.; in the Vulgate, xiii. 8—xiv. 19. 4. An embellishment of the scene between Esther and the king; in

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Eichhorn's *Einleitung*, p. 333. *et seqq.*

the LXX. v. 1, 2.; in the Vulgate, xv. 4—19. 5. Mordecai's edict mentioned viii. 9.; in the LXX. after viii. 12.; in the Vulgate, xvi. 1—25. 6. The interpretation of Mordecai's dream, and the account of the proclamation of the Purim festival in Egypt; in the LXX and Vulgate after x. 3.

It is clear that these additions are spurious; for they contradict, in various ways, the authentic text of Esther. Thus LXX i. 3., Vulgate xi. 2., xii. 1. do not agree with ii. 16. 19—22., iii. 1. 4. Again, LXX viii. 13. &c., Vulgate xvi. 22., disagrees with ix. 20. 32. The prevailing religious tone is also unlike the Hebrew writer.

In MSS. of the LXX., the additions are inserted in their suitable places; so that the whole appears as one book. Three MSS. 19. 93<sup>a</sup>, 108<sup>b</sup>, present a very peculiar text, which was first exhibited by Ussher.<sup>1</sup> It is a later revision of the common one, presenting considerable changes in the language. Wherever the redactor did not understand the text before him, it was altered. Sometimes it was condensed; at other times it was enlarged. Contradictions were also removed. In short, it is a thorough revisal of the older Greek text, made apparently at one time and on one principle.

As to the original language of these Apocryphal additions, it was undoubtedly Greek; though Scholz still argues that they were translated from a Hebrew or Aramæan original, because in the subscription appended to the LXX. it is said of the epistle of Purim, "In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemeus and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and Levite, and Ptolemeus his son, brought this epistle of Purim, which they said was the same, and that Lysimachus the son of Ptolemeus, that was in Jerusalem, had interpreted it." From a part he infers the whole; arguing that if this epistle were translated, *all* the additions were so.<sup>2</sup> But the word *ἐπιστολή*, *epistle*, in the verse just given, should not be restricted, with Scholz, to *one part* of the additions. Rather does it characterise the whole book, which is regarded as an epistle of Mordecai to the Jews (ix. 20.). The strong Hebraisms adduced by this critic, for the same purpose, prove no more than that the writer was a Jew, and that he translated from the Hebrew. The style is inflated, ornate, and somewhat poetical. That of the ordinary and older text (A.) is simpler and more prosaic than the Ussherian (B.).

It is difficult to discover the original author of these additions in A. Some have supposed that the translator of the book into Greek, and the writer of the Apocryphal parts, was the same person. Opposed to this, however, is the difference of style. And there are contradictions between the two which render the identity utterly improbable. The genealogy of Mordecai is repeated. There is also a want of connection between the Hebrew and Greek parts, as well as an improper placing of the latter, which do not show the hand of

<sup>1</sup> Syntagma de Græca LXX. interpretum versione. Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 537.

one redactor. Hence the Greek translator and the writer of the additions were not one and the same. The subscription found in Greek MSS. may perhaps lead to a determination of the time and place at which these Apocryphal parts originated. By "this epistle of Purim" we understand the entire book of Esther; by Ptolemy, Philometor, as Ussher and Scholz suppose. The subscription must be restricted to the translation of the Hebrew book, and does not refer to or include the additions which were afterwards appended to the version; though the subscription was subsequent in time to the additions. The writer of them was an Egyptian Jew; for the language is such as to show a cultivated Hellenist of that country. He belonged, as we have seen, to the second century before Christ.

Numerous versions of these additions exist,—the old Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, and Slavonic. As all were made from the LXX., the same position is occupied in them by the adventitious portions, as in the Greek whence they were taken. The most important of these versions are the old Latin and Vulgate. The former was printed by Sabatier from three MSS., and is incomplete, as well as corrupt. It is very free in character, things being added and subtracted not unfrequently. The translator was not very competent for his task; and therefore his diction is rough. Fritzsche thinks<sup>1</sup> that a mixed Greek text lay before him. For the most part it was A., but with elements belonging to B.; and in some places decidedly B. The additions are particularly noticed by Fritzsche. Jerome, the author of the version in the Vulgate, had the text A. before him, and translated very freely. It was he who first put all the Apocryphal parts at the end of the book as additions. The first trace of their existence is met with in Josephus, who has incorporated their substance into his Antiquities, sometimes word for word, but oftener in his own way.<sup>2</sup> Origen speaks in express terms of some passages in the book of Esther which were wanting in Hebrew<sup>3</sup>; and the parts before us are frequently mentioned by succeeding fathers, as Epiphanius, Damascenus, Hilary, Augustine, &c. As they were incorporated with the Septuagint version, they were equally read with the canonical Esther, and had the same authority. Those who had any critical perception, saw that they did not properly belong to the book of Esther, and hesitated in consequence to grant them the same position. Jerome speaks unfavourably of them: but as they stood in the Vulgate, the council of Trent declared them to be canonical. Luther gives a higher estimate of them than most succeeding Protestants.

<sup>1</sup> Exeget. Handbuch ii. p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Antiqq. xi. 6. 6.

<sup>3</sup> In Epist. ad African.

## CHAP. VI.

## THE BOOK OF WISDOM.

THE oldest inscription of this book is the *Wisdom of Solomon*, σοφία Σαλωμών, or σοφία Σολομώντος, which is prefixed to the Alexandrian version. After the time of Jerome and Gelasius it was called the *Book of Wisdom*, as it is still termed in the Vulgate. It was also called by Athanasius and Epiphanius, πανάρετος σοφία, *all-virtuous Wisdom*. The appellation of *Wisdom* is suitable to the contents, which are instructions relating to wisdom, and recommendations of it to all, especially to kings and princes.

It is divided into three parts viz. i.—v.; vi.—ix.; x.—xix. The first exhorts to strive after wisdom, and avoid everything which opposes it; the second furnishes particular instruction respecting the manner of obtaining it, its nature and its blessings; while the third recommends it through the medium of Jewish history. The first part is an address to all the rulers of the earth, enjoining them to apply themselves to wisdom as the sole condition of immortality, in contrast with the principles of the ungodly and free-thinkers who deny immortality and future recompense. The author describes the temporal and eternal lot of the pious; the misery and destruction of the wicked. In the second part, Solomon is introduced as portraying wisdom, stating what it is, how it comes forth from God by earnest prayer, and what it produces, viz. temperance, prudence, justice, and courage; as also, how he himself had been exalted by it. The third part contains historical examples drawn from the Old Testament history, showing the happiness which had followed the pursuit of wisdom, with the fatal consequences of folly and idolatry.

In each of the three parts wisdom is recommended, as the guide to a happy immortality with relation to free-thinking opponents (i.—v.); the conditions under which the possession of it is obtained are given (vi.—ix.); and history is adduced to set forth its claims (x.—xix.).

In relation to the unity of the book, some have tried to impair it in different methods. Thus Houbigant, dividing it into two parts, viz. i.—ix. and x.—xix., regarded the first as written by Solomon; the second, by a later Israelite, perhaps by the same who rendered the first into Greek.<sup>1</sup> Eichhorn, in like manner, makes two divisions proceeding from different writers, *i. e.* i.—xi. 1, and xi. 2—xix.<sup>2</sup> Bretschneider begins the second part with the twelfth chapter, but subdivides the first into two pieces written by different persons, *i. e.* i.—vi. 8., and vi. 9—x.<sup>3</sup> The first part is supposed to be the fragment of a larger work written by a Palestinian Jew; the second, the work of an Alexandrian Jew at the time of Christ; the

<sup>1</sup> Prolegom. in Not. Crit. in omnes V. T. libros, vol. i. pp. ccxvi. and ccxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Einleitung, p. 90. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Dissertatio de libri Sapientiæ parte priore, &c. 1804. (three programmes.)

third, he places about the same period; while the eleventh chapter proceeded from him who put the three parts together, for the purpose of uniting the second and third. Bertholdt makes the two divisions i.—xii. 27. and xiii.—xix., attributing them to different authors.<sup>1</sup> Engelbreth's modification of Bretschneider's hypothesis, and Nachtigal's most artificial dismemberment, are undeserving of mention. It is superfluous to examine the particular considerations adduced in favour of each hypothesis by its proposer. They have been examined and refuted by Bauermeister<sup>2</sup>, Grimm<sup>3</sup>, and Welte.<sup>4</sup> The arguments which are supposed to favour any separation into distinct pieces proceeding from two or more persons are insufficient, however plausible some of them may appear. The parts hang well together and form a united whole. The style and language too are no more different than what one might expect from the various matters touched upon.

Single words and favourite expressions occur in all the parts much in the same proportion. It cannot be denied, however, that there is a perceptible difference between the contents and manner of the last ten chapters compared with the preceding nine. In the former, Solomon no longer appears as the speaker; and the idea of wisdom does not guide the thread of discourse. But whatever difference there is between them in ideas, doctrine, and language, is resolvable into diversity of topics, and is more than counterbalanced by the peculiarities common to both, i.—ix. and x.—xix. Thus chapter xv. 1—6. is a prayer, like ch. ix. Compare also xiv. 25, 26. and xvii. 18, 19. with vii. 22. That the principles taught in the second part are the same as in the first, may be seen from xii. 19, 20. Compare too, xviii. 13. with ii. 13., where the reference of the former to the latter is apparent. Certain ideas recur throughout; while favourite expressions, turns of discourse, and single terms, appear in all sections.<sup>5</sup> Hence the unity of the book should not be disturbed.

Those who have called the unity in question have generally spoken against the *integrity*, thinking that the work has not come down to us in its original form, but that it is imperfect either at the beginning or end, or has been enlarged by subsequent interpolations. Houbigant thought that, if the work was not a fragment belonging to a larger one, it must at least have had a commencement with an inscription, similar to those prefixed to Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. This is connected with the erroneous view that Solomon wrote the first part, and needs no refutation. On the other hand, Grotius, Calmet, and Eichhorn, looked upon the work as incomplete at the end. The view of Hasse and Heydenreich is similar when they believe that the work was not finished. But it is easy to see a proper conclusion at xix. 22.

Later interpolations by a Christian hand were assumed by Grotius<sup>6</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. v. p. 2261.

<sup>2</sup> Commentarius in Sapientiam Salomonis, p. 3. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Commentar ueber das Buch der Weisheit, § 3 Einleitung, p. xxii. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften von Herbst, Heft iv. p. 173. *et seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> See Grimm, p. xxxiv. *et seqq.*

<sup>6</sup> Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum, ed. Vogel, vol. iii. p. 63.

and though he did not specify them, he must have meant the passages which are paralleled in sense and expression by New Testament places; and which he would explain by references to the latter. Thus the righteous man is said to possess the knowledge of God, and is a *παῖς Θεοῦ*, *servant of the Lord*; language applied in the New Testament to the Messiah. (Comp. ii. 13. and Matt. xxvii. 43., John xix. 7.) His persecutors are represented as mocking him in the manner the crucifiers of Jesus derided Him: "Let us see if his words be true; and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him." (Comp. ii. 17. and Matt. xxvii. 40.) There are places also where the happiness of the future life is represented conformably to the New Testament as a *shining* (comp. iii. 7. and Matt. xiii. 43.), as a *ruling and judging of the world* (comp. iii. 8. and Matt. xix. 28.). But the knowledge of God is often attributed, in the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, to every true Israelite; and *παῖς Θεοῦ*, *servant of God*, is only a translation of the Hebrew phrase employed of the Messiah in Isaiah's prophecies (lii. 13., liii. 11.), so that it might be applied to the righteous man, or to Messiah his head, by one unacquainted with the New Testament. What is said of the future destiny of the righteous man in iii. 6. 8. is borrowed from Daniel vii. 18. &c., xii. 1, 2. Hence we cannot allow of interpolations from the New Testament by a Christian hand.<sup>1</sup>

Others have supposed that the entire work may have been composed by a Christian. But as the passages on which they mainly rely are those just noticed, we need not farther allude to their view. It is very true that some places in the New Testament, to which we shall afterwards refer, present considerable similarity to passages in this work; but the harmony may be better explained by supposing Wisdom the original. The *general complexion* of the book agrees far more with an Alexandrian-Jewish authorship than a Christian one. We cannot explain it *as a whole* from the Christian stand-point. A philosophical Jewish spirit breathes throughout it. Yet Dr. Tregelles<sup>2</sup> has referred to a passage in the Muratorian Canon which he tries to explain in such a manner as to favour the idea of this book having been written after the commencement of the Christian dispensation. The book *Sapientia* being introduced into the list ("et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta") in connection with the writings of the New Testament, he supposes that it was a recent work by a recent writer, and ranked *as to date* with the others that are there mentioned. In support of his conjecture he also adduces, with much ingenuity, a sentence in Jerome's preface to the books of Solomon; and a passage in Eusebius where that historian mentions the book of Wisdom when speaking of Irenæus. If the place of the Muratorian Canon were incorrupt, Tregelles's reasoning would commend itself to our approbation. But we believe it to be thoroughly corrupt; and must therefore infer, with Bunsen<sup>3</sup>, that before the sentence where *Sapientia Solomonis* is spoken of, the epistle to

<sup>1</sup> See Eichhorn's Einleit. p. 129. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See the Journal for Classical and Sacred Philology for March, 1855, p. 37. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Hippolytus and his Age, vol. ii. p. 135. *et seqq.*

the Hebrews had been mentioned as written by some *friend* of Paul. Hence the *Wisdom of Solomon* refers to the book of Proverbs as having been compiled in the same manner by *friends* of Solomon. The fact that the Proverbs, or the latter part of them at least, was written out by the men of Hezekiah (*οἱ φίλοι Ἐζεκιῶν*, LXX. xxv. 1.) establishes a connection between the Muratorian fragment and the book of Proverbs. Hegeſippus, the author of the Muratorian Canon, misunderstood, or misinterpreted from want of recollection, the Greek words in Proverbs xxv. 1., by putting the friends of *Solomon* for of *Hezekiah*. Hence we agree with Bunsen, and with Tregelles himself in his Lecture on the Historic Evidence of the New Testament, in applying the *Wisdom of Solomon* to the book of Proverbs, as was not uncommon in the second century, and *not* to the Apocryphal production.

In a passage of this kind, where the reading and interpretation are attended with so much uncertainty, and the evidence in favour of *Sapientia* applying to the Proverbs or Wisdom preponderates on neither side, we should be generally guided by *other* considerations. And such there are that appear to us to render the composition of the book of Wisdom before the Christian era very probable.

The original language was not Hebrew, as those who believe that Solomon was the writer are obliged to maintain. Others, however, who do not hold the Solomonic authorship, think that it was composed either wholly or in part in that tongue, as Grotius, Houbigant, Bretschneider, and Engelbreth; the first critic imagining the entire work; the second, the first nine chapters; the third and fourth, the first five chapters, to have been written at first in Hebrew. R. Asaria thought that it was written in the Chaldee tongue; not the Syriac, as stated by De Wette.<sup>1</sup> So also Faber. These conjectures have been sufficiently refuted by various writers, as Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hasse, Grimm, Welte, and others. It is useless to appeal to Hebraisms, and to alleged mistakes of translation from the Hebrew in favour of a Hebrew original, for the examples are all nugatory. The originality of the Greek text is unquestionable. The style is much better than one would expect even in the free version of a Hebrew text. There are a number of pure Greek expressions, which could not have proceeded from a translator in so great abundance. Examples occur in iv. 2., x. 3. 12., i. 11. 16., ii. 6. Besides, there are many compound words for which corresponding terms would be sought in vain in Hebrew. See x. 3., xi. 8., xiv. 23., ix. 5., i. 4., xv. 4., v. 22., vii. 1. 3., ii. 19., xvi. 3. There are also numerous paronomasias, assonances, plays on words, and oxymora, whose original is Greek. Comp. vi. 22. &c., vii. 13., i. 10., iv. 2., vi. 10., xvii. 8. 12. &c., i. 8., v. 10., vi. 6., xix. 21. In short, the characteristic colouring of the language speaks decidedly in favour of a Greek original.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to *the author*, it was commonly thought at one time that he was Solomon. Clement of Alexandria, Origen,

<sup>1</sup> See Welte, H. iv. pp. 183, 184. note.

<sup>2</sup> See Hasse's *Die Weisheit Salomo's*, p. 196. *et seq.*; and Grimm, p. xl.

Tertullian, Lactantius, and R. Azarias, shared this opinion. Even in modern times, some entertained the same view, as Tirinus, Huet, and Houbigant in part. It is useless at the present day to refute it.

Augustine regarded Jesus Sirach as the author, but afterwards retracted the opinion. What gave rise to this strange hypothesis was the confounding of two similar books, Sirach and Wisdom.

Jerome appears to have leaned to the opinion that Philo was the author. This view was held by many rabbins, among whom is R. Gedaliah; and by many Christian writers too, as Nicholas de Lyra, Galatinus, Lud. Vives, Luther, Strigel, Rainold, &c. But notwithstanding the general similarity in both writers, there is also a great difference between them. In Wisdom the Platonic philosophy does not appear to have penetrated and saturated the writer's mind, as in Philo. The diversity is particularly manifest in the description of divine wisdom as related to Philo's ideas of wisdom or the logos. With the latter σοφία and λόγος were either identical or most intimately related; while in our book all traces of the speculative use of λόγος are wanting. In Philo, Jewish Alexandrinism appears in a much more developed form than in Wisdom. Besides, the style and manner are very different from those characteristic of Philo the Alexandrian.<sup>1</sup> Hence some moderns have modified the opinion so far as to say, that it was not the well-known Philo of Alexandria, but an older Jewish philosopher of the same name, who either composed it throughout, as Medina, Canus, Pamelius, Drusius, Wernsdorf, Buddens, and others suppose; or put it at least into its present form, as Bellarmine and Huet think. But that elder Philo mentioned by Josephus<sup>2</sup> was a heathen, not a Jew; and could therefore have had nothing to do with the book of Wisdom.

Faber<sup>3</sup> thought that the book was written by Zerubbabel, who, as the restorer of the temple, might be called the second Solomon. But the time of Zerubbabel is too early. The passage in ix. 8. suits Solomon alone, and not any other who might be called Solomon by a figure of speech; for the throne of his father is spoken of (ix. 7. 12).<sup>4</sup>

All attempts to discover the author with particularity must be abandoned. The writer either of a part, or of the whole, as different critics suppose, was not a Palestinian Jew at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, else he would not have written in Greek, but in Hebrew. Nor was he a Jew of Antioch before Epiphanes, according to Paulus; for so much Grecian culture could scarcely have been exhibited by an Antiochenian of that day. Nor did he belong to the sect of the Therapeutæ, as Eichhorn<sup>5</sup>, Gfrörer<sup>6</sup>, and Daehne<sup>7</sup> suppose, principally on account of the statements in iii. 13. &c. and xvi. 28. The former passage does not connect *the unmarried state* but *childlessness*

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Grimm, p. li. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Contra Apion, i. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Prolusiones vi. super librum Sapientia, v.

<sup>4</sup> See Grimm, pp. xliii. xlv.

<sup>5</sup> Einleit. p. 150.

<sup>6</sup> Philo und die Alexandrinische Theosophie, vol. ii. p. 265. *et seqq.*

<sup>7</sup> Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie, Abtheil. ii. p. 170.

with blessedness; and the latter speaks of prayer and praise at the dayspring much in the same manner as Psalm v. 4., lxxxviii. 14. without reference to the Therapeutæ and Essenes. Thus there is no evidence that the writer was a member of the sect of the Therapeutæ or Essenes.<sup>1</sup>

The author must have been an Egyptian Jew who lived most probably at Alexandria, for he was well acquainted with Grecian literature and the philosophy prevalent in that place. It is ridiculous to make him, with Cornelius a Lapide and Goldhagen, one of the seventy-two Greek interpreters; as if the fabulous account of the origin of the Septuagint were literally true.

The time at which he lived would appear from the general character of the work to have been that of the Ptolemies. Grimm makes the reign of Ptolemy Physcon (145—117) the boundary before which it could not have been written, because then the Jews in Egypt first began to be systematically persecuted; but Welte, 217 B.C., which latter is too early, for we cannot approve of the mode in which the evidence for it is adduced by that critic. Grimm's opinion is the most probable. A century earlier than Philo seems to be required for the degree of development which the religious philosophy of Alexandria had attained in the interval between the writers. Hence the author of *Wisdom* may have lived about 120 B.C.

The aim of the author may be said to be, to recommend wisdom, and to describe the blessings it brings both to individuals and peoples. But this is too general a statement. What led him to compose the book must have been connected with the circumstances of the time at which he lived. Historical relations must not be overlooked in its origin. The connection between Israel and Egypt gave rise to the reflections of this enlightened and patriotic Jew. His countrymen suffered from the oppressions of the Ptolemies in Egypt. Hence he was led to bring to the recollection of these tyrannical monarchs what had once befallen the Egyptians on account of their treatment of the chosen people; and at the same time to show them, by the example of Solomon, the only way in which they could have a happy and victorious reign. Besides, he meant to comfort and admonish the oppressed Israelites, who had been seduced in part into Egyptian idolatry, under their severe misfortunes; to strengthen them in fidelity to God; and to open up the prospect of a speedy deliverance from servitude. The warnings and exhortations which the book exhibits against the principles of apostate freethinkers were intended, partly for such unbelieving Jews as denying immortality led a vicious life and had therefore become heathens in disposition and manner of thinking; and partly for the heathen themselves, to show the folly of idolatry. Divine wisdom was alike opposed to the perversions of Judaism and the nature of heathenism. It conducted to virtue and immortality. Thus the occasion of the book must be sought in the historical circumstances of the times at which it ap-

<sup>1</sup> See Grimm, p. lvi.

peared. The writer had a definite object. When he saw his countrymen oppressed by unbelieving rulers of the world, their apostasy from the national faith, the prevalence of heathen idolatry, leagued as it was with severity against the covenant-people, his spirit was stirred within him; and he held forth wisdom as the true antidote to the false principles of apostates — the only way to happiness, the safeguard of all prosperous rule. While, therefore, he intended to teach the degenerate Jews that better way which they had forsaken; his aim was also to establish and comfort the pious sufferers under their hard treatment; without forgetting to recommend wisdom to the rulers and princes of the world from whom came the oppression under which Judaism suffered.

The anonymous author personates king Solomon whom he introduces as speaking, because that monarch was with the later Jews the ideal of Wisdom. By ascribing his book to him, he was likely to procure greater acceptance for his doctrines. We find a similar personation of Solomon in Ecclesiastes, of which Wisdom is an imitation.

The book is very valuable as an exposition of the Jewish religious philosophy at a certain period. It contains a system of Jewish dogmatics, according to the principles held by the anonymous writer. The views propounded respecting God and His providence, the original state of man whom God is said to have created immortal and to have made an image of His own eternity (ii. 23.), of the entrance of sin and death into the world, a future state of rewards and punishments, &c. &c. are correct and scriptural. With the exception of some extravagant statements, the contents are of a pure, noble, and elevated character, such as few philosophers of the ancient world could have promulgated. The work is not imbued with the strong partialities and prejudices of antiquity. The meritoriousness of sacrifices, lustrations, asceticism, does not appear. The narrowness of the views entertained by the majority of the Jewish nation on moral subjects, and the particularism which led them to hate all other peoples, are not in the book. The author knows only the pious and the godless in the world; so that he must have been a liberal and enlightened Jew, who had risen above the littleness of his countrymen by the force of an enlarged philosophy based upon intelligent piety. Nothing can be more elevated than his portrait of a wise man (i. 4—6. 15., ii. 23., vi. 19.). We need not therefore be surprised at the very favourable reception the book has always met with in ancient and modern times. Its religious and moral tendency entitles it to præminent distinction.<sup>1</sup> Hence it is difficult to see why it should be excluded from a canon which has Esther in it.

The style is very unequal, as Lowth justly remarks. It is pompous, sublime, turgid, diffuse, simple, tautological, varying with the subject, and seldom tedious. The tautologies are the result of Hebrew parallelism; and the figures are numerous. The author's mastery of Greek is everywhere visible; the care and art he employed

<sup>1</sup> See Eichhorn, p. 93. *et seqq.*

are patent to every reader. Epithets are accumulated in rich profusion, wherever they seem to give oratorical fulness or effect. Thus wisdom is depicted by a great variety of adjectives, all suitable and select. (See vii. 22. &c.) No less than twenty-one predicates are employed in describing it. As an active energy of God in the physical and moral world, it is represented as identical with *the Spirit of God*. (i. 7., vii. 7. 22., ix. 17., xii. 1.)

The religious doctrine of the author was derived from various sources. In the first place, there are ideas and sentiments which he received by tradition, or drew from the holy books of his nation. He was a *Jewish* philosopher; and as such inherited the current opinions of his countrymen. But in the second place, he lived at Alexandria, where a peculiar philosophy then prevailed. Platonism had been incorporated there with the modes of thinking current among the cultivated. Hence we find many Platonic along with Jewish ideas. Upper Asia had also contributed to the prevailing faith of the learned and reflecting at Alexandria. Accordingly, there is a strong Alexandrinism in the book: that is, the religious philosophy which we find in Philo-Platonism, as it has been termed, pervades it to a considerable extent. Indeed, this could scarcely have been otherwise in the production of a cultivated and pious man living at Alexandria; for however strongly he may have been attached to the faith of his own nation, surrounding influences must affect his mind.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the elements of the book and assign particular sentiments to their respective sources. We may indeed with some probability, divide off from the rest such ideas as were either contained in, or inferred from, the sacred national writings of the Jews; but to discriminate *the remaining* sentiments, and to trace their origin, is scarcely possible. Certain views derived from different sources mediately or immediately, had become amalgamated with one another in Alexandria among philosophical men, when the writer lived and wrote.

Plato's doctrine of the World-Soul is seen in what is said of Wisdom in i. 7.; it is the Spirit of God which fills the world and embraces the universe.<sup>1</sup> Plato conceived of the soul as a substance which existed before the body; so the author of Wisdom asserts the preexistence of souls in viii. 19, 20. In like manner, the Platonists looked upon the human body as a prison of the soul; and therefore they declaimed severely against it: hence our author says in ix. 15., "the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things." The school of Plato reduced all the virtues to four, which stand here in the same manner (viii. 7.). As in Plato, so here, the Deity is not expressly and directly called *a being of light*. But from *the manifestations* of Deity both leave us to infer that they considered Him as a Being of light; for Plato represents the World-Soul, which is an emanation from God, as consisting of light; and the author of

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Grimm on the opposite side, p. 17. *et seqq.*

our book describes the Spirit of wisdom as a fine, pure emanation (*ἀπαύρασμα*) of the everlasting light. It is certain, however, that in many places this Jewish philosopher has departed from Platonic views where they were inconsistent with the national faith. He proceeded independently, so as either to mould and modify, or else entirely to abandon the ideas of Plato. *World-Soul* as conceived of by Plato, and the *Spirit of God* as depicted by the anonymous author of Wisdom, are the same; the latter being taken from the former.

From an oriental source—the Chaldee or Persian philosophy—various traits in the book were also derived. The leading oriental tenet was the efflux of all things from God. This is observable in our author's description of the Spirit. Yet it is apparent that he did not derive much from the Chaldee or Persian philosophy, and *nothing directly*. It was from a Greek system tinged with such orientalism that he received the few subordinate features observable in his work.<sup>1</sup>

Whether our author's idea of the divine wisdom, moulded by the pantheistic-emanistic system of the East, conceived of that wisdom as an independent and personal existence, who came forth from God before the creation of the world and by whom God made the world; or as a poetical personification of the wise God himself (see vii. 7. 25, 26., viii. 1—6.), is doubtful and disputed. In opposition to Daehne and others we adopt the latter view; and would compare with the passages referred to in the book of Wisdom similar ones in Proverbs iv. 7. &c., viii. 26., especially vii. 25, 26., and Sirach xxiv. 1. &c., where there is a poetical personification of wisdom. Hence we are inclined to believe that the writer of our book need not have derived his doctrine of divine wisdom from any but a Jewish source, and that he did not represent it as a *hypostasis* any more than do some passages in Proverbs and Sirach, of which the most prominent are Prov. viii. 22. &c., and Sirach xxiv. 1. where there is a still bolder *prosopopœia*.<sup>2</sup> But Philo soon after mixed Jewish and Platonic ideas respecting *the divine understanding*, which with him seems to be synonymous with *the divine wisdom* of this book, calling it the eldest son of God, an image of God, a teacher of men, a high priest, an intercessor, a mediator. This comes near the Christian idea of the divine wisdom as manifested in Christ. The epithets applied both here and in Philo to the divine wisdom and divine understanding find their highest truth and realisation in Christ alone. It is worthy of notice that *the spirit of wisdom* in Philo is different from *the divine understanding*.

Our limits will not allow of a full discussion of the peculiar doctrines promulgated in the book of Wisdom and the sources whence they were taken. The subject was investigated by Eichhorn; since whose time it has been discussed in different ways by Bauermeister, Grimm, Daehne, Gfrörer, and Welte. The last writer argues against

<sup>1</sup> See Eichhorn's Einleitung, p. 106. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Grimm, Einleit. pp. xv. xvi. ; and Commentar, p. 154.

the idea that the book presents an Alexandrian-Jewish philosophy of religion, contending that the doctrines are entirely of Jewish growth and origin, whatever Alexandrinism appears in the work being taken from the same Jewish source. He will thus have no foreign elements in it—no Platonic or Asiatic philosophy.<sup>1</sup> Scholz<sup>2</sup> appears to be of the same opinion. But we cannot assent to it; though in some particulars Daehne and others have carried their hypothesis too far.

The Greek text of the work has descended in a tolerably pure state. Some mistakes of transcribers may be corrected by critical documents, as in vii. 29., xi. 6., xii. 20., xix. 10. Only a few corruptions are so general and ancient as to make the original reading uncertain, such as in xii. 6., *ἐκ μέσου μυσταθειας σου*, where neither MSS. nor versions afford assistance. The richest apparatus of critical readings is in Holmes and Parsons's edition of the Septuagint. Thilo's collations of nine Paris MSS. were never published.<sup>3</sup> There are several ancient versions of the book, all taken from the original Greek.

The Latin in the Vulgate is older than Jerome, and is so literal as to be occasionally unintelligible. Erroneous interpretations are not very frequent in it, such as *ex nihilo* for *ἀποσχεδῶς*, ii. 2.; *quoniam antecedebat me ista sapientia* for *ὅτι αὐτῶν ἡγείται σοφία*, vii. 12.; *cum abundarent* for *ἀποροῦντες*, xi. 5.; and *ξίφος ὀξύ* in xviii. 16. taking the nominative instead of the accusative. It has also a few inconsiderable additions to the Greek text. (ii. 8. 17., v. 14., vi. 1. 23., ix. 18., xi. 14.) One example only of omission (ii. 4.) deserves notice. But the MSS. and editions of this old Latin version often differ from one another.

The Syriac version printed in the Polyglotts adheres more closely to the Greek towards the commencement than the close. Many of its peculiar readings are nothing more than mistakes of transcription. It is freer and more paraphrastic than the Latin; and contracts or enlarges the original without any essential alteration of the sense. Whatever deviations, therefore, it exhibits from the Greek text are unimportant, though they are tolerably numerous. The date of this version cannot be exactly determined.

The Arabic translation, also printed in the Polyglotts, adheres closely to the Greek text, rendering it for the most part literally, and never diverging into wide paraphrase, though sometimes a little explanatory. Its additions to the original are but few, and those only of secondary importance, as in iii. 9. On the whole, it is an accurate and faithful translation. The date is uncertain.

The Armenian version is, perhaps, the most literal of all. It follows the Greek text mostly word for word; and often imitates the play upon terms not unskilfully. The author was evidently well acquainted with Greek; and few cases of misunderstanding it can be imputed to him, as in iv. 2. The version was made towards the

<sup>1</sup> See Herbst's *Einleit.* H. iv. p. 161. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Einleitung*, vol. iii. p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> See *Specimen exercitationum criticarum in Sapientiam Salomonis*. Hal. 1825.

middle of the fifth century, and is of inferior importance to none other.

Of the Coptic, Ethiopic, Gothic, Georgian, and Slavic versions we need not now speak.

The first traces of the book belong to the apostolic time, if Paul be supposed to have had reference to it in some of his epistles. The passages in which it is most probable that the apostle had certain places of Wisdom in his mind are, Rom. i. 20—32., comp. Wisdom xiii. 1—16.; Rom. i. 21., comp. Wisdom xi. 16.; Rom. ix. 21., comp. Wisdom xv. 7.; Rom. ix. 22, 23., comp. Wisdom xii. 20, 21.; Rom. xi. 32., comp. Wisdom xi. 23.; Rom. ii. 4., comp. Wisdom xv. 1.; 1 Cor. vi. 2., comp. Wisdom iii. 8.; 2 Cor. v. 4., comp. Wisdom ix. 15.; Eph. vi. 13—17., comp. Wisdom v. 18—20.; 1 Thess. iv. 13., comp. Wisdom iii. 18. In the Catholic Epistles and that to the Hebrews similar allusions may be found. Various places in the Epistle of James in particular show reminiscences of our present book, as Schneckenburger, Theile, Kern, Stier, and Bleek have perceived. Those pointed out in the Gospels are more than doubtful.<sup>1</sup> We look upon it as a most improbable supposition on the part of Grimm and others to resolve such coincidences into a common Jewish education and manner of thinking, or into the common use of Old Testament passages.

After the New Testament, the earliest recognition of the book is in the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. The supposed allusions in Barnabas, and Hegesippus (ap. Euseb. ii. 23.) cannot be sustained.<sup>2</sup>

The work was never in the canon of the Jews. Josephus and Philo do not refer to it. In like manner it is wanting in the catalogues of Origen and Jerome. Some have thought that Melito's list, in Eusebius, mentions it; but the right reading (*παροιμίας, ἡ καὶ σοφία*) excludes it there. Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory of Nazianzum, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others expressly or virtually pronounce it apocryphal. Yet it is certain that it was used by many both in public and private at a very early period; and that the majority of readers, as well as of the fathers themselves, made no distinction between it and the canonical writings, but assigned it the same value and authority. The more cautious and discerning, indeed, of the fathers (as Jerome) made the distinction that it might be employed for the edification of the people, not for establishing the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines; but this was not commonly observed. Hence Clement of Alexandria quotes Wisdom by the introductory phrase *ἡ θεία σοφία λέγει, divine Wisdom says*; and in another place by *Solomon says*. Origen refers to it as *θεῖος λόγος, the divine Word*. Both Tertullian and Cyprian allude to it as *the Wisdom of Solomon*; the latter asserting, *By Solomon the Holy Spirit shows*, and the former quoting it like canonical Scripture with the formula, *as it is written*. Athanasius quotes it as *Scripture*; and Cyril refers to it as the pro-

<sup>1</sup> See Nitzsch in the *Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft*, u. s. w. 1850, Nos. 47—49.; and Bleek *über die Stellung der Apokryphen*, reprinted from the *Studien und Kritiken*, p. 73. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Wisdom, xi. 21., xii. 12.; Clement's epist. § 27.; and Grimm, p. lxxii.

duction of Solomon. Epiphanius, who often adduces it against the Gnostics, employs the expressions, *Solomon says, As the Scripture says, As the most blessed of the prophets says.* Eusebius appeals to 3 Kings (1 Kings in Hebrew) and the book of Wisdom as *θεία γραφή, divine Scripture.* He also refers to the latter as a *θεῖον λόγιον, divine oracle.* Hilary refers to the anonymous author as *a prophet*: and Augustine says of Sirach and Wisdom, that *since they deserved to be taken into authority, they are to be numbered among the prophets.* In another work he calls Wisdom *an inspired book.* Isidore affirms that *the church of Christ honours and preaches the divine books* Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, and Judith. The third council of Carthage put it among the canonical writings; as did the Council of Trent at a later period.

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## CHAP. VII.

### THE WISDOM OF JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH.

THE Greek title of the book is *Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σειράχ, the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach*; the Latin, *Ecclesiasticus, an ecclesiastical reading-book*; the latter showing that it was publicly used in the churches, as we infer from statements of Jerome and Rufinus. Athanasius<sup>1</sup> says that it was put into the hands of catechumens, and made the basis of instructions in morals. It is less likely that the Latin name was given to distinguish it from Ecclesiastes, which it resembles in various respects. The Greek fathers called it *πανάρτεος σοφία* or *λόγος, treasure of virtue.*

The resemblance of the book to the Proverbs of Solomon, both in matter and form, is obvious. Here wisdom is represented as the source of all virtue and happiness. The morality is based on the belief of a recompense in this life, just as that of the Proverbs is; and, therefore it is not of the elevated and spiritual nature of the New Testament ethics, where the motives are mainly drawn from another state of existence. The view given of the world is prudential. Yet the moral precepts here presented are excellent and valuable. That they do not reach very far, nor penetrate beyond the best form of Judaism, is natural in the circumstances; yet they show reflection and mental culture. The writer had evidently thought much on the varied aspects of human life. He had studied the manners and fortunes of mankind with the calmness and maturity of a philosopher. Accordingly, he has embodied the result of his own thoughts and experience. And in addition to that, he has drawn from the Proverbs of Solomon, and the writings of older moralists. Maxims of other Israelite gnomologists are largely incorporated with the book. On several topics, indeed, there is greater fulness and more connexion than in the Pro-

<sup>2</sup> Epistola ἐφορταστική, Opp. vol. ii. p. 39.

verbs of Solomon, as is evident from ch. xii. 8—xiii. 23., xv. 11—20., xvi. 26—xvii. 20., xix. 6—17., xxiii. 16—27., xxvi. 1—18., xxx. 1—13., xxxvii. 27—xxxviii. 15., xxxviii. 24—xxxix. 11. And ch. i.—ix. xxiv. may be compared with Proverbs i.—ix., being evidently taken from the latter.

The book commences with a description of the origin and value of wisdom, and the way in which it may be attained. (ch. i. ii.) In the twenty-fourth chapter wisdom is personified, as in the eighth chapter of Proverbs, and pronounces her own eulogy. The concluding chapters contain a review of the most eminent men belonging to the Hebrew nation, in the order of the Scriptures. (ch. xlv.—l.) In the intermediate parts occur manifold proverbs, general and particular, respecting many duties, in the course of which the author exhorts, encourages, warns, and describes.

No general plan is observable, notwithstanding the connexion of various parts. A continuous thread does not run through the whole. There is no pervading unity. Yet we should not be disposed to call it a *rhapsody*, with Bertholdt. It is rather a collection of proverbs and sententious sayings. Tetens<sup>1</sup> conjectures that the writer has followed the order of the decalogue in the annunciation of his moral precepts; but this is incorrect. And when Sonntag<sup>2</sup> explains the want of connection in the work, partly by disorder afterwards introduced among the separate sections, partly by the peculiar form in which it has come down to our time, viz. a mere rough outline which was intended to be filled up and moulded into a united whole, his conjecture is groundless.

It will be readily conceived that the book can scarcely be divided into parts or sections. Eichhorn's division into three portions, viz. i.—xxiii., xxiv.—xlii. 14., xlii. 15—l. 24., as well as his notion that these three were at first distinct works which were afterwards united by the author into one, must be rejected; though it opens up a way of explaining the different position occupied by the sections from ch. xxx. 25. and onward, in the Complutensian, Paris, and Antwerp text; and in that of the Vatican, Alexandrian, Aldine editions. But formidable objections lie against this view, as Bretschneider has shown.<sup>3</sup> As the author wrote in Hebrew or Aramaean, two Greek translators must be assumed, which is impossible, since the Greek text in the Complutensian is the same as our common one.

Jahn divides the work into three sections, the first embracing the first forty-three chapters; the second from xlv. to l.; and the third the remainder.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Scholz<sup>5</sup> discovers twelve sections with peculiar inscriptions; without pointing out any general division comprehending both these and the remaining parts of the book. On the whole, Jahn's is the best partition that has been proposed; though neither it nor any other can be entirely satisfactory in a work which is so desultory and irregular in the nature of its contents. His first

<sup>1</sup> Disquisitiones generales in Sapiëntiam Jesu Siracidæ, p. 51. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Commentatio de Jesu Siracidæ Ecclesiastico non libro, sed libri farragine, 1779, 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Liber Jesu Siracidæ, Prolegomena, p. 18. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Einleit. vol. ii. pp. 934, 935.

<sup>5</sup> Einleit. vol. iii. p. 183. *et seqq.*

division in particular is not a continuous section, but is intermingled with, and interrupted by, materials foreign to the context.

The author calls himself Jesus the son of Sirach, of Jerusalem (l. 27.); and that is all the information which we have respecting his person. Grotius thinks he was a physician, because xxxviii. 1—15. contains a great encomium on physicians; and others suppose him such on account of rules of health being given (xxx. 21, 22.), and because he betrays pathological knowledge (xxiii. 16, 17., xxv. 17., xxvi. 12., xxx. 24., xxxi. 20.). Linde<sup>1</sup> conjectures he was a priest, because the Hebrew priests were also physicians. George Syncellus<sup>2</sup> calls him *high priest* of the Jews; and so he has been identified with Jesus or Jason. But the character of Jason is inconsistent with that idea. How could one who purchased the high priest's office from Antiochus Epiphanes, who set aside his own brother Onias the Third, and began to introduce heathen customs into Judea, write a work of this nature, which speaks with so great respect of Mosaism; and of rectitude, order, justice, in commendatory terms? There is little in the contents to justify the supposition that the writer was a priest. Neither his language nor his matter is in favour of it.

The age of the book is not easily ascertained. The author's eulogy of great men terminates with Simon the high priest. (l. 1. &c.) But as there were two of that name it is uncertain which is meant. The first was Simon, surnamed the *Just*, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Lagi (300—292 B.C.). The other was Simon the Second, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator (217—195 B.C.). Besides the encomium on Simon the high priest, another circumstance apparently indicating a contemporary is the notice in the prologue prefixed to the work by the grandson of the writer, who translated it into Greek, viz. that coming into Egypt in the thirty-eighth year when Euergetes was king, he found the book. Here again, however, there is uncertainty, since there were two kings of Egypt called Euergetes,—Euergetes I., son and successor of Ptolemy Philadelphus (247, &c. B.C.); and Euergetes II. or Physcon (169 &c. B.C.).

The author complains in his book of the oppression and injuries which his nation was obliged to suffer. (xxxvi. 9. &c.) The high priest also is spoken of as one who fortified the city and protected the temple. (l. 4.) These circumstances militate against the idea of Simon I. being meant; since in his day, whether under Ptolemy Philadelphus, or in the time immediately after his reign, the people remained unmolested by persecution. Hence it is thought that Simon II. must be meant, with Ptolemy Philopator, who, according to the third book of Maccabees, persecuted the Jews. This view is confirmed by the circumstance that the writer manifests great enmity against the Samaritans and Idumeans, which was kindled afresh at the time by both these separating from the Jews, and by the former erecting a temple on Mount Gerizim in honour of Jupiter. In connection with this it should be noticed that the thirty-eighth year of

<sup>1</sup> Uebersetzung des Buches Jesus Sirachs Sohn, Einleit. p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Chronographia, p. 276.

Euergetes's reign cannot apply to Euergetes I., who reigned no more than twenty-five or twenty-six years, but *may refer to Euergetes II.* or Physcon, who reigned so long, *if his regency be included.* Such is the view of Prideaux, Eichhorn, Bretschneider, Bertholdt, &c. But Jahn raises doubts against it because the encomiums in the fiftieth chapter do not agree so well with Simon the Second as with Simon the Just, high priest from 300—292 B.C. He also regards the times implied in the writer's description as concordant; and the thirty-eighth year in the prologue as referring to *the translator's age*, and not to *the reign of Euergetes*, since neither the first nor the second monarch of that name reigned so long. Accordingly, Jahn thinks that the book was written 292—280 B.C., while the translator lived under Euergetes I., between 246—221 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to decide between these conflicting views. One thing is probable, that *Simon the Just* is meant; for the encomiums agree best with him. And it is not at all necessary to suppose, as is implied in the reasonings just specified, that the writer of the book was *contemporary with Simon the high priest.* The latter may have been dead for a time, for aught that is implied in the fiftieth chapter; and all that is written of him has been got from recent oral tradition. Thus the way is prepared for the conclusion that the Euergetes spoken of by the grandson was probably the second of that name; which is confirmed by the fact that the thirty-eighth year cannot be predicated of the first, but may be of the second, provided his regency be included. We do not fix upon Euergetes II. for the reason that seems to have influenced Winer<sup>2</sup>, viz. that the canon was not concluded in the time of Euergetes I.; for in our opinion it *was* then closed. Neither can we adopt his and Jahn's view of the thirty-eighth year referring to the translator's age, and not to the reign of Euergetes. It is true indeed, as Winer observes, that the Greek construction is, grammatically speaking, more correct if the thirty-eighth year allude to age; but correct grammar need not be looked for in the Greek version. There is no reason for specifying the translator's age in connection with Euergetes. Neither is this the obvious meaning. Hence we refer it to the reign of that monarch. Ptolemy Euergetes II. began to reign 169 B.C.; and if we subtract thirty-eight years from that we obtain the year 131. He may thus have made his translation about 130 B.C. About fifty years may be allowed for the interval between the grandfather and grandson, which brings the composition to 180 B.C. We believe the date now given is nearer the true one than that assigned by Hitzig<sup>3</sup>, who thinks that Jesus son of Sirach wrote during the Maccabean struggle for freedom, *i. e.* about twenty years later. This is derived from some passages which the critic identifies with specific particulars in history; hazardously as we believe (iv. 28., x. 8—10., xxxii. 22. &c., xxxiii. 1—13., xxxvi. 13—17.). And it is certainly more correct than that of Scholz, who supposes the writer to have lived about

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. vol. ii. p. 930. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Realwörterbuch, article Jesus Sohn Sirachs, vol. i. p. 555.

<sup>3</sup> Die Psalmen, vol. i. p. 118.

300 B. C.<sup>1</sup> The circumstances adduced in favour of so early a date are very slender; and the time of closing the canon interferes. Had the work been composed so early it would have been put into the canonical list.

The prologue states that the book was originally written in Hebrew, and translated by the grandson of the author into Greek. Jerome states that he saw the Hebrew, and that it had the title מוסר, *moral maxims*. It has been doubted, however, by Scaliger, Bretschneider, and others, whether Jerome really had the original document before him. It may have been a Syriac or Chaldee version in Hebrew letters. There is good reason for entertaining these doubts, if, with Lowth, Eichhorn, and Bretschneider, we understand that Hebrew was the original language of the book. For that, however, Stäudlin and Bertholdt think there is no immediate necessity. If the word *Hebraicum*, employed by Jerome, and its corresponding Ἑβραϊστὶ in the prologue, mean *Syro-Chaldaic*, as they may with propriety, in that case there is nothing against the fact of Jerome's having the original in his hands. One thing is certain, that the original was either Hebrew or Aramæan. And we are inclined to hold that it was the former. If so, it is most probable that Jerome merely saw a Syriac version in Hebrew letters; which, having but hastily looked at, he mistook for the original. The nature of the Greek diction employed shows that it is a slavish and stiff imitation of the Hebrew. The structure is entirely Hebraic. There is a close and uniform parallelism of members, which shows a Jew thinking in some other language than Greek. The translator has often followed the order of the words as they stood in the original text, and put both terms and sentences together with great carefulness, so as to represent the Hebrew very closely. He has sacrificed elegance, if he were capable of it, to literality. Hence the Greek is of a kind that can be easily rendered back into Hebrew, and the new version would have all the appearance of an original. This remark is verified by an inspection of Lowth's Hebrew translation of the twenty-fourth chapter, in which Wisdom is personified; where the elegant critic "has endeavoured as much as possible to preserve, or rather restore, the form and character of the original."<sup>2</sup> There are also allusions to the Hebrew and misunderstandings of it, which can only be explained by the original, such as vi. 21., "for Wisdom is according to her name, and she is not manifest unto many." Here there is an allusion to the Arabic علم, to know, and in Hebrew, to be concealed.

This cannot apply to the Greek word for wisdom, viz. σοφία, but to the Hebrew עלימה. In xxiv. 27. we read, "He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as Geon in the time of vintage." Here there is a mistake in the word φῶς. The original was קָאוֹר = קִאוֹר, as in Amos viii. 8., meaning like the Nile. In xxi. 12. we have the noun πικρία, bitterness; whereas it should be rebellion, according to the context. The translator confounded קָרָה,

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. vol. iii. p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, p. 207. *et seqq.* Stowe's edition.

bitterness, and  $\text{קִרְיָה}$ , rebellion. In xliiii. 8. we read, "the month is called after her name,"  $\mu\eta\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ (\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\eta\varsigma)\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\omega;$  where  $\mu\eta\nu$  must represent  $\text{קִרְיָה}$  (month), and  $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\eta$ ,  $\text{קֶרֶךְ}$  (moon).

The translator gives us to infer from his prologue that he was a Palestinian Jew, because he came to Egypt at a certain time, and there rendered the book into Greek. His name he himself does not tell; but the author of the Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ in Athanasius's works, Epiphanius, and other ancient writers call him Jesus son of Sirach. It is questionable whether this was not a mere conjecture on their part. Some have supposed that he added the fifty-first chapter; if so he must have written it in Greek, whereas it bears the same character and was taken from the same original as the rest of the book. Hence the supposition is groundless.

There is a second prologue in the Complutensian Bible and the Vulgate, which is spurious. It is taken from the *Synopsis Sac. Script.*, and is printed by Linde, Bretschneider, Augusti, and Apel.

The Greek text has suffered many corruptions and interpolations, in consequence of its frequent use in the Greek church. These it is now impossible, in most cases, to discover and exclude. The variations in Greek MSS. have naturally passed into editions. Thus in the Sixtine edition, x. 21., xi. 15, 16., xvi. 15, 16. are omitted. The last chapter is wanting in many MSS. and editions; and the Complutensian Bible has the additions xvi. 10., xix. 2, 3. 5. 18, 19. 21., xxii. 6. &c., xxiii. 5. &c., xxv. 16. 12., xxvi. 19—27. The different arrangement of sections from ch. xxx. 25. and onwards, in the Vatican, Alexandrian, and Aldine text, and the Complutensian, Paris, and Antwerp editions, may be seen from the following tables:—

*Vatican and Others.*

xxx. 25—32. -  
xxxi. -  
xxxii. -  
xxxiii. 1. &c. -  
xxxiii. 12. -  
xxxiv. -  
xxxv. -  
xxxvi. 1—15. -  
xxxvi. 17—31. -

*Complutensian and Others.*

- xxxiii. 12. &c.  
- xxxiv.  
- xxxv.  
- xxxvi. 1. &c.  
- xxx. 26.  
- xxxi.  
- xxxii.  
- xxxiii. 1—16.  
- xxxvi. 14. &c.

These variations and many others, for there is hardly a verse in which there is not some discrepancy in the Greek MSS., cannot have been entirely owing to transcribers' mistakes. In most cases, perhaps, they originated in design. Many additions have been taken from the Fathers by transcribers or readers; and Bendtsen has shown that various interpolations in the Complutensian edition owe their origin to Clement of Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> They are found at least in his works. The Vatican text is freest from insertions and uncritical alterations.

Whoever wishes to know the ethics of the Jews after the exile must come to this book as a document of great value. The author

<sup>1</sup> Specimen exercitationum criticarum in Vet. Test. libros Apocryphos e scriptis patrum et antiquis versionibus, &c., p. 32. *et seqq*

addresses himself, for the most part, to the middle class, seldom rising to those in higher stations. Only once does he speak to the workmaster and the artificer, the physician, and the learned (xxxviii.); and twice to princes and rulers. The book is not without its defects, notwithstanding its value. Light and darkness are mixed. The prejudices of ancient times are seen in connection with recent ideas. God is rudely represented as taking vengeance, and using for that purpose fire, hail, famine, &c. (xxxix. 28.); the feeling of hatred to national enemies, for whose destruction prayer is uttered, appears in xxxvi. 2. &c. The old national belief that virtue is rewarded by earthly prosperity manifests itself (xi. 22.); and vows have merit assigned to them (xviii. 22.). The author gives expression to some Messianic hopes, as the glorification of Jerusalem, the reunion and restoration of the tribes of Jacob. (xxxvi. 1—17.) His dogmatic theology is little worth, being defective and erroneous. Whether there be any traces of Alexandrian theosophy in the production, is not very clear. Gfrörer<sup>1</sup>, who maintains the affirmative, refers to the twenty-fourth chapter, as presenting the Alexandrian idea of wisdom. Certainly the first twenty-one verses do not harmonise with the old Israelitish faith. Daehne<sup>2</sup> himself, who repudiates the idea of any Alexandrian elements in the book, is compelled to recognise them in a few places, and arbitrarily to assume interpolation.

Yet the influence of Greek culture and philosophy is observable only here and there; the Jewish mind of Palestine being reflected throughout both in the substance and form. The views of the world and of life exhibited belong essentially to the old type of Hebrew nationality, rather than to the later and more philosophic sentiments of the Jews who resided in Egypt.

The style is poetical, resembling that found in all the better didactic writings of antiquity; the only difference is, that it is more highly coloured, as well as more abundant in images and figures.

The Talmud speaks of *Jesus son of Sirach* or *Sira*, and puts his book of morals among the sacred writings of antiquity (among the *כתובים*, or hagiographa). Some sentences are certainly cited from it. But in other places, proverbs are quoted, under the name of Ben-Sira, for which either no analogous passages, or none whatever, can be found in the Greek Sirach. The latter comprehend various sentiments which are trifling or absurd; on which account, the reading of Ben-Sira's proverbs is forbidden by many Rabbins as pernicious to the soul.<sup>3</sup>

There are two small collections of proverbs alphabetically arranged, still extant under the name of Ben-Sira. Some few of these also appear in *Jesus Sirach*, almost in the same words; others resemble in their contents proverbs existing in his book, though the terms expressing them are different; while no parallels to others can be found. Was then the Ben-Sira, the author of these two alphabetical collections, the same as *Jesus son of Sirach*? Their identity is

<sup>1</sup> Philo und die Alexandrinische Theosophie, Abtheilung ii. p. 31. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüd. Alex. Rel. Philos. Abtheil. ii. p. 129. *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See De Wette's Einleit. pp. 470, 471.

assumed by Huet, Wolf, Fabricius, and Bertholdt. Against this, Bartolucci and others urge the difference of name בְּנֵי־סִרְחָא, *Ben-Sira*, and *vòs Σεπράχ*, equivalent to בְּנֵי־סִרְחָא. Besides, Eichhorn<sup>1</sup> adduces the fact that Ben-Sira is called the son of *the prophet Jeremiah*, which Jesus Sirach was not. Neither of these considerations seems to us of any weight, because *Sira* is merely a softer form of *Sirach*; and the fable about Ben-Sira being Jeremiah's son is inconsistent with the usual appellation *Ben-Sira*, i. e. *son of Sira*. But though the person called Ben-Sira in the collection of Proverbs edited by Drusius<sup>2</sup>, and in the Talmud, may be identical with Jesus Sirach, we cannot believe that the proverbs ascribed to him were really his. Interpolation is too arbitrary an assumption for those to resort to who ascribe all to Jesus Sirach the author of Ecclesiasticus. With the exception of a very few in the Talmud, which are both substantially and verbally Jesus Sirach's sentences, the rest which are there adduced, and the collections edited by Drusius, proceeded from other persons. As the name of Jesus Sirach was celebrated in the later gnomic poetry of the Jews, like Solomon's in the earlier, collections of moral maxims which harmonised with the spirit of his book, were attributed to him. His name would be a recommendation; and therefore it was freely used to set them off. There is no comparison between the value and excellence of those really belonging to the author, and such as were subsequently current under his name. The latter are often trifling, puerile, absurd. Besides, the Chaldee dialect in which they are expressed is so impure and mixed with Greek words as to repudiate Jesus Sirach's authorship.

Three ancient versions of the book of Sirach have been printed; viz., a Syriac, an Arabic, and a Latin.

The Syriac is not a faithful representative of the Greek. The text is sometimes shorter, sometimes longer. Either the Greek copy from which it was made must have been much altered and corrupted; or the Syriac was derived from another source. Eichhorn and Bretschneider take the former view; while Bendtsen, Bertholdt, and others, suppose that the Syriac was from the original Hebrew text or a later recension of it. It is difficult to decide which is the more probable; for the evidence adduced on both sides is slender and precarious. We incline to the view of those who think that the Greek whence the Syriac was made had been greatly altered. The age of this Syriac translation is uncertain. It is older than the Arabic, which latter follows it so slavishly as to show itself the daughter.

There is another Syriac version of the book which still remains unprinted. It is in the Syro-Hexaplaric codex at Milan; and is furnished with Origen's critical signs. But no proper examination of it has yet been made, as far as we know.

The Latin version in the Vulgate is older than Jerome. It is in a very rude and barbarous style, and departs from the Greek to about the same extent as the Syriac. The Greek copy whence it was taken

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, p. 83. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Ben-Siræ proverbialia versione latina et commentaris illustr. J. Drusius. Franck. 1597, 4to.

must therefore have been disfigured by additions, omissions, alterations, and transpositions. Bretschneider<sup>1</sup> has adduced many examples to show its Greek origin; such as, Greek words left untranslated, and mistakes. But Sabatier<sup>2</sup> thinks the original was Hebrew; and Bengel<sup>3</sup> compared the first and thirty-fourth chapters in the Greek and Latin texts, to show that Sabatier's view is correct. He is obliged, however, to admit, that in rendering from the Hebrew original, the Latin translator used the Greek as an auxiliary. Here, again, the evidence is of such a nature as not to preponderate much to either side. We prefer the former opinion. This version is very ancient; since the Fathers of the second and third centuries quote its words. It belongs either to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century before Christ.

Some have thought that the earliest use of the book is to be found in different places of the New Testament, especially in the epistle of James. It is alleged that there are various allusions which show an acquaintance with it on the part of those sacred writers. But the similarity between passages in our book and in the New Testament *may possibly be accounted for* otherwise. It is possible that the writers drew from a common oral tradition; or, similarity of topics may have led to analogous modes of expression. The likeness is not very definite or marked; and therefore some have doubted whether the Christian writers actually employed the book. The nearest to an apparent quotation is James i. 19., from Sirach v. 13. Others are, Sirach ii. 15. compared with John xiv. 23.; xxix. 15. with Luke xvi. 9.; xi. 10. with 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10.; xxxiii. 13. with Rom. ix. 21.; xi. 18, 19. with Luke xii. 19.; xv. 16. with Matt. xix. 17.; xxv. 11. with James iii. 2.; xxxv. 11. with 2 Cor. ix. 7. We hold that the New Testament writers *did* draw from it both ideas and words. The oldest reference to it seems to be in the epistle of Barnabas. The passage there quoted stands in the Apostolic Constitutions. Clement of Rome cites it; and also Ignatius. It was much read in the early churches; and Athanasius informs us that it was put into the hands of catechumens as a moral catechism. Origen, Anastasius of Antioch, and Ambrose, cite it as *Scriptura*; Epiphanius terms it *divina Scriptura*; Cyprian as, *divina Scriptura Spiritus Sancti*. Augustine calls it *liber propheticus*, a *prophetic book*. In polemics it was used without hesitation for the confutation of opponents, as by Augustine. The third council of Carthage grounded its statement respecting the rebaptism of certain persons upon the book; and opponents never thought of asserting in reply that the basis was not canonical. Jerome, however, expressed himself cautiously and critically regarding it, *that it should be used only for the edification of the people, and not to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines*. Yet the book continued to be employed without any question being raised respecting its canonicity down to the council of Trent, when it was formally put into the canon.

<sup>1</sup> Liber Jesu Siracidæ Græce, &c. Excursus i. p. 699. *et seqq.* \*

<sup>2</sup> Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 390.

<sup>3</sup> Ueber die muthmassliche Quelle der alten Lateinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Sirach, in Eichhorn's allgem. Bibliothek. Theil vii. p. 832. *et seqq.*

The Jews never placed it among their canonical Scriptures. Hence it is not in the lists of Philo, Josephus, Melito, Origen, and Jerome. Still the last writer says that it was put along with Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon. Weighty authorities among the Rabbins speak highly of it; and in the beginning of the fourth century, the Babylonian Talmud puts it among the *c'thubim*, using that term in a loose sense.<sup>1</sup>

The English version appears to have been made from the Greek text as exhibited in the Complutensian Polyglott. This is matter of regret; since that form of the text is the most corrupt that has been printed. The Vatican is the purest.

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## CHAP. VIII.

### THE BOOK OF BARUCH.

IN the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans Baruch is said to have written in Babylon the words of this book, and to have read them before Jechoniah and the assembled people, with the princes and nobles. On that occasion they humbled themselves before the Lord, made a collection of money, and sent it to Jerusalem with the silver vessels of the temple made by king Zedekiah after Nebuchadnezzar had carried away Jechoniah to Babylon, requesting that the high priest Joakim and the rest would spend the money on the sacrifices, and pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar and his son. The book was to be read in the temple, on the feasts and solemn days. After this narrative follows a confession and prayer (i. 15—ii. 35.); to which is immediately appended a short prayer for mercy uttered in distress and exile (iii. 1—8.). Israel is then directly addressed. (iii. 9—iv. 29.) Lastly, Jerusalem is exhorted to take comfort and rejoice; for she shall return out of captivity with glory. (iv. 30—v. 9.)

The book properly consists of two sections; viz. i. 1—iii. 8., and iii. 9—v. 9.: i. 1—9. is introductory, at least to the first part.

Bertholdt argues that iii. 1—8. is distinct from chapters i. and ii., and cannot have proceeded from the same writer, because the author of the epistle in the first two chapters could scarcely have sunk back into the complaints of a troubled spirit, which fill up the prayer, after the fine hopes uttered at the end of the second chapter; because no traces of the use of Jeremiah's prophecies and Daniel's book are visible, the piece (iii. 1—8.) having greater originality; because the twofold appellation *Israel and Judah* (ii. 1. 26.) does not occur, but simply *the people of Israel*; and because there are fewer Hebraisms.<sup>2</sup> To these arguments, however, De Wette<sup>3</sup> replies conclusively, that ii. 29. &c. are the words of Jehovah, containing a promise in relation

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Eichhorn's Einleit. p. 76. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. vol. iv. pp. 1743. and 1762.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. pp. 474, 475.

to the future, while in iii. 1. &c. the exiles speak of the present: that there repentance is required, here it is certified; that iii. 8. is a reminiscence of Jer. xlii. 18.; that even in ii. 15. 35. *Israel* alone occurs, and there is no necessity for preserving throughout the same parallelism; and that there are as many Hebraisms in the one as in the other, proportionately. Hence we believe that the section i. 1—iii. 8. should not be separated. It is one piece.

In like manner, it is contended by Bertholdt, that iii. 9—v. 9. proceeded from another person than the writer of i. 1—ii. 35.; or, as we should say, of i. 1—iii. 8.; because the language is much purer and more flowing, the representation more independent of older writings, and the Alexandrian culture of the author apparent.<sup>1</sup> The reply of De Wette<sup>2</sup> to these particulars is insufficient; for the difference of contents and representation can scarcely account for the *difference of diction*. And though it be true that chapter v. is compiled out of *Isaiah*, yet this does not argue an analogous dependence; for it is *Jeremiah's* book which is used in i. 1—iii. 8.; while *Isaiah* is used in the other section. Against the Alexandrian philosophy of the writer De Wette refers to what is said in *Jesus Sirach* xxiv., where *wisdom* is spoken of similarly to the mention of it in iii. 14. &c. This last is the weightiest particular against the Alexandrian origin of the section since *wisdom* is not spoken of after the fashion of the philosophy prevailing in the schools at Alexandria; but it is not conclusive, unless it could be shown that the prevalent type of that doctrine was fixed. It would seem, that the writer of this second section was acquainted with the literature of the Arabians (iii. 23.), and with the theogonies of the Greek philosophers (comp. *μυθολόγοι*, iii. 23., *tellers of legends*), which could scarcely be expected of a Palestinian Jew. In like manner, the expression, *house of God*, in iii. 24., and the application of *δαιμόνια* in iv. 7. to *idols*, are more appropriate to an Alexandrian than a Palestinian. Hence we are disposed to reject the unity of the book contended for by De Wette, and to assume that the two sections of which it is composed were originally independent and distinct.

At the commencement of the book, Baruch the son of Nerias is said to have written it in Babylon. There can be little doubt that the Baruch who was Jeremiah's faithful friend is meant, and not another of the same name, as Jahn<sup>3</sup> intimates; for the father's name, Neriah, is the same, and both wrote down the oracles of Jeremiah. Is it correct therefore to hold that this Baruch, as alleged at the commencement, wrote the work? Roman Catholic theologians have usually affirmed that he was the author, from Bellarmine down to Scholz and Moulinié; and one Protestant at least, the whimsical Whiston, agrees with them. But this view is untenable for the following reasons.

1. The work contains historical inaccuracies. Jeremiah was alive in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem; yet the epistle

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. vol. iv. p. 1763.

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. vol. ii. pp. 859, 860.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. p. 474.

is dated at Babylon in this same year. It is most unlikely that Baruch left Jeremiah, since the two friends had remained together in prosperity and adversity. One account makes Baruch never leave Egypt; another represents him as leaving it after the death of Jeremiah. Should the latter be the true one, it is hardly possible that he could have left Egypt after Jeremiah had died in the fifth year subsequently to the destruction of Jerusalem (which, however, is a mere hypothesis), have gone to Babylon, and written the book there in the same year.

According to ch. i. 3. Jechoniah was present in the great assembly before which the epistle was read; whereas we learn from 2 Kings xxv. 27. that he was kept a prisoner as long as Nebuchadnezzar lived. The fact, too, of all the Jewish exiles meeting together by the river *Sud* or *Euphrates* to hear the epistle read, seems fabulous. (i. 3, 4.)

Again, Joakim is evidently supposed to be high priest at Jerusalem. (i. 7.) But none of that name occurs in the list of high priests; and in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem Jehozadak filled the office. (1 Chron. vi. 15.)

There is also a mistake in i. 2. If the verse be referred to the carrying away of Jehoiachin, the city was not then burnt; and if it allude to the destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, it is wrong to represent the temple and its worship as still existing, which is done in the eighth and following verses.

2. Reminiscences of later books in the canon of the Old Testament are found in this one, supposing it to have proceeded from Baruch himself. Comp. i. 15—17. with Dan. ix. 7. &c., Neh. ix. 32.; ii. 1, 2. with Dan. ix. 12.; ii. 7. with Dan. ix. 13.; ii. 9. with Dan. ix. 14.; ii. 11. with Dan. ix. 5. 15., Neh. ix. 10.; ii. 19. with Dan. ix. 18.

3. The historical situation presupposed is not in harmony with the language, especially in the second section. The exile is the time when the particulars narrated are supposed to have taken place; yet we find such expressions as, "thou art waxen old in a strange country" (iii. 10.); and the deliverance confidently expected is said to be *soon* (iv. 22. &c.). In this connection we may also refer to i. 2. more particularly than before. The date of the book is given "in the fifth year, and in the seventh day of the month, what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem, and burnt it with fire." This language is indefinite. Eichhorn<sup>1</sup> and others fix the date of the book or the epistle, according to the statement quoted, in the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin; and suppose that the sojourn of Baruch in Babylon relates to a journey thither which he took with his brother Seraiah to bring the vessels of the temple back to Jerusalem. (Jer. li. 9.) But Jerusalem was not then burnt; and it is difficult to see how the vessels which Zedekiah caused to be made after the deportation of Jehoiachin, got to Babylon. Bertholdt<sup>2</sup> and others suppose the language to refer to the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; and this is certainly

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. p. 378. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Einleit. vol. iv. p. 1758. *et seqq.*

more likely to have been intended; but if so, the temple and altar are still supposed to be standing. (i. 10. 14.) De Wette<sup>1</sup>, comparing 2 Kings xxv. 8., thinks that ἔται should be μνη (i. 2.); but there is no authority for this. He also remarks that ἐν τῷ καιρῷ should not be rendered *after the time*. It certainly means, however, *at the time*, which amounts to the same. In whatever way the date be understood, the historical situation assumed is not maintained.

For the reasons just assigned, as well as others that might be given, we hold that the work is not authentic. It was not written by Baruch; nor did it originate so early as his time.

In regard to the original language of the book, great diversity of opinion prevails. Huet, Calmet, Bendtsen, Dereser, Grüneberg, Movers, Hitzig, and De Wette, think that it was originally written in Hebrew; whereas Grotius, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hävernick, decide in favour of Greek. The arguments adduced on both sides are not weighty, else there would not be so much diversity of sentiment.

The most important circumstance in favour of a Hebrew original is, that in the fourteenth verse of the first chapter we find it stated that the work was intended to be publicly read in the temple. For this purpose it must have been composed *in Hebrew*. Looking at the two sections apart, viz. i. 1—iii. 8. and iii. 9—v. 9., the first appears to be a translation, especially as the LXX. of Jeremiah's book was employed by the translator. (Comp. Baruch i. 9. with Jer. xxiv. 1.) Hitzig<sup>2</sup> even thinks that the translator of both was the same. Besides, the Hebraisms are of a kind which show a Greek translation. The genius of the Greek language is so much in the background, and the characteristics of Hellenistic Greek so few, that a version best explains the phenomenon. As Fritzsche aptly remarks, it reads like another part of the LXX.<sup>3</sup> The following peculiarities are adduced as indicating a Hebrew original: καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας (i. 10.): οὐ . . . ἐκεῖ, οὐ . . . ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὐτῆ; ἀποστολή (ii. 25.), βόμβησις (ii. 29.). And some passages can only be explained by going to the Hebrew, as ii. 18.

The language of the second section differs very perceptibly from that of the first. It is purer and more flowing. The Hebraisms are fewer; and there is greater appearance of originality. Hence it is likely to have been written at first in Greek.

Great stress is laid by Hävernick<sup>4</sup> on the fact that if the work be an Alexandrian production, it must have been composed in Greek; but that does not necessarily follow. The first section was probably written in Palestine, and therefore in Hebrew; the second seems to be an Alexandrian production, and was therefore composed in Greek.

Cappellus<sup>5</sup> thought that it was intended as a supplement to the 51st chapter of Jeremiah. Hävernick, again, connected it with

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, p. 473.

<sup>2</sup> Die Psalmen, hist. und krit. Comm. u. s. w. vol. ii. p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, i. p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> De libro Baruchi apocrypho commentatio critica, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Commentarii et notæ criticae in V. T. p. 564.

the 45th chapter of Jeremiah, as an appendix. Both hypotheses are groundless.

The object of the first section was to show the people that they should humble themselves before God and pray for deliverance; whereas that of the second was to encourage and comfort them in their distressed condition. Hence we are led to think of the Maccabean period, both as that in which the two sections were written, and also in which the first was translated, and then both put together. The writer of the second section, who was an Alexandrian Jew, having found the first section, which was a Palestinian Hebrew production, translated it and placed it before his own work.<sup>1</sup>

Hitzig was the first who tried to show that the translator of Jeremiah and of Baruch was one and the same person. The resemblances between the Septuagint version of Jeremiah and the production before us are indeed apparent in whatever way they are explained. But though Hitzig plausibly refers to such places as ii. 25., i. 9., compared with Jer. xxxii. 36., xxiv. 1.; and Fritzsche, who follows him, asserts that the agreement extends not merely to one or two places but to the entire manner of both; words and constructions occurring in Baruch, which are almost peculiar to the translator of Jeremiah; we cannot assent to the conclusion. It is better to explain the similarities by the fact that the Septuagint version was used by the translator and writer, as Bertholdt and Hävernick think. Less probable is Movers's view, that the translator employed *the Alexandrian recension of the Hebrew text*.

The Jews never admitted the book as canonical. So Jerome and Epiphanius state. Among the early Christian writers it was frequently quoted after the time of Irenæus. Both Greek and Latin fathers refer to it. As it was placed in the LXX. before or after the Lamentations, and was regarded in the light of an Appendix to Jeremiah; it was commonly treated in the same manner as Jeremiah, equal canonical authority being assigned to it. Hence the words of Baruch were often quoted as the words of Jeremiah the prophet. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian so cite them. Clement quotes it in one place as *the divine Scripture* (*ἡ θεία γραφή*). Cyprian refers to it thus: *the Holy Spirit teaches by Jeremiah*. From a catena published by Ghislerius<sup>2</sup>, on Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Baruch, we infer that old writers frequently commented on the book, as Theodoret did. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the book as canonical. In the catalogue of the canonical books given in the fifty-ninth canon of the council of Laodicea, it is expressly named. Its canonicity is now commonly held by Roman Catholics, since it was asserted by the council of Trent. Protestants put it among the Apocrypha.

The twenty-five MSS. used by Holmes and Parsons in their edition are divided into two classes by Fritzsche, according to the nature of the text presented.

The principal versions are the two Latin, the Syriac, and the Arabic. The old Latin, which is contained in the Vulgate, is literal. All its

<sup>1</sup> See Fritzsche, in Exeget. Handbuch, i. p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> Lugduni, 1623, three volumes.

deviations from the Greek were collected by Cappellus.<sup>1</sup> The second old Latin version was first printed at Rome by Jos. Maria Caro (1688), and afterwards reprinted by Sabatier. It is a revision of the first, in which the Greek was used; and presents a freer rendering of the source from which it was made. The Syriac is literal on the whole. According to Fritzsche<sup>2</sup> a later mixed text lies at the basis of these three translations. The Arabic version is very literal. There is also a Syriac Hexaplar version of Baruch in the well-known codex belonging to the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

In the Paris and London Polyglotts is printed in Syriac and Latin a first epistle of Baruch the scribe, addressed to the nine tribes and half beyond the Euphrates. The book of Baruch furnished the occasion of its being written. It never formed a part of the LXX., and seems to have been composed by a Christian; though it must be confessed that the Christian element does not much appear. Fritzsche conjectures<sup>3</sup> that the writer was a Syrian monk. It is difficult to decide whether it is a translation or not. More probably it is an original.

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## CHAP. IX.

### THE EPISTLE OF JEREMY.

AN epistle of Jeremiah often stands as the sixth chapter of Baruch. According to the inscription it was sent by Jeremiah, at the command of God, to the Jews, who were to be led captives into Babylon on account of their sins. There they were to remain seven generations, and to see silver, golden, and wooden gods borne upon the shoulders, whose worship they should carefully avoid. After this the writer describes, in a declamatory style, the folly and absurdity of idolatry. (8—72.) The conclusion is abrupt. (ver. 73.)

At first this epistle had no connection with Baruch and the Lamentations. All the relation it has to Jeremiah is, that it has been put together out of Jer. x. 1—16. and xxix. 4—23., the contents being copied from the one, and the form from the other. Its separate inscription, contents, difference of style, and the early historical notices respecting it favour the original independence of the letter, showing that its combination with Baruch was merely accidental. Fewer MSS. have it than Baruch, and it is put in them sometimes at the end of Baruch as the sixth chapter; sometimes after the Lamentations. Theodoret and Hilary of Poitiers pass over the epistle.

There can be no question that the letter was not written by Jeremiah; and, therefore, modern Catholic theologians do well to abandon the example of their predecessors who maintained its authenticity. Even Scholz agrees with Jerome who calls it *ψευδεπίγραφος*; though Huet, Du Pin, Calmet, and Alber asserted its Jeremiah-

<sup>1</sup> Commentarii et notæ criticae in V. T. p. 564.

<sup>2</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, i. p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 176.

authorship. In the latter case it must have been written in Hebrew; whereas internal evidence incontestably shows that the Greek is original; for it is pure Hellenistic Greek. Besides, the warning against idolatry addressed to the Jews bespeaks a foreigner living out of Palestine. The most probable place of its origin is Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest allusion to the existence of the epistle is commonly found in 2 Macc. ii. 2. But with Fritzsche we are unable to see the appropriateness of the supposed reference. Because a few words are similar in ii. 2. and the 4th verse of our epistle, it does not follow that the latter was the older; or indeed that the Maccabean author had any respect to the epistle. There is no adaptation of the one place to the other. Still it is probable that the writer lived in the Maccabean period.

What was said of the reception of Baruch by the early church applies to this epistle also.

The old Latin version published by Sabatier is literal. The Syriac translation is freer, which may be accounted for, in part, by the fact that the Greek was often misunderstood. The Arabic is still more literal than the old Latin. No one has yet examined the Syriac Hexaplar codex in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, so as to be able to tell the connection between it and the Greek original.

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The ADDITIONS TO DANIEL and the HISTORY OF SUSANNA  
have been already examined at page 936 and following.

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## CHAP. X.

### THE PRAYER OF MANASSES.

IT is related in the thirty-third chapter of the second book of Chronicles that king Manasseh reigned fifty-five years in Jerusalem, and re-established the worship of idols which his father had abolished. In consequence of his unfaithfulness to Jehovah the king of Assyria was prompted to come against him, and take him prisoner to Babylon. There he repented and turned to the Lord; on which account he was restored to Jerusalem, and lived in accordance with the divine law. (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 12, 13.) In the eighteenth verse of the chapter in question it is remarked, that "the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words of the seers that spake to him in the name of the Lord God of Israel," are in the book of the Kings of Israel. Hence it would appear that a prayer of Manasseh in Hebrew existed in the days of the Chronicle-writer; and it is possible that the composition in Greek called "the Prayer of

<sup>1</sup> See Fritzsche in Exeget. Handbuch, i. p. 206.

Manasses," or the Latin text of it in the Vulgate, may have been translated from the lost original.

The production in question is beautifully simple and touching. The ideas are suitable in the circumstances, well-arranged, and natural. They are such as would arise in the mind of the king situated as he was; being the offspring and evidence of genuine repentance. That they resemble what occurs in Old Testament books of much later origin than the time of Manasseh need not be turned to their disadvantage as though they were borrowed, since similarity of situation would call them forth without imitation. The exceptions made by Bertholdt<sup>1</sup> to the suitability of some expressions put into the mouth of Manasseh in verses 10. and 13. are of no force, as Fritzsche<sup>2</sup> has shown. The writer was by no means deficient in skill or attention.

The contents show that the writer was a Jew who was well acquainted with Greek. At what time he lived is uncertain. The earliest trace of the work is in the Apostolic Constitutions ii. 22., where it is mentioned and given at length.<sup>3</sup> Hence Fabricius<sup>4</sup> conjectured that the Prayer of Manasses proceeded from the author of the Constitutions. But the one was a Jew, the other a Christian; and the text, as given in the Constitutions, has been corrupted in various places, as compared with the Greek MSS. Bertholdt supposed<sup>5</sup> that the writer was a Greek-speaking Jew belonging to the second or third century of the Christian era, who lived, perhaps, in Egypt. But it is far more probable that he lived before Christ; perhaps in the century prior to the Christian era. It is a production of the same class as other apocryphal writings which originated in the second or first century before the Saviour appeared on earth.

There were many Jewish legends respecting the Prayer of Manasseh. The Targum on Chronicles has embodied various singular circumstances connected with it. Others are contained in the Apostolic Constitutions, in John Damascenus, in Anastasius, and Suidas.

The old Latin version did not proceed from Jerome, for the language is not his. Neither is it a part of the old Latin (*Versio Vetus*) commonly so called, for it is later. It is a good version on the whole. There is also a Hebrew translation made from the Greek.

Neither Roman Catholics nor Protestants look upon the prayer as canonical.

Its position differs in different MSS. and books. The most usual place is after the Psalms, among the Hymns; as in the Codex Alexandrinus, in the Zurich MS. of the Psalms used by Fritzsche, and in the Ethiopic Psalter published by Ludolf. Sometimes it is after second Chronicles, as in the Vulgate in Sabatier's work. Many, as Luther and Reineceius, place it at the end of the Old Testament. In editions of the Vulgate it is commonly put at the close of the New Testament, succeeded by the third and fourth books of Esdras.

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung, vol. v. p. 2618.

<sup>2</sup> See Ueltzen's edition, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. v. p. 2622.

<sup>4</sup> In the Exeget. Handbuch, i. p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> Libri Apocryphi Sirach, &c. p. 208.

In the older editions of the LXX. as well as in many modern ones. it is omitted. Thus it is not in the editions of Tischendorf and the Bagsters. But it is in Apel's edition of the Apocryphal books, after the Song of the three Children.

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 CHAP. XI.

## THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES.

THE name *Maccabees* is commonly applied to the family and posterity of the Jewish priest Mattathias, who maintained a long and severe struggle against the kings of the Seleucidian race and finally effected an independent position for the Jewish people, till the year 37 B.C. The appellation was originally applied to Judas, the third son of Mattathias, as a surname. (1 Macc. ii. 3., iii. 1., v. 24.; 2 Macc. x. 1.) The name is derived from מַקְבֵּה Heb., מַקְבֵּא Chald., *a hammer*; expressing the destructive prowess of Judas.<sup>1</sup> In Greek it is Μακκαβαῖος. Another derivation, according to which it is written מַקְבֵּי or מַקְבֵּא, supposes that the word is formed from the initial letters of הַקָּדוֹשׁ יְהוָה, *who among the gods is like unto Jehovah?* which is said to have been the motto on the Jewish standards in the wars against the enemy. But this was a *later* usage, which did not originate till after the Jewish state had been destroyed; and in that case, the word in Greek would not have been written with κκ. For the latter reason, another derivation proposed by Delitzsch<sup>2</sup> must be rejected. The name was gradually extended, till it was even applied to the Jews in Egypt persecuted by Ptolemy Philopator. (See the inscription of 3 Maccabees.) The appellation *Asmonæan* or *Hasmonæan* is commoner in Jewish literature, being derived from Ἀσμοναῖος, the grandfather of Mattathias.

The first book of Maccabees contains a history of the Jews from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes till the death of the Jewish priest Simon, *i. e.* from 175 till 135 B.C. It may be divided into four parts, agreeably to the prominence of the four high priests and princes who ruled over the people and led their army, Mattathias, Judas Maccabeus, Jonathan, and Simon; viz. 1. From the commencement of Antiochus Epiphanes's reign till the death of Mattathias, chapters i. ii. 2. The history of the presidency of Judas Maccabeus, iii.—ix. 22. 3. The government and high priesthood of Jonathan, ch. ix. 23—xii. 53. 4. History of the high priest Simon, ch. xiii.—xvi.

The work is written in a comparatively easy and flowing Greek style; and it has many pure Grecisms. In point of language, indeed, it is superior to many books belonging to the Septuagint.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the name Charles *Martel*.<sup>2</sup> Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie, p. 28.

Yet the language is Hebraising, and the influence of the LXX. upon it perceptible. (Comp. ix. 25., xiv. 9.) It is a *translation*, not an *original*; for many Hebraisms are literal imitations of the Hebrew; and many obscurities disappear on the supposition of mistakes made by the translator. (i. 28., ii. 8. 34., iii. 3., iv. 19. 24. &c.)<sup>1</sup> Besides, Origen<sup>2</sup> expressly speaks in favour of a Hebrew original; the inscription he uses, *Σαββήθ Σαββανὲ ἕλ*, referring particularly to the first book; and *τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά* having been gradually extended to the remaining books, which were closely connected with the first. In like manner Jerome saw the Hebrew original. Thus there can be little doubt that the Greek was taken from a Shemitic original. Hengstenberg, however, asserts<sup>3</sup> that the “Chaldee” book of the Maccabees published by Bartolucci, is that referred to by Origen and Jerome. But this is incorrect, for it is not in Chaldee, but Hebrew: it consists of no more than  $2\frac{1}{4}$  pages small folio; it has a different title from that given by Hengstenberg; it relates Antiochus’s persecution of the Jews in a very different way from the first book of Maccabees; and the principal hero in it is not Judas, but John. Hence it cannot be that the work is “a bad imitation and disfigurement of 1 Maccabees,” as Hengstenberg calls it.<sup>4</sup> Kennicott mentions two Bodleian MSS.<sup>5</sup>; and Wolf speaks of another containing a *history of the Maccabees* written in Chaldee. From the Chaldee, which Kennicott supposes to have been the original, the history was translated into Hebrew; which version is inserted in several MSS. of the Hebrew Bible, and has been printed by Bartolucci.<sup>6</sup> Cotton states that “in Archbishop Marsh’s library at Dublin is a small Hebrew roll on parchment, without points, containing this history of Antiochus and of ‘John, the son of Mattathias;’ of which the beginning (and probably the whole) agrees with that which has been published by Bartolucci.”<sup>7</sup> In consequence of Hengstenberg’s mistake in saying that Bartolucci published the *Chaldee*, and Kennicott’s statement that he published a *Hebrew version* of the Chaldee, a writer in Kitto’s Cyclopædia asserts that Bartolucci published two *documents*, one in Chaldee, the other in Hebrew!<sup>8</sup>

Whether the original was Hebrew or Aramæan can scarcely be discovered now. The former is on the whole more probable, since the author wrote after the model of the Old Testament historical books; and the Greek text can be best explained on the supposition of such an original. The title of it given by Origen may be equivalent to *שְׂרַבְת שְׁרֵי בְנֵי אֱל*, *History of the princes of the sons of God, i. e. of Israel*, which presupposes that *שְׂר*, in Origen, was a mistake for *שְׂרֵי*. Others, as Bochart, Buddeus, Ewald, &c. give *שְׂרֵי בְנֵי אֱל*, *the sceptre of the prince of the sons of God, i. e. of Simon*, who is called prince. This makes the principal part of the book to be

<sup>1</sup> See Grimm in the Exeget. Handbuch in den Apokryphen, iii. p. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Euseb. vi. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Beiträge, vol. i. p. 290. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 293.

<sup>5</sup> Dissertation the Second, pp. 534, 535.

<sup>6</sup> Bibliotheca Rabbinica, vol. i. p. 883. *et seqq.*

<sup>7</sup> The five books of Maccabees in English, Introduction, p. xxiii.

<sup>8</sup> Article Maccabees.

chapters xiii.—xvi., and the rest a mere introduction; which is not likely.

Who the Greek translator was cannot be discovered at the present day. Huet<sup>1</sup> identified him with Theodotion; but Josephus, who lived long before Theodotion, made use of the present Greek text, so that this hypothesis is impossible.

The original writer must have been a Palestinian Jew, as is inferred from the language, the accurate acquaintance with the localities of Palestine, and his close sympathy with the heroes whose deeds are narrated. Cornelius a Lapide, Huet, &c., conjectured that the high priest John Hyrcanus was the author; to which is opposed the expressions used in xvi. 23. Prideaux again, thought that it was either composed by John Hyrcanus the son of Simon, or by some others employed by him.<sup>2</sup> Scholz<sup>3</sup> supposed that the author was perhaps the Judas spoken of in 2 Macc. ii. 14., who "gathered together all those things that were lost by reason of the war we had;" words which do not refer to his *writing a book*.

The time when the author lived must be derived mainly from xvi. 23. &c. Yet the language leaves it doubtful whether the work was composed during the government of John Hyrcanus, though a considerable time after its commencement; or after his death. Bertheau, Hengstenberg, Welte, and Scholz, adopt the former opinion; while Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Ewald, and Grimm, advocate the latter. The chief argument employed by such as take the first view is the improbability of the writer having given only the *terminus a quo* of the annals of John Hyrcanus's priesthood, without the *terminus ad quem*, in case the annals had been completed till the death of the high priest; whereas if he were still living the *terminus a quo* alone is natural. But the writer's allusion to the annals was made for the purpose of indicating that the annals were continued at the very point where the history of the book breaks off; and the annals are spoken of as a public and well-known document. The expression "chronicles of his priesthood, from the time he was made high priest after his father," may as well be taken to include the entire high priesthood; and therefore the *terminus ad quem* was unnecessary. Those annals would scarcely have become current till they had been completed with John Hyrcanus's death. Hence we regard it as probable that the work was written after that event; how long after cannot easily be determined. Grimm<sup>4</sup> has called attention to the circumstances, that the Messianic expectation is entirely in the background, so that the time did not excite the need of such hope, and was therefore a fortunate one, such as the first years of Jannæus Alexander; and that the ideas entertained by the author respecting the Romans were a pleasing illusion. (viii. 1. &c.) Indeed, the way in which the Romans are spoken of shows that the Jews had not felt

<sup>1</sup> Demonstratio evangelica, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, part ii. book iii. vol. ii. p. 186. ed. 1718.

<sup>3</sup> Einleit. vol. ii. pp. 631, 632.

<sup>4</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, iii. p. xxv.

their power and oppression; but had only *heard of their fame*. Hence the *terminus ad quem* of the origin cannot be after 64 B.C., in which year Pompey plundered Jerusalem; nor can the *terminus a quo* be prior to John Hyrcanus's death, *i. e.* 105 B.C. Perhaps about 80 B.C. is nearly the date.

The character and tone of the book are both simple and natural. It is distinguished by credibility, accuracy, and an easy historical style. The period described is one of the most important in the affairs of the covenant-people. They were subjected to a most severe ordeal on behalf of their faith. The trial was protracted, threatening, to all outward appearance, their very existence as a race. But God did not utterly forsake them. By his aid they maintained an heroic struggle against their persecutors, and achieved their independence. The history is told in an artless manner; and appears in all essential points trustworthy. There are no highly wrought descriptions and decorations. The work is pervaded by a deep moral earnestness, and a living interest on behalf of the theocracy. Yet there is a perceptible difference between it and similar historical ones of the Old Testament; especially those of Samuel and Kings. It wants the theocratic and religious pragmatism of the latter. Events are not presented in a supernatural point of view. The Deity is not described as working out His purpose, and directly interfering with the natural course of events. It is not said that the heroes and people were animated by the Spirit of God; nor is Jehovah represented as awakening in their hearts an unshaken courage and zeal in the sacred contest for their religious faith. The narrative is unpervaded by that child-like religious spirit which is richly poured over the nobler productions of the old Israelitish history. The breath of divine poesy warming the contents with an invigorating spirituality, is not there. Even in places where the writer gives expression to his feelings in lyric effusions, as i. 25—28. 38—40., ii. 7—13., iii. 3—9. 45.; and where he makes his heroes in their speeches and prayers express firm trust in the protection of God who had of old done great deeds in Israel (ii. 20. &c., iii. 18. &c. 60., iv. 8. &c., xii. 9. 15., xvi. 3. &c.); he indulges no reflections of his own upon the *religious* aspect of events. The history is entirely objective. It bears no impress of the religious mind of the author, which appears to have limited itself to an abstract faith in Providence; or, if it felt that God manifested Himself among the covenant-people by the deeds He enabled them to do, and the sufferings he supported them in enduring, carefully abstained from giving utterance to ideas corresponding to such feelings. Hence it is natural to expect nothing of the miraculous in the history. And we meet with no miracle accordingly. The only approach to one is at xi. 72., where it is uncertain whether the writer wished it to be understood that Jonathan put the enemy to flight by a remarkable and direct interference of God on his behalf; or whether he did not forget his customary method for the moment.

In consequence of the absence of subjective religiousness from the history, it has been compared with the post-exile books of Ezra and

Nehemiah, which do not set occurrences in a supernatural light after the old theocratic pragmatism. But the comparison even here is in favour of the two canonical works, as will be seen by referring to such passages as Ezra viii. 31., Neh. ii. 8. 12. 20., iv. 9., vii. 5. Thus, though there is an approach in those books to the character impressed on the present history, they are not so cold, bare, unspiritually conceived, and composed. They are less objective.<sup>1</sup>

The historical value and credibility of the book have always been recognised, raising it far above the second book of Maccabees. Yet there are minor defects which cannot escape notice. The extreme brevity of the statements here and there is unsatisfactory, as in ix. 54—73., where the history of seven years is too succinctly given, rendering it somewhat obscure. There are also some exaggerations, as iv. 24., v. 44., vi. 47. &c. In foreign history the author makes various mistakes, as in i. 6., where he makes Alexander divide his kingdom on his death-bed; a fact contradicted by Curtius, and wholly improbable; though Roman Catholic writers, like Welte<sup>2</sup>, vainly endeavour to vindicate its truthfulness. So, too, in viii. 7., where it is related that the Romans took Antiochus alive, &c., all classical writers contradict the statement. Hence it must be rejected, though Catholic authors try to defend it even after G. Wernsdorf's<sup>3</sup> unanswerable proof of error. The writer also makes the *Spartans* to be descended from Abraham equally with the Jews, and therefore both belong to the same race, which is a mistake. (xii. 21.) Other minor errors might be mentioned. These, however, detract little from the general truthfulness of the narrative; for the statements usually agree with those of Greek and Roman writers respecting the Egyptian and Syrian kings. In chronology, the era of the Seleucidæ is followed, which begins March 311 B.C. when Seleucus conquered Babylon. Contemporary Seleucidian coins corroborate the succession of events given in the work. The exactness of his chronological details makes it highly probable that the writer used written sources. This is intimated in ix. 22., where, with most interpreters, we understand the words "they are not written" in the sources he employed. He also incorporated official documents into his history, as is manifest from viii. 22. &c., x. 18. &c. 25—45., xi. 30—37., xii. 5—23., xiii. 36—40., xiv. 20—23., xiv. 27. &c., xv. 2—9., xvi. 23, 24. Some are expressly mentioned as *copies*, and may therefore be regarded as authentic and genuine; while others are doubtless *free reproductions*, and partly *perversions*, the originals not having been before him. The agreement of the different parts of the book throughout in character, tone, and style, is an evidence of the freedom with which he treated the sources.<sup>4</sup> In addition to official documents, he employed oral tradition, for he did not live too late to receive oral communications. Whether he himself witnessed in person any of the occurrences described is extremely doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> See Grimm in the Exeget. Handbuch, iii. p. xvii. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> In Herbst's Einleitung, Heft. iv. pp. 23, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Commentatio historico-critica de fide historica librorum Maccabaicorum, 1747.

<sup>4</sup> See Grimm, Exeget. Handbuch, iii. p. xx. *et seqq.*

The old Latin version of the work was made from the Greek before the time of Jerome, and is literal on the whole, though differing in various particulars from our present original. Sabatier printed by the side of it another form of the text as far as the end of the thirteenth chapter, taken from a MS. in the Library of St. Germain at Paris. It is simply a revision of the older text by the aid of the Greek. Angelo Mai<sup>1</sup> has also printed an old Latin translation of ii. 49—61., which differs considerably from the usual text.

The old Syriac version in the Paris and London Polyglotts is also literal, and was taken from the Greek, not the Hebrew, as Trendelenburg proved.<sup>2</sup>

The Codex Vaticanus wants the three books of Maccabees, and, therefore the text in the Roman edition of the LXX. was taken from other MSS.

The earliest trace of the book is found in Josephus, who incorporated its contents into his Antiquities. But he has often departed from the words of the text in various ways, and from different causes, as Grimm has pointed out.<sup>3</sup> It is not put by him into the Canon. Neither Clement of Alexandria nor Eusebius regarded it as a part of the Jewish Canon. Origen also excludes it from the same list. (Ap. Euseb. vi. 25.) But elsewhere he speaks of the books of Maccabees as *Scripture* and *authoritative*. (De Princip. ii. 1.)<sup>4</sup> Jerome says that the church reads them, but does not admit them among the canonical Scriptures. But he cites them elsewhere as *holy Scripture*. Augustine says that not the Jews, but the church, looks upon them as canonical, on account of the sufferings of certain martyrs. The councils at Hippo and Carthage first formally received them into the Canon (A.D. 393 and 397); and, in modern times, the Council of Trent settled their canonical authority for the Catholic Church. Luther took a very favourable view of our present work, affirming that it is "not unworthy to be reckoned among the other holy books, because it is very necessary and useful for the understanding of the prophet Daniel in the eleventh chapter." This judgment is repeated by Grimm, who says that "it certainly deserves a place among the hagiographa of the Canon, perhaps not entirely with the same right as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, but decidedly with a better claim than the book of Esther."<sup>5</sup> Against this opinion it may be said, as indeed it has been, that the writer himself confessed the age in which he lived to have been one forsaken by the gracious assistance of the Holy Spirit (iv. 46., ix. 27., xiv. 41.); but perhaps it is a sufficient reply, that in the passages referred to the peculiar manifestation of the Holy Spirit as a *prophetic* Spirit is spoken of, *not* his operation in general. It is difficult to see in what respect the work is inferior *as a whole* to the book of Esther. It is certainly inferior in tone, spirit, and contents to Ezra and Nehemiah.

<sup>1</sup> Spicilegium Romanum, vol. ix. p. 60. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> In Eichhorn's Repertorium, vol. xv. pp. 58—153.

<sup>3</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, iii. p. xxvii. *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> P. 165. ed. Redepenning, whose note see.

<sup>5</sup> Exeget. Handbuch, iii. p. xxii.

## CHAP. XII.

## THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES.

THIS book consists of two letters addressed by the Palestinian Jews to their brethren in Egypt, relating to the ceremony of the temple's dedication. (i.—ii. 18.) Then follows an abridgment of a historical work concerning the Maccabees, written by one Jason of Cyrene, with an introduction (ii. 19—32.) and conclusion (xv. 37—39.). The extract in question begins with the attempted robbery of the temple by Heliodorus under Seleucus Philopator, and terminates with Nicenor's death (iii. 1—xv. 36.), embracing a period of fourteen years, viz. from 176 to 161 B.C.

The two letters are not genuine, because they contain chronological errors. In i. 7. the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea are said to have groaned under oppression under king Demetrius. The mistake is that the melancholy events which took place under Antiochus Epiphanes were transferred to this later period. In i. 10. the second epistle is dated the 188th year of the era of the Seleucidæ (123 B.C.), and is written in the name of the council and Judas<sup>1</sup>; whereas *Judas Maccabeus*, the person evidently intended, died thirty-six years before, in the 152nd year of the same era. The spuriousness of the letters is confirmed by the absurd legends they contain respecting the holy fire, the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense; which betray a later time than that of the alleged date, or the time of Judas Maccabeus. (i. 19—ii. 8.) The writer of the remainder of the book, or, in other words, the abridger of Jason's work, cannot have forged the epistles in question, because the second gives an account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (i. 13—16.), contradictory to that in the ninth chapter. The chronology in like manner does not agree with that of the epistles. If, with Wernsdorf, Paulus, Bertheau, and others, the date (188th year) at the beginning of the 10th verse belong to the preceding verse, then the epistle written in the 169th year (i. 7.) is probably identical with that contained in the 10th and following verses, and the date is false; for the dedication of the temple referred to took place earlier, viz. under Judas Maccabeus, in the year 148. In like manner it is improbable that the epitomiser of Jason's work prefixed the two epistles to his own production, having found them already written; for he could scarcely have failed to see the historical and chronological contradictions to his own work which they contained. The connection between ii. 19. and the letters is also loose, notwithstanding the particle  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ .<sup>2</sup> Hence we suppose that the letters were prefixed to the book by some other and later person than the epitomiser of Jason.

It has been supposed by Grotius and Bertholdt that the last four

<sup>1</sup> Different opinions respecting Judas may be seen in Basnage's History of the Jews, book v. ch. i.

<sup>2</sup> See Bertholdt, Einleit. iii. pp. 1061, 1062.

chapters are not part of the abridgment of Jason's work; the writer having there followed another source. But we are unable to see the correctness of this view, though various circumstances are adduced in support of it. They have been refuted by Bertheau<sup>1</sup> and Welte.<sup>2</sup> Hence we must believe that the original work of Jason narrated the history of the Jews under the four Syrian kings, Seleucus Nicanor, Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus Eupator, and Demetrius Soter. It runs parallel with the first book of Maccabees, from iv. 7., but terminates earlier; since it carries the history down to no more than 161 B.C.

As to the character of the book it is inferior to the first in many particulars. In credibility, simplicity, correctness, and naturalness it suffers greatly in comparison. Here the *subjectivity* of the writer prominently appears. All is coloured with the hues of his own religiousness. He does not abstain from reflections of his own as the writer of the first book does, or leave the deeds described to make their own impression on the mind of the reader. On the contrary, he dresses them out in a manner which is merely the outward reflection of his own uncritical and superstitious pietism. Accordingly the work abounds with monstrous miracles, such as that which happened to Heliodorus the messenger of Seleucus, when he went to take away the treasures of the temple:—"There appeared an horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with a very fair covering, and he ran fiercely, and smote at Heliodorus with his fore-feet; and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold. Moreover two other young men appeared before him, notable in strength, excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel, who stood by him on either side, and scourged him continually, and gave him many sore stripes. And Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground, and was compassed with great darkness, but they that were with him took him up and put him into a litter," &c. (iii. 25—27.). Of the same kind is the wonder related when Antiochus undertook a second expedition against Egypt:—"Through all the city, for the space almost of forty days, there were seen horsemen running in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with lances, like a band of soldiers, and troops of horsemen in array, encountering and running one against another, with shaking of shields and multitude of pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts." (v. 2, 3.) We also read, that a heavenly protector on horseback, "in white clothing, shaking his armour of gold," appeared as leader of the Jews against the Syrians (xi. 8. &c.); and that the prophet Jeremiah appeared to Onias, and gave Judas a sword of gold. (xv. 12. &c. &c.) Yet Roman Catholic writers, like Welte, defend these monstrosities, on the ground that miracles are possibilities; and that none can show the things described not to have happened. We do not, however, deny the existence of miracles. But the *particular wonders* here described, taken in connection with the circumstances in which they were wrought and the objects they

<sup>1</sup> De Secundo Maccabeorum libro, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> In Herbst's Einleit. Heft iv. p. 37. *et seqq.*

were meant to serve, bear on their face the marks of impossibility. Jehovah does not thus interfere on behalf of his people.

Besides, the book has many historical and chronological mistakes. Thus, in x. 3. &c., it is related that the offering of sacrifice to God in the temple was renewed after two years' interruption; whereas, according to 1 Macc. iv. 52., the interruption continued three years. Both Josephus and Jerome agree with the latter. We need not refute again the refuted solutions of Catholics endeavouring to reconcile the two dates.

Another inaccuracy is found in xi. 1—12. compared with 1 Macc. iv. 26—32. According to the first passage Lysias marched against the Jews soon after the victory of Judas over Timotheus, in the time of Antiochus Eupator, after the re-dedication of the temple; but according to the second, it took place in the time of Antiochus Epiphanus, *before* the purification of the temple. Here some Protestants, as Ussher, Petavius, and Prideaux, with Catholic writers generally, assume *two different* expeditions. But that is very improbable, since it makes the writer of first Maccabees omit the second expedition; and the author of second Maccabees omit the first. Hence, we cannot but *identify the two*, as Wernsdorf does.<sup>1</sup>

There are also various parts of chapter iv. which do not agree with 1 Macc. viii. (Comp. iv. 11. with viii. 17. &c.)

Still farther, the writer of the second book generally dates events about a year later than the first book, for it would appear that the former begins the era of the Seleucidæ with 312 B.C. when, for the first time, Seleucus made a triumphant entry into Babylon; whereas, according to the chronology of the first book, the same era begins with 311 B.C., when Seleucus conquered Babylon. The former is incorrect, and the mistake is continued throughout.<sup>2</sup> All the justifications of this which have been offered, both by Protestant and Romish critics are insufficient, as Bertheau<sup>3</sup> has proved.

In like manner the book presents exaggerated and arbitrary embellishment in vi. 18. &c., for which we refer to Hasse<sup>4</sup>, and whose defence by Catholic writers is weak indeed<sup>5</sup>; and in vii. 27. &c., which is of the same character. Highly wrought descriptions, exhibiting false decoration in part, are found in iii. 14. &c., v. 11. &c.; and *moralising disquisitions*, which may be taken for what they are worth, in v. 17. &c., vi. 12. &c., ix. 8. &c. The embellishments and reflections belong to *the epitomiser*, because they harmonise with the tone and style of the prologue and epilogue, as Bertheau<sup>6</sup> has observed.

But who was Jason, and when did he live? He and his age are both unknown. It is tolerably clear that he did not make use of the first book of Maccabees, whatever other documents he had. Some of the mistakes observable in the abridgment may not indeed

<sup>1</sup> De fide hist. librorum Maccab. p. 99. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Wernsdorf de fide lib. Maccab. pp. 18—37.

<sup>3</sup> De Secund. Macc. libro, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Das andere Buch der Makkabäer neu uebersetzt, u. s. w. p. 307.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Welte's defence, in Herbst's Einleit. H. 4. p. 59. *et seqq.*

<sup>6</sup> De Secund. Macc. libro, p. 12.

have been in the original history, such as that in xi. 1. &c. Jason must have lived after 160 B.C., since the history is brought down to that time. And it is likely that he lived *considerably later*, because he made so many mistakes; a fact which may be *occasionally* owing to the bad sources he employed; but is much oftener due to oral tradition. The accounts of many occurrences had become disfigured and embellished by tradition. Hence arose numerous errors.

With respect to *the epitomiser* of the five books of Jason we know as little. He has been identified with Judas Maccabeus, Judas the Essene, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo of Alexandria, and Josephus. All such conjectures are empty and improbable. He seems to have been an Egyptian Jew, educated in the rhetorical schools of Alexandria. The style is artificial, oratorical, affected. There is a striving after elegance and smart terms of expression, which betrays Alexandrian tastes. Ornateness and verbosity evince the Alexandrian manner of writing. With this conclusion agrees the fact that he makes a peculiar distinction between the temple in Egypt and that at Jerusalem, calling the latter *the temple renowned all the world over, or honoured over all the world.* (ii. 22., iii. 12.) Scholz and Welte argue, from various particulars, that he was a Palestinian Jew; but this is less probable, being discountenanced by the fact that Jason was a Cyrenian, as well as by the Greek style of the epitomiser. Perhaps Jason wrote about 120 B.C.; his epitomiser shortly after, *i. e.* about 100. The two letters were prefixed still later; it may be by him who appended the work to the LXX. *They* were written after the death of John Hyrcanus.

There can be little doubt that the work was originally composed in Greek. It bears no marks of a translation from Hebrew or Chaldee, and has a pure Hellenistic diction. The current language of Cyrene was Greek; and therefore Jason must have composed his history in that dialect. The epitomiser employed the same. As to the two epistles prefixed, they were first written in Hebrew or Aramæan. If they were really addressed to the Egyptian Jews by those of Jerusalem they must have been composed in Greek, else they would have been unintelligible. But as they are not genuine, there is no necessity for advocating their Greek original on this ground. The Hebraisms in them show that they were *translated*, as Bertholdt saw.<sup>1</sup> Whether they were translated into Greek by him who connected them with the remainder of the work or not, we are unable to tell.

There are two ancient versions of the book, one in Latin, the other in Syriac, both printed in the London Polyglott. The Latin is ante-Hieronymian. It was made from the Greek, but is not very literal, as it departs from the original in many places, often through misapprehension of the sense. Sabatier printed another Latin text, which is a mere revision of the usual one, and is much more correct.

The Syriac version, though taken from the Greek, departs from

<sup>1</sup> Einleit. vol. iii. p. 1072.

it in many instances. The translator frequently misunderstood the original.

The Arabic second book of Maccabees, in the Paris Polyglott, is not a translation of the Greek text, though the contents run parallel with the Greek in the first sixteen chapters. It is the version of a Hebrew work. The succeeding chapters (xvii.—lix.) bring down the history from the place where the Greek work stops till the times of Herod the Great.

Neither Philo nor Josephus alludes to the work; for the book concerning the Maccabees attributed to the latter belongs to another author. Whether the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews alludes to the tortures of Eleazar and the seven brothers (comp. Heb. xi. 35. with 2 Macc. vi. 19.—vii.) may perhaps admit of doubt. The first clear trace of the existence of the work is in Clement of Alexandria. Origen has introduced a large piece of the history into his commentary on Exodus; and he frequently uses it elsewhere. Into the canon of the Jews it was never admitted. The reception it met with was the same as that of the first book, with which it was joined; and we refer to the testimonies already quoted of both.

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## CHAP. XIII.

### THE THIRD BOOK OF MACCABEES.

THIS production is improperly entitled the *third* book of the Maccabees, since it does not touch on the time of the Maccabean heroes, but describes what is of earlier date. When the Egyptian king Ptolemy Philopator was returning from an expedition against Antiochus the Great by way of Jerusalem, he was tempted out of curiosity to penetrate into the holy of holies in the temple. At the moment of entering, however, he fell down speechless, and soon gave up his attempt. After his arrival in Egypt he resolved to avenge himself upon the Jews there, and commanded that they should all forfeit their privileges granted by Ptolemy Lagi, unless they consented to be initiated into the orgies of Bacchus. As but a few complied, he ordered that all the refractory, with their wives and children, should be chained in the great circus of Alexandria, to be trampled to death by drunken elephants. But at the prayer of Eleazar the priest, two angels appeared in terrible form between the Jews and the elephants, and were visible only to the Jews. The affrighted elephants went backwards and crushed the soldiers. The king caused the Jews to be released from their chains, appointed a festival, and made an edict that none of his subjects should injure a Jew on account of his religion. He also permitted the Jews, after they had returned to their homes, to massacre the apostates; which they did.

The history is nothing else than a most absurd Jewish fable. As far as genuine history is known, there was nothing in the conduct of

Ptolemy Philopator towards the Jews which could lead them to load his memory with so disgraceful a fiction. The origin of the story can only be guessed. Eichhorn supposes that an interchange of persons and facts lies at the basis of it.<sup>1</sup> In Ruffinus's Latin translation of Josephus's second book against Apion, is found an appendix relating that the Egyptian prince Ptolemy Physcon wished to take the sceptre out of the hands of his mother Cleopatra, and that he eventually succeeded. At first he met with strong opposition from the generalissimo of the Egyptian army, Onias, a Jew. Accordingly he resolved to take vengeance on all the Jews in Alexandria, whom he caused to be chained in the theatre, with their wives and children, for the purpose of being trampled to death by drunken elephants. But the elephants fell upon the attendants of the king himself; and a terrible human form threateningly forbade the king to persecute the Jews. He was also moved to this by the beloved of his heart; and the Alexandrian Jews from this time forward kept a yearly festival in memory of the remarkable event.

It may be thought by some that a change of person lies in this narrative, and that it arose out of the history contained in the third book of Maccabees; or was taken perhaps from the book itself, with industrious transformation. But it is on the whole improbable that Ruffinus, or the person from whom he got it either orally or in writing, drew it from the narrative embodied in our book. Rather is the story told by Ruffinus the original, out of which, by transformation of names, the mixing up of other matters, and peculiar embellishments, the history contained in the Maccabean book arose.<sup>2</sup>

The object of the author was to set forth the origin of a yearly festival which the Jews celebrated in Egypt. (vi. 36.)

The contents favour the supposition that the author was an Egyptian Jew. This is confirmed by the artificial, bombastic style, and the moral reflections interspersed, which characterise all the historical productions of the Jews in Egypt. It was written at first in Greek; for there are no traces of a Hebrew or Aramæan original in the language. The person and age of the writer are unlike unknown. It is clear that it was written after the second book of Maccabees, because it occupies an unchronological place next to the latter; so that it was not known to the Alexandrians till a later period. It probably appeared immediately before the commencement of the Christian era, certainly not under Ptolemy Philopator that is about 200 years before the birth of our Saviour, as Allix supposed.<sup>3</sup> The first notice of it is in the *Apostolic Canons*, which are assigned to the third century; and in which it is looked upon as a sacred book.<sup>4</sup> Eusebius excludes it and all the Maccabean books from the canon; but Theodoret calls it a *holy writing*. Pseudo-Athanasius puts the three books of Maccabees together, remarking of them that they are *spoken against*. Philostorgius rejects the third book because of its fables.

<sup>1</sup> Einleitung in die apokryphischen Schriften, u. s. w. p. 284. *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Bertholdt's Einleit. vol. iii. p. 1086. *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> The Judgment of the ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Canon 76. in Cotelerii Patres Apostolici, vol. i. p. 448. ed. 1698.

Nicephorus characterises it as a writing which is *spoken against*. It never formed a part of the Vulgate; and was, therefore, not received into the Canon of the Catholic Church; though it is in that of the Greek Church. No Latin version of it has been discovered in any MS. of the Vulgate.

In the London Polyglott there is a Syriac version of it, which is free in its character, and abounding in mistakes; but we do not know in what estimation the Syrian church held the book. The writer of the article Maccabees, in the Cyclopædia of Sacred Literature, incorrectly states that the third book of Maccabees is in the Vatican MS.; whereas the truth is, that *none* of the three books is in it. All are in the Codex Alexandrinus. The first English version was made by Walter Lynne (1550), which was inserted, with corrections, in Becke's Bible (1551). A second translation was published by Whiston in his "Authentic Documents" (2 vols. 1719 and 1727). A third version was made by Crutwell, and added to his edition of the authorised version (1785). Cotton's version is a revision of Whiston's, and is decidedly the best (1832). Luther did not translate it. Calmet rendered it into French, and inserted it in the third volume of his "Literal Commentary on the Bible."<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAP. XIV.

### THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES.

THE Greek writers sometimes speak of a fourth book of Maccabees. Pseudo-Athanasius, Syncellus, Philastrius, and others, mention it; but no Latin writer. As no account is given of its contents, we are in ignorance regarding it. When Sixtus Senensis found a Greek MS. in the library of Santes Pagninus containing the history of the high-priesthood of John Hyrcanus, he thought he had found the work. But this MS. was destroyed by fire, when the entire library of Pagninus was burned. Le Jay found an Arabic history of the Maccabees and of the Jews generally, from Seleucus, son of Antiochus the Great, till the birth of Christ, which he inserted in the Paris Polyglott. From this work it was taken and put into the London Polyglott. Father La Haye, thinking it was the fourth book of Maccabees, reprinted the Latin version of the Paris Polyglott, in the *Biblia Maxima*; but with the omission of the first nineteen chapters. Calmet, however, has shown that this was not the genuine fourth book of Maccabees.<sup>2</sup>

The Codex Alexandrinus of the Greek Bible, and after it some editions of the LXX. (Ald. 1518; Basil, 1545, 1550, 1582; Argent. 1526; Frankfort, 1597; Venet. 1687; Grabe, 1719; Breit. Tigur.

<sup>1</sup> See Cotton on the five books of Maccabees, p. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Dissertations qui peuvent servir de prologomènes de l'écriture sainte, vol. ii. p. 425.

1731) contain the *real* fourth book of Maccabees (Μακκαβαίων λόγος δ' in Cod. Alex.). It is not in the Vatican MS., as is often asserted; nor in the Vatican *edition*. This work was once attributed to Josephus; and was therefore printed among his writings. It has different titles in MSS. as, Ἰωσηποῦ περὶ σώφρονος λογισμοῦ, περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, κ.τ.λ., *on the supremacy of reason by Josephus; εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος, discourse concerning the Maccabees, &c.* It contains a philosophical and ascetic treatise of the dominion of *right reason* over the passions, as illustrated by the history of the martyrdom of Eleazar, the seven brothers, and their mother; and is simply a turgid amplification of 2 Macc. vi. vii. Philostratus, Eusebius, and Jerome, ascribe it to Josephus; though it is certainly not his. Nazianzen praises the book, but omits the name of Josephus. There is no reason for attributing it, with Grotius, to some *other Josephus* than the Jewish historian.

The author seems to have imbibed some principles of the Stoics, who exalted human reason and virtue so as to imagine anything could be done by their assistance alone. Thus he appears to have adopted the equality of sins. He also insinuates that we derive our souls from our parents. He contradicts the text of the second book of Maccabees. (Comp. 2 Macc. ii. 3, 7, 8. with the first chapter of this book.) He makes many blunders; as that Antiochus Epiphanes was son of Seleucus; whereas he was his younger brother. The Sabbatical year is confounded with the year of Jubilee. He falsely states that Antiochus favoured the Jews after the martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven brethren.<sup>1</sup>

The style of the book is inflated, and the figures are abundant. Indeed, the whole manner and diction are unworthy of Josephus. The Jewish historian could not have been guilty of so much ignorance. It is the work of some one who wished to obtain a favourable reception for it by using an illustrious name.

It is difficult to tell the time and place when it was written. We cannot date it earlier than the second century of the Christian era; and the writer who composed it in Greek probably belonged to Palestine; for had he been an Alexandrian, his philosophy would have been different.

Gregory of Nazianzum, Ambrose, Jerome, and Chrysostom, have drawn their descriptions of the Maccabean martyrs from this fourth book. Jerome enters into details of their sufferings which are not in the second book of Maccabees. The first English translation of it was given by Cotton; for L'Estrange, in his version of Josephus, presented *nothing but a loose paraphrase*.

<sup>1</sup> See Calmet's Dissertations, vol. ii. p. 425.

## CHAP. XV.

## THE FIFTH BOOK OF MACCABEES.

THE *fifth* book of Maccabees, as it is called by Cotton, is that which has been referred to in the last chapter as the *fourth* book of Le Jay and La Haye, viz. the history of Jewish affairs from Heliodorus's attempt on the treasury at Jerusalem, till Herod's slaughter of his wife Mariamne, her mother, and his two sons. It consists of fifty-nine chapters.

Neither the manner nor the matter of the work can be called good, as far as we can judge from the Arabic text now existing, and that is all we have; for Cotton is mistaken in saying that the work is extant in the Syriac language also.

It is evident that Josephus did not use it; since there are things in which it differs from his statements, as Calmet has pointed out. Eusebius and Jerome, after citing the first book of Maccabees which ends with the death of Simon, continue the history of his son Hyrcanus, without making mention of this work. It makes Hyrcanus have the title of *king* from the Roman senate; and the number of senators at Rome 320 (ch. xxii.). It describes him as having but three sons (ch. xxvi.); whereas Josephus gives him five. The Roman and Egyptian soldiers are usually called *Macedonians*. Mount Gerizim is commonly termed *Jezebel*; Samaria, *Sebaste*; and Sichem, *Neapolis* or *Naplous*. It is stated that the Idumæans having been conquered by Hyrcanus professed the Jewish religion *till the destruction of the second house* (ch. xxi.); showing that the translation, or rather the text on which the Arabic is founded, was not composed till after the destruction of the temple by the Romans.<sup>1</sup> With this agrees a remark in the twenty-fifth chapter, where, after the three principal sects among the Jews are spoken of, the *Hasdanim* being the last, it is added, "the author of the book did not make mention of their rule, nor do we know it except in so far as it is discovered by their name; for they applied themselves to such practices as come near to the more eminent virtues." In like manner "the author of the book" is spoken of in two other places (lv. 25., lix. 96.). The expression implies that the translator wrote long after the first author.

The work was originally written in Hebrew; or rather, the Greek text, whence the Arabic was taken, was *compiled* from Hebrew memoirs or annals. The turns and idioms of the Hebrew are preserved even in the Arabic. Who the Greek compiler was, it is impossible to discover. Supposing the Arabic to be a faithful reproduction of his work, we cannot speak highly of his acquaintance with the history of the Jews or of the Romans. He has some

<sup>1</sup> See Calmet's *Dissertations qui peuvent servir*, &c. vol. ii. p. 424.

remarkable peculiarities of language; such as, "the house of God," and "the holy house," for *the temple*; "the land of the holy house," for *Judea*; "the city of the holy house," for *Jerusalem*; "the great and good God;" "the men of the west." In speaking of the dead we meet with the exclamations, "to whom be peace!" and "God be merciful to them!" Although none of these expressions forbids the ascription of the work to a Jew; yet some of them point at least to a person living out of Palestine. He was one of *the dispersion* who probably belonged to Asia Minor, and lived either in the third or fourth century of the Christian era. The Arabic version must be dated after the seventh century; and appears to be literally rendered from the Greek, as it has preserved the Hebraisms of the Greek compilation.<sup>1</sup>

The third, fourth, and fifth books are improperly called books of *the Maccabees*; the *third* especially so, because it is anterior in point of date to the Maccabean period. If arranged in order of time, the third book would be the first; the second would retain its present place; and the first would be third. The fourth coincides in point of time with a part of the second; viz. ch. vi. vii. The fifth, after relating what had been already told in the second and third books, carries the history down to the time of Christ, and so supplies a chasm.

In the preceding account of the apocryphal books, we have avoided those difficult points of discussion relating to the position they should occupy; such as, the nature and character of the separating line between them and the canonical; the respective authority and value of each class; the reasons which may have led at first to the putting of the apocryphal apart from the canonical; and the consideration of the question, whether the New Testament writers furnish quotations or reminiscences of the Apocrypha in the Gospels and Epistles. With such general topics it was not our province to interfere, since they belong to a discussion of the canon. And, indeed, we could scarcely have entered upon their examination without writing a volume. They are both perplexed and delicate. It is impossible for us to refer to any work or essay, Latin, German, English, French, or Dutch, which treats them with fulness or success. Professor Stuart made a *good commencement* in his work on the Old Testament Canon; but that scarcely touches the *apocryphal* books, and is too *apologetic* throughout. Wordsworth's Lectures on the Canon are too popular and superficial to give much satisfaction.<sup>2</sup> They do not evince

<sup>1</sup> See Cotton on the five books of Maccabees, pp. xxxii. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> On the inspiration of Holy Scripture, or on the Canon of the Old and New Testament, and on the Apocrypha, 1851, second edition. Among other assertions which this writer makes is the following: "Neither the apostle (Paul), nor any of his brethren, nor their divine Master, ever quoted a single sentence from *any one* of the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament." (p. 79.) Few would write in this unqualified style, after reading the treatises of Stier, and Nitzsch, who show that if there are not formal *quotations*, strictly so called, there are at least numerous allusions and reminiscences, evidencing the familiarity of the New Testament writers with the Apocrypha, and the influence of the latter upon their modes of thought and expression. It is even affirmed by Bleek, who has minutely investigated the subject, that the manner and extent of that influence completely out-

much acquaintance with the subject. A few years ago, the question began to be debated in Germany; giving rise to various treatises and essays on opposite sides. Some advocated a strict separation of the canonical and apocryphal books, maintaining that the latter should be excluded from our Bibles; while others vindicated a place for the apocryphal, in the Bible, after the canonical. On the *Purist* side, as it has been called, which is wholly adverse to the apocryphal books, appeared various treatises by theologians of the Reformed Church; by Schroeder<sup>1</sup> and Ebrard.<sup>2</sup> To these may be added

weighs the force of express quotations. When Romanists assert that some of the Fathers quote these books as *Scripture*, and call them *canonical*, Wordsworth affirms that the terms *Scripture* and *canonical* are often used by some of the Fathers in a very wide and general sense. This has the appearance of a subterfuge; and besides, Eusebius appeals to the book of Wisdom under the appellation, *θεία γραφή* and *θείων λόγων*, "*divine Scripture*," and "*divine oracle*." Apply to the epithet *divine* here, what Wordsworth elsewhere says, "There cannot be *degrees in inspiration*. There cannot be more or less in what is *divine*." (p. 89.) In like manner, Clement of Alexandria applies *ἡ θεία γραφή*, *divine Scripture*, both to Sirach and Baruch; Athanasius quotes Sirach with the words, *ὡς πού ἡ ἱερά φησι γραφή*, as the sacred Scripture somewhere says. Epiphanius quotes the author of the book of Wisdom as the most blessed of the prophets (Solomon); Hilary calls the same, a prophet; and even Jerome applies to Sirach, *Scriptura sancta*. Rash and unfounded statements in Wordsworth's book are numerous, such as, "It is indubitable that Ezra revised the copies then extant of the Jewish Scriptures, and collected them in one volume, and completed the Canon of the Old Testament." (p. 38.) Even Prideaux might have prevented him from falling into this mistake. "The Apocryphal books in his [Augustine's] judgment, are not inspired." (p. 89.) But he speaks of two of them as of the canonical, in his treatise on Christian doctrine (cap. 8.): "Illi duo libri qui Sapientia Salomonis, et alius, qui Ecclesiasticus inscribitur, quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt, inter propheticos numerandi sunt." This agrees with Cyprian who, referring to Sirach iii. states, *the Holy Spirit speaks in the divine Scriptures and says*, i. e. "Loquitur in Scripturis divinis Spiritus sanctus et dicit," &c. (De Opere et Eleemos.) In another place, to prove that Augustine sometimes uses the word *canonical* in a wide sense, Wordsworth adduces the passage where that Father says, "Of the Scriptures called canonical, those are to be preferred which are received by all churches, and that those are to be placed next which are acknowledged by the major and graver part of Christendom," and argues, "Can any reasonable man speak of *preference* of one canonical Scripture, properly so called, to another? There cannot be *degrees in inspiration*. There cannot be more or less in what is *divine*. It is therefore clear that the word *canonical* is sometimes used by Augustine in a laxer sense, so as not only to designate writings strictly speaking *inspired*, but also to embrace those which were held in reverence and read by the Church." (pp. 89, 90.) This reasoning is utterly fallacious and unsound. Augustine is referring in the passage quoted to the different reception which the books of the New Testament received from the early churches. Some were universally admitted. Others were received by the majority. Others were rejected by the majority; such as the second Epistle of Peter. Augustine is not alluding to apocryphal books at all. The *preference* mentioned is the *degree of reception* which some books met with from the churches, compared with others. Even if it did relate to the *internal goodness* of one canonical work above another, we hold that every "reasonable man" may apply it most legitimately to *canonical* books. For, there are degrees in inspiration; besides, in what is divine and human at the same time, like the sacred writings, there is, and *must be*, more or less of the divine element; more or less of the human element. Every reflecting reader of the Bible will allow that the sacred books may be classified according to their internal value; for the men that wrote them were inspired in different degrees. Wordsworth and many others fall into inextricable confusion by not seeing that inspiration cannot be properly predicated of writings. By a common figure, *inspired* is applied to writing in 2 Tim. iii. 16.; but *correctly and properly*, *inspiration* refers to the mind of man. The Holy Spirit breathes into the mind; which mind, so breathed into, gives expression to certain ideas. Yet He does not breathe into all minds the very same things, in the same manner. He influences them in a mode accordant with, and in some degree conservative of, previous idiosyncrasies, tastes, and habits.

<sup>1</sup> Wie reimen sich Stroh und Weizen zusammen? spricht der Herr. Elberfeld (no date).

<sup>2</sup> Zeugnisse gegen den Apokryphen, reprintend von der Reformirten Kirchenzeitung, Basel, 1851.

the prize essays of Keerl<sup>1</sup> and Kluge<sup>2</sup>, with the subsequent treatise of the former, against Stier and Hengstenberg.<sup>3</sup> On the other side, were published the dissertations of Stier<sup>4</sup>, Nitzsch<sup>5</sup>, and Bleek.<sup>6</sup> The Romanist view has been ably advocated by Herbst<sup>7</sup>, Scholz<sup>8</sup>, and Malou.<sup>9</sup> Thus the question awaits a thorough and satisfactory discussion from the pen of a scholar who is at once master of the entire literature and the needful logic,—of one who has a deep reverence for the Bible, and an equal regard for truth wherever it appears. It would be out of place for us to indicate our opinions on the present occasion farther than to say, that we are dissatisfied with all English books we have seen on the subject; and that the Church of England has observed a wise moderation respecting the Apocrypha, which is conducive to the right view. We agree with her and the Lutheran Church more nearly than with the Reformed. But that is saying little to the point. The true path of investigation is opened up by the very able essays of Bleek, Nitzsch, and Stier. The old work of bishop Cosin<sup>10</sup> is perhaps the best in English respecting the relative position of the canonical and apocryphal books; for we presume, that none who knows Alexander's book on the Canon<sup>11</sup> will indorse the assertion of its editor in this country, "In Dr. Alexander's work the evidence of a great question is very successfully condensed; . . . and that it will, by its happy and judicious brevity, have a powerful and resistless impression on the mind."

<sup>1</sup> Die Apokryphen des A. T. 1852; and, Die Apokryphenfrage mit Berücksichtigung der darauf bezügl. Schriften Dr. Stier's und Dr. Hengstenberg's aufs neue beleuchtet, 1855.

<sup>2</sup> Published at Frankfort on the Maine, in 1852.

<sup>3</sup> Die Apokryphenfrage mit Berücksichtigung der darauf bezügl. Schriften Dr. Stier's und Dr. Hengstenberg's aufs neue beleuchtet, 1855.

<sup>4</sup> Andeutungen für gläubiges Schriftverständnis, II. Sammlung, p. 486. *et seqq.* in the Evangelische Kirchenzeitung for 1828, nos. 59, 60; Die Apokryphen. Vertheidigung ihres althergebrachten Anschlusses an die Bibel, 1853; and, Letztes Wort über die Apokryphen in Bezug auf Lic. Keerl's neueste Gegenschrift, 1855.

<sup>5</sup> Ueber die Apokryphen des A. T. und das sogenannte christliche im Buehe der Weisheit, in the Zeitschrift fuer christliche Wissenschaft, u. s. w. for 1850.

<sup>6</sup> Ueber die Stellung der Apokryphen des alten Testaments, reprinted from the Studien und Kritiken for 1853.

<sup>7</sup> Einleitung in das alte Testament, Heft. i.

<sup>8</sup> Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften des alten und neuen Testaments, zweyter und dritter Theil.

<sup>9</sup> La Lecture de la sainte Bible en langue vulgaire, 2 vols. Louvain, 1846.

<sup>10</sup> A Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture. London, 1657. 4to.

<sup>11</sup> The Canon of the Old and New Testament Scriptures ascertained, &c. New edition, with introductory remarks by John Morison, D.D. London, 1833.

## ADDENDA.

## Page 187.

There is a good section on the references of the New Testament to the Old, with a copious list of quotations and allusions, in Wilke's *Die Hermeneutik*, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 165. *et seqq.*, where at the same time passages that slightly depart from the Septuagint are marked with an \*, and those that differ much with two \*\*. Some useful hints towards a classification of them are also given. We may also refer on this subject to the list of quotations in Bialloblotzky's treatise, *De Legis Mosaiacae abrogatione*, p. 161. *et seqq.*, which appears to be very full and good, though no classification is given.

## Page 197.

The same views as those advocated by Chalmers have been held by many German writers. We refer to an explanation and defence of the position that *interpretation is a grammatical operation* to Wilke's *Die Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, where it is explained and defended.<sup>1</sup> To what a dry skeleton biblical interpretation would be reduced by it, is shown by Winer's exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, a work proceeding from the first grammarian, as far as the New Testament language is concerned, in Germany. Witness also Gesenius's exposition of Isaiah. It is *impossible* to make it a purely grammatical operation. No interpreter, be his tastes and habits what they may, can do so. He must consciously or unconsciously be much more than a grammatical man. This might be proved from the very work of Wilke.

## Page 423.

On the interpretation of parables we may refer to Wilke's *Hermeneutik*, vol. ii. p. 302. *et seqq.*, where the observations are brief and excellent.

## Pages 554, 555.

Since these remarks were written on Luke ii. 1, 2, 3., our attention has been directed to a learned essay of A. W. Zumpt, on the Roman governors of Syria, in his *Commentationum Epigraphicarum ad Antiquitates Romanas pertinentium Volumen alterum, Berolini 1854*, entitled, *De Syria Romanorum Provincia ab Cesare Augusto ad T. Vespasianum*, part of which bears on the passage in the third Gospel. For a summary of the reasoning, as well as chief results arrived at by the author, we are indebted to Mr. Bowman of Manchester, who has written an excellent paper on the subject in the *Christian Reformer* for October 1855.

Zumpt has shown by conclusive evidence that P. Sulpicius Quirinius became governor of Syria, probably about the end of B. C. 4, remaining perhaps three years; that he reduced the Homonadenses of Cilicia, and in the last year of his government was "rector" to C. Caesar then on his mission to the East, till the end of B. C. 1, when he returned to Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 54.

He was succeeded by M. Lollius in the province, and in the rectorship of Cæsar. After Lollius and his successors, C. Marcius Censorinus and L. Volusius Saturninus, Quirinius came again, A. D. 6, to make Judea a Roman province, and take a census of its inhabitants. It is not known when he quitted the province; but as his successor Creticus Silanus was in the province in A. D. 11, he probably remained the full term of five years.

The value of Zumpt's dissertation, for our present purpose, lies in its showing, from sources entirely independent of Luke, that Cyrenius was governor *before* the birth of Christ. Though he was governor of Syria A. D. 6, and made a census then, we now know that he had been already governor of the same province, *i. e.* in B. C. 4, as Luke implies, or rather B. C. 3.

Contemporary history is still silent respecting the first census during the first governorship, while there is a positive discrepancy between the accounts of Luke and Josephus, as to who was governor in the year commonly assigned as that of Christ's birth; but the mere silence of history on various points is not valid evidence against the statement of a credible and honest historian; nor can Josephus's general accuracy be compared with Luke's.

We are glad to find that Zumpt coincides with us in rejecting the construction which makes *πρώτη* equivalent to *πρότερον*. "Though we were to concede," says he, "that this is not contrary to the idiom of the Greek language (which may, however, not unreasonably be questioned), I observe it to be a departure from the natural and obvious interpretation, and that those who maintain it would be glad to abandon it, if any other could be found. It is also a complete departure from the opinion of the earliest fathers of the Christian faith, who followed the authority of Luke, or similar testimony, but so that they considered that both the census made by Quirinius, and the birth of Christ, took place at the end of B. C. 3, or the beginning of B. C. 2. Eusebius says distinctly, '*This, then, was the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, and the twenty-eighth from the reduction of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra with whom the dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt ceased, when our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, according to the prophecies concerning him, "ἐπὶ τῆς τότε πρώτης ἀπογραφῆς, ἡγεμονεύοντος Κυρηνίου τῆς Συρίας," at the time of the census, which then first took place, Cyrenius being governor of Syria.*' It is clear that the reign of Augustus is reckoned from the year 43 B. C., when he was first made consul, from which the forty-second (counting in the Roman method) falls in B. C. 3, which is also the twenty-eighth from the reduction of Egypt. There is therefore no doubt that Eusebius believed that both the census was made, and Christ was born, in the year 3 B. C.; as likewise Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus."<sup>1</sup>

Thus if Zumpt's conclusion be accepted, our interpretation is confirmed; viz., this was the first census when Cyrenius was governor of Syria; and there is no necessity for taking the verb *ἡγεμονεύω* in any wider sense than that of *proper governor*.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Bowman in his paper, On the Roman Governors of Syria at the time of the birth of Christ.

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- I. HEBREW AND GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES EXPLAINED.
- II. PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE EXPLAINED OR ILLUSTRATED.
- III. SUBJECTS AND AUTHORS.



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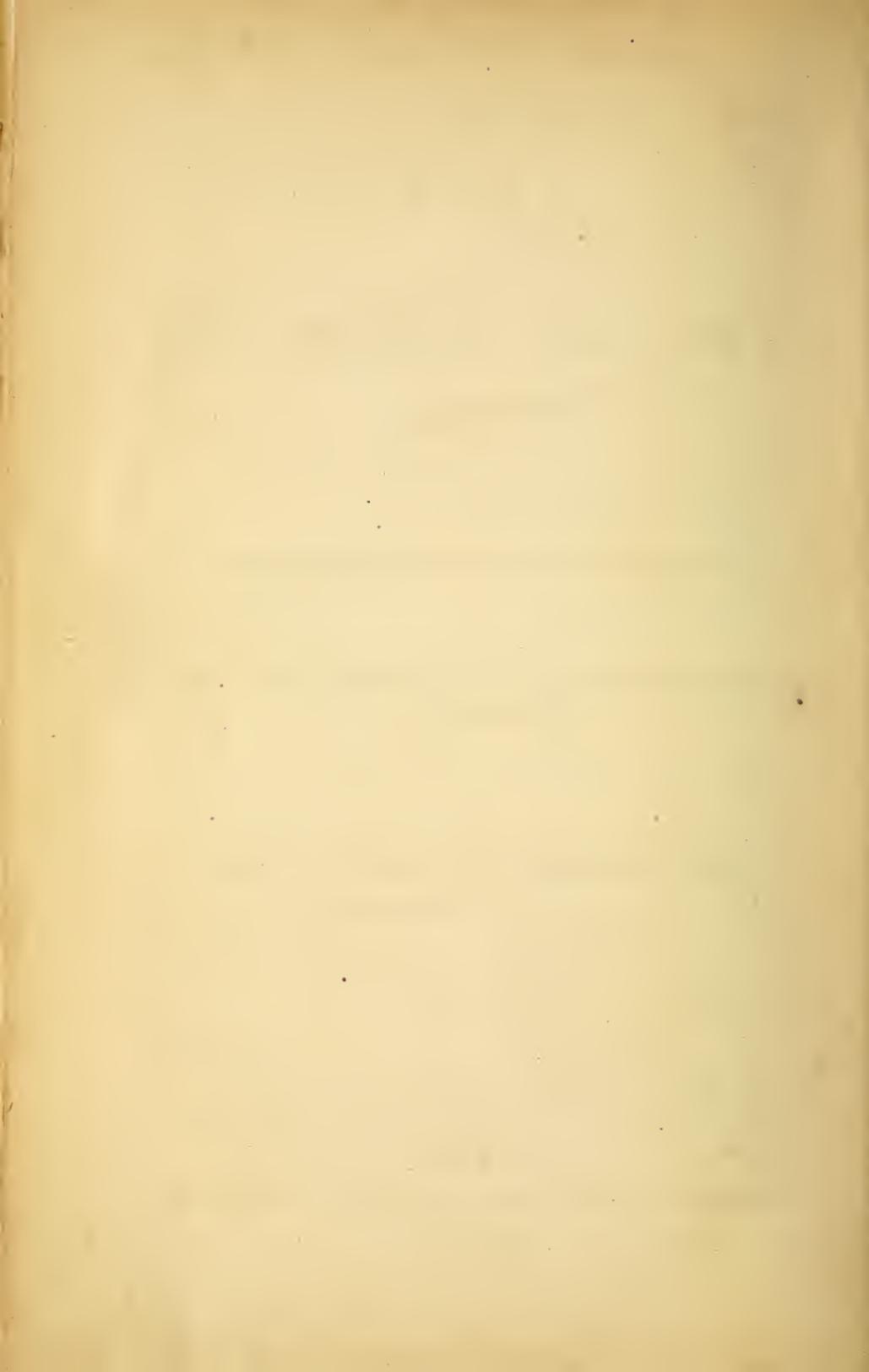
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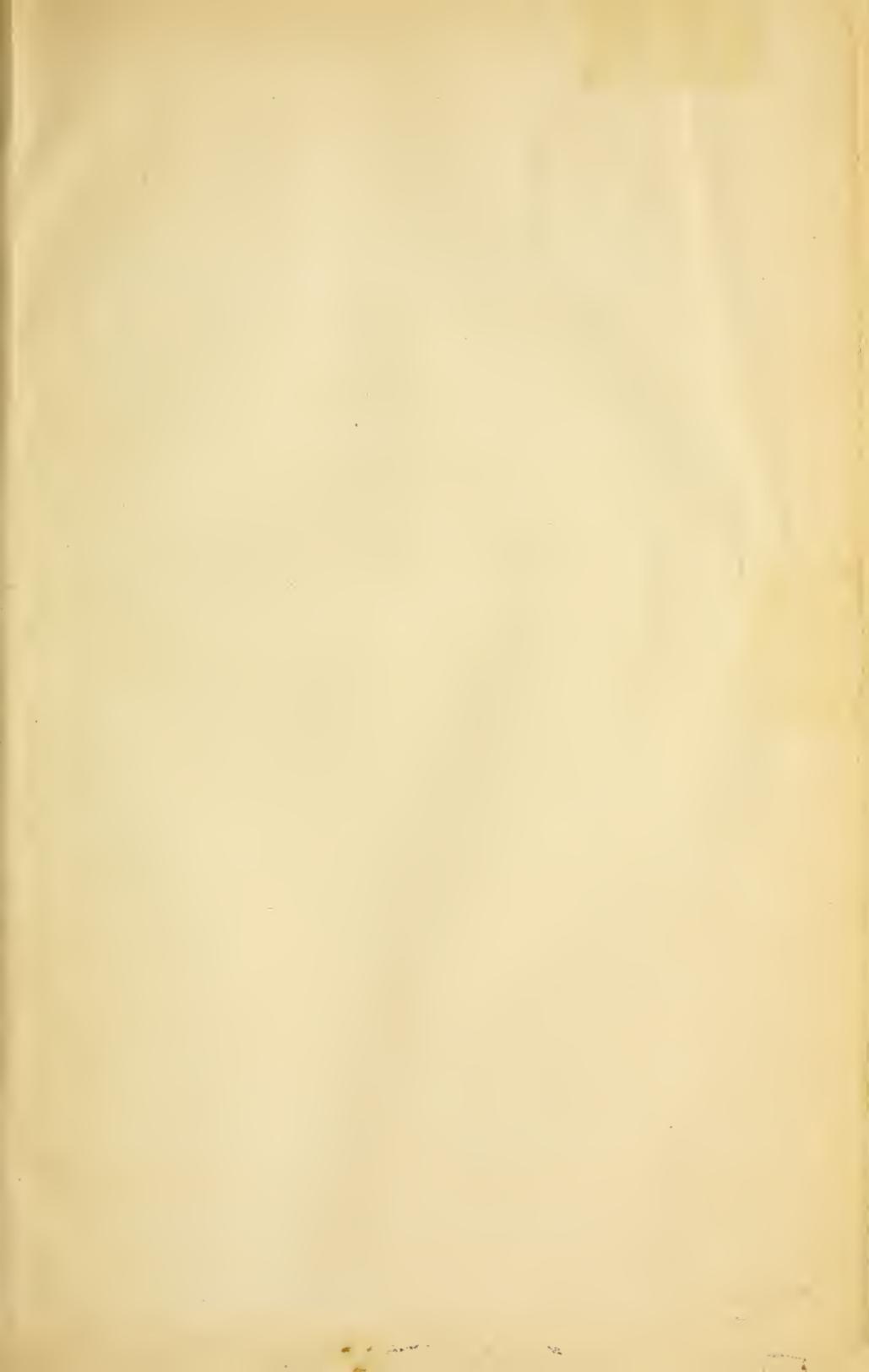
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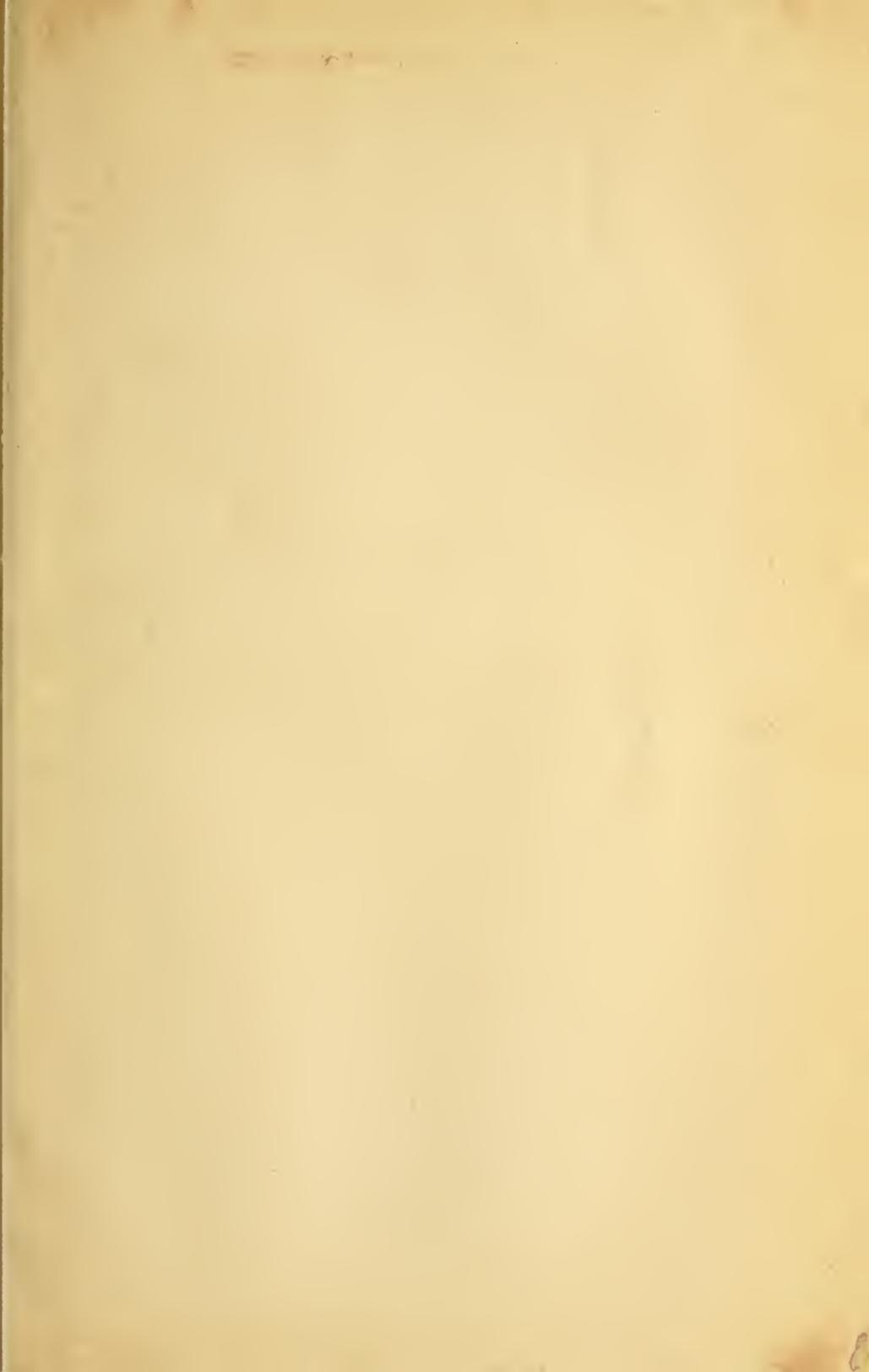
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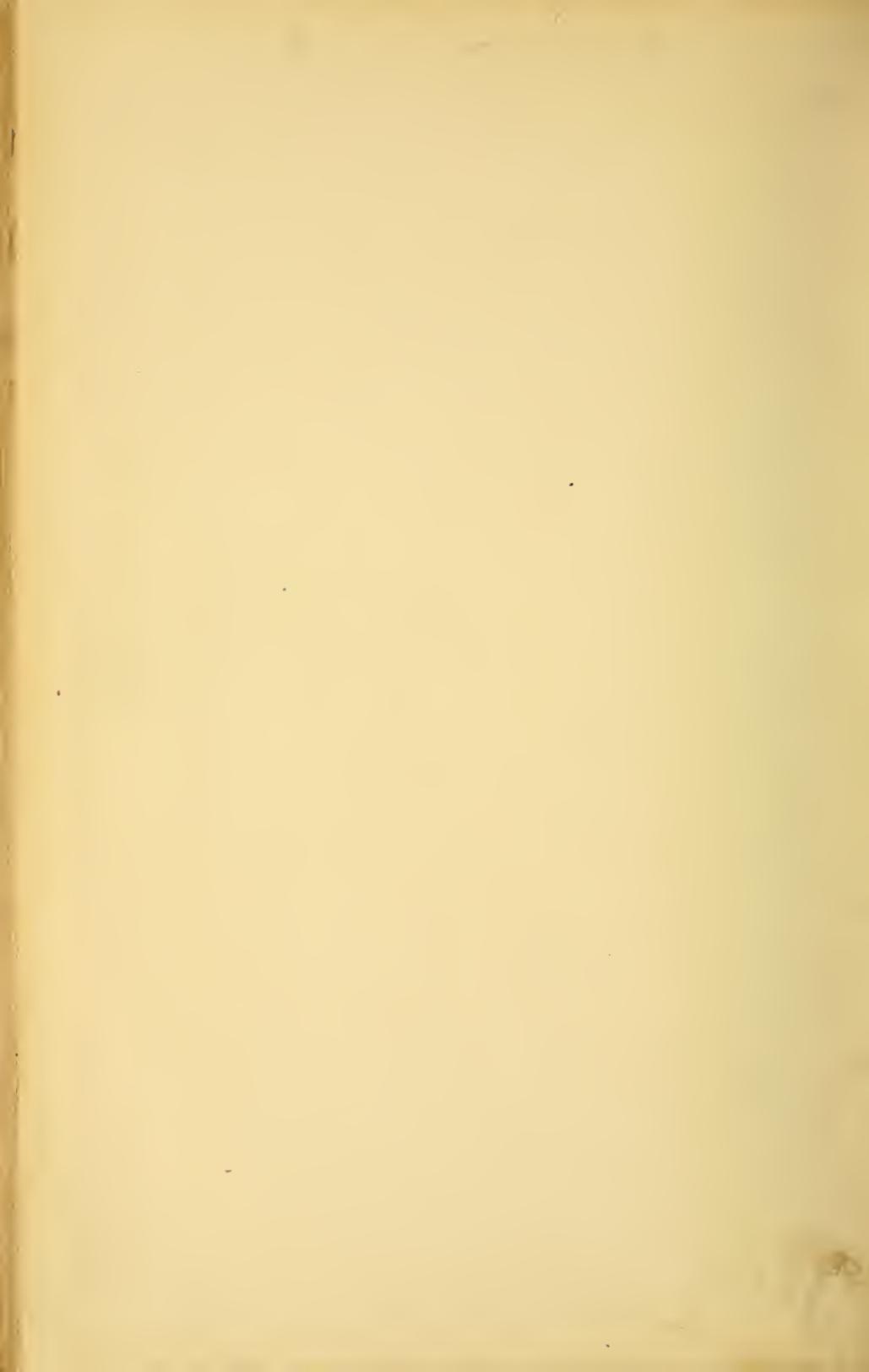


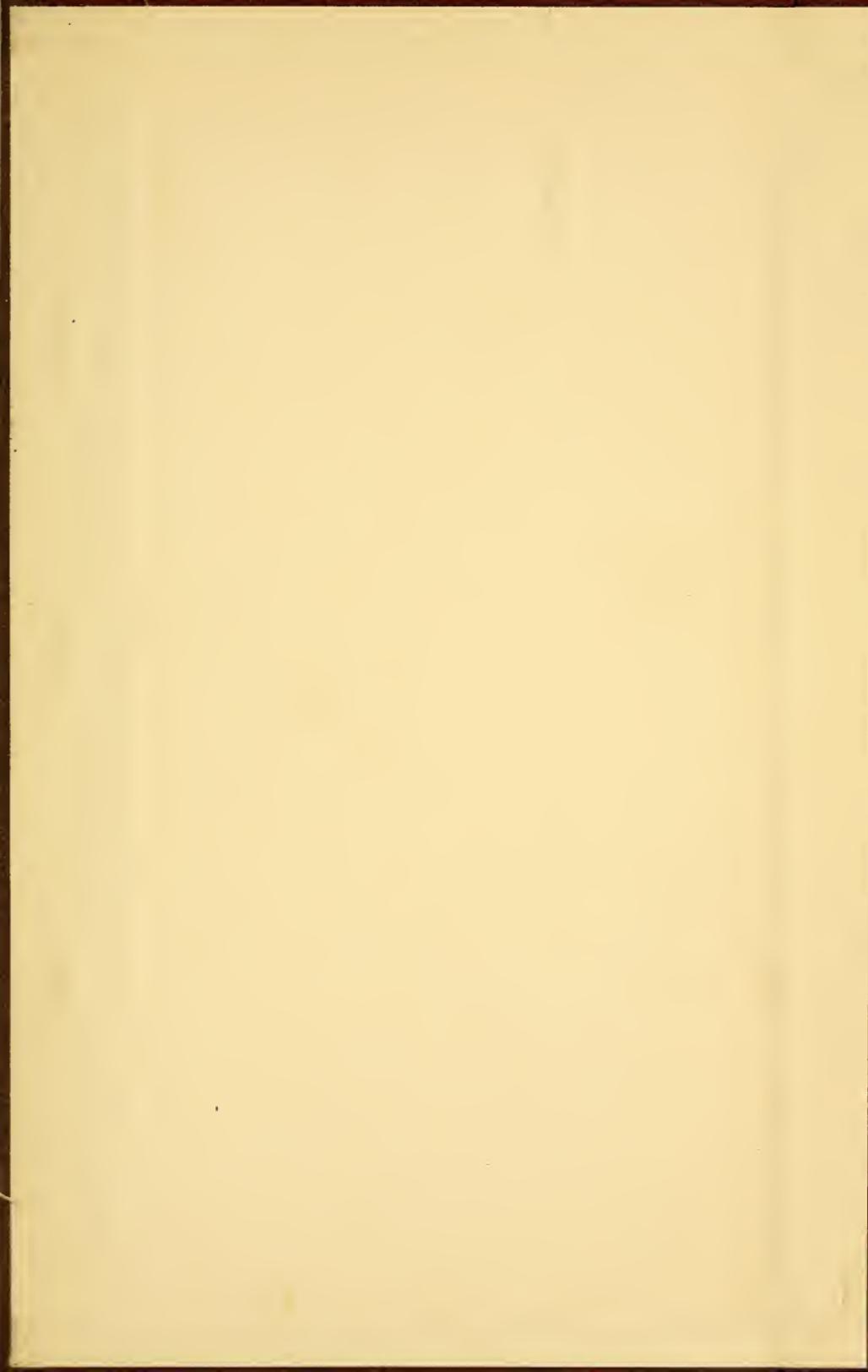












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