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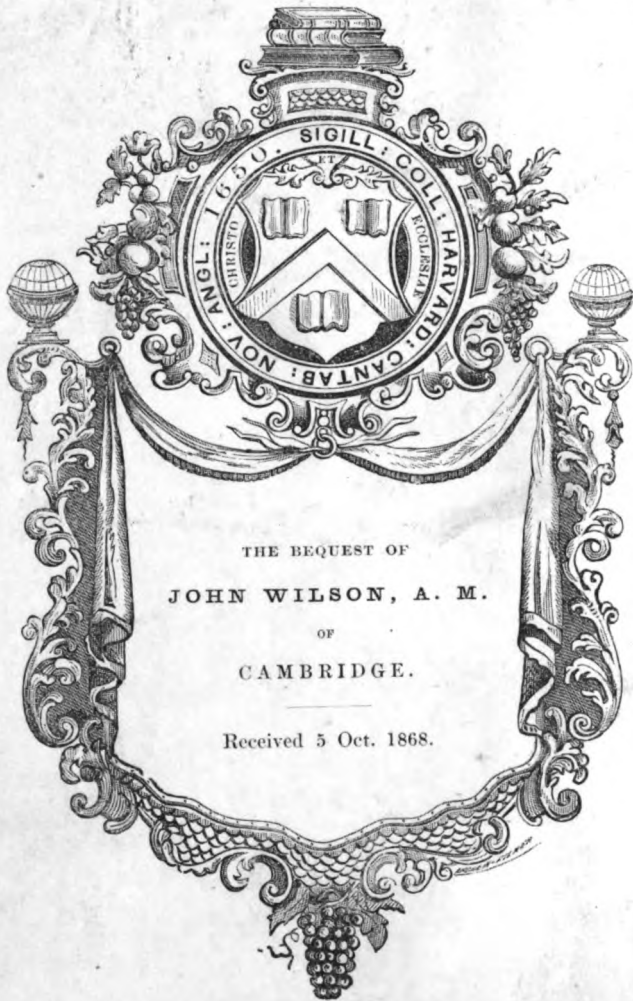
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THE BEQUEST OF
JOHN WILSON, A. M.
OF
CAMBRIDGE.

Received 5 Oct. 1868.

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ESSAYS AND DISSERTATIONS

IN

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

BY A SOCIETY OF CLERGYMEN.

VOL. I.

**CONTAINING CHIEFLY TRANSLATIONS OF THE
WORKS OF GERMAN CRITICS.**

**NEW-YORK.
G. & C. & H. CARVILL.**

1829.

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Vol. I

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FRED. J. BETTS,
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W. R. DEAN, PRINTER.

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PREFACE.

IN publishing this volume, the authors beg leave to accompany it with a few introductory remarks.

The object of the work is to advance the cause of Biblical Literature, principally by placing within the reach of students some treatises, which are not now readily accessible. At the present time, this department of theological science is receiving a thorough investigation. Scholars, celebrated for the accuracy and the extent of their erudition, are devoting their talents to the illustration of the Bible, by cultivating a fundamental acquaintance with its languages, and with the whole circle of knowledge connected with it, and by applying to the subject all the light, afforded by historical research and philosophical investigation. In our own country, there is an increasing interest in Sacred Literature ; and the Clergy of all denominations are more and more impressed with the importance of searching the Scriptures, in order to ascertain and defend the fundamental truths of revelation. Our Seminaries of theology are directing the attention of their students, to the careful study of the Bible in its Original Languages, and supplying them with aids, to prosecute this study with success. In England, several of our critical works have been reprinted ; a few productions of continental scholars have been translated ; and some original publications have been added to the sacred treasury.

But of all those who apply their learning to the explanation of the Scriptures, not only the largest number, but we must say, the clearest in arrangement, and the most satisfactory in collecting knowledge, are to be found among the German writers. We are well aware, that there is a prejudice in some minds, against German divinity and philology in general, arising from that looseness of interpretation, which has characterized the modern neological school. We would by no means vindicate *their* views; but it is unreasonable to condemn the whole, for the errors of a part only, even if that part should be considerable. And it is possible, that the works of many, even of that part, may contain much, that is of great interest and value. Is it wise, then, to forego the advantage, to be derived from the study of these authors, because some of their sentiments are loose and untenable? It is the part of prudence, to use them with the proper caution; for we may guard against their errors, and avail ourselves of the ample fund of learning, which they are ready to pour out before us.

With these views, we offer the following Essays to the student of Sacred Literature, and to the intelligent Christian, who is interested in whatever extends a knowledge of the Bible. With one exception, they are selected from the works of able German scholars of the last half century.

The biographical sketch of such a man as BOCHART will be read, we think, with interest, by all who appreciate his vast literary labors, and regard his productions as a storehouse of learning almost inexhaustible. MICHAELIS deserves an honorable place, in the estimation of all who have a due regard to criticism; and his Treatise on the Use of the Syriac Language, to which, as a favourite subject, he paid more than ordinary attention, may excite the student to increase his knowledge of Hebrew; by an acquaintance with this easy cognate dialect. EICHORN and GEBENIUS, the former of whom has not been dead two years, and the latter is still living, are too celebrated, to require a particular notice. The Treatise on the Canon of the Old Testament is generally allowed to be among the best, if not the very best, ever

written ; and the History of the Interpretation of Isaiah is evidently the work of a writer, well acquainted with interpretation, and able to form a judgment for himself, in all cases of difficulty. These two learned men, it is well known, exhibit inadequate views of revelation, although it is but seldom, that, in the treatises contained in this volume, any very objectionable features are to be traced. Where this is the case, however, the translators have either added notes, or wholly omitted the objectionable passages. The reader is informed of such omissions, and of the extent of them ; but they are, in general, only a few lines. With the exception of such, the whole of the author's matter is, in every case, given in the translation.

STORR and TITTMANN are both decidedly orthodox. The former is already favourably known among us, by his Treatise on the Historic Sense, which was translated and published by Professor GIBBS, of the Theological Seminary of Yale College, and by his Biblical Theology, for which we are indebted to Professor SCHMUCKER, of the German Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. The author took a firm stand against the accommodating system, as maintained by SEMLER and his followers ; and as a learned defender of the leading doctrines of the Gospel, he arrested the progress of naturalism, by the salutary influence of his able writings. His treatises unite the results of a vigorous discrimination, and of an enlarged view of scripture truth. He seems to bring together all that the Scriptures contain, on the subjects which he is investigating ; so that the parallel or collateral texts are either referred to, or brought to bear upon them. In this respect, he is superior to any author with whose works we are acquainted. TITTMANN is eminent, in the same honorable rank with STORR. Orthodox in his views of divine truth, careful in his investigations, and judicious in his conclusions, by his Treatise on Gnosticism he has furnished us with valuable information and sound criticism.

Great care has been taken, to make the translations accurate, and we trust, that we have not often failed in this respect, but,

that we have presented the meaning of our authors, in clear and intelligible English.

We hope that our efforts, to advance the cause of **Biblical Literature**, will meet with the approbation of the intelligent ; and especially, of our brethren of the **Clergy**, who are aware of the importance of an enlightened study of the **BIBLE**. This must be regarded *the foundation of all Christian Theology*. If our expectation should not be disappointed, we intend, by the blessing of God, to proceed in our undertaking, and to publish a volume from time to time, as our other studies and avocations may allow us to prepare appropriate materials.

New-York, September 25th, 1829.

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HISTORY
OF
INTRODUCTIONS TO THE SCRIPTURES.

BY W. GESENIUS.

Translated from the German,

By **SAMUEL H. TURNER, D.D.**

**PROF. OF BIBL. LEARN. AND INTERP. OF SCRIPT. IN THE GENERAL THEOL.
SEM. OF THE PROT. EPISC. CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.**

HISTORY

OF

INTRODUCTIONS TO THE SCRIPTURES,

Translated from the "Biblische Einleitung, oder Einleitung in die Bibel" of GESENIUS, published in the Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste von J. S. ERSCH und J. G. GRUBER.

UNDER the name of Introduction to the Bible is to be understood a species of learning, which has been fundamentally cultivated within a century, and in its present form principally by the Protestant divines of Germany; and which is devoted to a *critical* examination and discussion of the *historical* relations of the individual books, as well as of the whole collection; and therefore the epithets of *historical* and *critical* are often applied to it. Consequently it gives on the particular books discussions respecting their authors and times of composition, genuineness and integrity, contents, spirit and plan; and also, as the subject requires it, respecting the original language, its earliest history, and so forth; and further, in general respecting the origin of the Bible-collection or Canon, its original language and versions, the history of the original text, and other matters of this kind.

It divides itself therefore into two parts, general and particular. It has been correctly observed, that this branch of learning still requires to be more accurately defined and limit-

ed; that in particular it often encroaches on the province of criticism and hermeneutics: and certainly the latest authors are still too discursive, especially in taking up their materials for the general introduction; and in fact, the older writers, (and the modern among the English,) have even brought together those branches of learning which are subsidiary to interpretation, as sacred history, antiquities, geography, and so forth. It will not therefore be inconsistent with my present purpose, to attempt at least to mark out this limitation; and, in doing so, I shall principally keep in view the general introduction, because the boundaries of the particular are more accurately settled.

The leading features are the same, both with respect to the Old and New Testaments, and it may even in many particular points be of use to treat the general part of both in connexion. Of this I would suggest the following fourfold division:

1. History of the cultivation and literature of the Hebrew people in general, under which section might be digested the accounts of their language, (comprehending the various fundamental tongues, Hebrew, Chaldee, Hellenistic, with the history and character of each,) and also of their writing, (comprising the earliest formations of the Hebrew and Greek writing.)

2. History of the canon, or of the collection, arrangement, and ecclesiastical authority of the books.

3. History of the original text, the various fates and changes to which it has been subjected, and of the means of improving it, (Criticism.) Here the authors of introductory works appear to have been principally in doubt respecting the extent of the points which they ought to discuss. The following principle will probably be found to mark a correct and proper division. The criticism of the Old and New Testaments divides itself into two parts, historical and didactic. The first of these pursues the history of the text, discovers its changes, shows the critical labours which have been expended on it, and the documents in which the text has been handed down; namely, immediate. (as manuscripts,) and mediate, (as ancient

versions.) The second communicates the rules according to which the critic must avail himself of these helps, in order to recover the original text with as much probability as possible. The historical part of this must now necessarily be comprehended under the learning which is comprised in an introduction; but the didactic, which contains merely an application of the general rules of criticism to the materials here sketched out, must, by a strict limitation, be properly excluded, (as in Eichhorn,) and preserved for criticism, as it is a science of a particular kind, or at least be handled with great brevity, (as in De Wette.) This is also the case,

4. In the *hermeneutical* part of the general introduction, which is required to exhibit the aids for understanding the Bible, and directions for the use of them; and which many authors of introductory works, as Eichhorn and Bertholdt, either entirely or in part omit. Jahn, however, has given them with considerable extent, including also the didactic part, at least as far as regards the investigation of language. To preserve consistency, the last must be reserved for hermeneutics, in such a way that the author should limit himself to the historical part, which belongs to it no less than the historical part does to criticism. The helps for understanding it relate to language and to things; and of course hermeneutics divides itself into an investigation of these two. For investigating the language, which is here the principal point, we have as sources of information; (*α*) the interpretations of the books of Scripture which have been handed down from antiquity; that is, ancient versions, and expositions of the Old Testament by Rabbins, and of the New by the fathers, which it is necessary to adduce and to judge of; (*β*) our knowledge, arising from other sources, of the Eastern languages and of the Greek, as existing in profane authors, which must be applied to the thorough examination, correction, and establishment of those transmitted interpretations. The investigation of things is exhibited in that branch of knowledge which is called exegetical helps. This divides itself into historical, (which includes biblical geography, together with natural philosophy, biblical history with chronology, mythology,

and so forth,) and dogmatic, (that is, biblical doctrine and morals.)

It is impossible in an introduction to treat these subjects fully; nothing more can be given than a general idea of them. In this arrangement, however, doubts may arise with respect to the ancient versions, since they must be introduced as subsidiary to criticism as well as to hermeneutics. Hence it is probably the most advisable course, to give the general information respecting them in the critical part, and their character, as far as regards interpretation, in that which is appropriated to hermeneutics. Moreover, it must be remarked, that the very last consideration is the identical point which is much neglected in recent works of this kind; and this is the more to be regretted, as the hermeneutical value of the versions is on the whole much greater than the critical, since their greater or less variations from the text do but very rarely indeed contain improvements of it, but on the contrary are for the most part founded on errors in the translations. In the particular introduction to the individual books, only this difference is to be observed in the plan, that some writers in this department, as Jahn, give an explanatory view of the contents of the books, which is omitted by most of the others. But, at least in academical lectures, and especially on the Old Testament, they are most undoubtedly necessary.

Besides introductions of a historical and critical character, and which are properly speaking literary, the idea of a *practical introduction* has been suggested and carried into effect; that is to say, an introduction, which, setting aside discussions of a critical kind, or taking for granted the results of them, confines its attention to the books of Scripture in a practical point of view, and gives directions for the use of them in reference to the religious instruction of youth, and of people in general.* Such works are useful, when the authors, resting on the firm basis of solid learning, make the religious and moral force in

* See BERGER'S *prakt. Einleitung in das A. T.*, vom 3 Theile an fortgesetzt von AUGUSTI. 4 Theile, Leipzig, 1799—1804.

the particular books, sections, and characters of the Bible stand out prominent; * they will then often agree in contents with the view of religion and morals given in the Bible, and only vary from it in the free arrangement in which it is presented.

The kind of learning which I have been describing is, as has been remarked, the growth of the last century, and is indebted principally for its origin to the discussions of German Protestants on the various subjects connected with the Bible; and the name, as now usually applied, was first employed by J. G. CARPZOV. A work in some respects similar to an introduction to the Bible was first given to the world by AUGUSTIN in his *Doctrina Christiana*, † which, however, is rather hermeneutical advice in reading the Scriptures. This was followed in the sixth century by a production of CASSIODORUS, ‡ who begins his directions for the study of theological literature with an account of the books of Scripture and their interpreters. In modern times SIXTUS SENENSIS first collected together the materials belonging to this subject in his *Bibliotheca Sancta*, § which remained an universally esteemed manual, until it was supplanted, at least among Protestants, by WALTHER'S *Officina Biblica*, a pretty meagre production. || Yet even this work found its imitators and plagiarists, and

* See NIEMEYER'S *Characteristik der Bibel*, 5 Theile, Halle, 1775—1782.

† AUGUSTINUS de *Doctrina Christiana*, libri iv, ed. J. G. CHR. TEGGUIS, Lips. 1769, 8vo.

‡ MARCI AURELI CASSIODORI, *Senatoris, de institutione divinarum scripturarum liber*, ed. DAMELIUS, Antwerp, 1566, and in CASSIODORI *Opp.* ed. Garet. 1679, 2 vol. fol.

§ *Bibliotheca Sancta* a F. (fratre) SIXTO SENENSI et præcipuis catholicæ ecclesiæ auctoribus collecta et in octo libros digesta, Venetiis, 1686, fol. The best edition is that of JOHN HAY, 1591, 4to.

|| D. MICHAELIS WALTERI *Officina Biblica*, noviter adaptata, in qua perspicue videre licet, quæ scitu cognituque maxime sunt necessaria de S. Scriptura in genere et in specie, de libris ejus canonicis, apocryphis, deperditis et spuris, cet. Lips. 1630, 4to. 2nd ed. after the author's death, 1668, last 1703, fol., but full of errors.

particularly in **HEIDEGGER**. * All these books were, at most, zealous collections of what Josephus, the Rabbins, the fathers, and later Christian doctrinal writers, had related one after another, or had also conjectured and imagined respecting the origin, authority, and history of the books of Scripture.

The first important steps for a thorough, learned, and critical treatment, particularly of what is called the general introduction, were made, in the path opened by **J. H. HOTTINGER**, † a man well versed in Oriental learning, and **LEUSDEN**, ‡ a pupil and true follower of Buxtorf, during the latter half of the 17th century, in England by **BRIAN WALTON**, and in France by **RICHARD SIMON**. The former published in his *Prolegomena* to the London Polyglot very learned disquisitions on the language and writing of the Bible, the history of the text, and of the versions of the Old and New Testaments. This was first printed in the Polyglot, 1657, then as a separate work under the title, **BRIANI WALTONI Angli apparatus biblicus**, ed. **HEIDEGGER**, Tiguri, 1723, fol., and again under this, **BR. WALTONI in Biblia Polyglotta Prolegomena**, ed. **J. A. DATHE**, Lips. 1777, 8vo. The latter of these celebrated scholars handled the same subjects at the same time with a spirit of inquiry, a keenness of criticism and of judgment, and also a freedom of thought far beyond his age; so that the results of his investigations became first adequately valued in the latter half of the 18th century, and particularly by means of Semler were brought into notice and consideration in Germany. §

* **JO. HERR. HEIDEGGERI Enchiridion Biblicum ἱερογραμματικόν**. Tiguri, 1681, 8vo., the last Jena, 1723.

† *Thesaurus philologicus seu clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*. Tig. 1649, ed. iii, 1696, 4to.

‡ *Philologus Hebræus*, Ultraj. 1656, ed. v. 1696. *Ejusd. Philol. Hebræo-mixtus*, Ultraj. 1663, ed. iv. Basle, 1739, 4to.

§ *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, par le Père **RICHARD SIMON**, prêtre de la congrégation de l'Oratoire, a Paris 1678, 4to. The Elsevir edition, Amst. 1679, is very erroneous, yet from it was the Latin translation of **N. ASBERT DE VRIES** composed, Paris, 1681, 4to. The most correct and complete edition is that of Rotterdam, 1685. *Histoire Critique*

In the verbal criticism of the Old Testament, he pointed out the weaknesses of the superstitious views of BUXTORF, and of those of the opposite kind which were maintained by CAPPEL. In interpretation he criticised, with distinguished ability, the existing translations and commentaries; and in the department of higher criticism on particular books, he was the first who in modern times maintained, that the Pentateuch in its present form could not have arisen from Moses.* As was naturally to be expected, he met with many opponents, and the critical history of the Old Testament, (which, however, has been incorrectly considered as a complete introduction in the modern sense of the word, since it merely contains the general and some parts of the particular,) was even seized and suppressed at the command of Bishop Bossuét. With many of these opponents SIMON was engaged in a course of bitter controversy, as for instance with ISAAC VOSSIUS, on the authority of the Septuagint, and with LE CLERC, (CLERICUS,) who, however, far from finding fault with his boldness, in many points goes still further; † he upbraids him also, and

du texte du Nouveau Testament, par R. SIMON, Rotterdam, 1689, 4to. The same author's *Histoire Critique des Versions du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam, 1690, 4to. *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1695, 4to. *Histoire Critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam, 1693, 4to. R. SIMON's *Krit. Historie des Textes des N. T.* Aus der Franz. von H. M. A. CRAMER, mit Vorrede und Anmerkungen von J. S. SENLER, Halle, 1776, 8. R. SIMON's *Krit. Historie der Uebersetzungen des N. T. u. s. w.* Halle, 1777, 1780, 2 Bde. 8. Both works under the title, R. Simon's *Kritische Schriften über das N. T.* 3 Bde.

* *Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.* chap. 5—7. [The loose views of Father Simon on this and some other points accord so well with those which the author is known to entertain, that the reader will neither be surprised at the high degree of commendation here bestowed on the French critic, nor at a loss how to appreciate it. For a valuable discussion of the authenticity and genuineness of the Pentateuch, see JAHN's Introduction, Part ii. § 3—14, pp. 176—202. Tr.]

† (LE CLERC) *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire critique du Vieux Test.* composée par le P. Richard Simon, Amsterdam, 1685, 12, ed. 2, 1711, 12. *Briefe einiger Holländischen Gottesgelehrten über P. SIMON's Kritische Geschichte des A. T.* aus

with justice, on account of his dogmatical manner in disputing, and the unwarranted severity of his strictures on the works of Protestants.

After these predecessors, J. G. CARPZOV prepared in Germany his work on the Old Testament, an introduction in the present sense of the word, and gave to what may be considered as the outward part of this kind of literature, both its form, and also the name which it has since retained. Still, however, the author limited its application to the particular introduction,* and treated of the general in a separate work. † He is, moreover, heartily opposed to the free views of Simon, and to the yet bolder hints which, in the meantime, SPINOZA had thrown out, ‡ considers it as his duty to reject and oppose them, and fetters himself entirely by the doctrines of the Lutheran church.

The first writer who trod again in the footsteps of R. Simon was J. S. SEMLER; § and, (to speak of the Old Testament first,) after, in our own time, by the efforts of J. D. MICHAELIS, a learned manner of treating the Old Testament began to prevail in Germany, and, by means of the works of LOWTH and HERDER, || these subjects were handled with more taste, EICHORN composed his introduction to the Old Testament, which is for the time so free and elegant, and which

dem Franz. (by Corrodi.) The place is not designated, but it was printed at Zurich, 1779.

* *Introductio ad libros canonicos V. T. Lipsiæ, 1721, 4to. 3 edit. 1741, 4to.*

† *Critica Sacra V. T. Lips. 1728, 4to.*

‡ *In his Tractatus theologico-politicus, Hamburgi, 1672.*

§ *Apparatus ad liberalem Vet. Test. interpretationem, Halæ, 1773, 8vo. Apparatus ad liberalem Nov. Test. interpretationem, Ibid, 1767, 8vo.*

|| *Rob. Lowth, de sacra pœsi Hebræorum prælectiones, ed. Michaelis, Gottingæ, 1758.* [An English translation of this work, with "the principal notes of Michaelis, and notes by the translator and others," by G. GREGORY, F. A. S., was published in England, and republished in Boston, 1815, Tr.] *HERDER's Briefe, das Studium der Theologie betreffend, 1780. Also his Geist der Hebr. Poesie, 1783, 2 Theile.*

avails itself with so much ability of the works which had preceded it, (of WALTON and CARPZOV's *Critica Sacra* in the general divisions of the subject,) that with him a new epoch in this department of literature was introduced.* A similar work † begun by J. D. MICHAELIS did not advance beyond the first volume, and some small compends by GUTE and BABOR are mere extracts of Eichhorn; but soon other men of investigating minds made their appearance, as NACHTIGALL (Ottmar,) HASSE, E. F. C. ROSENMÜLLER, BERTHOLDT, VATER, DE WETTE, and others, through whose investigations of particular subjects, the views presented by Eichhorn were, in many points, partly advanced and partly corrected and done away. ‡ The questions of higher criticism here brought to the test of language were as follows:—whether the Pentateuch is of Mosaic origin or subsequent to the time of Moses;—whether the book of Job were written before the age of Moses or later;—on the authority of the books of Chronicles and their connexion with the books of Samuel and Kings;—the later composition of the book of Daniel; and others of this kind. But a learned Roman Catholic, and for many members of his own church, much too free in his inquiries, § appeared in the person of JOHN JAHN, || who opposed the

* J. G. EICHHORN's *Einleit. in das A. T.* 3 Theile, Leipzig, 1780—1783. [Also, considerably enlarged, in 5 volumes, at Göttingen, 1823, 1824.]

† *Einleitung in di Göttlichen Schriften des A. B.* 1 Thl. Hamburg, 1787, 4.

‡ See HASSE *Aussichten zu künftigen Aufklärungen über das A. T.* Jena, 1785. ROSENMÜLLER *Scholia V. T.*, and the introductions therein contained to the particular books, for example, to the book of Job, and to the Pentateuch, in the 3rd edition. VATER's *Comment. über den Pentateuch*, Part. Theil. 3, 1805. BERTHOLDT's *Daniel*, 1806—1808. DE WETTE's *Beiträge zur Einleit. in das A. T.* 2 Bändchen, 1806, 1807. [Compare also the author's *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*. Leipz. 1815, *Comment. de Pent. Sam.*, Halle, 1815, and *Comment. über den Iesaja*. Leipz. 1820, Tr.]

§ See *De necessitate incautos præveniendi adversus artes nonnullorum professorum Hermeneutices cet.* Romæ, 1818. On the other side, *Vindiciæ Johan Jahn*, Lipsiæ, 1822.

|| *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Bücher des Alten Bundes*. Wien. 1793,

bold views of these Protestant writers, or, at most, only imparted them where they did not come into collision with those of his church : * whereupon BERTHOLDT, in his work which comprehends both the Old and New Testaments, has attempted principally to collect the various views and to effect an accommodation between the ancient and modern. † Abridgments, to be used at lectures, adopting the improvements which have been made since Eichhorn wrote, were published by BAUER ‡ and AUGUSTI ; § but by far the richest and most original by DE WETTE. ||

The plan of many of these last writers embraces also the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, to the higher criticism of which the road had been opened by EICHHORN. ¶

After the very learned preparatory works of Richard Simon, the first who published an introduction to the New Testament was J. D. MICHAELIS. His work was a very imperfect manual, which in later editions was greatly improved and enlarged, and by HERBERT MARSH was enriched with learned

8, 2 Ausg. 1802—3, in 3 Bänden. The same author's *Introductio in libros Sacros Vet. Fœderis in compendium redacta*. Viennæ, 1805, 8vo.

* [Although it must be allowed that Dr. Jahn does in some degree permit himself to be fettered by the principles of his own communion, yet no one who has read his introductions can have failed to observe, that he frequently endeavours to explain those principles in accommodation with the spirit of free Protestantism. Indeed, in some cases, he has exceeded the bounds of sober criticism. That the remark of Gesenius requires to be greatly qualified is evident from the fact, that some of Jahn's works were prohibited by a decree of Pope Pius VII. See HORNE'S Introduction, vol. ii. Part ii. Appendix, p. 134, 6th edition, 1828, Tr.]

† D. L. BERTHOLDT *historisch-kritische Einleitung in sämtliche kanonische und apokryphische Schriften des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, 6 Theile, Erlangen, 1812—19. The apocryphal books of the N. T. are not included.

‡ Entwurf einer hist. krit. Einleit. in die Schriften des A. T. 1794, Dritte Aufl. 1806.

§ CHR. W. AUGUSTI *Grundriss einer hist. krit. Einleit. in das A. T.* Leipzig, 1806, 8.

|| Lehrbuch der hist. krit. Einleit. in das A. T. Berlin, 1817, 2, Aufl. 1823.

¶ Einleit. in die Apokryphischen Bücher des A. T. Leipzig, 1795, 8.

additions and corrections. * But the marked progress which biblical criticism and exegesis had made towards the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century, was conspicuous in the manuals respectively, of HANLEIN, whose work is particularly distinguished by its agreeable composition, of J. C. CHR. SCHMIDT, who abounds with clear and unbiassed views, and of J. L. HUG, who excels all his predecessors in deep and fundamental investigations. † Eichhorn has also extended his inquiries to the subjects comprehended in the introduction to the New Testament, but has published no more at present than the particular introduction. ‡ The subjects, in this department, which have engaged the attention of the inquirers, as of principal importance, and have occasioned many hypotheses and learned controversies, are the following: the arrangement of the manuscripts according to recensions and classes, (GRIESBACH'S system of recensions;)—the manner of illustrating the agreement of the first three gospels;—the chronology of Paul's epistles, and, since the publication of SCHLEIERMACHER and BRETSCHNEIDER'S works on this subject, also the authenticity of the gospel of John, § and of the epistles to Timothy. ||

* J. D. MICHAELIS *Einleit. in die Göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes*, Göttingen, 1760, Vierte Ausgabe, 1788. Introduction to the New Testament by JOHN DAV. MICHAELIS, translated and considerably augmented; with notes, explanatory and supplemental, by HERBERT MARSH, Cambridge, 1793, 6 vol. 8vo. A German translation of these additions was published by C. FR. C. ROSENMÜLLER, at Göttingen in 1796, 1803, 2 Bände, 4.

† H. K. A. HANLEIN *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Schriften des N. T.* 2te Auflage, 1802—1809, 3 Thl. 8.—J. C. CHR. SCHMIDT'S *hist. krit. Einleitung in das N. T.* Giessen, 1804, 1805, 2 Thelle, 8.—J. L. HUG'S *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testam.* Tübingen, 1808, 2te Aufl. 1821, 2 Bde. 8. [An English translation of this work was published by the Rev. DANIEL GUILDFORD WAIT, LL. D., London, 1827, 2 vols. 8vo. Tr.]

‡ *Einleitung ins N. T. Th.* 1—3, 1804—14. Also under the title, *Kritische Schriften*, Th. 5—7.

§ [A view of the principal objections which have been recently urged against the authenticity of St. John's gospel, and a very able defence of it, may be found in Kuinöl's *Prolegomena*, § 2, pp. 11—34, Lips. 1817, Tr.]

|| [The authenticity of the epistles to Timothy has been defended by

With respect to the subjects under review, other nations are far behind the advances which have been made by the Germans; and Holland and England have contented themselves with acquiring some of the principal works of Michaelis and Eichhorn by means of translations. The general causes of this are to be found partly in this fact, that in those countries the Bible is not studied with so much ardour as with us; and partly also in this, that the doctrinal views of foreign divines are opposed to the results to which many of the disquisitions tend.* Only the works of LANIGAN, a Roman Catholic of Italy, † and HORNE, ‡ deserve to be mentioned. Both these writers comprehend the Old and New Testaments, and the latter the exegetical helps also, as biblical antiquities, geography, and other subjects of this kind. The author has made use also of German writers, but not since the time of Michaelis and Eichhorn. §

J. F. BECKHAUS, in a work entitled: *Specimen Observationum critico-exegeticorum de vocabulis $\delta\epsilon\alpha\zeta$ $\lambda\eta\gamma\mu\omega\sigma\iota\iota\iota$ et varis dicendi formulis in I ad Timotheum Epistolam authenticæ ejus nihil detrahentibus*, Lingen, 1810, 8vo. Tr.]

* [The unrestrained licentiousness of assertion, founded in many cases solely upon hypothesis, and in direct opposition to general tradition and whatever evidence is afforded by history, in which some of the late German critics have indulged, has with reason given offence to grave and sober men, both in their own country and elsewhere. Disquisitions of the kind referred to, do by no means tend to the results with which the German neologists have satisfied themselves. They tend to a fundamental acquaintance with Scripture, to a confirmation of its claims as the inspired Word of God, and to a sound and incontrovertible system of religious faith, founded in all its parts, not on metaphysical philosophy or traditional authority, but on the Bible, and nothing but the Bible. Tr.]

† *Institutiones biblicæ*, T. I, Ticini, 1793, 8vo.

‡ *An Introduction to the critical study of the Holy Scriptures*. London, 1816, 3 vols. 8vo. [The sixth and last edition, in five vols. 8vo. London, 1828, is much enlarged and improved. Tr.]

§ [This is a mistake, as Mr. HORNE has availed himself of some of the latest German writers, especially in his last and improved edition.—The author has omitted to mention the *Introduction to the Old Testament and Apocrypha*, by ROBERT GRAY, D. D. (now bishop of Bristol,) published at London, 1790, 8vo; and the *Key to the New Testament*, by

To complete the account of German literature in this department, it is necessary to give a place to the various periodical papers and magazines, which contain in part critical reviews of writings on these subjects, and in part discussions on particular points; as, for instance: J. D. MICHAELIS *exegetische und orientalische Bibliothek*, 24 Bde. Göttingen, 1771—83, 8;—the same author and CHR. TH. TYCHSEN'S *Neue exeget. und orient. Bibliothek*, 8 Bde. 1784—1789;—EICHENHOFF'S *allgem. Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur*, 10 Bde. Leipzig, 1787—1801;—the same author's *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur*, 18 Theile, Leipzig, 1777—1786, 8;—(CORRODI'S) *Beiträge zum vernünftigen Denken in der Religion*, 18 Hefte. Winterthur, 1781—1794, continued (by KELLER,) Hefte. 19, 20, 1801—2;—PAULUS N. *Repertorium für bibl. und morgenl. Lit.* 3 Theile, Jena, 1790—1;—the same author's *Memorabilien*, B. 1—8, Leipzig, 1787—96;—HENKE'S *Magazin für Religions-philosophie, Exegese und Kirchengeschichte*, 12 Bde. (the last six also under the title: *Neues Magazin*, Th. 1—6;)—the same author's *Museum für Religions wissenschaft in ihrem ganzen Umfange*, 3 Bde. Magdeburg, 1804—9;—J. C. CHR. SCHMIDT *Bibliothek für Kritik und Exegese des N. T.* Th. 1—3. Herborn, 1796—1802;—GABLER'S *theol. Journal*, u. a. m.;—E. F. C. ROSENMÜLLER und G. H. ROSENMÜLLER *biblisch-exegetisches Repertorium*, Hefte 1. Leipzig, 1822;—PAULUS *theologisch-exegetisches Conservatorium*, Hefte 1, 2, Heidelberg, 1821—22.

THOMAS PERCY, D. D., bishop of Dromore, 3rd edition, London, 1779, 12mo. These works are too well known to English readers to require any notice.—He has also passed over the works of HARWOOD, PRITIUS, and others; accounts of which may be found in Horne, *ubi sup.* and in MABER'S *Lectures*, Lect. iii. Tr.]

TREATISE
ON THE
AUTHENTICITY AND CANONICAL AUTHORITY
OF THE
Scriptures of the Old Testament.

BY
JOHN GODFREY EICHHORN.

Translated from the German.

By **JOHN FREDERICK SCHROEDER, A.M.**
AN ASSISTANT MINISTER OF TRINITY CHURCH IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK.

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THE
OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF THE
TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
MAY 10 1898

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS Treatise appeared at Leipzig, as early as the year 1779, in EICHHORN'S "Repertory for Biblical and Oriental Literature." * It afterward formed a part of the first volume of the author's "Introduction to the Old Testament:" † and from the fourth edition of this work it is here translated into English. The subject has occupied the particular attention of a number of the most eminent German critics, and has been discussed with great ability, in special publications, by SEMLER, SCHMID, CORRODI, CAMERER, SPITTLER, DRÜKE, FRICK, HORNEMANN, SAUER, GÜLDENAPFEL, and others. The following Investigation ‡ is regarded among the best, and most concentrated of them all. It is given entire, with the omission § only of a few lines in the third section. The peculiar opinions which they advance are not essential to the

* *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur.* Th. V. S. 217—282.

† *Einleitung in das Alte Testament.* The first edition is in 3 vols. oct., Leipzig, 1790—1788; and the fourth edition is in 5 vols. oct., Göttingen, 1823—1824.

‡ It was originally entitled: "*Historische Untersuchung über den Canon des Alten Testaments;*" Historical Investigation of the Canon of the Old Testament.

§ The omissions are noted by asterisks: * * *.

argument ; and it is thought they should not be presented, without the addition of large notes, incompatible with the nature of the present work. At some future period, the Treatise may be submitted to the publick in a different form. It bears the impress of Eichhorn's distinguishing excellences ; and while it is a brief, but satisfactory confirmation of the Canon of the Old Testament, it establishes our faith in these venerable records of the Word of God.

THE TRANSLATOR.

New-York, April 8, 1829.

AUTHENTICITY

OF THE

SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§. 1.

1. *They did not proceed from ONE impostor.*

WHOEVER, with knowledge and impartiality, examines the question, whether the writings of the Old Testament are authentick, will undoubtedly be compelled to reply in the affirmative.

1. No ONE impostor can have forged them *all*:—this is proclaimed by every page of the Old Testament.

What diversity in language and expression! Isaiah does not write like Moses, nor Jeremiah like Ezekiel; and between these and each of the Minor Prophets, as relates to style, there is a great gulf fixed. The grammatical structure of language, in the books of Moses, contains much that is peculiar; in the book of Judges occur provincialisms and barbarisms; Isaiah moulds common words into new forms; Jeremiah and Ezekiel abound in Chaldaisms. In short, as we proceed from the writers who assume an early date, to those who are more recent, we observe the language in a gradual decline, until it sinks at last into phrases of mere Chaldee.

Then what diversity in the march of thought and range of imagery! The stringed instrument resounds when struck by Moses and Isaiah; and is soft in intonation at the touch of David. The muse of Solomon swells in the splendour of the most voluptuous court; but her sister, artlessly appalled, strays with David along rivulets and banks, over plains, and among flocks and herds. One poet is original, as Isaiah, Joel, and Habakkuk; another imitative, as Ezekiel. One wanders the untrodden path of a genius; while at his side, another loiters along the beaten footway. From one proceed flashes of surprising knowledge; and about his neighbour, not a spark of learning has ever kindled. Through the most ancient writer glow strong Egyptian tints; in his successors they become more and more languid, and in the latest they are entirely extinct.*

Finally, even in manners,—there is the most beautiful gradation! At first, all is plain and simple; as in Homer, and at the present day, among the Bedoween Arabs. This ingenuous simplicity is gradually lost in luxury and effeminacy, and at last wholly disappears in the voluptuous court of Solomon.

There is nowhere a sudden transition; but throughout, an advance gradually progressive! None but ignorant or thoughtless skepticks can admit, that the Old Testament has been forged by ONE impostor.

* [The characteristics of language, style and manner, exhibited by the sacred writers, are copiously illustrated by the author, in his *particular introductions* to the several books. See his Introduction to the O. T., (in German), vols. III. IV. V., the sections on these subjects; JARR'S Introduction to the O. T., (translated by Prof. Turner and the Rev. Mr. Whittingham), P. I. §. 9. & P. II., on the *style* of the respective books; HORNE'S Introduction, Vol. I. Ch. II. §. I. subsect. III. I. & IV. I. & Vol. IV. P. I. Ch. I.—VII. on the same. GESSENIUS, in his History of the Hebrew Language, (in German), §. 10. 11. supplies examples; and DE WETTE, in his Introduction to the Bible, (in German), §. 34. directs the student to sources of information on the subject. See also LOWTH'S Lectures, (Gregory's translation), particularly Lect. XXI. & XXXIV., with the Notes of the Translator and others, Boston, 1815; and Rosenmüller's edition of the original, with the Notes of J. D. Michaelis and the editor, Leipzig. 1816. Tr.]

§. 2.

2. *And the Writings of the Old Testament did not proceed from SEVERAL impostors.*

2. "But, perhaps, SEVERAL impostors have made common cause, and in a late century, have at the same time forged our Scriptures of the Old Testament."—Yet how could they forge, in a manner so conformable to the progress of the human mind? How was it possible, in modern times, to form the language* of Moses? This evidently transcends all human powers! In fine, one writer always supposes the existence of another; † they could not therefore have arisen, all at the same time; it must have been in succession.

"Perhaps, then, at *different* periods there have been such impostors, who proceed in the introduction of spurious writings, just where their forging predecessors had left off. Hence may be explained the allusions of the writers to each other; hence that striking rise in all the parts!" But (1.) How was it possible, that no one discovered and exposed the imposition, and so branded the impostor, that after ages might be secure? How could a nation, repeatedly, at different times, permit itself to be deceived? And (2.) What purpose could such an impostor have? To *exalt* the Hebrew nation?—Then from his praises result most grievous defamations; for the Hebrew people, according to the Old Testament, act at all times a most unworthy part!—Or to *degrade* the Hebrews?—Yet, in this case, how could the nation permit books to be obtruded on them, that defamed their character, and told in plain words,

* [See EICHHORN'S Introduction to the O. T., Vol. I. § §. 10, 11; JAHN'S Introd. to the O. T., P. II. §. 3; HORNE'S Introd., Vol. I. Ch. II; J. D. MICHAELIS Introduction to the O. T., (*in German*), §. 31; GRÆNIUS' History of the Hebr. Lang., §. 11. subsect. 1. Tr.]

† [The author particularly illustrates this, in his Introd. to the O. T. vol. I. §. 4. Tr.]

how often foreign conquerors may have trodden them under foot? *

§. 3.

Evidences of their Authenticity.

In addition to this, the Old Testament bears all the marks of authenticity.

1. The very reasonings that argue for a Homer, maintain even the authenticity of all the particular books of the Old Testament. Why are we disposed to deny merely the latter that justice which we allow the former. If a profane writer assumes a certain period, and all internal and external circumstances of his book accord with it ; then, no impartial inquirer after truth permits himself to indulge a doubt to the contrary. Nay, we do not hesitate a moment, in reference to a writer of an unknown period, to decide his age by internal considerations derived from his works. Why should the critical inquirer not pursue this course, in reference to the Bible ?

2. As yet, no one has been able to oppose with arguments, the integrity and credibility of any writer of the Old Testament ; but every discovery in ancient literature has hitherto been some new confirmation of the sacred books. As yet, no one has demonstrated that any writer of the Old Testament may have composed in a style, with knowledge, and under circumstances, that might not have been conformable to the age in which he professed to live.

In short, all the Books of the Old Testament, the writers of which we know by name, have been impressed with the seal of the integrity of their authors. And in *those* books, the authors of which have been unknown, internal considerations always show, that we are *compelled* to recognise them as authentic. The Book of Joshua, for instance, the author of

* [On this subject, consult JAEN'S Introduction to the O. T., P. I. §. 9. Tr.]

which is unknown, enters so deeply into the particulars of the most ancient Geography, that miracle upon miracle must have been wrought on an impostor, if he could have been in a situation to compose it *thus*.

Let any one examine, with due intelligence, and without prejudice; and I am certain, that he will convince himself of the Authenticity of the Books of the Old Testament.

I here premise however, what any one will readily suppose in works so ancient, that most writings of the Hebrews had passed through several hands, before they acquired their present form; and that ancient and modern may sometimes be mingled in them, without leading an impartial judge, on this account to doubt of their authenticity.

1. No ancient author of any nation has survived the age in which he wrote, but various particulars may have been altered in his text, or additions have been inserted in it. Sometimes, he was glossed designedly, and obsolete words and expressions, and geographical names were changed for others that were modern, to explain his meaning for the later reader. Sometimes, a person made observations in the margin, for his own use or that of others, without intending that they should be inserted in the writer; but officious posterity has transferred the marginal observations into the text. Thus, before we can render the authenticity of a writing doubtful on account of such passages, we must with critical minuteness examine, whether they have from the first existed in it, and have actually proceeded from the author's hand.

2. The very nature of the origin of many Scriptures of the Old Testament renders it necessary, that ancient and modern passages and sections must interchange in them. Very few proceeded from the hand of their authors, in the form in which we now have them. The separate constituent parts of many had long been extant as special works, before they became united with certain parts now added to them. Should even the Mosaick writings, in their present order, not be those of Moses; yet they have been collected from Mosaick documents, and have merely been disposed by a more recent

hand. ¶ * * * Our Psalms, according to their existing arrangement, first attained their present extent after the captivity, by the combination of several larger and smaller books of Psalms. † The materials of our Daniel were originally separate, ‡ in treatises that had been composed in different dialects. * * * The golden proverbs of Solomon have been increased by accessions : even in Hezekiah's time, there were additions made to them. § * * *

If we should at once proscribe, as the works of imposture, books in which all parts and sections do not evince the same age, few authentick writings of the Hebrews would remain ; but, at the same time, a great number of the classicks of Grecian and Roman antiquity might be condemned. Higher criticism || must fulfil its office for the former as well as for the latter, before we venture a decision on their authenticity ; and by internal considerations, it must separate what has been brought together by various times and authors. Whoever reproaches the biblical critick, or merely with pious concern heaves a sigh, while the latter is thus examining a book of the Old Testament ; he must either be wholly unacquainted with antiquity, and profane literature, and the state of things at the time ; or be so extremely weak in intellectual endowments, that he does not perceive the important consequences of an omitted test of this kind, and the invincible host of doubts, which, by the proposed manner of proceeding, it is practicable to drive from their strong holds. And indeed, whoever may regard such a test as useful, important, and

¶ [That the Pentateuch is not a compilation of recent date, see JAHN'S *Introd. to the O. T.*, P. II. §. 11 ; that it is the work of Moses, §. 12 ; that it has not been re-written, §. 13. *Tr.*]

† [EICHORN'S *Introd. to the O. T.*, Vol. v. § §. 624—626 ; JAHN'S *Introd. to the O. T.*, P. II. §. 177. *Tr.*]

‡ [JAHN'S *Introd. to the O. T.*, P. II. §. 164. *Tr.*]

§ [The design of the *asterisks* here used is stated in the Prefatory Note to this Treatise. *Tr.*]

|| [Some judicious observations, on the use of Higher Criticism, are to be found in JAHN'S *Introd. to the O. T.*, P. I. §. 147. *Tr.*]

necessary, but from over-pious timidity would prescribe the rule to the critical inquirer, to separate there only, where external evidences afford cause for a separation or require it; he might still belong to the weak in the republick of criticism; and still endanger the authenticity of most of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The ancients indeed were accustomed sometimes to denote the end of a writing by a subscription, as was the case, for instance, with Moses and Jeremiah; and thus too the author of an ancient Psalter uses the words: "The Prayers of David are ended." * Sometimes, continuators pointed out, by a written note of the fact, the place where their continuation commenced, as in the Proverbs of Solomon, by the words: "These are also Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah copied out." † But such instances are rare; and for the most part, we must endeavour to disclose by means quite different, and by the most subtle operations of higher criticism, what in the lapse of time may have been prefatory, what inserted, and what appended, in an ancient work.

* Ps. LXXIII. 20.

† Prov. XIV. 1.

CANONICAL AUTHORITY

OF THE

SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§. 4.

Canonical and Apocryphal Books.

SOON after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, a collection * was prepared, of all writings of the Hebrews then extant, which, on account of their antiquity, contents, and authors, became revered and holy, in the view of all the members of the new government. In the temple was repositd a sacred library † of these writings, which, for

* [The author has treated of this subject at large, in his *Introd. to the O. T.*, Vol. I. §. 5. See also PRIDEAUX, in his *Connexion*. Vol. II. P. I. B. v. Ann. 446 & 292. On the fables concerning *בְּנֵי כְּנָעַן הַגְּדוֹלָה*, the *Great Synagogue*, see Buxtorf's *Tiberias*, C. 10. 11; and BARTOLOCCI *Bibl. Rabbinica*, under the article *Cheneseth Haggedola*, Part IV. pp. 2. 3. 4. *Tr.*]

† [The existence of a Temple Library is recognised by the most able critics.

(1.) Very early traces of it are to be found, *before* the captivity: see Deut. xxxi. 26. Josh. xxiv. 26. 1 Sam. x. 25.

(2.) *After* the captivity, mention is made of it: JOSEPHUS, *Antiqq.* B. III. C. I. §. 7; B. v. C. I. §. 17. *Wars of the Jews*, B. VII. C. v. §. 5; *Life*, §. 75.

See EICHN. *Introd. to the O. T.*, Vol. I. §. 3; & DE WETTE *Introd. to the Bible*, Vol. I. §. 14. *Tr.*]

a considerable time before Christ, (the particular year is unknown), (a) ceased to be further enlarged. (b)

After the period when this collection had been made, there arose among the Jews authors of a different kind, historians, philosophers, poets, and theological romancers. Now therefore they had books, very unlike in value, and of various ages. The earlier were held, as productions of Prophets,* to be holy ;

(a) If JOSEPHUS closes the Canon with the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, this is his *private opinion*, founded on his view of the Book of Esther. See §. 30.

(b) I know not with what probability it can be asserted, in the ZÜRICH LIBRARY of the latest theological, philosophical, and polite literature, (Zürcher Bibliothek der neuesten theologischen, philosophischen, und schönen Litteratur), B. I. S. 180., that the Jews might have first agreed as to the number of their sacred books, after the period when the Talmud was compiled. If there might not have been, at a much earlier date, a collection settled as to all its parts, how could JOSEPHUS, PHILO, and the NEW TESTAMENT have spoken of them, in terms so explicit, or JOSEPHUS have made a distinction of two kinds of ancient writings of his nation? He spoke of such as had been written, to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and might justly be regarded as credible, (or divine); and of others, composed after Artaxerxes Longimanus, which were not esteemed so credible. Must it not, therefore, have been accurately determined how many belonged to each class?

“ But it is proved, that from time to time there may have been as various a decision on the sacred books, by the orthodox Jews, as by Christians. Has not *Daniel*, highly esteemed by Josephus, been little prized by other Jews: *Ezekiel* almost rejected from the Canon; Esther unduly censured? Certainly. But what can recent *private* opinions determine in a question, where the subject is *ancient national* opinion? And we know indeed, what considerations have prompted them to their unfavourable opinions of the writings mentioned. The contents were repugnant to them; from *history* they knew nothing to be advanced against them. Would they not, with a view to be easily rid of these repugnant books, have appealed to the times, when they might not have been found among the number of sacred national writings; could they, merely by a faint *tradition*, have been authorized in doing so?

* [On the meaning of the word *Prophet*, consult GESENIUS' Hebrew Lexicon, (translated by Prof. Gibbs, & also by Christopher Leo), & SIMONIS' Hebrew Lexicon, (Eichhorn's edition), on the word נָבִיא; EICHH. Intro. to the O. T., Vol. I. §. 9; JAHN'S Intro. to the O. T., P. II. §. 83. note; EICHHORN'S Library of Biblical Literature, (in German), Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 91; & KOPPE'S Excursus III, appended to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, in his *Nov. Testam.*, Vol. VI. Tr.]

the later were not, because they had been composed in times, when there was no longer an uninterrupted prophetic succession. (c) The ancient were preserved in the temple (§. 28); the modern were not. The ancient were introduced into a publick collection; the modern, as I think, into none whatever; at least, certainly into none of a publick nature. And if the Alexandrian Christians had not been such great admirers of them; if they had not added them to the manuscripts of the Septuagint, (in the *original*, if composed in the Greek language; and in a *Greek translation*, if the autograph was Hebrew:)—who knows, whether we might have a single page remaining, of all the modern Jewish writers? (d)

(c) JOSEPHUS, *contra Ap.* lib. i. §. 8., thus expresses himself in reference to these later Scriptures: *πίστεως δὲ οὐχ ἰσχυρὰς ἐξέλαται τῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὸ μὴ γινώσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν λαγίβη διαδοχῆν.* [See the entire passage quoted below, §. 29. Tr.]

(d) The ZÜRICH LIBRARY makes some objections to this also. "There are proofs," it says, Th. i. S. 178., "that the Grecian Jews, from time to time, have conferred on more writings than the Hebrew Jews possessed, the distinction of being received as ancient, sacred, and revered monuments of the ages of antiquity; nay, of being regarded even as records dictated by the Holy Spirit. The APOSTLES, APOSTOLICK FATHERS, and ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS, in their citations, make no distinction between various *pseudepigraphs*, and the *canonical* writings of the O. T. Jude quotes the *Assumption of Moses* and the *Books of Enoch*; Paul, the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, and probably *other* apocryphal writings; Matthew, an apocryphal work of *Jeremiah*, which the Hebrew Christians in the time of Jerome still possessed; Clement, the *spurious Ezekiel*; Hermas, the *Eldad & Medad*. It is clear, that the converts from among the Grecian Jews knew and revered these writings. No Apostles first delivered or commended these to *them*. Besides, even those Fathers who quote the Apocrypha without distinction, CLEMENT & ORIGEN, did not first introduce this relish for such writings, but must have found it already existing, and have accommodated themselves to it. Other Fathers, IRENAEUS, TERTULLIAN, AMBROSE of Milan, &c., might never have held the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the *Books of Enoch*, *Baruch*, *Tobit*, *Pseudo-Esdras*, *Additions to Daniel*, &c., to be sacred and inspired, if these books had not been commended to them by Jews."

There would be very little prospect of determining our Canon of the O. T., if this were so. But

At a late period, a long time since the birth of Christ, these two kinds of writings have been distinguished by appropriate

1. IT IS NOT TRUE, that the JEWS may be supposed to have made *no distinction*, between the *ancient sacred books* of their nation, and what were called *apocryphal*. Josephus, who was acquainted however even with the Grecian Jews, whose Version he every where adopts in his writings, says in very general terms of ALL THE JEWS at large: "We have but 22 books, which were composed up to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Since Artaxerxes, up to our times, much indeed has been written; but, *among us*, all these modern writings have not by any means the authority of the ancient." And if these recent works were viewed by the Grecian Jews, as sacred records, as venerable, as dictated by the Holy Spirit, how then does it happen, that the *Grecian Jew PHILO* does not allegorize them, as he does those Scriptures to which he attributes a divine origin?

2. IT IS NOT TRUE, that the APOSTLES may be supposed to have made *no distinction* between Canonical and Apocryphal writings. For how could it happen, that among so many citations of the O. T. in the New, so few passages are evidently taken from the Apocrypha? If held in the *same estimation*, they would have been as much used.

3. IT IS NOT TRUE, that from the value which JEWISH CHRISTIANS attributed to *Apocrypha*, it may be inferred, that the JEWS ranked them with their sacred Scriptures. We know indeed that the Jewish Christians held them in the highest esteem, because they yielded so much support to their visionary ideas, hopes and expectations. And if we compare their estimate with the description that Josephus gives, of the estimate which his nation may be presumed to have set upon them, it is evident, how many steps the Christians advanced further than the JEWS! And from the opinions of the FATHERS concerning them, what can be inferred, in respect to the opinions of the JEWS? Must those of the *latter* have also been those of the *former*?

But II. "In the Greek collection of the Scriptures are found many apocryphal writings, as the Wisdom of Solomon, the third book of Esdras, Tobit, Baruch, Additions to Daniel and Esther. This is proved, by the use which JOSEPHUS himself, (no doubt to please the Grecian Jews), made of these writings, and even by the translations of them which were made at a very early period, for the use of the Western Churches; and also by the Canonical authority, which various councils attribute to them."

1. In this objection, it is alleged without proof, that even *before the birth of Christ*, the Apocrypha were *appended to the Greek Bible*: but from what shall this be inferred? From the fact, perhaps, that JOSEPHUS makes use of them? Does his use of them prove any more, than merely that they were then extant in *that Greek Version* which we now possess? Could they not have been in his hands in Greek, *sepa-*

names, derived chiefly from the use which was made of the writings: the earlier were called **CANONICAL**; the more recent, **APOCRYPHAL Books**. And the whole collection of the former was comprehended under the appellation: **CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT**.

rately? And as **PHILO** and the **NEW TESTAMENT** make so little use of the **Apocrypha**, is it at all probable, that they were then a part of the **Greek Bible**? Would they not, in this case, have been much better known to **Philo**, and the authors of the **New Testament**, than we actually discover? Ought not **CHRISTIANS**, those great admirers of them, to have first assigned to them this place? Yet admitting, that even the ancient **GREEKIAN JEWS** before **Christ** may perhaps have done this, still nothing results in opposition to the previously alleged extent of the **Hebrew Canon**, as we have adopted only the *Palestine*, and not the *Egyptian*.

2. And what is proved by early **LATIN VERSIONS** of these **Apocrypha**, made for the use of the **Western Church**? What but this, which no one will doubt, that even at an early period, it held these **Versions** in great esteem? What is proved by the authority of *Councils*, which have attributed **Canonical Authority** to these **Apocrypha**? What but this, that in their estimate of these **Scriptures**, they went still further than the early **Christians**, and even attributed to them what the latter, (as far as we know,) never did attribute?

III. "The **Egyptian Jews** have invented fables, to gain authority for the spurious writings which they had forged, from a propensity to fanaticism and sectarianism. The Jew who wrote the *fourth book of Esdras*, intending to excite among his nation, by a fictitious narrative, the hopes of the **Messiah's kingdom**, sets forth an account of seventy concealed books, which purported to have been dictated to **Ezra** by the **Spirit of God**. And this tradition of 70 **Apocrypha** is to be found also in the **Gospel of Nicodemus**. That no **Christian** wrote the *fourth book of Esdras*, in its most ancient form, is clear from many evidences, although **Christians** have interpolated it, and enlarged it by additions." Even this representation of the origin of the *fourth book of Esdras*, (to which, however, much might be objected,) being assumed, because the examination of it might not here be in place, what follows from all this, but merely that particular **Jews** may have put every thing in operation, to acquire for their written productions great authority? Does it even prove, that all other **Jews** may have assented?—that all, to approve of these fables, may have even ascribed to the works themselves a divine origin? But I forbear—not to contend too long against objections, which have so little to do with the positions maintained!

§. 5.

What is the meaning of the word CANONICAL ?

The word *Κανὼν* had long been in use among the early Ecclesiastical writers, and in very general acceptations, before it was transferred to a collection of Holy Scriptures.

1. It often meant no more than "a book," and a "catalogue" generally; (e) but then, in particular—

2. A "Catalogue of things which belonged to the Church," or a "Book, that served in general for the use of the Church." (f) Hence a Collection of Hymns, which were to be sung on festivals, (g) as also a List, in which were introduced the names of persons belonging to the Church, acquired the name *Κανὼν*. (h) The word was used in a sense yet more limited, of

3. A "Publicly approved Catalogue of all the Books, that might be read in publick assemblies of Christians, for instruction and edification." (i) Finally, but not until very recent times, it has comprised immediately

4. A "Collection of divine and inspired writings." (k)

The last signification most modern scholars have adopted. They use, therefore, Canonical and Inspired, (*κανονικὸς* and

(e) Hence the diminutive *Κανόνιον* means simply *libellus*. See *SUIDAS* on the word *Κανόνιον*. M. FRID. FERDIN. DRÜK, *diss. de ratione historie canonis scribendae*. Tub. 1778. 4.

(f) *SYNODUS LAODIC.* CANON 42.

(g) *SUCER*, in his *Theol. Eccles.*, T. II. p. 40., has this meaning, with many examples from the Fathers. Thus, for example, *Zonaras* says, *ad Canon. Athanasii Damasceni*: *Κανὼν λέγεται, ὅτι ἀγισμῶν . . . ἔχει τὸ ἱμμετρον ἐν τῷ ἀφ' ὧν ἵς συντελούμενον.*

(h) *SOCRATES Hist. Eccl.*, lib. I. c. 17. *τὰς παρθένους τὰς ἀναγκαζομένης ἐν τῷ πᾶσι ἐκκλησίαν κανόνι.* See *DUFRESNE, glossar. mediae et infimae Graecitatis*. p. 579.

(i) See *SUCER Theol. Eccles.* on the word *Κανὼν*; or *COTTA ad Gerhardi locos theol.*, T. II. p. 244.

(k) *SUCER* on the word *Κανὼν*. *FRICK de cura vel. eccl. circa Canonem*. p. 34 ss. [See also, *LARDNER's Supplement to the Second Part of the Gosp. Hist.* Ch. I. Sect. III. Tr.]

ἁγιωγραφοί,) as perfect synonyms. Only a few understand by the Canon of the Old Testament, the "Collection of sacred and inspired writings, which Christ and his Apostles may have recognised as sacred and inspired."

§. 6.

What is the meaning of the word APOCRYPHAL?

The APOCRYPHAL are so called, in opposition to the CANONICAL Scriptures.

1. At first, "Obscurely written Books" were called apocryphal. (l) As such writings were then above the capacity of men in general, the heads of the Church accordingly prohibited their being read in publick assemblies of Christians; yet not only were the teachers not forbidden to read them, but, on *that* account, to study them with diligence had been made their express duty. Hence, among apocryphal writings, in opposition to canonical, were comprised

2. Such books as were "Set aside, and from which nothing might be publickly read." (m)

(l) SUIDAS on the word ἀγροκρίβης. EPIPHANIUS, *haeresis* LI; DRÜK. 1, c. p. 8. Compare with this the remark of SEMLER, in his *Treatise on a free examination of the Canon*, (Abhandlung von freyer Untersuchung des Kanons,) Th. I. S. 10., that ἀπόκρυφος may sometimes be applied to a writing, which only experienced Christians were permitted to read for their instruction, but which was concealed from others.

(m) RUFFIN, *Expositio Symboli inter Opp. Cypriani*, p. 26; CYRIL, *Catech.* iv. p. 68, ed. Toult. In this case indeed, ἀπόκρυφος accords with the Rabbinical פְּסוּקֵי אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִקְרָאוּ, which denotes WRITINGS SET ASIDE, that might not be read in the synagogues; at one time, because they had been inaccurately written; and at another, because their contents were somewhat difficult to be understood. Thus the later Jews placed among the פְּסוּקֵי אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִקְרָאוּ, which ought not to be read, the *beginning of Genesis*, (in which a creation in six days, so adapted to human views, was repugnant to them); the *Song of Solomon*, (the contents of which they thought hazardous for young persons;); *Ezekiel* I. and XL.—XLVIII. (because the contents of these chapters were obscure to them, and the *temple of Ezekiel* did not correspond with *their* second temple.) See HOTTINGER, *Theo. Phil.*, p. 521; and CASTELL'S & BUXTORF'S Lexicons, at these words. But we are

3. Even "Supposititious Writings," (Pseudepigrapha,) were sometimes called apocryphal, from similar considerations, as no publick use would be admitted, of such miserable productions as the Books of *Adam*, *Methuselah*, *Enoch*, and the like. (n) Finally, canonical and inspired having been used as synonymes, by an *apocryphal* book was understood

4. "A writing not inspired." The word acquired this sense at a very late period, and perhaps *not before Jerome*. He writes, however, in his preface to *Tobit*: *Librum Tobiaë, quem Hebræi de catalogo divinarum scripturarum secantes, his, quæ APOCRYPHA memorant, manciparunt.* [The Book of *Tobit*, which the Hebrews, removing it from the Catalogue of *Sacred Scriptures*, have transferred to these, which they call *APOCRYPHA.* Tr.]

§. 7.

Review of this division of the Books of the Old Testament into Canonical and Apocryphal.

Thus varied in signification are the words canonical and apocryphal. On this account, the learned of modern times, who have entered into investigations of the Canon of the Old Testament, might have been expected only with accuracy to determine what signification they adopted. Unfortunately, this has not always been the case, and hence their investigations have often been devoid of the precision required.

It might have been desirable, that the expression *Canon*, on this account, had *never* been used in reference to the *Old Testament*. A word so various in signification must give rise to misapprehensions; and unhappily, the most that it has

not to believe *for this reason*, that the *ancient Jews* understood by *רש* a book *not canonical*.

(n) ATHANASIUS, in the *Synopsis S. S.*, T. II. p. 154. A number of passages, that are here appropriate as illustrations, FABRICIUS has collected in his *Cod. Pseudep.* V. T.; T. II. p. 308.

received, in the lapse of time, have been inappropriate to the Old Testament.

1. If by the Canon of the Old Testament was understood the "Collection of sacred and inspired writings of the Jews in the period before the birth of Christ," then this was a signification which most Christian Writers did not understand by it; and difficulties upon difficulties arrested the inquirer, who examined the Fathers on the Canon of the Old Testament. He found, for instance, that Judith, Tobit, 2 Books of Maccabees, 5 Books of Solomon, and others, were enumerated among the *Canonica Scripturae*. (o) Alarmed at this appearance, he either gave up the whole investigation; or he was even willing to carry it on, did he but derive from it the conclusion: our present Canon may have been of recent origin, and not determined in ancient times, as regards all its portions, large and small. (p)

2. Or, if by the Canon of the Old Testament was understood the "Books of the Jews before the time of Christ, that were permitted to be read in publick;" this signification again, in reference to the Old Testament, is neither applicable nor adequate. *Among whom* could the reading of these Scriptures have been allowed? *Among Jews or Christians?*

Among Jews? In this case, there might have been nothing more uncertain, than the number of the books deemed canonical; for they did not use as synonymes, *canonical* books, and books *to be publickly read*. The Song of Solomon, for instance, they regarded as a sacred national writing, and yet it had been forbidden to make a publick use of it in the synagogues! (q) There ought to have

(o) CONCIL. CARTHAG. 3. Can. 47. of the year 397. "Placuit, ut *praeter canonicas scripturas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine scripturarum divinarum; sunt autem canonicæ scripturae: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Jesus Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri 2., Job, Psalmorum unus, Salomonis libri quinque, libri 12 prophetarum minorum, item Iesaias, Jeromias, Ezech., Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esdrae libri 2., Maccabaeorum libri 2.*

(p) SENLER'S Treatise on a free examination of the Canon, [quoted before in note (t).] Th. I. S. 14. s.

(q) ORIGEN, in his *Præf. ad Cantic. Canticorum*.

been admitted into the Canon, in this case, only the *Five Books of Moses*, the *Prophets*, and the *Book of Esther*, which was read with peculiar solemnities on the feast of Purim ; but not the *Psalms*, not the *Proverbs*, not *Job*, and the *Historical Books*.

Was it among *Christians* then ? In *this* case, the Canon of the Old Testament might have been yet more uncertain. It might have been settled—at a time, when it could no longer be known, which books were to be esteemed canonical ; for it might have been reduced to order after the lapse of the first ages that followed the birth of Christ :—among a class of men, from which could be expected no sure determination of the Canon of the Old Testament ; for it must be determined, not by *Christians*, but by *Jews* :—without settled principles, by which the authority of a book could be examined ; for the New Testament does not pronounce upon the subject. The selection depended, therefore, upon mere caprice, and was directed, it may be, by pious considerations which are often very doubtful, or else by uncertain authorities. In fine, if we examine the existing Catalogues of the *Writings of the Old Testament*, permitted to be publickly read among *Christians*, we find even *Judith*, and *Tobit*, and other writings inserted, which, for various reasons, can be allowed no canonical authority.—So unstable is the foundation, on which is commonly reared the important investigation of the Canon of the Old Testament !

§. 8.

In what sense CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT is understood, in this investigation.

We proceed, therefore, in our examination of the subject, merely from that time, when Christ and his Apostles, in their teaching, pointed back to the instruction which had been recorded in the Old Testament. At that period, there was in Palestine a Collection, which made up a complete whole, and,

in the New Testament, was sometimes comprised under the appellation *Scripture*, or *Holy Scriptures*; sometimes paraphrased by *Law and Prophets*, or by *Law, Prophets, and Psalms*. * We shall consider this Collection the Canon of the Old Testament. In this view, we set aside all theological and doctrinal considerations, and our investigation becomes, as it should be—merely historical. (r)

§. 9.

Of the EGYPTIAN and PALESTINE Canon in general.

After the Babylonian captivity, the Jews were divided, in reference to the principal countries of their settlement, into *Egyptian* and *Palestine*. In both, they had a Collection of sacred national writings. And it is worth while to inquire, whether this Collection was of the same or of a different extent in the two countries, and *what* books and *how many* it may have contained, both in Egypt, and also in Palestine.

According to our purpose, (§. 8.) we must indeed recur principally to *Palestine*, and endeavour to ascertain the constituent parts of the *Palestine Canon*, at the time of Christ and the Apostles. An *examination of the Egyptian Canon*, therefore, might seem needless; particularly as the question

* [The Scriptures of the O. T. are called ἡ γραφή, "the Scripture," John, x. 35. compare 34; 1 Tim. iii. 16; ἱερὰ γράμματα, "Holy Scriptures," 11 Tim. iii. 15; ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται "the Law and the Prophets," Acts. xiii. 15; ὁ νόμος Μωϋσέως, καὶ προφῆται, καὶ ψαλμοί, the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. Luke, xxiv. 44. STORR, in his *Doctrinal Theology* (translated by Prof. Schmucker) Vol. i. B. i. §. 14, has a concise and admirable view of the argument from the New Testament, that the Jewish Canon, in the time of Christ and the Apostles, contained the same books which now constitute our O. T. Scriptures. Tr.]

(r) *The Canon of the O. T.*; a Treatise in CAMERER's *Theological & Critical Essays*, (Theologischen und kritischen Versuchen.) Stuttgart, 1794. 8.

in regard to that of Palestine would not yet have been settled ; granting that we might be able to present a complete account of the former. Yet without this, the history of the Canon would remain defective : without this, we should be necessarily deprived of many illustrations, in investigating the Canon of Palestine. In fine, if a complete account of the Egyptian Canon were to be found any where, and were it to agree in all its parts with that of Palestine ; then, to the satisfaction of every inquirer after truth, we should have a decisive answer to the important question : Had the Jews, before the time of Christ, a Collection settled as to all its parts great and small, or a complete Canon ?

But should there be discovered, neither now nor henceforth, such fragments of the Alexandrian Canon, that a complete whole may be collected from them, it were truly ever to be lamented, that rapacious time even here manifested its destructive influence. But the contents of the Canon will not, on this account, be more uncertain. Should even traces be perceived, that the Egyptian Jews might evidently have had Apocryphal writings in their Canon, these would be just as little raised to the authority of canonical books on this account, as the Apocrypha, which the authority of the Fathers placed among the *Canonica Scripturæ*. (§. 7.) The question does not relate to Ecclesiastical Fathers, but Jews, and especially Jews of Palestine. (§. 8.) Just as the Samaritans, by certain incidents, acquired a false Joshua, which they ranked with the Five Books of Moses ; so indeed might similar incidents in Egypt have elevated to a place among the Canonical Books, one or several that were apocrypha.

I. The EGYPTIAN AND PALESTINE JEWS had the SAME CANON.

§. 10.

FIRST ground of Conjecture.

Still it is very probable from many considerations, that the Canon of the Old Testament in Egypt and that in Palestine were similar.

I. The relation, in which the Jews in the two countries stood to each other, readily admits of this *presumption*. Both, although at no period in an intimate, were yet always in some connexion, and thus at times in a religious fellowship. (s) Both were emulous to be entirely alike. The Egyptians built a temple, after the model of the temple at Jerusalem, and with the same solemnities practised their religion there. In their synagogues, the Egyptians read the Five Books of Moses as in Palestine. But when an intolerant edict of Antiochus Epiphanes banished the use of the books of Moses from the synagogues in Palestine, and they began there, from necessity, to read out of the Prophets; and afterward, when the in-

(s) Notwithstanding the jealousy that prevailed between the Jews in the two countries, the religious fellowship proceeded sometimes to a remarkable extent. Thus PHILO himself, the celebrated writer, was once sent to Jerusalem, to present offerings in the temple there, in the name of his brethren. PHILO, T. 2. *Opp.* p. 646. ed. *Mang.*; or in EUSEBIUS *praep. evang.* lib. viii. c. 14. p. 398. ed. *Paris.* Τῆς Συρίας ἐνὶ θαλάττῃ πόλις ἵσταν, Ἀσκαλων ὄνομα· γινόμενος ἐν ταύτῃ καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἰς τὸ πατρῶον εἶδη ἐκυλλόμενοι εὐχόμενοι τε καὶ θέσαν. ἀνεχάσθη τε πλειάδων παλαιοῦ . . . Ἰσραήλων—Yet this was something extraordinary, as the Egyptian Jews had their own temple; and after its erection, offerings were made there, as in the temple at Jerusalem. And I know not how to believe, that the Egyptian Jews should have *ordinarily* sent offerings to Jerusalem, as HORNEMANN assumes, *de canone Philonis*, p. 10. The Jews of Rome, and Italy in general might do so, because they had no temple in those parts; but this reason does not apply to the Jews in Egypt.

terdiction ceased, read on every Sabbath *both* Moses and the Prophets: the emulation of the Egyptian Jews did not admit of their being behindhand in these particulars. In fine, Jerusalem was constantly the city, to which the Jews traced every thing; the manners and customs of that place were the originals which they always copied; it was the rallying point of all Jews who were dispersed in Europe, Asia, and Africa—and thus too of the Egyptian. (t) In such circumstances, should we not *conjecture*, (u) that the Jews in the two countries might have agreed, in regard to the Collection of their ancient sacred national books?

§. II.

SECOND ground of Conjecture.

II. JESUS the SON OF SIRACH and PHILO, the NEW TESTAMENT and JOSEPHUS, writers of Palestine and Egypt therefore,

(t) The fact is well known. However, I refer to HORNEMANN, *de canone Phil.* p. 8., who has shown this by some passages from Philo. *Opp. T. II. p. 524. Mang. p. 971. ed. Frankf.* [This reference is very apposite. "A single region cannot contain the Jews, on account of their multitude. Wherefore, they inhabit the most numerous and flourishing of those in Europe and Asia, both islands and continents!; considering the Holy City, (*hierosolus*), (in which stands the sacred temple of the Most High God,) as their metropolis." Tr.]

(u) Thus it stands word for word in the former editions. It is not intended, by the above reasoning, to *prove* any thing; not to *decide* as a judge; it is only intended to derive from it the *conjecture*, that the Egyptian and the Palestine Canon *may* have been of like extent. If then the ZURICH LIBRARY, Th. I. 8. 178. objects: "Notwithstanding the unity of the Palestine and Egyptian Jews, yet the Alexandrian synagogues *might* boast of a more extensive collection of the sacred writings, among which were even writings of *Enoch, Moses, &c.*;" what shall be said in reply? A MIGHT is objected, the denial of which could not enter the mind of any one. The Egyptian synagogues, it is alleged, *might* indeed have boasted of a more extensive collection of the sacred writings, although no trace of it is found. The spurious writings of *Enoch* and *Moses* are named, as if these may have been received into their synagogues; although there is not the remotest cause, even for conjecturing this? What, in such circumstances, may be said in reply?

agree in calling their ancient sacred books by a periphrasis, if not in the *same words*, yet in accordance with the main subject and contents, by the name "Law, prophets, and other writings."

1. JESUS, the Grandson of Sirach, after his arrival in Egypt, about the year 140 before the birth of Christ, translated the precepts of his Grandfather from Hebrew into Greek. And in the Former Prologue, (of which, if we may decide from internal evidences, he is the author), he speaks of the sacred books of his nation, which had been translated into Greek even before his time, and he calls them: "*Law, Prophets, and the rest of the Books.*" "Let me entreat you," he says, (v) "to read it, (*i. e.* his translation) with favour and attention, and to pardon us, wherein we may seem to come short of some words which we have laboured to interpret.† For the same things uttered in Hebrew, and translated into another tongue, have not the same force in them: and not only these things, but the *law* itself, and the *prophets*, and the *rest of the books* have no small difference, when they are spoken in their own language." (w) The Collection of the Hebrew Books is

(v) In the *Former Prologue* ὁ νόμος, καὶ αἱ προφητείας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχου τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογίματα. That this Prologue must be very ancient, appears from this, among other reasons, that we find in it the Hagiographa, (Ⲭⲓⲛⲧⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ,) called by a periphrasis τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων, [the rest of the books.] Before the birth of Christ, there was no general name, which comprehended all those writings, that are now called Hagiographa. They must, therefore, have always been named by a periphrasis. [In H. E. G. PAULUS' Repertory for Biblical and Oriental Literature, (Repertorium für bibl. und orient. Litteratur), Vol. 11. Article v., pp. 225—247, is a comprehensive and able Dissertation (in German) by Dr. STORR, on the earliest division of the books of the O. T. See also our author's *Introd. to the O. T.*, Vol. 1. §. 6; JAHN'S *Introd. to the O. T.*, P. 1. §. 1. 103. BERTHOLDT'S *Introd. to the O. & N. T.* (in German) Vol. 1. §. 18. 19; and DE WETTE'S *Introd. to the Bible*, Vol. 1. §. 7. 10. *Tr.*]

(w) Thus, JESUS the SON OF SIRACH clearly distinguishes the moral sentences of his grandfather, (this apocryphal book as it is called), from the Law, the Prophets, and the rest of the Books. Can he therefore have reckoned the Hebrew original of the precepts among the rest of the Books, (as he entitles the Hagiographa,) or have only conjectured, that

set forth in this representation, *just* as it existed at that time in a Greek Version made in Egypt; nothing is more probable, therefore, than that in this passage we have to look for a periphrasis of the Canon of the Egyptian Jews.

In another passage of this Prologue, the translator commends his grandfather, for the study of the "Law, the Prophets, and the rest of the Books" of his nation. (x) Now his grandfather lived in Palestine, and studied the Palestine Canon. As he here speaks, therefore, of the Palestine Canon, as well as of the Egyptian, in the very same words, does it not follow, that the Jews in both countries may have had the same Canon? If that of Palestine was different from that of Egypt, then Jesus the Son of Sirach must have been led to take notice of this, by adding a word or two, or by changing the expression, that he might speak the more distinctly for his immediate readers the Egyptians.

2. According to PHILO of Alexandria, the ΤΗΡΑΠΕΥΤΑΕ, a fanatical sect of Jews in Egypt, read in their religious assemblies, not the fanatical writings of the founders of their sect, but—"Holy Scriptures," as the "Law, Oracles of the Prophets, Psalms of Praise to God, and other Books, by which, knowledge and the fear of God are promoted and perfected." (y) Here PHILO speaks, *not* indeed of the sacred books

his translation would in future be enumerated among them? This ancient passage is refutation enough of the MIGHT of the ZURICH LIBRARY, Th. I. S. 177: "Which is proved by the appellation *Moses, the Prophets, and Writings*, since under this title (i. e. *writings*), MIGHT be comprehended all *pseudepigrapha* and *apocryphal* writings of recent times." What a nothing is a mere *possibility*, when there are in opposition to it *very probable* considerations!

(x) The *Former Prologue*: ὁ πάππος μου Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ πάλαιον αὐτῶν δόξαι εἶς τι τὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρῶν βιβλίον ἀδύλασιν. [My grandfather Jesus, being much devoted to the study of the LAW, and the PROPHETS, and the OTHER BOOKS of our fathers. Tr.]

(y) PHILO de *Vita Contempl. Opp.*, T. II. p. 475. ed Mang. p. 893. ed Frankf. Ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ οἰκίᾳ (according to the Frankf. ed. ἑκάστη δὲ ἴσθιν οἰκίᾳ) ἕξον, ὃ καλεῖται σημιῶν καὶ μοναστήριον, ἐν ᾧ μοιδοῦνται τὰ τοῦ σημιῶν βίου μυστήρια ταλοῦνται, μηδὲν εἰσκαμίζοντες, μὴ ποτε, μὴ εἰπίον. μηδέτι τῶν ἄλλων δεῖα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρεῖας ἀναγκαῖα,

of the Egyptian Jews in *general*, but only of those, which the fanatical Therapeutae held sacred, and introduced into their religious assemblies. But that the Therapeutae did not differ from the other Egyptian Jews, in regard to their sacred books, is evinced by the strict accordance of this periphrasis of the Canon, with that given by Jesus the Son of Sirach, and by the Palestine writers.

3. In the *same* manner that Jesus the Son of Sirach divides the EGYPTIAN Canon into three parts, and thence entitles it ; so does the New Testament divide the PALESTINE Canon into the "Law, Prophets and Psalms." Luke, xxiv. 44.

4. And with the Therapeutae in Egypt, JOSEPHUS also very minutely accords, in his description of the Palestine Canon. According to him, it contained "the Books of Moses, the Prophets, Psalms of praise to God, and writings on moral subjects." (s)

Although it does not admit of being absolutely demonstrated from these considerations, that the Canon was the same in the two countries ; yet it may hence be very probably conjectured. To attain greater certainty on the subject, we will endeavour to describe the Canon of the Egyptian and that of the Palestine Jews, separately, from their own writers.

ἀλλὰ νόμους καὶ λόγια θεοκτιθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ὕμνων
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἀσθήθεια συνάφονται καὶ τελειοῦνται
..... Ἐπιτυχάνοντες γὰρ τοῖς ἀρεαῖς γράμμασι, φιλοσοφῶσι τὴν πάτριον
φιλοσοφίαν, ἀλληγοροῦντες. ἰσχυρὰ δὲ σύμβολα τὰ τῆς βουτῆς ἱερῶν ἡμετέρας νομι-
ζοῦσι φόντως ἀποκρυφόμενοι, ἐν ὑπονοίαις διλουμένοις. Ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς
καὶ συγγράμματα πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τῆς αἰδέσεως ἀρχηγῆται γινόμενοι
πολλὰ μυστήρια τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀλληγοροῦσιν ἕως ἀπίστεον. [Each com-
munity has a sacred house, called a sanctuary or monastery, in
which recluses devote themselves to the mysteries of the holy life.
They take nothing into it, neither food, nor drink, nor such other things
as are required for the use of the body ; but LAWS, and ORACLES divinely
communicated by THE PROPHETS, and HYMNS, and THE OTHER (books),
by which knowledge and piety are promoted and perfected. . . . They
study the SACRED SCRIPTURES. . . . They have also
compositions of ancient worthies, who, being founders of their sect, left
many records. . . . Tr.]

(s) JOSEPHUS *contra Ap.*, lib. 1. §. 8. [See the passage cited below.
in §. 23. Tr.]

II. CANON OF THE JEWS IN EGYPT.

§. 12.

Sources.

We collect, first of all, the testimonies of the Canon of the Egyptians from EGYPTIAN JEWS. Especial care, not to wander in inextricable labyrinths, requires that we here altogether omit the opinions of the EGYPTIAN CHRISTIANS on the Canon of the Old Testament. These are too recent to bear formal *testimony*; without settled principles, and from capricious views, they merely pronounce *opinions* on the value of particular books of the Old Testament, and the use which may be made of them; and such opinions can be of no decisive weight. (§. 7.) Hence too, as we learn from Origen, Jerome, Ruffin, and Augustine, they admired apocryphal books, which, among the Egyptian Jews, as we shall see below, were held in no repute whatever.

We cannot therefore use as sources, from which to derive our account of the Egyptian Canon, even the fathers that have been named; but, merely the ALEXANDRIAN VERSION of the Old Testament, and PHILO.

§. 13.

I. *Alexandrian Version.*

The ALEXANDRIAN VERSION is here mentioned, because it has been used in modern times, as a source; in my view, it is inadmissible. (a)

(a) CHR. FRID. SCHMIDII *historia antiqua et vintic. Canonis V. et N. T.* p. 125.

1. It is asserted, that the Alexandrian Version, in the most ancient times, may have contained only as many books as we now commonly enumerate in the Canon of the Old Testament.—This, however, has not hitherto been proved, but only decided by authorities. And whence was it to be proved? “From the accounts of the origin of the Alexandrian Version?”—because Eleazar may have sent to Egypt a Hebrew MS. (for the forming of this Version,) of which, however, we shall be left to conjecture, that it was transcribed from a genuine copy in Jerusalem, which contained *all* our present canonical books?—But is it even certain, that Eleazar was under the necessity of sending to Egypt a Hebrew MS., for the use of the Alexandrian translators, as the romancer Aristeas pretends? (b) Yet granting, that his account of a copy directed from Jerusalem to Egypt might be correct—is it not again asserted, what should first be proved, that the Palestine Canon may have then contained just as many books as we now enumerate in it? What reasoning in a circle!—Nay, if we meant to conclude any thing from the account given by Aristeas and his Epitomist Josephus: it would follow, that only the five books of Moses belonged to the Canon of the Alexandrians. For according to Aristeas and Josephus, Eleazar is alleged to have sent to Egypt a manuscript of the *ῥόμος* only, the pentateuch; even Philo allows, that at first, only the five books of Moses were translated.

2. The Alexandrian Version was gradually formed, at different times, from different inducements, and by different learned men. If it had already been decided by other testimonies, that all the books, which our editions of the Bible contain, might have possessed canonical authority from the most ancient times, and that they might have actually been translated, *all*, at one time, by an individual, or by an association of learned Jews in Egypt: then would the conclusion be

(b) HODY, *de bibliorum text. orig.*; and J. G. EICHHORN's *Repert.* Th. 1. S. 266. ss.—[See also PRIDEAUX, *Connex. P. II. B. I. An. 277*: and WHISTON, *Authentick Records*, P. II. p. 493., Lond., 1727. *TV.*]

in a measure probable, that, on that account, they may have been presented to the Egyptian Jews, at *one* time, in a Version; as like value and like authority may have been attributed to them. But this has not been the case; and the book of Isaiah, for example, which however must necessarily have been a part of our Canon from the very first, was extant in Greek at a much more recent date than the books of Moses.

3. And if even all might have been translated at once, yet then, an inference of their complete canonical authority, founded on this, would rest upon an unstable foundation and basis. For the original occasion of this work is unknown. If the desire of the Jews, to be able, in their own synagogues, to read the books of their religion in the Greek language, might have led to this Version: then only could it have been presumed, not without some foundation, that merely the canonical would have been selected, and that the uncanonical, at least those at hand, would have been deemed worthy of no translation. But all antiquity pronounces it an undertaking, merely literary. Ptolemy Philadelphus wished to have repositied in his library, the—books of the Mosaick Law, or the Jewish Scriptures in general?—translated indeed into Greek, because the original was not understood by the Greeks in Egypt; and with such a purpose, many apocryphal writings must have been just as important to him as any inspired book, which, in the library of a heathen, had no preference to one merely *human*.

4. In fine, some of our apocryphal writings, in a translation, were actually put into the hands of the Egyptian Jews, at a very early date: for example, the sentences of Jesus Sirach, the Epistle of Mordecai, concerning the Feast of Purim, &c. (c)

(c) See the *Former Prologus* to JESUS SIRACH; and then the Greek Version of the book of ESTHER, at the end. [On the subjects in this section, EICHORN is very able, in his Introduction to the O. T., Vol. 1. §. 161—183., and in his Repertory, (as quoted in the preceding note,) Vol. 1., the concluding article, (in German), *On the Sources, from which the different accounts of the rise of the Alexandrian Version have been de-*

Let it not be objected, that if this version had not comprised strictly *all* canonical Scriptures, with a rejection of all apocryphal, it could have acquired no such general authority. For it is known, that the Alexandrian Version was half deified, on account of a prevailing story, that the spirit of inspiration rested upon the translators !

§. 14.

II. PHILO, *Flourished A. D. 41.*

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA * is the only source remaining, from which we can draw, for our investigation of the contents of the Alexandrian Canon. He lived just at the time, from which our investigation commences ; at the time of Christ and the Apostles, (§. 8.) Now *he* gives us indeed, no where in his writings, a full account of the Canon of the Old Testament ; but here and there, in passing, he throws out, as if by the way, separate declarations, which evince to us his opinion, and probably even the opinion of his brethren, on the value and the authority of particular books of the Old Testament,

rived. See also JAHN'S Introduction to the O. T., P. I. §. 34—37; HORNE'S Introd., Vol. II. P. I. Ch. v. §. 1; and BERTHOLDT'S Introduction, Vol. II. §. 155—159. For an ample account of the best works, on the principal topics suggested by the Alexandrian Version, particularly on the *Letter of Aristeas*, its editions, translations, authenticity, and the publications which illustrate it ; and on the Criticism and Exegesis of the Septuagint in general, see E. F. C. ROSENMÜLLER'S Manual for the Literature of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis, (*in German*), Vol. II., on the Alexandrian Version, Part III. Ch. I—V. pp. 344—458., Göttingen, 1798. *Tr.*]

* [DE WETTE, in the Introduction to his *Archæology*, (*in German*), §. 8., supplies a series of the best references, on the *credibility* and the *Hebrew learning* of Philo. See also EICHORN'S Introd. to the O. T., Vol. II. §. 339. a ; and HORNE'S Introd., Vol. II. P. I. Ch. VII. §. III. —Tr.]

Yet they are nothing but scattered fragments ; and no whole can be recovered from them : yet these fragments must be extremely useful to us, in the want of other more complete accounts.

§. 15.

1. *Philo on the APOCRYPHA.*

PHILO was acquainted with the *apocryphal writings* of the Old Testament ; for he borrows phrases from them. But he does not even once cite a single one, much less allegorize them, or establish by them his views. (d) Thus, the fact that he takes no notice of them, did not proceed from unacquaintance with them, which might scarce have been supposed in regard to a man of such extensive reading ; but probably because he esteemed them lightly, and—is it too hasty a conclusion, if I add ?—because he did not place them among the Scriptures, which his age regarded as holy and divine. For his neglect of them goes very far. He does not once pay them that deference which he shows to a Plato, Philolaus, Solon, Hippocrates, Heraclitus, and others, from whose writings he often inserts whole passages. (e)

(d) Thus positive are the words of HORNEMANN, (*observationes ad illustrationem doctrinæ de canone V. T. ex Philone*, p. 28. 29.) ; and as he asserts, that he read Philo's writings *throughout*, with a view to ascertain his opinion of the Canon, he has a right to expect, that no doubt may be raised upon his positive declaration. I shall therefore chiefly follow him in this section, with the exception of some of his views, in regard to which I am of a different opinion :—as to the others, his observations shall be enlarged by additions.

(e) The ZÜRICH LIBRARY, (Th. 1. S. 178.) objects : “ Philo does not cite the Apocrypha. But as little as his silence on some canonical Scriptures proves, that they were not in the Canon of the Egyptian Jews ; so little does his silence on the Apocrypha prove this of them.” Entirely correct : an argument derived from *silence* no one will call strong ; but it does not deserve, however, to be passed over. Still it is

Whoever examines the Indexes to the editions of Philo, particularly the edition of MANGEX, will find in them, it is true, so many passages quoted from the Apocryphal writings of the Old Testament, that Philo might seem to have made great use of them. Yet the passages cited in the Indexes, here as well as elsewhere, are very deceptive. Some refer

certainly a remarkable fact, that Philo quotes no one of our apocryphal books, although they were so near to him, and the contents, at least of of one, was so well suited to his purpose. Had there been *none* adapted to his spirit of *allegorising*: what could be founded upon their not being used? But now, his silence concerning them must at least attract attention to such.

“The circumstance proves, that Philo never quotes these books, but not that he rejects them. Some, perhaps, that were most congenial with his meditations, had not yet been published; as the WISDOM OF SOLOMON, (which some are so ready to ascribe to him.)” And yet the Author asserts in the very next page, that even Josephus may have met with the Wisdom of Solomon, the third book of Esdras, Tobit, Baruch, Additions to Daniel and Esther, appended to the Greek Bible. And the Grecian Jew, Philo, was not acquainted with the books: the so well-read Philo was so unread in the writings of his own nation!!!

“Others,” the Author proceeds, “he never had occasion to quote;” —which certainly is very probable, of many apocryphal, as it is of some canonical books. “Furthermore, he might reject the Apocrypha, without therefore deciding on the opinion of the Grecian Synagogue concerning them. Even the historical contents of the Sacred Scriptures he did not highly esteem, and his way of thinking, as he had formed it by the Platonick Philosophy, was perhaps as different from the way of thinking among other Jews, as that of Maimonides, Orobios, and Moses Mendelssohn, from the views and opinions of their Jewish cotemporaries.” But did he dare in this case to promulge it in writings? Did he dare to depart from the faith of his whole nation, without incurring the severe consequences of a grievous heresy? Have the Jews of superior intelligence who are named, and any not named, publicly promulged in writings their departure from their nation's faith; or have they done so without great opposition? Besides, it is indeed assumed only as *probable*, that his opinion of the Canon may have been the national opinion; his scattered expressions, indeed, are collected, only with a view to ascertain what the most learned and famous man among the Alexandrain Jews thought of the Hebrew Scriptures; and as there are no traces of his having departed, in *writings*, from the faith and opinions of his nation, it is accordingly presumed, that in him may be found even the opinions of his EGYPTIAN CONTEMPORARIES on the Canon.

merely to notes of the editor, in which sometimes a word, sometimes a various reading is illustrated by a passage of an apocryphal book ; (*f*) but sometimes such passages are referred to, because Philo has asserted something, either *similar* (*g*) or *directly the reverse*. (*h*)

§. 16.

2. *Philo on the CANONICAL writings of the Old Testament.*

HORNEMANN arranges the books of the Old Testament, according to the expressions used by Philo, in THREE CLASSES :

1. *Books, which are cited with the express addition, that they were of divine origin.*
2. *Books, which are but casually cited.*
3. *Books, which he never mentions.*

We shall indeed here also collect Philo's opinions on the writings of the Old Testament, severally, in the order stated ; but distinguish with precision those books that Philo does not speak of decidedly, which HORNEMANN has not always done.

§. 17.

FIRST CLASS. *Writings, to which Philo attributes a divine origin.*

All the books, which are of divine origin according to Philo, are in his phraseology WORKS OF PROPHETS. Yet he does not always apply to the authors of such the appellation

(*f*) HORNEMANN, *de canone Philonis*, has culled, from the Indexes, (p. 31. *note n.*) the passages of this class, which, however, to save room, I shall not transcribe.

(*g*) See the Collection of these passages at the place cited, p. 29. *note m.*

(*h*) The same, p. 31. *note mm.*

προφήτης [PROPHET], but varies it for προφήτης ἀνὴρ, ἱεροφάντης, ἑσπέρσιος ἀνὴρ, Μωϋσέως Διασώτης, τις τῶν φοιτητῶν Μωσέως, Μωϋσέως ἑταίρος, τοῦ προφητικοῦ Διασώτης χοροῦ, [prophetick man, hierophant, holy man, associate of Moses, one of the attendants of Moses, companion of Moses, member of the prophetick choir], all of which, with him, are perfect synonymes of προφήτης [PROPHET].

The books themselves he calls, sometimes ἱερὰ γράφα [Sacred Scriptures], sometimes ἱερὰ βιβλα [Sacred Books], sometimes ἱερὸς λόγος [Sacred Word], sometimes ἱερῶτατον γράμμα [Most Sacred Writing], sometimes τὰ ἱεροφαντηδέντα [the hierophant words], sometimes προφητικὸς λόγος [Prophetick Word] or προφητικὰ ῥήματα [Prophetick Sayings], sometimes λόγιον [Oracle] alone, or λόγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ [Oracle of God], sometimes χρησμός [Response], or τὸ χρησθῆν [the Response]. With him all these are synonymes, as appears partly from the expressions themselves, and partly from a comparison of the passages where they occur.

To apprehend these expressions in the spirit of Philo, and to be able thoroughly to investigate the opinions which they convey, in regard to the sacred books of his nation, we must here premise his exalted views of a prophet. With him, PROPHETS are *interpreters of God* (ἑρμηνεῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ), instruments of God, which he employs to make known that which he wishes to have made known. They deliver nothing that is their own, but mere extraneous things, communicated to them by God, through inward operations. As long as a prophet is rapt, of himself he knows nothing; if the divine spirit has only first taken possession of him; it then acts upon his soul, as well as upon his organs of speech—upon the *former* to reveal to it *things unknown*; upon the *latter*, so that they give utterance to *those words* which it imparts. (i)

(i) PHILO *de monarchia*, lib. 1. Opp. Tom. 1. p. 222. M. p. 320. Fr. After having spoken of Moses, he proceeds: ἑρμηνεῖς γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ προφῆται Θεοῦ, καταχρησάμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνων ἰσχύουσιν πρὸς δόξασι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἰσχυροῦς *De legibus special.*, Opp. T. II. p. 343. προφῆται δὲ μὴν γὰρ

In fine, according to his opinion, Moses was the greatest prophet. If then Philo intends to speak of the inspiration of any writer in very strong terms, he makes the prophetick spirit of Moses the standard, by which he estimates the prophetick spirit of that writer. Hence the expressions: Μωυσέως ἑταῖρος, Μωυσέως διασώτης, τις τῶν φοιτητῶν Μωσέως, [companion of Moses, associate of Moses, one of the attendants of Moses.]

§. 18.

The FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES, JOSHUA, FIRST BOOK OF SAMUEL, EZRA.

Of MOSES and his five books, Philo expresses himself in very strong terms. He calls Moses, sometimes προφήτης [PROPHET], sometimes ἱεροφάντης [Hierophant] (*k*), and the like; his inspiration is the standard by which he estimates the inspiration of other writers. (§. 17.) His WRITINGS he calls προφητικὸς λόγος [Prophetick Word], or ἱερὰ βιβλία

οὐδὲν ἕτι ἀποφάνεται (ἀποφθίγγεται) τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἴσιν ἱερμυδὲς ἐπιβάλλοντες ἰτίεον πᾶσιδ' ἕνα προφῆτην, καὶ καθ' ἕν χροῖον ἡδουσιῶ γεγονῶσι ἐν ἀγροῖα, μετανασταμῆου μὴ τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ παρακωρηκίτες τῆν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀερέσκων ἐπιπρωτικότες δὲ καὶ ἰνοικνότες τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν φωνῆς ὄργανοποιῶσαν κροῦντες δὲ καὶ ἐπαχούτες ἐκ ἐναρῶν δάλασιν ἂν προδισκίξω. *Quis verum divin. haecres ois*, Opp. T. i. p. 510. M. p. 517. Fr.: προφῆτης γὰρ ἴδιον μὴ οὐδὲν ἀποφθίγγεται, ἀλλότρη δὲ πάντα, ὑπαχούτος ἰτίεον. *De practiis et roepis*, Opp. T. ii. p. 417. M. p. 918. Fr. ἱερμυδὲς γὰρ ἴσιν ὁ προφῆτης, ἰδοῦν ὑπαχούτος τὰ λεκτῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ.

(*k*) PHILO *Alleg.*, l. ii. Opp. T. ii. p. 66. M. p. 1087. Fr. ὁ προφῆτης. *Alleg.*, l. iii. Opp. T. i. p. 117. M. p. 89. Fr. ὁ ἱεροφάντης. *ibid.*, Opp. T. i. p. 121. M. p. 92. Fr. ὁ ἱεροφάντης καὶ προφῆτης. *De gigant.*, Opp. T. i. p. 270. M. p. 291. Fr. ὁ ἱεροφάντης ὄργαν καὶ διδάκαλος θύλων, &c. HORNEMANN, pp. 34. 35., has collected several passages, in which the quoted expressions are varied for others of the same meaning, and which, for the sake of brevity, I omit.

[Sacred Books], &c. (l) He also allegorizes particular passages of all the five books, and all citations from them are made in the same exalted terms. GENESIS he calls *ιερά γραφή* [Sacred Writings] (m); the SECOND BOOK OF MOSES *ιερά βιβλος* [Sacred Book] (n); the THIRD *ιερός λόγος* [Sacred Word] (o); and the FOURTH *ιερώτατον γράμμα* [Most Sacred Writing] (p); and lastly, the FIFTH book, *χρησμός* [Oracle] (q); and *ιερός λόγος* [Sacred Word] (r)

The book of JOSHUA is denominated *λόγιον τοῦ ἰλω Θεῷ* [Oracle of the Gracious God], on the occasion when Ch. i. 5. is cited. (s)

From the FIRST BOOK OF SAMUEL, which Philo, after the manner of all writers who use the Septuagint, calls the *first book of Kings*, Ch. II. 2. is cited with the formula: *ὡς ὁ ἱερός λόγος φησὶν* [as the Sacred Word saith]. (t)

From the BOOK OF EZRA Ch. VIII. 2. is quoted, and the contents of the cited passage are called: *τὰ ἐν βασιλικαῖς βιβλαῖς ἱεροφανηθέντα* [the hierophant words in the royal books]. (u)

(l) *Allegor.*, lib. III. p. 92. M. p. 68. Fr. *de Plant. Noc.*, Opp. T. I. p. 347. M. p. 230. Fr. *de congressu quæc. erudit. gratia*, Opp. T. I. p. 543. M. p. 448. Fr. *ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος. de vita Moysis*, lib. III. Opp. T. II. p. 163. M. p. 681. Fr. *ιερά βιβλος*. On this also, HORHEMANN has several passages, p. 36., in which these expressions are varied for others of like signification.

(m) *De mundi Opif.*, Opp. T. I. p. 18. M. p. 16. Fr. For similar expressions, see *de Abrah.*, p. I. T. II. M. p. 349. Fr. *Resipuit Noc.*, T. I. p. 400. M. p. 281. Fr., &c.

(n) *De migrat. Abrah.*, Opp. T. I. p. 438. M. p. 390. Fr., &c.

(o) *Lib. III. Alleg.*, T. I. Opp. p. 85. M. p. 1007. Fr. *De somniis*, Opp. T. I. p. 633. M. p. 677. Fr.

(p) *De eo quod Deus sit immutab.*, Opp. T. I. p. 273. M. p. 249. Fr. *De migrat. Abrah.*, Opp. T. I. p. 457. M. p. 409. Fr.

(q) *De migrat. Abr.*, Opp. T. I. p. 464. M. p. 405. Fr.

(r) *De somniis*, Opp. T. I. p. 657. M. p. 601. Fr.

(s) *De confus. ling.*, Opp. T. I. p. 430. M. p. 344. Fr.

(t) *De temulent.*, Opp. T. I. p. 379. M. p. 261. Fr.

(u) *De confus. linguarum*, Opp. T. I. p. 427. M. p. 341. Fr.

§. 19.

ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, HOSEA, ZECHARIAH, PSALMS,
PROVERBS.

The prophet ISAIAH Philo calls ὁ πάλαι προφήτης [the ancient Prophet], (v) and his prophecies προφητικὰ ῥήματα [Prophetick Sayings]. (w)

JEREMIAH he denominates προφήτης, μύστης, ἱεροφάντης, [Prophet, Initiated, Hierophant], and the passage Ch. III. 4. which he adduces, he calls χρησμός [Oracle]. (x) In another place, Jeremiah is described as “a member of the prophetick choir, who spake in ecstasy:” τοῦ προφητικοῦ διασώτης χοροῦ, ὅς κατακτυσθεὶς ἐνδουσιῶν ἀνεφδέγξατο. (y) And elsewhere he says, that God, “the Father of all things, hath spoken by the prophetick mouth of Jeremiah:” ὁ πατήρ τῶν ὅλων ἐδέξατο (διὰ προφητικοῦ στόματος Ἰερεμίου). (z)

Of the MINOR PROPHETS, two only are cited in the works of Philo: HOSEA and ZECHARIAH.

HOSEA XIV. 8. Philo calls χρησθὲν παρὰ τινι τῶν προφητῶν [an Oracle of a certain Prophet], (a) and Hos. XIV. 24. στόματι προφητικῷ δασκισθέντα διάπυρον χρησμὸν [the glowing oracle, uttered by the prophetick mouth]. (b) ZECHARIAH he denominates, on citing Ch. VI. 12., Μωσέως ἑταῖρος, [companion of Moses]. (c)

The PSALMS are largely quoted by Philo; but, for the most part, without the addition of their high origin. DAVID is honoured with the same epithets as Moses; he is called, some-

(v) *De Somniis*, Opp. T. I. p. 681. M. p. 1132. Fr.

(w) *De mutat. nom.*, Opp. T. I. p. 604. M. p. 1071. Fr.

(x) *De Cherubim*, Opp. T. I. p. 147. 148. M. p. 116. Fr.

(y) *De confus. lingu.*, Opp. T. I. p. 411. M. p. 326. Fr.

(z) *De profugis*, Opp. T. I. p. 575. M. p. 479. Fr.

(a) *De plantat. Noe*, Opp. T. I. p. 350. M. p. 233. Fr.

(b) *De mutat. nom.*, Opp. T. I. p. 599. M. p. 1066. Fr.

(c) *De confus. lingu.*, Opp. T. I. p. 414. M. p. 329. Fr.

times *προφήτης* [Prophet], (*d*) sometimes *προφήτης ἀγιός* [prophetick man], (*e*) sometimes *θεσπίσιος ἀγιός* [holy man], (*f*) sometimes "associate of Moses, who was not an inferior:" *Μωυσέως διασώτης ὃς οὐχι τῶν ἡμελημένων ἦν*; (*g*) sometimes *ἐταῖρος Μωυσέως*. (*h*)

Of SOLOMON, as author of the Proverbs, he expresses himself just as highly. He calls him a member *ἐκ τοῦ θείου χοροῦ* [of the divine choir], (*i*) and in another place *εἰς τῶν φοιτησῶν Μωσέως* [one of the attendants of Moses]. (*k*)

§. 20.

SECOND CLASS. *Writings of which Philo makes only casual mention, without the addition of a divine origin.*

From the BOOK OF JUDGES—(*ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ἀναγεγραφομένη βίβλος* [the Record-book of the Judges], Philo calls it—) Ch. viii. 9. is quoted, according to the Septuagint. (*l*)

JOB xiv. 4. he merely interweaves with his own text, without further addition. (*m*)

The FIRST BOOK OF KINGS, (the *third*, according to Philo and the Septuagint) is repeatedly quoted. (*n*)

(*d*) *De agricult.*, Opp. T. i. p. 308. M. p. 195. Fr.

(*e*) *Quis rerum divin. hæres sit*, Opp. T. i. p. 515. M. p. 522. Fr.

(*f*) *De plant. Noe*, Opp. T. i. p. 344. M. p. 218. Fr. compare *de mundo*, Opp. T. ii. p. 608. M. p. 1157. Fr.

(*g*) *De plantat. Noe*, ed. Fr. p. 219.

(*h*) *Quod a Deo militantur somnia*, Opp. T. i. p. 691. M. p. 1141. Fr.

(*i*) *De ebrietate*, Opp. T. i. p. 362. M. p. 244. Fr.

(*k*) *De congressu quaer. crud. gratia*, Opp. T. i. p. 544. M. 449. Fr.

(*l*) *De confus. lingu.*, Opp. T. i. p. 424. M. p. 339. Fr. [The periphrasis here mentioned occurs a few lines before the quotation, near the bottom of p. 338. in the Frankfort edition. Tr.]

(*m*) *De mutat. nom.*, Opp. T. i. p. 584. M. p. 1051. Fr.

(*n*) *De Gigant.*, Opp. T. i. p. 274. M. p. 295. Fr. Compare 1 Sam. ii. 5. *De ebriet.*, Opp. T. i. p. 380. M. p. 261. 262. F. comp. 1 Sam. i. 14. 15. *De migrat. Abr.*, Opp. T. i. p. 467. M. p. 418. Fr.; comp. 1 Sam. x. 22. *De mutat. nom.*, Opp. T. i. p. 600. M. 1067. Fr.; comp.

Even many particular PSALMS are merely cited, without mention being made of a high origin. (o)

§. 21.

THIRD CLASS. *Writings, of which Philo makes no mention whatsoever.*

Philo never speaks of:—1. NEHEMIAH; 2. RUTH; 3. ESTHER; 4. CHRONICLES; 5. DANIEL; 6. LAMENTATIONS; 7. ECCLESIASTES; 8. The SONG OF SOLOMON.

§. 22.

Some notes and results of the preceding investigation.

I. Among the Jewish Scriptures, the divine origin of which Philo expressly recognises, we may however, very probably even in Philo's sense, enumerate the following:—

I. The SECOND BOOK OF SAMUEL, and the TWO BOOKS OF KINGS; for he calls the first book of Samuel *ιστην λογον* [the

1 Sam. II. 6. *Quod Deus sit imm.*, Opp. T. I. p. 293. M. p. 313. Fr. comp. 1 Kings XVII. 10. 18; IX. 9. *De migrat. Abr.*, Opp. T. I. p. 441. M. p. 394. Fr. *Quis rerum divin. haeres sit*, Opp. T. I. p. 483. M. p. 491. Fr. comp. 1 Kings, IX. 9.

(o) *Quod Deus sit immut.*, Opp. T. I. p. 284. M. p. 304. Fr. comp. Ps. CI. 1; LXXV. 8;—and there, the following pages, comp. Ps. LXIII. 11. *De migrat. Abrah.*, Opp. T. I. p. 460. M. p. 412. F. comp. Ps. LXXX. 5; XLII. 3. *De mutat. nom.*, Opp. T. I. p. 596. M. p. 1062. F.; comp. Ps. XXII. 1. *Quod a Deo mitt. somnia*, Opp. T. I. p. 632. M. p. 576. F. comp. Ps. XXVI. 1. *De confus. ling.*, Opp. T. I. p. 411. M. p. 327. F. comp. Ps. XLIV. 13. *De profugis*, Opp. T. I. p. 595. M. p. 459. F. comp. Ps. CXIII. 25. *De somniis*, Opp. T. I. p. 691. M. 1141. F. comp. Ps. XLVI. 5. From these passages it is clear, that all books of Psalms, which were collected at different times, are cited by Philo.

Sacred Word], (§. 18.) Now he considers, with all writers who follow the Septuagint, the two books of Samuel, and the two books of Kings, as a *whole* or as *one book*, which they divide into *four parts* or *four books*. Thus, whoever declares the first of these four books to be *ἱερός λόγος* [the Sacred Word], declares also the other three to be so.

2. ALL TWELVE MINOR PROPHETS. As far back as we can trace the literary history of the Bible, the twelve minor prophets have ever been regarded as *ONE BOOK*; Ecclus. XLIX. 10. Whoever, therefore, quotes only *ONE* of the Minor Prophets—(and Philo cites two of them, with the express recognition of a divine origin,) §. 19.)—virtually cites *ALL*.

II. As PHILO was certainly acquainted with the apocryphal books, but has never quoted any one of them; (§. 15.) it can be safely assumed, that *ALL* writings of his nation, which he thinks proper *only to quote*, he considers authentick, ancient, and sacred Scriptures. Thus, even a *mere citation* of a book is evidence to us, that Philo had it in his Canon; and the books which, with a view to be impartial, we have hitherto classed according to the manner of their being cited, we may without doubt throw into *ONE CLASS*.

III. As a consequence of this, the following books *it is certain* belonged to the Canon of Philo, or of the Egyptian Jews:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES. | 7. ISAIAH. |
| 2. JOSHUA. | 8. JEREMIAH. |
| 3. JUDGES. | 9. 12 MINOR PROPHETS. |
| 4. 2 BOOKS OF SAMUEL. | 10. PSALMS. |
| 5. 2 BOOKS OF KINGS. | 11. PROVERBS. |
| 6. EZRA. | 12. JOB. |

IV. Even the others *MAY* have stood in the Egyptian Canon. Probably RUTH was an appendix to the book of Judges; NEHEMIAH the second part of Ezra; and the LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH, it is probable, were appended to his prophecies, as in Palestine (§. 10. 11. and 42), &c.

Philo is only silent on this point, as he is on the existence of the books. Our knowledge of the Egyptian Canon is thus not complete. But neither this want of completeness, nor the silence of Philo, can weaken the canonical authority of any book, as long as it is warranted by no other considerations. (§. 14.)

§. 23.

Canon of the Therapeutae.

In conclusion, it is scarcely worth while to examine, what books particular Jewish sects in Egypt may have comprised in their Canon; it belongs rather to the history of their opinions, than to the history of the Canon. In our investigation, moreover, merely the opinion of the greater part of the Jews, but not of the several sects among them, can be of weight. It is, however, very probable, that on the subject of the Canon, at least the fanatical THERAPEUTÆ did *not* differ from the rest of the Egyptian Jews. (§. 11.) (*p*)

III. CANON OF THE JEWS IN PALESTINE.

§. 24.

Sources. Canon of the Sadducees and Samaritans.

At the time of Christ and the Apostles, among the different sects and parties into which the Jews in Palestine were divided, there appears to have been no dispute as to the number of their sacred books. The Fathers indeed suggest, that

(*p*) See the passage cited from PHILO, in §. 11.—But JOSEPHUS *de bello Jud.*, l. II. c. 8. §. 6. at the end, and §. 12. cannot be used in proof. It says nothing further, than that the ESSENES had sacred books.

the Sadducees may be supposed to have rejected all writings of the Old Testament, except the Five Books of Moses; (q) and some modern critics recognise this conjecture as probable, because Jesus, on a certain occasion, sought to prove to the Sadducees the resurrection of the dead (which they called in question), not from the Prophets and Hagiographa, but merely from the books of Moses, just as if they attributed to the former no authority, and no weight in the decision of a doubtful question. (r)

If the Sadducean sect arose in those ancient times, when at first a part only of our writings of the Old Testament was extant, then a difference of opinion on their part, in regard to the number of the books which belonged to it, admits of being readily explained: they received only those Scriptures, which were recognised as sacred before their separation, but rejected all others, because the authors of them may have been Jews not belonging to their sect. But as they first separated from the great mass at a time, when the Collection of Sacred Books among the Jews had already been long determined as to its extent, and their Canon had been completed; as it must not have been difficult for them to reconcile their tenets with ALL Writings of the Old Testament, when they accorded with the contents of the books of Moses: a departure from the opinion of other Jews, on this point, was not to be expected, and is hard to explain.

Josephus, who was so minutely informed of the doctrines of the Pharisees, knew of no opinion peculiar to the Sadducees on this point. He relates merely, that rejecting all tradition, they adhered only to the WRITTEN LAW, (s) not stating how many books they reckoned in their sacred national writ-

(q) JEROME in *Matth.*; ORIGEN *contra Celsum*, lib. I.

(r) *Matth.* XIII. 23; RICH. SIMON, *Hist. Crit. du V. T.*, liv. I. c. 16.

(s) JOSEPHUS, in *Antiqq.*, lib. XIII. c. 18; according to *Havercamp*, [and *Hudson*], lib. XIII. c. 10. §. 6. [They allege, that "what is written ought to be considered the law, but that what is derived from the tradition of the fathers is not to be observed." Tr.]

ings. And if he mentions the doctrines, by which the Sadducees were distinguished from the Pharisees, he does not however let even one word escape, from which it might be inferred, that these two sects may have thought differently, in regard to the number of their sacred books. How could Sadducees have occupied the station of High Priest, if they had deviated, on so important a point, from the faith of the whole nation? And after a Sadducean family, before and at the time of Christ, had for a long while appropriated to itself this preferment, how could they have sanctioned the reading of the Haphtaroth after the Pareshioth, if they had not attributed to the Prophets the same authority which they ascribed to Moses? And if we may find any thing on the subjects agitated by the Pharisees and Sadducees in the Talmud, then indeed Rabbi Gamaliel * argued the resurrection of the dead, not only from the books of Moses, but even from the Prophets and the Hagiographa, without his opponents, the Sadducees, having objected to the authority and the weight of the latter in theological controversies. Nay, more than this, they endeavoured, on the admission of the authority of these books, to weaken the force of the cited passages from other considerations. In such circumstances, a conjecture of the Fathers cannot at all invalidate the opinion, that the views of the Sadducees and Pharisees were similar, as to the number of the sacred national books. And if Christ, in disputing with the Sadducees, proved the resurrection of the dead, by the five books of Moses only, this may have been merely accidental. (t)

* [The passage here referred to is *Sanhedrin*, f. 90. 2; and is given by MEUSCHEN, in his *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude et antiquitatibus Hebraeorum illustratum*. See his illustration of Matth. xxii. 29. See also JAHN'S *Biblical Archaeology* (translated by Upham), P. III. c. 1. §. 322. Tr.]

(t) BASNAGE, *Histoire des Juifs*, T. II. P. 1. p. 326 ff., and from him BRUCKER, *hist. crit. Phil.* T. II. p. 721., have decided this question in the same manner. BASNAGE, with a view not to let the good Fathers be silenced, would only assume, that the Sadducees ascribed a much

It was therefore the Samaritans alone, who received the Pentateuch only, and rejected all other writings of our present Canon. Even if the cause of their rejection were unknown,* yet nothing would result from this, against the present extent of the Hebrew Canon. They can inform us only of the private opinion of their body, and not of that of the Jews. This can be ascertained, only from the NEW TESTAMENT, JOSEPHUS, and the Christian Writers of the first century after the birth of Christ, from a MELITO, an ORIGEN, a JEROME, and from the TALMUD. Even the later Fathers are too recent for our investigation.

§. 25.

The New Testament.

The New Testament, in numberless passages refers to the Old, but nowhere enumerates its several constituent parts. In truth, this was not to be expected. If Christ and the Apostles refer to the WHOLE, every one at that time knew, and if he did not know, yet it was in his power to ascertain with requisite certainty, WHAT BOOKS and HOW MANY were comprehended in it. We must therefore avail ourselves merely of casual citations of particular parts of it; and for the very reason that they are merely casual, no full † view of the Old Testament Canon, as to its whole extent and as to all its larger and smaller parts, can be expected from the New Testament. If not the slightest trace of many particular books

greater authority to the Writings of Moses, than to the rest; but BRUCKER has already given the proper answer: that there is to be found no proof of this, and there is no necessity, on account of any Fathers, to make use of this desperate resort. It is possible, they were mistaken.

* [Our author has treated of this, in his Introduction to the O. T. Vol. II. §. 383., *On the age of the Samaritan Pentateuch.* Tr.]

† [See the APPENDIX to this Treatise, Note [A]. Tr.]

of our present Canon of the Old Testament is discovered in the New ; this does not accordingly pronounce their sentence of condemnation. For the argument, derived from silence, could then only be demonstrated, if it were practicable to show, that Christ and the Apostles *must* have spoken of each book in particular.

§. 26.

Quotations in the New Testament.

The Quotations of the Old Testament in the New are of two kinds. * Some books are quoted for the establishment of religious truths ; *thus*, by the use which is made of them, they are declared to be divine : these, therefore, without controversy, are held to be Canonical. Others are only cited by the way, sometimes for illustration, sometimes for parallels. To the first class, without dispute, belong the books of MOSES, ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, and the PSALMS ; to the second, all our other canonical books of the Old Testament, except the book of JUDGES, ECCLESIASTES, THE SONG OF SOLOMON, ESTHER, EZRA, and NEHEMIAH, which are not once cited.

§. 27.

2. *Josephus.* Born A. D. 37.

JOSEPHUS, next to the New Testament, is the principal writer whom it is necessary to consult, in examining the Canon of Palestine. He was † a cotemporary of the Apostles, and

* [See the APPENDIX, Note [B]. Tr.]

† [On the *life, writings, and credibility* of Josephus, and also on his *Hebrew learning*, the best references are given by DE WETTE in his *Archæology* (in *German*), the introductory part, §. 7. Tr.]

as a priest, must have had the best knowledge of the Canon of his nation, since in the temple, as it appears, there was reposed a genuine collection of the canonical books. (§. 28.) He was, moreover, a sagacious investigator of truth, who certainly has avoided reckoning among the sacred Scriptures of his nation, any book that was not generally acknowledged to be so, lest he might increase the number of objections to the Jewish History. (u) It is therefore much to be regretted, that he nowhere fully exhibits all the books of his Canon, and except a general comprehensive enumeration, only permits himself, here and there to let fall, toward a precise determination of it, a few passing words.

§. 28.

Whether he presents the general opinion of his brethren, as to the Canon of the Old Testament.

He has never applied the word *Kanōn* to the collection of the sacred books of his nation; it was not extant in this sense at his day. But he speaks of "sacred books, composed by prophets, before the death of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and reposed in the temple." (v) This might indeed have been Josephus' actual view of what we call *Kanōn*.

And as he exhibits this view, it is manifest, that as a Pharisee, he entertained no opinion of the Canon of the Old Testament, which deviated from the opinion of his other brethren; or, if he were inclined to a peculiar opinion, that he does not advance it, at least in the passage mentioned. The very context, in which his notice of the Canonical collection of the Writings of his nation stands, and the general comprehensive

(u) Read his celebrated passage *contra Ap.*, lib. 1. §. 8. at the commencement.

(v) See below, §. 36. note (a), *contra Ap.*, lib. 1. §. 8. Ἄπο Μωϋσέως κ. τ. λ.

expression does not admit of our doubting on the subject. Thus he says, for instance: "Since Artaxerxes up to our times, all has indeed been committed to writing; but these Scriptures are not held to be as worthy of credit as those written at an earlier period." Had Josephus wished to present his own opinion of the Canon, differing from that which prevailed, he would undoubtedly have expressed himself in terms more restricted: "I do not consider them to be as worthy of credit as the former," or "the Pharisees do not consider them to be as worthy of credit as the former"—especially, as he elsewhere accurately distinguishes general and particular opinions.

In fine, from many passages, at least of his Antiquities, it is probable, that although he had attached himself to the sect of the Pharisees in his youth, he left it in his maturer years. Now as he wrote his books against Apion at a later period than his Antiquities, he cannot possibly there follow the principles of the Pharisees. (w)

§. 29.

Principal Passage.

JOSEPHUS, in the celebrated passage against Apion, designs to prove the credibility of the Hebrew historians, and of the history itself at the same time. He refers therefore, partly to the accordance of profane history with that of the Jews, partly to the great care with which the historical books of his nation had been composed. None of the Hebrew historical books stands in contradiction to the others, because not every person was permitted at pleasure to record the Hebrew history, but PROPHETS were the only historians of the nation. Then

(w) SPITTLER de usu Versionis Alexandrinae apud Josephum. Göttingen, 1779. pp. 4, 5.

commences the important passage, which is given also by EUSEBIUS with some trifling variations. (x)

Οὐ γὰρ μυριάδες βιβλίων εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, * ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων· δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία, τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὰ δικαίως θεῖα (y) πεπιστευμένα. Καὶ τούτων πέντε μὲν εἰς τὰ Μωϋσείως, ἃ τοὺς τε νόμους περιέχει καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν, μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς. Οὗτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἔτων. Ἐκ τῆς Μωϋσείως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Αἰγυπτίου, τοῦ μετὰ Πέρσην Περσῶν βασιλέως, ἀρχῆς, (z) οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσῆν προφήται τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις. Αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν. Ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα· πίστεως δὲ οὐχ ἰσότητος ἕξινται τῆς † πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν. Ἄλλοι δ' εἰς ἕργα, πῶς ἡμῶς τοῖς ἰδίοις γράμμασι πεπιστεύκαμεν. ‡ Τούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρεληλύθη, οὔτε προσθεῖναι τις οὐδέν, (a) οὔτε ἀφελθῆναι (b) αὐτῶν, οὔτε μεταθεῖναι σφαλμάτων. Πᾶσι δὲ σύμφυτον ἐστὶν εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίως, τὸ νομίζεσθαι (c) αὐτὰ Θεοῦ δόγματα, καὶ τούτους ἐμμένειν, (d) καὶ ὑπερῶν αὐτῶν, εἰ δεῖ, θήσκειν ἡδέως.

“For we have not innumerable books, which contradict each other; but only twenty-two, which comprise the history of all times past, and are justly held to be credible, (*according*

(x) JOSEPHUS *contra Ap.*, lib. 1. §. 8; compare EUSEBIUS in his *Hist. Eccl.* lib. 10. p. m. 103. 104. [The passage in EUSEBIUS is to be found in Book III. c. 10., at the beginning, Tr.]

* [Οὐ μυριάδες οὐν εἰσι βιβλίων παρ' ἡμῖν, according to EUSEBIUS. Tr.]

(y) The word *θεῖα* is wanting in the ancient editions of JOSEPHUS; it has been introduced from EUSEBIUS in modern times.

(z) Most Cod. MSS. of JOSEPHUS and EUSEBIUS omit this *ἀρχῆς*. [It is omitted in the *Meyers* edition of Eusebius, *en.* 1672. Tr.] See below, §. 30.

† [τοῖς in EUSEBIUS, and in *Hudson's* edition of Josephus. Tr.]

‡ [πῶς ἡμῶς πρόκειται τοῖς ἰδίοις γράμμασι, in EUSEBIUS. Tr.]

(a) Οὐδέν is wanting in EUSEBIUS. The sense is the same.

(b) EUSEBIUS has: ἀφελθῆναι ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

(c) The false reading *ἰσομάζω αὐτὰ* has been thus corrected from EUSEBIUS.

(d) In EUSEBIUS, *ἰτημίτιν*.

to EUSEBIUS : and are justly held to be divine). Five of these books proceed from Moses ; they contain laws, and accounts of the origin of men, and extend to his death. Accordingly, they include not much less than a period of three thousand years. From the death of Moses onward to the reign of Artaxerxes, (according to EUSEBIUS : from the death of Moses to the death of Artaxerxes), who, after Xerxes, reigned over the Persians, the prophets who lived after Moses have recorded, in thirteen books, what happened in their time. The other four books contain Songs of praise to God, and Rules of life for man. Since Artaxerxes up to our time, every thing has been recorded : but these writings are not held to be *so* worthy of credit, as those written earlier, because after that time there was no regular succession of prophets. What faith we attribute to our Scriptures is manifest in our conduct. For although so great a period has already elapsed, no one has yet undertaken, either to add any thing, or to take away, or to alter any thing. For it is, so to speak, innate with all Jews, [from their very birth], to hold these books to be God's instructions, and firmly to stand by them, nay, if necessity required, gladly to die in their behalf."

§. 30.

Why Josephus closes the Canon of the Old Testament with Artaxerxes Longimanus.

As a consequence of this passage, Josephus reckons all those Writings among the canonical, which were written from the time of Moses until the reign of ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS. With the reign (*ἀρχή*) of Artaxerxes Longimanus the collection was closed—a very general determination, by which, even Writings that were composed *during* Artaxerxes' reign belong to the canon. It is worth while to examine, why Josephus expressed himself in terms so general ?

Had he known a YEAR, in which the Canon had been completed in a solemn manner, or a PERSON who had established it, he would certainly have specified this more precise determination of time. Most probably, both were unknown to

him. Notwithstanding this, he was obliged and he also wished to state the time, since which no books had been written, in as great a degree worthy of credit—there was therefore no means remaining, but to take the collection itself, to ascertain the latest book in it, and to determine the time to which this belonged. Now the BOOK OF ESTHER was either *actually*, or at least in *the opinion of Josephus*, the latest among them all; it belonged, either *actually*, or at least in *the opinion of Josephus*, to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus; (e) accordingly, he closes the canon with his reign. (f)

(e) Of this we have JOSEPHUS' own acknowledgment; *Antiq.*, xi. c. 6. §. 1. ff. Ἐγγράφῃ δὲ Μαθηταῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείᾳ ζῶσιν Ἰουδαίους, ταύτας παραφιλίσσων τὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἱερτὴν ἔργον αὐτάς, κ. τ. λ. [These words occur near the close of §. 13: And Mordecai wrote to the Jews who lived under the reign of Artaxerxes, to observe these days, and to commemorate them by a festival. —Tr.]

(f) The ZURICH LIBRARY objects: "The book of ESTHER Josephus professes to enumerate in the Canon, together with *all* books written under Artaxerxes, and with this he would close the Canon; as if he could not close it with NEHEMIAH, whose history necessarily goes back to the beginning of Artaxerxes' reign, or with MALACHI, whose real time is not known! Both might have been written under the Artaxerxes of Josephus. The book of Esther was probably first written after Artaxerxes, under whom the historical facts purport to have taken place. Already indeed, as is mentioned in the tenth Chapter, there was on record, in the Chronicles of the Persian Kings, all that had taken place, after the elevation of Mordecai, as long as Mordecai sat at the helm. At least, that is alleged. And if we even refer to the Greek subscription in the Supplement, the book was first published by an unknown person, in a translation, at the time of the Ptolemies in Egypt." So far the long objection,—to the force of which nothing more is wanting, than that *our* opinion of the time, to which the book of Esther, or the history of it belongs, or that the opinion of the *Author of the Greek translation* on this point should influence the question agitated. All results in JOSEPHUS' views of it; he must still be his own interpreter; and according to his express declaration, the book of Esther belongs to the time of Artaxerxes. He could not close the Canon of the Old Testament with NEHEMIAH, because he placed him and his historical book in the time of XERXES. Nor could Josephus make MALACHI the most recent book, (even were it the most recent), because it was unknown to him, under which Persian reign HE may have promulgated his account's.

“But why does he not rather say: *ESTHER* is the latest book?” Perhaps, because this determination of the time, when the Canon became complete, was not generally understood, and it was requisite previously to examine anew, what was the date of the book of *ESTHER*; perhaps, with a view to elude the objection: that *ESTHER* was not found at the end! In truth, *ESTHER* might have always been the latest book, and yet not occupy the last place in the Canon, because, according to the plan of the collector of the Canon, the Supplementary Records of the whole scripture history, the *BOOKS OF CHRONICLES*, must have closed the collection, and moreover, according to the New * Testament, it did then actually close it, as in our present editions.

How many difficulties are removed by this remark founded on the writings of *Josephus*, and how many questions are at once answered by it, may be *perceived* on its application to the modern controversies relative to the Canon.

According to *Eusebius* and most manuscripts of *Josephus*, the Canon of the Old Testament was first closed *with the DEATH of ARTAXERXES*—a determination, which does not much differ, at least in sense, from the preceding.

§. 31.

Why Josephus recognises XXII Canonical Books.

According to *Josephus*, the Hebrews had XXII SACRED BOOKS. He thus reckons with his nation, according to the Hebrew Alphabet. For *ORIGEN*, and other Fathers say

* [Our author observes, in his *Introd. to the O. T.*, Vol. i. §. 7:—Christ entitles the Hagiographa by the Psalms, as the first book, (Luke XXIV. 44.) ; and designing to adduce, from the history of the O. T., the first and the last instance of the shedding of innocent blood, he cites the case of *Abel* from *Genesis*, as the *first* book of the O. T.; and from the books of *Chronicles*, as the *last* of all, he cites the case of *Zacharias*. *Matt.* XXIII. 35. *Tr.*]

expressly, (§ §. 42, 44.) that in the Canon, a reference was had to the number of consonants in the Hebrew Alphabet ; even analogy * confirms this. Therefore, if properly reckoned the Jews had strictly but twenty-two books, we may perhaps so arrange merely those extant, that they will admit of being restored to twenty-two.

§. 32.

1. GENERAL Computation.

FIVE books belonged to MOSES ; THIRTEEN were composed by Prophets between MOSES and ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS ; beside these, there were also extant FOUR books on moral subjects.

If we may follow a later writer, ORIGEN, who with JOSEPHUS states the number of the sacred books of the Old Testament to be twenty-two, and enumerates them all severally, we might arrange the THIRTEEN of the Second Class in this manner :

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. JOSHUA. | 7. ESTHER. |
| 2. JUDGES AND RUTH. | 8. ISAIAH. |
| 3. TWO BOOKS OF SAMUEL. | 9. JEREMIAH'S PROPHECIES
AND LAMENTATIONS. |
| 4. TWO BOOKS OF KINGS. | 10. EZEKIEL. |
| 5. TWO BOOKS OF CHRONICLES. | 11. DANIEL. |
| 6. FIRST AND SECOND BOOK OF
EZRA, EZRA AND NEHEMIAH. | 12. TWELVE MINOR PROPHETS.
13. JOB. |

The FOUR books on moral subjects would be :

- | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| 1. PSALMS. | 3. ECCLESIASTES. |
| 2. PROVERBS. | 4. THE SONG OF SOLOMON. |

* [The Greeks made the books of Homer, and those of Theophrastus to consist of twenty-four, according to the number of the Greek letters. See the author's Introduction to the O. T., Vol. I. §. 6. Tr.]

But was it a pure fountain from which Origen drew? Had not the great revolutions, which affected the Hebrew nation between the times of Josephus and Origen, a prejudicial influence even on the collection of their canonical books? During this time, either from ignorance, accident, or fraud, had there not been introduced into the canonical collection, writings which did not previously belong to it? — Thus may we propose inquiries; and although much may be said in reply, yet it is more advisable, and more worthy of the investigator of truth, to avoid pursuing this course; so that no one may have it in his power, at any time to reproach him with the least appearance of probability, and say that he is disposed to catch at something, or to build all upon hypotheses.

Josephus may be his own Commentator: we design to ask for his views, in regard to particular writings of the Old Testament, and on his answers below to ground a new computation.

§. 33.

2. PARTICULAR Computation. Prefatory remarks.

I premise some observations, which may perhaps shed light upon the passages, that I shall extract from Josephus, and may direct our decision on them.

1. All the Writings, which Josephus attributes to Prophets, belonged to his Canon. For he founds the chief credibility and integrity of the writings of his nation upon this, that they were the works of PROPHETS. (§. 28. 29.)

2. He undoubtedly declares those writings to be canonical, which he calls *ἱερὰ βιβλίοι*, *αἱ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν βιβλίοι*, *ἱερὰ γράμματα*, *τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνακείμενα γράμματα*, and *βιβλίοι προφητείας*. [Sacred Books, the Books of the Sacred Scriptures, the Writings repositied in the Temple, and Books of Prophecy]. This is apparent from the words selected, and the passages to be adduced below leave no doubt of it whatever.

3. With the expressions above mentioned the following are synonymous: ἀρχαῖα βιβλία, βιβλοι Ἑβραίων, βιβλοι Ἑβραϊκαί [Ancient Books, Books of the Hebrews, Hebrew Books]. This is undoubtedly certain from several passages.—He regarded DANIEL as a very important Prophet, the accurate accomplishment of whose predictions he often commends in very strong language (§. 35.). And yet he reckons his book merely among the βιβλοι Ἑβραίων, and ἀρχαῖα βιβλία [Books of the Hebrews, and Ancient Books], from which he derives his history. After he has extracted much from Daniel, he adds (g): “ Let no one find fault with me, for introducing all “ into my writings, just as I find it in the ancient Books (ἐν “ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις βιβλοῖς). For in the very beginning of my “ history, I have already secured myself, in regard to those “ who might require or find fault with any thing, by mention- “ ing, that I should merely translate into Greek the HEBREW “ BOOKS (Ἑβραίων βιβλος), without adding any thing of my “ own, or taking away any thing.”

According to this passage, DANIEL, a book replete with prophecies, written by a prophet, belongs to the βιβλοι Ἑβραίων [Books of the Hebrews], and to the ἀρχαῖα βιβλία [Ancient Books]. — In another place, he cites the incidents which befel JONAH, just as they stand recorded in the prophet Jonah, with the introduction only of his own, sometimes erroneous, explanations; but at the same time he observes (h): that he relates of the prophet, “ what he found concerning him in the HEBREW BOOKS (Ἑβραϊκαῖς βιβλοῖς):”—clearly proving, that by the βιβλοι Ἑβραϊκαί [HEBREW BOOKS], he understood the canonical writings of his brethren.

4. All the Writings, which he transferred into the history of his nation until the time of Artaxerxes, must have been comprehended in Josephus' Canon. For

I. Josephus grounds the very credibility of the Hebrew history from Moses to Artaxerxes upon this, that it was writ-

(g) *Antiqq.*, x. c. 10. §. 6. ed. Haverkamp, p. 536. [Hudson, p. 458.]

(h) *Antiqq.*, ix. c. 10. §. 2. Hav. p. 497. [Hud. p. 419.]

ten ONLY AND ALONE BY PROPHETS, and that there were extant NO OTHER historical books, than those composed by them. (i) Therefore in the history of the Hebrews until Artaxerxes Longimanus, he *can* have assumed *none whatsoever*, except these. So also

II. The most satisfactory evidence proves it. We find those historical books which he expressly places in his Canon, for instance, the five books of Moses, the book of Joshua, the books of Kings (§. 35.), in substance wholly incorporated with his Antiquities. Of the very same repute, therefore, were the other sources of his national history until Artaxerxes. — In the mean time it is not to be denied, that he presents accounts, even in the ancient Hebrew history, of which no trace is to be found in the historical books of the Old Testament. Probably, he derived these from national traditions, which in his time were numerous, yet not put on record, but only transmitted from mouth to mouth. Thus, for instance, Paul refers to a mere tradition, when he makes Jannes and Jambres withstand Moses in the miracles wrought before Pharaoh (2 Tim. iii. 8.): a tradition, which even Pseudo-Jonathan has introduced into his TARGUM, *Exod. i. 15 ; vii. 11.*

5. ALL Hebrew books of every kind, which were extant in the time of Josephus, from the times before the death of Artaxerxes, he deems without exception canonical. For he concludes his account of the Canon of his nation with the remark: that ALL books, the authors of which may have lived after Artaxerxes Longimanus, were of much less value. Had he not attributed the same value and the same authority to ALL books, written before the time mentioned; he would not have thrown ALL into ONE class, and not have derived ALL from Prophets, but have carefully distinguished those which were of inferior authority. If then it can only be proved of any book, 1. that JOSEPHUS was acquainted with it, and 2. that it was not written after Artaxerxes: that book is to be placed in the Canon of Josephus.

(i) *Contra Ap.*, lib. i. §. 8; quoted above, §. 29.

6. All the books which were composed *after* Artaxerxes, in the opinion of Josephus must have been APOCRYPHAL, even granting that their contents carry us back into that king's reign. (*k*)

§. 34.

Division of the opinions of Josephus on particular books of the Old Testament.

These observations may now be appropriately followed by Josephus' opinions on particular books of the Old Testament. (*l*) For the purpose of facilitating the examination, I arrange them in three classes :—

1. Books, which he places expressly among the Sacred Writings of his nation.
2. Books, of which, without this express testimony, he makes a mere literary use.
3. Books, which he entirely passes over in silence.

(*k*) The doubts, which SPITTLER suggests, (in his *Program de usu versionis Alexandrinae apud Josephum*, pp. 18—22,) as to the validity of Josephus' account of the Canon, are in my view resolved, as soon as a reference is made to all the passages, in which Josephus directly or indirectly expresses an opinion on the books of the O. T. To the accomplishment of this, I hope to contribute in the following paragraphs.

(*l*) A good collection of these has already been made by CHR. FRED. SCHMID in two Programs, entitled: *Enarratio sententiæ Flavii Josephi de libris V. T. Wittenb., 1777.*

FIRST CLASS. *Books which Josephus places expressly among the Sacred Writings of his nation.*

§. 35.

FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES, ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, EZEKIEL, DANIEL, JONAH, NAHUM, HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, JOSHUA, BOOKS OF KINGS, PSALMS.

THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES Josephus mentions in the passage above cited, expressly; and moreover, where he alludes to them, he speaks of them with great veneration and reverence. He calls them *ἱεραὶ βιβλοὶ* [Sacred Books] (*m*), and αἱ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν βιβλοὶ [the Books of the Sacred Scriptures]. (*n*)

ISAIAH. His prophecies he calls, in the account that Cyrus read the very oracle respecting him: τὸ βιβλίον, ὃ εἴης αὐτοῦ προφητείας Ἰσαΐας κατέλιπε, πρὸ ἐτῶν διακοσίων καὶ δέκα [the book of prophecy, which Isaiah left, two hundred and ten years before]. (*o*) Elsewhere he calls him simply *προφήτης* [Prophet] (*p*), and in the biography of Hezekiah: ὁ *προφήτης*,

(*m*) *Antiq.*, lib. i. Hav. p. 5. [Hud. p. 4.], at the end of the preface; lib. iii. c. 5. §. 2. Hav. p. 128. [Hud. p. 103.], lib. iv. c. 8. §. 48. Hav. p. 265. [Hud. p. 176.], lib. ix. c. 2. §. 2. Hav. p. 476. [Hud. p. 396.], lib. x. c. 4. §. 2. p. 517. *ed.* HAVERCAMP, which I always quote. [In Hudson's edition, p. 439. Wherever, in this treatise, the author quotes the page of Josephus according to the edition of HAVERCAMP, the corresponding page is given according to the edition of HUDSON, *Ὀροσπί*, 1720. *Tr.*]

(*n*) *Contra Ap.*, lib. ii. §. 4. Hav. p. 1472. [Hud. p. 1365.] Many other passages are expressive of the reverence, with which Josephus and his brethren spoke of the Mosaic Writings. *Ant.*, i. Hav. p. 4. [Hud. pp. 3. 4.]; xx. c. 5. Hav. p. 966. [Hud. p. 888.]; iii. c. 6. Hav. p. 135. [Hud. p. 110.]; iv. c. 8. Hav. p. 251. [Hud. p. 173.]; x. c. 4. Hav. p. 517. [Hud. p. 439.]; xvi. c. 6. Hav. p. 800. [Hud. p. 722.]

(*o*) *Antiq.*, xi. c. 1. §. 2. Hav. p. 547. [Hud. p. 468.]

(*p*) *Antiq.*, x. c. 2. §. 2. Hav. p. 514. [Hud. p. 436.]

αυρ' οὗ (Ἐζεκίας) πάντ' ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐκυνδάνετο, [the prophet, from whom he (Hezekiah) minutely ascertained all that would come to pass]. (q)

JEREMIAH is called *προφήτης*, ὅς τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει δεῖνα *προεκήρυξε*, [the prophet, who predicted the evils that would befall the city] (r), by which the contents of his *prophecies* are well characterized.

EZEKIEL is cited under the appellation *προφήτης* [Prophet], and his prophecies are compared to the prophecies of Jeremiah. (s)

Our DANIEL Josephus places among the *ἱερὰ γράμματα* [Sacred Writings] (t), he entitles his prophecies *προφητεία πρὸ τετρακοσίων καὶ ὀκτώ γενομένη ἐτῶν*, [a prediction, made four hundred and eight years previous] (u), and he expresses himself elsewhere in very strong terms, as to the truth of them. (v)

(q) *Antiq.*, ix. c. 13. §. 3. Hav. p. 506. [Hud. p. 427.]

(r) *Antiq.*, x. c. 6. §. 1. Hav. p. 520. [Hud. p. 441.] See the following note.

(s) The same. Οὗτος ὁ προφήτης (Ἰερμίας) καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει δεῖνα προεκήρυξε, ἐν γράμμασι καταλιπὼν, καὶ τὴν ἴσθ' ἡμῶν γενομένην ἀλῆσει τὴν τε βαβυλωνίαν αἴρσει. Οὐ μόνον δὲ οὗτος προετίθει ταῦτα τοῖς ἔθλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκιέλ. [This Prophet (Jeremiah) also predicted the evils that would befall the city, leaving behind him, in writing, both the destruction which has now come pass in our day, and the Babylonian captivity. And not only did he predict these things to the people, but the prophet Ezekiel did the same. Tr.]

(t) *Antiq.*, lib. x. c. 10. §. 4. Hav. p. 535. [Hud. p. 447.] After having adduced something from Daniel, he concludes with the words: "Whosoever wishes to examine this," *σπουδασάτω τὸ βιβλίον ἀναγνῶναι τοῦ Δανιήλου* ὡρήσει δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι. [let him carefully read the book of Daniel. He will find it among the Sacred Writings]. Comp. above, §. 33. note (f.)

(u) *Antiq.*, lib. xii. c. 7. §. 6. Hav. p. 617. [Hud. p. 540.]

(v) *Antiq.*, lib. x. c. 11. §. 7. Hav. p. 544. [Hud. p. 466.] Ταῦτα πάντα ἰκίνοιο, Θεοῦ δέξαντος αὐτῶν, συγγράφας καταλίπειν, ὥστ' τοὺς ἀναγνώσκοντας, καὶ τὰ συμβαινόντα σκοποῦντας, θαυμάζωσιν ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμῇ τὸν Δανιήλου. [All these things, God having communicated them to him, he left in writing, so that those who read,

The XII MINOR PROPHETS Josephus regards as *one book*, calls them δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν [twelve in number], and ranks them, on account of their accurately fulfilled prophecies, with the prophet Isaiah. (w) — Some of them moreover, he cites especially.

JONAH he declares to be a true PROPHET; hence he describes the remarkable incidents of his life in *such* a manner, that it may be perceived, he drew from the account set forth by Jonas himself, but with the introduction of his own, sometimes very erroneous, explanations, although he cites only in very general terms, and refers to the βιβλοὶ Ἑβραϊκαί [the Hebrew Books]. (x)

EVEN NAHUM is entitled προφήτης [Prophet], and commended on account of the minute accomplishment of his predictions. (y)

HAGGAI and ZECHARIAH are called δύο προφῆται [two Prophets]. (z)

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA Josephus denotes one of the books repositied in the temple. (a)

and see the events, are led to behold Daniel with wonder, on account of the honour which God conferred upon him. Tr.]. Josephus cites moreover the first eight chapters of Daniel; *Antiq.*, lib. x. c. 10. & 11.

(w) *Antiq.*, x. c. 2. §. 2. Hav. p. 515. [Hud. p. 436.]. Καὶ οὐχ ὁὗτος μόνος ὁ προφήτης (Ἰσαίας), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν. Καὶ πάντ, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον γίνεται παρ' ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀποβαίνει προφητείας. [And not this prophet (Isaiah) alone, but others also, twelve in number, did the same. And whether good or evil happens to us, all comes to pass according to their prediction. Tr.]

(x) *Antiq.*, ix. c. 10. §. 1. 2. Hav. pp. 497. 498. [Hud. pp. 418. 419.]. ταύτῳ (it is said §. 1.) προεφάνησεν τις Ἰωνᾶς. §. 2. he refers in the biography of Jonas to the βιβλοὺς Ἑβραϊκάς (see above, §. 33.) and concludes the second section with the words: διεξῆλθον δὲ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ διήγησιν, ὡς εὔρον ἀναγγραμμένον.

(y) *Antiq.*, l. ix. c. 11. §. 3. Hav. pp. 501. 502. [Hud. pp. 422. 423.]

(z) *Antiq.*, l. xi. c. 4. §. 5. Hav. p. 557. [Hud. p. 479.]

(a) *Antiq.*, lib. v. c. 1. §. 17. Hav. p. 273. [Hud. p. 185.]. Ὅτι δὲ τὸ μᾶκρος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπέδωκε τότε, καὶ τοῦ συνόδου ἐπλάνασε, δηλοῦται διὰ τῶν ἀνακειμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γραμμάτων. [That the

The **BOOKS OF KINGS**. The book, in which the history of the Prophet Elijah is recorded, *i. e.* the books of Kings, he ranks with that which gives the account of Enoch, *i. e.* the first book of Moses; he calls both *ἱεραὶ βιβλοὶ* [Sacred Books]. (b)

PSALMS. They are expressly named in the cited passage (§. 29.) under the title: *ᾠμοὶ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν* [Psalms to God]; and Josephus makes mention of them elsewhere by the names, **Psalms of David**, because David was the principal author of them. (c)

SECOND CLASS. *Books, which Josephus merely cites, without addition, or of which he makes a mere literary use.*

§. 36.

LAMENTATIONS, JUDGES, RUTH, the BOOKS OF SAMUEL, CHRONICLES, EZRA, NEHEMIAH, ESTHER.

The **LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH**, which in his opinion were composed on the death of king Josiah, Josephus refers to, as a composition still extant (d). comp. §. 33. Obs. 5.

length of the day increased at that time, and surpassed what was usual, is evident from the writings repositied in the temple. *Tr.*]

(b) *Antiq.*, lib. ix. c. 2. §. 2. Hav. p. 475. [Hud. p. 396.]. *Περὶ μύστερα Ἡλίας καὶ Ἐνώχου τοῦ γνομῆσου πρὸ τῆς ἰσραηλῆας ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγέγραπται βιβλοῖς, ὅτι γέγονασιν ἀφανῆς θάνατον δ' αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς εἶδεν.*

(c) *Antiq.*, lib. vii. c. 12. §. 3. [ὁ Δαυίδης φθὰς εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ᾠμοὺς συντάξατο. David composed odes to God and psalms. *Tr.*]

(d) *Antiq.*, lib. x. c. 5. §. 1. Hav. p. 520. [Hud. p. 441.]. *Ἰερραμίας δ' ὁ προφῆτης ἐπικάδειον αὐτοῦ συντάξας μέλος θρηνητικόν, ὃ καὶ μᾶλχι νῦν διαμῆνι. [Jeremiah the Prophet composed his elegy, a mournful poem, which is extant even at the present time. *Tr.*]*

JUDGES and RUTH. Both contain very ancient events, and must have been written long before the time of Artaxerxes; both were not only known to Josephus, but much used in the fifth book of his *Antiqq. comp.* §. 33. Obs. 5. 6.

The **TWO BOOKS OF SAMUEL** were extant in their present form, long before Artaxerxes; we even find them extracted by Josephus, often word for word, from the fifth to the seventh book of his *Antiqq. (e) comp.* §. 33. Obs. 5. 6.

The **TWO BOOKS OF CHRONICLES** were used by Josephus in his *Antiqq.*, from the seventh to the tenth books; but the *second* is more freely used than the *first*, because it contributes more to the Hebrew History. (*f*)

EZRA and NEHEMIAH. According to Josephus, the contents of these books belong to the times of King Xerxes (*g*); and as the Canon was first closed under his successor Artaxerxes; both may safely be placed in his Canon. He makes free use of both. (*h*)

Finally **ESTHER** was undoubtedly a part of his Canon. For he places the contents of the book in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and closes the Canon with his reign, because this book was the latest that he found in the collection of the sacred books of his nation. (§. 30.) He designates the very contents of the book. (*i*)

These are the writings of the Second Class. Should one

(e) Thus the lamentation on the death of Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. *Antiqq.*, vii. c. 1. §. 1.

(f) *Antiqq.*, lib. viii. c. 12. §. 4. Hav. p. 453. [Hud. p. 375.] comp. 2 Chr. xiv. 9. *Antiqq.*, i. viii. c. 15. §. 1. 2. Hav. p. 466. [Hud. 387.] comp. 2 Chr. xvii. 7, &c.

(g) *Antiqq.*, lib. xi. c. 5. §. 8. Hav. p. 566. [Hud. p. 488.] Josephus makes mention of Nehemiah, and concludes with the words: Τεῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σεξξου βασιλείᾳ ἐγένετο.—lib. xi. c. 5. §. 1. 2. Hav. p. 560. [Hud. p. 481.] Ἐσθῆρας . . . γίνεται φίλος τοῦ βασιλεῖ Σεξξου. And upon this follows a writing of Xerxes to Ezra.

(h) Particularly *Antiqq.*, lib. xi.—Yet he introduces also something from the third book of Ezra. See *Ant.*, i. xi. c. 3.

(i) *Antiqq.*, lib. xi. c. 6.

of them be rejected from the Canon of Josephus, then, as the same reasonings argue for all, ALL the rest must forfeit their places in it—and what will then be the condition of the *thirteen prophetic books*?

THIRD CLASS. *Books, which Josephus passes over in silence.*

§. 37.

PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, THE SONG OF SOLOMON, JOB.

Josephus speaks of SOLOMON, the *writer*, but merely in general expressions (*k*); he cites neither the PROVERBS, nor ECCLESIASTES, nor the SONG OF SOLOMON, by name.

Even of the book of JOB he takes as little notice, as he does of the hero of it.

§. 38.

Some Remarks.

According to these observations, therefore, JOSHUA, JUDGES, RUTH, the TWO BOOKS OF SAMUEL, the TWO OF KINGS, and the TWO OF CHRONICLES, EZRA, NEHEMIAH, ESTHER, ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, with his prophecies and his lamentations, EZEKIEL, DANIEL, and the XII MINOR PROPHETS, it is certain, belonged to the Canon of Josephus; all these books must be placed in the Second Class, among the *thirteen prophetic*. For they are partly prophecies, partly historical books; and the latter, like the former, are considered by Josephus and by other writers of his time and after him, works of the PROPHETS (*l*), in part,

(*k*) *Antiq.*, lib. viii. c. 2. §. 5. Hav. p. 419. [Hud. p. 339.]

(*l*) PHILO, as quoted above, §. 17; THEODORET in *Praef. ad libros*

because some prophets did actually record the history of their time, and in part because מִנְיָן was then * sometimes the title of a *writer* in general. Let us reckon then as we may, there is still no doubt, that Josephus placed even Job in the Class of Prophetical Books, in case Job was a part of his Canon.

No one has yet indulged a doubt, that at the time of Christ and the Apostles, Job may have had a place in the collection of the sacred books of the Jews: Philo and the authors of the New Testament knew the book; it was certainly extant long, long before the establishment of the Canon; and although Josephus makes mention, neither of it nor of its hero, it by no means follows, that he may not have found it in his collection of the national books. Would he *necessarily* speak of it, when probably, according to the common opinion in ancient times, he regarded the hero of the book as a foreigner, an Arabian; and *could* he not write a complete *Hebrew* history, without uttering even a syllable in regard to it? And if Josephus knew it, and found it among the sacred books of his nation; he most probably placed it in his Second Class, among the *thirteen* PROPHETICAL books. For in the Second Class he placed all historical books; and to these belonged Job, because all antiquity held the contents of it to be a true narrative set forth in poetry.

Regum; EUSEBIUS in his *praeparatio evang.*; and ABARNANEL *praef. in Josuam*.

* [When the Treatise originally appeared, the author's words were: — מִנְיָן "oft der Titel eines Schriftsteller überhaupt ist," is often the title of a writer in general. He here says:—it was "damals zuweilen," then *sometimes*. But it is not easy to discover proofs even of this. See the references above, p. 30. note *. Tr.]

§. 39.

RESULT of the preceding Investigations.

Without any risk of error, we may then, with ORIGEN, arrange the *thirteen* PROPHETICAL books of the Second Class in the following manner.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. JOSHUA. | 8. ISAIAH. |
| 2. JUDGES AND RUTH. | 9. JEREMIAH'S PROPHECIES
AND LAMENTATIONS. |
| 3. TWO BOOKS OF SAMUEL. | 10. EZEKIEL. |
| 4. TWO BOOKS OF KINGS. | 11. DANIEL. |
| 5. TWO BOOKS OF CHRONICLES. | 12. XII MINOR PROPHETS. |
| 6. EZRA AND NEHEMIAH. | 13. JOB. |
| 7. ESTHER. | |

The *four* books of the last Class, which are on *moral subjects*, cannot now be at all mistaken, although Josephus expressly mentions merely the PSALMS; for there are only four books left to be arranged.

- | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| 1. PSALMS. | 3. ECCLESIASTES. |
| 2. PROVERBS. | 4. THE SONG OF SOLOMON. |

§. 40.

3. MELITO. *Flourished Cent. II.*

The next writer after Josephus, who affords us accounts of the Canon of the Jews in Palestine, is MELITO, Bishop of Sardis, in the second century after the birth of Christ. He travelled into the East, with a view to ascertain, from the accounts of the Jews there, the contents and the number of their sacred books; and he communicated to his brother, Onesi-

mus, the result of his investigations, in a letter which Euseb^{ius} has preserved in his Ecclesiastical History. Euseb. B. IV. c. 26.

Μελίτων Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν· ἑπειδὴ πολλάκις ἤξιώσας σπουδῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸν λόγον χρώμενος γενέσθαι σοι ἐκλογὰς, ἐκ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν καλαίων βιβλίων ἐβουλήθη ἀκριβείαν, πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὁποῖα τὴν τάξιν εἶναι, ἐσπουδάσα τὸ τοιοῦτο πράξαι, ἐπεκείμενός σου τὸ σπουδαῖον περὶ τὴν εἶπιν, καὶ φιλομαθὲς περὶ τὸν λόγον. ὅτι τε μάλιστα πάντων πῶδῳ τῷ πρὸς Θεὸν ταῦτα προκρίνεις, περὶ τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας ἀγωνιζόμενος· ἀνελεῖν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ ἕως τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος ἔνθα ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς καλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία, ὑποτάξας ἐπέμφά σοι· ὧν εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα· Μωϋσέως πέντε· Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Λευιτικόν, Ἀριθμοί, Δευτερονόμιον· Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ, Κριταί, Ῥούθ· Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων δύο. Ψαλμῶν Δαβίδ, Σολομώνος Παροιμίαι, ἡ καὶ Σοφία, Ἐκκλησιαστής, ἄσμα Ἀσμάτων, Ἰώβ. Προφητῶν, Ἡσαίου, Ἰερεμίου· τῶν δώδεκα ἐν μονοβιβλίῳ. Δανιήλ, Ἰεζεκιήλ, Ἔσδρας· ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἐκλογὰς ἐποίησάμην, εἰς ἐξ βιβλία διελών.

“MELITO to his brother ONESIMUS greeting. Whereas; from your great earnestness for the Word, you have often wished to have selections from the Law and the Prophets, which relate to our Saviour and our whole faith; and would be glad to have a minute account of the ancient books, how many of them there are in number, and in what order they stand: I have endeavoured to effect this, because I was aware of your earnestness in the faith, and your desire for instruction in respect to the Word, and knew that in your longing after eternal happiness, from love to God, you prefer it to all other things. As I was journeying in the East, therefore, and came to the place where this was preached and exhibited; I accurately ascertained the books of the Old Testament, and subjoin a catalogue of them, and send it to you. They are called as follows: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four Books of Kings, two

Books of Chronicles, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, which is entitled also the Wisdom (*m*), Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job. The Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the twelve in one book; Daniel, Ezekiel, and Ezra. From these I have made the Selections, and divided them into six books."

§. 41.

Illustration of this Passage.

It is true that in this Catalogue NEHEMIAH and ESTHER are not mentioned; but, whoever reads the passage and understands it, will here discover both of them. Melito here arranges the books of the Old Testament, manifestly according to the time in which they were written, or in which the facts which they record occurred. Hence he places Ruth after the book of Judges, Daniel and Ezekiel toward the end of his Catalogue, and Ezra last of all, because he wrote after the Babylonian captivity. And accordingly, as he comprehended the books of Samuel and Kings under the general appellation Books of Kings, because they related the history of the Hebrew kingdom from Saul to Zedekiah, or until the Babylonian captivity: in the same manner, he appears to comprise under the name of EZRA all historical books, the subjects of which occur in the times subsequent to the Babylonian captivity. As it is very common to include Ezra and Nehemiah in one book,

(*m*) According to STROTH'S translation of this passage; it is only here departed from, because probably neither *ἡ καὶ σοφία*, nor *ἡ σοφία* is the true reading, but, according to STROTH'S conjecture, *ἡ καὶ σοφία*. MELITO, and from him EUSEBIUS, wrote without any accents or spiritus *η καὶ σοφία*. For even NICEPHORUS admitted *καὶ*, and RUFFIN translated: *quae et sapientia*. Afterward, when accents were added, from *η* arose the postpositive *ἡ καὶ σοφία*. But *ἡ* cannot refer to *βιβλία*, which goes before; so *καὶ* was omitted, and *ἡ σοφία* was written, which even now occurs in some editions, as might indeed have easily happened with *ἡ καὶ σοφία*.

why might not even Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther also have been regarded as a whole? If we add to this conjecture, that Nehemiah and Esther, according to JOSEPHUS (§. 36.), must have been parts of the Canon, and that Fathers of authority, such as Origen (§. 42.) and Jerome (§. 44.), expressly enumerate both in it; no impartial inquirer can well doubt, that even Melito does not reject from the Canon of the Old Testament the two books mentioned. (n)

§. 42.

ORIGEN. *Born A. D. 185. Died A. D. 253.*

The next Father, whom we must hear, is ORIGEN, whose catalogue of the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament has been preserved by Eusebius. ECCL. HIST. VI. 25. It is of very great weight, because it is derived from the Jews, as Origen himself, in the very beginning of it, expressly states.

Τὸν μὲν τοίγῃ πρώτον ἐξηγούμενος ψαλμὸν, ἐκδεσὼν ἐσποίηται (Ἰησοῦς) τοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καταλόγου, ὡδὲ πως γράφων κατὰ λέξιν· οὐκ ἀγνωστὸν δ' εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βίβλους, ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδάσκουσιν, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι· ὅσος δ' ἀριθμὸς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς σοφειῶν ἐστίν· εἴτα μετὰ τινὰ, ἐπιφέρει λόγων· εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ εἴκοσι δύο βίβλοι καὶ Ἑβραίους αἰδοῦ· ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν Γένεσις ἐπιγεγραμμένη, παρὰ δὲ Ἑβραίοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βίβλου βρησιδ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀρχῇ· Ἐξόδος, οὐαλεσμῶδ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα· Λευιτικόν, οὐϊκρά, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν· Ἀριθμοὶ ἀμμεσφεαωδεῖμ· Δευτερονόμιον, Ἐλλε ἀδδεβαριμ, οὗτοι εἰ λόγοι· Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυῆ, Ἰωσῦε βέν Νουῦν· Κριται, Ρουδ, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐνὶ σωφετῖμ. βασι-

(n) SCHMID, hist. et vindic. Canonis, assumes with others, that ESTHER, removed by the error of a transcriber, was originally mentioned by Melito. I doubt this however, as there is to be found no trace of it; and Athanasius, Gregory Naz., and others, who follow Melito, in like manner omit Esther. See SCHMID l. c. p. 171. 173. 193. BRUNS in his edit. of Kennicott's diss. gener. p. 178, is of my opinion.

λεῶν πρώτη, δευτέρα, κατ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Σαμουήλ, ὁ θεόκλητος βασι-
λεῶν τρίτη, τετάρτη, ἐν ἐνι, εὐαμμέλεχ Δαβίδ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλεία
Δαβίδ. Παραλειπομένων πρώτη, δευτέρα, ἐν ἐνι, διβρη δίαμιμ, ὅπερ
ἐστὶ λόγι ἡμερῶν. Ἐσθῆρς πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα ἐν ἐνι, ἐζρά, ὃ ἐστὶ
Βεηδάς· βιβλος Υαλμῶν ὅπερ διλλίμ. Σολομῶντος παραμίας μισλάδ,
'Εροολησιαῖς, κωβλεδ ἄσρα ἀσμάτων, σιρ ἄσσιμ. Ἡσαΐας, Ἰσαΐα.
'Ιερλιας σὺν Δρήτος καὶ τῇ ἐκκολῆ ἐν ἐνι, Ἰρμῖα. Δανιήλ, Δανιήλ.
'Ιεζουήλ, Ἰεζικήλ. Ἰώβ, Ἰώβ. Ἐσθήρ, Ἐσθήρ. ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ
Μαωραβαϊκά, ἅπερ ἐπιγράφονται Σαρβηδ σαρβανῶ ἔλ.

In the exposition of the first Psalm, he (ORIGEN) exhibits a catalogue of the sacred books of the Old Testament, where he writes as follows: "It must be known, that the canonical books, as the Hebrews relate, are twenty-two in number, according to the number of their letters." Somewhat further on, he proceeds: "these twenty-two books, according to the Hebrews, are the following: the Book which with us bears the title GENESIS, is called by the Hebrews, from the beginning of the Book, 'Breshith,' that is: 'in the beginning.' EXODUS 'Velleshemoth,' that is: 'these are the names.' LEVITICUS 'Vayikra, and he called.' NUMBERS, 'Hammishpekodim.' DEUTERONOMY 'Ellehaddebarim, these are the words.' JESUS the SON of Nave, 'Joshua Ben Nun.' The JUDGES, RUTH, in one Book with them, 'Shophetim.' (o) The first and second of KINGS, one, 'Samuel,' that is: 'the called of God.' The third and fourth of Kings, in one, 'Vammelech David,' that is: 'and King David.' The first and second of CHRONICLES, in one, 'Dibre Hayamim,' that is: 'Journals.' The first and second of EZRA, in one, (p) 'EZRA,' that is: 'the

(o) A trace of it is found in the *Mawra finalis* of a Spanish MS. (Kennicott's num. 3.), where Ruth is called $\text{דְּבָרֵי רֹחַל בְּרַחֲמֵי דָוִד}$ from the beginning of the Book. See BRUNS, ad Kennicotti diss. gen., pp. 18. 19. nota.

(p) Proofs of this are also found in the modern Hebrew MSS. Many still write, the two books of Samuel, the two of Kings, the two of Chronicles, as Ezra and Nehemiah, in one, continuously, without an intervening space; and hence, all these books in the most ancient editions,

helper.' The Book of PSALMS, 'Sepher Thillim.' The PROVERBS of Solomon, 'Mishloth.' ECCLESIASTES, 'Koheloth.' The SONG OF SONGS, 'Shir Hashirim.' ISAIAH, 'Iesayah.' JEREMIAH, with the Lamentations and the Epistle, in one Book, 'Yirmeyah.' DANIEL, 'Daniel.' EZEKIEL, 'Yehezkeel.' JOB, 'Job.' ESTHER, 'Esther.' Beside these, there are also the Books of MACCABEES, which are entitled: Sarbeth Sarbane El." (q)

§. 43.

Illustration of this passage.

In this Catalogue of the Canonical Writings of the Old Testament, the XII MINOR PROPHETS are wanting; notwithstanding BARUCH holds a place in it. The first difficulty vanishes, on a comparison of RUFFIN's Latin translation, and HILARY's Preface to the Psalms. The *former*, in the passage cited from Eusebius, has the twelve minor Prophets after the Song of Solomon; and the *latter*, (who, according to an observation already made by Jerome, has derived his Preface to the Psalms in great part from this passage), mentions the twelve minor Prophets among the Canonical Writings of the Old Testament. (r) The other difficulty is not so easy to re-

which follow as closely as possible the arrangement of the MSS., were thus printed in *one*, until DANIEL BOMBERO introduced the present usual division of them. [See EICHN. *Introd. to the O. T.*, Vol. II. §. 359. *Tr.*]

(q) According to STROTZ's Translation.

(r) Here is VALESIIUS' note on the passage: Omissus est in hoc Catalogo liber duodecim Prophetarum. Quo factum est, ut cum viginti duos libros se numeraturum promiserit Origenes, unus duntaxat et viginti reperiantur. In Rufini versione recensetur hic liber statim post Canticum Canticatorum. Nec aliter Hilarius in prologo enarrationis in Psalmos, et Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus. Ceterum sacræ Scripturæ libri longè alio ordine hic recensentur, quàm Epiphanius, et Hieronymus et

solve. Nowhere is there a trace, that Jeremiah's Epistle ever was a part of the Jewish Canon. Origen was mistaken, and perhaps he had before him a copy of the Septuagint, (in which, as usual, Baruch was placed immediately after Jeremiah,) and he suffered himself to be betrayed by this into his mistake. (s)

§. 44.

JEROME. *A. D. 422.*

JEROME reckons, according to the number of the consonants in the Hebrew Alphabet, twenty-two books, and in his *Prologus Galeatus* arranges them in the following order, which the *Bibliotheca Divina* also follows:—

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1—5. FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES. | 8. TWO BOOKS OF SAMUEL. |
| 6. JOSHUA. | 9. TWO BOOKS OF KINGS. |
| 7. JUDGES AND RUTH. | 10. ISAIAH. |

Melitone, cujus locum supra retulit Eusebius in fine lib. 4. Hilarius verò in prologo Commentariorum in Psalmos, cum Origene prorsus consentit. Nec id mirum, cum totus fere prologus ille Hilarii translatus sit ex Commentariis in Psalmos, ut testatur Hieronymus.

(s) This is yet more probable, if we reflect, that the Egyptian Christians, those great admirers of the apocryphal writings, permitted Baruch to follow the Lamentations. [The Ethiopians divided the Old Testament into four parts.

- I. The OCTATRUCH, including the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth.
- II. The KINGS, in thirteen books: two books of Samuel, two of Kings, two of Chronicles, two of Ezra, (Ezra and Nehemiah), Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms.
- III. SOLOMON, in five books: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom and Sirach.
- IV. The PROPHETS, in eighteen books: Isaiah, Jeremiah's prophecies and lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve minor Prophets.

They had also two books of Maccabees. See Eichhorn's *Introd. to the O. T.*, Vol. II. §. 309. note g. Tr.]

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|--|--|
| 11. JEREMIAH'S PROPHECIES
AND LAMENTATIONS. | 18. SONG OF SONGS. |
| 12. EZEKIEL. | 19. DANIEL. |
| 13. XII MINOR PROPHETS. | 20. TWO BOOKS OF CHRONICLES. |
| 14. JOB. | 21. EZRA in two books, i. e.
EZRA and NEHEMIAN. |
| 15. PSALMS. | 22. ESTHER. |
| 16. PROVERBS. | |
| 17. ECCLESIASTES. | |

Viginti et duas litteras (says he in the Prologus Galeatus) esse apud Hebraeos, Syrorum quoque lingua et Chaldaeorum testatur, quæ hebraeae magna ex parte confinis est. Nam et ipsi viginti duo elementa habent, eodem sono et diversis characteribus. Porro quinque litterae duplices apud Hebraeos sunt, Caph, Mem, Nun, Pe, Sade. Unde et quinque a plerisque libri duplices existimantur, *Samuel, Melachim, Dibre hajamim, Esdras, Jeremias* cum Cinoth, id est lamentationibus suis. Quomodo igitur viginti duo elementa sunt, per quae scribimus hebraeice omne quod loquimur, et eorum initiis vox humana comprehenditur: ita *viginti duo volumina* supputantur, quibus quasi litteris et exordiis in Dei doctrina, tenera adhuc et lactens viri justi eruditur infantia.

Primus apud eos liber vocatur *Beresith*, quem nos Genesin dicimus. Secundus *Veelle Semoth*. Tertius *Vajicra*, id est, Leviticus. Quartus *Vajedabber*, quem Numeros vocamus. Quintus *Elle haddebarim*, qui Deuteronomium praenotatur. Hi sunt quinque libri Mosis, quos proprie *Thora*, id est Legem, appellant.

Secundum *Prophetarum* ordinem faciunt, et incipiunt ab Jesu filio Nave, qui apud eos *Josue Ben Nun* dicitur. Deinde subtexunt *Sophetim*, id est Judicum librum: et in eundem compingunt *Ruth*, quia in diebus Judicum facta ejus narratur historia. Tertius sequitur *Samuel*, quem nos Regum primum et secundum dicimus. Quartus *Melachim*, id est Regum, qui tertio et quarto Regum volumine continetur. Meliusque multo est *Melachim*, id est Regum, quam *Melachoth*, id est Regnorum dicere: Non enim multarum gentium describit

regna, sed unius Israelitici populi, qui tribus duodecim continetur. Quintus est *Esaias*. Sextus *Jeremias*. Septimus *Ezechiel*. Octavus liber duodecim Prophetarum, qui apud illos vocatur *Thereasar*.

Tertius ordo *Hagiographa* possidet. Et primus liber incipit a *Job*. Secundus a David, quem quinque incisionibus et uno *Psalmorum* volumine comprehendunt. Tertius est *Salomon*, tres libros habens, Proverbia, quae illi *Misle*, id est *Parabolas*, appellant. Quartus *Ecclesiastes*, id est *Cohemoth*. Quintus Canticum Canticorum, quem titulo *Sir hassirim* praenotant. Sextus est *Daniel*, Septimus *Dibre hajammim* id est Verba dierum, quod significantius chronicon totius divinae historiae possumus appellare, qui liber apud nos Paralipomenon primus et secundus inscribitur. Octavus *Esdras* : qui et ipse similiter apud Graecos et Latinos in duos libros divisus est. Nonus *Esther*.

Atque ita fiunt pariter *Veteris Legis libri viginti duo*, id est, *Mosis* quinque, et *Prophetarum* octo, *Hagiographorum* novem.

Quoniam nonnulli *Ruth* et *Cinoth* inter *Hagiographa* scriptitent, et hos libros in suo putent numero supputandos, ac per hoc esse priscae *Legis* libros *viginti quatuor*

Hic prologus scripturarum quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris, quos de Hebraeo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest : ut scire valeamus, quicquid extra hos est, inter apocrypha esse ponendum. Igitur *Sapientia*, quae vulgo *Salomonis* inscribitur, et *Jesu filii Sirach* liber, et *Judith* et *Tobias* et *Pastor* non sunt in Canone. *Machabaeorum primum* librum hebraicum reperi. *Secundus* graecus est, quod ex ipsa quoque phrasi probari potest.

[That the Hebrews had twenty-two books, is evinced by the language of the Syrians and Chaldeans, which is in the main nearly allied to the Hebrew. For they also have twenty-two elements, with the same sound, but different characters. . . . Moreover, the Hebrews have five double letters : Caph, Mem, Nun, Pe, Sade. Hence five books also are by many considered double : *Samuel*, *Melachim*, *Dibre hajammim*, *Esdras*, *Jeremias* with *Cinoth*, that is his lamentations. As there are therefore twenty-two elements, by means of

which we write in Hebrew all that we speak, and the human voice is comprehended in their principles : so *twenty-two books* are reckoned, by which, as if by letters and rudiments, the yet tender and nursing infancy of the righteous man is instructed in the knowledge of God.

The first book is named *Bereſith*, which we call Genesis. The second, *Veelle Semoth*. The third, *Vajicra*, that is, Leviticus. The fourth, *Vajedabber*, which we call Numbers. The fifth, *Elle haddebarim*, which is denoted Deuteronomy. These are the five books of Moses, which they call properly *Thora*, that is, the Law.

They make a Second Class of the PROPHETS, and begin with Jesus the son of Nave, whom they call *Josue Ben Nun*. They then subjoin *Sophetim*, that is the book of Judges ; and attach to it *Ruth*, because history describes its events in the days of the Judges. In the third place follows *Samuel*, which we call the first and second of Kings. Fourth, *Melachim*, that is Kings, which is comprised in the third and fourth book of Kings. It is much better to say *Melachim*, that is Kings, than *Melachoth*, that is Kingdoms. For it does not treat of the kingdoms of many nations, but of the people of Israel only, consisting of twelve tribes. The fifth is *Isaiah*. The sixth *Jeremiah*. The seventh, *Ezekiel*. The eighth, the book of the twelve prophets, which they call *Thereasar*.

The Third Class contains the *Hagiographa*. And the first book begins with *Job*. The second with David, which they comprise in five sections and one book of Psalms. The third is Solomon, who has three books, Proverbs, which they call *Misle*, that is Parables. The fourth, Ecclesiastes, that is, *Cohelath*. The fifth, the Song of Songs, which they denote by the title *Sir hassirim*. The sixth is *Daniel* ; the seventh, *Dibre hajammim*, that is words of days, which we may significantly call a Chronicle of the whole sacred history : we entitle the book, first and second Paralipomenon. The eighth, *Ezra*, which also is divided into two books both by the Greeks and Latins. The ninth, *Esther*.

And in this manner there are *twenty-two books of the ancient law*, that is, five of *Moses*, eight of the *Prophets*, nine of the *Hagiographa*.

Although some often mention *Ruth* and *Cinoth* among the *Hagiographa*, and think that these books are to be reckoned in their number, and that thus the books of the ancient law are *twenty-four*. . . .

This Preface, as a well furnished proem, may be applied to all the books which we translate from Hebrew into Latin : so that we may know, every one but these is to be placed among the *Apocrypha*. Therefore *the Wisdom*, which is commonly entitled of *Solomon*, and the book of *Jesus the son of Sirach*, and *Judith*, and *Tobit*, and the *Shepherd* are not in the Canon. I have found the *first book of Maccabees* in Hebrew. The *second* is Greek, which may be proved from the very phraseology. *Tr.*]

He thus divides the whole collection into three parts, Law, Prophets, and *Hagiographa* : and reckons EIGHT Prophets and NINE *Hagiographa* ; and even remarks, that some enumerated TWENTY-FOUR Books, and, to make out this number, reckoned separately RUTH and LAMENTATIONS. And he thus concludes, that all writings of the Jews, except those mentioned, were to be placed with the *Apocrypha*.

§. 45.

The TALMUD. Cent. II—IV.

The Jews, in their quibbling, introduced two jods into the Hebrew Alphabet, that it might consist of twenty-four consonants. Hence the TALMUD reckons twenty-four canonical books, in the following order (t) :

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|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1—5. The FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES. | 8. TWO BOOKS OF SAMUEL. |
| 6. JOSHUA. | 9. TWO BOOKS OF KINGS. |
| 7. JUDGES. | 10. JEREMIAH. |

(t) Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. xi.

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|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 11. EZEKIEL. | 18. ECCLESIASTES. |
| 12. ISAIAH. | 19. THE SONG OF SOLOMON. |
| 13. XII MINOR PROPHETS. | 20. LAMENTATIONS. |
| 14. RUTH. | 21. DANIEL. |
| 15. PSALMS. | 22. ESTHER. |
| 16. JOB. | 23. EZRA (and NEHEMIAH.) |
| 17. PROVERBS. | 24. CHRONICLES. |

The principal passage is found in the treatise *Bava Bathra* (u). Having divided the Books of Scripture into 1. תורה [the Law], 2. נביאים [the Prophets], and 3. כתובים [the Hagiographa], and suggested in regard to them much that is not here in place; it then names the books of each part separately, and exhibits those of the two latter parts in the following order:

סדרן של נביאים יהושע ושופטים שמואל
ובסלים ירמיה ויחזקאל ישעיה ושנים עשר

סידרן של כתובים רות וספר תהלים ואיוב
ומשלי קהלת שיר השירים וקינות דניאל
ומגילת אסתר עזרא ודברי הימים

[The order of *Prophets* is JOSHUA and JUDGES, SAMUEL and KINGS, JEREMIAH and EZEKIEL, ISAIAH and the TWELVE. . . . The order of *Hagiographa* is RUTH and the BOOK OF PSALMS, and JOB and PROVERBS, the PREACHER, the SONG OF SONGS and LAMENTATIONS, DANIEL and the roll of ESTHER, EZRA and CHRONICLES. Tr.]

(u) BAVA BATHRA, fol. 13. 14. ed. Venet., 1548. [The passage cited from the Talmud is given, as quoted by EICHORN from the Venice edition; but in the edition of Amsterdam (an. Jud. 406), in which the words occur p. 14. b., lines 26. 27. 34. 35., instead of the Talmudick וּבְסָלִים, (see BUXTORF's Lexicon Chald. Talmud. Rabbin. col. 323. on the root בסל), is found the Hebrew ומלכים Tr.]

§. 46.

RESULT: *history declares that ALL the books of our Hebrew editions of the Bible are Canonical.*

From the accounts thus far collected, it is undeniable, I think, that at the time of Christ and the Apostles, the Canon of the Jews corresponded in extent with our present editions of the Bible. And if, *before their time*, in the period between the end of the Babylonian captivity and the birth of Christ, it may be presumed to have once contained fewer books; we must then either deny the truth of the picture, which antiquity presents to us, of the opinion of the Jews in respect to their sacred books, or maintain, that a designed and in all parts determinate collection of their national writings never was provided by the Jews. The former is without any foundation, to contradict to the face the most credible testimonies of antiquity, and the latter is to contend against all self-evidence.

From the remotest period, the Jews glowed with a sacred reverence for their national writings. In the language of Josephus, "it was, so to speak, innate with them, to regard these as divine instructions; in their solicitude they ventured not, as he assures us,—to *add*, or to *take away*, or to *alter* any thing, although some of the writings had a very high antiquity." (§. 29.) Even by the greatest calamities, which the mad spirit of persecution gathered around them on account of their sacred books, they did not permit their reverence to be repressed (v). How could a nation, with these sentiments, suffer to be ranked with their sacred books, such as were of inferior value and authority—in case it had been made out and generally decided, *how many* and *what books* were entitled to divine authority?

This also was settled. As far as we can go back in their

(v) Compare PHILO, in EUSEBIUS' *praepar. evang.*, lib. viii. c. 6.

history, just there, where the Apocrypha unites the broken thread of Hebrew literature, we find express mention of a sacred national library of the Hebrews, as the several parts of it were strictly determined. It thus appears, that it was begun soon after the Babylonian captivity; or that, from the Writings, which in regard to contents, authors, and date of composition were so different, there was made a complete whole, with a view that, for the future, no new writings should be added to them;* although, from the want of accounts, we are not now able to specify, in *what year*, and *why* additions at that period ceased to be made.

In short, HISTORY ATTESTS, THAT AFTER THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY, AND INDEED SOON AFTER THE NEW ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HEBREW STATE IN PALESTINE, THE CANON WAS FULLY SETTLED, AND AT THAT TIME COMPRISED ALL THOSE BOOKS, WHICH WE NOW FIND IN IT. And yet learned men of modern times have endeavoured to prove, that the Canon of the Old Testament was first determined in very recent times; that many of our books, regarded as canonical, formerly had no place in the Canon, but were first raised to this distinction by Christian Fathers, and modern Jews.

In this the favourite System was in fault. Men had speculated in the abstract, on the characteristic of a Scriptural Book, and without any materials had erected a building in the air. Then, innumerable appearances opposed the received general views of the nature of a Scriptural Book. Without demolishing the former building itself, and without taking pains to seek for the materials of a new and more substantial structure, they merely patched up the old castle in the air, and they would no longer tolerate in the Canon those books, to which the old theory, (consecrated indeed by the prerogative of age, but otherwise baseless,) did not admit of being applied.

* [The author here refers to his Introduction to the O. T., Vol. 1. §. 5. which treats of the collection of the Hebrew Scriptures after the Babylonian captivity. Tr.]

APPENDIX.

Note [A].

THE view which the New Testament gives of the particular books belonging to the Jewish Canon, may be ascertained by an examination of the references in the following Table. It contains all the *direct quotations* from the Old Testament in the New Testament.

GENESIS.

- I. 27. Mark, x. 6.
- II. 3. Heb. iv. 4.
- II. 7. 1 Cor. xv. 45.
- II. 24. Matt. xix. 5.
- Mark, x. 7.
- 1. Cor. vi. 16.
- Eph. v. 31.
- XII. 1. Acts, vii. 3.
- XII. 3. Gal. iii. 8.
- XV. 5. Rom. iv. 18.
- XV. 6. Jam. ii. 23.
- XV. 6. Rom. iv. 3.
- XV. 13. 14. Acts, vii. 6. 7.
- XVII. 5. Rom. iv. 17.
- XVIII. 10. Rom. ix. 9.
- XXI. 10. Gal. iv. 30.
- XXI. 12. Rom. ix. 7.
- XXII. 16. 17. Heb. vi. 14.

GENESIS.

- XXII. 18. Acts, iii. 25.
- Gal. iii. 16.
- XXV. 23. Rom. ix. 12.
- XLVII. 31. Hebr. xi. 21.

EXODUS.

- II. 13. Acts, vii. 26.
- II. 14. Acts, vii. 27. 28.
- Acts, vii. 35.
- III. 5. 7. 8. 10. Acts, vii. 33. 34.
- III. 6. Matt. xxii. 32.
- Mark, xii. 26.
- Luke, xx. 37.
- Acts, vii. 32.
- IX. 16. Rom. ix. 17.
- XII. 46. John, xix. 36.
- XIII. 2. Luke, ii. 23.

EXODUS.

- xvi. 18. 2 Cor. viii. 15.
 xix. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9.
 xix. 12. 13. Hebr. xii. 20.
 xx. 12. Matt. xv. 4.
 ——— Matt. xix. 18.
 ——— Mark, vii. 10.
 ——— Mark, x. 19.
 ——— Luke, xviii. 20.
 ——— Eph. vi. 2. 3.
 xx. 13. Jam. ii. 11.
 xx. 13. 14. Rom. xiii. 9.
 xx. 14. Rom. vii. 7.
 xxi. 17. Matt. xv. 4.
 ——— Mark, vii. 10.
 xxii. 8. Acts, xiiii. 5.
 xxiv. 8. Hebr. ix. 20.
 xxv. 40. Hebr. viii. 5.
 xxxii. 1. Acts, vii. 40.
 xxxii. 6. 1 Cor. x. 7.
 xxxiii. 19. Rom. ix. 15.

LEVITICUS.

- xi. 44. 1 Pet. i. 16.
 xii. 8. Luke, ii. 24.
 xviii. 5. Rom. x. 5.
 ——— Gal. iii. 11. 12.
 xix. 18. Matt. xix. 19.
 ——— Matt. xxii. 39.
 ——— Mark, xii. 31.
 ——— Luke, x. 27.
 ——— Rom. xiii. 9.
 ——— Gal. v. 14.
 ——— Jam. ii. 8.
 xxvi. 11. 12. 2 Cor. vi. 16.

NUMBERS.

- xvi. 5. 2 Tim. ii. 19.

DEUTERONOMY.

- v. 16. Eph. vi. 2. 3.
 vi. 45. Mark, xii. 29. 30.
 vi. 5. Matt. xxiii. 37.
 ——— Luke, x. 27.
 vi. 13. Matt. iv. 10.
 ——— Luke, iv. 8.
 vi. 16. Matt. iv. 7.
 ——— Luke, iv. 12.
 viii. 3. Matt. iv. 4.
 ——— Luke, iv. 4.
 ix. 19. Hebr. xii. 21.
 xviii. 15. 19. Acts, iii. 22. 23.
 ——— Acts, vii. 37.
 xix. 15. John, viii. 17.
 ——— 2 Cor. xiii. 1.
 xxi. 23. Gal. iii. 13.
 xxv. 4. 1 Cor. ix. 9.
 ——— 1 Tim. v. 18.
 xxv. 5. Matt. xxii. 24.
 ——— Mark, xii. 19.
 ——— Luke, xx. 28.
 xxvii. 26. Gal. iii. 10.
 xxx. 12. Rom. x. 6.
 xxxi. 8. Hebr. xiii. 5.
 xxxii. 17. 1 Cor. x. 30.
 xxxii. 21. Rom. x. 19.
 xxxii. 35. Rom. xii. 19.
 xxxii. 43. Rom. xv. 10.
 xxxii. 35. 36. Hebr. x. 30.

JOSHUA.

- i. 5. Hebr. xiii. 5.

1. SAMUEL.

- xiii. 14. Acts, xiii. 22.

2. SAMUEL.

vii. 14. 2 Cor. vi. 17. 18.
 ——— Heb. i. 5.

1. KINGS.

xix. 14. Rom. xi. 3.
 xix. 18. Rom. xi. 4.

JOB.

v. 13. 1 Cor. iii. 19.

PSALMS.

ii. 1. 2. Acts, iv. 25. 26.
 ii. 7. Acts, xiii. 33.
 ——— Heb. i. 5.
 ——— Heb. v. 5.
 ii. 9. Rev. ii. 27.
 v. 10. Rom. iii. 13.
 viii. 3. Matt. xxi. 16.
 viii. 5. Heb. ii. 6.
 viii. 7. 1 Cor. xv. 27.
 viii. 17. 18. Heb. ii. 13.
 x. 7. Rom. iii. 14.
 xiv. 1. Rom. iii. 10. 11. 12.
 xvi. 8. Acts, ii. 25.
 xvi. 10. Acts, xiii. 35.
 xviii. 50. Rom. xv. 9.
 xix. 5. Rom. x. 18.
 xxiii. 1. Matt. xxvii. 46.
 ——— Mark, xv. 34.
 xxii. 19. Matt. xxvii. 35.
 ——— John, xix. 24.
 xxii. 23. Heb. ii. 12.
 xxiv. 1. 1 Cor. x. 26.
 xxxi. 6. Luke, xiiii. 46.
 xxxii. 1. 2. Rom. iv. 7. 8.
 xxxiv. 12. 1. Pet. iii. 10.

PSALMS.

xxxvi. 2. Rom. iii. 18.
 xli. 7. Hebr. x. 5.
 xli. 10. John, xiii. 18.
 xliv. 22. Rom. viii. 36.
 xlv. 7. 8. Heb. i. 8. 9.
 li. 6. Rom. iii. 4.
 lxxviii. 19. Eph. iv. 8.
 lxxix. 10. John, ii. 17.
 ——— Rom. xv. 3.
 lxxix. 23. 24. Rom. xi. 9. 10.
 lxxix. 26. Acts, i. 20.
 lxxviii. 2. Matt. xiii. 35.
 lxxviii. 24. John, vi. 31.
 lxxxii. 6. John, x. 34.
 lxxxix. 21. Acts, xiii. 22.
 xci. 11. 12. Matt. iv. 6.
 ——— Luke, iv. 10.

11.

xciv. 11. 1 Cor. iii. 20.
 xc. 7. Heb. iii. 7.
 xc. 7. 8. Hebr. iii. 15.
 ——— Heb. iv. 7.
 xc. 11. Heb. iv. 3.
 xcvi. 7. Heb. i. 6.
 cii. 26... Heb. i. 10...
 civ. 4. Heb. i. 7.
 cix. 3. John, xv. 25.
 cix. 8. Acts, i. 20.
 cx. 1. Matt. xxii. 44.
 ——— Mark, xii. 36.
 ——— Luke, xx. 42. 43.
 ——— Acts, ii. 34. 35.
 ——— 1 Cor. xv. 25.
 ——— Heb. i. 13.
 cx. 4. Heb. v. 6.
 ——— Heb. vii. 17. 21.
 cxii. 9. 2. Cor. ix. 9.
 cxvi. 10. 2 Cor. iv. 13.
 cxvii. 1. Rom. xv. 11.

PSALMS.

CXVIII. 6. Hebr. XIII. 6.
 CXVIII. 22. Luke, xx. 17.
 CXVIII. 22. 23. Matt. xxi. 42.
 ————— Mark, XII. 10. 11.
 ————— Acts, iv. 11.
 ————— 1 Pet. II. 7.
 CXL. 4. Rom. III. 13.

PROVERBS.

III. 11. Hebr. XII. 5.
 III. 12. Hebr. XII. 6.
 III. 34. Jam. iv. 6.
 x. 12. 1 Pet. iv. 8.
 XXII. 9. 2 Cor. ix. 7.
 XXV. 21. 22. Rom. XII. 20.
 XXVI. 11. 2 Pet. II. 22.

ISAIAH.

I. 9. Rom. ix. 29.
 VI. 9. Matt. XIII. 14.
 ——— Mark. iv. 12.
 ——— Luke, VIII. 10.
 VI. 9. 10. Acts, XXVIII. 26. 27.
 VI. 10. John, XII. 40.
 VII. 14. Matt. I. 23.
 VIII. 12. 13. 1 Pet. III. 14. 15.
 VIII. 14. Rom. ix. 33.
 ——— Rom. x. 11.
 VIII. 23. Matt. iv. 15. 16.
 ix. 1. ———
 x. 22. 23. Rom. ix. 27. 28.
 XI. 10. Rom. xv. 12.
 XXII. 13. 1 Cor. xv. 32.
 XXV. 8. 1 Cor. xv. 54.
 XXVIII. 11. 12. 1 Cor. XIV. 21.
 XXVIII. 16. Rom. ix. 33.

ISAIAH.

——— Rom. x. 11.
 ——— 1 Pet. II. 6.
 XXIX. 10. Rom. XI. 8.
 ——— Mark, VII. 6. 7.
 XXIX. 14. 1 Cor. 19.
 XL. 3. Matt. III. 3.
 ——— Mark, I. 2. 3.
 ——— Luke, III. 4. 5. 6.
 ——— John, I. 23.
 XL. 6. 1 Pet. I. 24. 25.
 XL. 13. Rom. XI. 34.
 ——— 1 Cor. II. 16.
 XLII. 1. Matt. XII. 18.
 XLV. 23. Rom. XIV. 11.
 XLIX. 6. Acts, XIII. 47.
 XLIX. 8. 2 Cor. VI. 2.
 LII. 5. Rom. II. 24.
 LII. 7. Rom. x. 15.
 LII. 11. 12. 2 Cor. VI. 17. 18.
 LII. 15. Rom. xv. 21.
 LIII. 1. John XII. 38.
 LIII. 3. Rom. x. 16.
 LIII. 4. Matt. VIII. 17.
 LIII. 5. 1 Pet. II. 24.
 LIII. 7. 8. Acts, VIII. 32. 33.
 LIII. 9. 1 Pet. II. 22.
 LIII. 12. Mark, xv. 28.
 ——— Luke, XXII. 37.
 LIV. 1. Gal. iv. 27.
 LIV. 13. John, vi. 45.
 LV. 3. Acts, XIII. 34.
 LVI. 7. Matt. XXI. 13.
 ——— Mark, XI. 17.
 ——— Luke, XIX. 46.
 LIX. 7. 8. Rom. III. 15.
 LIX. 20. 21. Rom. XI. 26. 27.
 LXI. 1. 2. Luke, IV. 18. 19.

ISAIAH.

- LXIV. 13. 1. Cor. II. 9.
 LXV. 1. 2. Acts, VII. 49. 40.
 LXV. 1. 2. Rom. X. 20. 21.

JEREMIAH.

- VII. 11. Matt. XXI. 13.
 ——— Mark, XI. 17.
 ——— Luke, XIX. 46.
 IX. 23. 1. Cor. I. 31.
 XXXI. 15.. Matt. II. 18.
 XXXI. 31.. Hebr. VIII. 8.
 XXXI. 33. 34. Hebr. X. 16, 17.

HOSEA.

- II. 1. Rom. IX. 26.
 II. 25. Rom. IX. 25.
 VI. 6. Matt. IX. 13.
 ——— Matt. XII. 7.
 XI. 1. Matt. II. 15.
 XIII. 14. 1 Cor. XV. 55.

JOEL.

- III. 1. Acts, II. 17.
 III. 5. Rom. X. 13.

AMOS.

- V. 25. Acts, VII. 42. 43.
 IX. 11. 12. Acts, XV. 16. 17.

MICAH.

- V. I. Matt. II. 6.

HABAKKUK.

- I. 5. Acts, XIII. 41.
 II. 3. 4. Hebr. X. 37. 38.
 II. 4. Rom. I. 17.
 ——— Gal. III. 11. 12.

HAGGAI.

- II. 6. HEBR. XII. 26.

ZECHARIAH.

- IX. 9. Matt. XXI. 5.
 ——— John, XII. 15.
 XI. 13. Matt. XXVII. 9. 10.
 XII. 10. John, XIX. 37.
 XIII. 7. Matt. XXVI. 31.
 ——— Mark, XIV. 27.

MALACHI.

- I. 2. 3. Rom. IX. 13.
 III. 1. Matt. XI. 10.
 ——— Mark, I. 2. 3.
 ——— Luke, VII. 27.
 III. 23. Luke, I. 17.

There are, in the New Testament, no direct quotations from the following books:

JUDGES.	NEHEMIAH.	DANIEL.
RUTH.	ESTHER.	OBADIAH.
II KINGS.	ECCLESIASTES.	JONAH.
I CHRONICLES.	THE SONG OF SOLOMON.	NAHUM.
II CHRONICLES.	LAMENTATIONS.	ZEPHANIAH.
EZRA.	EZEKIEL.	

But references are made to some of these:

TO JUDGES, in Heb. xi. 30—34. and Acts, xiii. 20; to II KINGS in Luke, iv. 25—27. x. 4. Heb. xi. 35; I CHRONICLES, in Heb. v. 4; II CHRONICLES, in Matt. ii. 51. xxiii. 35. Lu. xi. 51; NEHEMIAH, Rom. ii. 24; ESTHER, Rev. xi. 5; ECCLESIASTES, in 1 Tim. vi. 7. Jam. iv. 5; LAMENTATIONS, 1 Cor. iv. 15; EZEKIEL, in II Pet. ii. 5. III. 4. Rev.; DANIEL, in Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark, xiii. 14. Heb. xi. 33. 34; JONAH, in Matt. xii. 39—41. Luke, xi. 30. 32; NAHUM, Rev. xviii. 3.

STORR, in his *Biblical Theology*, (quoted above, §. 8. note *), has exhibited, from the *New Testament*, a View of the "*Divine authority of the Old Testament*," in Vol. i. B. I. §. 13.; and in §. 14., he gives the "*Proof*," from the *New Testament*, "*that the Jewish Canon, in the days of Jesus, contained the same books which now constitute our Old Testament.*" HORNE, in his *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, Vol. II. P. I. Ch. IX. Sect. I., has classified and arranged the "*Quotations from the Old Testament in the New.*" The most convenient and satisfactory work, as an aid to the student, who desires to investigate the subject, is entitled "*Passages cited from the Old Testament by the writers of the New Testament, compared with the Original Hebrew and the Septuagint Version: ar-*

ranged by the Junior Class in the Theological Seminary, Andover, and published at their request, under the superintendence of M. STUART, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature." pp. 39. Quarto, Andover, 1827. Tr.]

Note [B].

The quotations from the Old Testament in the New are of two kinds.

I. Some books are quoted *for the establishment of religious truths*. To this class, without controversy, belong the following books.

1. THE BOOKS OF MOSES. Matt. iv. 4. 7. xv. 4. xxii. 31. 37. Mark, vii. 9. 10. 13. 1 Cor. ix. 8.
2. ISAIAH. Matt. i. 23. (viii. 17. xii. 18. Mark, xi. 17. John, vi. 45.), Acts, viii. 30—35. Rom. xii. 1 Pet. ii. 6.
3. JEREMIAH. Hebr. x. 15. 16. 17.
4. PSALMS. Matt. xxii. 43. 44. Acts, ii. 25.

II. Some books of the Old Testament are only cited by the way ; sometimes for illustration, sometimes as parallels.

The student, who wishes to examine this part of the subject, will be furnished with a list of the direct and indirect quotations, by consulting KNAPP'S edition of the New Testament ; in which, at the close of Tom. II., is given a table, entitled : *Recensus locorum Veteris Testamenti in Novo vel ipsis verbis, vel obscurius commemoratorum*.

The whole subject is very ably discussed by the following writers, in addition to those cited in the last note :

DRUSIUS, in the work entitled : *In Parallela Sacra Notae*, inserted in the *Critici Sacri*, Lond., 1660. Vol. viii. pp. 1266—1325.

SURENHUSIUS, in his פירוש הכתובים סיע BIBAOE KATAΛΛAΓHΣ, in quo secundum veterum theologorum Hebraeorum formulas allegandi, et modos interpretandi conciliantur loca ex V. in N. T. allegata. Amstelaedami, 1713, small 4to. pp. 712.

MICHAELIS, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, Vol. I. P. I, Ch. v. Sect. 1—v.

OWEN, on the *Modes of Quotation used by the Evangelical writers*.

SLEGEL, in a Treatise printed in the *Thesaurus Novus Theolog. Philolog.* P. II. T. II.

SCOTT, in his contributions on the subject, found in the *Christian Observer*; see the Vols. for 1810 and 1811.

Some excellent observations may be found also, in a *Lecture by Professor Woods*, Andover, pp. 32., on “*The Objection to the Inspiration of the Evangelists and Apostles from their manner of quoting texts from the Old Testament.*”

ESSAY
ON THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
SAMUEL BOCHART.

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CHAPLAIN AND SUPERINTENDENT OF THE NEW-YORK
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL PUBLIC SCHOOL.

ESSAY,

&c., &c.

Success in giving a tolerably accurate outline of the events of a scholar's life, and some idea of the contents and character of the works on which his fame is built, is all that will be aimed at in the following Essay. The extraordinary reputation of BOCHART would, it is true, justify a much more extensive work. His life, although not eventful, contains much that would afford theme for copious remark; and a thorough criticism of his voluminous and most learned works would fill a volume. The imperfect sketch which follows will not do justice to the subject, but it may, at least, furnish a few facts respecting a man who, once the wonder of his age, is now almost forgotten, and excite some attention to books which are at this day more praised than read.

Few men have acquired a higher reputation for abstract learning than BOCHART. At an early period of his life his fame was extended beyond the limits of his country; and on the publication of his principal works, it almost instantaneously obtained the most exalted rank. The most distinguished scholars, in an age which of all before or since excelled in varied erudition, vied with each other in admiring and extolling the eminence of BOCHART in the very acquirements for which they themselves were most celebrated. (a) From them the crowd of second-

(a) SARRAU, a counsellor at Paris, an accomplished scholar and patron of learned men, says in a letter to SAUMAISE, as early as March 15, 1645: "Cadomensis BOCHARTUS eruditissimum commentarium in Genes. cap. x. perfecit—in quo—omnigena doctrina—suaviter te afficiet."—J. L. FABRICY (in Orat. Inaug. de Animarum Immortalitate, in 1660.) says of him "præcipuum ævi nostri dictus sit miraculum, cujus si quis nomen ignoret, aut stupendum cumque summa modestia conjunctum eruditionem non suspiciat, illum penitus æmulum esse oportet."

rate writers, who depend on their Coryphaei for their judgments and opinions, took the tone ; and since that time it would have been literary heresy to consider BOCHART as other than a scholar of the first rank. The honourable appellation of "the learned"—*eruditus*—is almost invariably prefixed to his name, and would you give an example of nearly unbounded reading (*b*) and equal diligence in its application, cite BOCHART, and the aptness of the illustration will be immediately allowed. (*c*)

Considering the exalted station which our author has maintained among the learned,—his intimate connexion with a great number of the most celebrated literary characters of his age and country, and his extensive correspondence with eminent individuals, it is rather surprising that no independent biographical account of him should have been given to the world. Within the last half century, many less prominent and less interesting characters have been made the subjects

The opinions of G. J. VOSSIUS, ISAAC VOSSIUS, TANAQUIL FABER, LEWIS CAPPEL, PAUL COLOMIES, and MERIC CASAUBON, to the same effect, are cited by SPIZELIUS, *Inf. Lit.* p. 917, 919, 925.

(*b*) In his excellent remarks on the antiquities of the Phoenicians, BOCHART appears to have made no use of a Spanish work on the antiquities of Spain and Africa, by BERNARD ALDRETE, published in 1614; and as this is an *opus classicum*, B.'s inattention to it must have arisen from ignorance of it. The remark is made by LE CLERC, *Bibl. Choisie*, V. 389. and 393, and after him by FABRICIUS, *Bibliographia Antiquaria* p. 43. That two of the sharpest critics and greatest readers in the learned world should have so carefully noted a *single oversight* in BOCHART, and should have been able to discover *only one*, is a strong proof of the great extent of his reading. Such criticisms are greatly creditable to his learning. They show that its boundaries were those of human infirmity: '*tantum non omnia scivit.*'

(*c*) SPIZELIUS, in that elaborately learned and eccentric work, the '*Infelix Literatus*,' has a chapter entitled '*Solertia Jugis, sive Literatorum, ingenio pariter ac laboriosa sedulitate aevo nostro maxime illustrium Quadriga nobilissima.*' The illustrious *four* are ISAAC CASAUBON, GER. JO. VOSSIUS, JOHN SELDEN, and *Bochart*. He speaks of them as "*fulgentissima orbis eruditi sidera;*" and talks of "*quantis (indefatigabili sua studiositate) thesauris universam rempublicam literariam exornarint, locupletarintque.*" *Inf. Lit. Common.* xxx. p. 887.

of extensive works, while he has been suffered to languish in comparative obscurity.

Soon after BOCHART'S decease, his junior colleague in the pastoral care of the church at Caen, DU BOSQ, who is well known as the zealous and able advocate of the liberties of his fellow Protestants in France, avowed an intention to write his life. (d) But this intention was completely frustrated by the troubles which preceded the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the consequences of that revocation. These commenced almost immediately after BOCHART'S decease, and resulted in the exile of DU BOSQ, with the greater portion of his flock, to Holland, where he shortly after died. Had no such series of untoward events occurred, we should doubtless be in possession of a faithful portraiture of the life and manners of our author, and that with the additional advantage of its being from a master's pen.

This project having failed, STEPHEN MORIN, a junior associate with BOCHART and DU BOSQ in the care of the church at Caen, was induced, by the intreaties of their common friends, to draw up, partly from recollection and partly from papers in the possession of BOCHART'S family, a short account of the life and writings of our author in the Latin language. (e) This has been prefixed to both the editions of BOCHART'S collected works. It is the first article in the third volume of the splendid edition of LEUSDEN and VILLAMAND. Narration was not the forte of MORIN, and accordingly, as a *history* of the life of Bochart, his essay merits very little praise. The detail of facts is dry, unnecessarily concise, and provokingly meagre. His reflections are seldom more than common place, often almost puerile. But as a friend and apologist of his deceased colleague, he shows his zeal, and learning, and ingenuity, in an advantageous light. His account of the origin and design of the published and unpublished works of Bochart, also, is

(d) MORINUS de Clar. Boch. p. 1.

(e) STEPHANUS MORINUS de Clarissimo Bocharto et omnibus ejus scriptis.

tolerably interesting and well arranged. On the whole, his thirty-six folio pages are filled with matter rather above the general character of the biographical notices commonly prefixed to posthumous editions of the works of celebrated men. From this life, a notice of Bochart contained in the *Infelix Literatus* of SPIZELIUS, and several scattered anecdotes in HUET'S Commentaries on his own Life, the materials of the following sketch have been principally derived.

When a man has acquired by his own talents and industry an enduring reputation, it can add but little to his importance to trace his descent from a noble ancestry. Yet that little the biographer is seldom willing to spare ; and accordingly, scanty as are the memorials of SAMUEL BOCHART, it has been carefully recorded that he derived his origin, on the father's side, from a noble family. The frequency of the instances in which several individuals of the same family have excelled in the same or similar branches of science or the arts attaches rather more real value to a near connexion with men distinguished for their natural endowments. Of this advantage, also, our author was not destitute, his mother being sister to the famous PETER MOULIN or MOLINEUS. It was of more importance to him, however, that his parents were themselves eminent for their talents and their virtues. His father, BOCHART de MESNILLET, having filled the station of Chief Pastor of the Reformed Church at Rouen, with reputation, for many years ; and his mother having even acquired celebrity for her remarkable prudence and sedateness, and unfeigned piety. Of such parents he was born at Rouen in 1599. Nothing is recorded of his early youth, except that it was well spent. There are yet extant forty-four Greek verses of no contemptible character, composed by him at the early age of thirteen, and addressed to his preceptor, who deemed them of sufficient value to be prefixed to a *Corpus Romanorum Antiquitatum*, published in 1612. These verses are of no small importance in tracing the literary life of our author, since they inform us that he was the cherished and grateful pupil of no less a scholar than THOMAS DEMPSTER. This man, a Scotchman by birth, a tutor in the University of Paris, was an object of admiration

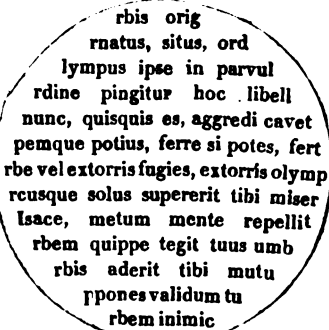
with his cotemporaries for his extraordinary talents, his uncommon boldness and great personal courage, and especially his extensive reading and astonishing memory. It is said of him that he did not know what it was to forget, and that there was no passage or circumstance in any ancient author with which he was not perfectly acquainted. (f) The number and variety of his works prove the use which he made of such extraordinary endowments. To have been placed at an early age under the care of such a man was undeniably no small advantage to BOCHART, and in all probability contributed greatly to form him to the character in which he afterward appeared. On the other hand, that such an advantage was not thrown away upon him, is evident from the fact that a man of such distinguished learning as Dempster was willing to prefix the commendatory verses of his pupil to one of his most elaborate productions. Shortly after the publication of those verses our author was removed to the College at Sedan. (g) He there studied philosophy under JOHN SMITH, a clergyman and professor of the institution; and in 1615, sustained his public theses in that branch with much credit. These he dedicated in verse to his grandfather, JOACHIM MOULIN, a pastor at Orleans, and to his uncle PETER MOULIN, then resident at Paris. About the same time he also published several other minor poems, which do credit to his proficiency in the Latin language, and the principles of its versification. One in particular, bearing date 1616, is worthy of notice, as a remarkable instance of the same indefatigable industry which adhered to him through life, and as exhibiting an extraordinary ingenuity which, perhaps, contributed to lessen the value of the learned labours of his maturer years. A friend and classmate had published some theses De Mundo. BOCHART, to do him honour, composed a copy of-complimen-

(f) Bayle, Dict. Art. DEMPSTER. Note E.

(g) He was probably residing at Paris, in the house of his uncle Peter Moulin, while he was under the care of Dempster. MOULIN, ubi supra. p. 2.

tary verses, increasing in six lines from a dimeter to a full hexameter, and decreasing again to a dimeter in as many more, so as to form the superficies of a circle. A large O circumscribed the whole, and this letter formed the beginning and end of every line. (*h*) Some other complimentary poems, published in 1618, on occasion of the departure of two young noblemen from Sedan, display considerable powers of versification, and some invention, and prove the continuance of Bochart's attachment to these lighter studies. Nevertheless, although he indulged in these amusements, while at Sedan, he made theology the principal subject of his attention, studying it under the learned and celebrated James Capel. About 1619 he left Sedan, and went, as nearly as MORIN could ascertain (*i*) to the Protestant university at Saumur, there studying divinity under the famous Scotch divine JOHN CAMERON, who succeeded GOMAR in his Professorship in that university in 1618. The civil disturbances obliged Cameron to retire to London in 1621. BOCHART accompanied him, attending his private lectures there. According to MORIN, (*k*) his stay was short, as toward the close of the same year he was at Leyden,

(*h*) I insert this literary trifle, to convey an accurate idea of the labour which must have been wasted in its composition.



rbis orig
rnatus, situs, ord
lympus ipse in parvul
rdine pingitur hoc libell
nunc, quisquis es, aggredi cavet
pemque potius, ferre si potes, fert
rbe vel extorris fugies, extorris olymp
rcusque solus supererit tibi miser
Isace, metum mente repellit
rbem quippe tegit tuus umb
rbis aderit tibi mutu
ppones validum tu
rbem inimic

(*i*) MORIN. ubi supra.

(*k*) MORIN. ubi supra.

studying the Arabic language, and perfecting his knowledge of Hebrew, under ERPENIUS, the first Arabic scholar of his day; and at the same time attending the theological lectures of ANDREW RIVET. (l) If this be correct, BOCHART must have visited England twice; since it is certain that in 1622 he was studying at Oxford, (m) and in the Lent or spring term of the year was admitted a public student in the library of that university, at that time the accustomed resort of studious foreigners. The common complaint of continental scholars respecting the peculiarity of the English pronunciation of the Latin language was made by our traveller. A laughable occurrence, which took place during his residence at the University, afforded him, it must be confessed, some ground. A creation of Doctors being about to take place, BOCHART paid a visit to one of the Academical Senate for the purpose of obtaining admission to a sight of the ceremony. After stating his request with some urgency, he was no little surprized and mortified to receive for answer that 'the Academical funds were at that time very low,' accompanied with the tender of a few crowns. The good doctor had been unable to understand the continental pronunciation of his visiter, and had only collected from his speech that he was a foreigner in want of something. Accustomed, no doubt, to applications for pecuniary aid (for England was at that time noted for her liberality to needy scholars from abroad) he presumed the object of BOCHART to be of the same kind, and framed his reply accordingly. The difference of pronunciation must have been great, which could so completely interrupt communication between two persons well acquainted with the language in which they attempted to converse. The same difference exists to the present day, although it is impossible to prove that either of the modern me-

(l) RIVET was BOCHART's uncle by marriage with his mother's sister; and subsequently displayed his esteem for his distinguished relative and pupil, by dedicating to him, jointly with P. DU MOULIN, W. RIVET, and J. M. DE LANGLE, his *Catholicus Orthodoxus*, in 1629.

(m) ANTH. WOOD. *Fasti Oxonienses*. i. 158.

thods is conformable to the ancient pronunciation of the language. There is no plea for such an obstinate adherence on either side to peculiarities which deprive the Latin scholar of half the benefit of his acquisition, by taking from it the character of an *universal language* and general medium of communication between the learned. As the English, and those who in this country have followed their pronunciation, are the minority, it behoves them to cede to the generally prevailing custom, and render their own Latin intelligible when spoken, to the rest of the world, and themselves able to understand the conversation of foreign men of letters.

BOCHART, having spent his time abroad with pleasure and profit, was recalled to his native place by the death of his father, and the duties he owed to his widowed mother. With her he resided some time at Rouen, until the Reformed Congregation at Caen being deprived, by death, of one of its pastors, and hearing of the young BOCHART'S extraordinary talents and acquirements, unanimously elected him to supply the vacancy. He accepted the appointment, and consequently removed to Caen, which, excepting the short interval of his journey into Sweden, was his place of residence during the remainder of his life. The date of this settlement is not recorded, but all accounts agree in speaking of its happy consequences; and stating that BOCHART'S assiduity and faithful attention to all the duties of the pastoral office quickly gained him a very great degree of popularity. Preaching, in consequence of the peculiar, and perhaps undue, importance which is attached to that ordinance by the reformed churches on the continent, occupied a great proportion of his studies. As might be expected when a man of such abilities concentrated his exertions on a single object, he met with eminent success. His discourses were warm and practical, while at the same time, according to MORIN, (n) he displayed consummate ability in

(n) I quote my author, because the assertion appears a little marvellous, and because his judgment may have differed from that which would have been formed in the premises by a modern sermon-critic.

rendering them replete with learning, without in the least unfitting them for popular effect, or rendering them above the comprehension of his people.

But BOCHART was not left long undisturbed in this happy and useful connexion. The plans which the wily RICHELIEU had set in operation were now beginning to take effect, and all things were fast ripening for the downfall of the reformed religion in France. Among other indications of the approach of that event, was the appearance of a swarm of self-constituted pacificators, who, under pretence of seeking by the oft tried method of conference and disputation, to unite both parties, were in reality deepening the prejudices of the Romanists and exasperating their ill-will against the Protestant minority. A conspicuous place among these wranglers was held by one VÉRON, an ex-Jesuit, who, under authority of a royal licence, migrated from place to place, holding formal disputations with such of the reformed as he could persuade or tease into the measure. He was one of the set known in history by the name of *Methodists*, on account of their adopting and rigidly observing particular *methods* of conducting their controversies, which seemed to them best suited to effect their ends. His plan was to insist that his antagonists should make good their arguments and opinions, in every instance, by express and formal declarations of Holy Writ. No inference or conclusion, however fair, no circumstantial proof, however strong, was to be admitted. 'You appeal to Scripture,' was virtually his language to Protestants, 'and to Scripture we will go. But it shall be Scripture *only*, without the least aid of human reason in any way applied.' Of course there could be very little chance of failure in such a contest. With all the advantage of the negative side of the question, he deprived his opponents of the use of the only evidence which they could, or desired to, bring in support of their affirmative. (e) This champion made his appearance at Caen in

(e) МОНЗИИ. Hist. Eccles. p. 873. SIMON Lettres Choisies, p. 212. s

1628, and with persevering industry tormented BOCHART till he consented to a public disputation in the castle of the city. The Duc de Longueville, at that time Viceroy of Normandy, and governor of the place, presided; and a number of persons of distinction, with a great concourse of people, of both creeds, were present. The conference lasted nine days, and turned upon all the principal points in dispute between the Romanists and Protestants. Two secretaries appointed for that purpose, one by each of the contending parties, took down the arguments of the disputants, and at the close of each day's session, these were read before the president and the whole assembly, and signed by BOCHART and his antagonist. Notwithstanding all this formality, the conference, as might have been foreseen, produced no good result. Of course neither the Jesuit nor his friends admitted that he was worsted; and yet MORIN asserts that he deserted the field of combat, leaving BOCHART to finish by himself the third part of the disputation, as it had been previously arranged. The friendly biographer even breaks out in admiration of the wonderful work of Providence ('mirabili Providentiæ divinae operâ) by which the acts were prepared with so much formality, as it were merely for the purpose of displaying the superior learning and ability of BOCHART, and the just predominance of the good cause for which he was an advocate. It must be confessed, however, that the advantage of *the last word* may have conduced a little to this apparent superiority, as MORIN allows that the extraordinary acquaintance of BOCHART with the fathers and Ecclesiastical History appeared principally in his *additions* to his arguments, made by him as they passed through the press,—which he was prevented from using in the debate by the *procacity* of his redoubtable antagonist (!): and that the main strength of the support of Protestantism lies in the *last part*, with which VÉRON had no concern. How, on the rule of disputing said to have been invariably observed by that Jesuit, opportunity was given to BOCHART to display his learning in the fathers and acquaintance with church history, and, in particular, to adduce *fifty* testimonies of the fathers of the first four centuries respecting the

Eucharist,—to bring more than *three hundred* proofs from the decrees of councils and canons of the church, of the falsity of the doctrine of transubstantiation,—and to give a *history* of clerical celibacy through *sixteen* centuries,—it is not easy to imagine. But be that as it may, it is certain that no small increase of fame accrued to our author from his contest; and that if silence is proof of defeat, VERON pleaded craven, by suffering his adversary's edition of the dispute quietly to take its course and enjoy its triumph. (p) The book was in French, and, like most others of its kind, has been long since buried in oblivion.

This incident was succeeded by an interval of quiet study of some years' duration. Not to say, with MORIN, that BOCHART had instilled a fear of his talents and acquirements into the opposing party, it is more than probable that they had discovered that he was not the man to suit their purpose; he was too well able at least, to *defend* himself and his cause, to afford them any hopes of giving him a downright overthrow; and he was too cool in his temperament, and too much involved in erudition, to indulge in any sallies of ill-temper which might give an opportunity of exciting prejudice against him. He was consequently left to the peaceful discharge of his parochial duties, and cultivation of his favourite studies.

However extraordinary it may appear, the pastoral duties of our author during this period were the occasion and the source of the monuments of wonderful erudition, which he has

(p) So MORIN explicitly, *ubi supra*, p. 4. ad im. Yet RIVET, in his Dedication of his *Catholicus Orthodoxus* to BOCHART, implies the contrary. 'You showed him' (Veron), says he, 'that he was ignorant in Greek and in Hebrew, and put a bridle on his impudent sophistry, which he has endeavoured to shake off by telling many lies (according to his custom,) about his imaginary victories; but wise men have not been deceived by them, and you have discovered his vanity by your answer.' This looks as if VERON, so far from allowing himself beaten by his silence, had publicly claimed the victory, and had forced BOCHART to assert his title to that praise by a printed answer. See BAYLE, BOCHART. Note B.

left to perpetuate his fame. He undertook, and accomplished the composition of a course of sermons to his congregation on the book of Genesis, from the beginning of the book to the 18th verse of the 49th chapter. These sermons, fairly written out with his own hand, he left among his other papers, to his family. BOCHART was not one who would content himself with a superficial or a partial view of any subject. While engaged in the study of the sacred writings for the purpose of eliciting from them practical instructions for his flock, he could not pass over the difficulties which they occasionally present, nor leave unexamined any, even the nicest, question respecting the facts which they contain. The description of Paradise in the second chapter of Genesis excited him to a closer investigation of the real situation of that happy spot than had ever before been instituted; which resulted in the treatise *de Paradiso terrestri*, now extant, though in a very imperfect state, in the third volume of his works. In like manner, almost every chapter presented some points not suited to be the themes of public discourses, and affording occasion for the exercise of his deep research and unvaried erudition. The chronology and geography of the sacred volume, —its natural history,—the origin of the names of men and places which it records, and the more intricate portions of its history, were not matters to be neglected by our studious pastor. While plainer, and perhaps more useful, subjects formed the matter of his weekly instructions to the people, these were the favourite objects of his esoteric labours, and in these he was gradually accumulating the astonishing mass of learning, which he at length digested into his *Sacred Geography and Hierozoicon*.

MORIN, indeed, speaking with especial reference to the book named PHALEG, gives a somewhat different representation of the matter. 'BOCHART,' says he, 'when he came to the 10th chapter, and by his method was obliged to explain the origin of nations as it is there narrated, bestowed all his powers upon the work, and spared no pains to collect every thing needful for the illustration of his subject, and to assure himself that every thing which he asserted in the pulpit was true.'

and capable of proof.' According to this view, we may suppose his people to have been weekly edified with the erudite discussions now arranged and condensed into a single work. In charity to the preacher I would fain believe this to be an incorrect account. MORIN does not pretend to have *seen* his discourses, and therefore may have founded his assertion merely on his own opinion. (q) But an examination of the sermons preached by the friends and contemporaries of BOCHART will show, how contrary to prevailing custom such a proceeding on his part must have been, and how little likely it would be to procure him popularity. The pulpit discourses of the age were almost exclusively doctrinal, and never was there more of *fiction* than they generally breathed. No doubt the sermons of our author partook of the predominant character, and we may charge it rather to his biographer's blind admiration of his learning than to his own utter want of judgment, that he is represented as having preached his PHALEG piecemeal to a no doubt wondering, but surely spiritually starving, flock.

Eighteen years elapsed before these lucubrations were suffered to go abroad by their laborious author. At length, in 1646, he was induced by the solicitations of his friends and learned correspondents, to commit the First Part of his 'Sacred Geography' to the press, at Caen, * whither a printer had been induced to come, from Sedan, for the express purpose of securing greater accuracy in its impression. † The

(q) He merely says of them—"excellentissimis concionibus, quas manu sua ad verbum nitidè descriptas suo ex unica filia nepoti Samueli le Seur domino de Colleville in Parlamento Rothomagensi olim Senatoricum multis aliis scriptis auro contra aestimandis reliquit."—How well they would deserve the epithet M. here bestows on them, if his account of them were correct, the reader is left to judge.

* It was printed at BOCHART's own expense, with types purchased for him, and by workmen in his pay. Like most authors who publish for themselves, he was heartily tired of the undertaking before its completion. Ep. ad Voss. Opp. III. 862.

† And yet the editors of the edition published in 4to. at Frankfort, in

name PHALEG or PELEG, that of the descendant of Shem, in whose days the dispersion of mankind took place, was given to this part, to indicate its subject,—the origin of nations, and their derivation from the Noachitic stem, according to the table in the tenth of Genesis.

The Second Part of the work was immediately after put to press, and appeared in the following year, under the title 'CANAAN,' expressing its relation to the settlements of the descendents of Canaan, and the vestiges of their wanderings and colonies, throughout the world.

The work thus completed had scarcely had time to become known to the learned world, before it obtained for its author an extraordinary degree of fame and admiration.* The subjects were comparatively new, at least in the extent to which he had carried his investigations. The treatment of them was ingenious. The arrangement was perspicuous and convenient. And above all, the mass of learning brought to bear upon every point in the least connected with the object of the work was almost incredibly great. Erudition was at that period more in vogue than originality; and research, not invention or discovery, was considered the proof of intelligence. Accordingly BOCHART, who seemed to have read every thing that had been written on subjects which he discussed, (r) and to have remembered all that he had read, was acknowledged as a genius of the first class, and took his sta-

1681, complain of 'infinita *σφαλλματα*' in that of Caen:—to the reasonableness of which complaint I myself can testify.

* Its character and effects are well illustrated by an anecdote told by HUET of himself, which shows that in all human probability, we are indebted for the benefit of his learned labours, to BOCHART. "I was invited to resume the pursuits of general literature and antiquities, by the Sacred Geography of SAMUEL BOCHART, which then began to be published at Caen. By this rich store of Hebrew and Greek literature, I was not only rendered sensible of my own poverty, but was made ashamed of it; so that I adopted the resolution to abstain from all other studies until I might be reckoned not uninformed in these." *Comm. de Vita. Lib. I. AIKIN'S Mem. I. 31.*

(r) See note (b).

tion, almost immediately, and without dispute, next the SCALIGERS, SAUMAISE, and the elder VOSSIUS. (*s*)

Of course, any reluctance to expose his productions to the judgment of the world that our author might have previously felt, was now completely overcome; and he was inspired to proceed with alacrity in the arrangement of his collections respecting the natural history of the Bible, preparatory to their publication as a connected work.

While engaged in this, he received a flattering proof of the degree of estimation which he had obtained even among foreigners, in a correspondence which he had in 1650 with MORLEY, one of the chaplains of Charles II., at that time an exile from his throne. That divine, who was high in the confidence of his king, and at the Restoration was rewarded for his fidelity, and his share in that event, with the Bishopric of Winchester, thought fit to consult our author as to the best method of reconciling the religious differences between the contending civil parties. The answer is a long and able letter, (*t*) writ-

(*s*) As an instance of this, it appears from a letter of his to SAUMAISE, dated 1646, that even before the Second Part of his work had yet appeared, he had been invited with some earnestness by that great man, to accept of a situation in the same university with himself. On consultation with his friends, and examination of his present engagements, BOCHART declined the offer. But coming, as it did, from a foreign country, from one of the most celebrated seats of learning then in Europe (the University of Leyden) and more especially through the instrumentality of the most eminent scholar of his time, it must be allowed to have been no trifling honour. BOCH. Ep. in Opp. III. 1161. A letter of SARRAU, the Parisian counsellor, to SAUMAISE (already quoted in note *a*) dated March 15, 1645, speaks of the Phaleg as "Geographiae Sacrae illustris et nova tractatio," and goes on "majus nostro testimonium habet ab Amplissimo BIGNONIO (Jerome Bignon, Avocat-general de France, one of the most learned and accomplished men of his age) qui hodie mihi affirmavit, SCALIGERUM, DRUSIUM, FULLERUM, prae hoc nostro ineptire." BIGNON had himself written a *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, which obtained some celebrity; and of course was qualified to pass an opinion on the subject.

(*t*) "Viro amplissimo D. Morley, Regis Angliae Sacellano, S. Bo. CHARTUS S. D. I. De Presbyteratu et Episcopatu; II. De Provocatione a judiciis Ecclesiasticis; III. De Jure ac Potestate Regum. Cjdomi. 4 Non. a Mart. 1650.—Opp. Tom. III. 988—1023. This letter has given occasion

ten with much caution ; and, making allowances for the peculiar opinions of the writer, much judgment and sound wisdom. The claims of Presbytery and Episcopacy to a divine right and exclusive obligation :—the extent and limits of the rights of magistrates to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs ;—and the divine origin of the kingly power, with its claims to passive obedience ; and those of the subject, on the contrary, to a right of resistance and self-defence, were the subjects

to some curious blunders. SPIZELIUS has given its title in one page (Inf. Lit. p. 922) and in the next, quoting a letter of SARRAU, in which it is mentioned by its *subject*, laments that it has never been made public, (p. 923) and then again, in the errata, corrects himself by referring to a mere re-impression, as if it had then first appeared. BAYLE (BOCHART. note C.) points out the inaccuracy of SPIZELIUS in the second passage, and is himself corrected by his translators (ed. Lond. 1735. u. 41.) with a reference to the Errata ; while both have overlooked the first passage in p. 922. BAYLE's description of this letter as about 'The authority of Kings and the institution of Bishops and Priests' is very incorrect, while that of SARRAU, as quoted by SPIZELIUS, p. 923, 'de nupero Regicidio Anglicano,' is still worse. This letter was published at Paris in 1650, in 18mo., and an edition, which the paper and typography show to belong to London, in 32mo., without place or date, bears the imprint, 'juxta exemplar impressum Parisiis, 1650.'* No doubt it was expected to have influence ; in France, in favour of the tottering cause of the Huguenots, by proving their moderation and their loyal submission to 'the powers that be,'—in England, by instilling moderate views into both contending parties, and arousing the nation to a sense of the criminality of the murder of their King. It was also reprinted at the end of the *Frankfort* edition of the *Geographia Sacra*, in 4to., 1681.

A letter of very similar purport to this of BOCHART, addressed by his colleague DU BOSQ to BREVINT, another of the chaplains of Charles II., and containing opinions very much resembling those of our author, may be found in *Le Vie du P. du Bosc*, par P. LE GENDRE, *Rotterdam*, 1694, p. 18—29.

A correspondence of the same kind was held about 1680 by COMPTON, Bishop of London, with CLAUDE, LE MOYNE, and some other distinguished French Protestant divines.

* It is possible, but, I think, not probable, that this edition is referred to by SPIZELIUS (p. 922.) when he says "Paris. et Lugd. Bat. excusa An. 1650." I rather think he speaks of *one* edition, published in the two cities simultaneously, as was at that time not uncommon.

which were submitted to his consideration. Taking into view his situation as an eminent member of a Presbyterian body, placed among men who were anxiously watching for any thing which might involve him in trouble, and accelerate the ruin of his church ; it must be confessed that it required no small share of prudence and ingenuity so to frame his reply as, without displeasing those to whom he wrote, to give his true opinions, and yet bring no difficulties on himself by giving offence either to his brethren, or to their watchful adversaries. All this appears in his Epistle. He carefully holds the balance of the contending parties, never suffering an undue predominance in either scale, and at no time displaying any unwary preference of any disputed point. He decides between Episcopacy and Presbytery by denying the exclusive claims of either, and maintaining that circumstances must decide the choice of either for an establishment ; hinting at the same time, that in England both might be allowed to exist, respectively prevailing in different sections of the country as the prevalent opinions differed. On the power of magistrates in ecclesiastical matters, he merely draws a distinction between the *internal government* of the church—that which relates to spiritual truth and the salvation of souls, and its *external administration*, or that which settles its form, provides for its maintenance, enforces its regulations, &c. : and then quotes the recorded decisions of several Synods of the Reformed Church in France in favour of a joint government of the church and state in the latter. On the right of kings to the passive obedience of their people he is much fuller than on the other points, and maintains it with much warmth of expression and multiplicity of argument. It was the interest of his church that her opinions on this point should be known to be entirely loyal, and evidently his own inclination accorded with that interest. In all this letter, there are much fewer traces of the multifarious reading of the author than in any of his other writings. His language is more select and exact. His train of argument is neater and closer than usual. I have dwelt the longer on it, because, although insignificant in bulk, and principally occupied on subjects of transient interest, it seems to

me better calculated than any of his other productions to do him credit as an original thinker, and wise and judicious man.

In a letter written about this time to SAUMAISE, BOCHART maintains the same opinions; and while he expresses his satisfaction with the work of that celebrated writer entitled 'Pro Defensione Regis Angliæ,' he manifests his own superior judgment, by declaring his disposition to acquit the English Presbyterians of any deliberate intention to destroy the king, and to consider them rather as deceived and hurried on, against their better intentions, by the duplicity and violence of the Independents. (u)

The year 1652 was the era of an occurrence of no small importance in the quiet and sedentary life of such a laborious student as BOCHART. This was no less than a journey through Holland and Denmark, to the capital of Sweden, in company with HUET, afterward the celebrated Bishop of Avranches. As early as 1650 the capricious and pedantic Christina, Queen of Sweden, whose hobby was at that time the higher branches of classic erudition, had, at the instigation of her counsellors DESCARTES and SAUMAISE, and her tutor VOSSIUS, shown marks of singular respect to our author. Letters approving of his works, and exciting him to continue the preparation of the remainder for the public, and others inviting him to visit the royal court, were written by her learned friends at her command. These producing nothing but thanks and flattery from BOCHART, at last Christina sent an urgent letter written with her own hand, intreating him to come without delay; and at the same time caused HUET, then rising into fame as a man of extensive learning, to be invited to accompany him. The measure was effectual. Such powerful solicitations could not be withstood. The good pleasure of a queen was not to be resisted, nor her favour to be trifled with. "In consequence of these allurements," says HUET, (v) speaking of BOCHART, "though fettered by the public ministry of his

(u) Ep. ad Salmasium, 17 Maii, 1650. Opp. Tom. III. c. 1161. s.

(v) Commentaria de Vita sua, Lib. II.—Aikin's Memoirs of Huet. i. 120.

religion, and the attractions of a very affectionate family, and habituated to the pleasures of study and tranquil leisure, he postponed every consideration to the will of the Queen, and was not to be deterred, either by the length of the journey, the loss of time, or the inconvenience to his affairs." Yet these sacrifices were not repaid. The usual fate of applicants at courts was experienced by our travellers, and after all their relinquishments, and all their pains, they returned neither richer nor more honourable than they went, and well pleased to regain the quiet and peacefulness of their former situations. An intercourse of some weeks in Holland with SAUMAISE, HEINSIUS, and ISAAC VOSSIUS;—a personal inspection of every thing worth seeing in the principal cities of Holland and Denmark, and in the capital of Sweden;—and some months' uninterrupted use of the valuable library collected by the Queen, and especially of its stores of Oriental learning,—were indeed, no small advantages, and perhaps well purchased, even at the cost of the personal fatigue and other inconveniences which they suffered. But certainly, with respect to its principal object, this journey was an egregious failure.

BOURDELOT, a French physician, had made himself necessary to Christina by his medical skill and perfect acquaintance with the arts of flattery. At the time of the arrival of BOCHART and HUET at her court, he was the prime favourite, and the direction of her regards was under his control. HUET shall give his naïve account of the influence of this man upon himself and his learned fellow-traveller. "As the Queen had thrown herself into a state of languor by her intense application to those studies, and was occasionally attacked by slight fevers, Bourdelot, in the first place, craftily attending to his own consequence and reputation, (*w*) removed all books from

(*w*) He was himself illiterate, so far at least, as regards those deeper studies to which Christina had been in the habit of attending. Yet there is no need to impute to Bourdelot a sinister motive, as HUET has done, prompted by his affection for his beloved studies. The physician may have been sincere in his advice, and the circumstances of the case render it very probable that he was so.

her sight, and denounced certain danger to her life should she persist in literary pursuits. He then, in private conversations, insinuated that a learned woman was regarded in a ridiculous light by the elegant ladies of the French court. And as he besides amused her with his pleasantry and jocularly, he gained so great an ascendancy over her youthful mind, that she began to lose all relish for serious learning. For the disposition of Christina was so flexible and wavering, that she entirely depended upon the opinions of others, especially of those who had acquired her esteem by any species of merit." "And now, having by the advice of BOURDELOT laid aside her studies, and indulged in leisure and relaxation, by which her health was somewhat amended, she declared herself not only cured, but preserved from death by his means; and from this period she gave so much credit to this buffoon, that she almost repented of having learned any thing. This circumstance destroyed almost all the pleasure of our journey; and was the cause that BOCHART, invited with so much earnestness as it were from another world, was not received according to his merits. Nor did we doubt that this was to be imputed to BOURDELOT, who considered it as his interest to banish learned men from court, lest his own conscious ignorance should be rendered apparent by the comparison." (x) "BOCHART was not received according to his merit," says HUET: this is but a faint representation of the truth. His welcome amounted at most to a free admission to the royal library, and a maintenance, during his residence at Stockholm, at the Queen's expense. It is true, he was several times admitted to her presence, but the circumstances rendered these interviews so far from honourable, that, to say the least, they must have covered him with ridicule. At one time, the

(x) Some allowance must be made for HUET's prejudices. The caprices of Christina may have had as much to do in the dismissal of her guest, as the intrigues of her Physician. But it was less discreditable to himself and BOCHART, and more comfortable to their feelings, to attribute it to the latter. HUET *Comm. de Vita sua, Lib. II.* ALEXIS'S *Mem. I.* 149. s.

Queen had appointed him a day to hear him read a part of his Phaleg. Bourdelot prevailed on her to refuse the performance of her engagement, under the plea of illness. On another occasion, she pressed BOCHART to play with her at battledore and shuttlecock, till, with all his gravity, he consented, threw aside his minister's cloak, and awkwardly went through a game. (y) It is also said, but, perhaps without foundation, (z) that the physician persuaded CHRISTINA that BOCHART was an excellent performer on the flute, though modesty led him to conceal it; and that she absolutely compelled the reluctant minister to make an attempt to play upon that instrument, with which he was entirely unacquainted. These were not scenes well calculated to enhance the reputation of the principal performer, or to recompense a studious man for the sacrifice of his literary leisure. (a)

(y) MENAGIANA. p. 340. BAYLE. Dict. art. BOCHART, note D.

(z) BAYLE (ubi supra) rejects this anecdote. AIKIN (Memoirs of HUET, i. 83. s.) gives it as true, but on what authority I know not.

(a) It must be confessed that nothing of this gross treatment appears in a long letter of BOCHART to SAUMAISE, dated from Stockholm in 1652. On the contrary, in that letter he speaks of changing his residence to the palace; of having interviews with the Queen; and of conversing with her respecting SAUMAISE's book *pro Defensione Regis*. (Ep. ad SALMAS. Opp. III. 1165. s.). But B. would not have been content with a mere cursory notice of such common civilities, had he possessed any better grounds for boasting of his favourable reception to his old friend and confidant. Besides, the positive testimony of HUET, and the evident chagrin with which he gives it, are plain proof to the contrary. An anecdote told by that writer proves, however, that BOCHART and himself were admitted to *some* intimacy with Christina; and, what is more, shows that the use they made of that intimacy was so indiscreet as fully to justify her in shortening it. "In a copy of verses, composed in French, I had with some keenness satirized the manners of the Swedes. When I recited these to BOCHART, he wrote them out, and carried them to the Queen, to whom he read them as a piece of amusing pleasantry. She was entertained by the verses, but observed that her countrymen would by no means approve of an attempt to ridicule them; and therefore it would be better to keep them secret." (HUET. *Comm. de Vit. Lib. II.* AIKIN's Mem. i. 158. s.) AIKIN's remark on this passage is pertinent:—"The Queen appears in this instance to have been more prudent than the two

The learned world, however, have cause to rejoice at this unlucky visit. During the researches of our travellers in the library at Stockholm, HUET found a manuscript of some parts of the Commentaries of ORIGEN upon St. Matthew, and of his work on Prayer; and, at the earnest solicitation of BOCHART, consented to transcribe it, and undertake its publication. (b) To this we owe his learned and valuable ORIGENIANA, and the excellent edition of all the remains of ORIGEN'S exegetical performances to which it is prefixed. BOCHART himself also employed his time very profitably in the acquisition of Oriental learning, with which he afterwards enriched his *Hierozoicon*. (c)

The time of BOCHART'S return to Caen is not recorded; but it is certain that he staid longer than HUET, since the latter took with him as a travelling companion a young man of noble family, who had been intrusted to the tutelage of BOCHART; but, tired of his tutor's long stay in a country whose manners and climate were disagreeable to him, gladly placed himself under the charge of HUET. (d) During his absence

Frenchmen, who presumed not a little on her preference of foreigners, when they expected to entertain her with a satire on her own countrymen. French petulance has seldom appeared in more striking colours." (Mem. of HUET. Note, i. p. 183.) This piece of thoughtless levity was certainly not worthy of the author of the letter to MORLEY.

(b) HUET. *Comm. de Vita sua*, Lib. II. AISKIN'S Mem. of HUET, I. 152. MORIN. *de Clar. BOCHART*. p. 6.

(c) He had referred to this object as one reason for his accepting the invitation of Christina, in a letter to VOSSIUS, some time before the commencement of his journey. (Ep. ad Voss. Opp. III. 1163. s.). The library of Christina had been enriched with the Oriental collection of GAULMIN, at that time perhaps the best in Europe. Very likely, to the use made of its stores by BOCHART during his Swedish visit, we owe the peculiar richness of his *Hierozoicon* in Oriental criticism and quotations.

(d) This was Peter Cahaignes de Fierville, of Caen, of a family distinguished both for learning and nobility. His being entrusted to BOCHART is no small evidence of the reputation of the latter for general accomplishments as well as mere erudition. HUET. *Comm. Lib. I. §. II.* AISKIN'S Mem. of HUET. I. 159. comp. p. 20, 89.

on this journey, our author received a flattering testimony of the estimation in which he was held at home, by the election of himself and the companion of his travels to be associates of a literary society then just formed at Caen, comprising no small proportion of the talents and learning of France. (*f*) Of this society he continued an active and eminent member, honoured and beloved by his associates, and industriously engaged in the prosecution of their common objects, till the very hour of his death, which happened at one of their informal meetings. (*g*)

When at length he had returned and settled in his ordinary routine of employment, BOCHART recommenced the preparation of his *HIEROZOICON* for the press with renewed ardour, deriving additional encouragement to diligence from the considerable augmentation which his materials had received from his Oriental studies while in Stockholm. But he was not long permitted to devote himself to this favourite occupation: a series of untoward events occurred, which distracted his attention, and retarded almost half a score of years the completion of his work. (*h*)

The first of these interruptions was his election to represent the Reformed churches of Normandy in a national synod held at Loudun. (*i*) The perilous aspect of the times, and

(*f*) The provincial town of Caen contained at that time a surprisingly large proportion of men eminent in one or other department of learning. See an enumeration of those who constituted the Society or 'Academy' referred to in the text, with some account of their lives and literary characters, in HURTII *Comm. de Vita sua*, Lib. III. (AIKIN'S *Memoirs of HURT.* I. 207.) and in AIKIN'S *Notes* (I. 295. ss.).

(*g*) HURT. *Comm. de Vit. sua*, Lib. IV. (AIKIN'S *Mem.* II. 40.)

(*h*) It was more than half transcribed July 10, 1659; and BOCHART then wrote to VOSSIUS, at that time in Holland, requesting him to negotiate with some printer in that country for the publication of the work. *Ep. ad Voss. Opp.* Tom. III. c. 862.

(*i*) It assembled on the 10th of November, 1659, and remained exactly two months in session, closing on the 10th of Jan. 1660. This was the last General Synod of the Reformed Church in France that was permitted to assemble. BENOIT *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, Tom. II. p. 363. ss. QUICK'S *Synodicon.* II. 501—596.

numerous difficulties and dangers with which those of his communion were surrounded, rendered this station peculiarly important and delicate at that period. According to his biographer, BOCHART discharged its functions with uncommon prudence and dexterity in the transaction of business, (k) and returned with no inconsiderable increase of reputation.

Not long after his release from this engagement, he was brought into still more unpleasant employment by the assaults of the Jesuit, DE LA BARRE, upon his church. The Second National Synod of Charenton, held in 1631, had passed a decree admitting members of the Lutheran Church to communion with the Reformed churches in France, if desiring, upon a mere attestation of their belief in the Articles of the Augsburg Confession. (l) At the time, this decree had given much occasion of remark to the advocates of the Church of Rome; some regarding it with a jealous eye, while others considered it as indicative of a disposition on the part of the Protestants to coalesce with the Church of Rome, inasmuch as the admission of persons maintaining the doctrines of *consubstantiation* to communion seemed a considerable approach towards agreement with the advocates of *transubstantiation*. (m) But now this matter was revived by LA BARRE with an entirely different intention. He laid hold of it as a proof of the rancorous enmity to the Church of Rome entertained by the Reformed, who would admit to their communion foreign religionists differing from themselves respecting very important articles of faith, and yet refused that mark of brotherly kindness to the professors of the established religion of their country. His object was, avowedly, to excite the indignation of the latter

(k) The only mention of him in the Acts of the Synod, is as chairman of a Committee appointed to see that all editions of the Geneva Translation of the Bible, of the Metrical Version of the Psalms, of the Liturgy, and of the Book of Discipline, were printed conformably to the standard copies. QUICK'S Synodicon. II. 552.

(l) QUICK'S Synodicon. II. 297.

(m) BENOIT. Hist. de L'Ed. de Nantz. Tom. II. p. 624. BOSSUET. Hist. des Variat. des Prot. II. 328. ss.

against the Protestants, and so to procure a reduction of their privileges. BOCHART undertook to counteract this effect, by refuting the Jesuit, and showing the entire dissimilarity of the cases which he had so invidiously placed in apposition. This, according to MORIN, (n) he did both in words and writing. If he published any thing upon the subject,(o) it must have been of little magnitude, and transient interest; as not even the title has been handed down. Yet it must have caused a material interruption to his studies, since, although his biographer assures us he found it an easy task, and obtained a cheap victory over his antagonist, yet, as the same writer shrewdly observes, "BOCHART did not know how treat a theological topic cursorily, but gave the utmost completeness to his discussion of every subject which he undertook, and bestowed all his powers upon it, whatever might be its nature."

BOCHART had again resumed his wonted studies, and had actually commenced the publication of his *HIEROZOICON* in London, and was engaged in the laborious work of correcting the press, and making out the full indices with which it is accompanied, (p) when another, and still greater hindrance in-

(n) MORINUS de Clar. Boch. p. 7.

(o) BAYLE says expressly "he published a piece in 1661 against the Jesuit LA BARRÉ." But as I have learned not to put implicit confidence in the accuracy of BAYLE, I think it probable he may have misunderstood MORIN, and carelessly said this on his authority.

(p) There are no less than seven, more than usually full and accurate, indices. The distance of BOCHART from the place at which his work was printing, obliged his bookseller to send a number of proof sheets at once, which required immediate attention, that so large a quantity of type might not be kept out of use. It is easy to conceive how greatly such occasional influxes of employment, demanding much care and considerable time, must interfere with his heavy stated duties. MORIN (ubi supra, p. 7) impliedly attributes the whole labour of correction to BOCHART; but B. himself, in the end of his Preface, says that the London publisher provided correctors of the press; complaining, however, that they had rendered him much more disservice than assistance. He promises a statement of this from the corrector himself, which ought to follow on the next page, but in the Leyden edition of 1712, is wanting, that page being blank, although the catchword 'ERU.' (probably

tervened. One of his three colleagues, **M. LE COUTEUR**, was a clergyman of the Isle of Jersey, who had gone into exile on the dethronement of his king. On the Restoration, his fidelity was rewarded with the Deanery of his native Isle, and in the close of the year 1661 he vacated his place in Caen to take possession of his new dignity. This threw an additional portion of pastoral duty upon **BOCHART** at a time when it was peculiarly inconvenient. To relieve himself from this burthen, he persuaded **MORIN**, then pleasantly settled in the vicinity of the city, to assume the share of duty relinquished by **LE COUTEUR**, performing the public services of one Sunday, and two week-day evening lectures, in the month. But scarcely had this arrangement been effected, when the two remaining colleagues of **BOCHART** were suddenly removed from their stations; the eldest, **BEAUMONT**, (the Senior Pastor of the church) by death; the other, the celebrated **Du Bosc**, by banishment, procured for him by the malicious accusations of those who rejoiced to wound his religion in his person. (q) Thus left alone in the pastoral charge, our author, with some difficulty, procured the dismissal of **MORIN** from his former cure, and obtained him for his colleague at Caen. Even then, the important duties of their station required the whole of their united labours, (r) and compelled

the beginning of the usual caption of an advertisement, 'Erudito Lectori') occurs on the bottom of the one immediately preceding.

(q) He was banished to Cahors, April 2, 1664, being accused of speaking injuriously of the Romish religion, by an apostate Protestant surnamed **POUMIER**. Vie de P. du Bosc. p. 32.

(r) In a letter dated Sept. 15, 1664, which manifests both the attention of our author to the general affairs of his congregation, and his affectionate solicitude for his valuable colleague, he declares: "Notre pauvre Eglise seroit en effet ruinée si on vous mettoit ailleurs: car vous savez que je me vieillis, et ai bien encore le meme courage, mais non pas les memes forces qu' autrefois; et ne pourrois gueres longtems subsister dans le travail et chagrin que j'ai, qui me ruine le corps et l'esprit. Ce n'est pas que je n'aie beaucoup de soulagement de M. Morin, qui est un homme fort actif; mais tant y a que nous ne sommes que nous deux, et qu'il n'y a plus personne qui nous secoure: et en

BOCHART for a period to relinquish all attention to his literary pursuits. (s)

A short time sufficed to demonstrate the innocence of Du Bosc, and procure a repeal of his sentence, with permission to resume his former situation. (t) He was triumphantly received by his people and his brethren in the ministry, (u) and by no one, probably, with joy greater than that of our author, who, besides participating in the common causes of exultation, was thus released from his extraordinary avocations, and en-

l'état ou est notre Eglise, et toute notre Province, nous avons deux fois plus d'affaires qu'à l'ordinaire." LE GENTIL Vie de P. DU BOSCO. p. 378. s.

(s) MORIN expressly states the imprisonment of Du Bosc as one obstacle to BOCHART'S attention to his Hierozoicon; and his opportunities of knowing the truth were too great to allow a suspicion of inaccuracy. Otherwise, as the Dedication of the work bears date March 1663, a whole year before that event, and as the title of the book is dated 1664, which would scarcely allow any time for attention to it after the liberation of Du Bosc, it seems probable that the work was completed before BOCHART was deprived of the assistance of his colleagues. Probably the dedication was written soon after the work was put to press; and when BOCHART'S attention to the correction of the press was interrupted, his place was supplied by the correctors whom he mentions in his Preface. This last circumstance, too, may perhaps account for the incorrectness in this edition complained of by DORR, who says it was printed "splendide satis, sed admodum vitiose." Bibl. Theol. p. 167.

(t) By a Lettre de Cachet dated Oct. 15, 1664.—Vie de P. DU BOSCO. p. 41. s.

(u) One method of demonstrating this joy was so singular, that although irrelevant, I cannot pass it by. There was a gentleman in the province, who, although himself of the Romish religion, and withal a very irregular liver, openly professed a very great respect for the able pastors of the Reformed persuasion, and especially for M. DU BOSCO. On the evening of his return this gentleman prepared a sumptuous supper, and inviting two Franciscan friars notorious for their attachment to the bottle, plied them so freely as to cause the death of one of them upon the spot! The next morning he called on Du Bosc, and declared that he had thought it his duty to sacrifice a monk to the public joy; and that although a Jesuit would have been a much more suitable victim, he hoped his offering would not be unacceptable, because it was merely a Cordelier! Vie de P. DU BOSCO. p. 44. s.

abled to resume his literary labour, and very speedily complete the publication of his 'opus magnum,' the *HIEROZOOICON*.

The work thus ushered into the world placed the key-stone to the reputation of its author, and is indeed his masterpiece. For varied learning, general interest, and practical utility in sacred criticism, it excels its predecessor as much as it does in magnitude. As the expectations of the learned had already been excited, and kept, by the circumstances which retarded its appearance, a considerable time in suspense, it created less sensation than the *PHALEG*; but its permanent popularity has been even greater than that of the latter. (w) Yet even this did not satisfy BOCHART's desire of usefulness. He regarded it merely as the *second* part of a design of which the 'Sacred Geography' formed the *first*, and the *third* was to consist of a treatise on the Plants and Gems of Scripture, probably of equal magnitude; at any rate of an equal extent of research and variety of erudition. The plan was to be completed by a dissertation on the 'Terrestrial Paradise,' for which he had already prepared the materials, and even put them into some kind of order, although not such as would fit them for publication. But these plans were never to be completed. We know of their existence only by some scattered intimations, and by some disjointed and unfinished fragments preserved for us by the diligence of his biographer and the editors of his collected works.

It had pleased God to cast the lot of BOCHART in troublous times; and although he accomplished *very much* notwithstanding their interference with his studies, yet the rapid increase of difficulties towards the close of his life prevented his completing *all* that he had designed to do. The machinations of the Romish clergy for the destruction of the Protestant cause in France grew every day more numerous, more extensive, and more successful. New pretexts were daily in-

(w) It was published in folio, with the imprint, 'London, 1664.' The Oriental characters throughout the work were printed with the types cast for the London Polyglot.

vented for infringement on the stipulated immunities of the Reformed, and the most artful measures adopted to prepare the way for a total annihilation of their religious liberties. In such a crisis, it was the plain duty of every member of that communion to devote all his influence and talents to the support of its sinking cause, and to consider himself as set apart for the one object of the maintenance of religious liberty and a true and uncorrupted faith.

Almost the last labour of our author's life was devoted to this cause. One favourite mode of oppressing the Reformed adopted by the Romish clergy, was, to deprive them of their churches on false pretences. The Edict of Nantz had secured to the Protestants the enjoyment of their religious privileges, and exercise of their religion, *as then established*. This was construed to preclude the formation of new congregations, and the erection of new churches, except, by permission, to supply the place of old ones fallen into decay or otherwise rendered useless for public worship. On this pretence, the Protestants were continually vexed with prosecutions alleging that one or other of their congregations or churches had been formed or built since the passage of the edict. Such a charge was brought by the Bishop of BAYEUX and some Benedictine monks, against the church at Caen; and it became necessary for BOCHART and his colleagues, with their flock, to defend in a civil court their right of existence as a congregation. False evidence and forged documents were no uncommon resources of the Romish party in such suits; and they were plentifully employed in the present instance. (x) The patient research, multifarious erudition, and habits of keen investigation, of BOCHART, rendered him peculiarly fit for the detection and exposure of such forgeries, and were, most usefully for his congregation, employed in that task for the remainder of his days, although he did not

(x) A pathetic statement of the situation of the oppressed Protestants of Normandy, with particular reference to the suit at Caen, occurs in a letter of BOCHART to JAMES CAPEL, bearing date April 19, 1665. Opp. Tom. III. c. 834. s.

live to witness the victory which he materially contributed to procure.

He found time, however, during these more necessary avocations, for occasional essays in his favourite studies, as a few of his minor works still extant prove : his long and able letter to LOUIS CAPEL on the agency of the Serpent in the Temptation bears date April, 1665 ; another on the pronunciation of Chaldee and Syriac, and the utility of the study of Arabic, is dated January, 1666 ; and his last literary labour, a long letter to HUET in defence of the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist, and in proof that it was maintained by ORIGEN, (y) was composed only a few days before his death.

(y) HUET had transcribed the Commentaries of ORIGEN from a Manuscript in the Royal Library at Stockholm, at the request of BOCHART. Soon after their return to Caen, BOCHART consulted his transcript for the purpose of attentively perusing a controverted passage relating to the Eucharist, which had already afforded occasion for much debate. HUET, in revising this transcript, had discovered what he thought an omission in copying, and had supplied it from a manuscript in the library of the king of France. This supplement considerably altered the sense, and that, too, in favour of the Romish church. BOCHART, on perusing the passage, discovered the alteration, and without delay, warned several of his learned friends, by letter, that implicit reliance was not to be placed in the edition of Origen which HUET was then about to publish. The latter considered this as an imputation upon his honesty ; and after expostulating with BOCHART without obtaining satisfaction (*vis.* a retraction of his warnings) broke off the close intimacy in which they had lived till that time.* Still, an occasional correspondence on the subjects of their studies and interchange of mutual civilities, continued ; and it appears that the subject which had produced their difference was not excluded from farther discussion. The *last* letter, mentioned in the text, was probably a continuation of that discussion, although it took a wider range, applying the authority of Origen in support of the Protestant opinions respecting the invocation and wor-

* This, however, may have been only a pretext ; since HUET confesses, that one principal reason of his leaving Sweden before BOCHART, was the fear that his close intimacy with that divine would bring him into trouble with his Romish friends. *Comm. Lib. u. fin.* (AIXIS'S Memoirs, i. 169. s.)

The long and laborious life of this learned man was brought to a characteristic close in the year 1667, in the midst of an active and green old age. Three several times in the course of six months he had been suddenly and alarmingly attacked, by a temporary cessation of the heart to perform its functions, brought on, as his physicians assured him, by excessive study and abstinence from personal indulgence. Each time, however, he speedily recovered perfect health, and was promised by his medical advisers a complete recovery from his affection, by means of the use of wine, and careful attention to stated times of relaxation. But on the 16th of May, 1667, a fourth attack proved instantaneously fatal. He had risen, according to his custom, very early, and had spent the morning in his study, writing to some friends, and pursuing his wonted labour. After a moderate dinner, he had gone out, accompanied by MORIN, to the College (Collegium Sylvanum) where his only grandson, (M. de COLLEVILLE, the son of his only daughter, afterwards Counsellor in the Parliament of Normandy) that day maintained his philosophical theses. From three to five in the afternoon the old man attended to those exercises, and enjoyed himself in receiving the congratulations of the Faculty of the College, and others present, upon the excellent performance of his grandchild. Thence he proceeded, still accompanied by MORIN, to the house of the learned and noble DE BRIEUX, where, it being Monday, the stated day of session, the Literary Society (or Academy) of Caen was to meet. There he parted with his faithful friend and colleague, but was gladly and affectionately received by his fellow associates of the Academy. He had received a letter from BOUTEROUÉ, a learned traveller and medallist, and member of the *Chambre des Comptes* at Paris, requesting information as to the country and value of the small coin known in trade by the name of *Marbotins*, and proposed this question as a proper subject for the considera-

ship of angels, as well as their doctrine of the Eucharist, the only topic originally in dispute. *ARXIN'S Memoirs of HUKT*, i. 216. 366' n. 41.

tion of the Academy. Several members had given different opinions, when BOCHART proceeded to declare his own, that the coin was of Arabic origin. (2) He was beginning to state his reasons, when a sensation of choking seized him: he drew one breath, exclaimed 'Mon Dieu, ayez misericorde de moi!' and instantly fell down, insensible, in faint convulsions. MORIN was immediately sent for; and on his arrival, found his colleague in the midst of his astounded literary associates, gasping for breath, and almost dead. He had the dying man removed into an adjoining chamber, and there, to use his own expression, 'endeavoured to attract his notice by ardent prayers to GOD.' This was so far successful, that he opened his eyes, fixed them on MORIN, then raised them to heaven, and closed them, to open them no more. After about half an hour of continued suffering, he ceased to breathe. Thus died, as he had lived, in the midst of learning, and in the discharge of social duties, the learned, the great, BOCHART. He had not yet completed his sixty-eighth year. Although he may be comparatively said to have reached a good old age, yet when we consider the vast quantity of reading which must have been necessary to furnish him with the almost countless quotations in his works; the voluminous nature of those works themselves;—and his acknowledged faithfulness and assiduity in the discharge of his duties as a pastor and as a defender of the liberties of his church;—we shall be astonished that he could have done so much in so

(2) A striking exemplification of 'the leading idea' is afforded by MORIN's relation of this event. He had been long on terms of the closest intimacy and friendship with BOCHART, and evidently entertained a sincere affection for him. His account of B.'s illness and death is interrupted, every five or six lines, with exclamations of grief and tender regret. Yet he scarcely allows himself time to relate the circumstances of BOCHART's decease, before he flies off into a dissertation of half a folio page upon the true nature and origin of the coin which occupied the latest thoughts of that learned man. After he has entirely exhausted his erudition upon the subject, he returns to the relation of some circumstances attending the death of BOCHART, and breaks out afresh into expressions of lamentation. So completely paramount was his love of learning!

short a time. An ordinary life might have been industriously employed in the preparation of either of his great works ; and that man would be said to have lived a useful life who should have done no more than BOCHART performed in the discharge of his parochial duties, in his defence of the doctrines of his church against VERON and LA BARRE, in his participation in her legislative councils, and in his assertion of her rights against the unjust pretensions of the Bishop of BAYEUX.

It has been mentioned, that soon after his connexion with the church at Caen, BOCHART commenced a course of sermons upon the book of Genesis. It was a somewhat singular coincidence, that he brought them to the middle of the last chapter but one of the book, after a duration of at least five and twenty years, only the week before his death ; and that the very text on which he had prepared to preach the Sunday following his decease, was the 18th verse, "I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD."

The following description of his person and character is translated from MORIN, who certainly enjoyed great opportunities of forming an accurate opinion respecting both.

"His figure was good, although of a middling size. He was rather agile than otherwise, and occasionally walked with considerable rapidity. His head was well shaped, with hair rather scanty, and, before it became grey, of an auburn colour. A broad and prominent forehead, large and handsome eyes, florid cheeks, and slightly distended nostrils, were so many signs of an ardent temperament. His mouth was small and well formed ; and a pleasing symmetry was conspicuous in his whole countenance." (a)

(a) It would be difficult from this description to recognize the face prefixed to his *Hierozoicon*, and, in a very handsome engraving, to the edition of his collected works published at Leyden, in 1712. In that, the character of the French face seems to be mingled with that of the inhabitant of the Upper Rhine. A rather low and retiring forehead, and somewhat prominent eyes, a large and thick nose, high cheek-bones, square and projecting maxillae, and a compressed mouth, altogether, convey to the beholder the idea of a man of no extraordinary talent, but of dogged perseverance, and of rather amiable disposition.

“As to his manners, they were benign, harmless, and benevolent. He was inclined to gaiety, and easily irritated, but his anger subsided spontaneously; and while it was never aroused by any thing but vice, seldom extended to the actors even of *that*. His constancy and fidelity in friendship, his extraordinary humility, meekness, and kindness towards every one with whom he was connected, and his sincere piety united with the most fervent zeal, were beyond all praise, and will remain a perpetual example, as well as source of admiration, to his pious friends.” (b)

This is scarcely, if at all, overcharged. Almost every thing that we have remaining of BOCHART is evidence of his modesty, kind dispositions, and readiness to oblige. His minor works are almost all written at the request, and for the benefit, of some learned friend. His few remaining letters show the warmth and delicacy of his friendship, and bear testimony to his extraordinary circumspection and good temper, which could enable him so long to retain the friendship of the jealous and rancorous SAUMAISE, at the same time with that of his bitter adversary VOSSIUS; while he himself was in reality a formidable rival to both, and must have been recognized as such by men so tremblingly alive to the loss of literary pre-eminence as they. Even his larger works are striking proofs of his modesty, having been published only at the earnest solicitation of men most eminently qualified to judge of their real merit, after repeated delays, and with no parade of anxiety respecting their reception. From all we can learn, he seems to have committed them to the doubtful tide of public opinion, in simplicity of heart, as his tribute to the instruction of mankind, without an anxious thought respecting their reception, or one glance at their probable effect upon his character and reputation.

It would be superfluous to say any thing respecting the *erudition* of BOCHART, after what has been already brought in evidence upon the subject. In Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chal-

(b) De Clar. Bochart, p. 36. s.

dee, and the Rabbinical dialect, he may be considered as a perfect scholar. Few attain a more thorough knowledge of the Arabic and Syriac languages than he possessed. The Aethiopic he first made himself acquainted with by means of the *Prodromus* of **ATHANASIVS KIRCHER**, and afterwards studied under **LUDOLF**, who resided as his preceptor for some months under his roof. Of this and the Punic, however, he never accounted himself master, although his knowledge of them was equalled by very few, until toward the close of the eighteenth century, when the materials and means of information had exceedingly increased. Of the modern languages, after the fashion of the day, he knew only his native tongue, and never attained to any degree of elegance of composition even in that.

His correspondence was widely extended, and maintained with the most eminent scholars of his day, but apparently never very large. Among the great number of letters of learned men of that age which have been preserved in various collections, we find very few traces of **BOCHART**; and about thirty epistolary disquisitions on matters connected with the subjects of his larger works, were all that the industry of **MORIN**, **LEUSDEN**, and **VILLAMAND** was able to collect for publication. **SAUMAISE**, the elder **VOSSIUS**, **M. TAPIN**, a Pastor of Normandy, **M. HERAULT**, a Pastor of Normandy, **ETIENNE LEMOINE**, **SARRAU**, **SEGRAIS**, **MICHEL FAUQUET**, and **M. CARBONEL**, a Counsellor at Paris, are the persons to whom they are addressed.

BOCHART.

PART II. HIS WORKS.

IF extended and lasting celebrity, and almost unqualified applause, constitute a reward for labour, few have ever been better remunerated for their efforts in behalf of theological literature than BOCHART. Yet perhaps no author whose works have attained the rank of standards is so little read, so generally unknown, by those who quote and praise him at second-hand. He affords an admirable instance of the value of praise from men themselves praiseworthy—‘*laudari a viro laudato.*’ Only men of extensive learning are fully qualified to judge of the merits of BOCHART; and by these he has always been placed so high in the scale of literary merit, that it has been impossible for the crowd, who follow them at humble distance, to avoid bestowing on him their feebler suffrages. Hence the universality of his fame and acknowledged merit.

He has not, however, been without his enemies. That caustic critic, Father SIMON, has most severely censured him on more than one occasion, with what degree of justice it will be more proper to examine in another place. Others have not been wanting to take up the charges brought by SIMON, and to a greater or less extent, renew them against our author. He has still escaped, and his reputation has scarcely received a blemish from all the attacks which have been made upon it.

It would be presumption to sit in judgment upon such a writer ; but a review of the plan and execution of his works may enable us with some degree of justice to appreciate his value.

The first published, and in some respects the most valuable, production of BOCHART is his *GEOGRAPHIA SACRA*, comprised in two independent treatises, under the titles of *PHALEG* and *CANAAN*.

The subjects of this work are, the regions expressly or tacitly mentioned in the Scriptures ; the dispersion of the sons of Noah, and the origin of nations ; and the navigation, commerce, colonies, language, and learning of the Phoenicians.

The method of the author in the apportionment of this extensive field of inquiry is certainly deserving of much praise. A general division distinguishes what relates exclusively to the Phoenicians from the remainder. The latter, under the title of "*Phaleg, sive de dispersione gentium à Babylonia factum, et divisione terrarum inter Noae posteros,*" is first in order, and occupies four books. The former, in two books, constitutes a second part, entitled "*Canaan, seu de coloniis et sermone Phoenicum.*"

The *first* book of the First Part is occupied with disquisitions respecting Noah and his family, and the traces of them supposed to be discoverable in heathen poetry ; concerning the construction, voyage, and landing, of the ark ; concerning the relative situation of Armenia and Babylon, and the progress of the descendants of Noah to the latter place ; and concerning the wonderful circumstances related of the city supposed to have been founded there by them. The *second* book treats of the settlement of the posterity of Shem ; the *third* of that of the sons of Japhet ; and the *fourth* of the children of Ham and their residence.

The *first* book of the Second Part relates to the intercourse of the Phoenicians with other nations, and to their colonies ; the *second* treats copiously of the remaining traces of their language and literature.

In filling up these outlines, BOCHART has found, or made, occasion to discuss the origin, site, language, customs, religion.

and ceremonial observances, of almost every ancient nation, and to describe the natural features, boundaries, climate, and divisions, of the several countries which they inhabited ;— we might say, without much exaggeration, of the whole ancient world. He gives his reasons, or quotes his authority, for every assertion, at the utmost length ; and in so doing, displays a depth of research, and untiring perseverance in investigation, which are perfectly astonishing. The most recondite sources of information appear familiar to him. The historical and geographical writers of antiquity are examined with scrupulous minuteness and accuracy ; and not even a line of their poets, pertinent to his subject, has escaped his observation. At the same time he manifests an extensive and intimate acquaintance with the best modern writers on the topics of his book, which were extant in his day.

Throughout the whole of the work, he contrives to convey an astonishing mass of historical information relating to the rise and progress of kingdoms, the establishment and increase of religions, the source and substance of the mythological fables of the ancients, and almost all the minor branches of Jewish and heathen antiquities. The author's plan in conducting his inquiries, is, in every instance, to examine :

1. The *sound* and *form* of the names of the nation in question. To this examination he attaches great, probably too much, importance. Yet he is not blindly led by mere fancy, as some have preposterously asserted, but lays down several very judicious cautions, (a) which prove the justness of his notions on the subject, however he may have failed in some respects in practice.

2. The *coincidences* of general appellatives in sound or form with names of particular places or persons belonging to the nation bearing such appellatives. To this species of evidence the remarks just made apply with greater force, as it is certainly more precarious than the preceding.

3. The *significations* of names ; which he considers as sel-

(a) Præfat. in Phaleg. Opp. Tom. III. p. 36.

dom entirely destitute of meaning. Here, too, it must be confessed, he is too apt to catch at overstrained coincidences, and attach an undue importance to insignificant or isolated facts.

4. The *existence of synonyms*, in Scripture or elsewhere ; which often create confusion, and yet not seldom, if properly examined, afford considerable light.

5. The *descriptive epithets and characteristics* ascribed to various countries and nations ; and the accordance or disagreement of Scripture with profane authors in these.

6. The *productions of a country* ; the *predominant occupations* of its inhabitants ; and the *principal articles of its commerce*.

7. The *prophetical and historical accounts* in Scripture and profane authors.

8. The *natural and political connexions* and alliances of nations.

9. The *respective situations* of countries, especially with reference to Judea.

10. Their *several boundaries*, as laid down in Scripture, or learned from other sources ; and

11. The *name, situation, and remarkable circumstances* in the history of the *mountains, rivers, lakes, towns, &c.* in every country.

On all these points he derives his information from the Sacred books themselves ; their commentators and versions in every language ; almost every ancient writer in Greek, Latin, or the Eastern languages ; and the philological researches of the most learned and judicious of the moderns. His quotations are made at full length, in the original languages, with a punctilious nicety and attention to the integrity of the text. He is, in general, cautious to avoid reliance upon mutilated passages, or such as are not in themselves entirely pertinent, and applicable when taken in connexion with their context. In his choice of authorities he displays a nicety even more than usual in his age. Although the nature of his subject led him into the mist of mythological and poetic fable, he resisted every temptation to accept the guidance of the

ignes fatui of supposititious relics of antiquity. The Jewish Pseudepigrapha ; Berosus, as now extant ; the pretended Thaut, or Hermes Trismegistus ; the Argonautics of Orpheus ; Dares Phrygius ; Dictys Cretensis ; the forged Etruscan antiquities ; and the Sibylline oracles ; he rejects, on the most solid grounds. He disproves the pretensions of Zoroaster to great antiquity ; and shows that the writings under his name are spurious. Sanchoniathon he only admits after a strict and able examination of the evidence in his favour ; and then, without reposing implicit confidence in his translator, Philo-Byblius.

Such were the materials and execution of a work which left behind it at an immeasurable distance all that had previously been written on the same subject ; and which for upwards of a century maintained, without an attempt at rivalry, the rank of sole standard in that branch of knowledge. While its merits were thus acknowledged, its faults were not unseen. Father SIMON tauntingly declared that the greater part of the contents of the ' Phaleg ' were mere conjectures, (*b*) and that the remainder of the work was filled with uncertain etymologies ; (*c*) and WOLF (*d*) and DORN (*e*) repeat the charges. Yet at the very time, these critics allow that the conjectures themselves are often happy and of no small use ; (*f*) that the work so perfectly illustrates its subject as to leave nothing

(*b*) " La plus-part de ce qui est rapporté—dans la Phaleg—n'est souvent appuyé que sur des conjectures." SIMON. Hist. Crit. du V. T. Liv. III. c. xx. p. 481. ed. Rot.

(*c*) " En effet, si l'on excepte la première partie de son Phaleg, que y a-t'il dans le reste de ce livre—que des étymologies et un amas confus de littérature, qui n'est le plus souvent gueres à propos ?" SIMON Rep. à la Def. des Sent. de quelq. Theol. Holl. p. 72. ed. Rot.

(*d*) BOCH. in Geographia Sacra—praecipue etymologiae, ut in aliis, ita hic quoque, rationem habuit." WOLF. Hist. Lex. Hebraic. p. 239.

(*e*) " Quanquam meris plerumque nituntur conjecturis." DORNII Bibl. Theol. Crit. P. II. p. 167.

(*f*) " Ces sortes de conjectures sont quelquefois utiles, en ce que si vous ne découvrez pas toujours la vérité, au moins peut on se precautionner pour ne pas tomber dans l'erreur." SIMON. Hist. Crit. du V. T. ubi supra.

more to be done ; (g) and that its conjectural disquisitions are replete with usefulness, and lead directly to the truth. (h)

In the year 1768 the learned and indefatigable MICHAELIS commenced the publication of a work upon the Geography of the Old Testament, with especial reference to the 10th chapter of Genesis. Vastly as the 'subsidia' were increased in number, great as had been the progress of theological science during the century and a quarter which had elapsed since the publication of BOCHART'S Geography, he did not deem it possible to supersede that work. On the contrary, he gave the strongest testimony in its favour, by taking for his own production the modest rank of a Supplement. "The matter," says EICHHORN, in his biographical notice of MICHAELIS, (i) "had already been excellently handled by BOCHART, who had left scarcely any thing to be done in the way of illustrating names from the ancient classics, the Versions of the Bible, or the Arab writers. But one source of information subservient to his purposes, which had at that time already been partly opened,—modern travels in the East,—he had disdained to use : and, on the other hand, he abounded in etymologies, and often changed questions of historical research into mere etymological inquiries. Since the time of BOCHART, moreover, ASSEMANNI had laid open a new and rich field of geographical discovery, of which no one had as

(g) БОСН. in *Geographia Sacra, locorum nomina in sacro codice occurrentia, ita illustravit, ut aliis otia fecerit.*" WOLFIUS, ubi supra.

(h) *Cumulatissimae doctrinae volumina sunt, in quibus magnum difficillimorum Scripturae V. T. locorum numerum dilucide ubique explicavit. Et quanquam, &c.—eae tamen ita sunt comparatae, ut summa ex inde ad legentes redundet utilitas, et regia ad veritatem via digito quasi commonstretur.*" DORN, ubi supra.

(i) EICHHORN'S *Allg. Bibliothek der Bibl. Literatur.* B. III. s. 849. f. The title of MICHAELIS' work was '*Spicilegium Geographiae Hebraeorum exterae post BOCHARTUM.*' II Ptes. 4to. Gottingae, 1768—70. It gave occasion to another by JO. REINHOLD FORSTER, under the title of '*Epistolae ad J. D. Michaelem, hujus Spicilegium Geographiae Hebraeorum exterae jam confirmantes, jam castigantes.*' 4to. Gottingae. 1772.

yet been able to make use. MICHAELIS was desirous to make trial how much light could be elicited upon this part of the shades of antiquity from the travels and the writings of learned Syrians. He wished to sift the Etymologies of BOCHART, and to reduce their application in geographical investigations within narrower limits, and especially to give to such investigations more of the character of historical research."

Many systems of Sacred Geography have been written since that time, some of great value, and certainly far preferable to BOCHART's for ordinary use: but his still maintains its character as a standard book of reference and ultimate authority, and is universally allowed to merit at least the praise of being "a very learned compilation," though by some it may be thought to be "overfilled with bold hypotheses." (k)

The *Geographia Sacra* was first printed, each part separately, at Caen, in folio, in 1646. This edition is neither neat nor accurate. The Phaleg was republished at the same place in folio, in 1651. (l)

The whole work was reprinted at Frankfort on Maine, in 4to., in 1674, and again in 1681; and in the collected works of the author, in folio, at Leyden, in 1692, and in 1707.

This is undoubtedly the masterpiece of our author. It is less behind the advanced state of modern science than either of his other productions. This may be accounted for by the fact that its subjects are of such a nature as to require little more than accuracy of research and patient investigation, with ordinary critical abilities for the management of materials thus obtained; and they admit of but little novelty of discovery. The arrangement of the work, too, is more perspi-

(k) "Eine sehr gelehrte, aber mitkuehnen Hypothesen ueberfuehlte Zusammenstellung." GESENIUS. Art. *Biblische Geographie*, in *Allg. Enc. (Bibel)*, Leipzig, 8vo. 1823, p. 206. not. 35).

(l) BAYLE (*Dict. Art. BOCHART*, Note C.) with his usual flippancy, questions the accuracy of Sir Thomas-Pope-Blount, who mentions this edition, because he (Bayle) had never seen it! I have both seen and used it. It appears to be a mere reprinted title, and is sometimes bound up with the older edition of the 'Canaan.'

cuous, and its execution more correct, than that of the Hierozoicon.

Nevertheless, *the latter* appears to have been the favourite of the author, who bestowed more pains upon it, and occasionally speaks of it as his 'magnum opus.' It certainly has secured for itself a greater share of public favour, as the number of editions and abridgments plainly testifies. Perhaps we may attribute this to the greater degree of interest taken in its subjects, and, in some measure, to its containing more original discovery that has maintained its value. In variety of learning, and multiplicity of quotations, especially from Oriental writers, it undoubtedly much exceeds the Geography; and this was sufficient, at the time of its publication, to secure it a superior degree of admiration, (*n*) which may have been handed down, while the cause has ceased to exercise any influence.

An incredible degree of labour was bestowed by BOCHART upon this work. It occupied his leisure time for nearly twenty years, of which the two that he spent in Sweden were devoted almost wholly to researches on its subjects, principally in the noble Oriental library at that time in possession of CHRISTINA. The diligence with which he examined the minutest subjects may be inferred from the fact that in a letter written about that time to HUET, he called the attention of that learned man to a passage consisting of only two words, illustrative of a subsidiary argument in some portion of his work, and actually requested his assistance in the examination of so minute a point. (*n*)

By way of displaying fully the merits of this fruit of many toils,

(*m*) "BOCHARTI Hierozoicon, summo studio conscriptum opus, quod merito thesaurum quemdam exquisitae et profundae eruditionis dixeris." BUDDÆI Isagoge. i. 275. b.—"Stupendum illud opus BOCHARTI de animalibus Sacrae Scripturae." WOLFIIUS. Hist. Lex. Heb. p. 67.

(*n*) The passage in question was the words Περὶ τῶν πυθίων, in the poem of PAUL SILENTIARIUS on the Pythian thermae, contained in the Greek Anthology. HUETII Comm. de Vit. sua, Lib. III. (Aikin's HUET. i. 212.)

BOCHART himself prefixed a perfect syllabus of its contents, in the shape of a preface, of sixty-three closely printed pages. In this he also fully states his views, and enters into some vindication of the manner in which he had endeavoured to carry them into effect. His design in the work he represents as twofold : *first*, to ascertain the animals designated by names used in the Scriptures ; and *secondly*, to describe those animals, their habits, residence, and peculiarities, and to explain the manner and occasion of their introduction in the sacred books. He traces the peculiar necessity of the first species of investigation to the disuse of the Hebrew language, and the perfunctory discussion of subjects of natural history in the Scriptures, the only authentic depository of that language. The want of evidence which these causes create, he continually endeavours to supply from other Oriental languages, and from the supplementary testimony of the ancient versions and commentators. In his time, few subjects connected with the Scriptures had received less attention than their natural history, and the number of errors in this department was proportionably great. Of course it became the business of BOCHART to notice and refute them, which he does at length, and with such ability, that SIMON, who is unwilling to concede to him any other merit, is under the necessity of allowing that in this respect his work is useful. (o)

In this preface, our author represents as one important object of inquiry, the *reasons* why the several names of animals occurring in the Scriptures were given to the creatures which they respectively designate. He assumes that the Hebrew was the primeval language ;—that Adam gave names to *all* the animals ;—that he possessed an accurate and intimate

(o) " Au moins peut on se precautionner pour ne pas tomber dans l'erreur : et c'est en quoi le—livre qui traite des animaux dont il est parlé dans l'Ecriture peut beaucoup servir ; car bien qu'on ne sçache pas au vrai les noms d'une bonne partie des animaux dont il est fait mention dans la Bible, il donne quelquefois assez de lumiere pour exclure de certains animaux, auxquels ces memes noms ne peuvent convenir." SIMON, Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. Liv. III. c. xx. p. 481. ed. Roterd.

knowledge of their natures ;—and that he intended to convey all, or a portion, of that knowledge, in the names given them. Either of these assumptions it would be difficult, not to say impossible, for him to prove. The rule which he has founded on them has given occasion to much unnecessary disquisition in his work, and to the indulgence of some almost ludicrous fancies. (p)

The Hierozoicon, like the Geography, is divided into Two Parts, each containing several books, in all, ten in number.

The *first* book opens with a general introduction to the subject, and, ancient precept to the contrary notwithstanding, ‘orditur ab ovo,’ affording no small occasion of sneering to that critic-general of beginnings, Father SIMON. The author treats of animals in general,—their origin, nature, and use. According to his usual method, the discussion opens with an examination of the word *animal* (חיה, ζῷον.). In this he spends some time to show that life is attributed to plants as well as animals ; and quotes for that purpose the Scriptures, Jewish Commentators, and Heathen Poets. The bearing which this might have upon the precept of PYTHAGORAS prohibiting the use of any living thing for food, introduces that philosopher, and a discussion of his opinions on the subject.

The grand divisions of the animal kingdom are next laid down, and the several systems of subdivision stated. The relative station of animals in the creation ; their subjection to Adam, and their reception of names from him, are then asserted. On the assumption that the names now extant are those which were then given, a long digression is entered into, to prove that the Hebrew names of animals are indicative of some quality in the animal itself, or circumstance in its habits. Thus concludes the introduction to the work.

(p) The hog, for instance, he supposes to be called חזיר, on account of the smallness of its eyes, because in Arabic حذير means to have small eyes:—just as if the Arabic word were not derived from חזיר; as we now speak of ‘having pig’s eyes’!—The dog, too, is to be called כלב, from כלוב, translated by Jerome *Uncinum*, and the Arabic كلوب harpago ; because he holds any thing in his jaws as if it were in a pair of tongs!! Hieroz. Lib. i. c. ix. p. 61. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1712.

The next three books relate to quadrupeds.

The *second* book contains the history of the domestic quadrupeds introduced in Scripture, of which ten sorts are enumerated. Their names, habits, peculiarities, uses, and products are discussed at length. The accounts of them contained in the writings of the ancients and Orientals are collected. Events in sacred history in which they had a share are recounted and examined. Miracles relating to them are investigated. Laws having any reference to them are stated and explained. Mythological allusions are elucidated and applied to the illustration of sacred history. Proverbs in which these animals are introduced, occurring either in Scripture or in the eastern languages, are collected and explained. Figurative expressions, drawn from their appearance or habits, are enumerated and elucidated. In fine, all the passages of Scripture in which mention of them occurs are recounted, and if difficult, cleared up.

The *third* book treats of the wild quadrupeds mentioned in Scripture, of which twenty-seven sorts come under observation.

The method is the same as in the last book (which, indeed, is nearly uniform in all the succeeding books) but, if possible, more particular, in proportion as the little known of the animals in question renders the subject more difficult; and on account of their more frequent introduction in metaphorical expressions.

Book the *fourth* relates to oviparous quadrupeds. Those noticed in the sacred books are few in number, but they have created more difficulty than any other branch of the natural history of the Scriptures. They were almost entirely unknown, until the learned researches of our author threw new and copious light upon the subject, derived, in a great measure, from the writings of the Arabians. The confusion among the principal versions in modern languages, in rendering the names of these animals, is amusing. Six animals are named by MOSES, Lev. xi. 29, 30, all of which BOCHART has proved to be different species of *lizards*, and has been followed in his opinion by the most eminent Hebraists. Of these the

first, טַד, has been called a TOAD, a TORTOISE, and a sort of SHELL-FISH. The second, קַרְנַיִם, a NEWT, a species of LOCUST, a SPIDER, a winged reptile, a CASTOR, and an OTTER: the third, תַּיִשׁ, a CHAMELEON, a TORTOISE, a SNAIL, a SQUIRREL, and a CROCODILE: the fourth, אַמְבַּל, a sort of SALAMANDER, a species of amphibious animal (LATACEM), a MOUSE, a SPIDER, a NEWT, and a LIZARD: the fifth, שֶׁמֶשׁ, a SNAIL, a BAT: the sixth, אַמְבַּל, a CHAMELEON, a MOLE, and a BAT. From such perplexity has the laborious investigation of BOCHART delivered us! In all such cases, he patiently examines and refutes the variant misinterpretations, before he proceeds to establish his own, which he generally does by numerous and pertinent proofs from Oriental writers.

With the fourth book ends the First Part of the work, or that relating to quadrupeds.

The *Second Part* comprises six books. Of these the first two relate to birds.

The first, or *fifth* of the whole work, contains the history of those designated as clean in the Mosaic law.

The sixth book treats of the unclean birds, twenty in number, in the order in which they are recounted, Lev. xi. 13, Deut. xiv. 2.

The seventh book relates to reptiles generally: but by far the largest portion of its contents is occupied by the several sorts of serpents mentioned, or supposed to be mentioned, in the sacred books.

The eighth book gives an account of insects, with even more than ordinary diffuseness.

The ninth treats of aquatic animals, of which but few are mentioned in the Scriptures: and of the productions of the ocean, such as pearls, the purple-fish, amber, &c.

The tenth and last division of the work discusses the accounts of fabulous animals transmitted by the ancients and Oriental writers, mention of which, although not made in the Scriptures themselves, repeatedly occurs in the ancient versions. Among these our author reckons the ant-lion, now well known, and by no means considered as uncommon. Beside this, the goathart, griffin, phoenix, syrens, lamia,

satyrs, fauns, onocentaurs, and hippocentaurs, are introduced. Every thing related of them is collected ; their non-existence is proved ; and the true meanings of the passages into which they have been improperly introduced by the ancient interpreters, are given and defended. The whole concludes with a similar notice of some fictitious animals of the Arabian naturalists, not in anywise connected with the Scriptures, but introduced by BOCHART to show that he did not place an implicit and blind confidence in those from whom he had borrowed so extensively, and derived so large a proportion of his discoveries.

SIMON, while party feeling led him to depreciate the merits of BOCHART, showed his usual sagacity when he fixed upon the destruction of prevailing errors as the principal utility of his Hierozoicon. It cleared away the rubbish that ages had been heaping upon its subject, and if it did not always bring to light a perfect structure in its stead, we should remember that 'non omnia omnes,' and that none but a Hercules could have so completely removed the accumulated filth. The very list of the more important errors which BOCHART enumerates as corrected in his work, and which have since been acknowledged, almost without exception, as such, is appalling. One species of the same animal has been mistaken for another ; animals of the same general class have been interchanged ; beasts have been taken for birds, for insects, and even fishes ; and the names of animals have been mistaken for those of places. Under these four classes of misinterpretations he arranges a list occupying *nineteen* folio pages. It is important to recount these particulars, because we cannot properly appreciate the value of the Hierozoicon without an idea of its effects in this respect. If it had contained no original views, nothing meriting transmission to posterity, its author would have deserved well of biblical students for all generations, for his exploits in the demolition of ancient prejudice and error.

But the work has its uses, and claims to notice, on its own account. It would not be saying too much to assert that two thirds of all the explanations of Scriptural names of animals given by BOCHART, have been adopted by the ablest

Orientalists since his time. The treasure of zoological language which he has gathered from Oriental writers has been drawn upon by every philologist of note, and is yet unexhausted. The information which he has collected from the same sources respecting the appearance, habits, and products, of animals residing in the East, has been in the main confirmed by the researches of modern travellers. He has afforded the key to many discoveries which have been made in later times, and assisted men of perhaps less learning and abilities to proceed farther than he had done himself. In his preface he claims to have thrown light upon many parts of Holy writ by his interpretations of single passages and whole phrases; and it is undeniable that he deserves great praise on that account.

Many explanations of passages formerly considered difficult, which are now universally received, and familiar to the merest tyro, owe their origin to him. Many which for a time were esteemed improbable, have gradually acquired an established authority. Many, yet the subjects of a difference of opinion, are nevertheless espoused by most learned and judicious critics.

On the whole, the character of this work cannot be better given than in the words of GESENIUS, certainly a competent judge. "The work of BOCHART is in the highest rank of classics in biblical Zoology. Its author was one of the greatest Oriental philologists of modern times. In this production he has made use of every thing that could be furnished by the most extensive etymological knowledge of the Oriental languages, by the Arabian natural historians, and by the ancient versions and classical writers, for the elucidation of the names of animals which occur in Scripture, and of all the passages of the Bible which have any reference to Zoology. Yet perhaps etymological disquisitions are too prevalent in the work." (g)

(g) "Fuer—biblische Zoologie besitzen wir ein hoechst klassisches Werk von SAM. BOCHART, einem der groessesten orientalischen Philologen der neuern Zeit, worin alles aufgeboden ist, was die ausgebreiteste etymologisch^e Kenntniss der orientalischen Sprachen. was arab-

The Hierozoicon was first printed at London, by Allestrey, the publisher of the London Polyglot, and with the oriental types used for that noble work, in 2 volumes folio, in 1663. This edition is spoken of as being splendid, but by no means accurately printed. (r)

As early as 1675 it was reprinted with more care, in folio, at Frankfort on the Maine. It was again republished in the author's collected works, at Utrecht, in 1692, and at Leyden, in 1712.

In 1686 there appeared at Frankfort, in 8vo., an abridgment of this work by Jo. H. MAIUS, of Giesse, who took the liberty of frequently correcting his author in supplementary notes, which, however, were of no great importance. (s) In 1690 it was again epitomized by STEPHEN M. VESCEUS, or VECZCI, a Hungarian, and published in 4to., at Franeker.

In 1793, the younger ROSENUELLER superintended the publication of a new edition in 3 vols. 4to., at Leipsic. But he destroyed its value to the accurate philologist, by mutilating the work at pleasure, and making additions of his own without distinction from the original text. This excited considerable clamour at the time, (t) and although the book was intrinsically valuable to the biblical student, it has never obtained a full circulation.

Something of a different nature had previously been attempted by F. J. SCHODER, who published at Tubingen, in 8vo., in the years 1784, 1786, three tracts, entitled '*Specimina Hierozoici ex SAM. BOCHARTO aliisque virorum commenta-*

ische Naturhistoriken, die alten Versionen und klassischen Schriftsteller zur Erklarung der vorkommenden Thiernamen und aller auf Zoologie irgend Bezug habenden Bibelsteller darbieten, und nur die etymologische Ruecksicht vielleicht zu sehr vorherrscht."—Art. BIBLISCHE GEOGRAPHIE in der Allgem. Encyklopaedie (Bibel. S. 215.)

(r) "Splendide satis, sed admodum vitiose." DORN, ubi supra.

(s) "Animadversiones momenti sunt exigui;" says DORN, ubi supra, p. 167. But FABRICIUS, *Bibl. Antiquaria*, p. 499. appears inclined to allow them more value.

(t) See *Neues theologisches Journal*, herausg. von AMMON, HAERLEIN. und PAULUS: VI B. S. 634. ff.

riis et itinerariis compositi.' In this the matter furnished by BOCHART was worked up together with that obtained from other sources, into a new form, and the editor made himself responsible for all. The want of a favourable reception, or some other unknown cause, prevented the completion of this work, which certainly possessed the merit of a good design and well laid plan.

The Hierozoicon of BOCHART formed only a single division of a work which he had sketched out to himself, to comprize an entire system of the natural history of Scripture. The vegetable and mineral kingdoms yet remained to be examined, and presented fields of investigation at least as broad and difficult as that already explored. It is certain that our author did at one time intend to complete this plan, as he refers to a forthcoming work on the Plants of Scripture, in a passage of the Hierozoicon. (u) Some disjointed fragments left behind him (v) prove that his researches had been commenced, and give us ample reason to lament that circumstances prevented their completion. He had also begun a work on the Gems of Scripture, a subject even to this day almost wholly shrouded in gloom and difficulty; and, according to MORIN, had collected a considerable quantity of materials, which he was continually increasing in the course of his multifarious studies. How far he had progressed towards a perfect work is unknown, for his collections perished with him. (w)

Beside these larger monuments of his industry and learning, our author produced a considerable number of minor pieces,

(u) Pt. II. Opp. Tom. II. p. 847. So also FABRICIUS Bibliotheca Antiquaria, p. 501, on the authority of E. BENZEL in Actis Literariis Sueciae, Ann. 1721. p. 157.

(v) 'An Dudaim sint tubera, &c. ad GEN. xxx. 14. Opp. III. 866. ss. De variis Mannae speciebus &c. Ibid. p. 871. De voce Talmudica COLCHA, ad LEV. xix. 19. Ibid. p. 880. De vocum כַּסֵּף et חֶרְשֶׁף, significationibus, Ibid. p. 916, and, Quid sit ΚΙΚΑΙΟΝ de quo IONA, iv. 6. Ibid. 917. ss.

(w) MORIN. de Vita Bocharti, p. 5. BRAUNIUS de Vest. Sacerd. Lib. II. c. viii. p. 637.

of which such as could be recovered by the diligence of the editors, have been published in the third volume of his collected works.

Of these it will be impossible to give any detailed account. They are fifty-three in number; five being letters to SAUMAISE and VOSSIUS, and the remainder critical remarks upon several works, and dissertations of various length addressed to several of his friends, principally in answer to queries put to him, or in compliance with requests for assistance in the examination of particular topics. Most of these were hastily written, on the spur of the moment, and many of them in French, whence they have been translated into Latin by the editors. Of course, they afford no fair specimens of the abilities of the writer. Yet, such as they are, scarcely any one of them can be read without deriving from it some curious remark or profitable information, often on subjects of even more general interest than those discussed in the larger works.

The most important are; the Notes on the work of STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM Περὶ Πολέων; the Defence of the Geographia Sacra against some objections urged by SAUMAISE; the Letter on Regal and Ecclesiastical power, already noticed; the treatise on the coming of Eneas to Italy; the letter in explanation of the article of the Apostle's Creed, "He descended into Hell;" and a treatise on the temptation of Eve by the Serpent, addressed to JAMES CAPEL.

The dissertation on the landing of Eneas in Italy, in which BOCHART asserts that no such event did ever happen, and at the same time, excuses VIRGIL for having founded his poem on the popular error, was written at the request of the poet SEGRAIS, in French, and published as a prefatory appendage to the translation of the Æneid by that writer. JOHN SCHEFFER, a friend of BOCHART, translated it into Latin, and published it separately, at Hamburg, in 12mo., in 1672. Thence it was adopted into the collected works of the author. (x)

(x) See a list of the authors who have espoused the opinions main-

The brief essay on the 'Descent into Hell,' contained in a letter to TAPIN, I have little hesitation in pronouncing the very best among all our author's works. There is less display of learning, but there is a condensation of fact, and solidity of judgment, which are of far more value. Excepting a single argument, with which the piece concludes, it contains nothing which is not in the greatest degree pertinent to the subject, and important. All the erroneous views are treated of, and solidly refuted, in a few sentences. His own is given, and established by cogent proofs, in as little space. It is perhaps the best compendious essay among the multitudes which have been written on the subject. (y)

To pass an accurate opinion upon the literary character of BOCHART, and especially on his merits as a Biblical Philologist, would be a work of no small difficulty. There are, however, a few traits which can hardly pass unnoticed, and indeed, have been made ground of serious objection against his writings.

It is impossible not to charge him with an excessive *diffuseness* and *discursiveness*. His learning is a deluge rather than a noble, fertilizing stream. He buries his subject under a massy pile of erudition when he should have raised a substantial and convenient structure. His works are magazines of learning, to which it is scarcely possible to add; but whence very much might be subtracted, and the reader be rather a gainer than injured by the operation. (z) SIMON long ago

tained by BOCHART in this little treatise, and an account of the answer to it by T. RYCK, in FABRICII Bibliographia Antiquaria. p. 216.

(y) It is mentioned by DORN, Biblioth. Theol. Crit. Part II. p. 451. who, however, misrepresents B. as maintaining the article to mean a mere state of death; whereas B.'s reasoning and statement of his view evidently include the idea of *place*. It is singular that DIETELMAIER, in his full list of writers on this subject (*Historia Dogmatis de descensu Christi ad inferos*, Norimb. 12mo. 1741,) should have passed by this essay of BOCHART.

(z) A single instance of a fault so constantly recurring, will suffice.—In treating of locusts, he observes that they are spoken of by MOSES as having four feet, while others, ARISTOTLE, for instance, mention six.

objected, that "he seemed to have desired rather to be thought a man of learning than to be esteemed judicious." (a) This is in some measure attributable to the spirit of the age in which he lived. He did but push a little farther a practice which had been already extensively adopted by those who were universally regarded as models of taste and judgment. To make a proper allowance for his errors in this respect, we must carry ourselves back to his days. The fashion, then so prevalent, of pouring forth the whole treasures of the author, old and new, upon his unfortunate reader, is happily for the cause of learning, now extinct. The division of labour is better understood by the literary world; and, in general, a writer who pretends to treat a particular subject, does not expect the attention of his readers to more than is strictly relevant to that subject. Divines and critics have recognized the truth of the adage 'ars longa, vita brevis,' and are fain to relinquish their claim to *years* for the study of a single work.

But, under any circumstances, this fault in the works of BOCHART would admit of some extenuation from a view of the nature of their object. The author was almost the first in his track, and was obliged to explore his way more carefully, and more sedulously guard his outposts, than would have been

This apparent difference he easily reconciles, by observing that Moses expressly distinguishes the long legs used for leaping, from the feet; and that this distinction is also recognized by ARISTOTLE, while, for method's sake, he counts them as feet. Here BOCHART's task was done. But he goes on to say, that what ARISTOTLE in this passage calls *αἰτιαὶ μέγαι*, he elsewhere terms *πυδάλια*. This gives occasion to correct SCALIGER, who had derived that word from *πυδῶν* (salire), and to point out its true meaning, viz. *helms*, (of a ship). Then, to show the reason for the application of the name, he investigates the resemblance between the long legs of a locust and the helm of a vessel. Thus he introduces a disquisition on the rudders of the ancients, which occupies half a folio page; and in the course of which he makes one quotation in Ethiopic, five in Greek, and seven from Latin authors! referring the reader at the close for *more* to a work by SCHEFFER. Hierozoic. Lib. iv. c. 1. Opp. Tom. II. p. 452. s.

(a) Simon Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. Liv. III. c. XX. p. 481. ed Rotterd.

necessary had he merely followed a beaten route. Much of his discursive matter has *some* bearing, though perhaps intricate and remote, upon the proofs of his positions, if not directly upon the subject under discussion; and much that now appears unnecessary was by no means useless to the accomplishment of his design. It was prudent, too, in offering to the public such a mass of original views and interpretations; and in levying war upon so many errors, venerable for their age and formidable from their universality, to use every mean of pleasing and convincing. Variety of tastes was to be consulted. Allowance was to be made for the different effects of argument upon different minds. The author's statements were to be defended at every point, that not the smallest cranny might afford an advantage to those who should be disposed to attack what they might consider as his presumptuous innovations. (b)

Another prominent fault is his fondness for recondite learning and minute disquisition. He cannot resist the temptation to display to the admiring gaze of others the treasures which he has so hardly earned, however forced the occasion. He seems to measure the value of his matter by its remoteness from the range of common knowledge; and to suppose that the rarity of an author on the difficulty of his style or language will amply excuse the improper length, or unnecessary introduction, of an extract. The necessity of close and accurate investigation, and long habits of minute research, had accustomed him to attach importance to the minutest points, which he discusses as gravely and with as much prolixity as if the safety of the literary world depended on them. Hence the same acute, but often captious and hasty writer, who has been already quoted as a censor of BOCHART, takes occasion to sneer at him as a mere grammarist and dictionary-hunter, who loves to descant upon bare play of words and changes of letters, and whose bulky works would shrink exceedingly

(b) The author evidently betrays a fear of such attacks in Praef. ad Phaleg, Opp. Tom. III. p. 43. s. and especially Praef. ad Hierozoicon, Opp. Tom. I. p. 62. e.

if they were trimmed of every thing that is good for nothing. (c)

As to the charge of '*grammatism*,' the critical PERE SIMON can hardly have been in earnest, when he found fault with the *grammatical* learning of our author. Whether he were or not, the defence of BOCHART by VILLAMANDY, the editor of his collected works, is well enough. "It is true," says he, "that the numerous explanations of Hebrew, Rabbinical, Greek, and other words, which occur in his works, display much *grammatical* knowledge. But it is that kind of knowledge which relates to the true force and signification of words, and to their genuine origin and use; and which is gained only by an accurate perusal of the best writers in the language. Such is not the knowledge of the mere *grammatist* who trifles with the endless genealogies and forms of grammar, and is for ever involved in doubt by the intricacy of his own disputations." (d)

The assertion that BOCHART was indebted to 'dictionaries' for his multifarious learning deserves a contemptuous denial. Every page of his works shows that he derived his knowledge of the languages in which he was so eminently skilled, from the fountain heads. He is continually correcting errors, or supplying deficiencies, of modern lexicographers, especially the Arabic. It would be difficult to adduce a single instance in which he has depended on the authority of a dictionary, except it be one written in the language itself, as those of JAUHARI in Arabic, or HESYCHIUS in Greek, to which no sober critic would object.

But as to trifling, and, so to speak, conglomeration of unnecessary learning, it is impossible to justify our author. Occasionally we cannot avoid imagining that he selects the least obvious interpretations of a passage, that he may bring his

(c) SIMON, Reponse aux Sentimens de quelque Theologiens de Hollande, Liv. III. p. 18. ed. Roterd.—Reponse a la Defense des Sentimens, &c. p. 72, p. 74.

(d) Such is the substance of p. 5, ¶ 4. of Pref. in Tom. III. Opp. BOCHARTI:

immense erudition to bear, in its establishment. (e) Elsewhere he dallies, through whole pages, with the most absurd hypotheses, that he may enjoy the Titanic pleasure of heaving a mountain to crush a mouse. (f) The warmest admirer of BOCHART must allow, that his voluminous writings would well admit of much retrenchment.

Another serious charge against BOCHART, which must be admitted to have some foundation, is, that he indulged to an

(e) For example. In ISA. VI. 6. he would render *רצף*, a *heated stone*; relying on ancient authorities (neither numerous nor strong) for that meaning of the word; and then brings vast quantities of historical reading to show that *heated stones* were used in ancient times for cooking, &c., and therefore *might* have been upon the altar for the purpose of consuming flesh put there. But after all he fails in showing the very point to be proved—that it was customary to use heated stones in *sacrifices*, or to place them *on altars*; and he does not perceive that his far-fetched rendering takes away a great deal of the beauty of the bold figure of the prophet. It is astonishing that SIMON, DÖDERLEIN, DATHE, and even GESENIUS, should have admitted implicitly this rendering.—HIEROZ. P. I. L. II. C. XXXIII.

(f) An egregious instance of such trifling occurs in the *HIEROZOICON*, P. II. B. II. C. XI., entitled 'God's providence towards crows.' In the first place he states the allegorical interpretation given to certain passages of Scripture relating to 'young ravens' by some of the early fathers, who made the 'ravens' *Gentiles*, the 'young ravens' *The Christian church*, formed principally from among the heathen. This he gravely refutes at some length. Then follows a literal exposition given by SOLOMON JARCHI, KIMCHI, and other Jewish, and many Arabian writers. They say that ravens, on the first hatching of their young, are so disgusted with the appearance of the little animals, as to fly away and leave them; and that the young birds uttering their plaintive cries upon being pressed with hunger, the Deity, in pity on them, creates from their dung in the nest, great abundance of lice, which run into the open mouths of the nestlings. With all possible seriousness our author girds himself for the work of showing this to be an untenable exegesis. The authorities by which it is supported are quoted, to the number of three citations in Hebrew, four in Arabic, two in Greek, and three in Latin. In answer, he undertakes to prove that it is not the habit of birds to foul their own nests;—that it is not likely that the ravens think their young ones ugly;—and that there is no unquestionable evidence of their leaving them in their vexation. During this process he makes *eleven* more quotations from EPICHRMIUS, CICERO, ARISTOTLE, PLINY, ÆLIAN, CHALPHOLACHMAR, and SERVIUS. The whole occupies three large folio pages.

excessive degree in conjecture and unwarranted hypothesis. Much may be said in palliation of this fault, if such it be. The subjects of his books were such as seldom to admit even of the moral demonstration of probability; and in many cases, the best guesser is the wisest man. Many of his *conjectures* have since been fully confirmed. Others are as near the truth as the scanty data in existence will permit us to arrive. Even of those which are palpably incorrect, no few command our admiration by their ingenuity and the learning displayed in their support. (g)

The only remaining objection which has been made against our author, is, his overweening attachment to etymology. SIMON passes some bitter jests upon this foible, undertaking to show, by some of BOCHART's irrefragable proofs, that the *Borak*, or winged animal on which Mahomet's followers feign that their Prophet rode, was nothing else than a 'she-ass,' in French *bourrique*. (h) It is true that BOCHART did place too much reliance upon etymological reasoning; and he was even reprehended for it by some of the most eminent of his contemporaries. (i) In his work on Animals, this is easily accounted for by his opinions respecting the derivation of Hebrew names of animals from ADAM, and their consequent ne-

(g) His explanation of the Egyptian mythological history of Osiris and Typho, from the history of Moses, is a splendid instance. There is scarcely room for a doubt that the whole will, in the more thorough knowledge of Egyptian antiquity which is now dawning on the world, appear to be a mere offspring of fancy. Yet, as given by BOCHART (*HIEROZ.* P. I. L. II. c. 34.) and as well epitomized by WIRSIUS (*Egyptiacarum Lib. III. c. v. p. 216. 216. ss.*) there is hardly a part which does not seem highly probable, or an inference which does not possess a show of adequate support by historical and most ingenious etymological argument.—This tracing events of Jewish history in heathen mythology was a favourite employment of our author. He finds Moses in Bacchus, Deborah in the Sphinx, &c., &c. This fault was common in his age. HURT is well known to have carried it to excessive lengths.

(h) *Reponse a la Defense des Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande.* p. 72.

(i) HURT is said to have addressed a letter to him, containing very sensible remarks on the subject. Aikin's *Memoirs of HURT.* II. 492.

cessary relation to the nature of the animals themselves. In his Sacred Geography, too, the scarcity of other evidence would naturally lead him to attach undue importance to that derived from etymology. He is rather to be pitied than blamed for this erroneous predilection, although it must be admitted that it detracts in no small degree from the utility of his labours to those who would build upon surer ground.

As an interpreter of Scripture, BOCHART is, to say the least, respectable. His general views of the rules of interpretation, are, with the exception of his attachment to etymology, for the most part good. Many of the most important of these rules are clearly stated and well defended in different parts of his writings; (*j*) and most of them are well exemplified in the Preface to the Hierozoicon, where he was forced to study brevity. (*k*) But he is by no means consistent or uniform in his adherence to those rules.

His conclusions are sometimes hastily or incorrectly drawn, or founded on insufficient premises. A partial glance at the evidence before him seems to have seized upon the most prominent, while other portions, conjointly of more importance, are passed over. (*l*)

(*j*) The reasons against an allegorical interpretation of the history of the temptation of Eve are well stated, De Serpente Tentatore. Opp. III. 933; those against interpretation from the event, p. 836;—against forcing tropes, 860. In the same piece, the determining of the scope of a passage from its context is well exemplified, p. 904; and the means of ascertaining the *usus loquendi* are ably applied, p. 906.

(*k*) Let any one compare BOCHART's interpretation of Prov. vii. 22. (HIEROZ. P. I. Lib. III. c. lvi. fin.) and his happy conjecture respecting the present reading of the Septuagint in that passage, with MICHAELIS' article on the same passage; Suppl. ad Lex. Heb. 1898, and the manifest superiority of the former, will show the high ground which he at least occasionally takes as a biblical interpreter.

(*l*) VORSTIUS (De Hebraismis N. T. c. xxiii. Vol. II. p. 33.) shows the fallacy of an interpretation of BOCHART by which he attempted to confirm his views (sufficiently established on other grounds) respecting the queen of Saba. She is said to have come ἀπὸ παραδράς τῆς γῆς. BOCHART catches at this, and argues that her kingdom must have been in Arabia, as that is bounded by the sea, while vast districts extend be-

He too readily indulges in conjectural emendations of passages in which the present reading presents difficulties to him insuperable, or offers an obstacle to a favourite hypothesis. The Scriptures themselves are by no means exempted from the exercise of this wayward propensity. (m) It is true that his emendations are sometimes very happy, and throw unexpected and vivid light upon a passage seemingly utterly obscure. (n) It is also true that he had the sanction of the greatest critics of his age in the employment of such means

yond Ethiopia. It is impossible that he could have been ignorant of the common application of the phrase *παρα τῆς γῆς* to countries not bounded by the ocean, which is clearly shown by VORSTIUS; and yet his eagerness for proof drew off his attention from that fact, and caused him to rely upon a worthless argument. Very similar, and equally egregious, failures in exegetical argument may be found corrected by VORSTIUS, De Hebraismis, i. 393. s. and BRYNÆUS, de Calceis Hebraeorum, p. 8. ss. 158. ss. and 242. ss.

(m) So HIEROZ. P. I. Lib. II. c. xliii. BOCHART agrees with BEEA (and they are followed by BENSON, DODDRIDGE, &c.) in supposing the word *Αβραμ*, Ac. vii. 16., to be an interpolation by some ignorant transcriber, who thought the verb *γενεατο* needed a nominative, and from indistinct recollection supplied 'Abraham.'

JEBB, (Sacred Literature, p. 324,) cites BOCHART as agreeing with TANQUIL FABER in a still bolder mutilation of the text of Scripture, viz. representing *ὅτι γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τάχα τις ἐπέλαμψε ἀποθανεῖν*, (Rom. v. 7.) as a marginal gloss.—But I have not met with this in the works of BOCHART, and find no mention of it in the Indices.

Something nearly approaching to this conjectural licence appears HIEROZ. P. II. Lib. II. c. xii. where the author is willing to reverse the present reading of the Hebrew text, in favour of the Greek version, on the authority of a Grecian mythological fable, and the use of a term among the Arabian astrologers: virtually admitting such testimony in evidence respecting an event 2000 years previous!

(n) Such is that by which he accounts for an apparently enormous blunder in the Sibylline Oracles, placing Ararat in Phrygia Niger; by changing *Μελαμνίς* into *Καμινίς*, and referring it to CELENE, afterwards APAMEA, called for some unknown reason *Κελετικός*.—PHALEG. P. I. Lib. III. c. xiii. See SAURIN Diss. Hist. ix. p. 115. s. and compare the confirmation subsequently given by the medal, *Ib.* p. 132. ss.—Most of the investigations respecting the ancient Punic, in Part II. of the Sacred Geography, partake largely of the character of conjectural emendations, and must be allowed, as such, to possess rare merit.

of arriving at the sense of a difficult passage ; and that, with regard to profane authors, the practice has been prevalent to an extent only not universal. Still, the strict rules of exegesis will not warrant it : much less can its results be used as evidence in historical research, or as '*media*' in the examination of other passages ; to both which uses they are not unfrequently applied by our author.

Lastly, he is not always nice in his choice of proofs and Scriptural authorities. Passages to which it is scarcely to be doubted that he would have given the correct interpretation upon a professed examination, he often cites in a sense very foreign from the actual import. Who, for instance, would, on due reflection, bring forward Rom. x. 6~~7~~ as a '*ratio non contemnenda*' for interpreting the ninth article of the Creed, of an abode in the state of death ? Yet that does BOCHART. Opp. iii. 987.

6.7,

To conclude this extended, yet imperfect, sketch :—the works of BOCHART have by no means survived their usefulness or reputation. They are yet treasures of philosophical learning, which may be used to no small advantage by the industrious and discriminating student. The faults of their writer were the faults of his age ; but his excellencies are his own, and are such as will endure.

The praise of unparalleled industry, almost unlimited erudition, great ingenuity, and no small degree of independence as an interpreter of Scripture, will be awarded to BOCHART as long as Biblical Philology shall be studied as a science. His etymologies, conjectures, and occasional lapses in interpretation, will be forgotten, or readily forgiven, by every one qualified to judge of the true value of his works.

DISSERTATION
ON THE MEANING OF
“THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN”
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY GOTTLOB CHRISTIAN STORR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN,
BY MANTON EASTBURN, M. A.
RECTOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION, NEW-YORK.

DISSERTATION,

&c., &c.

§. I.

THAT the expectation of some *heavenly kingdom* had been long entertained by Christ's hearers, may be even inferred from the circumstance,¹ that both our Lord himself, (a) and John

(a) Matt. iv. 17.

¹ The extracts made by WERTHEIM from the Rabbinical writings, at Matt. iii. 2. are all of them, I think, irrelevant. To this conclusion I have been led, in the first place, by considering *the period at which these authors lived*: for though we may allow the earlier of them in particular, and those who approach nearest to the apostolic age, to be brought forward for the purpose of *illustrating* and confirming ancient authorities, yet with KELL (Hist. Dogmatis de regno Messiae Christi et apostolorum ætate, ad illustranda N. T. loca accommodate exposita, Lips. 1781. p. 6.) [See KELL, Opusc. Acad. p. 29. Lips. 1821.—Tr.] I am reluctant, for many reasons, to receive them as *witnesses*. The consideration, however, which weighs the most with me, is, that the Rabbinical modes of expression, as has been observed by KOPPE, (Vol. i. N. T. gr. p. 227.) are exceedingly different from that idea of the heavenly kingdom, which is the object of my inquiries. The subject which I propose to discuss is some heavenly kingdom, which *was expected* in course of time; whereas, on the other hand, those Rabbinical writers usually speak of that *ancient* heavenly government maintained

the Baptist before him, (b) no sooner made their public appearance, than they immediately touched upon this topic of the kingdom of heaven, as one that was quite familiar to all; and that furnished an extremely suitable argument by which to persuade their countrymen to repentance. And the testimony of JOSEPHUS,² confirmed thus far by a comparison with the sacred books, leaves us no room for doubt respecting the sources whence the Jews derived their expectation; since, from the time of David, who peculiarly became possessor of a kingdom *divinely conferred*,³ we see promised a certain king, distinguished by many appellations, who was to be of the stock of

(b) Matt. III. 2.

over all things (the monarchy, as it is called by Philo, p. 812 ss. ed. Fr.) by Jehovah, the one true God, who, particularly in the later periods of the Jewish commonwealth, was usually distinguished from the idols made in the land, by the name of *heavenly king*, (Dan. iv. 34,) and *God of heaven*; (II. 18. 28.) and by *becoming subject to the same*, understand the duty of acknowledging one God, of professing his name by reciting the formula in Deut. vi. 4, and of reverently keeping his commandments. I do not however deny, that the term *kingdom of heaven* is perhaps, in the N. T. itself, though very rarely, applied to the perpetual government of God over all things; (Ps. cIII. 19. cXLV. 11 ss. 1. Tim. i. 17. vi. 15.) so that Matt. xviii. 23, may be thus rendered: "that function of the *divine government*, by which forgiveness is extended to any one, is regulated by the same principle which an earthly king pursued, who, &c., i. e. *God* (v. 35.) proceeds in like manner with a king, who, &c."

² L. vi. de bell. Jud. c. 5. §. 4. Add TACITUS, L. v. Histor. c. 13.

³ Saul was made king, it is true, by divine authority; but this was a thing extorted by the importunity of the people. (I. Sam. viii.—x. xii. 12 s.) David, on the contrary, by the divine choice, was not only made king, (xiii. 14. xv. 28. xvi. 1. Acts, xiii. 22.) but was also honored with the privilege (II. Sam. vii. 11 ss.) of transmitting an hereditary kingdom to his descendants. For though God could not but disapprove of (I. Sam. viii. 7.) the entreaties of the Israelites for a king, to the absolute rejection of himself; yet afterwards he signified, on another occasion, that there was nothing in the designs of his Providence which opposed the administration, by *human instrumentality*, of that kingdom, which, being *his own*, (xii. 12.) was therefore *heavenly*, or divine. To what those designs had reference, both the history of David's progeny, invested with a heavenly, or divine kingdom, far more august than that of David or Solomon, and the prophecies of the O. T. themselves, clearly explain.

David,⁴ far superior to all kings, (c) lord not only of the Jews, but of all nations, (d) everlasting, (e) to be exalted to a government altogether divine, (f) but, previously to the attainment of that dignity, (g) was to endure the last extremity of suffering for the salvation of many. (h)

This kingdom therefore of *the Messiah*, (i) since it is both divinely⁵ conferred, (j) and is itself divine, (k) has obtained

- (c) Ps. LXXXIX. 28. 15. (d) Dan. vii. 13 s.
 (e) II. Sam. vii. 13. 16. Ps. LXXXIX. 30. 37 s. Isai. LIII. 10. Dan. vii. 14.
 (f) Ps. cx. 1. (g) Isai. LIII. 13. (h) LIII. 3 ss.
 (i) Eph. v. 5. Matt. xiii. 41. Luke xxii. 30. Rev. i. 9. Matt. xv. 34. 40.
 Rev. i. 5. xvii. 14. xix. 16.
 (j) II. Sam. vii. 12. 14. Ps. ii. 6. 7. comp. Heb. v. 5. (k) Ps. cx. 1.

⁴ When David thought of building a house to the honor of God, (II. Sam. vii. 5 ss.) God promised on the other hand, that he would sooner build a house for David, (v. 11. 27.) i. e. bestow a family (v. 18 s. 25 s. 29.) upon him, (Deut. xxv. 9. Exod. i. 21.) and enrich it (Compare Ps. LXXXIX. 5. Obs. gramm. p. 11.) with great blessings. (II. Sam. vii. 29.) It is not to be doubted, therefore, that דָּוִד in v. 12, signifies the whole family (דָּוִד) of David, (v. 16. comp. Ps. LXXXIX. 37.) and his posterity (בְּנֵי דָּוִד v. 31. comp. II. Sam. vii. 14. 12.) even to a remote generation, v. 19. But if the reference is to the *whole* family of David, it is certainly also allowable to ascribe to this family things, which, though they did not apply to all and each of the posterity of David, yet certainly did to many of them, as v. 14, at the end, or to one of them, as Solomon, the builder of the temple (v. 13). We ought not to be surprised, therefore, if, in II. Sam. vii. principal reference should be made to one particular man (comp. Dan. vii. 13), who should be singularly conspicuous among all the posterity of David, and give stability to the whole royal family. And as this might very properly have been done, so it actually is the fact that it was; as appears, on the one hand, from the consideration, that, if we except Christ, the offspring of David was clearly, according to the testimony of history, not placed in that eternal (II. Sam. vii. 13. 16. comp. with Ps. LXXXIX. 30. 37 s.) and most illustrious (v. 28.) kingdom; and as it might have been inferred, moreover, even in David's time, from a true interpretation of the divine prophecy contained in Ps. cx. 11. For mention is there made of a certain *peculiar* king, placed by God (II. 6.) upon Mount Sion, where David sat; the reference is, therefore, to some successor of David, who, most truly of all, should be both the Son of God (v. 7. comp. with II. Sam. vii. 14), and possess divine (comp. I. Sam. xii. 12. note 3.) or heavenly power (Ps. cx. 1.).

⁵ Hence it is also called the kingdom of *the Father*, Matt. xxvi. 29. vi. 10. Luke, xi. 2.

the name of the kingdom of God or ^e of heaven ; sometimes, also, it is called *the kingdom*⁷ *κατ' ἐξοχην*, as being that which was so well known, both from the sacred books of the Jews, and from the gospel, of which it is the sum and substance,⁸ that none could fail to understand the true signification of the term.

§. II.

It cannot indeed be denied, that the prevalent opinion in the time of Christ with regard to Messiah's kingdom, was far removed from the true conception of its character ; and that the Jews, whose thoughts entirely overlooked those prophecies which related to the death of Christ, and the rest of his humiliation, (l) supposed the grandeur of the kingdom of heaven to consist in temporal riches and power, and in the splendor of their capital ;⁹ (m) and while they were deceived by

(l) Luke, xxiv. 20 s. 25 s. xviii. 34. John, xii. 34. (m) Luke, xix. 11.

^e St. Matthew, in his Hebrew gospel, uses this expression most frequently ; (e. g. Matt. iv. 17. x. 7. xiii. 11, 24. 31. 33. v. 3. xix. 23.) instead of which, both the Greek interpreter of St. Matthew, (e. g. xii. 28. xix. 24. comp. über den zweck der evl. Gesch. Joh. p. 369.) and more frequently still the other evangelists, (e. g. Mark, i. 15. Luke, x. 9. 11. viii. 10. Mark, iv. 11. 26. 30. Luke, xiii. 18. 20. vi. 20. Mark, x. 23—25.) make mention of the kingdom of God. I have no doubt that the word *heaven*, in that phrase of St. Matthew, has the signification of the *God of heaven*. (Dan. ii. 44. note 1.) See Matt. xxi. 25. Luke, xx. 4 s. xv. 18. Dan. iv. 23. and WERTSTEIN, ad Matt. i. c.

⁷ Matt. iv. 23. ix. 35. xiii. 19. xxiv. 14.

⁸ Mark, i. 14. Luke, iv. 43. viii. 1. ix. 2. 11. 60. xvi. 16. Acts, i. 3. viii. 12. xix. 8. xx. 25. xxviii. 23. 31.

⁹ That the Jews connected the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem with the commencement of the kingdom of heaven, cannot be proved from the example of the apostles : (Matt. xxiv. 3.) for these had been informed of that catastrophe not through Jewish instruction, but by the prediction of our Lord ; (v. 2. Luke, xix. 44.) and they were so struck with the strangeness of the annunciation, that they thought the world itself, with whose duration they had connected that of their temple, would be overwhelmed in the same overthrow. Nor am I at all influenced by that passage of the Gemarists, adduced by LIGHTFOOT at Matt. ii.

the vain expectation, that, having expelled the Romans, (n), they should ere long (o) recover (p) and extend¹⁰ their dominion, in regard to the real grandeur and glory of the Messiah's reign (q) were shamefully ignorant. (r) We are not, however, to imagine, that Jesus and his apostles were obliged, on this account, either to make no mention at all of the kingdom of heaven, or to maintain that notion of it which, though by no means correct, was yet the only one known to their hearers. It may be observed, on the one hand, that it was altogether becoming in divine teachers generally, and peculiarly so in the Messiah, to restore that true idea of the kingdom of heaven which had been pointed out by the prophets. But, besides this, the prevalent opinion of the Jews is not to be deemed so entirely false, but that they may have had some little insight, at least, into that true sense, which is defined in the ancient prophecies, and repeated in the New Testament; and that while, under the teaching of Jesus and his ambassadors, they unlearned what had been superadded by the erroneous interpretation of the Jews, and discovered what it had hidden from the view, they may have been, meanwhile, led to a change of views, by the general (s) doctrine

(n) Luke, xxiv. 21, Acts, xvii. 7. John, xix. 12. compare Luke, xxiii. 2.
 (o) xix. 11. (p) Acts, i. 6. (q) Matt. xxii. 43 s.
 (r) v. 46. (s) Comp. Matt. xx. 21. with Mark, x. 37.

1; since, as it is allowed even by KEIL himself, who lays great stress upon the citation just mentioned, (p. 9.) [KEIL, Opus. Acad. p. 32. Lips. 1821. —Tr.] the talmudical writings are to be referred to not so much for the purpose of proof, as for that of illustrating and confirming points already, from other quarters, well ascertained and established. We have the testimony, moreover, of JOSEPHUS, (see note 2.) that, by the expectation of the Messiah, (comp. Matt. xxiv. 4 s. 23—26,) the Jews were rather led into the hope, that it might become their duty to contend fiercely with the Romans for their liberty, city, and temple. Other traces of the opinion respecting the wonderful security of the temple, are to be found in Acts, vi. 11 ss; and in JOSEPHUS, L. vi. de bell. Jud. c. 2. §. 1.

¹⁰ See several well-known passages of JOSEPHUS, TACITUS (note 2,) and SERTORIUS (in Vespasian, 4.)

which they held, concerning the great benefits they were to receive from that king of theirs, (t) who was expected from the family of David. (u) But let us turn for information to the New Testament itself; from which it seems to me to be clearly established, that so far were Jesus and his apostles from accommodating themselves to the Jewish opinion concerning Christ's kingdom, that, on the other hand, they reduced it strictly to the standard of truth, and of the ancient prophecies.*

§. III.

1. *The commencement of the kingdom of heaven.*

Upon one topic, the subject indeed of ancient prophecy, (v) but more than any other overlooked by the Jews, Jesus and the apostles were so much the more particular in their instructions; setting forth the multiplied griefs, and painful punishment, that were to be, or had already been endured by Jesus, *previously* to the occupancy of that promised heavenly dominion. Among numerous passages¹¹ we read some more express than others, in which, were the order of time to be regarded, it would be proper to begin with our Lord's predictions; but, as I have determined first to take notice of those passages where the ancient prophecies¹² had been clearly mentioned, another commencement must be adopted.

(t) John, i. 50. comp. Luke, xxiii. 2. Matt. ii. 4 s. comp. 2.

(u) Mark, xi. 10. Matt. xxii. 42. John, vii. 42.

(v) Isai. llii. 10 ss. Ps. xvi. 9 ss.

* Comp. Diss. i. in LL. N. T. hist. aliquot loca ad Matt. v.—vii. Diss. iii. ad Joh. vi. 26 s.

¹¹ See particularly Luke, xvii. 25. xxiv. 26 s. i. Pet. i. 11. Phil. ii. 7 ss. Heb. ii. 9. Eph. i. 20 ss.

¹² To these, indeed, Jesus did not omit to bear testimony; as in Matt. xxii. 41 ss. he clearly declared, that the offspring of David was to possess a kingdom so truly divine, that he deserved to be called Lord

When St. Peter, then, after the ascension of our Lord into heaven, delivered his first public discourse, the substance of what he wished his hearers to understand was this ; that the miracle which had brought the multitude together was a proof, that that same Jesus whom *they had crucified* (w) had not only been restored to life, (x) but *had ascended into heaven, and, as Ps. cx. expresses it, had sat down on the right hand of God,* (y) and had thus, through the divine power, been exalted to a station so preëminent, that he was both able to send forth this gift which was evident to the senses of the whole assembly, (z) and ought to be regarded by all as one whom God had made Lord, and *that Lord, too,* (a) who, *under the name of Christ,* (b) i. e. *the king, about to arise out of the family of David,* (c) had been all along the object of their expectations. (d) With this representation harmonizes that of St. Paul, that, in his day, it had come to pass, that God had performed¹³ his promise concerning the offspring of David, (e) *by making Jesus king ;*¹⁴ (f) who, in pursuance of the predictions of the prophets, (g) *having suffered death, and been recalled* (h) *to life eternal,* (i) that that time had arrived, (j) which the divine prophet had long ago (k) introduced as actually present ;¹⁵—that now, since Jesus by his sacrifice *had expiated our*

(w) Acts, II. 36. 23.

(z) v. 33.

(c) v. 6. II. Sam. VII. 12 ss.

(f) v. 32.

(i) v. 34.

(x) v. 24. 32.

(a) v. 36.

(d) Acts, II. 30.

(g) v. 27. 29. 34.

(j) v. 32. 33.

(y) Acts, II. 34 s.

(b) Ps. II. 2.

(e) XIII. 23.

(h) v. 27—31.

(k) Ps. II. 7.

by the parent himself ; but in that place, which I shall make use of hereafter in reference to my subject, there is certainly no mention made of predictions.

¹³ On the construction of Acts, XIII. 32. see BENGEL.

¹⁴ Since by that promise which the Apostle says was now accomplished, an expectation had been raised of some great *king* of the stock of David, (v. 23.), and also a subsequent verse, 33. refers to *the kingdom* of the Messiah (note 16.); without doubt *βασιλεύς* is to be taken in the same sense as in the promise itself (II. Sam. VII. 12.): “ I will make *king* (*βασιλεύς*) thine offspring after thee, and I will establish his *kingdom*.” Comp. Acts, VII. 18.

¹⁵ I do not apprehend that there will be very many, at the present

sins, (l) the declaration in Ps. cx. had had this issue, (m) that Jesus was made greater than all things which are subject to God, (n) and even than the angels themselves, and thus had obtained that name and glory (o) which had been promised to David's offspring; (p) that now he is perceived to be that begotten Son of God, who, in preference to all the kings of the stock of David, deserves to be called the Son of God,¹⁶ being possessed of the same divine empire as the Father. (q) But let us hear also what our Lord himself says. We find, then, that to the disciples who acknowledged him (r) to be the Christ, the Son of God, (s) he expressly shews, on the very same occasion, (t) the sorrow and death he was to undergo, before he commenced his kingly life; and publicly before the multitude (u) he also bids his friends expect not wealth, and a prosperous condition, but a similar destiny of calamities and of death; and, at last, when he should make a most splendid exhibition of his glory, life, truly so called, and a most certain recompense of reward: (v) but he adds, (w) that, although

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|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (l) Heb. i. 3. x. 12. | (m) Heb. i. 3. comp. 13. x. 12 s. | (n) i. 2. |
| (o) v. 4. | (p) v. 5. | (q) v. 2. 3. 13. 8 s. |
| (r) Matt. xvi. 16. | (s) Ps. ii. 2. 7. | (t) Matt. xvi. 21. |
| (u) Mark, viii. 34. Luke, ix. 23. | | (v) v. 23—26. |
| (w) v. 27. | | |

day, disposed to doubt whether יְהוָה in that place indicates some certain and definite period, (Heb. iv. 7.) which was present, not indeed in the Psalmist's time, but in that to which the Psalm had reference. (comp. x. 5.)

¹⁶ The Apostle, very suitably to the sense of the prophecy, (ii. Sam. vii. 14. Ps. ii. 7. comp. Ps. lxxxix. 27 s. Ps. ii. 6.) infers from that name of *Son of God* the dignity of *Christ's empire*; (Heb. i. 5. comp. with 2—4. comp. Luke, i. 32 s. Matt. xxvi. 63 s.) but at the same time very clearly shews, that the offspring of David (Heb. i. 5. comp. with ii. Sam. vii. 14.) could not have obtained the name and dignity of *Son of God*, in the sense that he was made far superior to the angels, (Heb. i. 4.) and had sat down at the right hand of God, (v. 3.) and was appointed Lord of all things, (v. 2.) unless, besides his human nature, he possessed also one much more exalted, nay, higher than all others, which had founded, and which supports all things, (v. 10—12. 3.) and in reference to which God may be said (v. 2.) to have made the world by his Son. Compare Roos, *Lehre und Lebensgeschichte Jesu Christi*. P. i. p. 295.

that most glorious appearance of the kingdom of heaven (x) was neither so near at hand, nor of that earthly form, that any one ought to shrink even from undergoing death, for the gospel's sake, (y) yet those who are standing here¹⁷ shall, a part of them,¹⁸ not die, till they shall have seen *the kingdom of God*, or, as St. Mark expresses it, ix. 1. till they shall have seen *the kingdom of God come with power*, which, according to the interpretation of St. Matthew, (z) means: until they shall have seen this *man*, who now appears so abject and miserable, (a) *coming to*¹⁹ *his kingdom*. Jesus, therefore, *some little time after* that discourse, but while *the apostles*²⁰ however were, a great part of them, *living*, entered upon his government; so that it was permitted to them surviving to see²¹ his kingdom coming, and also with power: that is, they

(x) v. 26.

(y) v. 25.

(z) xvi. 28.

(a) v. 21.

¹⁷ The apostles appear to have stood next to Jesus, (comp. Mark, iii. 34.) having been the only persons present with him while he was praying, (Luke, ix. 18. 21.) before the people were called. (Mark, viii. 34.) It is probable that he meant these, therefore, and perhaps pointed them out, by some visible sign, (Mark, iii. 34. Matt. xii. 49.) when he uttered the words above cited.

¹⁸ *Τίς*, in the passage referred to, signifies *a part*, in general; which may also be a *great part*. (John, vi. 64, comp. with 66. 1. Cor. x. 7 ss.) And Judas, whom our Lord usually excepts in other places also, when he is speaking of the apostles, (John, xiii. 10 s.) certainly died before the commencement of the kingdom of God.

¹⁹ *Ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ* seems to mean the same thing (comp. II. Kings, xiii. 20. Job. v. 26) as *ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν*; and this phrase to signify *coming to the kingdom*, obtaining possession of the government. Comp. THEODOTION, Dan. iv. 33. and the word *ἔστυ*, which, though it properly signifies *to come to any thing* (Obs. gramm. p. 272.), frequently means *to obtain possession of any thing*. Perhaps also Luke, xxiii. 42. ought to be rendered: "*when thou shalt have obtained possession of thy kingdom.*"

²⁰ Compare above Acts, xiii. 32.

²¹ In like manner, Matt. xxvi. 64. it is said that the Jews shall hereafter see this same Jesus, whom they were now so ignominiously treating, sitting at the right hand of God, as the Christ, the Son of God, (v. 63. note 16.) and possessed of his divine government. But in this place, as in that under discussion, (xvi. 27.) there is added the mention of a most illustrious, though far distant, proof of his glory, for the ex-

were enabled, from many and great events, (among which, besides the history of the ascension into heaven, (b) we reckon, for example, that remarkable and public gift of the promised Spirit, (c) a power which, through the divine efficacy of Christ sitting on the right hand of God, (d) the apostles sensibly felt to be communicated to them, for teaching, defending, and by miracles establishing the gospel;—and, last of all, the destruction of Jerusalem;) to perceive and know, that that despised and crucified Jesus now possessed powerful and universal dominion. And this is the very point I wished to enforce;—that, *after the death of Jesus, (e) from the period of his resurrection and ascension into heaven, (f)* that heavenly kingdom which the ancient prophets had predicted, was entered upon by the offspring of David. (g)

§. IV.

But if the commencement of the kingdom of heaven is to be reckoned from the period, when Jesus, having passed through his allotment of suffering and death, ascended into heaven; it is evident, that, during the time of John the Baptist, and of Christ's residence on the earth, it *was as near at hand as possible, (h) nay, was actually present. (i)* For not only, as it is well known, does the *usus loquendi*, as well generally, as in the sacred writings in particular,²² allow things to be spoken of as present which *are near at hand*; but the kingdom of heaven was not merely at hand, but in a

(b) Acts, i. 9. 11. (c) Acts, ii. 33—36. (d) Mark, xvi. 19 s.

(e) Heb. i. 3. (f) Acts, ii. 31 s. 34. (g) v. 30. 33. 36. Heb. i. 3—5. 13.

(h) Matt. iii. 2. iv. 17. x. 7. Luke, x. 9. 11.

(i) Matt. xii. 28. Luke, xi. 20. xvii. 21.

hibition of which he shall come again from heaven, (Acts, i. 11.) as he went up to heaven, when (ii. 34. Mark, xvi. 19.) he would enter upon his kingdom, and sit down at the right hand of God.

²² Comp. Rev. xi. 15. xvi. 17. Matt. xxvi. 64. Luke, xii. 69. ii. Tim. iv. 6 s.

certain sense *was come*, when Jesus was born. For since it was promised to the offspring of David,²³ its commencement could not in any way be imagined, unless he who was to reign had first been conceived and born; and, on the other hand, when he was born, the time was already come to which the prophets had referred, when they foretold the government of a man, about to spring from David. We know²⁴ certainly that Jesus was born for the very purpose, that he might publicly appear as the promised king; and Christ's human nature was, from the period of his conception, (j) joined in that intimate union (k) with his divine, in order that (l) it might be properly qualified to enter upon the august empire (m) of the Son of God. (n) There are discoverable, moreover, in all those places in which Christ says that his kingdom is come, clear indications that a royal person²⁵ is chiefly referred to.

(j) Luke, i. 35.

(k) John, i. 14.

(l) Note 16.

(m) Luke, i. 32 s.

(n) v. 35. John, i. 14.

²³ As I am inquiring only about that kingdom, which the prophets promised, but which the gospel shows to have come; it is plain, that I am not here referring to the *divine* nature of Christ, in *itself* considered, whose government could not be the subject of promise or of expectation, (comp. John, i. 3. and note 16.) but to the kingdom of that *man*, who, as it had been shewn in the ancient prophecies, was one day to spring from the family of David.

²⁴ "I am a king, being born for this end, that I might be a king, (comp. Luke, i. 32 s.) and therefore (Matt. iv. 17. 23. comp. note 7.) I came into the world, that I might confirm this truth (this doctrine concerning my kingdom)." John, xviii. 37. I give to the article $\tau\alpha$ the same sense, which it has in Acts, ix. 2. comp. xxii. 4. and Heb. iii. 3. "In proportion to the greater honor which redounds from *this* house, over which Jesus presides, (v. 2.) to him who built it, than from the other, over which Moses presided." Comp. Obs. gramm. p. 119. n. 1. [That the article, however, has in Acts, ix. 2. the force assigned to it by Storr, may well be questioned. See a judicious note of Bishop Middleton, in his 'Doctrine of the Greek Article,' in loco.—Tr.]

²⁵ The kingdom had so far come, that *the king* by whom it was to be administered was certainly present. Unless, indeed, as is often the case with the words $\epsilon\beta\rho\upsilon\iota\alpha$, $\alpha\gamma\chi\eta$, $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$, the abstract $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ be used for the concrete $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$. Certainly the Hebrew term, which commonly signifies *king*, properly means *kingdom*, (comp. Obs. gramm. p. 151.) and was at length figuratively transferred to the signification of

Thus, in Matt. xii. 28. he shewed that *his kingdom was come*, because (o) such manifest proofs existed of his power over demons, that it was plain a *person* had made his appearance, who might properly be accounted the conqueror of the most formidable enemies.(p) And when, in Luke, xvii. 20 s. he shews that the kingdom of God does not come in such a manner, that it may be easily observed by any one²⁶ or pointed out, by this argument, that *the kingdom of God was already in the midst*²⁷ of the Jews, though ignorant of it,—he appears to mean nothing else than this; that *he*, the offspring of David about to reign, was present among the Jews.(q) Thence he adds immediately afterwards, Luke, xvii. 22. that the time should come, when the disciples would earnestly desire this presence of the kingdom of God, and would long to recover one of the days which he had passed among them; but that he was then about to cease for some time his appearance, and that those ought to receive no credit, who should represent him as being present. (r) For although he should at some future time return, (s) yet he should not then come *μετα παραρηγησεως*, (t) but suddenly, (u) and should take many by surprise.(v) If therefore you would trace the kingdom of heaven from its very beginning and foundation, which was laid in the conception and nativity of the king; then it embraces the whole *time of the Messiah*,²⁸ which Moses and the prophets foreshewed as

(o) v. 29. Luke, xi. 22.

(r) v. 23.

(u) v. 24.

(p) Comp. Ps. cx.

(s) v. 24. 26. 30.

(v) v. 26 ss.

(q) Comp. John, i. 26.

(t) v. 20.

king. Its *proper* signification is to be found in Dan. viii. 21. at the beginning. vii. 17; which the LXX. and THEODOTIUS perceived in this last place, though not in the first. On the other hand the LXX. i. Kings, xi. 14, translate the Hebrew לְמַדְבָּר , which is to be understood concerning *the king*, (v. 15.) by the word βασιλεια. Comp. HESS, über die Lehren, Thaten und Schicksale unsers Herrn. p. 61. 178. 279 s.

²⁶ Comp. ELSNER, Obs. ss. ad v. 20.²⁷ See RAPHEL. Annot. in N. T. ex Xenophonte, ad v. 21.²⁸ In this are included, besides Christ's kingdom, properly understood, all the other circumstances also, which, according to Moses and the prophets, (Luke, xxiv. 26 s. 44 ss.) were to take place before the Messiah entered upon that glorious kingdom.

to come, (w) but John was able to announce as present,²⁹ (x) being in this very respect (y) superior to all the prophets, (z) that immediately after him the last and greatest of all the prophets, that is, the Lord himself, being then just at hand, was openly to make his appearance. But if you inquire respecting that time particularly, when *the person* whom the prophets predicted as about to possess universal dominion, not merely was present, but, in the sense intended by them,³⁰ entered upon his eternal kingdom; then, indeed, the time of the Messiah had arrived (ἐπελήρωται ὁ καιρὸς), at that period when Jesus, and before him John, published the gospel;—in such a manner, however, that his divine kingdom was rather *at hand* (a) than come, and was as yet *to be looked for*, (b) and sought by prayer.³¹ (c) On which account, John, however

(w) προφήτησαν, Matt. xi. 13.

(x) εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, Luke, xvi. 16.

(y) Matt. xi. 10.

(z) v. 9. 11.

(a) Mark, i. 15.

(b) xv. 43. Luke, xxiii. 51.

(c) xi. 2. Matt. vi. 10.

29 I think that that *more comprehensive sense of the kingdom of heaven*, by which it is made to include the whole of Christ's history, obtains universally in those places where the *gospel* (message) of the kingdom of God is mentioned (note 7, 8.): since it is evident, that in the gospel are included not only Christ's sitting down at the right hand of God, and the administration of his divine government, but also all the transactions of his former life. (John, i. 29. vi. 51. i. Cor. xv. 1 ss.) Hence there is sometimes substituted for the phrase above mentioned (comp. Acts, xix. 8. xx. 25. with v. 21.), sometimes there is subjoined in the same context (xxviii. 23. 31. viii. 12.), an explanation, to inform us that *Christ* was intended. Add Luke, xviii. 29, ἵνα κεν τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, for which in Matt. xix. 29. is ἵνα κεν τὸ χριστεῦ, and in Mark, x. 29, ἵνα κεν τοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, showing the reference to be to Christ (or the kingdom of God.).

30 The ancient prophecies respecting Christ may be said to *have their accomplishment*, as soon as he had begun to reign in the manner predicted by the prophets. For all the events, which afterwards took place, or which shall yet happen, as, for instance, the joyful extension of the gospel, are included in *that very empire* (§. vii.) which was then present. Jesus, therefore, towards the end of his life, when his sitting down at the right hand of God (Luke, xxii. 69.) was just at hand (note 22.), shews that the things which had been written concerning him had their accomplishment. v. 37.

31 It is not to be hence inferred, that this prayer (Luke, xi. 2) is not

superior to the prophets, who were able neither to point to a present king, nor to announce the approach of his kingdom, was judged by our Lord himself (*d*) to be less than the apostles,³² though these latter, as having been formerly the disciples of John, were in this respect certainly his inferiors. The latter exercised their public duty and ministry,³³ not only during that happy³⁴ period when Christ sojourned among men, but actually in the midst of the supremely happy days³⁵ of his heavenly empire; they having lived to see these, which was a privilege denied to John. (*e*) Whence also, during that period which preceded Christ's death and ascension into heaven, the right of citizenship in the heavenly kingdom,³⁶ which was to

(*d*) Matt. xi. 11. Luke, vii. 28.

(*e*) Comp. Mark, ix. 1.

proper for use in our own day. For although the kingdom of God was come, as soon as Christ had ascended into heaven; yet we shall presently see, that, in another sense, the kingdom of God may be not yet arrived. For, to say nothing of that most glorious manifestation of the kingdom of God which is yet to be made (§. viii.), how many nations are there to whom this heavenly kingdom has not yet come (Matt. xxi. 43.)? how many Christians are there, who are not yet within the kingdom (Col. i. 13.) of the Son of God? Comp. LUTHER'S *Larger Catechism* (p. 516 *s. ed.* Rechenberg.).

³² "Those who are less; yet, in the kingdom of heaven, when it shall have commenced, are greater than he (John)." The article does not forbid, either that the singular *μικρότερος* should be taken *collectively*, (comp. Diss. de sensu vocis *δικαίος* in N. T. note 49.) or that, out of many disciples, inferior to their teacher, *certain individuals*, i. e. the apostles, should be understood. comp. Apoc. viii. 2.

³³ That it is to this that the declaration of our Lord refers, is shewn by the circumstance, that John is considered, through the whole of this passage, with reference to his public ministry. (v. 9.)

³⁴ Comp. Luke, x. 23

³⁵ There were many things, which could not be proclaimed even by our Lord himself (John, xvi. 12.) much less by John, which were afterwards published and diffused far and wide by the apostles; while, on the contrary, John's sphere was circumscribed by the limits of Palestine. Comp. MOSCHER *Bibelfreund*, P. 1. p. 380 *s.* and add John, vii. 38 *s.* xiv. 12.

³⁶ As the word *πολιτεία*, which signifies both the administration of a free state (see, for example, DEMOSTHENES, Vol. II. ed. Reisk. p. 1396, [Demosh. et Aesch. Op. Ed. Lond. 1827. Vol. 4. p. 420.—Tr.] and in many other places,) and any form of government whatever, as, in

begin when Christ had ascended into heaven, is said to be sought for³⁷ as it were *with violence*, and *seized before hand*. It follows, then, that the commencement of the Messiah's kingdom, although in a certain sense it may be traced from his birth, (f) yet properly is to be reckoned from his ascension into heaven. (g) Which proves, that a far different appearance was then given to the kingdom of David, which Jesus possessed *after his death and return to a new life*; and that

(f) §. IV.

(g) §. III.

ÆSCHINES, (Vol. III. Orat. græc. p. 29. 389.) [Demosth. et Aesch. Op. ed. Lond. 1827. Vol. 8. p. 9.—Tr.] is transferred to the signification of *the right of citizenship* (see WETSTEIN, at Acts. XII. 28.): so also βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν means not only the *empire* or government of the Messiah, but *the right of citizenship in the Messiah's kingdom*, and all the felicity and duties connected with it, as Rom. XIV. 17. Matt. XIII. 44 s. XII. 12. ("that either, in seasons of distress, they may the more surely, 1. Cor. VII. 26. or at all times, may the more evidently, v. 34. sustain the part and obtain the privileges of citizens,") and perhaps Mark, XII. 34. where, however, as with respect to the word πολιτείας, in Eph. II. 12, I am in doubt whether we are to understand the *commonwealth* itself, that is, the multitude of citizens, who are followers of Christ, seated at the right hand of God, (Col. I. 13.) or the *right of citizenship*, which, in Latin, enters into the signification of the term *civitas*. The *right of citizenship*, however, seems peculiarly to be intended, in that passage of St. Matthew to which I have referred above (XI. 12.): "from the days of John the Baptist until these, in which ye are now listening to my instructions, *the right to the heavenly commonwealth* is sought for with violence, and those who use violence obtain it." We have seen, indeed, that in Luke, XVI. 16. ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ is used in another sense. (note 28. 29.) But this is no reason why we should not understand the pronoun αὐτῶν, which follows, to refer either to the *right to the divine commonwealth*, in regard to which (ut autem, comp. Rom. IV. 20. and note 86) many strive as it were with great violence,—or to the *heavenly commonwealth* itself, into which many press with vehemence. For we have examples, elsewhere, of the word to which a pronoun refers being used in a different sense, in the second instance, from that which it had at first; as Acts, VIII. 5. πόλις is the *city* itself; but αἰνοῦσι refers to the same word, just as if (comp. r. 14) it had signified *the inhabitants of the city*. Comp. Obs. gramm. p. 427.

³⁷ The signification of βιάζομαι, which, in Matt. XI. 12, is used *passively*, as is the case with ἀγανακίζομαι in the parallel passage, Luke, XVI. 16, may be seen from the citations adduced by KRÆBS and LOSSNER on Matt. XI. 12.

the throne of David became a far more exalted seat of majesty, (*h*) from the time that it was occupied by Jesus. (*i*)

§. V.

2. Its perpetuity.

But this point being established, it follows, that the *duration* of this empire, which Jesus obtained with his new and *immortal* life, is not to be measured by that of other kingdoms. For since the heavenly kingdom can neither be deprived of its king, seeing he lives for ever, (*k*) nor ever left destitute by his divine (*l*) power; it can certainly have no end, except one determined by God, who conferred³⁸ the kingdom upon Christ. Moreover, that in the very first prophecy (*m*) an *everlasting* empire was promised to the offspring of David, is evident from a correct interpretation both of the Old (Ps. LXXXIX. 30. 37 s.³⁹ Dan. VII. 14. Isai. LV. 3.) and New Testament. St. Paul, when he had shewn that Jesus (*n*) was that same king, who had been so long expected to arise out of the family of David, goes on to shew, (*o*) that he was called by God to life and government⁴⁰ with this provision, that he should never return to destruction,⁴¹

(*h*) Acts, II. 34. Heb. I. 3 s. 13. Matt. XXII. 41 ss. XXVI. 64.

(*i*) Acts, II. 30 ss. (*k*) Heb. VII. 23 ss. IX. 25 ss. Rom. VI. 9.

(*l*) Ps. CX. 1. (*m*) II. Sam. VII. 13. 16.

(*n*) Acts, XIII. 32 s. §. III. (*o*) v. 34.

³⁸ Comp. Ps. CX. 1. 4. Heb. v. 5 s. Acts, II. 36. Heb. I. 2. John, v. 22—27. Matt. XXVIII. 18. Phil. II. 9 ss. Eph. I. 20 ss. and above. §. I.

³⁹ Comp. MICHAELIS, crit. Collegium über die drey wichtigsten Psalmen von Christo. p. 467 s.

⁴⁰ That it was to this the apostle referred, appears from the passage of Isaiah (LV. 3.) which he cites.

⁴¹ Although διαφθορά v. 35—37. II. 29. 31. signifies properly¹ that consequence of death, which consists in the corruption and decay of the lifeless body; yet, in this place, *destruction*, in general, is meant (comp. Ezek. XXI. 31. Jer. XIII. 14.), of whatever kind it be. In the

since that great blessing ⁴² promised to David, (*p*) is eternal.⁴³
 Nay, that (*q*) so far was he from possessing, like his father, (*r*)

(*p*) v. 32. 23.

(*q*) v. 35—37.

(*r*) v. 36.

former sense, indeed, Jesus did not experience *διαφθορά* (Acts, xiii. 37.); all discussion, therefore, respecting his *return as διαφθορά*, is necessarily precluded. But no *destruction*, no death, *any more* (Rom. vi. 9.) awaits him hereafter. Whence his kingdom shall never *be destroyed* (*ὄν διαφθαίεσθαι*, Dan. vii. 14. ap. THEODOTIUS.), nor transferred to another (comp. Heb. vii. 24).

⁴² The Greek *εὖ*, which relates properly to *piety*, partakes also of the sense of the Hebrew חֲסֵדִי (Isai. lv. 3. comp. Lxx. Deut. xxix. 19.), and expresses a *great benefit* (comp. Obs. gramm. p. 97 ss.); as the Greek word *ἀδύς*, which signifies *pains*, has in Acts, ii. 24. borrowed from the Hebrew (חַבְלֵי), which signifies both *pains* and *cords*, the signification of *cords*. But what that benefit toward David is (comp. iv. 9. and note 43.), is evident from Psalm LXXXIX. 2. This, both David himself (ii. Sam. vii. 19. 26. 29.), and the Psalmist also (v. 5. 29 s. 35 ss.) accounted of paramount value; that an *eternal* dignity, namely, was promised to David's offspring.

⁴³ Since the blessing which God wished to confer upon David, consists especially in the *perpetuity* of his kingdom; (note 42.) *αἰώνιος* cannot mean any thing but *eternal*. But the sense of *perpetuity* appears to be the proper meaning in this place, for this reason, that with *εὖ εὖ* (הַנְּאֻמִּים) in Isaiah, (lv. 3.) there is joined בְּרִית עוֹלָם,

a promise *stable, and of perpetual force*; to which, in the principal prophecy, (Ps. LXXXIX. 29.) answers בְּרִית נְאֻמָּת, while, on the other

hand, for חֲסֵדִי דוֹר הַנְּאֻמִּים in Isaiah, is read in the Psalm חֲסֵדִי (v. 21. לְעוֹלָם אֲשֶׁמֹּדֶר לִי לְדוֹר לְדוֹר); so that it is evident that נְאֻמָּת and לְעוֹלָם are used for each other, and that the blessing נְאֻמָּת towards David, is a blessing to be kept for him for ever. The word נְאֻמָּת, moreover, is not

uncommon in other places, in the sense of *stability and perpetuity*; as, for example, in ii. Sam. vii. 16, when it is said that the family and kingdom of David shall be established (נְאֻמָּת) for ever (עַד עוֹלָם), reference

is made to the *duration* of the thing promised, not to the *sure* fulfilment of the promise. In like manner, Ps. LXXXIX. 38, the term נְאֻמָּת is ap-

plied to the offspring and kingdom of David; but this, both the parallelism and the adjunct עַד בְּצִוְרֵק, like that *perpetual*, (comp. Gen. ix. 16.)

sign in the clouds (v. 13 ss.), explain in this sense: יִכּוֹן עוֹלָם. Finally,

perpetual fountains are said to be נְאֻמָּתִים, Isai. xxxiii. 16. Jer. xv. 18.

—The blessing, or kingdom, promised to David, had a character far dif-

a government limited to a certain period, and to be terminated by death, that, even before he had attained that high dignity, the power was not given(s) to that death which he voluntarily underwent, of subjecting his flesh to the dominion of destruction or decay, or of at all retarding the attainment of that eternal (t) life and happiness at the right hand of God, (u) to which he was advancing. More explicitly, however, and plainly than all, does the angel who foretold the conception of Jesus declare, (w) that the son of Mary (x) who was to arise from the stock of David, (y) should reign *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, and that of his kingdom there should be no end; where that ambiguous expression *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, (11. Sam. vii. 13. 16.⁴⁴) is, in the parallel part of the declaration, clearly explained in such a manner, as to make it evident that we are to understand an *infinite* and eternal duration. The declarations, therefore, of David (z) and of St. Paul, (a) ought not to be taken in an opposite sense. Nor does it seem difficult to perceive, that their meaning is far different from this. For since an *eternal* priesthood⁴⁵ is attributed to the Messiah, and this is very closely allied⁴⁶ to his *kingdom*, (b) it is evident that they do not intend to deny eternity to the latter. Therefore *εἰς* in Ps. cx.

(s) Comp. 11. 24.

(t) Ps. xvi. 11.

(u) Comp. cx. 1.

(w) Luke, 1. 33.

(x) v. 31.

(y) v. 32.

(z) Ps. cx. 1.

(a) 1. Cor. xv. 24—28.

(b) Ps. cx. 4. comp. with Heb. vii. 1—3.

ferent from the unstable and *brief* kingdom of Saul (11. Sam. vii. 16. comp. with 15.).

⁴⁴ That that primary prophecy is referred to by the angel, is clear from a comparison of the two places (Luke, 1. 32, and 11. Sam. vii. 14. 16).

⁴⁵ *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* (Ps. cx. 4. Heb. vii. 17. 21. 24.) is not only taken by St. Paul in the sense of *eternity* (v. 3. 23—25.), but the Psalmist himself also pretty clearly interprets it in the same way, while he derives the Messiah's priesthood from a divine decree, of a very solemn and sacred character (Heb. vii. 20), and never to be changed.

⁴⁶ Compare also Heb. v. 5. where it is shewn that Jesus obtained from God a most glorious *priesthood*, from a passage which refers more properly to his *kingdom* (note 16).

1. does not ⁴⁷ mean, that, when every enemy has been subdued, the government ⁴⁸ is to be taken away from Christ ; but as the general object of this whole Psalm is to shew, (c) that the designs of his enemies against the divine prince would at length have an ending altogether different from that which they expected, it was in exact conformity with such a design to establish this point especially, that the divinely appointed Lord should reign, until all his enemies should be subjected to *his own* (d) power. Which does not mean, that he to *whose* government the enemies shall be subjected, (which circumstance proves of itself the continuance of that government,) should then resign his power ; but, on the other hand, the result of the whole matter is declared to be this, that they who had refused to acknowledge this prince, and wished to remove him

(c) v. 2 ss. compared with 11. 1 ss.

(d) cx. 1.

⁴⁷ Compare the passages cited by GLASS (Philol. S. p. 362 s. Vol. 2. Ed. Dathe. Lips. 1776.) Isai. XLVI. 4. Matt. XXVIII. 20. 1. Tim. IV. 13.

⁴⁸ That *sitting at the right hand of God* is in this passage indicative of divine government, I gather from 1. Cor. XV. 26. Heb. VIII. 1., to say nothing of other passages (XII. 2. Eph. I. 20 ss. Mark, XVI. 19 s.), which not quite so clearly refer to the Psalm in question, treating of the kingly priest (comp. Heb. VIII. 1.) and considered at large in Ch. VI. 20, VII. But if it be inquired, for what reason mention is made of the *right hand* of God, the answer is easy. For, as there was evidently no danger (1. Cor. XV. 27), that he who bade the Messiah to sit on his right hand should be thought inferior to him, and as, on the other hand, it was necessary to take particular care to place the wonderful dignity of the *Messiah* clearly before the view, it was certainly proper to speak not of the left, but the right hand, which is a token of honor (comp. Matt. XXV. 33 s. Gen. XLVIII. 13 ss. and MÜNTINGHZE kurze Anm. zu den Psalmen, p. 187 s.). But the meaning is, that the *Messiah*, generally near God, sits on the very throne of God. Whence immediately afterwards (Ps. CX. 5.) *God* is in turn (comp. Comm. in ep. ad Hebr. p. 81.) said to be at *the right hand*, that is, (comp. HERDER, vom Geist der heb. Poësie, P. II. p. 404. 409.) at *the side* of the kingly priest. But the reason why I hesitate to refer the term מְיָמֵי v. 5. to the *Messiah* himself, is that otherwise the pronoun of the *second* person in the word מְיָמֵי would have to be transferred to *God*, although the Psalm in other places usually speaks of *God* in the *third* (v. 1 s. 4.), but of the *Messiah* in the *second* (v. 2 s. 4. 1.) person. (comp. MÜNTINGHZE Besondre Anm. p. 170.)

by force from his government, are all *overthrown* and confounded, while *he himself*, on the contrary, *is sitting at the right hand of God*. He shall reign for a considerable time in the midst of enemies, (e) securely (f) expecting (g) an end of the rebellion; but, while he himself is sitting at the right hand of God, it shall at length come to pass, that all his adversaries shall be reduced under subjection to *his* authority. Such being the meaning of the Psalm, and this sense of it being recognized by *St. Paul* himself, who has evidently made the dignity of the Messiah, described in the Psalm, coequal (h) with his life, which he shews to be *eternal*; (i) we seem to be going quite in opposition to his design, by supposing that in 1. Cor. xv. any *end* is assigned to the Messiah's kingdom. Therefore the government, which it is said in v. 24, he shall restore⁴⁹ to God, even the Father, must not be supposed to mean *Christ's* government, but that of *every opposing*⁵⁰ power, which is evidently declared to be *destroyed*, that the power may be restored to God. For since those who set themselves against Christ, at the same time resist *God* also; (j) the government is restored to *God*, (k) when it is restored to *Christ*, subduing⁵¹ those who are at the same time the enemies of himself and of God, and thus recovering the government for God and for himself, (l) from the enemies who had usurped it. That this is the meaning of the passage under discussion, appears to me to be confirmed also by what immediately follows. For *St. Paul* clearly shews, in 1. Cor. xv. 27, that v.

(e) v. 2.

(f) 11. 4.

(g) Heb. x. 13.

(h) Heb. vii. 23—25.

(i) Rom. vi. 9. Heb. vii. 25. 24.

(j) Ps. 11. 2.

(k) Rev. xi. 17. xix. 6.

(l) xi. 15.

⁴⁹ Comp. II. Chron. viii. 2. Obs. gramm. p. 357.

⁵⁰ That *hostile* power is meant, is shewn not only by the explanation (πάντας τοὺς ἘΧΘΡΟΥΣ), subjoined in v. 25, but by the very word καταργήσῃ in v. 24, which, like the word ἀντιδυσάμενος and similar expressions (Col. 11. 15), shews plainly, that inimical ἀγγέλαι καὶ ἔθνη are intended.

⁵¹ See Rev. vi. 16. 17. xvii. 14. xix. 11 ss. Ps. 11. 9. 12. cx. 3. Also the *last* enemy (1. Cor. xv. 26) *Christ* shall destroy (v. 21 s. 57. John, v. 21—29. vi. 39 s. Phil. 111. 21.).

25 by no means expresses in the words *αχρις* a limit and end of Christ's government ; but that all that we are to understand is, that *all things*, and therefore all enemies also, (*m*) are to be subjected to the empire of Christ. According to this interpretation, therefore, the general drift of the Apostle will be this : that “ for all ⁵³ the friends of Christ ⁵² who, after the example of himself who was the first that rose again, (*n*) have been recalled from death to a life of blessedness, (*o*) an end ⁵⁴ is at

(*m*) v. 25 s.

(*n*) v. 20.

(*o*) v. 23.

⁵² Not only are these the only persons mentioned in v. 23 (we know, indeed, that *in τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ* he will restore life to others also ; but it will not be such as to deserve the name, but only death and penal suffering (John, v. 29) ;), but besides this, the whole context speaks not of the dead in general, but concerning those particularly of the *κοιμημένοι*, who, *ἘΝ ΧΡΙΣΤῶ κοιμηθέντες* (v. 18.), shall, in their own order and place, obtain the same life to which Christ first attained (v. 23. 20. 49. comp. with Phil. iii. 21.) ; a life more happy than this present, not sought after by all (1. Cor. xv. 19.), but properly by those only who have had faith in Christ (v. 19.) and in his gospel for the attainment of their salvation (v. 14. 17. 2.), and who, on account of their love for Christ, and for that better life to which they believed him to have gone before, (v. 14. 17. 4 ss) have suffered multiplied hardships (v. 19. 30 ss) :—or, in short, the *ἀνάστασις* of which St. Paul speaks in this passage, is joined with *βασίλειας Θεοῦ κληρονομία* (v. 50), an object worthy of the most ardent endeavours (v. 58.), and of the warmest gratitude (v. 54—57). Comp. Phil. iii. 11. and Obs. gramm. p. 32.

⁵³ As *all* those who have believed in the gospel of Jesus concerning life eternal, who are no more *ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις* (v. 17.), who *κοιμῶνται ἐν χριστῷ* (v. 18.), who are not unwilling, for the sake of Christ and in the hope of a better life, to pass the present in misery (v. 19), and who are among that number of mortals of whom Christ is the first (v. 20),—die on account of Adam : so *these same* shall also be *all* blessed through Christ with a life (v. 22.) and resurrection (v. 21.) which is not death and punishment (*κρίσις*, John, v. 29.), but exactly opposite to the death introduced by Adam (1. Cor. xv. 21.). Comp. note 52.

⁵⁴ *Ἐἶτα* (after the *ἀνάστασις* 1. Cor. xv. 23.) *τὸ τέλος* (that is *ἵστα*. comp. Mark, xii. 7. Luke, xxi. 9. with Matt. xxiv. 6. 14.), then, when the time of the dead shall have come (Rev. xi. 18.), *ΤΕΛΕΣΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃς ἐγγέλσει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δούλοις τοῖς προφάταις* (x. 7.), so that *γῆραι*, xxi. 6. may have the fullest force possible.” Comp. *τέλος*, Luke, xii. 37.

hand, (*p*) to which both the expectations of believers are directed, (*q*) and the divine promises, upon which these expectations rest, all point. (*r*) For that this is as it were the scope and end of the divine promises, that the empire of Christ will at length so far prevail, that all enemies shall be subjected to him, (*s*) of whom death must be reckoned the last,⁵⁵ (*t*) which will be destroyed by the resurrection of those who have died in faith. (*u*) For that God⁵⁶ has put all things, and therefore all enemies, under him. (*v*) That, therefore, when Christ shall have destroyed death, (*w*) and also (*x*) every opposing power, and shall thus have restored the kingdom to the Father; *i. e.* when he shall have caused it to come to pass, that God every where⁵⁷ prevails, and his majesty is uni-

(*p*) v. 24.

(*q*) v. 19.

(*r*) v. 25. 27.

(*s*) v. 25. comp. with Pa. cx. 1.

(*t*) 1. Cor. xv. 26.

(*u*) v. 54—57.

(*v*) v. 27. comp. with Pa. viii. 7. note 68.

(*w*) 1. Cor. xv. 23. 54. (*x*) v. 26.

⁵⁵ Many enemies shall be subdued (Rev. xviii. xix. xx. 9. 10.) before all the children of God shall have risen to life (v. 12.). But as soon as these shall have come to life, all the wicked have been subdued, and are paying the punishment of their rebellion (v. 15.). After this there is no death (xxi. 4.) except in hell (v. 8.); and not indeed here does the ancient form of death continue, but a death of a far different kind (*θάνατος Σάβαοτ*) reigns there, an abiding testimony of the victory and power of Christ (ii. Thess. i. 9.). As this *abstract* doctrine was to be represented by a *vision*, and placed before the eyes of St. John, death and *adversary* are depicted (comp. Rev. vi. 8.) as an enemy (comp. 1. Cor. xv. 26. 54s.), opposed to the peace of them that are heirs of God (v. 50.), and fellow-citizens of Christ; and, with other (Rev. xx. 15.) enemies of Christ, are introduced (xx. 14.) as conquered by him (comp. 1. Cor. xv. 57. 21 s.), and cast into hell. If ORDER had only been willing to perceive this circumstance, and to distinguish the *figure* (Rev. xx. 14.) from the *thing signified* (xxi. 4.); or, in other words, to seek the interpretation of the former of these two places from the latter, he might easily have forborne the ridicule which he has thought proper to indulge. (Comp. Christl. freye Unters. über sogenannte Offenb. Job. p. 123 s. 308 s.)

⁵⁶ That both *ἰσχυρὰς* in v. 27, and *Θεὸς* in v. 26, refer to the more remote (comp. Obs. gramm. p. 402.) *Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ*, not to the nearer *Χριστὸς* (to which without doubt the word *κατασφύσει* in 1. Cor. xv. 24. had reference), is evident not only from v. 27 s. but from Pa. cx. 1. viii. 7. Comp. also cx. 5. 6. (note 48.).

⁵⁷ *Πᾶσι*. v. 28, appears to be *newter*, which is frequently used to de-

versally acknowledged,⁵⁸ some rejoicing exceedingly in God their king,⁵⁹ and deriving their whole pleasure and happiness⁶⁰ from this source,⁶¹ from which they see and inwardly feel it to flow,⁶² i. e. from the all-powerful and benignant government of God, with never-ceasing reverence,⁶³—others, (y) on the contrary,⁶⁴ feeling with terror⁶⁵ the power of his just⁶⁶ government, and not daring to open their mouths against him;—then shall come the end.” (z) Nor should it seem strange,

(y) v. 24 s.

(z) v. 24.

note place (comp. Acts, ix. 32,) and time. Thus God is said by PHILO, when describing his omnipresence (de sacrif. Abel. et. Caini. p. 141. ed. Franc.), πληροῦσθαι ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ, to fill all things *every where*; and by St. Paul, when setting forth the divine goodness, πληροῦσθαι (to fill) ΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΙ, all things *every where and always*, all things completely. Eph. i. 23. Comp. Diss. de sensu vocis πληροῦμα in N. T. note 64.

⁵⁸ As that is said to be *nothing*, which has little or no power, strength, &c., and has nothing to boast of (Acts, v. 36. Gal. vi. 3.): so, on the contrary, God is *all things* (1. Cor. xv. 28.), because every created thing, however excellent, owes every thing it has to glory in to God; and even the man (v. 21.) Jesus himself, constituted by God the Lord of all things (v. 27. comp. with Ps. viii. 7. 5.), possesses this his kingdom as a divine gift (Phil. ii. 9.). In this sense, indeed, (which is set forth in 1. Cor. xv. 28.) God is *all things every where, even before his enemies have been subdued*, in whose foolish and impious (Ps. ii. 4.) *opinion* God passes for nothing, or who account him as nothing, although he is all things, and despise him (x. 4. xiv. 1.), or, at any rate, prevent (1. Cor. xv. 26.) the glory of his kingdom from shining evidently forth. But Christ shall restore the government to the Father, or shall vindicate his glory and authority, by the conquest of all his enemies; that, as God is in fact all in all, so he may every where *be acknowledged* to be such, and may no more be accounted as nothing, but may every where possess supreme *authority*. Comp. ΚΥΡΚΕ, ad v. 28.

⁵⁹ Comp. Rev. xxi. 3. 7. xxii. 3.

⁶⁰ xxi. 6. 4 s.

⁶¹ xxii. 1. 5. xxi. 22 s.

⁶² xxii. 4.

⁶³ v. 3 4.

⁶⁴ xx. 10. 15. xxi. 8. ii. Thess. i. 8.

⁶⁵ Rev. vi. 16 ss.

⁶⁶ ii. Thess. i. 9. 5 s. Rev. xxii. 12. xiv. 10.

that the discourse in v. 24, changed from the government (*a*) of *Christ*, who ⁶⁷ it was said should destroy every opposing power, to the *Father*, to whom the kingdom is said to be delivered up by Christ. The reason of this the Apostle adds in v. 27. 28: "when it is written,"⁶⁸ that all things are *put under him* (by another), it is manifest, that he is to be excepted who put all things under him. Since ⁶⁹ moreover ⁷⁰ all things are

(a) v. 25.

⁶⁷ He delivers up the kingdom to the Father (1. Cor. xv. 24), he must reign (v. 25), until all enemies are subdued. *This same person*, therefore, uses his own power for the destruction of every opposing power. Comp. note 51.

⁶⁸ So ἵνα must be rendered, being put for εἰρημαίον (Luke, iv. 12.) or (v. 8. 10.) γαλαλαίον ἴ. Comp. Heb. iv. 3. 4. and Obs. gramm. p. 412. But it appears from this place, that the preceding words were taken from the Scripture. The Apostle has elsewhere (Heb. ii. 6—9,) quoted the same prophecy (Ps. viii. 7.).

⁶⁹ We are no more compelled to consider *ἵνα* in this place as indicative of *time*, than we are the same word in v. 27;—the sense, on the contrary, seems to be this: "since it is said, that all things are *put under him*, it is evident, that there is some one person to be excepted from the number of all, he, namely, who put all things under him; yes, I say, since all things are *put under him*, it is still further most clear, that there is a certain person *superior*, he, namely, who was able to put all things under his power. Comp. *ἵνα* Rom. ii. 14. and ARISTOT. de mundo. c. 4. (in HOOGEVEEN, Doctr. partic. græc. ex ed. SCHÜZII. p. 577. [p. 386. Ed. Glasg. 1813.—Tr.]).

⁷⁰ Comp. ἵνα Heb. iii. 17. 18. "When it is said (Ps. xciv. 7. 8.): to-day, while ye hear the voice of God, do not be perverse, *as in the place of rebellion* (Meribah); who (comp. RAPHEL. Annot. ex Xenoph. ad Matt. xxvii. 28. and LOESNER. Obs. c. Phil. ad Act. xii. 35), when they had heard, rebelled? Did not all they (comp. RAPHEL. Annot. ex Arriano ad Jac. i. 17.) that were brought out of Egypt by Moses? (was it not *clearly* such as were on the way to Palestine, and also had a promise of rest before them?) With whom *moreover* was God displeased, but with those who sinned against him (comp. Numbers, xiv. 34. with xxxiii. 9. Add Heb. x. 26)? Whom *moreover* did he deprive by an oath of the promised rest, but (Numb. xiv. 3.) those that had no faith in God?" There are three points which the Apostle establishes, Heb. ii. 15 ss. by the example of the Israelites: 1. that the simple hearing and knowledge of a promise are of little avail to us (comp. iv. 2.). 2. that apostasy after a knowledge of the truth (x. 26.) precludes an entrance into the promised blessedness; but that this apostasy, 3. arises from *desidia* (iii.

put under him⁷¹ (by the Father), the Son himself also will be subject⁷² to him, who has put all things under him, so that

19. iv. 2 s. 11). comp. III. 12. "Lest there be perceived to be in any one (comp. II. Cor. iv. 7. and Obs. gramm. p. 14. n. 2.) an evil *κακός* heart, by its departure from God."

⁷¹ The words do not mean, that at the period when all things shall be put under the Son, and every enemy subdued, the Son also himself will be subject; but, that, since all things are (comp. *ὑπετάκτας* v. 27.) put under him by the decree *τῷ ἐπιτάξαστος*, who, before all could see it with their own eyes (Heb. II. 8.), *πάντα ὑΠΕΤΑΞΕΝ* *ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆρας αὐτοῦ* (I. Cor. xv. 27), it follows, that the Son also is subject to him, from whom he has received this extensive dominion (comp. note 38.). But if we take the words of St. Paul in the former sense, we shall thereby deny, that the Son, who is nevertheless evidently considered in reference to his human nature (v. 21. 45 s. comp. with Phil. III. 21), to which power is given over all things (I. Cor. xv. 27. Heb. II. 6—9), was subject to the Father before he had delivered up the kingdom to him, having vanquished his enemies. But the Messiah plainly declares, in Ps. xvi. 2, that he derives all his happiness and dignity (v. 11.) from Jehovah, or, in other words, that God is all, even to him, and not simply to the things which are subjected to his government. Comp. SCHMURRER, Anim. ad quendam loca Psalmorum, p. 7. Fascic. I.

⁷² Both this future, and *τότε* which precedes it, seem to mean a logical inference, not something following in the course of time, and to have the same force as if it had been said: *ὅτι δὲ ὑπετάκται αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα, ΔΗΛΟΝ ΟΤΙ* (comp. v. 27,) *καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὑΠΟΤΑΣΣΕΤΑΙ*. And *τότε* may either be rendered *therefore* (comp. Jer. xxiii. 15 s. in the Hebrew); or it may be redundant (Ps. lxi. 5); or rather it may answer to the preceding *ἔσται*, as in that passage of PLATO (Opp. Lugd. 1590. p. 158 [Ed. Bipont. Vol. II. p. 248.—Ed. Bekker, Part II. Vol. II. p. 177.—Tr.]): *ΟΤΑΝ ἡμὶ τὸ φαντάσμα αὐτὸν (σοφιστὴν) ἀπατῆν φῶμεν καὶ τὰν τεχνὴν εἶναι τίνα ἀπατῆμεν αὐτῷ, ΤΟΤΕ ποτεμὸν ψυδὴ δεξάζειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν φέρομεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου τεχνῆς, ἢ τί ποτ' ἰγύμεν;* comp. LXXI. Prov. II. 5. Ps. xix. 14. CXXIX. 92. But I understand the future here in the same way as in Rom. vi. 5. (where *ἀλλὰ* is used instead of *τότε*, to connect the inference with the premises) II. 26. I. Cor. XIV. 7—9. 11. and in the argument which immediately follows (I. Cor. xv. 29,) the passage under discussion (v. 28.): "else (if it should be otherwise, than as we have above v. 20—23. endeavoured to shew,) what SHALL THEY DO, who are baptized for the dead (comp. John, XI. 4. Rom. xv. 8. Acts, xv. 26.), with this design, namely, that (John, III. 5. Tit. III. 5. 7. Gal. III. 26 s. comp. with IV. 7.) they may have the privilege of entering (I. Thess. IV. 17. II. Thess. II. 1. John, XVII. 24. Heb. XII. 23 s.) into eternal fellowship, not only with Jesus himself, but with those who *κοιμῶνθασαν* (I.

God is therefore all in all." (b) When St. Paul magnificently describes that great power of the *man* (c) Jesus, which is able to overthrow every enemy, (d) and even death itself, (e) this kingdom of Christ, thus august, and delivered from the injury and destruction of every opposing power, he gives to God the Father, (f) not in order to shew that it ceases to be *Christ's*, but that all things may at last be referred to the glory of God the Father ;⁷³ especially (g) as the Psalms which he had in his mind, when he spoke of that *τῆλος*, (h) treated the same subject in a similar manner. (i) But as we read, both that the Father subjected all enemies to Christ, (j) and that Christ subjected them to himself, (k) so he who is said in 1. Cor. xv. 24. to restore the kingdom to the Father, after the discomfiture of his enemies, may also be said to assert the authority and dignity of *his own* government. In other places we certainly find it said, that, even after the conquest of his enemies, *Christ* shall continue to reign. (l)

(b) Comp. note 58. 71.

(c) Note 71.

(d) v. 24.

(e) v. 26. 21 s.

(f) v. 21.

(g) v. 27 s.

(h) v. 24.

(i) v. 25. 27. comp. with Ps. cx. 1. viii. 7. 1. 2.

(j) Note 56.

(k) Note 67.

(l) Rev. xxi. 1. 3. xxi. 22 s. xi. 15.

Cor. xv. 18. 1. Thess. iv. 16.) *ἐν αὐτοῖς*. i. e. *ὄντες* (Rom. xvi. 11. 7. comp. with 13.), as it were, *ἐκ αὐτοῦ* (1. Cor. xv. 23. comp. at Phil. i. 1. a.). But if the dead rise not at all, and thus (1. Cor. xv. 16. 18.) both Jesus and *οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπέλωστο*, and are no more, why are they baptized for them? How absurd will be the conduct of those, who, in the expectation of enjoying salvation and eternal life, with Jesus and his friends who have departed this life, become baptized, if there be no life after death; so that Jesus has not risen again, and all the pious dead who received baptism were miserably deceived in the hopes which they entertained!

⁷³ Comp. Phil. ii. 11. Heb. iii. 4. r. The same design is pursued by the Book of Revelation, (comp. neue Apol. der Offenb. Joh. §. 26. 22. note 6.) which I think is referred to by St. Paul in this same xvth Chap. of 1. Cor.; (1. c. §. 13.) and for that reason I have the more frequently compared it with the declarations of the Apostle.

§. VI.

3. *Its extent.*

As of all who have been seated upon the throne of David, he who sits last upon it, *(m)* is infinitely the greatest in respect to the duration of his life and kingdom; so his authority and empire are not circumscribed with the narrow boundaries of Palestine, over which David reigned. For although he is called king of Sion *(n)* and of the Israelities; *(o)* yet we are not warranted thereby in limiting his empire to these regions. For, in the first place, under that illustrious offspring of David the boundaries of his father's kingdom are said to be so extended, (Ps. cx. 2.⁷⁴) that the king of Sion *(p)* has possession of *the whole earth*, *(q)* and all its inhabitants have either submitted to his authority, *(r)* or are forcibly controlled by him. *(s)* But further, not even by these limits is Christ's kingdom circumscribed or bounded, but we read that it extends *as far* (v. I. Eph. i. 20—22. 1. Cor. xv. 27.⁷⁵ Phil. ii. 9—11. Matt. xxviii. 18.) *as the kingdom of God himself*. For although the man Jesus both has the peculiar charge *(t)* of human affairs generally, whether as it respects men living on this earth,⁷⁶ or the dead,

(m) Luke, i. 32. Acts, ii. 30.

(n) Ps. II. 6.

(o) Luke, i. 33. John, xii. 13. 15. comp. with 16.

(p) II. 6. *(q)* v. 8. *(r)* v. 10 ss. Isai. LII. 15. LIII. 10 ss. Amos, ix. 12.

(s) Ps. cx. 2. II. 4 s. 9. 12. cx. 3. 1. 5 s. comp. note 67. 56.

(t) John, x. 16. v. 27—29. Rom. xiv. 9. Acts, x. 42. xvii. 31.

⁷⁴ “Jehovah shall extend (comp. Ezek. ii. 9. Exod. xxii. 7.) the sceptre of thy kingdom out of Sion; i. e. thou shalt not reign here only, but other regions also shall obey thy sceptre, which belongs to them also.”

⁷⁵ Comp. *RUSSII* Opusc. Fascic. I. p. 400 s.

⁷⁶ Hence *the world* has very properly received the name of *βασιλεια τοῦ χριστοῦ* (Matt. xiii. 41.) or, the province of Christ. For the Lord compares it (v. 38,) with a field, which, after the good fruits have for a long time been mingled with the tares, shall at length be purified. But it is clear from many passages (e. g. Mark, vi. 23. Esth.

and attends particularly to the administration (u) of the *faithful* commonwealth of men, or *the church*; ⁷⁷ yet, for the good of this church, (x) he governs all things without exception, (y) even angels themselves. (z) From all which it is easy to perceive, that the sitting of Christ upon the throne of David may, on the one hand, be reckoned a real succession to David's place, inasmuch as (a) for the purpose of fulfilling (b) the divine promises, made to David, Christ actually sprang from David, in that same land which his father had possessed, and, on account of this peculiar relationship with the Jewish people, (c) *in the first place*, thought proper to present himself (d) particularly to them (e) as their king so long expected and desired, and announce to them the approach of his kingdom; (f) *in the next place*, when he had ascended to heaven, made the first proofs of his exaltation to be exhibited within the ancient empire of David, (g) and invited the people of Israel first, through the medium of his messengers, to his service, and to the attainment of the happiness of his heavenly kingdom, being about to add to these benefits others besides, which we are warranted to look for with certainty; (h) and, *finally*, extended his sceptre to the other nations also *out of Zion*, (i) and caused them to be brought by the instrumentality of Jews (Acts, xv. 7.⁷⁸ Rom. xi. 12 s.⁷⁹) into fellowship and communion (k) with the citizens, who were his fa-

- (u) Eph. v. 23 ss. Col. i. 13. (x) Eph. i. 22. (y) v. 20 ss.
 (z) Heb. i. 2—4. 6. 1. Pet. iii. 22. (a) Luke, i. 32.
 (b) Rom. xv. 8. (c) ix. 5. (d) Matt. xxi. 1 ss. note 82.
 (e) Acts, iii. 25 s. Matt. viii. 12. (f) John, xviii. 37. §. iv.
 (g) Acts, ii. 33—36. iii. 16 ss. iv. 10 ss. v. 12 ss. comp. with i. 4. Luke, xxiv. 49. (h) Rom. xi. 25 ss.
 (i) Ps. cx. 2. (k) v. 16 ss. xv. 27. Eph. iii. 6. ii. 12 ss.

i. 22. iii. 13 viii. 12 s.) that βασιλεια not only signifies empire itself, or supreme power (e. g. Ps. ciii. 19. cxlv. 11—13. Rev. xii. 10. xvii. 12. 18.), but also the *region* or province, over which this authority extends.

⁷⁷ Hence the multitude of those who yield a pious obedience to Jesus, their king, or *the church*, is sometimes with propriety called the βασιλεια or (comp. Matt. xii. 25 s. Amos, ix. 8. Gen. xx. 9, comp. with 4. 7.) *commonwealth* of the Son of God (Col. i. 13.).

⁷⁸ Comp. BENGEL, on this passage.

⁷⁹ Comp. Diss. de sensu vocis πλιεωμα, §. vii.

thers, of the stock of Israel. But, on the other hand, the government of David, held by mere mortal men (*l*) for a brief space of time, and having jurisdiction only over a small portion of the earth, is so far different from the eternal and widely-extended empire of Christ, that the throne of Christ cannot be called the throne of David, except *figuratively*, inasmuch as that *divine* (*m*) government over *the Israelites*, which was transferred (1. Chron. xxviii. 5.^m) to David and his *posterity*, as to *the sons* (*n*) of God, the king of the Israelites, was a shadow and *image* of the *divine* government over *the universe*, (*o*) conferred upon that man *who sprang from the stock of David*, and who was much more truly *the Son of God*. (*p*) Which being established, it follows, that as Christ sits not on the throne of David *itself*, but on *its antitype*, (*q*) so also the Israelites, over whom Christ reigns, (*r*) are not only the Israelites *themselves*, but *the antitype of this commonwealth*, i. e. the whole commonwealth of God, and, in a certain peculiar (*s*) sense, his church.²¹

(*l*) Comp. Heb. vii. 23. (*m*) 1. Sam. xii. 12. viii. 7.

(*n*) Ps. lxxxix. 27. 11. Sam. vii. 14. 1. Chron. xxviii. 6.

(*o*) Heb. i. 2—4.

(*p*) v. 5. Luke, i. 32.

(*q*) v. 32.

(*r*) v. 33.

(*s*) Note 77.

²⁰ David and his posterity sat upon the throne of *the kingdom of Jehovah*, but of that only which had to do with *the Israelites* (v. 5.); whereas Christ, on the contrary, sits on the throne of *that* (Ps. cx. 1. comp. note 48. 75.) *kingdom of Jehovah*, which is so extensive, that it reaches over *all created things* (Eph. i. 20—22.), and that David himself, although in that former sense he sat on a divine throne, and knew that by the time this remote offspring of his should reign, he would have been long since dead (11. Sam. vii. 12. 19.), yet declared that he himself would nevertheless be within the kingdom and jurisdiction of this his own progeny. See Ps. cx. 1. where I have preserved the reading מָלֵךְ (Matt. xxii. 44), which declares, that David regarded the Messiah as *his own lord*, or willingly submitted to him (comp. v. 43. 45. with 1. Pet. iii. 6.) in a manner worthy of a lord *reigning for ever* (Ps. cx. 4. note 45.) *with God* (v. 1. note 48. 75.). Comp. ΜΥΝΤΗΓΗΞ, Besondre Anm. zu den Psalmen, p. 168 ss.

²¹ In Amos, ix. 11 s. it is said that *other nations* also, different from the Israelites, shall profess the name of God, and thus be in *the kingdom* and empire of *David*, or among the number of the Israelites (Acts.

§. VII.

4. *Its administration.*

Since therefore the kingdom of heaven neither has any limit to its duration, (t) nor is confined within certain regions of the universe ;(u) its form must be in all respects and widely

(t) §. v.

(u) §. vi.

xv. 17. 14. comp. with II. Chron. VII. 14. add Rom. II. 26 ss. IV. 16 ss. 12. XI. 17 ss. Gal. VI. 16.). But let us look into this passage of Amos : "At a certain (comp. Neue Apol. der Offenb. Joh. p. 325.) time, or, at length (*μὲν ταῦτα* Acts, xv. 16.), unless you would prefer: at that remarkable period (comp. II. Tim. I. 18. and Obs. gramm. p. 122.), the time of the Messiah, I will most completely (this meaning is clearly indicated by the accumulation of expressions, all conveying the same idea,) renew the kingdom of David, which is so desolated (Amos, IX. 5 ss.) that it seems like a cottage (Isai. I. 8.); and, as in other days, and particularly in the time of David, it was adorned by me, so now also I will improve and enlarge it, so that in the renewed tabernacle of David, or within his kingdom and empire, may dwell (Ps. LIX. 36. Ezek. XXXVI. 12.) both the remnant of the Idumeans (to whom Amos, I. 11 s. had threatened a terrible destruction), even as formerly (comp. IX. 11.) David had reduced this people under his authority (II. Sam. VII. 14.), and all other nations, that are called by my name." The word *נָשָׂא* (Amos. IX. 12.) I consider with LOUIS DE DIKU (Animad. ad Act. xv. 17), FÄSSEL. (Adv. SS. T. I. p. 390.) and perhaps also BENZEL, to be the sign not of the accusative, but of the nominative (Obs. gramm. p. 264 s.); both because we cannot otherwise easily explain, to what the plural *נָשָׂא* refers, and especially because *שָׂרָא* when it refers to persons, usually signifies to succeed to their wealth, which shall be left by them; nor indeed do I think it was the design of the prophet to threaten the nations, who professed the name of God, as he certainly would have done, if he had foretold that they were to be driven out from their dwelling-places by the Jews. Now the Idumeans are said by JOSEPHUS (Antiq. Jud. L. XIII. c. 9. §. 1.) to have embraced the Jewish religion, a hundred years, and more, before the birth of Christ. But as Amos foretold, that many other nations also should profess the name of God, and enter into the kingdom of David; we must go on a little farther, even to those times, when not only many Idumeans, who had been long united with the Jews (Acts, XXI. 20.) in civil compact, but great numbers also of

different ²² from an earthly commonwealth. For he who possesses an *eternal* government *over all things*, not only can perform many things, which come within the reach of no earthly power, however mighty, but easily dispenses with many external aids, which, though splendid in appearance, are after all only covers for human weakness. As the government of David, even in its best days, was certainly by no means adequate to the performance of those things, by which (w) his offspring proved, at Jerusalem, his kingdom to be divine (x),—and great as may seem to be the glory and splendor of his triumph over those nations, whom he reduced by his arms (y),—what is all this pomp, in comparison with the dignity of Christ, who, trusting in his own legitimate and almighty power over all things, dared to send unarmed messengers through the Roman empire, (z) and even into Rome, with this order, (a) that they should proclaim him lord of all men, and of all things; and in this way obtained the obedience of many thousands, secured not by force of arms, of which he certainly stood in no need, who could protect and

(w) Acts, II. 2—4.

(x) v. 33 sa.

(y) Comp. John, XVIII. 36.

(z) Comp. Acts, XXII. 6. 7.

(a) Acts, II. 36. X. 42. XVII. 30 s.

other nations, exulted in being citizens of the kingdom of David, so wonderfully enlarged (Am. ix. 11.) when Jesus sat upon the throne of his father, and in being a people devoted to God (v. 12. comp. with Acts, xv. 14.). This passage St. Luke has designedly (v. 14 s.) copied (v. 17.) from the LXX, who probably, when they lighted upon it, were ignorant of its meaning; being led in the translation of it, as they frequently were in difficult places, rather by conjecture, than by certain reasoning. One thing I must add, that *ἰσχυρῶς* v. 14. as in Ezra, 1. 2. should be rendered *has charged* (comp. Acts, xv. 7. x. 20.).

²³ Jesus declared this with the greatest plainness both by words (John, xviii. 36.) and deeds; among which (comp. the above-mentioned work of Hess, Sect. 1. u.) the most remarkable is, that, in order the more clearly and explicitly to leave in the minds of his countrymen his views in regard to his kingdom, he permitted himself (Luke, xix. 30. 40.) to be publicly saluted king of the Israelites (Mark, xi. 10. John, xii. 13.), but, at the very same time, openly before all, and, in order to excite the greater attention, with tears, predicted *destruction* (v. 41.) to that very metropolis, in which they had been dreaming that he was just about to commence his reign (v. 11.).

defend his messengers sufficiently well with his own (*b*) aid alone, wherever they might travel, but by love and benevolence. But it is by no means the least exhibition of the greatness of Christ, that he is not obliged to inflict immediate punishment upon the rebellious, but can for a length of time despise their arrogance : (*c*) securely confident that it shall never come to pass, either that they shall dethrone him from his seat, (*d*) which is elevated far above weak mortals ; or that the opportunity shall cease (*e*) for baffling their attempts, or turning them to the salvation of believers ; or that any enemy can escape from his government and authority, or elude his destined punishment, (*f*) either by death, (*g*) or any other medium, than that of a seasonable and humble return to obedience. (*h*) This heavenly kingdom is therefore distinguished, indeed, by some acts of a conspicuous character, and which strike the attention of all ;³³ among which stand prominent

(*b*) Acts, iv. 9 ss. 30.

(*c*) Ps. 11. 1—4. Heb. x. 13. (*d*) Ps. 11. 6.

(*e*) cx. 2.

(*f*) 11. 5.

(*g*) Rom. xiv. 9. Joha, v. 28 s. (*h*) Ps. 11. 10 ss.

33 " Then, when the Lord shall come (Matt. xxiv. 30. 37. 42. 50 s. xxv. 13.), the administration of *the kingdom of heaven* (note 76.) shall be as if a bridegroom, out of a number of virgins going out to meet him, should admit to the marriage solemnities only those, whom, coming suddenly after some delay, he found prepared for him, *excluding* those who came late." (v. 1.) But that the form of expression, *δέκα παρθένοι ἰσχυραὶ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ἑρμηνείων ΔΕΚΑ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΙΣ*, does not mean, that the kingdom of heaven is properly compared to *ten virgins*, may be seen by many examples ; as, for instance, the administration of this kingdom is not properly like a *grain of mustard-seed*, or a *net* (Matt. xiii. 31. 47.) ; but like that *action*, whereby either a small grain is sown, which grows up to a wonderful size, or fish of all kinds are caught, which are afterwards to be separated one from another. In short, the administration of the divine kingdom is compared to *the whole narrative which is told* ; and is said, for example, to be *as if* (Mark, iv. 26.) any one should sow seed, and, from that action, by degrees ripe fruits should grow up with unobserved progress, and without much labor. Comp. Diss. de parabolis Christi, §. xix. But that function of the heavenly government, which relates to the distribution of rewards, is in Matt. xx. 1. called, *in general*, *βασίλεια τῶν ἑρμηνείων* : "*the distribution of rewards*, both in this life and in

the *rewards and punishments, which are to be assigned publicly by the king in his own appointed time* : (i) but there are some less conspicuous, though equally real * parts of the same government, to be seen in the *propagation of the doctrine of the gospel, and in the government and protection of the church universal, and of particular assemblies and individuals.* He is said *to hold, as it were, the key of David, or* ²⁴ *the heavenly*

(i) Matt. xxv. 34. 31.

the other, is as if a householder, &c.” Perhaps also the same meaning ought to be assigned to that declaration of Christ, in which he commands this inducement to be left (Luke, x. 11.) with those Israelites, who should despise (v. 10.) the messenger (v. 9.) of the approaching kingdom of God : “ be ye sure, that that divine kingdom has come nigh, which not only decrees to the obedient that happiness to which we wished to invite you, (v. 9.) but also *appoints punishments* the most grievous, not only at the period of the general judgment (v. 12 ss.), but even long before, in the overthrow of your state (Matt. xxiii. 37 s. x. 23. comp. with §. iii.)”

* It is singular that LANGER (zur Beförd. des nütz. Gebr. des W. A. Tellerischen Wörterb. des N. T., P. iv. p. 85 s.) did not perceive, that, in this place, and in what follows, (not to mention my former observations, §. iii. iv. vi. note 76 s. 81.) I referred to the opinion of KORR, though not mentioned by name. (Comp. also §. ix. at the beginning.) If any one, however, would prefer to have a more express *refutation* of this opinion, which would be inconsistent with my *exegetical-doctrinal* plan, I recommend to his perusal pp. 69 ss. of the above mentioned treatise.

²⁴ Christ holds the key, or (comp. Isai. xxii. 22. with v. 21, and WOLL, in his edition of BLACKWALL'S Sac. Class. p. 166 s.) *power of David, since he sits on the throne of David, which form of expression, when used concerning Christ, refers, as we have seen above (§ vi.), to his government over all things, and particularly over the church.* But the keys of the kingdom of heaven are said (Matt. xvi. 19.) to be delivered by Christ to the apostles, inasmuch as he wished that many departments of his government over the church should be administered by them upon the earth, and that they, as his ambassadors and officers (comp. Isai. xxii. 22), should fulfil, in many respects, the office of the Lord of the church. They had it in their power, as in the name, and by the authority of Christ, who ratified their decrees in heaven, to ordain upon earth divine laws (comp. LIGHTFOOT'S Hor. Heb. on Matt. in loc.) and to utter commands of divine weight and value (Acts, xv. 28. 1. Thes. iv. 2. 8. ii. 13. John, xx. 23. Acts, v. 4. 9. 1. Cor. v. 3—5. Acts, iii. 6. v. 12 ss.).

empire, (j) who, with his succor, so fortified the head of the church of Philadelphia against the wiles of the Jews, (k) though he had little strength of his own, that both he himself adhered steadfastly to the truth, (l) and he was also useful to many others who were desirous of the truth; (m) and at length, triumphing over his adversaries, (n) and delivered from a new calamity which was impending, (o) he was crowned with great rewards. (p) In like manner we read in St. Matthew, xvi. 19, that it is the office of the kingdom of heaven, to govern the church (q) which shall be gathered on the earth; (r) for example, to establish laws for it, and either to grant to its members the pardon of their sins, or to inflict punishments, or to aid the cause of the church by other miraculous operations. These^{ss} departments of the divine government over the church were certainly fulfilled by the apostles, to whom the keys of the kingdom of heaven had been delivered by Christ, as those of the house of David were given to Eliakim (s) by Hezekiah.* Wherefore St. Paul, also, declared that he should estimate the merits of the inflated (t) teachers, (u) not by their boasting words, but by what they had done, since the kingdom of God, or the superintending providence of Christ, and his care for the welfare of the church, did not consist in words, but is distinguished by its power and ef-

(j) Rev. III. 7.

(k) v. 9.

(l) v. 2. 10.

(m) v. 8. at the beginning, comp. with 1. Cor. XVI. 9. and Acts, XVIII. 8-10.

(n) Rev. III. 9.

(o) v. 10.

(p) v. 11.

(q) v. 13.

(r) v. 19.

(s) Isai. XXII. 22. note 84.

(t) 1. Cor. IV. 13 a.

(u) v. 15..

^{ss} Comp. note 84, and BENGEL'S gnomon on the words *δέσπotes, αὐτοκράτες*, Matt. XVI. 19. (also BAR-HEBRÆUS in his Chron. Syriac. p. 593. *כְּרִשְׁתִּי דְכַר* means one, possessed of *supreme power*).

* [Or rather by MANASSEH, to whose appointment of Eliakim as his minister of state, after that king's repentance, and return from captivity, the prophecy contained in Isai. XXXII. here quoted by STORR, properly refers. Eliakim had, indeed, filled the office of master of the household under Hezekiah; but the words of Isai. relate to his elevation, after the death of Shebna at Babylon, and the restoration of Manasseh to his throne. See PRIDEAUX'S Connection, Vol. I. p. 152.—Tr.]

fects, (v) in which, therefore, those persons ought to be conspicuous, if they wished to be compared with Paul, the legate of the divine king, and under that title holding the keys of the kingdom of heaven. (w) This same providence of Christ, by which he *gathers together, and governs* the church, seems also to be meant in Matt. XIII. 52, where one who is so taught as to be able to subs^{er}ve the Lord's designs, by the spread of the gospel, is said to be instructed for the benefit of *the kingdom of heaven* (τῆ βασιλείᾳ τῶν ὑψανῶν). In like manner εὐδοκίᾳ σὺς τῆν ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝ τῆς Θεοῦ (x) may be interpreted *fit, in reference to* ²⁶ that charge of the divine king, in virtue of which he provides that there shall be no *deficiency of heralds of the doctrine* of salvation: "he who, having put his hand to the plough," looks back, is an unsuitable person to be employed by the providence of the Lord in promulgating the gospel." (y) In this same sense, those who labored with St. Paul, in reference to that *same* office of the divine king, or, in other words, who toiled zealously and faithfully in the service of the divine government, *by delivering and inculcating the gospel*, he terms, in Col. iv. 11, συνεργοὶ σὺς τῆν ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝ τῆς Θεοῦ. Wherefore also the kingdom of God is said *to be given* (z) to those, among whom is perceived that function of the divine government which relates to *the promulgation of the gospel*; and, on the other hand, *to be taken away* from those, to whom the gospel is no more delivered. But let us proceed to those passages, which do not refer to one department only of the divine government, as, for instance, that which provides for, and is employed respecting *proclamation of the gospel*; but which embrace *many* species of actions; as, in Matt. XXII. 2,

(v) v. 20.
(y) v. 60.

(w) Comp. II. Corin. XII. 12.
(z) Matt. XXI. 43.

(x) Luke, IX. 62.

²⁶ Comp. note 36. and Diss. de sensu vocis κλέσμα, note 28.

²⁷ The reader need scarcely be reminded, how frequently figures drawn from agriculture are made use of in the Scriptures, in reference to the instructions of a *teacher* of the gospel. Comp. Luke, VIII. 11. I. Cor. III. 6 ss.

ἡ βασιλῆα τῶν οὐρανῶν²⁸ is said to attend both to whatever relates to the spread of the gospel, (a) and also to the punishment of contempt and negligence. (b) Likewise in Matt. XIII. 24. 31. 33. 47. Mark, IV. 26. 30. Luke, XIII. 18. 20, the offices of the kingdom of heaven are said to be these: to supply and make provision for persons, needed for spreading the gospel, and for producing from thence, gently by degrees, the fairest and most abundant fruits; (c) and at length to separate the good from the wicked, who have been so long tolerated, and to conduct the former to that felicity promised in the gospel, but to inflict most grievous punishment upon the latter. (d)

§. VIII.

5. *Its periods.*

Since, therefore, the administration of the kingdom of heaven has such various forms, (e) it is evident, that this kingdom may be variously divided. The first and that a most extensive division, is into two parts, separated one from the other by the victory which is to be gained over every enemy. For Christ either reigns *in the midst of his enemies*, (f) expecting,

(a) v. 4. 9. (b) v. 7. 13. (c) Mark, IV. 26—32. Matt. XIII. 33. 37.
(d) v. 25—30. 47 ss. (e) §. VII. (f) Ps. cx. 2.

²⁸ As the kingdom is conferred upon Christ by the Father (note 38), his government, and the administration of this kingdom, may be attributed in general to the Father (note 5.). In this passage, however, there is a particular reason for Christ's ascribing his own (comp. Matt. XIII. 34. John, XVII. 18. Matt. X. 23. XXV. 30 ss.) actions to the Father. For, as he wished to mention *his own* and John's *ambassy* (XIII. 3),—which were included, in a certain sense, within the idea of the kingdom of heaven (§. IV.),—separately from the teaching of the apostles, who were to invite the Jews, when all things were prepared (v. 4.), and the kingdom, which was at hand during the life-time of Jesus, was actually present, he could not conveniently, in this parable, sustain the principal part himself, and therefore ascribed it to the Father (v. 2.).

till they shall all be overthrown, (g) or he sits at the right hand of God, while his adversaries are *lying prostrate*. (h) Though, during the first of these two periods, the sway of Christ is no less real and powerful, (i) yet we find that the latter has the name βασιλεία applied to it κατ' ἕξοχην (11. Tim. iv. 1.⁹⁰ Luke, xxi. 31. xxii. 30. comp. with Matt. xix. 28. Luke, xxii. 18.⁹⁰ Matt. xxvi. 29. Mark, xiv. 25.). For as during that period which comes *first* in order, God is said to *reign*, (k) when he makes such use (l) of his power, that *all perceive that he reigns*; ⁹¹ so it will have to be said with peculiar force *that he reigns*, when, *every enemy being subdued*, his supreme power is *acknowledged* even by those very persons, who *treated with contempt* the idea that the kingdom must be thus far *restored* by Christ. (m) But even in this period of the kingdom of heaven there will be a twofold diversity of administration. For some (n) will perceive the majesty of the divine government from the severity of their punishment, or rather, they will be enemies *subdued*, it is true,

(g) v. 1. Heb. x. 13.

(h) ῥ. v.

(i) Comp. ῥ. vii.

(k) Rev. xix. 6.

(l) v. 2. xviii. 8.

(m) 1. Cor. xv. 24. note 58.

(n) Comp. notes 59—66.

⁹⁰ As it is said that Jesus shall judge the quick and *dead* at the time of his coming and *kingdom*, it is evident that the commencement of the *kingdom*, κατ' ἕξοχην, is connected with the *resurrection of the dead*, and is thus (note 54. seq.) referred to that time, when *every enemy shall be destroyed*.

⁹¹ From this passage it seems probable that in v. 16. we ought to understand πλερωθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ to mean the same (comp. Obs. p. 453 ss. and Opus. Acad. i. p. 146.) as πλερωθῆναι (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ), “until the kingdom of God is in perfect and complete prosperity.”

⁹² In like manner God is said (Rev. xii. 10. xi. 17.) βασιλεύσαι (to be acknowledged king, to be perceived to reign; comp. note 70, at the end.), since (comp. note 22.) he has taken to himself (λαμβάνει) his great power to (v. 18.) punish his enemies (ch. xvi.—xv. 3). Add xi. 16, where God and Christ are said to obtain the government over the earth, because it is evident in the eyes of all, that the earth belongs to God and Christ. (Comp. Neue Apol. der Offenb. Joh. p. 330. note 18; and TOBLER, Gedanken und Antworten zur Ehre J. C. und seines Reichs, p. 271).

but still rebels, paying the punishment of their folly; but others will, as the pious people of God, (o) reap the blessings of the divine government, and be, in a far higher sense, in *the kingdom of God*: (p) even as now, all men are in the kingdom of heaven, (q) but in a far different sense those, to whom the gospel has been presented, (r) and in the most distinguished sense of all, those who obey it. (s) That *province* (region), therefore, of the kingdom of God, in which after² the resurrection of the dead (t) the pious people of God shall dwell, who are to receive, from the benignant and all-powerful government of Christ, (u) a marvellous and everlasting salvation, (v) is by a certain peculiar right called *the kingdom of heaven*, or of God, in which no place is allowed to the wicked, (w) although they are under the authority of God. Of this kind are those passages generally, in which are used the forms of

- (o) Rev. xxi. 3. (p) xxii. 3. (q) ꝑ. vi.
 (r) Matt. xxi. 43. ꝑ. vii. (s) Col. i. 13, note 77.
 (t) 1. Cor. xv. 50. 11. Thess. i. 5, comp. with 7. Matt. xiiii. 43. xxv. 34, add Luke, xiv. 15. comp. with 14. (u) 11. Thess. i. 10.
 (v) Matt. xxv. 34, comp. with 46. Mark, ix. 47, comp. with 43. 45. and Matt. xviii. 8 s. John, iii. 3. 5. comp. with 36, and Titus, iii. 5. 7. Matt. xix. 23 s., comp. with 16. 25. Mark, x. 23—25, comp. with 26. 17. Luke, xviii. 24 s. comp. with 26. 18. 1. Thess. ii. 12. Acts, xiv. 22, comp. with Rom. viii. 17, and Luke, xxiv. 26.
 (w) Luke, xiiii. 28. Matt. viii. 11. 12. 1. Cor. vi. 9 s. Gal. v. 21. Eph. v. 5, comp. with Rev. xxii. 15.

² As God and Christ are said βασιλεύειν particularly at the period, when all enemies shall have been destroyed, and (note 89.) the dead shall have been raised; so also that *province* (note 76.), to which the most glorious fruits shall redound from this perfect splendor and magnificence of the kingdom of God, takes by a peculiar right the appellation of *the kingdom of heaven*. But since, before that time, in those regions to which the spirits of departed believers are conducted, the majesty of the divine government is certainly every where acknowledged, and the grandeur of its kingly offices much more clearly perceived than in the present life (11. Cor. v. 6—8. Phil. i. 23.); there was surely no reason why St. Paul should not give to these seats of the blessed, also, the name of *heavenly kingdom*, in 11. Tim. iv. 18. Though it cannot be denied, that even this passage may be understood to refer to that future happiness (comp. v. 6—8.), upon which the blessed shall enter after their resurrection, and the coming of the Lord.

expression εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (Matt. vii. 21.⁹³ v. 20.⁹⁴ xviii. 3.⁹⁵ II. Pet. i. 11.), δέχεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, (x) ὑμετέρας εἰς ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, (y) all which are used promiscuously by St Mark, x. 15. 14. and St. Luke, xviii. 17. 16. More frequently instead of δέχεσθαι⁹³ (z) is substituted κληρονομεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, (a) *to occupy those blissful seats*, (b) so that each individual may have his own share in the possession. (c) Hence the term κληρονόμοι τῆς βασιλείας, (d) or υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας, (e) is applied to those, to whom the kingdom of heaven belongs, or who shall enter into *the region of*

- (x) Mark, x. 15. Luke, xviii. 17. (y) vi. 20. Matt. v. 3. 10. xix. 14.
 (z) Comp. i. Macc. ii. 51. (a) Matt. xxv. 34. i. Cor. vi. 9 s. Gal. v. 21.
 (b) Comp. Gen. xv. 7 s. xviii. 4, &c. (c) Eph. v. 5.
 (d) Jam. ii. 5. (e) Matt. xiii. 38.

⁹³ What follows in v. 22. 23, shews with sufficient clearness, that this passage does not refer to the *kingdom of God*, which is gathered together on the earth from the period of our Lord's ascension into heaven, and whose *privileges* were eagerly desired by many during the lifetime of Jesus (note 36). But in Matt. xxi. 31, xxiii. 13, it admits of a doubt, whether ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ is to be understood in this sense (comp. Luke, xi. 52.), or as referring to *the seats of the blessed*.

⁹⁴ If this place be compared with v. 3—12, vi. 19 ss., it will readily be admitted, that both here, and vi. 33. Luke, xii. 31, the discourse is concerning *the dwelling-place and region of the blessed*. Nor is there any reason, why a different sense should be given to the expression in the preceding verse (Matt. v. 19.): “Whoever shall wantonly, and without hesitation, violate one precept however small, and shall teach others to do the same thing, and much more, therefore, he who, like the teachers of the law and the Pharisees (v. 20.), shall neglect so many and great precepts, and shall be a leader and promoter of negligence in others (v. 21 ss. xxiii. 16 ss.), he, though highly esteemed on earth (Luke, xvi. 15), shall in *the regions of the blessed* be reckoned of the least account (ἀλίχιστος καὶ θύρατος) by God and his people, and be cast out from this pure abode (Luke, xiii. v. 25. 27. 28.) as βδελυγμα (Luke, xvi. 15, like ἀλίχιστος, or ἰσχατος, xiii. 30. at the end.)”

⁹⁵ Very similar are those forms of expression, by which any one is said to be in *the kingdom of heaven*, v. 4. 1. Luke, xiii. 28 s. Matt. viii. 11.

⁹⁶ This answers to Luke, xii. 32. εἰθέλωσιν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΤΜΙΝ τὴν βασιλείαν.

the blessed,⁹⁷ or to whom indeed the right of citizenship⁹⁸ in that most blissful (f) country principally belonged. (g) Perhaps also Heb. xii. 28, is a passage of the same description. For as mention is made immediately before (h) of a new heaven and a new earth,⁹⁹ it is certainly not improbable, that

(f) VIII. 11. (g) v. 12. comp. with Acts, III. 25. Rom. ix. 4. (h) v. 27.

⁹⁷ Just as in Luke, xx. 36. οἱ τοῦ ἀναστάσεως τυχεῖται (v. 35.) are called οἱ τοῦ ἀναστάσεως.

⁹⁸ As ἡ βασιλεία refers peculiarly to that administration of the kingdom of God, which shall take place in the region of the blessed after the resurrection of the dead (Matt. xxvi. 29. §. VIII. at the beginning.); the right of citizenship, also, in the kingdom of heaven, thus understood, may be called (note 36) ἡ βασιλεία.

⁹⁹ Christ, who formerly, when the law was given on Mount Sinai (v. 18 ss.), shook the earth, which could equally well be declared of him, in reference to his divine nature, as that he created all things (i. 2. 10.), now, when God spoke by him, is said to have promised (xii. 26.) that he will once more shake the heaven and earth (comp. Rev. xx. 11. xxi. 1. II. Pet. iii. 10—12.), from which it is evident (Heb. xii. 27.), that the things which are shaken (heaven and earth, Heb. xii. 26.) are removed from their place, as being made with this design, that they might await (comp. Rom. viii. 19 ss. II. Pet. iii. 7. and μίσις, Acts, xx. 6. 23.) an immovable condition (comp. the neuters, Heb. vi. 9.), i. e. that that signal change might remain, whereby the appearance of heaven and earth shall become permanent. The words ἐν ἀνάξει, used by Christ, not only shew, that the heaven and the earth will be shaken, but also imply at the same time, that no other shaking shall follow; and that therefore, subsequently to that event, to which the display at Sinai cannot be at all compared, the state of earth and heaven will be such, that things will cease to be movable and fragile. But it is probable that the sentence quoted by the Apostle (xii. 26.), is not from Haggai, but that it was uttered by Christ, when he was discoursing perhaps at some time or other (comp. Acts, i. 3.) concerning the kingdom of God, and was comparing this new economy with the old Mosaic dispensation (comp. John, vi. 32.); and that it was never recorded in the gospel histories (Acts, xx. 35.). For, to say nothing of the fact, that the words of Haggai are not sufficiently like these, it appears to me to be very much against the commonly received opinion, that Jesus is said to have promised now, when God commands by him (Heb. xii. 26. comp. with x. 28 s. i. 1 s. II. 1—3.), τὸν ἀπὸ ἐξουσιῶν (comp. John, III. 31. I. Cor. xv. 47.), not by Moses, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ γῆς (comp. Heb. III. 3—6.), that he will once more shake not only the earth. as was done at the time when he ἐπὶ τοῦ γῆς

the unchangeable *kingdom* which believers shall obtain,¹⁰⁰ consists in those *happy seats* in which the faithful shall dwell, (i) after they have been restored to life. (j)

§. IX.

Although, therefore, a great number of passages refers to that future and most conspicuous appearance of the kingdom of heaven ; (k) yet it cannot be denied that there are also not a few, which, if we ought to choose the most obvious interpretation,¹⁰¹ lead us to a much broader signification of the expression. (l) And that same idea of the kingdom of heaven, which includes the whole government of Christ from his ascension into heaven, seems to have been in the mind of the apostles in those places also, which,—because (m) that empire is *now* established, whose extent and dignity will bring to pass, in its own time, all that remains to be done, and could perform it forthwith, did not the long-suffering (n) of the judge prevent it,—shew that an end is at hand (Heb. ix. 26.¹⁰²)

(i) II. Pet. III. 13.

(j) Rev. xx. 12. xxi. 1.

(k) §. VIII.

(l) §. III. VII.

(m) Comp. note 39.

(n) II. Pet. III. 9. 15. Heb. x. 13.

ἐγγεματιστοί, or divinely instructed (Acts, x. 22.) the people, but also the heaven.

¹⁰⁰ Παλαμμένη also in Jer. XLIX. 1. 2. means the same as κληρονομία; but the present participle has the sense of the future (comp. Acts, xv. 27.), as, in Heb. XII. 27, τὰ σαλευόμενα signifies things that are to be shaken, movable. Comp. Obs. gramm. p. 134 s.

¹⁰¹ Comp. DORDERLEIN, Instit. Theol. Christ. p. 748 s. [p. 291. Vol. II. Ed. Junge. Nor. et Alt. 1797.—Tr.]

¹⁰² At the end of the world (comp. also Heb. i. 2. I. Pet. i. 20.) it was that Jesus was born, because, at his birth, the commencement was at hand of a kingdom (§. iv.), which shall make all things new (Rev. xxi. 5.), and which would immediately have proceeded to make heaven and earth new and permanent (Heb. xii. 26 s.), and to display its glorious (v. 28. §. VIII.) and grand appearance, but for that divine goodness which desires first to make men new creatures (II. Cor. v. 17.), and that completely, too, that they may be able to rejoice in this wonderful change of things (II. Pet. iii. 9—15.).

1. Cor. x. 11. 1. Pet. iv. 7. 1. John, ii. 18.¹⁰³); and exhort to *μετάνοια* and the cultivation of holiness (*o*) with this motive, that that *ἀνὴρ now reigns*, by whom God will judge men, (*p*) and is ready and prepared to make the exhibition of his majesty (*q*) whenever it pleases him.¹⁰⁴

(*o*) Acts, xvii. 31. 1. Pet. iv. 7. Jam. v. 8 s. Heb. x. 25. 35—37. comp. Luke, xxi. 34 ss.

(*p*) Acts, xvii. 31. (*q*) Jam. v. 9. 8. 1. Pet. iv. 5.

¹⁰³ From the time that the king, descended from the family of David (Ps. ii. 6.), reigns, that last time is present (comp. note 30. 102.) to which the ancient prophets looked. In it, also, are contained *ἀρχιστοι* (comp. Ps. ii. 2.), who, before the kingdom of Christ, had no existence. Comp. ii. Tim. iii. 1. 11. Pet. iii. 3. Jud. v. 18.

¹⁰⁴ Although the coming of the Judge did not overtake the first readers of the N. T. while they were yet alive, yet of the whole number (Mark, xiii. 37. Luke, xii. 41. comp. with 45.) of those to whom the instructions of Christ and the apostles are directed (comp. Diss. de sensu historico, note 18, 183.), there will be certainly not a few, whom that decisive period of the kingdom of heaven, though it be long delayed (v. 45. Matt. xxiv. 48. xv. 5. 19.), shall at length come upon unawares, while they are *asleep*. But as this time was to be unknown (Luke, xii. 39's. 46. Mark, xiii. 35. Matt. xxiv. 36.—xv. 13. 1. Thess. v. 2 ss.); teachers *merely human* could not exhort to watchfulness *those during whose life-time the destined period for retribution will be just at hand*, unless they gave this advice to men of all periods of the world. But further: men of former ages, who were negligent of this precept, certainly *will be taken unprepared* by that signal period of retribution; since by the advantage of death they neither become more prepared, nor do they escape out of the power of the judge, so that he cannot subsequently appoint a day for them (1. Cor. v. 10.).

DISSERTATION
ON THE
PARABLES OF CHRIST.

BY
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THE PARABLES OF CHRIST.

§. I.

THE word *παράβολή* is derived from the verb *παράβάλλειν*, (a) which signifies to *collate, compare, assimilate*. QUINCTILIAN interprets it¹ by the words *similitudo, collatio*; SENECA (b) uses *imago*. It is, therefore, a *comparison* (*collatio*), or to use the definition of CICERO, (c) "a form of speech, in which we compare one thing with some other on account of a resemblance between the two," which is designated by the Greek word *parable* (*parabola, παράβολή*). In this sense² Christ is said (d) to have spoken in parables (*ἐν παραβολαῖς*) when

(a) Mar. iv. 30.

(b) Ep. LIX.

(c) Lib. i. de Inv. c. 30.

(d) Mar. iii. 23.

¹ De Institut. Orat. L. V. c. xi. VIII. iii. p. 298. 302. 470. [p. 256. 260. 399. ed. Oxon. 1693.]

² The word has the same signification in Lu. xii. 41. xv. 3. xxi. 29. Mat. xxiv. 32. Mar. xiii. 28. [in all which passages the *comparison* is indicated by the subsequent use of *ὅτι*.] There is nothing strange in the application of the name *παράβολα* to an *allegory*, even though metaphorical as in Lu. v. 36.; (that also being a form of speech in which one thing is compared, although less evidently, with some other,) or even to a thing which is the *image*, or *type*, of some other, as in Heb. ix. 9.

he proved, by various *similitudes*, (*e*) that he cast out demons, not by the aid of Satan, but by a higher power.

§. II.

Parables are carefully distinguished by ARISTOTLE (*f*) from that species of composition which is known in Greek by the names of *λογος* and *ανος*, and in Latin by that of *fabula*,³ principally, as appears from the examples which he adduces,⁴ and as has been more fully shown by LESSING,⁵ on the ground that in a *parable* the object or event which is given as the image of some other, is merely contemplated in the mind as possible, while in a *fable* an event is related, as having actually taken place at some definite time. So the well known *fable* of MENENIUS AGRIPPA, relating to the dissension between the members of the body and the belly, *narrates* that the other members *took umbrage* at the belly, and *conspired* against it;⁶ and the 32d of LOKMAN'S Fables, which greatly resembles it, *recounts*, that when the feet *boasted* that they supported the body, the belly *made answer*: 'what would they be able to do, if it should prepare no food to afford them strength?' On the other hand when Paul, in 1. Cor. xii. 12—27, makes use of a *parable* derived from the same objects, he does not *relate* (*g*) that the foot *denied* that it was a member of the body, because it was not the hand, or that the eye *reproached* the hand with being useless to it; but says "if the foot *should* deny that it was a member of the body, because it was not the hand, would it therefore not belong to the body? or, if the eye *should* desire to reproach the hand with its hav-

(*e*) Mar. iii. 24—27.

(*f*) Rhet. L. II. 20.

(*g*) v. 15 s. 21.

³ Comp. QUINTILIAN. L. V. c. xi. p. 301 s. [259. s. ed. Ox.].

⁴ See below, note 9, and §. v.

⁵ In his First Dissertation appended to his Fables in the German language; p. 160 ss.

⁶ See LIVI Hist. Lib. II. c. xxxii.

ing no need of it, it could have no right to do so. The case is just the same with those who envy the gifts of others, or despise their inferiors."

The illustration given by our Saviour in Lu. xiii. 19, has the form of a *fable*. In Mar. iv. 30 s. the same illustration is given as a *parable*, for it does not assume as a fact that any *certain man* committed to the ground in *his garden* any *given grain of mustard seed*, but merely sets forth what was customary and might happen *at any time or in any place*.⁷

§. III.

The object with which, in a *parable*, some other object is compared on account of its resemblance, must be possible, either under the *actually existing state of things*, or else on some *hypothetical* and feigned condition. To the first class belong not only those objects or events, the possibility of which is so certain, that they *customarily occur*,⁸ but also such, as although they do not *customarily occur*,⁹ yet certainly

⁷ In like manner in Lu. xviii. 2 ss. Christ himself substitutes a *form of composition* (ἀπόφωσις) which recounts the subject as a *fact*, for the *parable* in Lu. xi. 5 ss. which merely regards it as *possible*, and *perhaps about to happen*.

⁸ It is altogether possible that the facts, the reality of which is assumed in a parable, may have *actually occurred* a thousand times. But the parable does not *narrate any one* of these occurrences, but merely affirms the *possibility* of the fact, inferred from them, and describes what may *now* and *hereafter* happen.

⁹ EUSTATHIUS (in Il. B. p. 176. ed. Rom.) says that a *parable* is a species of composition in which the truth intended to be conveyed is taught and confirmed (p. 253,) by such things as are wont to *happen always*, or *every day*. And certainly we find that the resemblance which, as ARISTOTLE has taught (loc. citat.) it is necessary to observe in the composition of parables, is most generally taken (as EUSTATHIUS has remarked, Il. B. II. p. 176. 1065,) as well from the natural history either of animals, both rational and irrational, (h) or of inanimate things,(i)

(A) Jer. xiii. 23. Mat. xxiii. 37.

(i) Lu. xxi. 29 ss.

may exist. The second class consists of such as are possible on the supposition of some change in the nature or state of things, as, for instance, that irrational things might have the power of speech, which is assumed in the parable of St. Paul, (l) in which he compares Christians with the several members of the human body.

In both these classes of *parables*, the object or event, whether customary, or merely possible, or only hypothetical, is only considered as *possible*—a thing that *might have existed* or happened. But if we change the statement, and *suppose* the object or event to have *actually existed* or *happened*,¹⁰ they become *fables*, the *first class* of parables constituting

(l) §. II.

as from common life and circumstances of daily occurrence among men. (k) Of this sort is the parable of ΣΕΥΤΙΟΣ, in ΣΕΥΤΕΑ, *ubi supra*. But the example given by ARISTOTLE furnishes proof that the use of the term *parable* is not confined to this species of comparison. He gives the following as a specimen of a *parable*. "A magistrate ought not to be chosen by lot. For this would be like appointing as wrestlers, or as pilots of vessels, not such men as were most skilful, but such as should happen to obtain the office by lot." The absurdity of electing magistrates by lot is illustrated in this parable not by events which *customarily take place*, but by such as are *merely possible*. It is better, therefore, to embrace the *more general* idea of a parable; which is given even by EUSTATHIUS himself, when he says (Odyss. A. p. 1406.) that a *parable* is a *comparison* (παράθεσις ομοιωμάτων) instituted for the illustration of any subject under consideration.

¹⁰ Even such events as frequently occur, may be feigned by the author of a fable. For example, it is not necessary to suppose that Christ had in view (Mat. xiii. 3 ss.) any particular man, to whom he recollected such circumstances to have happened as he was sowing grain. He may have merely assigned occurrences which he knew might at any time take place to a supposed individual (τῷ δυνι) called up for that purpose in his imagination. This is, in fact, the very point of distinction between a *historical example* (παράδειγμα) properly so called, and a *parable* or *fable*, as ARISTOTLE has observed, (*ubi supra*, comp. Rhet. ad Alex. c. ix.). He that would produce an *example* must derive such as will suit his purpose from the records of *transactions that have actually*

(k) II. Ki. xxi. 13. Iα. xi. 5 ss. xv. 3—10. xii. 36 ss. xiv. 23 ss. Mar. iii. 24 ss.

that species of *fables* which is denominated *rational*, and the other that called *moral*.¹¹

taken place, while those who make use of *parables* or *fables* for the illustration of their themes, may draw upon their *own invention*.* Even if it should happen that a fable writer should meet with a true history suited to his purpose, which may save him the trouble of invention; still, his attention must be diverted from *the truth* of the fact, which has nothing to do with his design, and of which he can make no use. There is, therefore, no ground for alarm lest the licence of inventing fables should either lessen the credit of true history, or afford facility for spreading falsehood. There cannot be even the appearance of *falsehood* in a form of speech already in such general use, that, notwithstanding its historical form of composition, it is impossible for any one not to recognize it as a fiction. The Jews, in particular, had in the time of Christ, been long accustomed to the ancient mode of teaching by means of fables, (Judg ix. 7—15 ii. Sam. xii. 1—4. ii. Ki. xiv. 9. ii. Chr. xiv. 18. Isa. v. 1—6. Ezek. xvii. 3—10. xix. 1—9.) so that none of them could have been so stupid, as not to understand that the histories related were *feigned*, not true, (comp. Mat. xiii. 10). Indeed it is not the design of a fable to put on the semblance of a true history, but to be understood as a fiction, that the reader, who would not perceive its meaning, if he confined his attention to the narration (§. xi.), may be led to inquire concerning the object for which it was invented. The use of fables, moreover, is allowed to teachers only, never to historical writers. We may conclude, therefore, that whatever credible historians, —the evangelists, for instance—relate, is to be received as *matter of fact*, and not as *fable*. In the case of the evangelists, even in their accounts of the discourses of Christ, it is generally easy to distinguish between the true and the fictitious histories, although the latter are not always pointed out as *parables*; e. g. Lu. vii. 41 s. xiv. 16 ss. xvi. 1 ss. Mat. xviii. 23 ss. xi. 1 ss. xxv. 1 ss. Even when a teacher has been in the habit of using fables for the purpose of instruction, we may nevertheless be sure that examples adduced by him are *historically true* (e. g. Lu. iv. 25 ss. Mat. xii. 3 s. 41 s. xxiii. 35,) whenever either the same history has been handed down by historical writers, and those such as are worthy of credit, or the manner of arguing used by the teacher, and all the context, show that he assumes the *truth* of the fact which he relates. When we are unable by either of these criteria to discover whether a narrative used by Christ is a historical example or a *fable* (Lu. xvi. 19 ss. x. 30 ss.) the probability is, that it is to be reckoned among the latter, as they were so frequently employed by him.

¹¹ This distinction is derived from the progymnasmata of ΑΡΗΤΟΥ

* [Fabulae exemplorum vicarii et supplementa olim extiterunt BACON de Augm. Scient. Works. IV. 214.]

The *rational fable*¹² relates an event *absolutely possible*, i. e. which either *customarily* occurs, (*m*) or at least *may do so*. (*n*) The *moral fable* recounts events possible *only on the supposition*, either, that the objects of which they are related, *did exist*, which species is called by LESSING the *mythical fable*, or, that things *really existing*, such as brutes or inanimate substances, *were in possession of certain gifts*, such as reason and speech, which they do not enjoy.¹³ Of this latter sort is the fable told by Jotham, Judg. ix. 8—15.

§. IV.

The evangelists, contrary to the Greek usage,¹⁴ (*o*) have

(*m*) Mat. xiii. 3—8. 31—33. 47 s. xxi. 28—30, &c.

(*n*) Lu. xii. 20. xiv. 21—23. Matt. xxii. 2 ss.

(*o*) §. 11.

πῖος; he makes three classes of fables, το λογικόν, το θδικόν, and το μικτόν, which names are retained by WOLF (Philos. Pract. Univ. P. II. §. 303.) and LESSING. (Diss. III. p. 191 ss.) although they have determined the character of each class with greater accuracy. The class called *mixed*, comprises fables which narrate things *absolutely possible as facts*, as well as those which relate things possible merely under a *hypothetical condition*, as such. Of this class there is no instance in the New Testament.—Further information on this subject may be found in LESSING's work, *ubi supra*, p. 204 s.

¹² Fables of this kind occur in the Old Testament, in II. Sam. xii. 1 ss. Isa. v. 1 ss.

¹³ This hypothetical condition is expressly recognized by MENENIUS, whose fable, as given by LIVY, begins thus: "At a time when the human members were not, as now, inseparably united, but had each its private interest, each its power of speech, the other members having taken umbrage," &c.

¹⁴ The words *fabula*, *fabella*, *affabulatio*, (αἰμυθιον, §. XIII.) have already been applied to the parables of Christ by GROTIUS (Comm. in Matth. xiii. 10. 44. 49. De Jure Belli ac Pacis, Lib. II. c. xx. §. 48. no. 8.) COCCHEIUS (Schol. in Matth. xx. p. 32, and Disp. Select. xxxv. §. 1. p. 89. Opp. T. IV. and VI.) and many others. There is no reason to consider the very ancient, and, as LUTHER (Opp. Lips. T. VI. p. 360. Append. T. XIII. p. 61 ss.) has well observed, highly excellent (§. IX. X.)

given to *fables*¹⁴ of the first class, (the only kind used by Christ) the name of *parables*, (*p*) or comparisons. (*q*) This may be accounted for by their tendency to the Hebraistic idioms. The Hebrew word מָשָׁל was used in the first place to signify a *similitude*¹⁵ or an image. (*r*) *Poems* generally

- (*p*) פ : 1. (*q*) Mat. xiii. 3, 18, 24, 31, 33, 36, 53. xxi. 33. xxii. 1. Lu. xii. 16. xviii. 1. 9. xix. 11. (*r*) Ezek. xxiv. 3.

method of teaching by fables, as trifling or unworthy of Christ,* nor are we immediately to conclude from there being no mention of the use of the apologue, or completely *moral* fable by our Lord, that none of that sort were ever told by him. Even the common definition of a *parable*, that is, a *history bearing the similitude of truth*, invented for the purpose of conveying through that medium some recondite and spiritual meaning (see GLASSII Philol. Sac. p. 479. ed. Lips. 1706, and PFAFFII Commentat. de recta theol. parabolicæ et allegoricæ conformatione, p. 2.) will suit many of the fables of Æsop, nay, all of the *rational* fables, if we take from it the restrictive epithet *spiritual*, which seems to signify not a *moral of any kind* but more definitely a *divinely* revealed doctrine. This, however, is only what is called the *specific* difference of the parables of Christ, which certainly does not deprive them of the *generic* character of fables. Nevertheless, although in a treatise like the present, we cannot dispense with the name of *fable*, for the purpose of distinguishing the different forms of the parables of Christ (§. 1—1v.) and of ascertaining with the greater accuracy the nature of such of them as belong to the class of fables. (§. v. ss.); yet, as WOLF has remarked (ubi supra, §. 302,) it is better to refrain from the use of that word in the vernacular language, and to retain the Hebrew-Greek term *parable*, lest the Latin word *fable* should be misunderstood by unlearned persons, and they be induced to confound it with the idea of *old wives' fables*.

¹⁴ EUSTATHIUS indeed (p. 176, below) comprises even that species of the λογος in which a *historic* style is used, (§. II.) under the name of παραβολα or *parable*. But it is very possible that the Archbishop of Thessalonica may have been led to this by some recollection of the more extended use of the word in the New Testament.

¹⁵ The word מָשָׁל , like the Arabic مَثَل , is plainly used for *compari-*

* [See some valuable remarks on this feature of the teaching of our Saviour in SUMNER'S Evidences, p. 141 s. Am. ed.; and a full discussion of the subject in NEWCOMB'S Observations on our Lord's conduct as a divine instructor, Chap. II. Sect. x. pp. 141—168. Tr.] ;

abounding in images, it was applied to them. (s) *Ingenious sayings* being usually couched in poetic style, and replete with comparisons, next acquired the name; (t) hence it came to be applied to *proverbs*, (u) which constituted the most usual and favourite class of ingenious sayings, and at last to *fables*. (w)¹⁷ Thus, the Hebraizing writers were led to give the Greek word *παράβολη* besides its proper meaning of *similitude*, (x) not only the other meanings of the Hebrew word, for instance, that of an *ingenious saying*, (y) and that of a *proverb*, (z) but also the signification of a *fable*. (a)¹⁸ And indeed both *fables* (b) and *similitudes* (c) might with the more propriety be included under the common name *παράβολη*, (d) as all the fables of Christ are a kind of *similitudes*, which is far from being the case with any other fables than those of the *compound* or *mixed* class.

§. V.

This will appear more evident, upon a closer investigation of the *nature of a fable*. In the first place, then, it is well

- (s) Isa. xiv. 4. Ps. xlix. 5. Num. xxiii. 7, 18. xxiv. 3, 15, 20 s., 23.
 (t) Prov. i. 1. (u) 1. Sam. x. 12. xxiv. 14. (w) Ezek. xvii. 2.
 (x) ḡ. i. (y) Lu. xiv. 7. Mar. vii. 17. Matt. xv. 15.
 (z) Lu. iv. 23, and in the lxx. 1. Sam. x. 12. xxiv. 14.
 (a) In the lxx. Ezek. xxii. 2. (b) Mar. iv. 3 ss.
 (c) Mar. ix. 28—32. (d) v. 33 s.

son (e. g. Isa. xlvi. 5.) On the etymological derivation of its meanings SCHULTENS (in the beginning of his *Comm.* in *Prov.*) and MICHAELIS (in *Lowthii Prael.* iv. de *Sac. poesi.* Hebr. p. 64 s.) may be consulted. [See also DATHE's examination of its meanings, in his edition of *GLASSI Philol. Sac. Lib. II. Tract. i. c. xxi. p. 1305 s.*]

¹⁷ The Arabic *مَثَل* has the same meaning. [The Syriac *ܡܬܠܐ* also is used for the Greek *παράβολη* in an equally extended application, (e. g. *Mat.* xiii. 18.) and the fables of Talmud are called *מִלְפָּנֵי דַּתְהָ* DATHE, ubi supra.

¹⁸ On the other hand the word *παροιμία* which properly answers to the Hebrew *מִלְפָּנֵי* in its signification of a *proverb*, is made to receive the other sense of the Hebrew word in which it expresses an *image*, an *allegory*, e. g. *Jo.* x. 6. See by all means VORSTII *Philol. Sac. P. I. c. iv. end.*

known¹⁹ that the name of *fable* (*λογος*) belongs only to *that species of narration of fictitious events, which inculcates some moral instruction adapted to reclaim from sin, and to recommend the practice of virtue and prudence.* (e) With this view it may either delineate an image of human manners, (f) or set before the eyes the melancholy consequences of sin, (g) or by declaring the principles of the divine government (h) remove the occasions for rash judgments and attempts, and the other vices which spring from ignorance of those principles; or, as is generally the case, serve for *several* of these moral uses.

Now a fable may illustrate such a moral doctrine either *generally*, or with a *particular reference to some certain event*, or to some impending emergency, which may have furnished occasion for it. There are therefore two sorts of fables, the *simple* and the *compound*.

The first sort, or *simple fable*, is *not to be reckoned among metaphorical allegories*. There is no *similitude* between it and the doctrine which it expresses, inasmuch as the subject and predicate of the latter form the genus of which the subject and predicate of the fable are a species. There cannot be said to be a similitude between a genus and any species or individual comprehended in it; and therefore a simple fable is rather an *example of moral doctrine* than an allegory.

But a *compound fable* may be considered as an *allegory of the thing or event on occasion of which it was narrated*.²⁰ For example, the fable of the conspiracy of the human members for the destruction of the belly (i) is *simple*, if intended merely to teach the general truth, that *dissensions are injurious to both the contending parties*. For the hand, and mouth, and

(e) Mat. xviii. 35. Lu. x. 37. xii. 21. xvi. 8 ss. 19 ss. xviii. 1. 9. 14. xv. 32. comp. 2. Mat. xx. 15 s. xiii. 44—46. xxv. 1 ss. comp. 13. and xxiv. 47 ss.

(f) Mat. xiii. 19 ss. xxi. 31 s. Lu. vii. 44 ss.

(g) Mat. xxi. 43 s. xxii. 7. 13. Lu. xiv. 24.

(h) Mat. xiii. 24—33. Lu. xiii. 6 ss.

(i) §. 11.

¹⁹ LESSING, Diss. i. p. 131 ss.

²⁰ LESSING, p. 114 ss.

teeth, and belly, bear no *resemblance* to contending parties, considered generally, but are *among their number*. Nor does the conspiracy of the other members to subdue the belly by starvation *resemble* discord, considered generally, but it is a dissension with the adverse member, one of the several kinds of discord. Nor, lastly, is the extreme wasting of the whole body *similar* to the unhappy consequences of dissension, but it is *comprised* in the *class* of the evils which arise from dissension generally, and is *an example* of them. But **MENENIUS** used this fable for the purpose of *comparison*, that is, as a fable of the *compound* class, and consequently, *allegorical*. For he *compared* the belly to the patricians, the other members to the Roman people, the intestine strife between the members of the body to the hatred of the people against the patricians, and the starvation of the body to the impending ruin of the city.

To give another instance; **STESICHORUS**, as quoted by **ARISTOTLE**, (k) compared the Himerians to the *horse*,* who, desirous of revenge upon the *stag*, permitted the hunter to bridle, saddle, and mount him for the chase; their enemies, to the *stag*; Phalaris, whom they had elected their commander in chief (*επάρχον αυτεπάρουα*) to the *man*; his government to the *bridle*, already put on; and the grant of body-guards, from which the fable was intended to dissuade them, to the *act of mounting*. But if this same fable were used for the purpose of persuading any one not, in avoiding one extreme, to hurry to the other, or not to make use of a remedy worse than the disease, the *allegory would vanish*. The *horse* could not be said to *resemble* a person, who, to shun a lesser evil, runs into a greater, but as he actually *does so*, would be

(k) Rhetor. Lib. II. c. XX.

* Quem cervus, pugna melior, communibus herbis
Pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo
Imploravit opes hominis, frenumque recepit;
Sed, postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
Non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.

HORAT. Epist. I. xi. 34 ss.

an *example* of that fault, displaying the need of prudence in avoiding difficulties.*

§. VI.

Whenever, therefore, any fable of our Lord is so constructed, as that its subject and predicate are included as a species in the subject and predicate of the moral precept which it is intended to express; such fable is rather, with respect to *moral doctrine*, an *example*, than a similitude. Yet on another account, namely, with respect to *the fact* which occasioned its composition, it *may be a similitude* or comparison of one example of a general truth or precept with another. Thus the Pharisee and the publican (*l*) have no resemblance to the whole class (*m*) of men who indulge in self-complacency, or who are mindful of their own sinfulness, but each is an *example* of the class to which he belongs. In like manner, the rich men, the end of whose course is described by Christ, (*n*) are comprized in that class of men who, neglecting religious matters, set their affections on the good things of this world, and experience a great and melancholy change at the time of death. Yet the object particularly pointed at in Lu. xviii. 9, is not the class of self-righteous men, but a certain species included in that class equally with the Pharisee who is represented in the fable. Now as *individuals* may resemble an individual, the persons against whom the fable is especially directed, may be said to be *like* the Pharisee, and those whom they despised to be *like* the publican. So in the second instance, the person who disagreed with his brother concerning his inheritance, (*o*) and such of the others (*p*) as, like the rich man described by Christ, (*q*) displayed an over-fondness for earthly things, were all of the number of those who care only for the

(l) Lu. xviii. 10. ss.

(o) Lu. xii. 13.

(m) v. 14.

(p) v. 15.

(n) Lu. xii. 16. ss. xvi. 19. ss.

(q) v. 16. ss.

* Incidat in Syllam cupiens vitare Charybdin.

comforts of this life, and neglect the things of God (r),—and therefore might and ought to *be compared* with that rich man. Again, the Pharisees, who were covetous, (s) proud, (t) given to pleasure, (u) and disobedient to the law and the prophets, (w)²¹ might with propriety *compare* their present prosperity and their manners with the prosperity and character of the rich man, (x) and learn what a sudden change of circumstances might ensue. (y)

§. VII.

There are, however, other fables which in reality are not examples of the general doctrine which they inculcate, but are *images and allegories of the doctrine itself*. For it may happen that a fable is used to express some general doctrine, which again is comprized in some other still more general, in which case the subject and predicate of the fable will be included as species in the subject and predicate of the latter, and not in those of the former.²² Thus the fable of Menenius not

(r) v. 21.

(s) xvi. 14.

(t) v. 15.

(u) v. 18. comp. Matt. v. 20. 31. s.

(w) Lu. xxi. 16. comp. vii. 30.

(x) xvi. 19. ss. 30.

(y) v. 22. 25. s.

²¹ It is probable that the rich man described in the parable, Lu. xvi. 19. ss. is intended to be censured for a want of regard for the Holy Scriptures, as his brothers, who resembled himself (v. 28,) are represented (v. 30,) as likely to pay no respect to their authority.

²² We do not deny it to be *possible*, that the subject and predicate of the fable may be comprized, as species in a genus, in the subjects and predicates *both* of the more general doctrine and of that which is subordinate. So the horse in the fable of STRESEMORUS may be an example not only of such as for the sake of avoiding a *lesser evil*, incur a *greater*, (§. v.), but also in particular of those who *give up their liberty to keep out of poverty*, in which way it is applied by HORACE (Epist. Lib. i. Ep. x.) who, after recounting the fable (§. v. note †) subjoins the following moral (επιμνησθησιν) v. 39—41 :

Sic, qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis

Libertate caret, dominum vehet improbus, atque

Serviet aeternum, que parvo nesciet uti.

This doctrine is comprized in the other of a more general nature, which is pointed out in §. v.

only admits of being used for the purpose of reconciling the Roman plebeian party with the patricians, (z) or of teaching the injurious effects of dissensions upon both the contending parties generally, but is also capable of being employed to show that mutual contentions between any magistrates and subjects whatsoever, or if you please, between the citizens of a state or in a family or among Christians, are productive of evil to the contending parties, none of which can dispense with the services of the others. Now it is plain that the contending members of the human body are not to be considered as parts of the class of citizens (to select this from the preceding examples), but that the latter are one species of the class of contending parties, the former another, so that the one may be used as an image, or similitude, of the other, but not as an instance or example. The fable of Menenius, therefore, becomes an allegory when applied to the dissensions of citizens, while on the other hand both the less general precept which it would then convey,—that dissensions among citizens are injurious to both,—and the allegorical illustration of that precept in the fable itself, would be distinct examples of the more general doctrine—that all dissensions are hurtful to both contending parties. To give another instance, the fox in the fable, who despises the bunch of grapes above his reach, belongs to the number of those who pretend in a case of necessity to be guided by deliberation and choice, and therefore the fable may be considered as an example of the general doctrine which it inculcates, if applied to such as make a merit of necessity, (τους κωιδντας την αναγκην φιλοτιμιαν). But suppose the fable to be addressed to those who despise the liberal arts, which they are unable to acquire, and to convey the moral, that the arts are despised by the ignorant only, which is a branch of the more general doctrine. In this case the fox would be an image or similitude, not an example, of those against whom the fable would be directed, and the bunch of grapes, which in the first instance was an example of things which are not attainable, would now be an image

(z) β. γ.

of another sort of impossibility,—the acquisition of the arts by those who profess to despise them, because above their capacity.

Many of the fables (*λογoi*) of Christ, are of a similar description; for the Saviour, in pursuance of the object of his mission, was accustomed to inculcate morals having a particular reference to God and the truths of religion, rather than merely general precepts. So, in Matt. xiii. 3. ss., 24. ss., 31, s., his design was not to declare the general truths; that the best instructions are, with respect to a majority of the hearers, thrown away; that evils are to be borne with, lest their removal be attended with that of good also; and, that great events often spring from small beginnings: but to teach the following, comprized respectively in those just mentioned; that from various causes the generality of men would receive little or no benefit from the most salutary doctrines, divinely promulgated; that even wicked men are to be tolerated in the Christian church till they may be separated from the number of the citizens of the heavenly kingdom, at the command of the Lord, without any injury to the good, whom we should not be able always to exempt from sharing in their fate; and that there is no reason to despair, if the commencement of the divine kingdom be but small. The fable of the grain of mustard seed, therefore, although it might have been an *example* of the general truth, that great events often take their rise from small beginnings, yet in the intention of Christ was rather an *allegory* inculcating a doctrine included in that general truth, respecting the great increase which the kingdom of God should receive, notwithstanding its small beginnings. With respect to the others (the other *αροι*), (a) no one will deny that they are *allegories*, who has reflected on the interpretations given by Christ himself, (b) in which the subject and the image used are plainly compared.

(a) Matt. xiii. 3. ss. 24. ss.

(b) Lu. viii. 11. ss. Matt. xiii. 37. ss.

§. VIII.

Even the less general doctrine thus conveyed by a fable, may be applied, in the same manner as the most general truth, (c) to the instruction of *particular individuals*. The fable of the fox and grapes, for instance, may be applied, not only to ignorant despisers of the arts in general, (d) but also specifically to *some particular despisers of a certain art*. Not a few of this sort of fables, too, occur in the New Testament. That in Matt. xxi. 28. ss., for instance, might, in a general sense, apply to all who promise readily, but perform less than those who at first display some degree of unwillingness. But Christ makes use of it to rebuke such as were disobedient to God, although they boasted of their piety; and among these, it relates in particular to the *Pharisees* and Jewish nobles, (e) who esteemed themselves much better than the rest of their nation, and yet made much more opposition to the will of God, declared to them by John, (f) than the very persons whom they despised as sinners. The father, therefore, is not to be considered as *an example of any one that makes some request to another; the first mentioned son, of one that denies a request, yet at length performs it, and the other son, of one that promises without performance*: but the father is an *image, or allegorical representation, of GOD*; the first son, of men now *pious*, although at first of a different character, and yet not of these in general, but properly of the *publicans and sinners*, who had suffered themselves to be converted by John; and the other son, of men really *wicked*, although professing to be pious, and among these more particularly of the *Pharisees*. In like manner, the object of the fable in Lu. xiv. 16. ss., is not to inculcate the *general truth*, that contempt of benefits affords so much the greater cause for indignation, but to show how GOD will regard the contempt of *his benefits*, and particularly of those which related to the *eternal salvation of the Jews*. It is therefore *an allegory*, in which

(c) §. vi.

(d) §. vii.

(e) v. 23, 45.

(f) v. 25. s., 32.

the feast represents the *future happiness of the good*; (g) the giver of the feast, is not an example of a benefactor in general, but strictly an *image of GOD*; and the guests who excuse themselves represent, not generally, those who despised proffered benefits, but in particular *the Jews* who rejected the *divine benefit* offered them by Christ.

The preceding remarks (h) we deem sufficient to show that even the *fables* employed by Christ are a sort of *similitudes*,²³ and on that account may rightly receive the name of *Parables*. (i)

§. IX.

The *use* of a fable agrees with that of an example, properly so called, in this respect, that its object is to *illustrate* the doctrine of which it is a *fictitious example*. (k) For as an *example* serves to reduce a general doctrine to a *particular case*, and so conduces to the *intuitive knowledge* of that doctrine,²⁴ in the same way a fable, so far as it is an example of a general doctrine, assists the acquisition of an intuitive knowledge of the truth.* Nor is it any objection, that the example thus presented to our consideration, is merely *fictitious*. For although *true examples* possess this peculiar advantage, that they *confirm* the doctrine which is deduced from them,²⁵ yet those of a *fictitious* character are equally service-

(g) v. 14. a.

(h) §. vi.—viii.

(i) §. iv.

(k) §. vi.

²³ Of this description are evidently Mat. xiii. 24, 31, 33, 44, 47. xviii. 23. xx. 1. xxii. 2. xxv. 1. Lu. xiii. 18—21.

²⁴ Comp. WOLFIUS Philos. Pract. Univers. P. II. §. 258. ss. [“Examples give a quicker impression than arguments,” says BAUER, which is the purport of STORR’s ‘conducting to an intuitive knowledge.’ Tr.]

* [ΣΗΜΕΙΑ declares ‘Parabolas crebro usurpandas esse, ut imbecillitatis nostrae adminicula sint.’ Ep. LIX. p. 149. Tom. II. Opp. ed. GRONOV. Tr.]

²⁵ See WOLFIUS, ubi supra, §. 266. ss.

able in producing a *clear* and *vivid* knowledge of a doctrine the truth of which is already ascertained from other sources. *Rational* fables, moreover, (to which description all those of Christ belong,) assume nothing which is at all at variance with the natural course of things, (l) and therefore are the less likely to convey to the mind, intent upon the doctrine which they teach, the notion of their fictitious character. The folly, for example, of men who are solely intent upon heaping up riches which they never have an opportunity to enjoy, is much more clearly and vividly perceived, when we place before our eyes, as it were, the rich man Lu. xii. 16. ss., with his possessions and his hopes and projects, and the awful circumstance of his unlooked for death, about to take place that very night, than it would be in any other way. This effect will be in no wise lessened by the knowledge that the story is but a fiction, because the frail and transitory nature of earthly things is already so well known from experience, that it is not proof of this by argument, but a vivid sense of the truth already acknowledged, that is needed, and the very fable which is used to produce this sense, contains only such circumstances as our previous knowledge of this general truth convinces us may have actually occurred, and therefore may be assumed as facts.

It may be objected that this use cannot pertain to all the fables of Christ, inasmuch as it is undeniable that many of these are not *examples* of the doctrine which they inculcate, but *allegories*. (m) But certainly the less general doctrine which they convey is subordinate to *another* of a *more general* character, of which the fables themselves may be considered as *examples*, (n) and so assisting to the *intuitive* knowledge of *that* doctrine, which knowledge produces the effect of rendering the *less general doctrine*, which it was the immediate object of Christ to inculcate in such fables, *more easily proved*, and *more distinctly known*. For example, the *analogy of natural events*, made use of in Matt. xiii. 3. ss., 24. ss., 31. ss., remarkably illustrates the facts that divine truth is not defective although it may produce no good to many; that it may be

(l) §. III.

(m) §. VII. VIII.

(n) §. VIII.

prudent to tolerate wicked persons in the church ; and that the small beginnings of the Christian dispensation might produce a great and salutary change in the condition of the human race. The fables there given are *examples of the general truths* already pointed out, (o) (as, for instance, of this, that small beginnings often give rise to great events,) assisting the attainment of an *intuitive* knowledge of those truths, and even, (inasmuch as experience teaches us that the circumstances related by Christ do often occur, although the histories are feigned), (p) *confirming* their truth. In this way they induce us readily to acknowledge that the case may be similar in the Christian dispensation, *e. g.* that great events may spring from small beginnings.—To give another instance, the fable which occurs in Matt. xviii. 23; ss. is an *example of the general doctrine*, that we must not do to others what we would not that others should do to us, and that we have no just ground for complaint when we receive the same usage that we have not scrupled to give to them ; and is very useful in conveying an *intuitive* knowledge of that doctrine. The effect of this is, that it is impossible to disapprove of the *precept, subordinate to the same general doctrine, which it was the object of the Saviour to convey*, (q) and as our own judgment has approved of the *sentence* passed by the king in the fable, (r) we cannot do otherwise than allow the justice of the divine determination not to forgive the sins of the implacable, who refuse to forgive the sins of others, since this determination is *another example comprized in the same general rule of conduct*.

The great utility of fables in general,²⁶ consists in this, that

(o) †. vii.

(p) Note 10.

(q) v. 35.

(r) v. 32. ss.

26 If a fable were used as an *example* (†. vi.) of the general principle contained in it, its *application* to any *particular persons*, either by the author or by the hearer or reader, would be a discovery of *something similar*. So the *general rule*, that he who extorts from his inferior an article which he himself possesses in abundance, acts most unjustly, and

they declare the doctrine or truth, which if it were directly pressed upon us, would doubtless be much weakened by the force of our passions, by *another* example, *similar* to our case, and comprized under the same general rule. In proportion, too, as fables assist the acquisition of *intuitive* knowledge in a remarkable degree, they also facilitate the *recollection* of the doctrines which they inculcate, and consequently, their *use*. For the more clearly and distinctly we know a thing, the more deeply is it impressed on our memory. Comp. CHRYSOSTOM in Joan. iv. 35.

§. X.

But although even the fables which are to be ranked as *allegories*, serve to illustrate the subjects to which they are applied ; (s) yet they may also answer the end of clothing

(s) §. IX.

is deserving of very heavy punishment, might be *exemplified* by the fable in II. Sam. xii. 1—4, in which case the *act of David*, v. 7—9 would be a *similar instance*. But Nathan very wisely avoided a direct introduction of the general principle in his reproof of David, and first induced the king to acknowledge its truth in *another* example where there was no danger of his being swayed by partiality. After this acknowledgment, he could not deny the correctness of the principle (v. 13,) even though turned upon himself (v. 7. ss.); (comp. Lu. x. 37.) *—— In the same manner as a general rule is much more readily and vividly perceived when conveyed in a fable which is an example of *that very principle*, (§. VI.) and admits of a much readier application to *particular individuals*; so the application of a general principle to *one less general* is much facilitated by a fable which exemplifies the former, (§. VII.) as we have seen in the instance from Mat. xviii. 23. ss., and it thus becomes much more effectual with relation to *particular individuals* (comp. Mat. xxi. 31, 41. Lu. vii. 43.) if the *less general* principle, to which the application of the more general has been made (§. VII.) be again applied (§. VIII.) to them.

* [See this subject happily treated in PORTUS' Lectures, Lect. xi. Vol. I. p. 263. ss. ed. Lond. 1808.

them in *obscurity*,²⁷ and become *obscure* allegories, or enigmas, if propounded *without any explanation*. Many²⁸ of this sort were uttered by Christ, especially at the time described by Matthew, c. xiii, Mark, c. iv, and Luke, c. viii., he having determined to discourse of the heavenly, (*t*) *i. e.*²⁹ divine (*u*) kingdom of the Messiah and his Father, (*v*) more fully than at other times. His object was to show at length, that the

(*t*) Mat. xiii. 11, 24, 31, 33, 44, s. 47.

(*u*) Mar. iv. 11, 26, 30. Lu. xiii. 18, 20.

(*v*) Dan. vii. 13. s. Mat. xiii. 37, 41, 43.

²⁷ Comp. FLACII Clavem Script. P. II. p. 267. and the celebrated TELLER's note * * on TURRETINI Tract. de S. Scripturae interpretatione, p. 254.

²⁸ This is so plainly affirmed by Matthew (xiii. 3,) and Mark (iv. 2, 13), that there seems to be hardly any doubt that *more* were spoken to the people than the *four* which Matthew relates (xiii. 3. ss. 24. ss. 31—33,) as having been uttered in the *public* discourse. The *three* others given in that chapter (v. 44. ss.) cannot be taken into account, as they were propounded to the disciples *by themselves* (v. 36. 51. s.). But the testimony of Mark in iv. 33, is even more express than the preceding, for he makes mention of *many other* parables, beside those which he himself has given. Now Matthew (xiii. 24. ss. 33.) only relates *two* which are not recorded by Mark, as having been publicly spoken. If, then, we suppose that he has given all the 'other parables' to which Mark refers, we must allow that the expression '*many others*' may signify only *two*. And even in this case it must be taken for granted that the parable related Mat. xiii. 24. ss., is different from the similar one in Mar. iv. 26. ss., else there will be but *one* short parable peculiar to Matthew (xiii. 33.) which, surely, is not the '*many*' spoken of by Mark.—But the parable in Mark, iv. 26, ss. seems to be no less distinct from that in Matt. xiii. 24, ss., than the latter is from the one which so much resembles it in v. 47. ss. For in Mark there is no mention of the tares, which in Mat. xiii. 25. ss. are the principal feature of the parable, (c. 36.); and, on the other hand, Matthew is entirely silent respecting the *unobserved* progress of the kingdom of heaven, which it is the chief object of the parable given by Mark to represent. Now if the parable given by Mark is different from that in Matthew, it is evident that Matthew does *not* relate *all* the parables spoken publicly on that occasion, and that it is one of the '*many others*' omitted by Matthew, that has been preserved by Mark, iv. 26. ss.

²⁹ Comp. Dan. iv. 23. Lu. xv. 18. and KOPPE, Nov. Test. Gr. Vol. I. p. 216. [also the author's Dissertation De notione regni celestis. Note 6. Tr.]

character of this kingdom would certainly in the end appear to be in the highest degree glorious, (*w*) but that notwithstanding this, its condition would at first be different, and its foundation be laid in the very preaching of the gospel which was so much despised, by which, although extended to many with no effect, the subjects of the heavenly kingdom should be collected and prepared (*x*) for future glory. (*y*) But as this world is a nursery (*z*) for heaven, it is absolutely necessary that the evil be mingled with the good, (*a*) lest either such as might afterwards reform, should be untimely removed, or such as were really better than they appeared, should be reckoned among the bad, and destroyed together with them. (*b*) For both the extensive and, ultimately, splendid kingdom of God generally, and the excellence and happiness of each of its members in particular, would take their rise from small beginnings, (*c*) and increase by imperceptible degrees. (*d*) Nevertheless, the privileges of this invisible kingdom would be so greatly prized by all that were truly wise (*e*) that, setting aside all the enjoyments and advantages of this life, they would pant after that alone.—But the notion of the kingdom of the Messiah entertained by the Jews (*f*) was so different from this, that it was impossible they should be pleased with those beginnings, so far removed from every sort of pomp, and with such a long delay (*g*) of its ultimate splendour. Besides, by far the greater part had been so deaf to the other instructions and admonitions of Christ, and so blind to the evidence afforded by miracles so many and so great, (*h*) that they were neither desirous of salvation, (*i*) nor possessed of a teachable disposition, nor willing to believe in such doctrines as were mysterious (*k*) (*i. e.* till then unknown, and out of the range of popular opinion,) on the sole authority of Jesus, as a divinely commissioned teacher. On account (*l*) of this their general ignorance of religious things, our Lord in teaching

(*w*) Mat. xiii. 43.(*x*) v. 38.(*y*) v. 31—38.(*z*) Lu. xvii. 30.(*a*) Mat. xiii. 13—15.(*x*) v. 43.(*a*) v. 30, 47.(*d*) Mar. iv. 27. s.(*g*) Comp. Lu. xix. 11.(*i*) v. 15.(*y*) v. 3. ss.(*b*) v. 29.(*e*) Mat. xiii. 44—46.(*h*) v. 11.(*l*) v. 13.

them made use of parables *without explanations*, (*m*) that seeing the image they might not perceive the object which it was intended to represent, and that they might hear the words indeed, but not *comprehend* their meaning, (*n*) if peradventure ³⁰ they might in this way be led to reform and obtain the pardon of their sins. (*o*) This proceeding might be adopted ³¹ for this reason; that so the very *obscurity of the obnoxious doctrine taught would prevent* the worst of the people from *deriding* Jesus on account of his preaching a kingdom of the Messiah *so different* from that which they expected, and from thus increasing their crime, (a measure particularly necessary at that time, on account of the detestable (*p*) reports lately spread among the populace) (*q*) while at the same time others might be roused by this enigmatic teaching out of the stupid indifference with which they had been accustomed to regard the deeds and instructions of Jesus, and *brought to reflection*, which might, in the better disposed at least, result in a more careful attention to the precepts of our Lord, and a more diligent examination of his conduct, for the time to come, and so produce their gradual conversion. Even to the *disciples* themselves, who, unlike the rest, (*r*) were so far led by the authority of Christ, as to be able to hear the truth undisguised without offence, (*s*) the enigmas propounded to the people would be useful, not only on account of their throwing greater light upon the subject to which they related, (*t*) as soon as, by means of the explanation afterward given, (*u*) their meaning was understood, but also because *they excited an increased degree of attention to the instructions which they*

(*m*) Mar. iv. 34.

(*n*) Lu. viii. 10.

(*o*) Mar. iv. 12.

(*p*) Mat. xii. 31. ss.

(*q*) v. 24.

(*r*) Mar. iv. 33.

(*s*) Mat. xiii. 11.

(*t*) 1. ix.

(*u*) Mar. iv. 34.

³⁰ Comp. *μηποτε* II. Tim. ii. 25. Lu. iii. 15. and Brit. Magaz. T. III. p. 721. s.

³¹ It was well said by SALLUST, as we find it quoted by BLACKWALL. (Critica Sacra N. T. p. 274. ed. WOLLII. [Sacred Classics. Vol.

P.]) *το δια μυθων τ' αληθεις επικρυπτην τους μη σινητους καταφρονειν εκ εν, τους δε σπουδαιους φιλοσοφειν αναγκηζει.*

involved. (v) Moreover, we find that the very parables which were used for the purpose of rendering the instructions they conveyed *obscure* to the ignorant and unprepared, were serviceable to the disciples of Jesus in rendering them *perspicuous*, so as both to afford them at that very time a degree of certainty respecting doctrines before unknown (w) and to contribute to their preparation for the full illumination which they were to receive subsequently to the resurrection of their Lord. And after they had received that illumination, these parables enabled them besides imparting the knowledge which they then received, to communicate to their hearers the older instructions which had been given them before the death of Christ, and to confirm the new and important doctrines which they taught by the antecedent agreement of their master, (x) and, by repeating the parables of our Lord, to impart a knowledge of those doctrines to many, more easily and vividly (y) than they would otherwise have done. (z)

§. XI.

The *Parables*, the interpretation of which it is the object of this essay to teach, are *rational fables*, or *fictional narration* bearing the *semblance of truth*, (a) by means of which our Lord illustrated (b) some moral doctrine. (c) There are, therefore, two things in them to be considered, the *doctrine* which they convey, that is, *the thing signified*; and the *narration*, or *similitude*,³² by which it is signified. But the parable itself, (d)

(v) Lu. viii. 9. Mat. xiii. 36.

(y) §. IX.

(a) §. III. IV.

(w) v. 11, 51.

(z) Mat. xiii. 52. comp. Mar. iv. 21. s.

(b) §. IX. X.

(x) Mat. xiii.

(c) §. V.

(d) Mar. iv. 10. Mat. xiii. 18, 36.

³² It is true there are some parables of our Lord, which considered in themselves, ought rather to be designated as *examples* than as *similitudes* (§. VI.). But as the majority are to be classed as *allegories* (§. VII. VIII.), and as even those just mentioned, in as far as they are *compound* (§. V.) partake of the nature of a *similitude* (§. VI.), we may for the rest of the

that is, (e) *the sense* of the parable can only be perceived by those³³ who understand *the doctrine* conveyed, by means of *the narration* used. For example, David did not understand the meaning of Nathan, (f) so long as he *only* understood and passed judgment on *the fact narrated by the prophet*. (g) For the object of the latter was not to obtain a decision against the rich man whom he represented as acting with so much injustice. The king's idea did not correspond with that of the prophet, till the former perceived the object (h) for which the history had been invented and narrated. (i)—It would be no less a departure from the meaning of Christ, if any one should read such parables as those in Lu. xvi. 1—8. and xviii. 1—5, as histories. Their design was certainly neither to hold out a pattern for imitation, nor to warn against the sorts of conduct which they describe, but of a very different character. (k) On the other hand, any one who understands the passage in Matth. vi. 15. will certainly perceive the *doctrine taught* in xviii. 23. ss., but he will not be able to comprehend the *parable* in v. 23. ss., until he has learned to *apply the narration to that doctrine*. This intimate connexion of *the similitude with the thing signified* occasionally produces the insertion of words in *the similitude* which properly belong only to the object *connected with it* in the mind of a person who understands the parable. So in Matt. xxii. 10,³⁴ the ser-

(e) Lu. viii. 9, 11.

(f) II. Sam. xii. 5. s.

(g) II. Sam. xii. 1—4.

(h) v. 13.

(i) v. 7. ss.

(k) xvi. 8. s. xviii. 6. ss.

essay make use of the term *similitude* [or *parable*], in reference to all. By this the *whole* comparison (§. 1.), that is, both the *image* and the *object*, are usually intended, although occasionally it is applied to the *image alone*. See QUINTILIAN L. VIII. c. III. 470. [p. 396. ed. Ox.] Others use the name *similitude* to express the *πρότερον παραβολῆς*, (first member of the comparison) which, in a regularly drawn comparison, is connected by the *ἀντιθέσις* or *reciprocal reference*, with the object of which it is the image. QUINTIL. *ubi supra*, p. 471. [p. 399.]

³³ Comp. CALIXTI Concordia IV evangel. scriptorum, L. IV. c. VII. p. 184. s.

³⁴ The description in v. 13 of this chapter and in c. XIV. 30, is to be understood of a prison, *very remote from the place of the feast, and from*

vants are said to have brought in 'both *bad and good*,' meaning '*guests both suitably and unsuitably clothed*' (*l*) which in the parable represent the *good and bad*. On the other hand, an occasional feature of the image may be retained *even in the explanation*, if the interpretation of the other parts is so clear as to leave no difficulty in comprehending the metaphor. Such is the case in Mat. xiii. 19, 22, 23. So also HORACE (*m*) inserts a tropical word (*n*) in the application (*o*) of his fable: *vehet*, having reference to the *εφορδισ* (*p*) of the fable of the horse and the stag which he had used.

§. XII.

It is evident, then, that *three things* are requisite to the discovery of the grammatical sense of a parable. **FIRST**, that the *fictional narration*, or *similitude*, be understood. **SECOND**, that the *thing signified* be ascertained. **THIRD**, that the *correspondence of the similitude*, or narration, with its object be learned.

With the *first* of these requisites we are at present not concerned, as nothing more than the ordinary rules of interpretation, such as are applicable to any *true history*, is needed for its attainment. However, not to pass it over entirely, we may subjoin the single remark, that in order to give the feigned history all its concinnity, it is sometimes necessary to imagine a circumstance not expressed. So in Mat. xxii. we must supply in imagination the circumstance, that the guests were not led directly into the banqueting room, but allowed a sufficient opportunity to change their dress. This is not expressly affirmed in the narration, but it may be infer-

(*l*) v. 11.

(*m*) Epist. Lib. 1. Ep. x.

(*n*) v. 40.

(*o*) See above, Note 22.

(*p*) v. 36, 38.

all human society, and very dark. This is an *image* of the punishments which will be inflicted upon the wicked in the world to come. See viii. 12.

red from the expression *επιμωδη* in v. 12, and must be assumed, because the command in v. 13 would otherwise be liable to the imputation of great injustice. Yet it is not necessary to determine whence the wedding garment was to be procured; whether, for example, we are to suppose that the man who appeared without one had a suitable garment at home, but had neglected the opportunity given him to go thither and procure it; or whether it is to be assumed that the king, who had invited his guests in such an unusual way, (q) had also, contrary to the general practice,³⁵ taken care to offer them garments suitable to the occasion. Neither of these hypotheses is susceptible of proof, for Christ himself has said nothing determinate upon the subject, his design being merely to show generally that the soul must be clothed anew with righteousness (r) before an admission to eternal happiness can be obtained, without any intention to teach *the method* of procuring the necessary vesture.

§. XIII.

The *thing signified*, or doctrine with reference to which a fable is propounded, (the *ascertaining* of which is the *second* requisite to the discovery of the grammatical sense of a parable) is usually indicated in *the moral*, called by ΑΡΘΗΝΙΟΥΣ *παραμύθιον*, but more commonly *επιμύθιον*. Our Lord himself *

(q) v. 9.

(r) v. 10.

³⁵ It cannot be shown by any good arguments that it was customary to present the guests with garments suited to the festal occasion. See KREBS Observ. e Flav. Josepho, in Matt. xxii. 12. We leave it to others to decide whether the custom of presenting a *Castan* to those who are admitted to an audience of the Turkish Sultan has any bearing on this subject. Comp. LUEDERKE Expositio Locorum Script. ad orientem se referentium §. 49, and MICHAELIS Orient. Biblioth. P. viii. p. 140.

* The *Evangelist* has prefixed an indication of the subject of the parable. in Lu. xviii. 1. 9. xix. 11.

not unfrequently *subjoined* to his parables some indication of their object or even a somewhat copious exposition; e. g. Lu. xii. 21. xviii. 14. Matt. xviii. 35. xiii. 49. s. xxi. 42. ss. Lu. vii. 44. ss. xvi. 8. s. xviii. 6. ss. Occasionally, such notices both precede and follow, as in Mat. xix. 30. xx. 16. But the parables of Christ differ from other fables in being generally given, not, like them, in a *separate* state, but in *some definite connexion* with a context. This peculiarity affords a means of eliciting their meaning, so that a moral, or *sermone*, is not always needed.

The *context* of a parable remarkably conduces to a knowledge of its meaning, by pointing out *the occasion* in which it was uttered. This will be found to be either the *actions* and *opinions* of the hearers of Christ, as in Lu. xv. 11. ss. comp. v. 1, 2; xix. 12. ss. comp. v. 11; or *some of our Lord's discourses*, with which it is in *connexion*, as in Mat. xxv. 1—30, which passage contains two parables, one teaching the necessity of *prudence*, the other recommending *fidelity*, both of which virtues had been previously mentioned. (s) So in the parable of the wedding feast, (t) it is the more certain that the invited guests, of whom but few were admitted to the feast, (u) represent the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, because it appears from the context (v) that there was then occasion for Christ to discuss that subject.

Lastly, as in interpretation generally, great assistance may be derived from the use of *parallel passages*, so occasionally the sense of a *parable* may be ascertained or confirmed by means of some *other, similar* to it. For instance, if there were no other reasons, a comparison of Mat. xxii. ss., alone, would render it credible that the similar parable in Lu. xiv. 16. ss. relates, like the former passage, to the contempt of the

(s) xxiv. 45.

(t) Matt. xxii. 7, 9.

(u) v. 8. 13. s.

(v) xxi. 43.

³⁴ This may directly impugn the opinions of the hearers. and on that account, be properly continued in the parabolic form, as in Lu. xiii. 2—2.

preached gospel by the Jews, and its propagation among the heathen. We may reasonably infer that our Lord himself intended this resemblance between his parables to be observed and used for their interpretation, from the fact that when he uttered a parable (*w*) which contained an image similar to that previously used by him in another parable, (*x*) he considered it easier to be understood than others. (*y*)

§. XIV.

Besides these *external* aids, (*z*) there are others principally contained in *the parable itself*, that assist the discovery of its meaning.

The meaning of that class of fables which consists of *examples* of the thing signified, is to be discovered by *abstraction*, which substitutes *generals* for *particulars*, and *classes* for *individuals*.³⁷ This rule may be tried by the fables of Æsop and others of that kind; but we will proceed to its application to the parables of Christ. In the parable in Lu. xviii. 10. ss., for instance, in order to ascertain its meaning, we must substitute for the Pharisee, who exalts himself above other men, and particularly above the publican, and boasts in his prayers which he offers in the temple of his fasts and giving of tithes, *all arrogant men and contemners of others, whatsoever, who are inflated with an exalted opinion of their own merits, of whatever description they may be, and who betray this despotism in any way*. By the publican who stands afar off from the Pharisee, with downcast eyes, and beating his breast, prays

(w) Mar. iv. 3. ss.

(x) Jo. iv. 35. ss.

(y) Mar. iv. 13.

(z) §. XIII.

³⁷ That is to say, as far as the subject admits of it. There are *particular* ideas (for instance, those of *death*, and *sepulture*. Lu. xii. 20. xvi. 22.) which do not admit of *generalisation*, such as that by which a copious harvest (Lu. xii. 16. ss.) is understood to mean *riches* of every kind, and *begging* (Lu. xvi. 20), *misery* in general (v. 25.)

God to be merciful to him a sinner, we must understand *all such as, although despised by others, are impressed with a deep sense of their own sinfulness, are desirous of the divine mercy, and indicate this disposition in any way.* The result is, that we must conclude that the latter description of persons will receive the approbation of God, while the former will be rejected and humbled by him. So, again, from the example of the Samaritan, Lu. x. 33. ss., who being strongly moved by pity, and of a liberal disposition, bound up the wounds of a Jew who had been cruelly maltreated, had been left without aid by his countrymen, the priest and Levite, and must perish for want of speedy help,—conveyed him to an inn, and even provided for his future sustenance,—this too, in a road infested by the incursions of robbers,³⁰ (b) and when he could hardly spare the two denarii paid for the support of the wounded man : (c)—from this example we learn that it is our duty to afford assistance to any man who may absolutely need it, even though he be of different nation, customs, religion, or dispositions from ourselves, (d) and even if such assistance be attended with difficulty, expense, and peril; much more to do any kind offices, attended with less difficulty and danger, that may be needful, even to an enemy. (e)³¹

But there are many other fictitious narrations, (f) which cannot be considered as examples of *the thing signified*, but are included as species under *the more general doctrine*, which includes in like manner the precept intended to be conveyed.

(b) v. 30.

(c) v. 35.

(d) Comp. Jo. iv. 9. Eccles. i. 27. s.

(e) Lu. x. 37.

(f) §. vi. vii.

³⁰ Comp. MICHAELIS Gedanken von Sünde und Geneigthung, p. 462, 448.

³¹ There is reason for laying stress upon this circumstance, as the lawyer (v. 29,) betrayed a disposition to consider strangers and enemies as having no claim upon him, (comp. Mat. v. 43,) and our Lord introduced a Samaritan as more benevolent to a Jew than the Jews themselves, for the very purpose of shaming the Jews who were unwilling to afford any assistance to Samaritans, and showed little kindness to strangers in general. [See PORTJUS' Lectures, Lect. xi. Vol. i. p. 280. ss. ed. Lond. 1808. Tr.]

Here *abstraction* alone will not suffice to ascertain the meaning of the parable, as it will discover only the *more general* doctrine, to which both the example given and the thing signified are subordinate, but cannot define the latter. In this case, the *general* doctrine being first discovered by *abstraction*, other aids (*g*) must then be used to ascertain the *specific difference* between the example in the parable, and the thing intended to be signified. So, in the parable in Mat. xiii. 31. s., we first learn by the process of abstraction that it conveys the general rule, that often a *thing* from small beginnings attains to an exalted eminence. But that this general truth is applied by Christ peculiarly to *the heavenly kingdom*, is to be learned from the words prefixed to the parable: ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.⁴⁰ Again, in Mat. xxi. 28. ss. we discover, by abstraction, that the parable conveys the *general* declaration, that it is not he who *makes a boast* of his obedience, but he who *renders* it, although at first he may have refused, that does the will of him who imposes a command. (*h*) But it is from the *moral* or application of the parable in v. 31. s. that we learn its *particular* reference to the *Pharisees* who boasted of their obedience to the divine commands, and the *Publicans*, who really rendered such obedience.

From all this it appears, that even in this class of parables there remain some *particulars* which must be converted into *generals*. For example, the *particulars* in the parable of the grain of mustard seed, (*i*) that it is *less than all seeds*, and that *in its growth it surpasses all herbs*, and *becomes a tree of such a size as to afford shelter in its branches to the birds*, that is, (*k*) *becomes a large (l) tree*; convey this general meaning; that *great progress may be made from a small beginning*. There is no danger of running into error by this process of generaliza-

(g) ὁ. xiiii.

(h) Comp. v. 31.

(i) Matt. xiii. 32.

(k) Comp. Dan. iv. 9. 18. with v. 7. 8. 17.

(l) Lu. xiii. 19.

⁴⁰ These form a sort of introductory moral (προμυθισμὸν) which, however, only indicates the *subject* of the fable, the *predicate* appearing with sufficient clearness from the general doctrine, which may be found by abstraction.

tion, for we are sure to find all that the general truths thus arrived at may contain, in the less general, which are subordinate to them, and form the subject of the parable. But when we proceed to determine the *particular* application of these general truths to the doctrine taught in the parable, there are *two* things to be avoided. *First*, we must not suppose that there is any necessary correspondence between the *particular* idea conveyed by the narration, and *the thing which the parable is intended to signify*. *Secondly*, we must not take it for granted that *all* the particulars distinguishable in the narration, answer to *as many* particulars in *the thing signified*.*

We do not deny that it is *possible* that things belonging to the same class, may possess the same attributes in common, and thus agree in many *particulars*, as well as in their generic character. It would even be wise, if the natures of the thing narrated and of that signified would admit such an agreement, *to express such predicates in the narration, as would equally suit the thing signified*. This may be exemplified by the parable of the wedding feast, (m) where the general truth conveyed, when obtained from the narrative by abstraction, is, *that the rejection of repeatedly proffered benefits will afford ground for heavy punishment, and procure the transfer of those benefits to others, if they will receive them as they ought*. To this is subordinate the doctrine which it was the intention of our Lord to teach, that the contempt of *the blessings of the heavenly kingdom by the Jews* would draw down upon them heavy punishment, and that on the other hand, such of *the*

(m) Matt. xxii. 2. ss.

* ["Ante omnia scopus cujusque parabolaë est considerandus, et non modo, quod huic adversatur, sed etiam, quod ad eum nihil confert, pro sensu loci alieno habendum, quem auctor parabolaë nec intenderit, nec intendere potuerit. Unde consequens est, magis ad ostentationem ingenii et fecundae imaginationis facere, illas doctrinas et usus, quae ex omnibus et singulis parabolaë circumstantiis petuntur, et mysteria, quae in iis queruntur, quam ad parabolaë interpretationem, verumque et à loquente intentum seruum sensum indagandum et declarandum." WERNFELS. Opusc. n. 352. Tr.]

Gentiles as should prove worthy, should be admitted to the enjoyment of those blessings. In this instance, the punishment to be inflicted on the Jews was of such a kind, that it would be *explicitly* described in the narration, as in v. 7.— But *very often the case is otherwise*. So in this same parable, the *general idea of being not unworthy of a benefit*, (n) is in the narrative converted into the *special circumstance of being clothed in a wedding garment*; whereas the import of the parable requires a different *special* notion, that of *being good*, (o) possessing a *habit of mind* adapted to the heavenly kingdom. To use another example: the *general idea of obedience to the will* of another, is expressed in the narration of the parable of the two sons, (p) by the *particular action of going into the vineyard*, which does not at all suit *the thing signified*, in which it must be changed to the *repentance* (μετάνοια), (q) productive of obedience to the will of GOD, which had been preached by John. (r) It would be improper, therefore, to conclude from Lu. xix. 27, that on the return of our Lord, (s) and his glorious manifestation, (t) (after having suffered his kingdom to exist some time in comparative obscurity, for the purpose of affording an opportunity to its enemies to display their fury, (u) and to his servants to show their faithfulness,) (v) his enemies should be *slain*, although that punishment is named in the narration. For it does not follow that the punishment to be inflicted on the enemies signified in v. 14 and 27, now for the most part dead, must be *the same* as that said to be inflicted on the enemies of the nobleman (εὐγενής) whose history is recounted in the narrative.⁴¹ In like manner, v. 17, 19, afford

(n) Comp. v. 8.

(q) v. 33.

(t) v. 11.

(o) v. 10.

(r) iii. 2.

(u) v. 14.

(p) Matt. xxi. 29.

(s) v. 15.

(v) v. 13. 15. 22.

⁴¹ For the same reason a distinction must be made between the *form* of the sentence of the king in Matt. xviii. 34. and the *form* of the *divine* judgment, and no stress is to be laid on the expression *κατανασσει*, or on the other *ἐκδοσει*. From the *special* sentence of the king against this merciless servant, that he should be delivered to the tormentors 'until the payment of his debt,' we are merely to collect the *general* idea, that the king refused to forgive the debt due him by his

no proof that the faithful servants of Christ shall be appointed, some to the government of ten cities, some to that of five. For this *particular* method of reward, accommodated to the worldly nature of the fictitious history, may only signify in *general*, that a reward proportioned to the degree of fidelity will be given, and *more particularly*, that each should receive employment and enjoy felicity in the kingdom of heaven in proportion to his faithfulness. (w)

With relation to the *second* rule above given, (x) it cannot be denied that it *may* happen that the *particulars* given in the protasis, or similitude, may correspond to *as many* in the thing signified. It is, for instance, altogether probable that the parable of the wedding feast (y) not only expresses the *general* idea of repeated invitations to the Jews to partake of the blessings of the kingdom of heaven, but also *more particularly* distinguishes *two*⁴² distinct times of offering, *one*, (z) that in which the Jews were called by *the prophets*, the *other*, (a) that in which, on the nearer approach of the heavenly kingdom, (b) the call was repeated by *John*, and by *Christ and his*

(w) Mat. xxv. 21. 23.
(z) v. 3.

(x) p 245.
(a) v. 4.

(y) Matt. xxi. 3 ss.
(b) iii. 2. iv. 17.

unforgiving servant, and that in like manner God will *not forgive* the sins of those who show no mercy to their fellow men (comp. vi. 15.). The same remark applies to a parable of another class (note 21), in Mat. v. 25. s. where the particulars in the narration, of *the officer* despatched to seize the debtor, and of *the duration of the imprisonment until the entire payment*, relate only to the *human* judgment, which is an image of the divine.

⁴² The word *καλεσθησιν*, v. 3, does not necessarily prove a *prior* invitation, as, according to Hebrew usage (see Obs. ad Anal. et Synt. Heb. p. 135,* and add 1 Pet. i. 13. ii. Pet. iii. 11. comp. v. 10,) it may indicate *the persons to be invited*, that is, the guests generally. Comp. KREBSII Obs. Flavianas ad Mat. xxii. 3.

* [The author has there shown by a multitude of examples (pp. 133. ss.) that the Hebrew participles *Benoni* and *Pesoul* are used indifferently to express the past, the present, and the future. Among other instances, he gives *וְיָרֵךְ*, *vastanda*, Ps. cxxxvii. 8. and *וְיִלְדָּךְ*, *qui nascetur*, Ps. xxii. 33, comp. lxxviii. 6. Tr.]

apostles. So, too, the invitation by the prophets seems to be distinguished from that given by Christ in Lu. xiv. 16. s. And as this last parable was spoken before the Pharisees, (c)⁴³ to whom our Lord on another occasion, making use of a similar (d) parable, (e) had preferred both the publicans and harlots (f) dwelling among them,⁴⁴ and the heathen; (g) it is very probable that Lu. xiv. 21, 23, is intended to distinguish the invitation given to the publicans and heathen.—But it is to be maintained that it may also happen otherwise in this respect; lest we be led to seek for some particular signification for every particular in the protasis or similitude even when it does not spontaneously present itself,* and so fall into forced, or rash and absurd interpretations.

In the first place, then, it is to be assumed, that the general enunciation may, agreeably to Hebrew usage, be distributed into fewer or more particular or integral parts.⁴⁵ † So in Lu. xx.

(c) Lu. xiv. 1.

(d) ὁ. xiiii.

(e) Mat. xxii.

f) Mat. xxi. 31. s.

(g) Mat. xxi. 43.

⁴³ It was addressed to one of them in particular (v. 16), in whom the recollection of the resurrection to happiness, which was an article of belief among the Pharisees, had excited a desire of the blessings of the kingdom of heaven (v. 14. ss.), but the love of worldly things (comp. xvi. 14. Io. xii. 42. s.) seems to have hindered him from embracing the doctrine of Christ. This circumstance shows the wisdom of our Lord, in making no mention in this place (comp. Mat. xxii. 6.) of open hatred against himself, from which this comparatively well disposed Pharisee seems to have been free, but confining his reproof to the immoderate love of worldly goods, Lu. xiv. 18—20.

⁴⁴ Comp. τῆς πόλεως, Lu. xiv. 21.

* [Ὁυ χεὶρ πάντα τὰ ἐν παραβολαῖς κατὰ λέξιν περιεργαζομαι ἀλλὰ τὴν σκοπὴν μαθόντας τί ἐστι συνέθετο τῶτοι θερίσσομαι, ἢ μὴδὲν πάλυ-
πραγματοῖεν παρατίθηα. CHRYSOST. Hom. lxiv. in Matth.]

⁴⁵ See Num. vii. 12. ss. ix. 17. ss. Rev. vii. 4. ss. Mar. xii. 20. ss. Lu. xx. 29. ss.

† [So in the fable of Jotham, the disinclination of persons who by their endowments are best qualified for the office of governing (Ju. ix. 9. 11. 13.) to undertake that office, is represented under the general similitude of a tree valuable for its usefulness (v. 9. 11. 13.) refusing the government of the other trees. But to give a more vivid idea of the superiority of their claims, and to increase the evidence of a general disposition to decline the office by the introduction of a repeated refusal,

10—12, we are not to seek for *three* prophets, who may have exercised their commissions in the order given, and suffered the insults ascribed to the several servants. For Matthew, c. xxi. 34—36, and Mark, c. xii. 2—5, expressly add, that there were *many* others sent, and even as to the three who are mentioned, those evangelists do not entirely agree with each other or with St. Luke, in their accounts of the treatment received by them, and the order in which they were sent. The object of our Lord was merely to inform us, that *many servants having been repeatedly sent, were received with various insults and harsh treatment.* This general declaration admitting of division into many of a more *special* nature, some of these, of any of the different kinds, might be selected for the sake of illustration. (h) Nor is it any more necessary to be at pains to *fix the definite periods* of time⁴⁶ at which men are represented as divinely called, in the parable of the labourers, (i) and even the words of the narration will bear this *general* signification, that *some were sent earlier, some later, into the vineyard by its master.*

Secondly, as one great use of parables is to assist in affording a *vivid* knowledge of what they teach, (k) it is the more

(h) Comp. Lu. xiv. 18—20. xvi. 5—7.

(i) Matt. xx. 2—6.

(k) §. ix.

three several offers to *particular* trees are specified. That the *particular* application of the offers of the trees to the olive, the fig, and the vine, to *distinct* and unsuccessful offers of the crown to Othniel, Deborah, and Gideon, which has been made by some (SAURIN, Disc. Hist. III, 405,) could not have been in the mind of Jotham, is proved by his confining his application (v. 16. ss.) to the choice of Abimelech, and the injury done thereby to the house of Gideon; not to mention the far-fetched resemblance between the several particulars in the narrative and those supposed to belong to its application. Tr.]

⁴⁶ The variety, and uncertain and precarious nature, of the interpretations which have arisen out of an attempt to do this, will be very evident to any one who compares THEOPHYLACT (Comm. in Matt. xx.) with JEROME (in loc.) or consults PETERSEN'S work entitled: *das Geheimniss von den Arbeitern in Weinberge*;* c. vi.

* [The Mystery of the Labourers in the Vineyard.]

proper in *such* narrations to substitute for *generals*, or conjoin with them, *particulars* which may contribute to bring the matter as it were before the eyes. For although in this way the several particulars will not have each its *peculiar* signification; yet the thing expressed by them conjointly, or by such *particulars* in connexion with *generals*, will be more clearly and *strongly* represented to the mind than it would be in any other way. Thus the expression 'my oxen and my fatlings are killed,' in Matt. xxii. 4, means nothing more (*l*) than the phrase which immediately follows, 'all things are ready;' but it conveys that meaning *with more force*. The words in the parable of the prodigal, (*m*) 'I have sinned against God' have no *signification* other than that conveyed by the expression 'I have sinned against thee,' as the father himself is there *an image* of God. But as they are well adapted to the *human* father and son to whom the narrative relates, they serve to express a deep sense of sin much better than the mere acknowledgment 'I have sinned against thee,' which in that case would not sufficiently convey the idea of a *lively* sense of sin in the returning prodigal.—The *particulars* mentioned in Matt. xxi. 33, express *nothing more* (*n*) than that the vineyard, when planted, was furnished with every necessary, so that there was nothing wanting. But although neither the hedge, nor the tower, nor the press, have any *particular* signification, yet the introduction of these circumstances adds much force to the representation, that God had omitted nothing to effect the salvation of the Jews, and yet neither the prophets nor Christ himself had found any fruits (*o*) worthy of such extraordinary care, in that people, whose chiefs were so far from aiding in the counsels of the divine Providence, that they rather sought only to increase their own enjoyments, by obtaining offices for themselves. (*p*)—In Lu. xv. 20. 22—24, too, who would wish to deprive the admirable narrative of the *particulars* which so strikingly represent the parental tenderness and joy, notwithstanding that *the ring, the calf, &c.*, cannot be said to have any signification in themselves,

(*l*) Comp. Lu. xiv. 17.
(*o*) v. 43.

(*m*) Lu. xv. 18. 21.
(*p*) Comp. Jo. xi. 48.

(*n*) Comp. Isa. v. 2. with v. 4

but merely, taken altogether, have the same⁴⁷ meaning that a *general* mention of *great* tenderness and *extraordinary* pleasure received from the safety of the son, would have conveyed, although with less significancy; viz. the great mercy of God towards sinners, his pleasure in their conversion, and the great benefits by which he is accustomed to declare that pleasure.

§. XV.

But, as there are many *particulars* in the narration, (q) which do not apply to *the thing signified*: so, the narration may also have *other* parts which must not be insisted on by those who institute a comparison (r) between the *object* and *the narrative*, or *similitude*.⁴⁸ We will readily grant to PETER-

(q) §. xiv.

(r) §. xii.

⁴⁷ So our Lord himself, in Matt. xviii. 33, expresses by the single *general* term *χαίρειν*, what he had elsewhere, by the introduction of *particulars* brought as it were before the eyes, Lu. xv. 5, 6. Even in the latter passage, in the *αἰσθητικῶν* (v. 7,) he substitutes the *general* word *χαίρειν* for all the *particular* signs of great joy which he had previously recapitulated.

⁴⁸ This same rule is given, with relation to parables or (comp. note 15.) fables, generally, by EUSTATHIUS (IA. B' A' p. 177. 856.) among the ancients, and among the moderns by SULZER, Allg. Theorie der schoenen Kuenste, P. 1. p. 107. With respect to the parables of Christ in particular, it is confirmed by TERTULLIAN, as quoted by SEMLER, Ant. Hermeneut. ex Tertull. Spec. 1. p. 27., by CHRYSOSTOM, Comm. in Matt. xi. 1. ss., and by other fathers, cited by SUICER, Thesaur. Eccles. Tom. II. p. 570. So also LUTHER, Postil. in Evang. Dom. Septuag., Opp. T. XIII. p. 387; BUCER, Enarrat. in Matth. xi. xii. xiv. Lu. xvi. (fol. 154. 161. 178. 215); FLACIUS, p. 40; GLASSIUS, p. 499; CALIXTUS, p. 186. s.; WOLLIUS, Herm. Nov. Foed. p. 131. ss.; TURRETIN, p. 262. ss., 148.; ERNESTI, Inst. Interp. P. I. S. II. c. iv. extr.; and many others. Even COCCHEIUS himself does not deny that the *literal* sense of the parables may be found without a nice accommodation of each, and every circumstance in the narrative to the object of the parable; although he thinks that those circumstances may receive a mystic and prophetic sense. Such is his declaration (Schol. in Luc. xv. Opp. Tom. IV. 54.) 'that the misery of the prodigal son, and the indignation of his elder brother, which are so minutely described, are intended, perhaps,

SEN,⁴⁹ that nothing is introduced into the narration *without some reason*; but that the cause why this or that circumstance is related, must necessarily exist in its *agreement with the subject*, we deny. Yet we would not have any thing considered as merely *ornamental*, for though it is allowable in poetry to make use of circumstantial narrative merely for the purpose of giving pleasure, yet in fables, the object of which is to assist the acquisition of *intuitive knowledge of the truth*, the only ornament ought to consist in *brevity and simplicity*,⁵⁰ as the careful exclusion of every thing *foreign* to the subject, however agreeable in other respects, tends greatly to secure the accomplishment of their object, and a *ready recollection* (s) of the fables themselves. There can, therefore, be no adequate reason assigned for the use of any thing that is not *serviceable* in the *parabolic illustration of doctrine*. But then the *parabolic illustration of doctrine* requires, not only that the *doctrine be illustrated*, but also that it be illustrated *by a parable*. It was not our Lord's intention in his parables to afford an illustration of his teaching of any kind whatever, but to illustrate it *by parables*.^{*} Any thing, therefore, required by the

(s) †. IX.

for a description of the misery of those who wallow in sin, and for an illustration of the affection of the father (comp. below, §. XVIII. extr.); yet perhaps they also contain a *mystical* signification, which may be ascertained from other *prophecies*." But that Christ had in view, beside the *proper* signification of the parable, *other* future events, is entirely without proof in Scripture, unless we admit as proof the existence of parts of the narration to which there are no correspondent particulars in the thing signified. The inadmissibility of this will appear when we shall have shown, as we propose to do, that there were sufficient reasons why our Lord should interweave such parts in the narration, even though he did not intend to represent by them any thing similar either in the subject *properly* signified, or, in something else to be mystically understood. Nor is any great credit done to this hypothesis by the precarious interpretations of COCCIVS (Disp. Sel. xxxv. §. i. p. 89. Opp. T. VI.) and his disciples, specimens of which are given by PFAFF, in the Dissertation already cited, p. 16. ss., where that author also enumerates the principal defenders of this opinion, p. 21.

⁴⁹ Ubi *supra*, p. 123, and in his work: die Gleichnisse des Herrn, etc. p. 285. 338. 362. s. 393. 507, 746.

⁵⁰ See LEXSING's Fourth Dissertation; *ubi supra*.

* ["Licet non existimemus, quamlibet parabolae circumstantiam

nature of a parable, was necessary, although devoid of any particular correspondence with the subject of the parable.*

Now a parable is *a narrative bearing the resemblance of truth.* (t)

§. XVI.

In the *first* place, then, things which, so far as relates to the signification of the parable only, might have been omitted, are sometimes necessary to give the narrative designed to convey instruction the appearance of a *real history*, and to render it agreeable to the *ordinary course of things*. For example, the mention of the *man* who sowed the grain of mustard seed (u) was altogether unnecessary, taking into consideration only the nature of the thing signified. (v) But, without it, the comparison would have been a parable in the strictest sense. (w) In order to change this into the kind (x) of which alone our Lord made use, (y) it was necessary to introduce a *particular* man as having sowed the seed, in place of the general statement of its being sown. The same principle applies to the introduction of the *woman* in Matt. xiii. 33, which is merely for the purpose of reducing an event which daily occurred to women making bread, to a *single* definite example. So again in Lu. xvi. 28, it was much better to represent the rich man as speaking of a *certain number* of brothers, than to make him speak of them in a *general*

(t) §. xi.

(u) Matt. xiii. 31.

(v) Comp. Mar. iv. 31.

(w) §. i.

(x) §. iv.

(y) §. ii.

peculiarem habere significationem, illas propterea non vanas et inutiles esse credimus; faciunt enim ad parabolarum non modo elegantiam, sed ad earum etiam naturam, quae haec est; ut narrentur cum quibusdam circumstantiis, alioquin enim narrationum historicarum speciem non haberent." WERNEBELS. Opusc. II. 352. Tr.]

" [" Non seulement il n'est pas nécessaire que chacun de leurs membres ait une vue particulière, qui se rapporte directement au but de celui qui la propose; il faut même que ce but soit en quelque sort caché sous des images étrangères, destinées à l'enveloper." SAVAN Disc. Histor. Tom. III. p. 406. v. Tr.]

way, as if he had been ignorant of their number. In this case, it is unnecessary to inquire the reason for choosing the number *five*. As it suited the historical form of the parable best to speak of a *definite* number, all that was needful was, to fix some *certain* number not in itself incredible, and in doing this, it mattered not which might be selected, there being no more reason for the choice of *five* than for that of any other number, say, for instance, *four*. The same remark may be made of the use of the number *ten* in Lu. xix. 13. and Matt. xxv. 1., where it only occurs because, as in every *single* event, the number concerned in it, *e. g.* of human agents, is necessarily *definite*, the case must be the same in a *fictitious* history. Our Lord, therefore, intending to fix the number of the talents, and of the virgins, was unable in that respect to have any reference to *the thing signified* in the parable, and so took the first that occurred, *e. g.* that, which it was usual to employ in expressing *generally* an *indefinite* number, (*z*) or, perhaps, was commonly preferred in different kinds of business.⁵¹ As the virgins in Matt. xxv. 1. were to be distinguished into *two* sorts, the whole number, ten, was divided into *two* smaller numbers. These were made *equal*, because that method of division is the *most simple* possible, not with any intention to signify that the number of watchful Christians and that of persons of the opposite description will be *equal*; unless we choose to believe that c. xxi. 28. ss. proves the *equality* of numbers of both classes, or to infer from c. xxv. 15, that the number of faithful Christians will be greater than that of the wicked, because *two* faithful servants are mentioned, while but *one* is slothful.⁵²—In the parable of the lea-

(z) Dan. i. 20. Neh. iv. 6.

⁵¹ Comp. LIGHTFOOT, Hor. Heb. in Matth. xxv. 1.; and RHEEFERDII Opera Philologica, p. 729. s.

⁵² There was, it is true, a weighty reason for the mention of *two* faithful servants; but this related, not to the number of *faithful* and *careless* Christians, but to *the proportion* of the *goods* entrusted to the faithful servants respectively, with *the increase* made by them. For if no mention had been made of a second servant (v. 17,) it could not have been learned from the parable that *most* will be expected from him to whom *most* has been entrusted (v. 16, comp. v. 17,) and must be ren-

ven (a) the narrative is rendered much more neat and probable by the mention of the particular number of *three* measures of the meal, as some *definite* number must certainly have been employed in a real event of that kind. (b) This alone was a sufficient reason why Christ, when intending to frame a fictitious *narrative* on the subject, should mention a *particular number of measures* of meal, (perhaps the number most commonly used,) although there is no discoverable relation between the *object of the parable* and the number *three*.⁵³—For similar reasons we dare not attach any particular importance to the mention of *three* years in Lu. xiii. 7, especially as the Jews were allowed not merely the third year (c) of the ministry of Jesus, but also several others in addition, for the purpose of hearing the preached gospel, and bringing forth corresponding fruits. It seems rather to convey this general truth, that God, who for a *long while* (d) had discovered in them no fruits worthy of the excellent instructions they had received, would yet grant to the Jewish nation a period, *short* indeed, but well supplied with the means and opportunities of improvements, (e) after the expiration of which without any great conversion of the people, certain destruction would befall their country.

(a) Matt. xiii. 33. Lu. xiii. 21.

(b) So Gen. xviii. 6.

(c) Comp. v. 8.

(d) Comp. Matt. xxi. 34. ss.

(e) Lu. xiii. 8. comp. xix. 44. xxiv. 47. Ac. iii. 19. ss.

dered, if he wishes to obtain the credit of being faithful (v. 21.) and to retain his place (v. 28. s.). So in Lu. xix. the express introduction of the other servant (v. 18. s.) was necessary, as without it we could not have known that the extent of reward could be proportioned to the *degree of faithfulness*, which now appears from a comparison of the services of each servant (v. 16. 18.) with his respective reward (v. 17. 19. 24. ss.).—So in other places, as in Lu. vii. 41. comp. v. 43. and in Matt. xviii. 24. 28. comp. v. 32. the *mutual relations* of the numbers introduced are of great importance.

⁵³ Interpreters, indeed, have invented several. But as these differ from each other, and each has as much right to credence as the rest, their variety itself gives rise to suspicion. Examples may be found in the work of PETERSÉN; Gleichnisse des Herrn. p. 260. although the number might easily be enlarged.

§. XVII.

In the *second* place, the narration ought to be apt and *consistent* in all its parts. If it were otherwise, it would not please, and therefore would excite no *desire* to learn ; (*f*) and as it would be in many respects defective, it would do little for the general *recommendation* of the doctrine, the intuitive knowledge and easy recollection of which it was designed to aid : (*g*) least of all would it wear the garb of *probability*. (*h*)

The *subjects* of the narration, therefore, must be such, that the predicates necessary to express the nature of the subject of the parable, may *suit* them. Hence it may happen that a thing may be taken for the subject of the protasis, or fictitious history, although it bear no close resemblance to the subject of the apodosis, or truth conveyed,⁵⁴ on account of the agreement of its predicates with those of the apodosis. Of this the parable of the wise and foolish virgins may serve as an example. Our Saviour, designing to reprove the folly of temporary Christians, (*i*) who would be ready to accompany him (*k*) to the regions of eternal happiness, if his advent were to be immediate, but neglected to lay a solid foundation of faith and piety, capable of enduring a longer period,⁵⁵ represented in a parable a number of per-

(*f*) §. x.(*i*) Comp. Lu. viii. 13.(*g*) §. ix.(*k*) Mat. xxv. 13.(*h*) §. xi.

⁵⁴ Where the predicates do not absolutely require any *particular* subject as the most suitable, that would doubtless be preferred which may be most *significant*. So what is related in Lu. x. 33. ss. might be attributed to others as well as to the Samaritan, but the latter is designedly introduced. See note 39.

⁵⁵ The principal cause assigned (v. 13.) for watchfulness lest our Lord at his return may find us unprepared, (v. 10.) is the ignorance of the time when that return will take place, and the possibility that it may be farther off than we anticipate (v. 5). We are therefore to take care, that in case we be found *alive*, we may be ready, not having lost our faith and Christian virtue ; and that if he is to find us *dead*, the uncertain time of death, which, as it finds us, will leave us for the judge (II. Cor. v. 10. II. Tim. iv. 7. s.) may not have surprized us while unprepared, and slackened in our zeal by the lapse of time.

sons preparing to go out by night and meet a bridegroom, but not reflecting on the possibility that his coming might be delayed, and neglecting to provide themselves with a sufficient supply of oil, to feed their lamps, which in consequence, go out, and they, while gone to purchase oil, are excluded from the wedding. In this case, it is evident, a *bride*, who was usually brought from her father's house by the bridegroom himself, and would neither come late, nor be excluded from the wedding, would not be a suitable object to represent the procrastinating Christians in question, as the predicates necessary to express their character, would not apply to her: while, on the other hand, they would perfectly suit the *virgins* who were wont to go forth to meet the bridegroom, whom it was proper, for that reason, to make the subject of the narrative. A sufficient reason for the choice of the subject, then, being discoverable in its predicates, which certainly have their proper significations, no other was needed, nor can the use of this image afford any ground for the inquiry, in what the difference between the Christians whom it designates, and those who are elsewhere called the bride of Christ, consists.—To make use of another example, in Matt. xiii. 44, the reason why the treasure is represented as *hidden in the field*, appears to be, that if it had been represented as exposed, it would either have belonged to no one, and so have been obtainable without *expense*, which would not have suited the design of our Lord in his parable; or, it must have been the subject of a *direct* purchase, in which case this similitude would differ in no respect from the other of the pearl, (1) as that is a species of merchantable treasure. Supposing it, then, to have been the design of our Lord to convey the *same* instruction in a *twofold* manner,⁵⁰ he would not have done otherwise than re-

(1) v. 45. s.

⁵⁰ There could be no objection to thus illustrating *the same* truth by means of *several* parables, as the object of parabolic instruction is to convey a more *virid* knowledge of the subject than could be otherwise obtained (§. IX.), and *variety* of illustration will more effectually ac-

present the treasure to be bought, as *hidden*.* It follows of course that nothing can be *necessarily* inferred from the concealment of the treasure as to any *occult* state of the heavenly kingdom.†

- * accomplish that very end. In Matt. xiii. 44, for instance, we learn, it is true, that the worth of the kingdom is so great as to deserve our efforts to obtain it, in preference to all other matters; and this is the more *forcibly* pourtrayed by the significant manner in which we are informed of the *value of the treasure*, it being represented as sufficient to warrant the purchase of the *field* under the necessity of parting with every other possession, simply because it contained that treasure, the image of the heavenly kingdom. But the *reasonableness* of setting aside every other pursuit in comparison with that of the kingdom of heaven is *still more strongly felt*, when in *another* example (v. 45. s.) we are reminded how plainly accordant with common sense it is, to acquire what is more valuable by foregoing things of less worth. In the same chapter, the possibility of the great increase of the kingdom of God from small beginnings, is more fully shown by *two* examples of the increase of little things (v. 31. s. and 33,) than it could possibly have been by *one*.—The propriety of the great pleasure taken by all good persons in the conversion of sinners is held up to view too by our Lord, in Lu. xv., with the more vividness, in proportion as he has shown, in a manner adapted to the common sense of all, shepherd, woman, and father,* that in similar cases all are actuated by the general principle of taking most pleasure in the safety and preservation of such things as had previously been thought in danger.

262 * [Another reason for the insertion of this circumstance is given in §. XVIII. p. 78. Tr.]

255 † [In the parable of the leaven, on the other hand, while *the actor* in the transaction represented (p. 65,) and the particular *quantity* of the meal (p. 67) are both unconnected with the signification of the parable, the circumstance of the production of a change in the state of the whole quantity of meal by a little leaven *hidden* within it, is the principal point in the *protasis*. “ Peculiar as this comparison is, none could be found which should more justly characterize the nature of the progress of the gospel. Not compelling proselytes by force of arms, as the religion of Mohammed afterwards; but so *hidden* at first, that we are obliged to seek carefully for traces of its growth in the history of nations; yet maintaining its place, and effecting its purpose: gradually meliorating the laws, and changing the moral aspect of the countries where it was received: and insinuating its renovating views of God and man

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* [See an excellent sermon on these three parables in connexion, by WATERLAND, Sermons. Vol. I. Serm. xvi. p. 170. ss. ed. 1776. Tr.]

§. XVIII.

To render the narration *apt*, (*m*) especial care must be taken in the *arrangement* and connexion of its several parts.⁵⁷ Whenever, therefore, it is impracticable to reduce the principal parts of the narration, on which the knowledge of the thing signified properly depends, into some certain and apt order, without the introduction of other parts *having no resemblance to the thing signified*, such adjectitious parts may with propriety be inserted.⁵⁸ Of this the parable of the tares (*n*) may serve as an example, since Christ himself, when interpreting that parable, (*o*) lays no stress upon the questions of the servants, (*p*) thus intimating that it was not his intention to foreshow by them any wonder on the part of the apostles at the admission of bad men into his church, or any attempt of theirs by prayer to obtain divine directions on the subject: all occasion for such wonder he was at that very time removing, by the doctrine conveyed in the parable itself. (*q*) But there would have been no suitable place in the narration for the answer in which that doctrine is contained, if previous mention had not been made of the notice of the tares by the servants and their conversation with their master; these incidents affording the occasion for that principal part of the narration, in *v.* 26. s.⁵⁹—Nor does the divine

(m) §. xvii.

(n) Matt. xiii. 24. ss.

(o) v. 37. ss.

(p) v. 27. s.

(q) v. 29. s.

into the heart of those with whom it came in contact." SUMNER, Evidences, p. 130. ed. Am., who refers to BENSON, Hulsean Lectures, Disc. xi. Vol. i. Tr.]

⁵⁷ *Comp.* LESSING, Diss. i. p. 135. ss.

⁵⁸ These are of no disservice to the more essential parts, as the latter are even brought more plainly into notice by the obviousness of the fact that the others are subordinate to them, and invented and interwoven with them solely on their account.

⁵⁹ In like manner the notice of the murmurs of the labourers in Matt. xx. 11. s. is not to be considered as a *prophecy* of any disposition of men in this life to dispute against the arrangements of Providence:

teacher, in his interpretation, (r) give any warning to *his* apostles and other teachers of his religion, to beware of becoming sources of evils in the church through their drowsiness and negligence of their official duties. This rule, however true and salutary in itself, is certainly not conveyed in the parable in question, (s) since in that it is not the *servants* of the master, (t) but *men in general* that are introduced as sleeping, and the reply of the master to his servants (u) is entirely devoid of any appearance of rebuke. It was in order to introduce the declaration in v. 29. s., an essential part of the narration, that the tares are represented as having been sown without the knowledge of the servants, and thus, when

(r) v. 37. sf.

(s) v. 25.

(t) v. 27.

(u) v. 23. ss.

much less of any conduct of theirs in the life to come; provoked in either case by the Divine determination to reward with the same benefits as he will confer on others (xx. 9. s. 12.) and perhaps even more speedily, (v. 8. 16. xix. 30.) either in this life or in the next, (v. 20.) such persons as, although they may seem to have done less in his service, and to have been less time devoted to it, nevertheless possess a higher degree of excellence of character (εκλεκτοί, v. 16,*) are free from reliance on their own deservings (comp. xix. 27.), and are thoroughly imbued with a sense of his free and unmerited favour towards them. On the contrary, the only object of the mention of those murmurs was, to introduce the answer (xx. 13—15.) which is the principal point in connexion with the apodosis, and by declaring the supreme right of God to dispense the blessings of this life and that to come according to his pleasure, rather tends to prevent the occurrence of such murmurs.

* [Such a meaning is undoubtedly attributable to εκλεκτος in some passages of the N. T. (See SCHLEUSNER, in voce No. 1. 4; WAHL, No. 2. a. b.) But in Matt. xx. 16, the expression πολλοί γὰρ υἱοὶ κλητοί, ολίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί is certainly of similar import with the same expression as used in xxii. 14. and in this latter passage, no mere excellence of character, but separation, distinction from the great mass, is evidently the idea which εκλεκτος is intended to convey. The contrast is in both places between the many who make pretensions to the character of followers of Christ, and the comparatively few who really possess that character, and are distinguished by it from the rest, in this case, of the Jewish nation,—in other passages where the word is used, of the world. See Matt. xxiv. 22, 24, 31. and comp. Tit. i. 1. 1. Pet. i. 1. Fr.]

noticed, (v) exciting their surprise : (w) for such a proceeding, the night (x) when men are accustomed to sleep, (y) would be the most appropriate time. If the tares had been represented as sown with the knowledge of the servants, it would have been their duty to have hindered the enemy from doing it, there would have been no room for their complaint and the promise of extirpation made to them, (z) and the lenient recommendation of patience by the master, (a) which is of so much importance to the subject of the parable, would have been improper.—The same account may be given of the sleep in the parable of the virgins. (b) It undoubtedly was introduced, not as a defect in the wise virgins, who, on the contrary, are an example of vigilance, (c) and prudent circumspection ; (d) but on account of its being necessary to the order of the narrative. The design of our Saviour in the parable (e) required that the cause of the exclusion of the foolish virgins should be, their neglect to furnish themselves with oil. They would not have been excluded, had they perceived the approaching extinction of their lamps before the oil was quite exhausted. For if the bridegroom had come early, the oil that yet remained would have been sufficient for their purpose ; or if his coming had not been more timely known, (f) there would have been an opportunity of purchasing (g) a fresh supply. It was therefore necessary to represent them as having only perceived the extinction of their lamps when the oil was already exhausted, and the bridegroom near at hand. It was also necessary to suppose *the wise virgins* to have slept *as well* as the others, lest it might have been objected to their answer in v. 9, that they had neglected to admonish their companions of their danger while there was yet an opportunity to avoid it, although, having been awake, they must have known it.—It would be equally improper to lay stress on the word *εγρησας* in Matt. xiii. 44, which has no bearing on the subject of the parable, but is necessary to make the narrative

(v) v. 26.

(w) v. 27.

(x) *Comp.* Job. xxxiii. 15.

(y) And that without affording any ground of censure; Mar. iv. 27.

(z) Matt. xiii. 27. s.

(a) v. 29. s.

(b) Matt. xxv. 5.

(c) v. 13.

(d) v. 4.

(e) †. xvii.

(f) v. 6.

(g) v. 9. s.

complete, as it would have been folly to purchase a field *on account of the treasure it contained*, while that very treasure was *left exposed*, and liable to be removed in the meanwhile. —In Matt. xviii. 23. ss. it is in order to render the commencement of the parable less abrupt,⁶⁰ and to smooth the transition to its proper subject in v. 24, that the king is represented as taking account of his *servants generally*, (k) and by that means occupied in hearing others (i) while the merciless servant withdrew,⁶¹ and ignorant of what he did without.⁶² Thus the passage in v. 31, became necessary, to connect this portion with the remainder of the parable, (k) although it has no part in the application of the whole, since a relation of the kind which it describes must certainly be unnecessary to the DEITY. (l) —There are many things of this sort in the parable of the prodigal son; (m) where, for instance, we are not to look for any particular signification in the division of the father's goods, (n) or in the departure of the prodigal.* (o)

(k) v. 23.

(i) Comp. v. 24.

(k) v. 32. ss.

(l) v. 35.

(m) Lu. xv. 11. ss.

(n) v. 12.

(o) v. 13.

⁶⁰ So in Lu. xvi. the compulsion of the steward to render his account is not abruptly introduced, but the way to that event is prepared by the mention of the accusation (*δὲς ἑλπίσθη*) in v. 1.

⁶¹ Our Saviour's representation of the cruelty of the man to his fellow servant, as having occurred when he was scarcely out of the presence of his judge, who was yet sitting, and taking account of his fellow servants, tends to excite in us the greater detestation of the man who can so far forget the mercy and indulgence of God, of which he continually stands in need, as to be unmerciful to his fellow men

⁶² The subject of the *narration* being a *human* monarch, was to be described with all the characteristics of a *man*. *Comp.* also *uses* in Lu. xx. 13. and also Lu. xv. 18. 21. (§. XIV. end).

* [With respect to the former of these examples, it is so evidently a piece of the necessary machinery of the story, and so little connected with the general scope of the parable, that there can be no doubt of the correctness of STORR's remark. But it appears very questionable whether the *removal* of the prodigal to a far country has no bearing on the apodosis of the parable. The sin against the father (v. 18. 21.) could only have consisted in the demand of a division of his goods, *and this departure*. The latter alone can be alluded to in the expressions *μαρτος υιου*, and *απο-*

The *latter* was introduced because it would be incongruous to represent an indulgent (*p*) father suffering his son to sink to such a pitch of disgrace and misery (*q*) if he were resident in the same place, so that his necessity must have come to the knowledge of the father. The *other* was introduced in order that we might perceive the poverty, (*r*) which so strongly depicts the misery of sinners, (*s*) to be the consequence of the son's own crimes, and for the purpose of setting in a stronger light the mercy of the father towards his son who had no right to expect any more from him than he had already received. (*t*) See the passage of COCCÆIUS, quoted in note 48.

§. XIX.

All these minor *discrepancies* between the narration and the thing signified (*u*) will create less difficulty to us, if we carefully attend to the fact, that the great cause of the utility of parables is that they do not immediately present to notice the thing signified itself, but first prove that with reference to some *other* thing, which they are designed to teach concerning *it*. The construction of language therefore, in which the narrative is clothed, should be such that it may bear inspection by

(*p*) v. 20.

(*s*) §. XIV. end.

(*q*) v. 15. s.

(*t*) v. 19, end, and v. 30.

(*r*) v. 14—16.

(*u*) §. XVI—XVIII.

λαλος η (v. 24, 32,) which are the only epithets used by the father to designate the former miserable condition of his son. In fact, in any case, the entire separation from the paternal care and superintendence would be a weighty cause of complaint, but is more particularly heinous in the East, where the distinction of tribes, &c., is religiously observed, and the paternal authority is much more strictly exercised than in western nations. Now the sins of the prodigal *against his father* are certainly an important part of the protasis of the parable, corresponding to the *sinfulness of men*, and *their liability to the just wrath of God* in the apodosis. If, then, the *departure* of the prodigal be a prominent part of his *offences against his father*, and these essential to the meaning of the parable, it is surely improper to place the former in the low rank assigned to it by STORR. Tr.]

itself as an independent whole, and afford satisfaction when so considered, and be perfect in its kind. Now as the thing narrated is distinct from the thing signified, some things may be required to make the narration of the former perfect, which are unnecessary in the signification of the latter. The existence of this distinction cannot be any hindrance to the perception of the signification, if we only acknowledge it, and seek to discover the signification not so much from particular parts of the narration, as from its whole context. This course is plainly taught by our Lord himself,⁶³ who, for example, compares the kingdom of heaven (v) indifferently to a treasure, and to a merchant seeking pearls,⁶⁴ which he could not have done unless his intention had been that the whole context of his narrations should relate to the kingdom of heaven, and so should be understood to signify that the case of the kingdom of heaven was similar to those of a man discovering a treasure, or a merchant seeking pearls.⁶⁵ For certainly, in the latter instance, the kingdom of heaven does not resemble the single part of the narration which the merchant constitutes, but rather that of the pearl. (w) But the case of the heavenly kingdom—its value, and the manner in which it is to be sought—agrees remarkably well with the whole history of the merchant.

Again, if it were part of the nature of a parable that the thing signified and the narration should correspond so perfectly, as that the former should be intelligible, not from the whole structure of the latter, but from its several individual parts; how then, (to use the words of AUGUSTIN⁶⁶) could the parable prove any thing from its very dissimilitude? In the parable of the unjust judge, (x) for instance, there certainly is no resemblance between the latter and the DEITY, but it is the

(v) Matt. xiii. 44.

(w) v. 46.

(x) Lu. xviii. 1.

⁶³ Comp. CALIXTUS, p. 185. s.⁶⁴ Comp. similar formulae, v. 24. xxii. 2. xviii. 23.⁶⁵ Comp. xiii. 18.⁶⁶ Lib. 11. Quæst. Evang. v. xiv. Opp. Tom. iv. p. 358.

whole history concerning him (*y*) that conveys the purport of the parable. (*z*) From this we learn that even an *unjust judge*, wearied with the continual repetition of prayers for justice, will deliver the innocent from injury; there is *far greater* (*a*) reason to expect that the *perfectly just* (*b*) judge of all will *willingly* grant the continual (*c*) prayers of men who are the objects of his love. (*d*)—In the parable of the unjust steward, (*e*) the repentant publicans (*f*) who spent their unjustly gotten gains in acts of beneficence to the poor, (*g*) and especially to the pious poor, (*h*) bear no resemblance to the steward who aggravates his former guilt (*i*) by a *new* act of dishonesty; (*k*) nor is God like the master (*l*) who praised an act of *wicked* cunning. The object of our Lord is to teach by *the whole* narration: that “if that master praised the cunning injury done himself, by which his steward, making a dishonest use of his master’s property, provided for his own future wants in such a way that when he should have no further controul over his master’s goods, there should be some at any rate that would receive him; *much more* will God approve the *faithful* (*m*) use of ill gotten riches, in a way agreeable to his will, (*n*) by a distribution of them among the poor of your generation, (*o*) *i. e.* among my disciples, (*p*) in consequence of which those beneficiaries will receive you, when the goods of this world shall fail you, into the eternal habitations of the blest, (*q*)—in other words, it will have the effect, that you, having thus *by the communication of your benefactions to my worshippers*, shown the sincere conversion of your mind from its former covetousness to me, and proved your faithfulness by your care of greater riches, (*r*) shall receive *from me* (*s*) *on whom you will have been conferring the same benefits bestowed on them*, (*t*) the reward of everlasting

(*y*) v. 2—5.(*z*) Comp. II. Thess. i. 6.(*e*) Lu. xvi. 1. ss.(*h*) xvi. 9.(*l*) v. 8.(*o*) γεντας, xvi. 8.(*r*) v. 10—12.(*a*) v. 6—8.(*c*) v. 1.(*f*) xv. 1.(*i*) xvi. 1.(*m*) v. 10—12.(*p*) v. 1.(*s*) Mat. xxv. 34.(*a*) Comp. xi. 13.(*d*) σαλευων, Lu. xviii. 7.(*g*) xix. 8.(*k*) v. 6. 7.(*n*) xii. 21. 35.(*q*) v. 9.(*t*) v. 35—40.

happiness." (u)——In the parable of the prodigal son, the Pharisees are not *directly represented* by the elder son, (v) for they, who blamed the kindness of Christ to publicans and sinners, (w) were nevertheless as much degenerate sons of God as the publicans and sinners yet unconverted from their sinful lives. (x) The reasoning of Christ appears to be as follows: "if even they, *who have long worshipped God*, (y)—if even those just ones who have never departed from his ways, (z) have no right to make any objection (a) to the great pleasure which is taken by the good (b) in the conversion of sinners; *how much less* ought you, who in fact *are no better than the sinners* whom you despise, to find fault with my care for the salvation of sinners?" (c)—Lastly, the import of the parable of the debtors, (d) is, that to whomsoever most sins are forgiven, that man will be the most grateful in will and deed, (e) a truth which is remarkably confirmed by the instance of St. Paul. (f) Yet there is no need of concluding from this parable that Simon, to whom in particular it was applied, *had been forgiven fewer sins* (g) than the penitent woman. The argument is this: "if he who has been *forgiven fewest* sins, is less at pains to show the love of which in reality he feels less than one who has been forgiven so many; *how much more* is it to be expected that thou, who hast *received no forgiveness* shouldst come far short in thy demonstrations of respect and love, (h) of this woman who has received from me (i) forgiveness of many sins?" (k)

§. XX.

Any thing intentionally signified by Christ in any of his *parables*, is equally sufficient for the *proof of doctrine* with any other of the sayings of our Lord. Such proof, therefore,

(u) v. 46.

(v) Lu. xv. 25. ss.

(w) v. 2.

(x) Comp. Mat. xxi. 30. 32. xxiii.

(y) v. 29. 31.

(z) v. 7.

(a) v. 32.

(b) v. 7. 10. 32.

(c) v. 1. s.

(d) Lu. vii. 41. s.

(e) v. 47.

(f) 1. Tim. i. 12. ss.

(g) Comp. Lu. vii. 47.

(h) v. 44. ss.

(i) v. 49.

(k) v. 39, 48.

may be very properly derived, not only from the *authentic* interpretation of any parable, whether full, as in Matt. xiii. 19. ss., 37. ss., or more general and brief; (*l*) but also from the *fictitious narration*, or *all such parts* of it as are *not inserted merely for the purpose of preserving its historical form or keeping up the connexion*, (*m*) but are plainly either altogether superfluous, or else *invested with a certain signification*: whatever signification can be deduced from these by *legitimate* (*n*) interpretation, is properly (*o*) a proof of the truth of any doctrine which it may contain.* But no such use can be made of a rash *accommodation* of a parable to a subject foreign from the known (*p*) design of the Saviour, as has been done by those who have found in the parable of the good Samaritan, (*q*) *Adam* under the figure of the way-laid traveller, *Christ*[†] under that of the good Samaritan,† (*r*) and a number of other allegorical and *mystico-prophetical* senses. (*s*) Nor can any thing be positively proved from such parts of the narrative as may have been admitted only on account of its *historical form and connexion*, (*t*) or from a *too minute*[‡] interpretation (*u*) of even the principal parts. To give an instance of the legitimate use of parables in proof of doctrine;—in Matt. xxii., the parts of the parable which occupy verses 8—10 and 11—13, might have been omitted without any injury to the *completeness* of the narration; but, as they cannot have been altogether useless, they must have a necessary apo-

(*l*) §. XIII. beginning.

(*o*) §. xv.

(*r*) v. 33.

(*m*) §. XVI. XVIII.

(*q*) §. XIII. XIV.

(*s*) See note 48.

(*u*) §. XIV.

(*n*) §. XIII. XIV.

(*g*) Lc. x. 30.

(*t*) §. xv—xix.

* [" Though every thing in a parable be not argumentative, yet the scope of it is, as all divines acknowledge." BULL. Sermons; Vol. i. Sermon III. p. 63. Tr.]

† Comp. FRANKIUS de Interp. Orac. cxxiii. p. 763. s.

‡ [See ERNESTI's Elements of Interpretation. Stuart's Trans. §. 158. note, p. 80. Tr.]

§ Such, for instance, as should not recognize the existence of *synecdoche*, nor allow the possibility of a substitution of a *species* or *individual* for a *genus*; but should every where consider *the same species* or *individual object* to be intended.

dosis of their own, and it may be very certainly inferred from them, that the calling of the Gentiles was foretold by Christ, and that he inculcated a diligent study to prepare the soul for the possession of the blessings proffered by the gospel.⁶⁰ In like manner, we need not hesitate to found an argument, as has been done by BUCER (v) and WEISMAN, (w) on the phrase *υπο των αγγελων*, (x) in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus; since there is nothing in all the structure of the narrative to render that addition necessary, the narration being perfectly complete without it. There could therefore be no reason⁷⁰ why our Lord should have mentioned the conveyance of the soul of Lazarus to Paradise *by a company of angels*, except a design to signify some circumstance of the blessedness of the pious dead. Nor can his intention be to convey a *general* notion by this *special* illustration; for that it was by the *providence* of God that Lazarus was brought to Abraham's bosom, is so evident, that the phrase *υπο των αγγελων*, if designed to convey that meaning, would have been perfectly needless. Hence we may believe⁷¹ that our Saviour intended to point out,⁷² in the example of the dying Lazarus, the *manner* in which the divine providence is exercised towards the good in the hour of death.—But, on the other hand, there is no more reason for concluding from the same parable (y) that the souls of the blessed hold intercourse with other spirits

(v) Comm. in loc.

(w) Inst. Theol. exegetico-dogm. p. 283.

(x) Lu. xvi. 22.

(y) v. 23. ss.

⁶⁰ We have already seen (note 52,) that the gradation of future rewards can be proved from Lu. xix. 17. ss.

⁷⁰ The reasons why the mention of this circumstance cannot be attributed to accommodation to a common, but *false*, opinion of the Jews, are given at length in the Dissertation on the Historic Sense.

⁷¹ Nor does any objection arise from the nature of the thing itself, as certainly the ministration of angels (Heb. i. 14,) is of all things least incredible in that most important change of our condition.

⁷² We have already seen (§. XIV.) that this *may* take place in parables which are *not* examples of the thing signified. It ought to create much less surprize in such as are *examples* of the very thing signified. (n. 37).

of the departed, than there is to infer from **LU. xii. 20**, that men are usually divinely *premonished* of their death. For those who neither spoke nor acted, might be introduced by Christ, in accordance with the parabolic usage, (z) as speaking or acting, whenever there was a sufficient reason for the fiction. But the precepts in **xvi. 25. s. 31.** would not have been inserted *in the narration*, if some conversation had not been invented. It cannot, therefore, be proved that the conversation, which the *historical form* of the parable, (a) of itself, rendered necessary, was introduced for the purpose of giving us to understand that there is some intercourse between the departed spirits of the good and of the wicked. — Nor does it seem to follow from the speech of the rich man in **v. 27. s.** that we ought to suppose the wicked *solicitous for the salvation of their survivors*. We are rather to consider all that is said by the rich man in **v. 24. 27. s.** as inserted merely for the purpose of introducing (b) the instructions of Abraham, (c) which form one of the principal parts of the parable, and, if rightly explained, afford an ample fund of most important and substantial doctrinal proofs.

§. XXI.

There is no reason to consider the rules of interpretation thus laid down as imposing needless restraint upon *the preacher* who may take a parable for his subject; although it be our firm persuasion that the popular interpreter should be governed by the same laws, and that the knowledge of Christians generally should be founded, not on human ingenuity, but on sure oracles of God, the force of which is beyond a doubt.

For in the *first* place, the inadmissibility of making every thing out of any thing in a *parabolic* text, creates no *peculiar* difficulty. The *ordinary* helps in homiletical interpretation are not excluded from application to such passages. The part of the preacher is to make use of the doctrine legitimate-

(z) §. III.

(a) §. XVI.

(b) §. XVIII.

(c) v. 25. s. 29, 31;

ly (*d*) derived from the parable, just as he would of that drawn from any other part of the Scriptures :—to confirm it with proof from holy writ, and from the nature of the subject ;—to define its meaning accurately and illustrate it by examples ;—to show its connexion with other doctrines and their mutual dependance on each other ;—and to apply the whole to practical use.

Take for example that one point of the immoderate care for earthly goods, which is the *true* object of the parable in Lu. xiv. 16. ss. What ample field of disquisition and what useful matter it affords, if the preacher be prepared rightly to explain the vice and prudently distinguish it from a lawful regard for earthly things ;—to explain the evils of such immoderate care from the context (*e*) and other passages of Scripture, considered together with the nature of the subject ;—and to produce incitements of different kinds, and helps, for surmounting an immoderate attachment to this world !—In like manner, the parable of the good Samaritan is already sufficiently full of meaning and useful in its application to obviate all necessity of resorting to the *allegorical* interpretation already mentioned (*f*) or any like it.

Often it is even possible to introduce the *particular* applications, which it would be *rash* to deduce from *the parable itself*, in a discussion of the *general* doctrine which the parable *really* does convey. So in the parable of the prodigal (*g*) it would be improper to consider the several marks of the father's joy and pity as proofs of so many benefits of God to men ;* but as these particulars, collectively taken, desig-

(*d*) §. xx.

(*e*) Note 43.

(*f*) §. xx.

(*g*) Lu. xvi. 22. s.

* [SUMNER, for instance, a writer generally remarkable for sound judgment, has certainly erred in considering the circumstance in the narration that when the returning prodigal 'was yet a great way off' his father ran to him, and affectionately greeted him—as a representation of the *co-operating* grace of God. Apostolical Preaching, p. 127. The design of the parable is to express the willingness of God to receive repentant sinners, and his pleasure in their conversion ; it does not relate to the *means* by which that event is brought about. Tr.]

nate *generally* the great mercy of God towards repentant sinners, for that very reason they afford an opportunity of recounting particularly these benefits from other parts of Scripture.

Secondly, the *parabolic method* may be turned into an advantage to the hearer, if the desire (*h*) of applying every particular of the parable directly to the thing signified, be avoided.—For instance, the justice of the punishment of those who esteem the things of heaven more lightly than those of earth, may be much more vividly represented to the hearer than it would be otherwise, if the master of the feast introduced in the narrative, Lu. xiv. 16, be first proposed to his consideration *separately* from any reference to God, and it be left to his own judgment to decide whether that man might not be justly offended with his guests, who at his previous invitation had given him hopes of their appearance, but, when he had made every preparation on their account, had not scrupled to refuse to come. The effect of this will be, that the hearer having perceived in *another* case, that the contempt of proffered benefits may justly provoke indignation, will so much the more readily allow that contempt of the joys of heaven, (*i*) even though unaccompanied by any enormous sin against men, is a grievous crime. (*k*) . *In the same way* it may be practicable to throw no small degree of light upon the *minor* parts of the narration,⁷³ and thus to prove generally the great *wisdom* of its author;—a popular method of defending the authority of Scripture which seems worthy of particular attention. For example, if we examine the *whole series* of the narration in Lu. xiv. 16. ss. it will appear much more plainly how ill the giver of the feast must have taken the contempt of his entertainment, since he preferred inviting the most abject, (*l*) to leaving room for any of those who had despised his invitation. (*m*) For although God has invited the

(*h*) §. xix.

(*l*) v. 21. 23.

(*i*) v. 14. s.

(*m*) v. 24.

(*k*) Add §. ix. end.

⁷³ *Comp.* Lu. x. (p.) Matt. xviii. (note 61.)

publicans (*n*) and gentiles, (*o*) to a participation of eternal happiness, on the same terms as others; yet Christ in this place designedly omits to mention the great change (*p*) which such persons must undergo if desirous of partaking of the offered blessings, and considers them with reference only to their first condition.* This he did for the purpose of more vividly representing to the man for whose use the parable was especially designed, (*q*) that persons longing after this world's goods, be they ever so much more disposed toward Christ than others,—be they ever so often affected with good desires, (*r*) are so displeasing in the sight of God, that he will admit rather than them the very persons whom they despise as wicked and idolaters, (*s*) to the possession of eternal happiness.

Lastly, as even the Apostles often *adopted* the language of the sacred writings, although in a sense different from that which it possessed in the Old Testament;“ it is certainly allowable in the preacher to *accommodate* the particular parts even of the parables of Christ to his own purpose, although that may differ from the original intention of our Lord, provided he do it with prudence and moderation. In doing this, however, he must be careful never to appear to *prove* whatever doctrine he may advance, by the declarations of Christ, but to speak plainly in his own name, and merely borrow his expressions from the parable.—This liberty of accommodation may be exemplified by Matt. xiii. 24. ss. To the demonstration derived thence, that the Lord wisely tolerates for the

(*n*) v. 21.

(*q*) Note 43.

(*o*) v. 23. comp. p.

(*r*) Lu xiv. 15.

(*p*) Mat. xxii. 11. ss.

(*s*) Mat. viii. 11. s. xxi. 31.

* [The very same peculiarity is observable in the parable of the Pharisee and publican. The latter is represented as filled with the deepest contrition and humility, it is true, but no mention is made of any *previous* reformation. “The true purport of the parable appears to be, that an *humble Publican*, disposed towards repentance, is, with all his *vices*, more *acceptable to God*, than a *proud censorious Pharisee*, with all his *strictness, sobriety, and regularity.*” WATERLAND, Sermon. Vol. 1. p. 193. Of course the application is *a fortiori*. Tr.]

74 *Comp. Diss. de sensu historico*, §. XXIV.

present the wicked in his church, whence they are ultimately to be separated, the preacher might, with the utmost propriety, join an admonition that every one for his own part guard against evil as carefully as possible. In doing this, we see no reason why he might not make use of the expression, "*it is therefore not allowable in us to sleep*" although the words of our Lord (*t*) to which it alludes, have not the signification it would attribute to them. (*u*) But we take for granted that this passage would not be adduced as proof, but that the proof of the doctrine would be derived from other passages of Scripture, and from the very nature of the subject.

(t) v. 25.

(u) §. XVIII.

NO TRACES OF THE GNOSTICS

ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

A DISSERTATION

BY

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NO TRACES OF THE GNOSTICS

IN THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

AMONG the adversaries of the Christian religion, there appear to have been some, who, on account of a certain peculiar knowledge (*γνῶσις*) which they professed to possess of things divine and human, presumed to distinguish themselves by the pompous name of GNOSTICS. It is not necessary to enter here into a lengthened discussion, as to the nature of this knowledge of theirs; my object being rather to inquire into the period at which it took its rise. It would moreover be entirely impracticable; for such a discussion would require a whole volume, if we would repeat all that learned men have written, and that too with much profound erudition, on the character of the Gnostic philosophy. Those who are desirous of acquiring an accurate acquaintance with this subject, may obtain it by examining these writers. Among them may be mentioned HAMMOND, in his *Diss. I. de Episcopatu*, and his *Annotations on the New Testament*; JAC THOMASius, who was the first to publish any thing worthy of commendation on the subject of the Gnostics, in his work "*de Originibus Hist. Phil. et Eccles.*;" but especially BEAU-SOBRE, in his learned work entitled, "*Histoire Critique de Manichée et Manichéisme*;" MOSHEIM, *Institutiones H. E. maj. p. 136 s. and 339 s.*—*Diss. de Caus. suppos. Libr. inter Christ.*,

in Dissert. ad H. E. pert. Vol. I. p. 223 s., and in many other places; BRUCKER, Hist. Crit. Phil. T. II. p. 639 s.; and VI. p. 400 s.; WALCH'S Hist. of heresies, P. I. p. 224 s.; and above all, the learned SEMLER, in his Hist. dogmat. fidei, prefixed to Baumgarten's Polemical Theology, Tom. I. p. 121 s. and in Sel. Capita H. E. T. I. p. 22. 40 ss. A summary account of the whole Gnostic system has been given by SCHROECKH, H. E. Tom. I. p. 338 s. and Tom. II. p. 348 s.—Leaving this out of the question, therefore, I shall proceed, in order to avoid the appearance of vagueness and ambiguity, to state the precise subject which I propose to discuss. The reader is not to suppose, that I consider all which has come down to us respecting the Gnostics and their errors, as nothing better than idle fictions; which is the ridiculous opinion of ARNOLD, in his Hist. Eccles. et Hæres., and has been long ago exploded by Mosheim and others. Nor can I absolutely deny, that, about the time of Christ, and a little before, there was in use among the Persians, and those neighboring nations which, according to the Hebrew mode of speaking, were properly called Oriental,* a certain kind of philosophy, or even of the-

* It must be borne in mind that the Hebrews called those nations Eastern, who lived between Egypt and the Euphrates, namely, the Persians and Arabians; and the region inhabited by them, the East, קֶרֶם; as in Gen. xvi. 12. xv. 6, where Abraham is said to have sent away the sons of his concubines, i. e. of Keturah and Hagar, קֶרֶם אֶל-אֲרָבַיִם, towards the East, into that country which is commonly called the East, and in chap. x. 30, is termed קֶרֶם אֲרָבַיִם. Hence, in Judges, vi. 3. and Job, I. 3, the Arabians are called בְּנֵי-קֶרֶם, ἄνθρωποι ἀραβῶν, men who dwell in the East; and the Egyptians are distinguished from them in I. Kings, iv. 30, where Solomon is said to have excelled the people of the East, i. e. the Arabians, who were very famous for their wisdom, especially in pointed sayings; and the Egyptians. They styled themselves people of the East, in Arabic أَشْرَاقِيَّة, and are called by us Saracens. Jer. xlix. 28. Hence the wise men, Matt. II. 1, are said to have come ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν. And in this sense the term East should be understood, in all inquiries on the subject of the Oriental philosophy: the mind must not, therefore, go, in this treatise, to Western, or Jewish Asia, and Greece; much less to those European provinces, which, in any other case, are reckoned as part of the East.

ology, which, as it flourished in the East, may be termed Oriental ; although it was unknown by this appellation to all antiquity, and embraced opinions respecting God, and the origin of all things, both moral and natural, but chiefly the latter. This has been long since shewn by learned men. But whether, besides this philosophy, about which all are well agreed, another, of a peculiar and different character, was cultivated in Western Asia among the Greeks and Jews, which Mosheim considers as properly the Oriental philosophy ; and from this as the fountain-head, according to the opinion of Mosheim, ll. cc. and BRUCKER, Tom. vi. p. 407, sprang, not in the time of Christ only, but even long before, a certain new philosophy, viz. that of the Gnostics, (Mosheim, Instit. H. E. maj. p. 142, and BRUCKER, Tom. ii. p. 642.) *mixed up with various and peculiar opinions of different sects, which carried with it a new and mystical appearance of a more divine philosophy, and constituted a peculiar system ;* and, above all, whether, already in the time of Christ and the Apostles, it had spread from Egypt and Syria into Asia Minor and Greece, was well known among the Jews in Palestine, was favorably regarded by many, was made use of, in numerous instances, for the purpose of confusing and deceiving the minds of Christians, was diligently practised and studied with the view of corrupting the pure doctrine by sundry errors, and of thus weakening, unsettling, and at length altogether overthrowing the foundations of the Christian religion, while as yet in its incipient and growing state ; *and defiled the whole world with its iniquitous doctrines ;* (BRUCKER, Tom. ii. p. 639,) so that the Apostles were obliged seriously to admonish Christians—to prove the wickedness of the system in their writings—and to establish and defend the truth of Christianity against these its worst enemies—and so that, moreover, traces of this philosophy are found in their writings, both in allusions to it, in refutations of it, and in the mention of it by name ;—this is the subject into which I propose to inquire ; and about which, I confess, I entertain very strong doubts.

In order to proceed in the discussion of this question with the greater advantage, I have thought it best to divide it

into two parts, the one *historical*, the other *philological*. In the *former*, I shall bring forward the grounds upon which I contend, that the philosophy of the Gnostics did not take its rise in the time of the Apostles, but at a later period, viz. in some part of the second century; and certainly was not before this time injurious to the cause of Christianity. In the elucidation of this point, I shall adduce two separate kinds of proofs: the one drawn from the express testimony of ancient writers, the same being competent witnesses upon the subject; the other, from their silence. At the end I shall subjoin a brief discussion on the Oriental philosophy. In the *philological* part, I shall mention the principal places of the New Testament, in which traces of the Gnostic philosophy have been commonly found, and shall endeavour to shew, that a more suitable, and perhaps a more probable interpretation may be given to these passages; adding some few general observations at the last in regard to the opposite opinion to my own, and in relation to the whole Gnostic philosophy, and its sources and beginnings. I think that I have taken the correct course for the discussion of the present inquiry. In proving questions of fact, such as this is, the thing before all others to be regarded is the order of time, which, it is obvious, is of no little importance to either side, in determining upon the credit to be attached to a representation. For, as the credit to be placed in any thing is, rightly enough, considered to be very sure, if it is suitable to the times with which it is connected, and unless there are other circumstances which lead to an opposite conclusion; so this credit is destroyed, if it can be shewn that what is related is unsuitable to the period to which it is assigned: by which means numerous falsehoods have been cleared away from history; and it is with truth asserted of chronology, that it brings history to the highest possible degree of certainty. We must see first of all, then, in the present instance, whether the philosophy in question was, as early as the time of Christ and the Apostles, diffused through so many parts of the world, and was pernicious to the true doctrine. As I think it can be proved that this happened at a later period, that is, in the Second Century, it will

immediately be seen what we are to conclude, in regard to the alleged traces of the philosophy of the Gnostics in the New Testament books.

PART I. HISTORICAL.

I SHALL begin by mentioning the almost universal opinion, and that entirely in my favor, of the ancient ecclesiastical writers: among whom although there were some, who thought that the doctrine itself of the Gnostics began in the First Century, with Simon, Basilides, and others, yet they agreed in this, that the name of Gnostics began to be used, though indeed in rather an unfavorable sense, in the Second Century; for example, IRENAEUS, adv. haeres. L. i. c. 24, and III. 11, (which last passage is a subject of considerable controversy between LARDNER, in his Supplement to the Credibility of the Gosp. Hist. Vol. 1. p. 383, and MICHAELIS, Einleit. ins N. T. P. II. p. 1133, Gott. 1788.*) JEROM, de Script. Eccles. c. 21, and especially EPIPHANIUS, in whom some passages occur, which deserve to be mentioned. For instance, in Haer. 21, he speaks of Simon, and says that he delivered *μυστήρια γνώσεως τῆς τελειοτάτης*; and a little afterwards he adds, *καὶ οὕτως ἀρχεσται τῶν Γνωστικῶν καλουμένων ἢ ἀρχή*. He undoubtedly means to say, not that the name of the Gnostics, but their doctrine, had its beginning, or rather was first broached, at that time. For, in haer. 27,† he says; *καὶ ἐνθεν* (i. e. in the times of Anicetus, of which he is speaking,) *γένετο ἡ ἀρχὴ Γνωστικῶν τῶν καλουμένων*. From which it is plain, that it was the opinion of Epiphanius, that the Gnostics were first called by that name in the time of Anicetus, i. e. in the Second Century. Which was the opinion of CHRYSOSTOM also: certainly he evinces great hesitation, and speaks with much caution, on 1. Tim. VI, as we shall see hereafter.

* [MARSH'S Michaelis, Vol. III. Part 1. pp. 278. 279. Lond. 1802 — Tr.]

† [Page 108, Vol. 1, Ed. Paris, 1622; and Ed. Col. 1682.—Tr.]

Among the ancient ecclesiastical writers, however, there were others also, and they very competent witnesses on this subject, who expressly asserted, that neither the name of the Gnostics, nor the heresy itself, existed in the time of Christ and the Apostles, but that both prevailed about the time of Adrian, and therefore in the Second Century ; and were a source of trouble to the Christian church, after the Apostles were dead. Let us now examine the testimony of these writers. The most ancient is that of CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, Strom. L. VII. p. 764, ed. Sylburg. where he says, *κατὰ δὲ, i. e. after the Apostles, of whom he had been speaking, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδριανῶν τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνους, οἱ τὰς αἰρέσεις ἐπινοήσαντες γεγόνασιν.* Though I am well aware, that this excellent work of the Stromata is in many places very difficult, and perhaps in some corrupted, since we have not very many manuscripts, wherewith to obviate this difficulty by various readings ; yet in the passage before us, which is quite clear, I have never been able to perceive what confusion or manifest error there is, as MOSHEIM thinks, *Instit. H. E. Maj. p. 315* ; though, as he himself has not pointed out the precise confusion or error which he means, I have diligently examined the whole place. Clement is employed to the end of Book VII, in refuting the opponents of the Christian religion ; and principally in answering that objection, which is drawn from the existence of heretics. Having advanced some sound arguments, and then, after his usual manner, made a digression, he goes on to shew the antiquity of the doctrine inculcated, and thence to determine its truth ; and to exhibit, on the contrary, the novelty, and therefore the corruption, of heresies. He goes back, therefore, as it were, to the fountain-head, and shews that the commencement of the delivery of the gospel doctrine was made by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, while Augustus was emperor, and that its termination was in the reign of Nero ; but that the absurdities of the Gnostics (for that it is of these that Clement speaks, is very clearly shewn by the whole tenor of the discourse,) began to be disseminated, and to be pernicious to the pure doctrine, after the time of the Apostles, and somewhere in the reign of Adrian. He goes on to observe, Ὡ

ὡς ἔχοντων, συμφωνῶς ἐκ τῆς προγενεστάτης καὶ ἀληθεστάτης ἐκκλησίας, τὰς μεταγενεστέραις ταύταις, καὶ τὰς ἔτι τούτων ὑποβεβηκυίας, τῷ χρόνῳ κεκαινοτομησθαι παραχαρᾶξείσθαι αἰρέσεις. From which he draws the conclusion, that that doctrine only is true, which is ancient. Now I do not see how Clement, arguing against the heretics of his time, would have gained any thing, or advanced his cause, by wishing to keep out of sight the antiquity of the heresy which he was opposing. Could not his opponents, and especially those to whose ὑπομνήματα he opposed τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν γνωστικά ὑπομνήματα (i. e. Commentaries on the true γνώσις, or knowledge, for this is the real title of the Stromata,) have accused him of falsehood, and instantly refuted his declaration, if he had attempted to deny any thing, which was known by all, and certainly by them, just as well as by himself? By such a course Clement would surely not have considered the true interests of his cause. But was he so totally ignorant, and so unacquainted with the Gnostic philosophy, that nothing respecting it was familiar to him, and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that he committed an error of this kind? So indeed MOSHEIM thinks, *Instit. H. E. Maj. p. 326*. But quite differently BRUCKER, who expressly says, that Clement not only was intimately acquainted with the Greek philosophy, and is to be classed among those ancient ecclesiastical writers who were most distinguished for their knowledge of it, and for turning it to the advantage of Christianity, *Hist. Crit. Ph. Tom. iii. p. 304*; but was also thoroughly skilled in Oriental history and learning, *Tom. vi. p. 410*. And how could it be otherwise, when Clement was born and lived in Egypt, where, as BRUCKER expressly states in more places than one, the Gnostic philosophy was in very great repute; and when, moreover, he was the first to write against it? This circumstance ought certainly to give the more weight to his testimony. MOSHEIM appears to have felt this difficulty; for, in his *Institut. Hist. Eccl. Ant. et Rec. p. 56,** he supports his own

* [Cent. I. Part II. Ch. v. Sec. 3, of MOSHEIM'S *Eccl. Hist.* translated by MACLAINE.—Tr.]

opinion, but attempts to soften it down, by adding, *that these stray flocks did not arrive at any great number, confederacy, or reputation, before the time of Adrian*: and in his *Institut. H. E. Maj.* p. 310, he observes, *those half-christian sects, which PERHAPS became united before the death of the Apostles, were not numerous, nor well organized and established, because the friends of our Saviour made every effort to prevent their gaining strength*; although in p. 142, he says *that the sect did not arise when Christianity was beginning to pervade the whole world, but was in existence long before*; and BRUCKER himself says, *that Mosheim discovered, that the Gnostic philosophers defiled the whole world with their depraved doctrines about the time of the birth of Christ.* Tom. II. p. 639. Such continual wavering is surely evidence enough of a doubtful cause.

Another very remarkable testimony is that of HEGESIPPUS, who lived in the time of Adrian, according to EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles. L. IV. c. 8*, p. 121; though Valesius, in his note on this place, doubts the truth of the statement. The testimony referred to is to be found in EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles. L. III. c. 32*, p. 104 s. edit. Mogunt.; and is as follows: Ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει φωλευόντων εἰσέει τότε, τῶν, εἰ καὶ τινες ὑπῆρχον, παραφθεῖρειν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιή κανόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος. Ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερός τῶν Ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφραρον εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος, παρεληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη τῶν ἀνταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνδέου σοφίας ἐπακούσαι κατηξιωμένων. Τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἀδέου πλάνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης. οἱ καὶ οὗτοι μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν Ἀποστόλων λειπομένου, γυμνῇ λαιπὸν ἤδη τῇ κεφαλῇ, τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τὴν ψευδώνυμον γνώσιν ἀντακηρίττεν ἐτεχειροῦν. 'After this Hegesippus adds;' "that the church until this time, (viz. that of Adrian) remained as a virgin, pure and uncorrupted, while those who were endeavoring to corrupt the sound standard of the preaching of the gospel, hitherto lay hidden in dark obscurity. But after the sacred company of the Apostles had terminated their lives in various ways, and the generation had passed away of those who had been deemed worthy to listen, with their own ears, to the divine Wisdom himself, then arose the conspiracy of impious error,

through the deceit of strange teachers ; who, as none of the Apostles now remained, attempted, from this period, to proclaim, in opposition to the preaching of the truth, that knowledge ($\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$) of theirs, falsely so called, without shame or concealment."—A plain and very clear testimony, surely, is this. But is it also certain and unquestionable ? Mosheim considers it as by no means such : for he thinks, in the first place, that the authority of Hegesippus is not of any great weight ; and secondly, that he is not speaking of the whole Christian world, but only of the church of Jerusalem ; and that he is relating, that this church enjoyed tranquillity and peace until the time of Simeon the bishop ; when it began to be distracted and disturbed by some men, who were more fond of their own glory than of the truth. As to the first objection, it seems hardly just to make such an assertion of Hegesippus, without any reason being mentioned : for it is very evident that this writer was not only learned, but also diligent and worthy of credit ; and he receives this commendation both from EUSEBIUS, Hist. Eccl. L. iv. c. 8, and PHOTIUS, who have recovered some fragments of him from the spoils of time. As for the other objection, so far from favoring the views of my opponents, it is directly against them, and completely agrees with my own. So then the Gnostic philosophy, by the confession of the learned men from whom I differ, did not spread through all the churches of the world ! So it did not, in the time of Christ and the Apostles, contaminate the whole world with its iniquitous doctrines ! But there were some churches, and, among these, if you please, that of Jerusalem, which remained pure, and were not corrupted by wicked doctrines. I might, therefore, without any injury to my own side of the question, agree with Mosheim, that this passage of Hegesippus is to be understood only of the church of Jerusalem. But even this is unnecessary, since Eusebius himself did not consider it as referring to that alone ; as appears plainly from Hist. Eccl. L. iv. c. 22. p. 142 s, where he cites other passages of the same Hegesippus, from which it is evident, that this writer attributed to other churches, in which he himself was, viz. the Corinthian and the

Roman, the same purity of doctrine, which in the above-mentioned passage he had commended in the church of Jerusalem. Valesius, indeed, as Mosheim has also observed, finds fault with Eusebius, in his note on the place under discussion, for understanding the words of Hegesippus to apply to the whole church : he does not, however, deny the fact itself, as may be seen by his observations on L. iv. c. 7, where he says, that Eusebius correctly states that the heresy of Basilides began in the reign of Adrian ; for, he adds, *the heretics first began to emerge from obscurity, and to raise their heads, when, the Apostles being all dead, they thought that a good opportunity was now come for spreading their erroneous doctrines.* And, in short, the passage of Eusebius just referred to is abundantly clear ; for he there very plainly assigns the Gnostics to the time of Adrian ; and shews, principally from the testimony of Irenæus, that there lived at the same period *one Carpocrates, the founder of a sect, called Gnostics.**

But let us turn to another testimony, that of FIRMILIAN, bishop of Cæsarea ; which is found in a letter to Cyprian, and is among the Epistles of the latter. It is as follows : “ *Quantum ad id pertineat, quod Stephanus dixit, quasi Apostoli eos, qui ab hæresi veniant, baptizari prohibuerint, et hoc custodiendum posteris tradiderint, plenissime vos respondistis, neminem tam stultum esse, qui hoc credat Apos-*

* [Notwithstanding the ingenuity which the author has here displayed in his argument, it must certainly be admitted, that there is no little difficulty connected with these passages of EUSEBIUS to which he refers. The inference as to the period at which Hegesippus lived, drawn by EUSEBIUS from the words of that writer, as he has given them to us in Lib. iv. c. 8. p. 121 s, seems to be by no means well-founded ; and the testimony of Hegesippus in Lib. iii. c. 32. p. 104 s, of EUSEB. if examined in connection with the note of VALESIVS, will be found to be so vague, as to leave the question of a general application to the church at large, or of a particular reference to that of Jerusalem, quite open and undecided. One thing, however, is clear ; that, whether Hegesippus was describing the pure state of the church universal, or of one particular section of it, the inference is fully warranted, that the Gnostic heresy was not, during the time of the Apostles, generally known and diffused.—*Tr.]*

tolos tradidisse, quando etiam ipsas hæreses constet execrabiles et detestandas **POSTEA** exitisse; cum et Marcion, Cerdonis discipulus, inveniatur sero post Apostolos et post longa ab iis tempora sacrilegam adversus Deum traditionem induxisse, Apelles quoque blasphemix ejus consentiens, multa alia nova et graviora fidei et veritati inimica addiderit. Sed et Valentini et Basilidis tempus manifestum est, quod et ipsi post Apostolos et post longam ætatem adversus ecclesiam Dei sceleratis mendaciis suis rebellarint. Cæteros quoque hæreticos constat pravas suas sectas et inventiones perversas, prout quisque errore ductus est, postea induxisse." "As for that which Stephen has said, as though the Apostles forbade those to be baptized who came over from heresy, and delivered this as a rule to be observed by those who should succeed them, you have very completely answered, that there is none so absurd as to believe that the Apostles made any such regulation: since it is plain that even these execrable and abominable heresies themselves arose **AT A SUBSEQUENT PERIOD**; for Marcion, a disciple of Cerdo, is found to have introduced his impious tenets long after the time of the Apostles; and Apelles, agreeing with him in these blasphemous sentiments, added to them many new and more heinous doctrines in opposition to faith and verity. Again, in regard to the period of Valentine and Basilides, it is well known that, by their infamous falsehoods, they rebelled against the church of God, subsequently to the days of the Apostles, and after a long interval of time. It is evident, also, that the other heretics introduced their different depraved sects, and wicked notions, according as each one was led away by error, at a subsequent period." Opp. Cyprian. edit. Baluz. p. 144. and Bremens. p. 219.*—Is it possible, therefore, that the doctrine of the Gnostics could have been spread far and wide in the time of the Apostles, if, as we are assured on the authority of Firmilian, heresies did not arise till afterwards? I am not, indeed, ignorant of what learned men advance, in order to

* [Page 219 s. Ed. Oxon. 1682.—Tr.]

weaken the force of this testimony ; viz. that heresies are mentioned by St. Paul himself, and are enumerated among the works of the flesh ; 1. Cor. xi. 19. Gal. v. 20 : and also that instances of heretics are adduced in the New Testament, as Alexander, Hymenæus, the Nicolaitans, Simon Magus, and others. These objections, however, may soon be answered. The word *αἵρεσις*, in the sense in which it is used of one, who, while he professes himself a Christian, dissents from the truth delivered in Holy Scripture, and so dissents, moreover, that his difference of opinion relates to some doctrine of religion, on the removal of which the very foundation of the faith is weakened and overthrown ; and who, finally, so defends this antichristian opinion, that he founds some new sect, distinct from the Christian church,—is unknown through the whole volume of Scripture ; but obtained that signification in subsequent times. *Αἵρεσις* is used in Scripture to denote the party to which any one belongs ; as *αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων*, Acts, v. 17. i. e. the sect of the Sadducees, in an inoffensive sense ; *αἵρεσις φαρισαίων*, xv. 5, called in xxvi. 5, *ἀρχιερεῖσιν αἵρεσις* ; and xxiv. 14, which passage is likewise in point. And the use of *αἵρεσις* in this sense is borne out by the authority of all the best Greek writers. For (I add this for the benefit of young persons who are studying the language,) *αἵρεσις* is equivalent to *προαἵρεσις*, and *αἰρεῖσθαι* to *προαἰρεῖσθαι* ; for it is a mistake to suppose that the preposition *πρὸ* is at all emphatic, since it is plain, from the usage of the best writers, that frequently there is no force in the prepositions *πρὸ*, *περὶ*, *ἐκ*, *σύν*, *ἀνά*, &c., joined to words, and therefore no regard to be had to them in the interpretation. But Demosthenes frequently uses *προαἵρεσις* in the sense of the sect, or party, either of the Optimates, or the Populares, to which any one is attached ; and *προαἰρεῖσθαι* also means, with him, to follow the party either of the Optimates, or the Populares. But in the same sense in which he has used *προαἰρεῖσθαι* and *προαἵρεσις*, he employs, in another place, *αἰρεῖσθαι* and *αἵρεσις*. Examples have been adduced by KREBS, *Commentar. ad decreta Rom. pro Iud. p. 402 s.* So also in JOSEPHUS, *Antiq. Jud. Lib. xii. c. 5. §. 3. Ed. OXON. 1720*, *προαἰρεθῶσιν ἑνὸς εἶναι*, is *to be of any one's party* ; and in CLEMENS ALEX. the phrases *αἵρεσις Περιπατητικῆ, Στωικῆ, &c.*, occur ; See Strom.

1. p. 301.—In other places of the New Testament, however, *αἵρεσις* occurs in another, and, as it were, a new sense besides this; signifying, not only the party to which a person is attached, but also the dissensions which were then arising in certain assemblies, though meanwhile the pure doctrine of religion continued sound, and the communion of the Christian church still remained unbroken. And such *αἵρεσις* were spreading in the church of Corinth, as appears plainly from 1. Cor. xi. 19, *οχίσματα*, as they are termed in ver. 18; having no relation to doctrine and opinions, but manifested in strifes, arising from the circumstance, that one was of the party of Paul, another of Peter, another of Apollos; as appears from Ch. i. 12. And accordingly St. Paul says, *δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἵρέσεις, κ. ε. λ.*; since there was some advantage attending them, viz. *ἵνα οἱ δόκιμοι, &c.*, i. e. that the good might become conspicuous, and be separated from the wicked. And strifes of the same kind are to be understood, in Gal. v. 20. The word *αἵρεσις*, however, occurs in a sense somewhat different, in 11. Pet. ii. 1, where it signifies any mischievous opinion; not by itself, indeed, but with the word *ἀπωλείας* following it. But *καρυσάγειν* (in this word, again, the preposition has no force, as is evident from the usage of POLYBIUS, IV. 20.) *αἵρεσις ἀπωλείας*, i. e. *ἀπολλυμένας*, signifies: to devise false and pernicious opinions, and to obtrude them upon others.—Thus much about heresies in general. Let us now proceed to the instances of heretics, which are adduced for the purpose of lessening the force of the above mentioned testimony. Now, in my opinion, neither Alexander and Hymenæus, nor the Nicolaitans, ought to have been cited: the former, because they were merely individuals, and did not form whole sects; the latter, because their offence appears to have consisted rather in their practice, than in their doctrine. Nor is the instance of Simon Magus at all in point. The ancient ecclesiastical writers, indeed, place him with one consent on the list of heretics; nay, even consider him as the father of heretics, and the founder of all the sects which afterwards arose, but especially of the Gnostics. I cannot, however, agree with them in this opinion. I can readily allow, that he was the

first who created disturbance among Christians by the dissemination of false doctrines; but I cannot as easily admit, that he ought to be termed a heretic. I think rather, with MOSHEIM, *Instit. H. E. Maj. p. 394 ss.*,* that he is to be styled a most wicked, inveterate, and impudent opponent of the doctrine of Christ, who labored to weaken, unsettle, and entirely overthrow the foundations of our holy religion; setting himself up for the Messiah, as did also his teachers or disciples, Dositheus and Menander. JOSEPHUS informs us, *Ant. Jud. L. xx. c. 7. §. 6*, Ed. Oxon. 1720, and *De Bell. Jud. L. ii. c. 13. §. 4*, that there was, at that period, a great number of mad men of this kind. Mosheim has the same opinion in regard to Dositheus, *l. c. p. 376*;† and it has been clearly asserted by ORIGEN, *L. i. adv. Cels. p. 44*, and *L. vi. p. 282*. Ed. Spencer. Cantab. 1677. The most satisfactory evidence, however, on this point, is to be found in TERTULLIAN, *de Præscrip. adv. Hær. c. 46*, where he says, “Simon Magus ausus est summam se dicere virtutem, id est, summum Deum. — Post hunc Menander, Discipulus ipsius, eadem dicens, quæ Simon ipse: quicquid se Simon dixerat, hoc se Menander esse dicebat, negans, habere posse quenquam salutem, nisi in nomine suo baptizatus fuisset, rell. ;” “Simon Magus presumed to style himself the supreme power, i. e. the supreme God. — After him came his disciple, Menander, avowing the same tenets as Simon himself; whatever titles Simon had given himself, these Menander also assumed, denying that any could be saved, except those who were baptized in his name, &c.” I would observe, by the way, that the opinion which has been held by modern writers, and advanced also by some ancient ecclesiastical writers, that this Simon professed many doctrines in common with the Gnostic sects, does not, in the first place, necessarily lead to the conclusion that he was the founder of these; and, in the next place, the things which are related in general respecting Simon, by IRENÆUS, *adv. Hær.*

* [Cent. i. P. ii. Ch. v. Sect. 11, of MOSHEIM'S *Eccl. Hist.* by MAC-LAINE.—Tr.]

† [*Ibid.* Sect. 10.—Tr.]

L. i. c. 20 ; the Author of the Apostol. Constitut. L. vi. c. 8, 9 ; in the Recog. of Clem. Rom. L. i. c. 19 s. 74. L. ii. iii. Homil. Clem. ii. iii ; by EUSEBIUS, Hist. Eccl. L. ii. c. 13. 14 ; and others, are, for the most part, if we except what St. Luke tells us in the Acts, and if, indeed, there were not two persons of the name of Simon,—obscure, doubtful, and altogether uncertain ; some of them even trifling and ridiculous ; as, for example, what is related by JUSTIN MARTYR, Apol. 1 ; so that nothing can be advanced on the subject, which carries with it the least appearance of truth. I have entered into this brief discussion, in order to shew, that there is nothing either in the word *αἵρεσις* which occurs in Scripture, or in the instances of Alexander and others, which makes against my opinion ; or is calculated to render Firmilian's testimony doubtful, and to expose it to the suspicion of falsehood : but rather that it can thence be fully established, that the heresies of the Gnostics arose after the time of the Apostles ; and certainly did not, before that period, prove injurious to the Christian church and doctrine.

I add lastly the authority of TERTULLIAN, who expressly denies that the Gnostics arose at the period commonly assigned. The passage most in point occurs in his work entitled 'De præscrip. adv. hæres.' c. 29 s. ; where Tertullian makes use of the same argument employed by Clemens Alex. in the passage above-mentioned ; namely, shewing the antiquity of the Christian religion, and the novelty of heresies. The first argument he adopts, is drawn from the nature of the case. "Ante Christiani," he says, "quam Christus inventus ? ante hæereses, quam vera doctrina ? Sed enim in omnibus veritas imaginem antecedit ; postremo similitudo succedit. Cæterum satis ineptum, ut prior doctrina hæresis habeatur, &c." "Were Christians found before Christ came ? were there heresies before the true doctrine ? For, in all cases, truth precedes the resemblance of it ; the likeness comes afterwards. It is absurd enough, then, to maintain that the doctrine of the heretics came first in order, &c." He then goes on to treat of the authors of the different heresies, c. 30 ; and shews that they were all subsequent to the time of the Apostles.

“Ubi tunc Marcion, Ponticus nauclerus, Stoicæ studiosus? Ubi tunc Valentinus, Platonicæ sectator? Nam constat, illos neque adeo olim fuisse. Antonini fere principatu et in catholicam pene doctrinam credidisse, apud ecclesiam Romanensem, sub episcopatu Eleutheri benedicti, donec ob inquietam eorum semper curiositatem semel et iterum ejecti.” * Where was Marcion then, the pilot of Pontus, the disciple of the Stoic philosophy? Where was Valentine, the follower of Platonism? For it is well known that they were not of so ancient a date; and that, somewhere in the reign of Antoninus, they believed in the doctrine which almost universally prevailed; being of the church of Rome, during the episcopate of the blessed Eleutherus, until, on account of their continually restless inquisitiveness, they were once and then a second time ejected.” And then he proceeds as follows: “Si Marcion Novum Testamentum a Vetere separavit, posterior est eo, quod separavit; quia separare non posset, nisi quod unitum fuit.” “If Marcion separated the New Testament from the Old, he must have come after that which he thus separated; he could not have separated what had never been united.” He refers, moreover, to the churches and bishops of the Gnostics, who were neither appointed by the Apostles, nor reached up to their time. “Cæterum,” says he, c. 32, “si quæ audent interserere se ætati Apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab Apostolis traditæ, quia sub Apostolis fuerunt: possumus dicere, edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris habuerit auctorem et antecessorem.—Ita omnes hæreses probent se quæquæ putant Apostolicas. Sed adeo nec sunt, nec possunt probare, quod non sunt, &c.” “But if any of these presume to make themselves contemporary with the Apostles, that they may thereby appear to have been transmitted from them, because they were during their time; we may say, let them shew, then, the origin of their churches, let them unfold the series of their bishops, coming down in such a regular succession from the beginning, that their first bishop was constituted and preceded by some one of the

Apostles, or some Apostolic person.—In this manner let all heresies prove that they are, as they suppose themselves, Apostolic. But they are not such, and therefore cannot prove it, &c.” At the end of c. 33, he uses the very authority of the Apostles, who pointed out by name the enemies of the Christian religion who were then in existence; but among these did not make any mention at all of the Valentinians, the Marcionites, or the Gnostics; from which he infers, that the opinions of these were subsequent to the doctrine of the Apostles. C. 34, he says, “*Eligant igitur sibi tempora universæ hæreses, quæ quando fuerint; dum non intersit, quæ, quando de veritate non sint; utique, quæ ab Apostolis nominatæ non fuerunt, sub Apostolis fuisse non possunt. Si enim fuissent, nominarentur et ipsæ, ut et ipsæ coercendæ. Quæ vero sub Apostolis fuerunt, in sua nominatione damnantur.*”

Such, then, are those testimonies of the ancient ecclesiastical writers, by which I designed to prove, that the philosophy of the Gnostics did not reach as far back as the age which is commonly assigned to it. I shall now proceed to another argument, by which to strengthen this opinion, and to shew the falsehood of the opposite position. The sentiment which I oppose cannot be proved by a single testimony of the writers of the First Century; but they observe in their writings a profound silence on the subject! I will not deny, that this species of argument, derived from the silence of writers, is not capable of a universal application, and that, even in the instance before us, many allow little, or no weight at all to it; and I admit that, in many cases, this is a correct mode of proceeding: but not, when writers who are diligent, and worthy of credit, are engaged in relating facts of this kind, and when the thing is itself of such a nature, that from its notoriety it could not have been unknown, nor, from the very design of the history, could it have been omitted without fear of blame by the writers of the age to which it belongs, when they had a reason and an opportunity for mentioning it. If I shall be able to shew, then, that such was the case in the present instance, I trust that this kind of argument will not be deemed altogether without weight. It is plain, and appears, indeed.

from the observations already made, that the authors and supporters of the opposite opinion suppose, that the Oriental and Gnostic philosophy not only began before the time of Christ, but was besides this in such reputation, was so celebrated and favorably received through all the world, as to have admirers and disciples both very numerous in multitude, and distinguished for the elegance of their genius and learning. Now it is altogether improbable, that the ancient writers would be silent upon such a subject as this, those of them especially, who were treating of philosophical and theological subjects : we might rather expect, that in their works, numerous as they were, and of such a kind, they would enter into considerable discussion respecting it, as being something new and strange ; or, at any rate, would say a word in mention of it. But, as I have already said, there is nothing of the kind to be found in any Greek, Latin, or Jewish writer. In the former, indeed, the Greek and Latin writers, not the faintest shadow of any trace of the Oriental or Gnostic philosophy among the Asiatic Greeks is discovered, which would lead us to suppose that they knew any thing about it ; nor has it been found possible, even to this day, to adduce one testimony from all antiquity, which carries with it even any semblance of truth. Some, I know, are cited, but we shall presently see to what they amount. LUCIAN handled all kinds of philosophers very severely ; but it is worthy of remark, that he let the Gnostic philosophers pass without censure ; or rather, he made no mention of them ; which certainly would not have been the case, if any thing had been known about them at that time in Asia : unless, perhaps, he did this out of regard for them, being himself strongly attached to that excellent philosophy ! But much more remarkable is it, that a subject of such importance as this was entirely passed over by the Jewish writers, and by those of them most worthy of credit, viz. JOSEPHUS and PHILO. As these authors were extremely diligent in recording every thing relating to the Jews, and were very learned in the Greek language, they must have been intimately acquainted with the Gnostic philosophy ; and would certainly have mentioned it, if it had been so extensively known and dis-

seminated in Palestine, the country of Josephus, and in Egypt, where, according to the opinion of very learned men, Philo lived.

It is well known with what minuteness Josephus treated of all the sects of the Jews, and related their history, doctrines, and opinions ; with the exception of the Therapeutæ, whose school was established only in Egypt. He did not even omit the Zealots, although they were rather a faction among the Jews, than a sect. But he has not said a word respecting the Oriental or Gnostic philosophy. Now is it likely, that Josephus would have passed by this philosophy and its followers, if at that period, and for a short time before, it had been known and also cultivated in Judea ? Would it not have been a culpable omission on his part, to say nothing about a subject so important as the Gnostic philosophy is thought to have been ? But he was unacquainted with it, and did not understand it ! On the contrary, he did acquire a knowledge of it, during his stay in Egypt, as BRUCKER supposes, T. II. p. 709. Yet he has not said a word respecting it, nor has given us the faintest trace of it. He himself, moreover, relates, that, saving the education peculiar to his own country, he bestowed his attention exclusively upon Greek learning, although it was the custom of his nation to despise every thing foreign. *Antiq. Jud. Lib. xx*, at the end. Yet he does not mention the Oriental and Gnostic philosophy.

We must come to the same conclusion in regard to the authority of PHILO, who is also silent about this philosophy in those places, where he would have been no less inexcusable in omitting it than Josephus : and further, if he had had any knowledge of it, he would certainly have mentioned it in his work 'de Vita Contemplativa,' throughout the whole of which book he has treated of the Therapeutæ, who are thought by some of the learned to have agreed in many respects with the Gnostics. He has nowhere, however, mentioned it, although he lived and wrote in Egypt, where, in the opinion of learned men, the Oriental and Gnostic philosophy began, and was in very great repute ; and used, and particularly delighted in the allegorical mode of interpretation, from which the Gnos-

tic philosophy was derived, and of which it almost altogether consisted. I am indeed aware, that some very learned men, as Mosheim, Brucker, Michaelis,* and Walch, suppose that the Essenes were those Oriental philosophers, at least that they had many things in common with them; respecting whom both Josephus and Philo have treated at large, in whose books there are also traces of these philosophers. Two arguments, however, may be urged against this opinion. In the first place, Josephus and Philo, with one consent, class the Essenes among the Jewish sects. The principal places in JOSEPHUS, are Lib. II. c. 8. §. 2, de Bell. Jud., Ed. Oxon. 1720, where he says expressly, that among the three sects of the Jews are the Essenes, who are Jews by birth, and pay great attention to the cultivation of mutual affection; and Ant. Jud. L. xv. c. 10. XIII. c. 10; but particularly Lib. XVII. c. 2., where he says, *Ιουδαίους τρεῖς εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου τῶν πατριῶν τῶν Εσσηνῶν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, τριῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων τῶν φαρισαίων.* PHILO expressly states the same thing in several places; for example, 'Quod om. prob. Lib.' p. 876, Ed. Franc. 1691, where he thus speaks; *λέγονται τινες παρ' αὐτοῖς* (i. e. *Ιουδαίους*) *ὄνομα Εσσηαίοις*: "there are certain persons among them, (i. e. among the Jews,) called Essenes." But, in the next place, facts are opposed to this opinion; for the philosophy under discussion rejected the whole law, while, according to Philo, in the passage just referred to, the Essenes were very much attached to it; and, moreover, it inculcated so many false and pernicious opinions respecting God and divine things, that neither a disciple of the Essene school, nor any

* Einleit. ins N. T. P. II. p. 1247, Gott. 1788. His words are these: "The scattered observations made by Philo and Josephus respecting the Essenes, may all be explained from the principles of that philosophy, which I might briefly term the Oriental or Gnostic; though it is to be observed, that the Essenes did not adopt all the peculiarities of this philosophy, but principally the moral part of it, and truly a gloomy and monastic morality. At least, Philo is their great eulogist, who, in other matters relating to doctrine, is a violent opponent of the Gnostics."— [See MARSH'S Michaelis, Vol. IV. p. 82. Lond. 1802.—Tr.]

other Jew, could, without losing his purity of doctrine, approve and follow it.

But Philo, *although he either designedly abstained from mentioning the Oriental and Gnostic philosophy, or negligently passed it by as being improper for his own nation, yet in particular opinions followed the principles of that philosophy, and gives frequent and evident marks of this in his writings.* I know, indeed, that this assertion is made by learned men, particularly by Brucker, in order to prove, that traces of the Oriental and Gnostic philosophy are not altogether wanting in the works of Philo. But, in the first place, it is impossible to discover for what reason Philo observed an utter silence about this kind of philosophy. Because he thought it did no credit to his nation? Such a reason as this amounts to nothing, and, in my opinion, ought never to have been mentioned: that Philo, forsooth, considered it as unworthy of his character and his nation, to give any account of philosophers and of polite learning, which he himself, so far from despising, admired and cultivated to such a degree, that he may rightly be ranked among the most successful imitators of the more elegant learning of the ancients; so much so, that, if he did not quite come up to it, he seems to have approached very near, and, in acuteness of mind, and elegance of language, to have borne a close resemblance to Plato and Demosthenes. In the next place, I should like to see the passages, where Mosheim and Brucker have thought they discovered traces in Philo of the Oriental and Gnostic philosophy, expressly pointed out by them; that we might have something definite on the subject. I perceived, indeed, when I read that very learned, but somewhat too prolix work, the "*Hist. Crit. Philosoph.*," that passages of the kind referred to are here and there cited by Brucker; whose principal aim is to establish the opinion, that Philo was very fond of the Oriental and Gnostic philosophy, and that this is very evident from his writings. But the reply to these is easy. For, in order to let us see with clearness the main particulars of a man's doctrine, and to what school he was attached, it is not enough to adduce passages of any kind whatever: but, in the first place,

they must be doctrinal, i. e. places in which the author is delivering his own doctrines ; not historical, that is, where he is relating the sentiments and opinions of others : and, in the second place, they must be plain and clear. Now the places cited by Brucker do not appear to be of this character ; being either historical, or obscure and doubtful. That I may not appear to accuse unjustly this learned man, I shall endeavor to prove my assertion. To the first class belongs that passage to which he refers in Vol. vi. p. 415 ; comp. Vol. II. p. 772 s. It is in p. 876 s. Ed. Franc. 1691, of Philo's work entitled ' Quod om. prob. lib.,' where he is treating of the Essenes, and is handling the subject historically ; and relates their manners, rites, and customs ; and says that they leave to others the dialectic part of philosophy, as being not necessary for the formation of a virtuous character ; bestowing their attention on that alone which gives rules of life and morals ; that they examine every thing by the threefold law, which inculcates the love of God, of virtue, and of men ; that they have great reverence for God ; despise riches and honors ; live continently ; and other things of the same kind. What trace is there, I would ask, of the Oriental philosophy, in such a passage as this ? and even if there were any, it cannot be thereby proved, that Philo was a follower of it ; since the passage is not doctrinal, but historical, and is not at all, therefore, to the purpose. But how Brucker came to think so, may be easily conjectured ; for he thought that the Essenes were those very philosophers themselves.

To the other class of passages, that is, obscure, doubtful, and therefore uncertain, belong those places cited by Brucker and others, in which Philo discourses concerning the λόγος. As the Gnostics trifled a great deal about this subject, therefore Philo himself was also a Gnostic ! Those who have advanced this opinion did not recollect, that some consider this use of the term λόγος as peculiar to Philo ; while others think it was borrowed from the diction and refinement of Plato, whom Philo copied : and that this very difference of opinion shews the obscurity and difficulty of these passages ; a difficulty which very learned men have not hesitated to acknow-

ledge. Neither is it enough to say, that, because Philo maintained one or two opinions, or modes of phraseology, in common with the Gnostics, he learned and adopted them from these. So, however, BRUCKER thinks, Tom. III. p. 385; and he thence proves, that Philo was attached to the Gnostic and Oriental philosophy, since, in his work 'de Mundi Opif.' p. 3 s. Ed. Franc. 1691, he agrees with JAMBlichus, 'de Myster. Ægypt.' Sect. v. c. 23, p. 183, and derives from Demiurge the origin of the world and of matter. But, in the first place, in regard to the opinion itself, there is no such thing as this in the words of Philo. For he says nothing more, than that God, in the creation of the world, formed to himself, first of all, an intelligible image of it, that he might complete the corporeal world after the pattern of that which was incorporeal, and most like to God; this more recent one being a resemblance of the older, and being intended to embrace as many sensible kinds of objects, as there were intelligible kinds in the other. His words are these: *Θεός βουλευθείς τὸν ἰδρατὸν τουτοῦ κόσμου δημιουργῆσαι, προξενύπτου τὸν νοητὸν, ἵνα χρώμενος ἀσωμάτῳ καὶ θεοειδεστάτῳ παραδείγματι, τὸν σωματικὸν ἀπεργάσῃται, πρεσβυτέρου νεώτερον ἀπεικόνισμα, τοσαῦτα ἐπιβέβητα αἰσθητὰ γένη, ὅσα περ ἐν ἐκείνῳ νοητά.* What is there, I would ask, in this place, about Demiurge, or the origin of the world and of matter from him, or about æons, sephirs, emanative virtues, and other things of that kind, which Brucker thinks it contains? Philo speaks of God in a human way; and, as what follows clearly shews, compares him with a king, who, if he has undertaken to build a city, first conceives in his mind and thoughts that which he terms the intelligible city, *νοητὴν πόλιν*, and then orders the city which he has thus conceived to be built; this last being called by Philo the corporeal city, *σωματικῆ*. He himself explains his meaning more clearly in p. 5, where he says; *οὐδὲν ἂν ἕτερον ἔπειαι τὸν νοητὸν εἶναι κόσμον, ἢ θεοῦ λόγον ἢ δὴ κοσμοποιούντος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ νοητὴ πόλις ἕτερόν τι ἐστίν, ἢ δ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος λογισμὸς ἢ δὴ τὴν νοητὴν πόλιν κτιῖζειν διανοεμένου.* There is, therefore, no reason for supposing, that Philo in that place referred to the doc-

trines of the Gnostics. If the reader, however, prefers the opinion, that he had some particular philosophy in view, I should rather think it to be the barbarian, which, according to CLEM. ALEXAND., Strom. v. p. 593, recognized a κόσμος νόητος and αἰσθητος, the former being the ἀρχέτυπος, and the latter an εἰκὼν τοῦ καλουμένου παραδείγματος; and which opinion he classes among those, borrowed by the Greeks from the Barbarians. Brucker does not seem to have been altogether opposed to this opinion, and, on this account, appears somewhat inconsistent with himself; for, in another place, viz. Tom. II. p. 802, he thinks that these ideas are to be regarded as improved Platonism. Perhaps, however, in the passage above mentioned, he was deceived by the word δημιουργός, which Philo uses in the place cited, and in a thousand others; and which it is surprising that even some among the ancient ecclesiastical writers, considered as unsuitable to God. This word, however, ought not to be offensive, since it is applied to God not only by profane writers, but also in the sacred Scriptures; as Heb. xi. 10. Comp. ELSNER, Obs. Sac. Tom. I. p. 365.

I cannot pass by another passage, particularly worthy of notice, in which Philo is thought to have followed the Oriental philosophy. It occurs in his work 'de Creat. Princ.' p. 728, Ed. Franc. 1691, where there is found a description of the creation of the world, in which, among other things, he uses these words: Θεὸς γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι, and, ἐκ σκότους ὥς ἐργασάμενος; which, to my great surprise, BRUCKER, Tom. II. p. 884, thinks cannot be understood, "unless, according to the doctrine of the Cabbalists, which arose in Egypt, we maintain, that divine emanations, when they removed to a great distance from the supreme light, became darkness, on account of being deprived of light; but that, through Sephiroth, and the canal of Adam Kadmon, a ray of light was transmitted into the darkness, and thus the material world was formed." But is not the passage in question perfectly intelligible, without maintaining any such thing? To me, indeed, this doctrine of the Cabbalists, so strange and seraphic in its character, was much more obscure than the passage of Philo, the meaning of

which, without thinking any thing about those egregious trifles, I perceived as soon as I looked at it; recollecting some places to be met with in the sacred books, in which both those phrases occur. The first, *καλεῖν τὰ μὴ ὄντα εἰς τὸ εἶναι*, occurs, with a slight variation, in Rom. iv. 17, where it is, *καλεῖν τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα*; though this place of St. Paul may be explained in another way also, viz. as referring to future things, and the foreknowledge of them. But there is another place, II. Macc. vii. 28, where the phrase *τὰ οὐκ ὄντα* occurs in the same way as *τὰ μὴ ὄντα* in the passage of Philo. Now the words *τὰ ὄντα*, in common Greek language, generally signify "the things which are;" and *τὰ μὴ ὄντα* the same as *μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων*, in Heb. xi. 3, which is for *ἐκ μὴ φαινομένων*; a phrase particularly frequent with THUCYDIDES, as MARKLAND, who was thoroughly versed in the Greek language, has observed in his notes on Lysias.* But the phrase *τὰ μὴ φαινόμενα* signifies, "things which do not exist, and therefore cannot be perceived;" in which sense it occurs also in JOSEPHUS, Ant. Jud. L. v. c. 10. Ed. Oxon. 1720. The other phrase occurs, in a similar manner, in II. Cor. iv. 6; except that for *ἐργασάμενος φῶς ἐκ σκότους* there is the Hebrew form of expression *ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψαι*; evidently, however, in the same sense. In my opinion, therefore, this passage of Philo is clear enough, without bringing any light upon it from the absurdities of the Gnostics; and, as the phrases used in it are common both with the sacred writers and with Philo, it is evident, that they were derived not from the usage of the Gnostic philosophers, but from the customary mode of speaking of the Jews; who, when they wished to describe the creation of things which before had no existence, said, that God produced things that were not, or ordered light to arise in the place of darkness.

But I will grant, although, as I have shewn, there is no necessity for doing so, that Philo in certain opinions agreed with the Gnostics. Is Philo, I would ask, on that account, to be called a Gnostic, or a votary and defender of the Orien-

* [See Lysias, Ed. Reiske, Vol. i. p. 281.—Tr.]

tal philosophy? For it is evident, that many persons frequently entertain, or seem to entertain, certain opinions in common with others, which they can by no means be said to have derived from them. The Pharisees, according to Josephus, held in common with the Pelagians the doctrine, that a man can live a holy life by his own strength; and thus they were the first broachers of Pelagianism. But did they learn this from the school of Pelagius, and did they follow him? Was the Pelagian error known, and diffused far and wide, at that period? The case is precisely the same in regard to Philo; who must not be supposed to have been attached to those egregious trifles, for so they ought to be called rather than elegancies, but rather to have learned them from his own Platonic school. The Gnostics, on the other hand, must be said to have derived some things from Philo and Plato, if we determine that there is any agreement between their doctrine.

It ought, however, to be borne in mind, that the Gnostics differed in many respects from one another, and that we have no certain knowledge what their opinions were; our information being for the most part obscure and doubtful. The reason of this lies, partly in the Gnostic tenets themselves, which are exceedingly obscure and involved; and partly also in the circumstance, that not a single book or confession of theirs is extant, from which we might determine something certain respecting their opinions. The whole matter, therefore, has to be decided by reference to the works of others, and of those, moreover, who have undertaken to refute the Gnostics; who, though it cannot be laid to their charge, that, through hatred or ignorance, they branded these their enemies with infamy, cannot, however, be pronounced altogether free, in their frequent controversies, from the appearance of too impetuous a zeal, and of the frailty belonging to human nature. The system of the Gnostics was first explained by Irenæus, whose 'Books against Heresies' are among the sources, from which a knowledge of the Gnostic heresies is to be derived. He has this fault, however, in common with others, that he employs himself rather in refuting, than simply recording, their wicked

tenets, and speaks more like a censor, than a historian: not to say, that only a Latin version of his work is extant, and that, too, a barbarous and uncouth one; the author of which had no competent knowledge either of Greek or Latin, and is therefore in many places very obscure. Now if any person had it in his power to become acquainted with these difficulties, with which, so far as its tenets and character are concerned, the philosophy of the Gnostics is beset, it must certainly have been those, whose studies were chiefly devoted to its illustration. These persons, accordingly, have not hesitated to avow them; as, for example, MOSHEIM, *Instit. H. E.* maj. p. 142, and 372: BRUCKER, *Tom. II.* p. 639 s. where he thus speaks; "It is to be lamented that the books of these men are no longer in existence, and that only a few small fragments remain; and also that the ecclesiastical writers, perplexed from various causes, have rendered the knowledge of their system so confused, that thus far little can be said respecting this philosophy, and its true reasonings and principles, which is not, by the insuperable difficulties with which it is surrounded, nearly proof against the most diligent scrutiny." He shews the same thing at the end of the chapter, through the whole of §. XI. p. 651 s., and *Tom. VI.* p. 402 s. MICHAELIS agrees with him, in his *Einleit.*; and also SEMLER, who in his *Comment. Hist. de ant. Chr. Statu*, p. 76, says, "It is to be regretted, that we have nothing at all remaining of the writings of the Gnostics, except scattered and obscure opinions, of which we find it hard to form even a small collection, out of the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, and others of later date." But if this be the fact, how vain the attempt to determine upon the agreement that exists, between Philo and the Gnostics.

Some things, however, remain to be said, respecting the source of the Gnostic philosophy, the parent, so to speak, of this offspring, namely, the *Oriental philosophy*, which I might very well have omitted, had I not thought that they tended strongly to confirm and throw light upon my own opinion. The opinion of Mosheim and Brucker, I shall give in their own words: "that a certain philosophy prevailed through almost all

the provinces of Asia, and of the whole East, different from the Greek, and from that which is called the barbarian, and entirely opposite to it; and that this was not only known to other nations, but was also cultivated by them, as a superior part of philosophy, and constituted a peculiar kind of diviner wisdom or theology, in relation to God and the world; and that this same philosophy, or theology, is the source of the Gnostic philosophy." Now I am certainly not among those, who would entirely reject the testimonies adduced in support of this opinion, drawn as they are from a rich store of profound erudition; and who would pertinaciously deny what has been advanced by two men of such distinguished attainments. Two things, however, I propose to do; in the first place, to the testimonies cited by them I shall oppose others; and, in the next place, I shall offer some doubts in regard to those which Brucker has adduced, Tom. vi. Hist. Crit. Phil. p. 411 ss. and which are the most prominent, and exceedingly plausible.

And first, one suggestion presents itself, which I cannot think entirely unworthy of attention, that all the ancient ecclesiastical writers were evidently unacquainted with the Oriental philosophy, much less considered it as the source of that of the Gnostics; but, on the contrary, derived the *origin* of the latter partly from the doctrine of the Jews, which at that period abounded in errors and trifles, and partly from the Greek philosophy, particularly the Platonic. Clear proofs of this statement are to be met with; and how they are to be reconciled together, will be seen at the end of the present treatise. Among those ancient ecclesiastical writers, who considered the doctrines of the Gnostics as being derived from the idle fables of the Jews, is particularly to be mentioned that same Hegesippus, of whom I have spoken above; who, in EUSEB. H. E. IV. 22. p. 142 s., clearly shews, that the heresies of Simon, Dositheus, Menander, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentine, Basilides, and others, who, if not all, yet most of them, were either authors of the Gnostic absurdities, or their promoters and disciples, at least the persons who first suggested them, derived their origin from Judæism, or, to use his own words, from the seven sects of the Jews, (which are then enumerated.

viz. the Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbotheans, Samaritans, Sadducees, and Pharisees,) and that thence arose false prophets, false apostles, and false Christs. And this opinion is approved of by Valesius, in loc. Other ancient ecclesiastical writers, however, and, which is particularly to be borne in mind, those who more thoroughly than any others investigated and refuted the Gnostic doctrines, viz. Irenæus, 'adv. hæer.' L. II. c. 14, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Tertullian, passages from whom I shall presently cite, suppose that the Gnostics learned their tenets from the Greek philosophers, but particularly from Plato; and that they were either disciples or rivals of him, and altered his system for the worse; and the testimony of these men ought to be considered as of great weight for this, among other reasons, that they had come over to Christianity from the schools of the Platonic philosophers. In order to prove their point, they have adduced examples by no means undeserving of attention; and have instituted comparisons between the philosophers referred to, which, however they may appear to some to be a little far-fetched and refined, and more ingenious than correct, yet shew that it was not through ignorance of the Oriental philosophy, that those writers derived the heresies of the Gnostics from the Grecian philosophy. Their opinion, moreover, receives great probability from the circumstance, that the philosophy of the Gnostics took its rise in the same regions, in which that of the Greeks almost exclusively prevailed. This has led many very learned men to assent to their decision; among whom are MASSURT, Diss. 1. in Iren. p. 93 s. VITRINGA, Obs. Sac. p. 135 ss., &c. And, in truth, it is very surprising, that Clemens Alexandrinus, in so large a work as the 'Stromata,' in which he has so many admirable discussions respecting the Gentile philosophy, does not utter a syllable about the Oriental philosophy. On the contrary, though he had no enmity against schools of this nature, and admired to the greatest degree every kind of liberal learning, (comp. Strom. L. 1. p. 292. and 297, and the very honorable testimony borne to him by Eusebius, H. E. vi. 1, 13, 18.) yet he constantly speaks of the philosophy of the Greeks and Barbarians only, except in one passage.

about which we shall see presently ; and in Lib. 1. Strom. p. 302, he divides all learning into the Grecian and Barbarian only, and shews that from it one system must be selected. Hence we may infer, I think, not without reason, that Clemens knew nothing about any Oriental philosophy ; but rather that he traced the opinions of the Gnostics, which are usually considered as being derived from that source, to the Grecian and Barbarian. With Clemens Alex. agrees TERTULLIAN, 'de præscrip. adv. hæc.' c. 7. His words are as follows : " Ipsæ hæreses a Philosophia subornantur. Inde æones et formæ, nescio quæ, et trinitas hominis apud Valentinum. Platonius fuerat. Inde Marcionis Deus melior, de tranquillitate ; a Stoicis venerat : et uti anima interire dicatur, ab Epicureis observatur. Et ut carnis restitutio negetur, de una omnium Philosophorum schola sumitur. Et ubi materia cum Deo æquatur, Zenonis disciplina est : et ubi aliquid de igneo Deo alligatur, Heraclitus intervenit. Eædem materiæ apud hæreticos et Philosophos volutantur, iidem retractatus implicantur. Unde malum et quare ? et unde homo et quomodo ? Et quod proxime Valentinus proposuit, unde Deus ? Scilicet de Enthymesi et ectromate. Sequitur Aristotelem, qui illis Dialecticam instituit, &c." " Heresies themselves are suborned by philosophy. Thence came æons, and I know not what other forms, and the human trinity of Valentine. He had been of the Platonic school. Thence the superior Deity of Marcion, as respects the tranquillity ascribed to him ; this idea came from the Stoics. The doctrine that the soul dies, is maintained by the Epicureans. The denial of the resurrection of the body, is taken from all the philosophers without exception. Where matter is made equal with God, it is the school of Zeno : and where any confused remarks are made respecting a fiery God, there it is Heraclitus. The same subjects are treated by the heretics and by philosophers ; both discuss the same intricate questions. Whence came evil, and wherefore ? Whence came man, and how ? And the inquiry next proposed by Valentine, Whence came God ? Forsooth, an invention of caprice and distorted fancy. He follows Aristotle, who taught all those persons dialectics ; &c." I have added

this passage, indeed, with some diffidence ; as BAUCKER, Tom. vi. p. 402, wonders " that it is mentioned at the present enlightened period of the history of philosophy ; it being obvious that Tertullian wrote in this manner, merely for the purpose of heaping odium upon the heretics." I must confess, however, that I cannot see how Tertullian would have stained the character of the Gnostics, by saying that they learned their system from the Greeks. Perhaps because the worthy writers of the church, like many in our own day, despised the instruction which is to be derived from polite, or, to use plainer terms, profane learning ; and endeavored to dissuade persons from the study of it, as being dangerous and pernicious, and tending to Atheism and paganism. This, however, is by no means the fact. Yet no other reason appears for supposing, that Tertullian, in the expression of this opinion of his, desired to detract from the character of the Gnostics. Not to say that it has been admitted by very distinguished men, and also by Brucker himself, as we shall hereafter see, that we have had as yet very little light in the work of illustrating the Oriental philosophy.

I now proceed to consider those testimonies which are adduced by learned men, in order to prove, both that there was a philosophy of this sort, which they have been pleased to term Oriental, and that the Gnostic was taken from it ; and to offer some doubts in regard to them, especially to those cited by BAUCKER, l. c. which are prominent, and have been most recently advanced. These testimonies, I must confess, appear to me rather vague and ambiguous. They shew clearly, indeed, that the Persians, Egyptians, and others, were famous for their extraordinary learning or wisdom, and that this induced the Greeks to become acquainted with it ; and this nobody is disposed to deny : for Clemens Alex. shews through the whole of the Fifth Book of the Stromata, that the latter took many ideas from them, and transferred them to their own philosophy. But it cannot in any way be discovered by what is there said, whether these nations had any peculiar system of philosophy, or mystical theology, distinct from that general wisdom ; of what sort it was ; what

was its character and genius ; or what doctrines it delivered : which, however, is very necessary, if these testimonies are to prove any thing ; for otherwise this philosophy may be made to suit any opinions whatsoever. But, as I have said, we do not find this in the passages cited. The principal references are these. In PLINY, H. N. L. xxx. proem., Democritus is said to have gone “ to learn the magian philosophy ;” (*ad philosophiam magicam discendam*,) and in PORPHYRY, Vit. Plotini, c. 13, Plotinus is also stated to have set out “ to endeavor to learn the philosophy cultivated among the Persians ;” (*φιλοσοφίας κατὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐπιτηδευομένης κτήσαν λαβεῖν*,) and finally, in EUNAPIUS, Aedes. p. 61, two strangers profess, *εἶναι τῆς χαλδαϊκῆς σοφίας καλουμένης οὐκ ἀμύητους*, that they are initiated in the Chaldaic wisdom, as it is called, and instructed in its mysteries. But what is this *φιλοσοφία* ? None other than the Oriental, they tell us. But as in these places the term Oriental philosophy does not occur ; and no one appellation in particular is used, but sometimes it is called the magian philosophy, sometimes the Persian, sometimes the Chaldaic ; and as there are no certain and clear marks, from which the nature and character of the magian, Persian, and Chaldaic wisdom, may be known, and which would lead us thence to infer, that it was the Oriental philosophy ; I think that my assertion is just, that these testimonies are doubtful, and of no weight. It is evident, moreover, in how various a sense the Greek writers used the term *φιλοσοφία* ; comprehending in it, chiefly that wisdom, which relates to the government of human life ; also eloquence ; and great fortitude in the endurance of afflictions : but, as far as I know, there is no example to prove, that they employed it with reference to any theological system, or to opinions in regard to God, and divine things. But, to speak my own opinion in respect to this *φιλοσοφία κατὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις*, and *σοφία χαλδαϊκή*, I consider it as nothing else than that ancient science of the Eastern nations, called Magic ; which was supposed to consist in a secret knowledge of spiritual beings, and a familiar intercourse with them, and arose first in Chaldea, Persia, and other neighboring countries, but not very long afterwards was spread

and boasted of among the Egyptians; who, owing to their fanatical and superstitious character, (BRUCKER, Tom. II. p. 219.) went even farther still, and attributed to this familiarity with spirits a power of doing things, which were beyond human ability. Men of this kind, who cultivated that science, and a very ancient example of whom is to be found in those Egyptian impostors, who, imitating by their fraudulent contrivances the miracles of Moses, endeavored to deceive the eyes and the minds of the unwary, were called *δαμνάσιοι* or *δαμναροῦνται*; not only because they were distinguished for their wonderful power and learning, as CICERO, in his ORATOR, calls Herodotus "wonderful" (*mirabilem*),* and as ATHENÆUS, *Deipnos.* III. 5,† terms him "most wonderful," (*δαμνασίωτατον*,) but because they performed miracles, or rather false appearances of miracles, feigned either for the sake of gain, or for superstitious purposes, or in adaptation to the opinions of the people, who were given up to weak superstition. Among these was particularly famous that Apollonius Tyanæus, of whom the garrulous and trifling PHILOSTRATUS, in his 'Vit. Apoll. Tyan.'‡ has not blushed to say, that he raised the dead to life. After Apollonius, the next place in the school of wonderful (*δαμνάσιοι*) philosophers must be assigned, as BRUCKER himself shews, Tom. II. p. 227, to Plotinus, "since not only, (I use his express words) was he altogether occupied in metaphysical speculations, but also boasted of theurgic powers." Compare also p. 143 a. and 265 of the same Volume. Which circumstance is itself a proof, that by *φιλοσοφία κατὰ τοῦς Πέρσαις* is meant Magic, for the sake of acquiring which it appears that many philosophers travelled to the nations which were famous for the profession of it, and on their return boasted that they were completely instructed in it; to prove which BRUCKER, Tom. III. p. 379, cites the testimony of Tatian, who, after he had said

* [Orator, ad Brutum; Cicero. Opera, Vol. II. p. 522, Edit. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1692.—Tr.]

† [Vol. I. p. 309. Ed. Schweigh.—Tr.]

‡ [iv. 16, p. 206. Ed. Morel. Par. 1808.—Tr.]

“that he had gone over a great part of the earth, and had acted the philosopher (*σοφιστευσας*),” adds, “that he had acquired innumerable secret arts and inventions.” The case of Democritus, however, is the plainest of all. He was universally charged by the ancients with magic; and the same Pliny, who states that he went to learn the magian philosophy, classes him among magical authors, H. N. xxiv. 17. xxx. 1. Though some learned men, particularly BRUCKER. Tom. i. p. 1184, do not agree with him in this representation, and GELLIUS, xvii. 21, reproves him for ascribing to Democritus a number of intolerable absurdities; yet others, for the most part, assent to Pliny’s account, and are not so ready to acquit Democritus of the charge of magic. At any rate, it may be perceived from what has been said, that this passage of Pliny cannot, with any propriety, be cited, for the purpose of proving the Oriental philosophy; since Pliny understood by ‘magian philosophy,’ though incorrectly, as learned men think, magic and magical arts.

And that the same thing is meant by ‘Chaldaic philosophy’ in Eunapius, the whole tenor of the narrative may shew to any one, even at the slightest investigation. I will give the reader a brief statement of the writer’s subject, that he may the more easily judge of the great weight of this testimony, adduced in proof of the Oriental philosophy. To two old men, Eunapius tells us, who had come to the farm of Sosipatra’s parents, dressed like travellers, and having the appearance of rustics, was entrusted, at her request, the care of a vineyard; which, from that time, bore fruit in far greater abundance than ever, so that every one who saw it immediately suspected a miracle. Wherefore the old men, having been very handsomely attired, and sent for to a feast, when they saw Sosipatra, and were captivated with her beauty, entreated that she might be committed to their instruction for five years; beseeching her father not to be anxious either about his farm, or his daughter; but to expect that the former would yield very abundant fruits, and that the latter would rise above the condition of mortals. The father complied. When the five years had elapsed, the daughter re-

tarned ; and her father not knowing her, from the size and beauty of her body, worshipped her, thinking that he saw a being altogether of another nature. When she had at length been recognized, she told every thing, from the greatest to the least, that had happened to her in the mean time ; and threw her father into such admiration and astonishment by this account, that he thought his daughter a goddess, and falling down at the feet of the old men, begged that they would tell him who they were. They hesitating, said with difficulty, after a while, *that they belonged to the sect, called Chaldaic, and were initiated in its mysteries ;* and this in an enigmatical manner, and with downcast faces. When the father had heard this, he begged them, in an imploring manner, that they would become the proprietors of the farm, and would more fully instruct his daughter, who was consecrated to the Gods ; to which they signified their assent by signs, not uttering another word. In what follows, these old men are called *genii* ; and she is stated to have been *Δειασμένη καὶ ἐν-δουσιῶσα*, (agitated by a divine power, and filled with inspiration,) and *Δεισιτέρα*, and to have been every where present, and to have predicted future events, which were brought to pass. I do not know what others may think, after reading this ; but, for myself, I do not see even the shadow of a trace of a certain peculiar science, viz. the Oriental ; but am persuaded that all this relates to magic. And, in truth, I cannot cease to wonder, that so much stress has been laid upon this passage, which is evidently to be placed on the list of mere idle fables ; and ought never to have been cited by way of proof on such an occasion as this. This is also the opinion of WALCH, in his ‘Dissertation on the Source of the Gnostic System in the Oriental philosophy,’ which is added at the end of Part II. of the Commentatt. of Michaelis, p. 284 ; where he also adds, that not only is the credit of Eupapius injured, by his relation of such absurdities, but his testimony is not of much weight, on account of the character of the age in which he lived.

From what has been said, the point I designed to establish is clear ; viz. that the passages cited by Brucker from Pliny

and other writers, do not relate to the Oriental philosophy, but to Magic; and therefore that the whole subject of the Oriental philosophy is uncertain. But let us grant that those passages have a different meaning from that which I have assigned to them: at any rate they are not to be explained of the Oriental philosophy, but rather of the barbarian; which, though held in great contempt by some of the ancient philosophers, as was the case with EPICURUS, according to CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, 'Strom.' L. 1. p. 302. ed. Sylb., was held in the greatest estimation by others; so that it is easy to see the reason of the journeys made to those nations by the Greeks. Hence Clemens, in the place just mentioned, observes that it would be superfluous to prove, that some very distinguished philosophers and wise men of the Greeks were both barbarian in their extraction, as Pythagoras, Antisthenes, Orpheus, and Homer; and also instructed by the barbarians. He relates, moreover, that Plato, (as is shewn by his very elegant writings, from which Sylburg has cited passages, at this place of Clemens,) not only was a great admirer of the barbarians, but also frankly confessed, that he and Pythagoras acquired among those nations the most excellent part of philosophy. Hence he observes, L. vi. p. 629, that Epicurus, though he said that none but the Greeks understood philosophy, (as had been shewn in the above mentioned passage, L. 1.) stole his principal doctrines from that same Democritus, who was very learned in the barbarian philosophy; and also that Pythagoras conversed intimately with the prophets of the Egyptians, L. 1. l. c, on which account he submitted to circumcision, in order that, by entering into their secret recesses, he might acquire the mystical philosophy of the Egyptians; and that he was intimate with the most distinguished of the Chaldeans and Magians. And no one, I imagine, would deem Pythagoras a Gnostic! To this testimony is added that of ORIGEN, cont. Cels. L. 1, p. 5. ed. Hoeschel, who derives the origin of almost all schools and philosophy from the barbarians. There is no need, however, of these proofs, the thing being quite evident. Nor do I perceive any thing in that place of Clemens, L. 1. p. 303, so far as I can understand it:

from which, because he speaks of the philosophy of the Brachmans, the Odrysæ, and the Getæ, and also of the Chaldeans and Arabians, Brucker thinks it may be discovered, that both the name and reputation of the Oriental philosophy had spread among the Greeks. This only I can see ; that what is said relates to the barbarian philosophy, to which the Greeks accommodated their own ; not to the Oriental, i. e. some peculiar system, different from the Greek and the barbarian.

The testimonies, therefore, cited by Brucker, in proof of an Oriental philosophy, have not sufficient certainty, and are of no weight. It is, indeed, evident from these, and cannot be denied, that some of the learned men of antiquity had heard of the remarkable knowledge of the Persians and Chaldeans ; and that some among them, ardently desirous of acquiring it, took journies to them, and were considerably benefited by their instructions. But the great point under discussion, and against which I contend, can in no way be made to appear by these citations ; viz. *first*, that these nations, besides that philosophy which is commonly attributed to them, had a certain peculiar system, of a mystical and theological nature, different from the barbarian wisdom, so called, and termed Oriental ; *secondly*, that this is the source of the Gnostic philosophy ; and *lastly*, what is absolutely necessary to be shewn, if any passages of the N. Testament are to be illustrated from the Gnostic philosophy, that this Gnostic philosophy took its rise from that Oriental philosophy as early as the time of Christ, and perhaps long before ; and, what I wish chiefly to be borne in mind, that it was approved of by the Jews in Palestine, and by the Greeks in Asia Minor, and also in Greece itself, at Corinth, and in other places ; and was eagerly received by so great a number of people, and so made use of to corrupt, and defile with various errors the pure Christian doctrine, that the Apostles were put to the necessity of seriously admonishing Christians, not to suffer themselves to be deceived by it, and of rejecting and vehemently refusing, in their writings, its false doctrines, which had already crept into the Apostolic doctrine, and system of morals. I think, therefore, there will be none disposed to blame me, be-

cause I have ventured to differ from the opinion of so many distinguished men ; and to doubt both as to the existence of the whole Oriental philosophy, and as to the position that from it the Gnostic system was derived.

I shall now briefly sum up what has been said. In the *first* place, I cited the testimony of authors worthy of credit, who assign a somewhat later date to the Gnostic philosophy, than is commonly supposed, and clearly shew that it became generally known in the Second Century. In the *next* place I shewed, that Greek writers, and the Jewish authors Josephus and Philo, have not said a word about the Gnostics even in those places, where they could not properly have passed them by, or, at any rate, where they had a convenient opportunity for mentioning them ; and that it can by no means be believed, that they would have omitted a subject of so much importance, as it is commonly supposed this system had obtained, if it had indeed existed in their time. I then considered some passages of Philo in particular, in which learned men have thought they discovered traces of the Gnostic philosophy, and defended them against this supposition ; shewing that they can be easily otherwise explained, and ought therefore to be so. In the *third* place, I treated of the source of the Gnostic philosophy ; that philosophy, viz. which Mosheim first termed Oriental ; and shewed, not only that the ancient ecclesiastical writers were entirely unacquainted with this Oriental philosophy, and suppose the Gnostics to have drawn their doctrines from another source, but that in the passages of Pliny, and of other writers, from which learned men have attempted to prove, both that there was a certain Oriental philosophy, and that the Gnostic was derived from it, there is nothing of the kind ; but that they ought to be understood in some other sense, certainly not as referring to the Oriental philosophy. And thence I think it may with good reason be inferred, that that opinion is doubtful, not sufficiently established, or, to speak freely, is false, which maintains that the philosophy of the Gnostics was known, spread, and received, through nearly all the world, in the time of Christ and the Apostles. or rather during that of the Seventy Interpreters :

but that there is much more probability, and therefore certainty, in that which supposes the Gnostics to have been subsequent to the Apostolic age. And here I cannot refrain from adding the words of Brucker ; in which he appears to utter an opinion precisely in accordance with my own : though the praise is due to him in common with Mosheim, of having brought forward, and defended, the opposite sentiment. In Tom. vi. Hist. Crit. Phil. p. 402, he thus expresses himself : “ Although these testimonies which I have cited, to prove the existence of some theological and mystical system, flourishing every where among the Eastern nations at the first period of the Christian religion, are sufficient, if not fully to satisfy an inquisitive mind, at any rate to convince it that the position is probable ; yet it must be confessed, that, amidst so many traces of its existence, historical circumstances are very obscure ; and that as clear a light is not shed upon the history of this sect, or of the Oriental philosophy, as that which guides us in the history of the Grecian school of philosophy, or even of the heresies, which sprang up within the Christian church.” Mark how doubtfully he speaks, and with what little confidence in his own opinion ! And in p. 403, he says : “ I confess also, that, although I have been engaged for almost fifty years in investigating the history of ancient philosophy, I have not yet arrived at as certain and clear a knowledge, as we have, for example, in regard to the Socratic, or even the Pythagorean sects ; and that great darkness hangs over this portion of the subject, &c.” The same admission is made also by MOSHEIM, De Reb. Christ. ante Constant. M. §. xxxi. p. 26 ; by MICHAELIS, in the Dissertation above referred to, respecting the traces of the Gnostic philosophy in the time of the Seventy Interpreters, and of Philo ; and by WALCH, in the work just cited.

I would here make the general remark, however, that I cannot cease to wonder at this inconsistency of learned men, in their defence of the point under discussion ; and particularly of Mosheim and Brucker, who are every where so confused, that they do not know where to turn amidst the difficulties into which they have brought themselves, and frequently

run hither and thither into opposite assertions : and sometimes it is impossible to know with any certainty what is their real opinion. Thus, for example, Mosheim, when he is endeavoring to illustrate, and prove the existence of the Oriental philosophy, attempts to benefit his cause by saying, that the doctrine of the Chaldeans and Persians respecting the origin of evil is so very ancient, that none can have any doubt in regard to it. This is true enough, and about that doctrine there is no question : but whether, besides it, there was another peculiar system among the Chaldeans and Persians, which was professed also by the Jews and Greeks in Palestine and Asia Minor, in the time of Christ and the Apostles, and which was termed the Oriental philosophy ; and whether from this had arisen, even at that time, the Gnostic system ; this is the point, as to which I ask for historical proof.—Moreover, when he finds it impossible to get clear of the difficulty presented by those passages of ancient ecclesiastical writers, in which it is expressly asserted, that the Gnostics arose subsequently to the times of the Apostles ; he admits, indeed, that the Gnostics were not, at this period, called by that name, but says, however, that their philosophy, which was termed *γνῶσις*, was then in existence. This is nothing more than strengthening one conjecture by another. And besides, he himself thinks that he has proved, in many places, “ that in the time of Christ, and before that period, there were philosophers, who were called Gnostics by others, or aspired to that title themselves.” See *Instit. H. E. maj.* p. 260 s., and other places already cited. How do these things agree one with the other ? But conjectures, and predetermined opinions, never are consistent with themselves.—Further, in his *Commentary on the two Epistles to Timothy*, p. 597, he divides the Gnostics into two separate classes ; saying that some of these heretics were united with the Christians, while others had no communion with them. There is no warrant, however, for such a distinction, but Mosheim’s own imagination ; nor can it be established by any historical proof.—At length he creeps out, either by saying, that every thing is false and uncertain, which the ancient ec-

clesiastical writers have told us respecting the period and sources of the Gnostic philosophy, as we have seen above ; (but I have just as much right to say, that what Mosheim asserts is false ;) or by perverting and confusing the passages which occur in these writers, until they are made to coincide with his own opinion. Thus in his Commentary just referred to, p. 105, he wishes to prove from a place of CLEM. ALEX. Strom. II. II, that the Gnostics themselves also allowed, that their opinions were condemned by St. Paul in his Epistles to Timothy ; and that, on this account, they rejected these epistles. There is no such thing, however, as this, in the whole passage. Clement says, indeed, that these epistles were rejected by the Gnostics ; not, however, because they thought that they had been attacked in them, but rather for this reason, which he adds expressly ; viz. because some passages might be adduced from these epistles in refutation of their opinions, which they could not answer : and the same course ever has been, and is now pursued by those, who are the inventors of erroneous doctrines.—From all this therefore, it may be seen, how learned men are compelled to turn from one resource to the other, in order to establish their opinion as to the antiquity and the source of the Gnostic philosophy ; and also what weight is to be attributed to it, in the midst of such inconsistency and uncertainty.

PART II. PHILOLOGICAL.

HAVING in the former part proved, by arguments which appear to me conclusive, that the pernicious philosophy of the Gnostics did not arise among the Jews in Palestine, and the Greeks in Asia Minor and in Greece itself, during the times of the Apostles, but somewhere in the Second Century, at any rate that it was not before this period injurious to Christianity ; I shall now proceed to the consideration of those passages of the New Testament, in which learned men are of opinion that the sacred writers are opposing the Gnostics, and that very clear traces of these heretics exist. I

shall, therefore, bring forward these places, and endeavor to shew, that they can be explained in some other more suitable, and perhaps more probable way : not, indeed, with the intention of proposing a new meaning and scope for all the passages under discussion ; but in order to render more probable, by an exhibition of the very words and subject-matter, and using, as it were, the authority of the inspired writers themselves, that explanation which I think most agreeable to the best interpreters ; and to establish and illustrate it by arguments either new, or at any rate supplied with new force ; and thus to endeavor to put the interpretation in a clearer light. I shall not, however, cite and examine every single place, in which some learned writers, blinded by attachment to their own preconceived opinion, and particularly HAMMOND, have thought they discovered something of the kind. In this case I should have no end to my labor ; for they bring forward such a multitude of passages, that there is scarcely a page, in which they do not seek, and of course find, traces of the Gnostics : for an eager anxiety to maintain a new opinion never is in quest of any thing, which it does not with ease discover. A course which some distinguished men, who, in other respects, have gone to the greatest lengths in their anxiety to hunt after traces of the Gnostics, and particularly MOSHEIM, *Institut. H. E. maj. p. 316*, have exceedingly blamed in Hammond ; not hesitating to confess, that he has transgressed all proper bounds. Nor shall I say any thing about places in the Old Testament ; either in the Hebrew text itself, where VITRINGA thinks he sees something in reference to the present subject, in his *Commentary on Isaiah, Vol. II. p. 583* ; or in the Septuagint version, where Michaelis, in his learned dissertation above referred to, has maintained that there are traces of the Gnostics. From this labor I may be excused ; since, so far as the dissertation just mentioned is concerned, ERNESTI has already performed it in the *N. th. Bibl. T. VIII. p. 721 s.*, where he has brought forward some arguments in support of my opinion, few in number, indeed, but, as is usual with him, exceedingly weighty. I shall only observe this much, that it

may perhaps seem wonderful, that such a degree of probability should be attached to two or three passages, and those, too, ambiguous in their character, in a version of such a size. I shall only, therefore, cite the principal places of the New Testament, which have been adduced, in order to prove traces of the Gnostics in the New Testament, by those who profess to take a middle path on this subject. As this middle path, however, is not defined by any certain limits, the same thing has happened to them, as to all who give out that they take a moderate course on any subject ; viz. that they fluctuate, and step aside from their path ; and think that they have discovered the inspired writers to be, in some places, opposing certain opinions, of which, in those passages, not a trace exists. Of this kind are chiefly those places, in which the name of a certain philosophy, and also *γνώσις* itself occur ; viz. Coloss. ii. 8 s. and i. Tim. vi. 20. It is thought, indeed, that these entire epistles, as also the Epistle to the Ephesians, have reference to this subject ; but that these places are particularly clear on the point : I shall consider these, therefore, first of all ; and afterwards attend to the other passages, from the writings of St. John and St. Peter.

I begin with the Epistle to the Colossians ; in which some learned writers are particularly struck with the Apostle's argument in opposition to a certain philosophy, which they think is none other than the Gnostic ; and this they have endeavored to prove in a very ingenious manner. There is very great difficulty in the word *φιλοσοφία* itself ; respecting the signification of which, in this place, there is much difference of sentiment among the learned, whose opinions I need not here mention. Let it suffice to name one, whom I have recently read, viz. Clemens Alexandrinus, whom most others follow ; who understands *φιλοσοφία* of the Greek philosophy, and particularly the Epicurean and Stoic, and adds to the words of the Apostle these which follow : *τῆς ἀναιρούσης τὴν πρόνοιαν*, Strom. L. i. p. 295 s. and L. vi. p. 645 ; where he says, that the Apostle's meaning is, that he who has aspired to a more exalted knowledge, i. e. has learnt the doctrine of Jesus Christ, should no more resort to the Greek philoso-

phy; and that he calls this τὰ στοιχία τοῦ κόσμου, the elements of the world, since it teaches, after a certain manner, the first beginnings, and is, as it were, the instruction which precedes truth. But it is a very ancient meaning of φιλοσοφία with the Greeks, to denote all science, and particularly eloquence; in which sense the word is frequent with ISOCRATES, as in the beginning of the Panegyric,* and of Evagoras;† though the word was subsequently applied to human life, so that φιλοσοφία was the same as wisdom, of which signification abundant examples and proofs are to be found in ancient works, particularly those of the Greeks. Comp. ERNESTI, opuscula Oratoria, p. 200. But the Jews, when they began to speak and to write in Greek on their various subjects, had no better or more suitable word than φιλοσοφία, wherewith to express the system of revealed religion, which we term Theology; and accordingly called it by that title. For at that time the word θεολογία was not in use, unless the heathen writers happened to be discoursing of their opinions in regard to the gods, and their generation, which they usually called θεολογία; but to apply the term to the knowledge of sacred things, was not warranted by the usage of those times. The Jews, therefore, having no word in the Greek language to express the doctrine of divine things, employed the word φιλοσοφία for this purpose, as appears plainly from the writings of Philo and Josephus; various places from whom have been cited by the learned, particularly KREBS, in his 'Observatt. in N. T. e Joseph.,' at this place, p. 336, and WOLFIIUS in loc. Particularly clear is that passage of Josephus, Ant. Jud. xviii. 3. 1., where he calls the ceremonial law φιλοσοφία νόμου; and that also of Philo, 'Quod om. prob. lib.' p. 878, Ed. Franc. 1691, where he applies the term φιλοσοφία to the whole sacred doctrine of the Essenes; and, in what goes before, uses this same word in the sense of *the laws of their country, which the human mind cannot understand without divine inspiration*

* [Isocr. Op. Vol. I. p. 124, Ed. Lond. 1749.—Tr.]

† [Ibid. Vol. II. p. 73.—Tr.]

(πασί τοις νόμοις, οὓς ἀμύχανον ἀνθρώπινην ἐπινοῆσαι ψυχὴν ἄνευ κατακλι-
 χῆς ἐνθεοῦ). And this was the only philosophy with which
 the Jews were acquainted, viz. that science which related to
 the sacred writings, and to their right interpretation: this
 was their philosophy, and was taught in their schools. Those
 who had not learnt it, were called ἀγράμματοι, Acts, iv. 13;
 and the science itself was termed γράμματα, John, vii. 15.
 Now, from this usage of speech of the Jews, it may be seen
 what the Apostle means by φιλοσοφία in the passage referred
 to; viz. as has been remarked by some learned writers, the
 Jewish theology, which, in those times, had assumed almost
 entirely the form of philosophy: and as the Jews supposed
 the knowledge of the laws to be the perfection of wisdom
 (σοφία), as is shewn by JOSEPHUS, Ant. Jud. Lib. xx, c. 10.
 §. 2, Ed. Oxon. 1720, μόνους σοφίαν μαρτυροῦσι τοῖς τὰ νόμια σαφῶς
 ἐπισταμένοις, 'they allow those alone to be considered as wise,
 who have acquired a thorough knowledge of the laws;' therefore,
 in the passage under discussion, may be understood
 principally the knowledge of the Mosaic law, not only that
 possessed by the Jewish teachers, but also that of some
 Christians themselves, who, while they professed faith in
 Christ, inculcated the necessity of obedience to the ritual
 law, and particularly to circumcision, as being an eternal co-
 venant between God and men. This, then, is that deceitful
 and vain philosophy, (for φιλοσοφία καὶ κενὴ ἀπάτη, as Grotius,
 and others after him have observed, is a hendiadis for φιλοσο-
 φία καὶ κενὴ καὶ ἀπάτηλη,) against whose deception the Apostle
 wishes Christians to be on their guard. How common, at
 that time, was this sense of the word φιλοσοφία, is evident from
 the fact, that it was adopted also by the ancient ecclesiastical
 instructors, and Christian writers. For it is very common
 with them, to call the doctrine delivered by Jesus Christ ἀλη-
 θινῆς φιλοσοφία, the true philosophy, which certainly is not any
 Gnostic or Oriental philosophy; as in CLEMENS ALEX., Stro-
 mat. L. i. p. 314, and SOCRATES, H. E. L. iv. c. 27; and al-
 σο εὐαγγελικὴ φιλοσοφία, the evangelical philosophy, as in THE-

ODORET, de Cur. Græc. Affect. L. XII ;* and Christians themselves φιλόσοφοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, philosophers of God, as in CLEMENS, Strom. L. VI. p. 642. Who these φιλόσοφοι are, he himself explains; viz. οἱ σοφίας ἐρῶντες, εἷς πάντων δημιουργοῦ καὶ διδασκάλου, τουτέστι γνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, 'those who are lovers of wisdom, which is the creator and teacher of all things, that is, of the knowledge of the Son of God.' JONSTIUS, 'de Scriptor. Hist. Phil.,' L. III. p. 16, and WOLFIUS, in loc. have cited a number of passages. From these it may be perceived, that this sense of φιλοσοφία is not entirely new, but was in use as early as the time of the Apostles, and was subsequently very common in the Christian church.

This interpretation, moreover, of the word φιλοσοφία, as it is clearly proved by the usage of speech of those times, is also required, and rendered absolutely necessary, by the whole connexion of the discourse, the design of the Apostle, and the character of that period. I shall now attend to this somewhat more minutely, that it may the more plainly appear, that the Apostle is speaking of nothing else than the ceremonial law, and that his words cannot possibly be referred to the Gnostic, or to any other philosophy. And, in the first place, it is evident, that the first part of this Epistle is employed in unfolding, on the one hand, that divine favor which has been conferred upon all men in common by the redemption of Jesus Christ, and, on the other, that, in particular, which has been displayed to the Gentiles; and that this exhibition is made, partly with the view of exciting their minds to admiration of the divine benevolence, and partly to confirm their opposition to that doctrine, which defended the Mosaic law, and required from Christians the continuance of circumcision, and other ritual observances. This is the scope of the First and Second Chapters; which I shall now consider in detail. The Apostle first mentions the greatness of the faith of the Colossians, and their constancy in the same (Ch. 1. 3 s. ἀκρίβητες ἐν πίσει ὑμῶν), to which they had been led through the mercy of

* [THEOD. OP. TOM. IV. P. 666. ED. PAR. 1642.—Tr.]

God ; and exhorts them not only to persevere in it, but also to increase daily more and more. He then begins, from verse 12, to extol the divine goodness and wisdom, and particularly that of our Lord Jesus Christ ; which is conspicuous not only in his redemption of the human race, but also in his calling and bringing the Gentiles to a share in the blessings obtained by Christ, and in his abolition of the ritual law ; which was odious to them, now that they were engrafted into the true church, and, with those who had been converted from Judaism to Christianity, belonged as one body to Christ, the head. This union of the two divisions of Jews and Gentiles, which, in verse 20, he had termed the reconciliation of those things which are in heaven, and those which are in earth, (as Ernesti first proved very clearly, in a particular essay on the subject,) he declares, in verse 26, to be a mystery, a thing unknown before, (for this is the meaning of *μυστήριον*,) which had been hidden from all time, *ἀποκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν*, and was also by the Jews themselves, not designedly on the part of God, for it was revealed in the Old Testament, but through their own fault, either not at all, or imperfectly understood ; but which was now made known to them, and to others, to whom it pleased God to reveal it, that it might be seen, *εἰς ὃ κλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, i. e. how wonderful was the divine goodness toward the Gentiles, clearly manifested in that secret design of bringing the Gentiles to a share in the benefits, obtained by Christ ; and this is Christ in you, *ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν*, i. e. it is evident that this is the divine intention, to make the Gentiles as well as the Jews partakers of eternal salvation, from the circumstance that the doctrine of Christ is preached to you, and the hope of salvation, *ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς δόξης*, which before was granted to the Jews alone, is announced, without circumcision, to you, no less than to them. But those who had come over from Judaism to Christianity, were now quite indignant at the Gentile Christians, whom they found to be, in this way, made equal with themselves ; and were also hostile to St. Paul himself, Ch. 11. 1 : partly because he taught that the Jews and the Gentiles were on the same footing, and partly because he

shewed the ceremonial law to be abolished, which, and particularly circumcision, they required to be continued in the Christian religion. This opinion, carrying with it much plausibility, so harassed the minds of Christians, that the Apostles were obliged to meet together, and with united strength to set themselves in opposition to this prevailing error of the Jews ; and fortify the minds of Christians against this opinion in favor of the Jewish law. St. Paul, therefore, aroused by the great necessity of the case, and by the extreme danger of the Colossians, seriously admonishes them, verse 4, not to permit themselves to be deceived by these specious representations (*πιδανολογία*), or to be led away from the firmness and constancy of their faith ; which admonition the Apostle repeats, and sets forth more fully, from verse 8 ; as is manifest from the following verses, where he shews the excellence of the gospel doctrine above the Jewish law, and the obligation to follow and embrace the former, and abandon the latter, by three arguments. The first is this, that the Author of the gospel is the true God (verse 9, *ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ κληρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς*, i. e. in him is truly divinity itself), who knew very well the will of the Father in regard to this law, and is therefore a most perfect instructor, and infinitely to be preferred to the Jewish and all other teachers, who recommend the observance of the ceremonial law. The second is, that those good things, greater than all others, which the ritual law had only faintly shadowed forth, and prefigured by mere images, he had actually produced by his redemption, and conferred through a spiritual circumcision, made in baptism, and sealed in justification, verse 11 s. The last is, that, by his death on the cross, he had also destroyed, transfigured, as it were, with nails, torn in pieces, and altogether abrogated, the ritual law, verse 14 s. *ἐκάλειψας τὸ κατ' ἡμῶν χειρὶ γραφῶν τοῖς λόγμοισιν* (i. e. having ritual precepts,) *ὃ ἦν ὑπεραντίον ἡμῶν*, (i. e. which law produced such a separation between Jews and Gentiles, and prevented them from uniting together in peace and fellowship) *καὶ αὐτὸ ἤρκεν ἐκ, κ.τ.λ.* Now, therefore, the Apostle proceeds, in verse 16, to shew, that, for these reasons, Christians cannot be compelled to observe those rites ; and.

accordingly, that the Jews, and the defenders of the ceremonial law, have no reason for being inimical to the Gentiles, or for blaming the Christians (*κρινέτω* for *κατακρινέτω*), because they observe no difference in meats and drinks, in festivals and sabbaths, and altogether neglect the Jewish law. That they who still retained this law, carry with them a great appearance of modesty, and affect peculiar piety and obedience to the divine precepts (*θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων*) ; but that they are vainly puffed up with human wisdom, and abandon the true instruction which Christ requires. At length the Apostle draws from all this, in verse 20 s, the following inference ; If, therefore, ye have been made free from the ceremonial law, through the death of Christ, of which ye have been made partakers in baptism, so that ye are reckoned, as it were, dead with him, why do you still submit yourselves to its ordinances, as if you were in that former condition ? Why do you pay any attention to those who say, Do not eat this or that food ! Which meats (the words *ἃ ἐστὶ πάντα εἰς φθορὰν τῆ ἀποχρήσει* are parenthetical) add nothing to real piety, but yield to corruption in their very use ! Which, indeed, is nothing more than a human system, not enjoined upon us of the present day, *κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, after the commandments and traditions of men ; though it has a certain appearance of wisdom, affecting great piety, modesty, and severity to the body, which, in this way, is deprived of that attention which it requires, and naturally seeks.

In such a course of argument as this, what room is there for the absurdities of the Gnostics, or the trifles of the Essenes about the adoration of angels ? Who does not at once perceive, that a controversy of such a nature, instituted against this class of men, is entirely foreign from the purpose in the explanation of an argument like that before us ; or, at any rate, would not have deserved to be so long dwelt upon by the Apostle ? The former subject, on the contrary, was highly important and proper, and moreover absolutely necessary to be exhibited in the clearest manner ; since not only a great proportion of the Christians were infected with that Jewish opinion, respecting the necessity of still adhering to the ceremonial law, but

also St. Peter himself was striving, at least in secret, through a too great fear of offending the friends of the ceremonial law, to recommend it by his own example in abstaining from meats forbidden in it, and appeared to approve of it, Gal. ii. 11 & ; and on this account caused great confusion among the Christians, when they saw the course he took ; and not merely led those who were of Jewish origin, and Barnabas himself also, to imagine that it was necessary to keep the law, but also those who had been converted from among the Greeks. And accordingly, in many other places also, and in whole chapters, as Rom. xiv, the Apostle seriously admonishes Christians in regard to this matter. Nor did the trifles of the Gnostics recommend themselves by any great plausibility of language, so that the Apostle could not be afraid of the Colossians being deceived by it, as we shall see hereafter. Not so, however, with that Jewish opinion: first, because the ceremonial law had been once given by God himself ; next, because the Jews had been accustomed from childhood to reverence Moses, and their eyes had become used to the pomp of the sacrifices, and of the High-Priest, and of the whole priesthood, to which they found nothing to compare, for external grandeur, either in Christ himself, or any where among the Christians, or in the teachers, or in the religious worship ; every thing, on the contrary, being mean, humble, and simple in its character, and all pomp and outward show being removed. My interpretation, therefore, seems to be confirmed by the testimony of facts.

There are some things, however, in this portion of Scripture, which must be more accurately explained, and which I have found to be urged very strongly by those, whose opinion differs from my own ; and a reason must be given for certain words and interpretations, which I have given above. If, in doing this, I shall be thought by the learned to have, here and there, exceeded proper bounds, and to have dwelt too much upon the illustration of refined terms, and phrases, which have been already treated of by men eminent in this department of literature ; they must ascribe this to my desire to benefit young persons, who are engaged in studies of this nature. And, in

the first place, the reason why the supporters of the opposite opinion think that φιλοσοφία, ch. 11. 8, cannot mean the Jewish law, is this; that the Apostle adds, *καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης, κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὰ εἰρηγεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ οὐ κατὰ Χριστόν* (and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.). This, they think, cannot apply to the law, which was enacted by God; but is peculiarly suitable to the Gnostic, or Oriental philosophy. As I think differently, I shall now proceed to inquire, whether, by a correct interpretation, these words may not be made perfectly applicable to the subject to which I have referred them.

It must be chiefly borne in mind, that the Apostle is speaking, in this place, not of the law in general, or the Jewish Theology, which was nothing but the knowledge of the law, and particularly the ceremonial, as we have already seen; but of the law, as it then was: viz. deformed with the inventions and absurdities of the Jews; and which, though it had been annulled by the death of Christ, was required to be still observed among Christians themselves. Very correctly, therefore, this Theology may be termed *φιλοσοφία κενή*, vain philosophy, for the reasons just stated; which are expressed also in the words that follow, *κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν, κ. τ. λ.*, after the tradition of men, &c. With the same propriety may it be further called *φιλοσοφία τῆς ἀπάτης*, i. e. *ἀπατηλή*, deceitful; for any one might easily be deceived by it, as it commended the law, which was given by God himself, and which, as I have already observed, the Jews had been accustomed to admire from their childhood, on account of its outward splendor. Now this doctrine, inculcating and commending the Jewish law, he calls *φιλοσοφία κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, i. e. a human system.* The word *παράδοσις* is exactly

* I have thus rendered the words *κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, in conformity with an elegant use of the preposition *κατὰ*, which is employed by the Greeks in place of the substantive verb, or of the adjective or substantive in the Genitive case. Thus, in the inscription of St. Matthew's gospel, *τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίου Ἐυαγγέλιον*, the gospel of Mat-

suitable to the Jewish theology, which was peculiarly distinguished by this name; as is evident from several places in the New Testament. See Matt. xv. 2. 3. 6. Mark, vii. 3. 5. 8. Gal. i. 14. For it signifies any system of instruction whatever; particularly, that which relates to external worship, in which sense, undoubtedly, it occurs in 1. Cor. xi. 2, where Luther has well rendered it, 'die Weise,' (the ordinances). But the ritual law is called *παράδοσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, a human system, either because it was enlarged, or rather defiled, with innumerable inventions of men, which were more scrupulously observed than even the commandments of God himself; (which is the opinion of DEYLING, in his 'Diss. de Chirographi et Principum legalium abolitione,' contained in Obs. S. Tom. iv. p. 582,) or because, now that Christ had died, the observance of it was still enforced, which certainly was nothing more than the system of men; or, finally, because it was imperfect, and was of no avail for the attainment of inward holiness, and eternal salvation; so that it is called human in the same sense in which the whole law is termed *σάρξ*, and also the ritual law itself, in Heb. vii. 16. ix. 10, in order to express its imperfection; as is well known. Neither of these opinions is contradicted by facts, or the usage of speech. The Apostle then adds, *κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*; (after the rudiments of the world,) in the explanation of which words, ancient and later commentators are very much divided in opinion. Chrysostom and Theophylact understand them to mean the stars. Though I shall not deny, that the term *στειχῆια* was formerly applied to the stars, and that these are un-

thew, or, which is Matthew's, or written by Matthew; as also in Josephus, *οἱ τὰς κατὰ Πομπήιον πράξεις ἀναγράφαντες*, meaning clearly: those who wrote the history of the actions of Pompey. So *ἡ κατὰ πίστιν δικαιοσύνη*, is the same as what is sometimes called *ἡ ἐκ* or *διὰ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη*, or simply *δικαιοσύνη τῆς πίστεως*. So also *ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις*, the free kindness; and the Greeks frequently use the expression, *οἱ κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἄνθρωποι*, chosen men. In Acts, xvii. 28, *τινὲς τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν*, some of your own poets. According to this elegant Greek usage *κατὰ* in this passage must be explained: instead of which *κατὰ* is sometimes used.

doubtedly referred to in II. Pet. III. 10. 12, where the Apostle had reference, without question, to מוקדות שמים, which was imitated also by the ancient ecclesiastical writers; yet the context forbids us to understand the word in this sense, in the passage before us. We must look, therefore, for some other signification. The word στοιχεῖα properly means, *letters*, and is used in this sense by the ancient grammarians: but further signifies, the first principles of any subject, which are taught young pupils; according to the phraseology of the Hebrews, who call the ground-work of a thing מוקדות. Whence, also, the Jewish teachers call the elementary parts of philosophy, and the first principles of a subject, by the names יסוד and קר, derived from יסד. Hence, however, the term τὰ στοιχεῖα came to be applied to religion, and signifies its very beginnings, the first instruction in Christian doctrine; as in Heb. v. 12, where, by an allowable pleonasm, (See HORAT. Sat. L. 1. Sat. 1. l. 26, where the phrase 'elementa prima' is used,) is added, τῆς ἀρχῆς, which, according to the Hebrew mode of speaking, is for πρῶτα; and this latter word is applied to the first principles of religion, in 1. Cor. xv. 3.* In the same way the word στοιχεῖω was applied to religion, for the purpose of expressing, both the manner of outward life, and the inward feelings of the heart; this mode of speaking being derived not merely from the Hebrew usage, in the word הלך, but from the practice of the Greek writers, who use in the same sense the word βαίνω. Thus, in Gal. vi. 16; ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχησούσιν; in the explanation of which words commentators have been very much embarrassed. Every thing is plain, however, if this sense of στοιχεῖω only be borne in mind. The meaning is this; whosoever, in their faith and life, follow this rule (viz. that which the Apostle had given in verse 15, ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή εἰ, κ. τ. λ.); or, who so believe and act, as if they thought that nothing is of any avail in the Christian religion but καινὴ κτίσις, a new creature, shall be saved. In the same sense this word στοιχεῖω occurs in Phil.

* [Παρίστανε γὰρ ὑμῖν ἡ πρότοις, κ. τ. λ.—Ττ.]

III. 16, where I should apply it principally to the mind; since *φρονεῖν* is added, which I understand as referring to a prudent manner of life; and the meaning is this: that rule which we have thus far followed, we ought to maintain in our way of thinking and of living; for the infinitives *στοιχεῖν* and *φρονεῖν* are governed by *δοῦναι* understood, according to an elegant usage of the Greek writers, of which KREBS has cited some examples, in his Comment. ad Decr. Rom. pro. Jud. p. 426. Now from all this it may be seen, that, in the passage before us, *τὰ στοιχεῖα* is to be understood as referring to religion, and, indeed, to that divine instruction which the Jews had, when they were only, as it were, novices and infants. But they were such, the Apostle tells us in Gal. iv. 3, so long as they were bound under the irksome and severe discipline of the ceremonial law; which law, the Apostle says, Ch. III. 24, was a schoolmaster *until Christ*, or *until the death of Christ*, whereby we are delivered from it. Therefore by *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, i. e. *τούτου*, in Hebrew, *הנהגות עולם*, is to be understood the ceremonial law itself; to which, as it was imperfect, is therefore opposed the perfect doctrine of Christ, *φιλοσοφία κατὰ Χριστόν*. This is very plainly shewn by verse 20; *ἀπεθάνετε σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κόσμου*, where the reference is evidently to the laws of Moses, from the observance of which we have been freed. And no less clearly is this meaning established by Gal. iv. 3; where the Apostle says, *ἡμεῖς, ὅτε ἤμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἤμεν δεδουλωμένοι*; which *στοιχεῖα* are, in verse 9, called *ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ*, in comparison to the good things of the New Testament; those *στοιχεῖα* having no power to procure salvation. And finally, my interpretation is exceedingly strengthened by the circumstance, that these *στοιχεῖα* are called *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*. For it is the usage of the sacred writings, to call by this name the Jewish law of the Old Testament, in comparison to the Gospel, which was the doctrine concerning *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*, the kingdom of heaven, or of God, to which is opposed *ὁ κόσμος*; as is very plainly shewn by the words *ὡς ζῶντες ἐν κόσμῳ*, in verse 20; i. e. as if ye were still in that former condition of the Old Testament.—The sense of the

verse under discussion, therefore, I think to be this: Let no man impose upon you by that deceitful (for the Apostle refers to verse 4) and vain Jewish doctrine, which recommends the Mosaic law; and exacts the observance of that which is a mere human system, and which (inasmuch as it was once delivered by God) contains merely the first and imperfect instruction of men under the Old Testament; which is nothing in comparison of the more perfect system of Jesus Christ. The Apostle, therefore, brings forward two arguments, wherewith to fortify the minds of Christians against that vain and deceitful Jewish doctrine, which required the observance of the ritual law; the first, that this is a doctrine of men; a point which he explains more fully in what follows, by shewing, that this law has been abrogated by Christ: the second, that the ceremonial law contained simply the first teaching, and small beginnings of the worship of God under the Old Testament; of which Christians stood in no need, inasmuch as they had the much more perfect doctrine of Jesus Christ, and by far the most excellent worship. The word *συλαγωγῶ* is from *σύλον*, or *σῦλον*, a booty,* and *ἄγω*; and signifies, therefore, to rob, to carry off as a prey, and further, to take any advantage of a person, either by force, or by fraud. Hence arises a very suitable interpretation: "beware lest any man, by the deception of this judaizing doctrine, deprive you of that freedom from the ceremonial law, which has been purchased by Christ;" which, moreover, agrees entirely with the character of the Jews, and of all the defenders of the Mosaic law. Comp. Matt. xxiii. 15. Certainly all these things do not accord well together, if you understand the reference to be to the Gnostic or Oriental philosophy.

* Students of the sacred writings would do well to observe another, though somewhat less frequent sense of this word. It is used in the N. T. to signify goods of any kind; e. g. Luke, xi. 22; as is shewn not only by the parallel place, Matt. xii. 29, where we find *τὰ σκύλα*, instead of *τὰ σκύλα*, but also by the usage of the Hebrews, who apply the term *הָגַץ*, booty, to all kinds of goods; as Prov. i. 13, xvi. 19, Dan. xi. 24, Esth. iii. 13; in which last passage the Septuagint has *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*.

The same observation may be made in regard to what follows ; for every thing relates to the ceremonial law, and its abolition, concerning which the Apostle speaks so plainly in verse 14, that this passage is exactly in point. But before I say any thing of this verse, a few observations must be made in regard to verse 9 ; which I should have omitted had I not observed, that learned men lay much stress upon the word *πλήρωμα* in particular, and give it I know not how many different applications. For some think that they have drawn from this word a very weighty proof, that the Apostle is, in this passage, opposing the Gnostics, and particularly their Aeon ; which they usually distinguished by this name. Others, however, think that the reference is to the Oriental philosophy, or to the Essenes ; and suppose that this way of speaking is taken from the temple, of which God himself was the *πλήρωμα* ; and that the Apostle argues thus : “ Christ is the head of the whole church, and greater than all the angels ; we must not think of any other mediator, therefore, in our approaches to God (as the Essenes did, thinking that we must have an angel as a mediator with God), since we are ourselves the temple of God.” I certainly never saw an interpretation more far fetched than this ; and cannot suppress my astonishment, that men in other respects very learned, and skilful in the Hebrew tongue, should have brought forward such an idea : it being as plain as possible, that the Apostle, in the use of the word *πλήρωμα*, imitates the phraseology of the Hebrews, who, as SCHOETTGEN, *Hor. Heb.* and after him WOLFIUS, in *loc.* have observed, use the word *כֹּל* to express the whole of a thing, or all that belongs to it. Thus in Psalm *xxiv.* 1, *כָּל־הַכֶּסֶף־וְכָל־הַזָּהָב׃* ; *L.* 12. and *i. Cor.* *x.* 26, *πλήρωμα* *εἷς* *γῆς*. According to this usage, *πλήρωμα* *εἷς* *θεότητος* means the whole of divinity ; or the divinity itself, with all its attributes, as in *Eph.* *iii.* 19. *πάν* *τὸ* *πλήρωμα* *τοῦ* *θεοῦ*, the sum total of those divine blessings, which are conferred upon the faithful. This latter passage throws light upon the words which follow : *καὶ* *ἐστε* *ἐν* *αὐτῷ* (for *δι’* *αὐτοῦ*) *πνευματωμένοι* ; i. e. by whom, or, by whose kindness, also, you have been enriched with the gifts of divine grace : which gifts the

Apostle then enumerates, viz. faith, holiness, and the pardon of sins, with words and figures taken from the ritual law. All these things he mentioned, for the purpose of shewing the excellence of Christ, and his doctrine, above that Jewish notion ; and the duty of embracing the former, and rejecting the latter. What connexion, then, is there, between such a course of argument, and the Aeons of the Gnostics, or the worship of angels, required by the Essenes ?

And it cannot be doubted, that in verse 14 s, the Apostle is speaking of the ceremonial law, which he shews to have been blotted out on the cross ; and thus that the distinction between Jews and Gentiles was done away, and peace had been made between them. For χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασι, the ritual writing, or that which related to rites, is the same as νόμος τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι, in Eph. II. 15, the law, which consisted in ceremonial ordinances and rites, as DEYLING has shewn, l. c. To this law he elegantly applies the name χειρόγραφον, which has the same signification as γράμμα, i. e. a writing : and he thus not only alludes to the use of this word in pecuniary matters, as is plain from the words ἐξαλείψας and προσηλώσας ; but also, as ERNESTI has shewn, l. c. and in N. th. Bibl. T. I. p. 159, to the difference between the law and the gospel ; inasmuch as the law, being first promulged by writing, is called χειρόγραφον, as II. Cor. III. 6, γράμμα ; while the gospel is called πνεῦμα, the Spirit, because its first promulgation was made, without letters and writing, by the Holy Spirit, speaking through Christ and the Apostles. It is called, moreover, τὸ κατ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον, i. e. standing in the way of you Gentiles, as a cause of separation ; I think, therefore, that ἡμῶν is put for ὑμῶν, these terms being often used for each other ; as in Eph. II. I. 5, where those who, in verse 1, are called ὑμᾶς, are, at the end of the parenthesis, called ἡμας ; and then follows, Χάριτί ἐστε σσωσμένοι. I would, therefore, refer τὸ κατ' ἡμῶν to the Gentiles, but the words which follow, ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῶν, to the Jews ; and I think, with Grotius, that they ought to be interpreted from the usage of the Hebrew verb רָצַח, to oppress, from which comes רָצָה, which is, in many places, rendered by the Greek interpreters, ὑπεναντίος ; and I would thus understand the phrase ; by

which we also were oppressed, in reference to the irksomeness of the Levitical worship. This worship, however, Christ is now said to have entirely annulled, and to have taken away the force of the law which enjoined its observance, (ερωτύλωσας ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ) and to have deprived of their dignity and authority all those, who thus strongly urged the necessity of adherence to it, (for I understand ἀρχαί καὶ ἐξουσίας to mean, not the devil, as Grotius thinks, but, according to Deyling's view, the Jews, who, in 1. Cor. 11. 6, are called ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου; and also all, who, either by their authority or recommendation, were able to compel others to the observance of that law,) and to have exposed them to signal scorn (ἐδωμάτισεν ἐν κατήχησίᾳ) in a public manner, that all might perceive, that this law was no more of any force; and, as it were, to have triumphed over them. And it is plain that the Apostle had reference to the same thing in verse 16, and 17; since he draws an inference from what he had said, and makes an excellent comparison between the σκιά τῶν μελλόντων, and the σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. For σκιά means a faint shadowing forth, a type, or symbolical representation; σῶμα, therefore, signifies the thing or blessing itself; whence we obtain a sense not only very elegant, but perfectly suitable to the subject, and to the whole context; viz. "in things of this kind, or, in the whole ceremonial law, there were only to be found images of benefits to come; but in Christ, i. e. in the New Testament, were the benefits themselves. The Apostle makes use of the same comparison, with a slight difference, in Heb. x. 1; and also JOSEPHUS, de Bell. Jud. Lib. 11. c. 2. §. 5. Ed. Oxon. 1720.

In verses 18, and 19, he describes more minutely those who held the Christians in contempt, because they laid aside the Jewish law; in order to put the Colossians the more upon their guard against them. These same verses, however, have led some learned writers to suppose that the Gnostics, or the Essenes, who they think may, in a certain sense, be termed Gnostics, are here intended; principally, because in this, and other places, the Apostle opposes the worship of angels, in which they suppose that he referred to both those classes of

men, who maintained that angels ought to be devoutly worshipped, as intercessors with God. We must inquire, therefore, whether we are obliged to understand men of this kind in the present passage; or whether we can find another interpretation, agreeable to the usage of speech, and to the context itself. I shall first, however, make a few observations in regard to the opinion, that the Essenes paid religious worship and honor to the angels; after which I shall consider the passage before us.

With respect, then, to this opinion, which is maintained by some very learned commentators, and, among these, Grotius, Price, and after him Michaelis, in his Comm. in loc., it seems to be very doubtful, and without foundation in history. For there is not sufficient certainty in the testimonies which have been adduced, to lead us to the inference that angels were worshipped by the Essenes. One proof adduced from JOSEPHUS, de Bell. Jud. Lib. II. c. 8. § 7. Ed. Oxon. 1720, (for that which is cited from Philo by Price, ought not to have been mentioned) has some plausibility. It is as follows: ἡμῶντες—ἀπέχεσθαι ληστείας, καὶ συντηρήσεν ἰμοίως τὰ τε τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀνόματα. "They swear, that they will abstain from robbery, and will keep with equal reverence the books of their sect, and the names of the angels." This testimony, however, is not sufficiently certain; and there are two objections, moreover, which may be made to it. In the first place, this passage of Josephus is very obscure; for what is the meaning of "keeping the names of the angels?" Does it signify, honoring the angels with divine worship? Let the learned decide! But, further, this passage has undoubtedly been corrupted, as has been shewn by HAVERCAMP, the very learned editor of Josephus; who thinks that for ἀγγέλων should be read ἀγνεῶν; so that the Essenes are stated to have bound themselves by an oath, not to betray to the uninitiated the rites, and names of the methods, whereby they were wont to be cleansed and purified. Josephus had made mention of ἀγνεῖα in this sense, in the fifth section of this same chapter. And, indeed, if by συντηρήσεν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀγγέλων, he had meant the

worship of angels, although the usage of speech by no means allows of such an interpretation of his words, Josephus certainly would have explained this point more fully afterwards, where he sets forth more minutely the religion and customs of the Essenes. Nor does this idea agree with the character of those times; since it is well known that the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, altogether abstained from idolatry, which the worship of angels, if there was any, must certainly be accounted. The opinion itself, therefore, in respect to the worship offered to angels by the Essenes, which the Apostle is thought to have been opposing, is very uncertain; a point, however, which ought, above all others, to have been clearly established.

But what is to be done, then, with the passage before us, in which the Apostle has certainly mentioned worship offered to angels? Let us see. It must be particularly borne in mind, that the genitive τῶν ἀγγέλων is to be referred not only to θρησκεία, but also to ταπεινοφροσύνη. But θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων, as ERNESTI has shewn, N. th. Biblioth. T. III. p. 420, means the same as ἐθελοθρησκεία, in verse 23, which is there joined with the word ταπεινοφροσύνη. But θρησκεία does not refer to inward worship, (as even Wolfius has shewn, at this place, though he has erred in saying, that the word θρησκεία is never followed by the genitive of the object, to which the worship is offered; which Krebs, in his Observ. on this place, has shewn to be a thing of very frequent occurrence,) but is used with reference to that part of religion, which consists in externals; and this interpretation is rendered necessary, in the present passage, by the whole context, and agrees with the usage not only of the sacred writers, (as James, i. 26, where θρησκός means one, who thinks that he complies with the requirements of religion, by observing some outward appearances of holiness;) but also of Greek authors. There is a remarkable place in PHILO, in his work entitled, 'Quod deterior potiori insidari solet,' p. 159, Ed. Franc. 1691, where he says of a hypocritical man, θρησκείαν ἀντι δειότητος ἡγούμενος. This is also strongly confirmed by the interpretations of HESYCHIUS in his Glossary; where θρησκός is explained by ἐπερί-

ἄλογος, i. e. one who holds false opinions in regard to holiness, and the mode of procuring the divine favor; and θρησικός, which is the same as θρησικός, by περιετός, that is, one who is in any respect given to affectation, and also by δεισιδαιμών, a superstitious person, one who seeks the divine favor by methods which cannot obtain it. In regard to the meaning of θέλων ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνη καὶ θρησκείᾳ, commentators are very much embarrassed. The explanation, "affecting humility and piety," is the most natural, and suitable to the usage of speech. For it is necessary to bear in mind a somewhat refined use of the verb θέλω or ἐθέλω, that when simply joined to another verb, or placed in connection with a preposition, it signifies a somewhat vehement desire of any thing, and also, particularly in composition, affectation of any thing. This signification is found not only in the Greek writers, but also in the New Testament, as Markland has shewn, in his notes on Lysias.* Thus in John, viii. 44, τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν θέλετε ποιεῖν, "ye do voluntarily and freely, and with pleasure and eagerness; ye eagerly do." Ch. vii. 17, εἴαν τις θέλῃ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν, i. e. if any one desires; and Ch. vi. 21, ἤθελον λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, "they willingly received him into the ship."—This usage is very common also in the Hebrew language, where it answers to רָצִיתִי, which, joined with כִּי, signifies, to be exceedingly delighted with any thing, so that one vehemently desires it; and it is rendered by the Septuagint either by θέλω ἐν τινί, where they have imitated either an elegant Greek, or a Hebrew usage, or by εὐδοκῶ; as in ii. Sam. xv. 26, ἠγάπησεν ἢ ἤθελεν, οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐν σοί, i. Sam. xviii. 22. Ps. cxlvii. 10, οὐκ ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ τοῦ ἰσραὴλ θέλησεν, οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς κνήμαῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐδοκῆσεν. i. Kings, x. 9. Of the same kind also is i. Macc. iv. 42, where the words θέλησαι νόμου mean, those who were eager for the law. From this signification, therefore, of the verb θέλω, its compounds are to be explained; as ἐθέλοπλονος, i. e. he who, for the sake of a little vain glory, desires to appear laborious, in AELIAN, de Nat. Anim. iv. 43; also ἐθελάστειος, an elegant,

*[Lys. Op. p. 616, Ed. Reiske, Lips. 1772.—Tr.]

effeminate man, one who affects polish and urbanity, in **HELiodorus**, Aeth. Lib. vii ; ἐσελόσοφος, one who affects wisdom ; and in the same manner also ἐσελόθηστος, one who desires to appear religious. Hence ἐσελοθηστική, verse 23, does not mean, *a cunningly devised worship, formed after their own fancy*, as Luther renders it, and as Grotius also thinks it should be interpreted ; but, according to this usage of speech, it signifies, *an affected love of religion*, for which a person looks upon himself with great complacency. In this manner, moreover, the word has been explained by ancient commentators ; as Augustin, Ep. 59 ;* Chrysostom, who explains it by εὐλάβεια ; Theophylact, who interprets it, ὑποκρινομένη εὐλάβεια ἐν τῇ θρησκείᾳ ; Hilary the deacon, who, in his *Scholias on the epistles of St. Paul*, which are attributed by some to Ambrose, understands by it, a pretence of religion. Therefore also, θεῶν ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ in the place before us, means, one who affects humility and holiness ; or, who aims at an affected humility and holiness. In this way the words are explained by a learned commentator of the tenth century, **ARRO**, Bishop of Vercelli, in his *Commentary*, h. l. His words are these : “ If this could be expressed by a Greek word, it would sound still more familiar in the ordinary Latin usage. For he who affects to be rich, is, in the same way, commonly called *thelodives*, and he who affects to be wise, *thelosapiens* ; and so also in other cases of the same kind. Therefore, also, in this place, *thelohumilis*, i. e. one who affects humility, &c.”† And this interpretation is exactly applicable to the Jews, and particularly the Pharisees, and to all who were in favor of the ceremonial law ; of whom the Apostle is speaking in this place. **ARRO** perceived this, and considers the passage as referring to *the Jewish observances* ; though he, too, trifles a great deal about the worship of angels.

* [August. Op. Vol. 1. p. 389. Ed. Antw. 1700.—Tr.]

† [The learned author has committed an error in attributing these words to **ARRO**. They are Augustin's own expressions, in the very passage referred to just before by Tittmann ; who must, therefore, have cited this place of the Latin Father without having seen it.—Tr.]

Why, however, does the Apostle add τῶν ἀγγέλων? To shew the nature of this θρησκεία and ταπεινοφροσύνη, and to intimate their greatness, dignity, and excellence. For the Hebrews, when they wish to express things that are great and remarkable, make use of names, indicative of objects of this character; as, for example, the name of God, which is very common in the Scriptures, as may be seen by a reference to Glass. They employ, however, for this purpose, the name אֱלֹהִים also; for instance, when they wish to express remarkable wisdom, as in II. Sam. xiv. 20; ὁ κύριός μου σοφὸς κατὰ σοφία ἀγγέλου τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γινῶναι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ, i. e. thou art exceedingly mighty in wisdom and understanding; or, when they would speak of distinguished kindness and justice, as in II. Sam. xiv. 17. xix. 27, ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς ἀγγελος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ποιήσον τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου; or, when they describe great good-will in any one, as in I. Sam. xxix. 9, בַּיָּמַי אֱלֹהִים אֲפָרַח בְּעֵינַי הַרְבֵּה; where the Septuagint has omitted the last words, and rendered the phrase, ἀγαθὸς σὺ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου; or, when they speak of very great majesty, as in that description of Stephen, Acts, vi. 15, εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ προσώπου ἀγγέλου, i. e. his face was full of dignity and gravity; or, finally, when they are describing a great multitude, as in I. Cor. xiii. 1, where nobody surely can suppose, that the languages of angels are meant; but we perceive immediately, that by γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, are intended all languages whatever. From all this it may be perceived, what is the meaning of θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων, in the place before us; viz. a life and holiness, which resemble the life and holiness of angels, and are therefore most pure and perfect. There is no need of a long proof, as Wolfius has already perceived this to be the meaning, as well as a great proportion of the very learned commentators whom he cites. But what ταπεινοφροσύνη τῶν ἀγγέλων means, is shewn by verse 23, where it is connected with ἀπειρία σώματος, which consists in severe treatment of the body, and in abstinence from such food as men naturally desire; and is opposed to τιμῆ, viz. τοῦ σώματος, which signifies, attention to the body, both in general, and particularly as it regards the nourishment of it. This signification

of τιμή, as also of the verb τιμάω, is not, indeed, very common ; sometimes, however, it occurs in Scripture, as in Matt. xv. 5, οὐ μὴ τιμήσῃ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ. where τιμάω is to be understood as referring, not merely to the paying of proper respect, but also principally to liberality and munificence in the support of parents ; as even the parallel place, Mark, vii, 12, shews, where, instead of τιμάω, the verb ποιεῖ is used, which, as Grotius observes, is for ἀγαθοποιεῖω. Τιμή occurs, in the same sense, in 1. Tim. v. 3 ; as is evident from the verse which follows, where the Apostle orders, that widows who have children should be supported by them, and not by others. Particularly clear, however, is versè 17, which is exactly to the point. See also Ecclesiasticus, xxxviii. 1. The Apostles, in their use of this word, imitated, without doubt, the usage of the Hebrews, who use in the same sense the verb רָצַד ; as in Numb. xxiv. 11. Τιμάω, however, is to be found with this signification in the Greek writers, who also, in the same way, elegantly employ the verb ἐκτανέω ; as in DEMOSTHENES, de Corona,* ἐκτανεῖν χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ, i. e. to honor ; or rather, to reward with a golden crown ; for Demosthenes had a little before said, in reference to the same subject, στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ. Nor is it unusual with Latin writers to use the words honor and honoro in this sense, i. e. instead of premium, and beneficiis afficio. Thus, for example, in CICERO, pro Quintio, 4 ; pro Roscio Amerino, 37, and 47 ; quod viris fortibus honos habitus est, laudo ; also in his Epist. L. xvi. 9, medico honos haberetur, i. e. it was proper to give him a reward ; but in what way, Cicero could not tell. In the same sense, also, the word occurs in SUTTONIUS, August. 45, where see the commentators ; comp. KREBS, Comm. ad Dec. Rom. et Athen. pro. Jud. p. 416, and ELSNER, on this place, p. 416. And that this is the sense of the word τιμή in the passage before us, the words that follow clearly shew ; πρὸς ἀληθμονὴν τοῦ σώματος, i. e. to the satisfying of the body ; which expressions point out the nature of the τιμή before mentioned. For ἀληθμονή

* [Demosth. et Aesch. Op. Ed. Lond. 1824, Vol. i. p. 190.—Tr.]

signifies that satisfying of the body, which is produced by food ; as appears from the usage of the Septuagint, which almost always employs the word to express this idea, and renders by it the Hebrew words $\gamma\beta\theta$, and $\gamma\beta\theta$, as in Exodus, xvi. 3, ἡσθίομεν ἄρτους εἰς πλησμονήν. The Apostle, therefore, refers to those, who abstained on certain days from food and drink, through their scrupulous reverence for the ceremonial law ; and used severe bodily mortification ; and in this manner desired to appear more holy than others, to imitate the angels, and to lead an angelic, i. e. a perfectly humble and pure life. It is evident how suitable this is to the design of the Apostle ; since he is speaking of those who were too partial to the Jewish law, which required a severe treatment of the body, and who, on this account, thought themselves more holy and religious than others. Nor is the usage of speech against it : for abstinence from marriage is also called an angelic life ; whence the term *ισάγγελοι*, in Luke, xx. 36 ; and therefore abstinence from food may be spoken of in the same way, and that, too, according to the usage of the Hebrews, with whom any one who eats little, or mean food, is said not to eat, and he that eats so as to satisfy the natural wants of the body, or lives on delicate and dainty food, to eat ; as appears even from Matt. xi. 18 s. Ταπεινοφροσύνη τῶν ἀγγέλων consists, therefore, in abstinence from food, and too great mortification of the body. And to this agree the words ἄ μὴ ἐώρακον ἐμβατεύων, if they are explained thus ; bestowing incessant attention upon what he does not understand ; or, he is ignorant of that which he is doing ; or, as VATABLUS interprets it, “agens, quæ pro certo non habet, Deo accepta esse, doing things which he does not know certainly to be accepted by God.” For ὁράω is used according to the Hebrew manner of employing the verb $\eta\kappa\tau$, viz. to understand, as Gen. xlii. 1. 1. Kings, x. 4. and also in numerous places in the New Testament. The verb ἐμβατεύω means properly, to enter into ; and also, figuratively, to bestow constant labor and attention upon any thing, as was the case with those who were zealous for the ceremonial law. Comp. KREBS, on this passage. Ἐκτὴ φησίουμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ νόου τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, i. e. who

nevertheless is proudly elated in the midst of this his ignorance, and is vainly puffed up with human wisdom, and led away by empty arrogance, and an eager desire for human applause, as were the Pharisees and Jewish teachers. *Karabpatsiō*, I think with CASAUBON on this passage, means, *to condemn*, so that it is the same as *κρίνω* in verse 16, which is used in numerous places for *κατακρίνω*; so that the Apostle repeats, in this place, the admonition given in verse 16, only using another word. I would therefore render the passage thus: Let no man, therefore, I say, condemn you, or charge you with doing wrong. The word *καταβpatsiō* is taken from the mode of conducting the games. *Bpatsiō* is applied to the master, or president of the games, who not only distributes the prizes, but also decides who is worthy to receive them. Hence it denotes, in the next place, in general, *to preside over, to rule*, as in Ch. III. 15. But *κατά*, in composition, sometimes has the force of giving an unfavorable sense to a word. *Karabpatsiō*, therefore, signifies, to judge in an unfavorable way, or, to condemn. Hesychius, accordingly, interprets the word by *κατακρίνω*. KREBS, on this passage, thus explains it; "Let no man artfully and unjustly circumvent and deceive you." This, also, is a very suitable sense.

The Apostle now proceeds, in verse 19, to describe a person who advocates, and submits himself to the Jewish law: leaving, says he, the doctrine of Jesus Christ, (*viz.* while he recommends and observes what Christ has forbidden,) by whose power the whole of this spiritual body (he speaks of the church as of a body, of which Christians are the members,) receives nourishment and strength through all its parts and joints, so that it gains increase pleasing to God. The verb *ἐπιχορηγέω*, which is freely used by the Apostle, I have rendered, "to receive nourishment." *Χορηγέω* and *ἐπιχορηγέω*, and also *καταχορηγέω*, (for those persons are much mistaken, who think there is any particular force or emphasis in the compound verb) are used by the Attic writers principally; and signify, to furnish the expenses necessary for the celebration of the games. Hence, the person who is at the expense of the games is called *χορηγός*, as Ernesti has shown, on Xe-

nophont. Memorabilia, III. 4 ; and χορηγίον, and the Latin *choragiuni*, mean the apparatus necessary for the celebration of the games, as, for instance, garments, statues, &c., and, further, any apparatus for the execution of any design. Hence χορηγέω and ἐπιχορηγέω mean simply to give, to furnish what is requisite for the accomplishment of any thing, to supply with the necessary articles and aid ; and, in the passive voice, to receive these same things. These verbs are always used in these senses in the New Testament ; as, II. Cor. IX. 10, ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν σπέρμα τῷ σπειραντῇ, καὶ ἄλλον εἰς ἐρώσειν χορηγήσει, i. e. he who supplies seed to the sower, will also furnish every kind of food ; as appears from the parallel place, Isai. LV. 10, from which these words are taken and translated ; for the Hebrew there is [נָז], which the Septuagint has rendered by δίδωμι. Accordingly, χορηγέω and ἐπιχορηγέω are used one for the other, as in the passage now cited, and also in Gal. III. 5, and I. Pet. IV. 11 ; and likewise for δίδωμι, as Luke XI. 13. Hence ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας, Eph. IV. 16, is the joint, by which any member supplies another with what tends to its increase. Let us here add the sense of this whole passage ; as it is very intimately allied to that before us. It is this : By whose power this whole spiritual body, fitly joined and compacted, through that junction by which the members communicate to each other spiritual benefits, (as the members of the body impart to one another the nervous moisture,) according to the measure and power of every member, increases, so as to advance in love. Respecting the words χορηγέω and ἐπιχορηγέω, **KREBS** has treated extensively, and, as usual, with great learning, in his Commentar. ad Decreta Rom. pro Jud. p. 22 s.

In the verses that follow, it is evident at once that the Apostle is repeating the admonition, delivered in verse 8 s. ; and giving a reason for the statements which he had made, and the substance of which has been already mentioned. This only I would observe, that μή ἄψιν, μηδὲ κ. τ. λ. in verse 21, are expressions referring to the same subject, and are to be explained without any distinction as relating to food ; in which sense they occur in **ΧΕΝΟΡΗ**. Cyropaed. L. I. c. 3, as

Bos has observed in his *Exercitt. Phil.* p. 207. So in the *Memorabilia*, L. 1. c. 3, *σίτων ἀπεσθαι* does not mean, to touch food, but to eat it. As for *γύνομαι* in particular, that it signifies not to taste, but to eat, Bos has shewn by several instances, in his *Animad. ad Vorstium*, which are added to the *Observv. Miscell.* p. 249, where he establishes this sense of the word, by reference to several authors, principally profane writers. The words ἅ ἴσσι πάντα εἰς φθαρὰν τῆ ἀποχρήσει, in verse 22, are parenthetical, and are to be understood in the same way as the words of Christ, *Matt. xv. 17.* Ἐντάλματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, mean the same as *παράδοσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, in verse 8. *Λόγος*, in verse 23, means, appearance ; for the word is used in this sense by the Greek writers ; whence the phrase *λόγον ἔχειν* means, to have or to shew the appearance of any thing, as Bos, l. c. has proved by several examples.

Having thus given my explanation, and established it by the usage of language, not less than by the design of the Apostle, and the whole context ; I think that I have asserted not without reason, that, through the whole of this Epistle to the Colossians, there is not so much as the shadow of a trace of the Gnostic or Oriental philosophy, but that every thing is to be understood as relating to the ceremonial law, and its zealous supporters.

I have occupied considerable time in the elucidation of this passage ; and must now hasten to the consideration of others. It is thought by some learned writers, that there are nowhere more clear and evident traces of the Gnostics than in 1. *Tim. vi.* and particularly in the concluding verses of the chapter, where they think that the Apostle points them out by name ; being no doubt deceived by the sound of the word *γνώσις*. Let us see, however, whether an interpretation cannot be given, which may suit both the usage of language, and the design and views of the Apostle, without making the place refer to the Gnostics, or other philosophers of that kind. First let us inquire into the meaning of the word *γνώσις*, which I think signifies here *the knowledge of divine things, or religion* ; which is perfectly agreeable to the other and most ancient use of

the word. The Septuagint sometimes renders by *γνώσις* the Hebrew word *יָדָעַתְּ*, which properly signifies, an accurate and distinct knowledge of any thing ; from the word *בָּן*, which, like the Arabic *وَلَدٌ*, means properly, to cut ; and hence, to consider any thing part by part, i. e. more accurately, as SCHULTENS has shewn, on Prov. i. 2. But *יָדָעַתְּ* signifies further, the knowledge of divine things, or also divine inspiration, as Dan. ix. 22. For it answers evidently to the Arabic *وَحْيٌ*, which occurs very frequently in the Koran, and is the ordinary word for expressing those divine inspirations, with which Mohammed professed to be favored. For the most part, however, and very frequently, the Septuagint translates by *γνώσις* the word *דַּעַת*, which signifies any kind of knowledge whatever ; but, especially, the knowledge, and also the system itself, of things relating to religion, as Mal. ii. 7, where the prophet says, *יִשְׁמְרוּ דַעַת כְּהֵן*, i. e. it is the duty of the ministers of God, to watch over doctrine and its purity ; carefully to keep the divine doctrine ; or rather, so to deliver it, that its purity may receive no injury. The Septuagint has rendered the passage word for word ; *χρηστὴν ἰσθῶς φυλάξεται γνώσιν*. And the word *γνώσις* has this sense in the New Testament also, so that it signifies simply, knowledge concerning God ; as Rom. i. 19, where, indeed, the words are *γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, but this is for *γνώσις τοῦ Θεοῦ*, as Ch. ii. 4, *χρηστὸν* for *χρηστέτης* ; and in Chap. xi. 33, *γνώσις* is attributed to God himself, for which reason he is called, in i. Sam. ii. 3, *ὄψων βλῆ, Θεὸς γνώσεων*. In this sense the word occurs in numerous places of Clemens Alexandrinus ; as at the beginning of Book V, of the Stromata, where he speaks of *γνώσις υἱοῦ καὶ πατρὸς*, which he says ought to precede *πίστεως*. Thence, also, *γνώσις* signifies every kind of knowledge of divine things ; as in that difficult passage, i. Cor. viii. 1, though even this place, also, Hammond and Brucker have made to refer to the Gnostics, because they found the word *γνώσις* there ! Those who entertain this opinion, however, do not understand the real meaning of the place. It is this : “ The generality of us (*πάντες*, on account of verse 7,) have a knowledge of such things (he particularly refers to knowledge concerning the nothingness of idols,

as the context very clearly shews,) without doubt, (finally we are in part not wanting in knowledge ; for a parenthesis begins from these words, which is continued to the end of verse 3, as Schmidt and Bos have correctly observed) but this knowledge by itself usually leads to pride ; but it will profit, if love be added to it, which is the most excellent teacher of our duties." So Ch. XIII. 2. Γνώσις, however, signifies besides this, religion itself, as Phil. III. 8, which is a very clear passage. In the same way γνώσκω is used, John, XVII. 3, where, without doubt, reference is made to Isaiah, LIII. 11, where our Lord Jesus Christ is said to bring many to the faith ἰσχυρή, i. e. by his gospel and doctrine. This use of γνώσις, in the sense of religion and divine doctrine, is also found in Clemens Alexandrinus ; as in Strom. L. VI. p. 645, where he speaks of γνώσις παρὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ παραδοθεῖσα καὶ ἀποκαλυφθεῖσα, "the knowledge delivered and revealed by the Son of God," and also in numerous other places ; and he constantly distinguishes by the term γνώστικος, one who has embraced the religion of Jesus Christ. From all this, therefore, it may be perceived, that γνώσις, in the place before us, may, according to the usage of language, have the meaning which I have assigned to it ; and that it has, is, in the next place, proved by the context. This γνώσις is called ψευδώνυμος, i. e. that system of divine things, which is not worthy of this name, and, on account of its corruptions, can no more be spoken of in this way ; in a word, false religion. Ψευδώνυμος γνώσις, therefore, is precisely the same as φιλοσοφία, in the Epistle to the Colossians ; viz. the Jewish doctrine, depraved and corrupted in various ways, which is, therefore, no more worthy of the name of divine doctrine. The word ἀντιθέσεις either means questions and discussions respecting this doctrine, or is redundant. Now the Apostle calls this same doctrine τὰς ἐσθλούς κενωνίας. The word κενωνία is from κενός, which is used in the New Testament according to the Hebrew manner, and answers to רָא, vain, void ; as κενῶ answers to קָהַךְ, which signifies, either to take away altogether, or to diminish, or to abase one's self, to lower one's self, or to make one's strength less than the natural ability ; which the Greek writers elegantly express by ταμιύναι, and the Latin by the words, 'dispenso

vires meas.' We find *κενός*, in this sense, in Luke, i. 53, *κλαυθύνωντας ἐξαιτίσσειλες κενούς*, he makes the rich poor, he depresses them, so that they have nothing of which they can boast; and *κενωῶ*, in 1. Cor. i. 17, *ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, i. e. least that power, which is peculiar to the gospel, and which it has over the minds of men, although no art be used, should be taken from the gospel, and ascribed to human artifice. Hence we may perceive the folly of those, who, in Phil. ii. 7, and in the condition of our Lord Jesus Christ while on the earth, termed in scholastic language his state of humiliation, imagine a certain emptying, and philosophize about it to a wonderful degree. Still better known is the meaning of the Hebrew word קָן, as in that well-known declaration, וְאֵין קָן לְיָדְיָא, Deut. xxxii. 47, which is translated by the Septuagint *ὡχί λόγος κενός οὗτος*, i. e. this promise shall not be void, it shall have its efficacy, or fulfilment. The word *κενοφωνίας*, therefore, means vain discussions, having no utility, no efficacy for the production of piety, and therefore without effect; and is the same as *κενός λόγος*, in Eph. v. 6. Hence Hesychius interprets *κενοφωνίας* by *ματαιολογίας*. But the Apostle calls them *βεβήλους*, i. e. profane and impious, on account of their remarkable wickedness, and contempt of the true and purer doctrine; such as characterized the questions respecting Jewish rites, keeping the ceremonial law, and other things of the same kind. And this *ψευδώνυμος γνώσις* the Apostle opposes to *παρακαταθήκη* or *παραθήκη*. For it makes no difference, whether we read *παρακαταθήκη* or *παραθήκη*, since both have the same meaning, and both are used in a good sense. In this place is meant, without doubt, the doctrine of the gospel; as is shewn by the parallel places, Ch. i. 18, where the verb *κατατίθεμαι* is joined with *καταγγελία*; and u. Tim. i. 14.

Thus much respecting the words; let us proceed to the subject-matter, the context, and parallel passages. And, first, I shall assume a point which is freely conceded by all commentators, that the Apostle is evidently, in these words of which I have been speaking, repeating the admonition given before in Ch. i. 4, comp. with verse 18: for the

discourse begun in verse 3, he continues in verse 18; and verses 4—17, are parenthetical, as HEUMANN, and MICHAELIS, in loc. have observed after MELANCTHON, Oper. Tom. iv. p. 380. Perhaps, also, the opinion of Heumann and Grotius is not entirely unworthy of attention, that verses 20 and 21, of Ch. vi, were added by the Apostle, with his own hand, by way of appendix to the epistle after it was finished, in order to press the more thoroughly this admonition upon Timothy. It is evident, therefore, that the words ἐσθήλους κενοφωνίας καὶ ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδανύμου γνώσεως, mean the same as μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις in the other passage, or, as they are called, ch. iv. 7, βεβήλους καὶ γραῶδεις μύθους. By μῦθοι, however, are not meant, as is commonly supposed, fables, this not being the peculiar and only signification of the word, with Greek writers: but the Apostle means, discourses, discussions, narrations; hence μύθοις σεσοφισμένοις, 11. Pet. i. 16, means, cunning and artificial accounts; or discussions, skilfully and craftily devised, calculated to deceive the minds of men, (DIDOR. SICUL. i. 93, calls them μύθους πτελασμένους) which the Apostle says that he had not used, (ἐξακολουθήσαντες) in shewing to Christians the very present, i. e. efficacious majesty of Jesus Christ; but that he had only delivered, in a simple narrative, what he had perceived with his own eyes and ears. Προσέχειν μύθοις signifies: to yield assent to refined discussions; to delight in them, and to be absorbed in the study of them: for this is the meaning of the phrase προσέχειν τινί, as KREBS, in his Obs. in N. T. c. Josepho, on Acts, viii. 6, p. 203 s., has proved from several passages of Josephus. The meaning, therefore, of μὴ προσέχειν μύθοις is: not to care about these things, to shun them, to reject them. Now it is evident that προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις, is that same ματαιολογία, to which the Apostle says, in verse 6, that some had turned aside. These, however, he calls, in the following verse, νομοδιδάσκαλοι; and by this νόμος he means the Jewish law, as appears from verse 8 s., where the Apostle speaks of this, and especially of its threatenings against violators of the law. See GROTIUS, on this place, and HEUMANN. Hence the teachers of the Jews are called ματαιολογοί.

in Tit. i. 10.—In such a train of thought as this, how can it be supposed that there is any reference to the Gnostic philosophers; and what other persons can possibly be intended, but Jews, and teachers of the law, and those who were strenuous advocates of the Jewish religion? A comparison, moreover, of the words themselves by which the Apostle describes that class of men, with other forms of expression in relation to the same subject, will establish the correctness of my interpretation. For, in other places, he speaks of the Jews exactly in the same way, and almost in the same words, as in verse 7, where he says; *μη νοοῦντες μήτε ἄ λέγουσι, μήτε περὶ εἰκῶν διαβεβαιούνται*, i. e. even they themselves do not sufficiently understand the things which they teach, nor can they explain and clearly prove them to others. Now do not these words agree entirely with what the Apostle says of the Jews, in Rom. x. 2; *ζηλον θεοῦ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' εὐσυνείδησιν*, i. e. they are, indeed, zealous in defence of the religion and law of God; but their zeal is not enlightened, nor united with a just knowledge of God and of religion. And in what respect do they differ from those words in Col. ii. 18, *ἀ μή ἐδίδαξαν ἐμπαύσων*? MOSHEIM himself, accordingly, understands this passage as referring to the Jewish teachers.—Not less important, moreover, is the consideration, that, of this class of men, Hymenæus and Alexander are mentioned by name, in Ch. i. 20; whom nobody but Mosheim can readily think were Gnostics, that bears in mind the fact, that these men were delivered to Satan, or, at any rate, were expelled from the Christian church by the Apostle, that they might return to a better mind. For whether we understand these words as referring to excommunication; which was performed, by Christians separating such persons from their society, and not permitting them to enter into the public assemblies, that at length, perhaps, being driven into the company of the heathen, they might repent; or whether we adopt another, and more probable interpretation, that Hymenæus and Alexander were delivered over to the power of Satan, in order that, through the afflicting of their bodies, they might return to a sound mind, as was done in the case of the incestuous person,

1. Cor. v. 5; either way it is clear, that these men were members of the church. For the Apostle expressly asserts, 1. Cor. v. 12 s. that it does not belong to themselves and to Christians to judge those, who are out of the pale of the church; that it is enough to judge Christians; that others are judged by God. Unless, therefore, Hymenæus and Alexander had been Christians, the Apostle could not have expelled them from the Christian church, nor delivered their bodies to be afflicted by the devil.—Nor ought it to be forgotten, that the words τοὺς ἐσθλούς καὶ γραῶδες μίθους, in Ch. iv. 7. are explained by the Apostle himself, in the next verse, as referring to σωματικὴ γυμνασία; and this, he says in verse 3 s., consisted in abstinence from meats, and drinks, and other things of that nature. Now to what can these things be more suitably referred, or to what ought they rather to be applied, than to the Jewish ceremonial law, which, it is well known, persons of that period, and even some Christians, so strongly urged, and recommended both by words and example? Finally, it is no unimportant consideration, and perhaps deserves the greatest weight of all, that the Apostle calls those very μίθους by the name of Ἰουδαϊκῶν, in Tit. i. 14, and uses the same verb προσέχω, which he has in 1. Tim. i. 4; and in Tit. iii. 9, speaks of μωρὰς ζητήσεις, which answers plainly to ἐσθλοὶ μίθου. For the word ζητήσεις signifies questions, refined discussions, and, principally, allegorical reasonings. Hence συζητητής means a person, who can argue ingeniously respecting every kind of doctrine; and συζητητὴς τοῦ αἵματος τοῦτου, 1. Cor. i. 20, signifies a man accomplished in the refinement of human wisdom. The Hebrews call such a person מְרַבֵּן, whence מְרַבֵּן, meaning the refined; allegorical, or mystical sense. Hence also συζητήσεις, in the sense of which I have spoken; for example, in Acts xv. 2, where it is connected with the word σάσσω, which means altercation, as is shewn by the usage of the Septuagint, which sometimes renders by this word the Hebrew דָּבַר. Not only, however, does the Apostle, in the passage referred to, speak of μωρὰς ζητήσεις, but also of γυναικαγωγίας,* καὶ ἕρεσι, καὶ

* Γυναικαγωγίας. SENLER adds, Ἄμωρον, in Comment. Hist. de ant. Christ. statu, p. 30. But what grounds has he for this?

μάχας νομικὰς ; in which it is very evident, that reference is made to the contentions of the Jews respecting the ceremonial law, and religious subjects in general. Some, however, are of opinion, that the passage relates particularly to their disputes on the genealogies of the Chief-priests and priests, to which, according to Josephus, they paid very scrupulous attention ; the Jews being universally of opinion, that the immortality, and everlasting honor of their name, depended on the genealogical tables. On this subject, see MICHAELIS, Commentationes, presented to the Royal Soc. of Gotting. during the years 1763 ss ; p. 2 s.—Now either comparison of different passages, and the reasoning founded upon it, are nowhere of any weight in interpretations of this kind, or it is evident from what has been adduced, that, through the whole of the passage under discussion, there is no trace of the Gnostic, or of any other philosophy ; but that its meaning is that which I have assigned to it. And here I cannot but notice the caution of those two distinguished commentators, CHRYSOSTOM and CAMERARIUS ; both of whom considered this place as referring to the Gnostics, but only on conjecture. CHRYSOSTOM, Op. Tom. vi. p. 531. Ed. Par. 1636, says, ἡ τάχα τοῦτο φησι, διότι τινὲς ἐαυτοὺς ἐκάλουον τότε Γνωστικούς, ὡς πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰδότες, “or perhaps he says this, because certain persons, at that period, called themselves Gnostics, as knowing somewhat more than others.” And it is evident that he added this only in the way of conjecture, from the fact that he explains the whole of this Epistle with reference to the Jews. Thus, for example, he expressly says that ἐπεροδιδασκαλεῖν, Ch. i. 3, refers to “the Jews, who wished to bring believers again into subjection to the law ;” (Ἰουδαίους, βουλομένους πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν νόμον ἔλκεν τοὺς πιστοὺς) and he adds, that the Apostle reproves them for this in almost all his epistles. Moreover, he thus explains μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις, in the next verse ; μύθους οὐ τὸν νόμον φησίν, ἄπαυσ, ἀλλὰ τὰς παραποιήσεις, καὶ τὰ παραχρᾶγματα, καὶ τὰ παράσημα δόγματα. Ἐκὸς γὰρ τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἐν ταῖς ἀνομήτοις τὰ πάντα λόγον ἀναλίσκειν, πάππους καὶ προπάππους ἀρθεμοῦντας, ἵνα δῆθεν ἐμπειρίας πολλῆς καὶ ἱστορίας δόξαν ἔχωσιν. “He does not refer to the law ; far from it ; but to

fictions, and false doctrines. For it is known, that some of the Jews employ their whole discourse on useless topics, reckoning up their pedigree, that they may acquire a reputation for great learning and investigation." In the same way, he interprets ἐσθήλους καὶ γραῶδας μύθους, ch. iv. 7, by τὰς Ἰουδαίων παρατηρήσεις.—So also CAMERARIUS, on this passage, observes, "I suspect, also, that the Apostle here refers to a certain sect, called Gnostics. (τῶν Γνωστικῶν καλουμένων) who are supposed to have sprung from the Nicolaitans, and who shewed a wonderful acquaintance with abstruse subjects." Many very learned commentators have been equally cautious, in expressing their opinions on this subject; among whom I think GORIUS also may in a certain sense be classed, who speaks, I perceive, rather in a hesitating manner at Matt. xxiv. 11. He there observes; "And this (the Gnostic philosophy, of which he is speaking,) is, if I am not mistaken, that ψευδώνυμος γνώσις, mentioned by St. Paul in his epistle to Timothy." At this place of the Apostle, however, he speaks with greater confidence, saying; "you perceive here, how ancient is the name of Gnostics, which these philosophers, mingling themselves with the Christian assemblies, assumed; despising others as ignorant persons:" though, even at the former place also, he pronounces his opinion with some degree of confidence, in the remarks which he afterwards makes.

Let us now proceed to the writings of St. John, and particularly his Gospel, and First Epistle; in which some very learned men think that there are such evident traces of the Gnostic philosophy, that no doubt can remain upon the subject. With respect to the former, they assert, with great unanimity, that the whole of it was written in opposition to this class of men; both because it is too evident, that the design of the sacred Evangelist was to defend the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ against the objections of enemies, and because he makes use of those very words, which the Gnostics employed in a different sense. Among these they class the terms λόγος, ζωὴ, φῶς, μονογενής, σωτήρ, and the phrases, εἰς τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι, πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας, and others. Objections, however, may be urged against both these proofs.

As for the first argument, that it was the design of St. John to contend against the opponents of Christ's divinity, i. e. the Gnostics, I have not as yet been persuaded into this opinion by what some learned writers have advanced in support of it, with more ingenuity and plausibility than correctness. For, first, the whole tenor of the discourse, and even the first fourteen verses, which are particularly thought to refer to this subject, have no appearance of any refutation, or argument; on the contrary, it is plain that it is a doctrinal passage, in which the inspired writer, according to a method pursued in other parts of Scripture, makes some explanatory observations in regard to our Saviour, his natures, and the union of them, by way of preface and introduction to the subsequent history of Christ; and clearly and minutely shews the design of this great mystery, at that time altogether rejected by the Jews; which the Christians might make use of as well for convincing the Jews, as for strengthening their own belief, by a certain and clear examination of the whole nature and truth of the matter. And this was the design and plan of the other writers also of the gospel history, though of none so plainly as of St. John; and yet no other, except him, has ever been thought to have combated the errors of the Gnostics. There is no reason, therefore, for the assertion of some learned men, and, among these, of SCHROECKH, *Hist. Eccl. Tom. ii. p. 312*, that this doctrinal discourse of St. John is altogether out of place in a historical book, unless the intention of it is to refute some doctrinal error. For granting, that St. John departs somewhat from the character of a historian, and undertakes the office of a teacher; is he necessarily, on that account, contending against the Gnostics, or other heretics of that kind? On the contrary, as I have already said, he added these remarks for the benefit of the Jews, and of Christians, who were not sufficiently confirmed in the faith. And what else is it but to fulfil the office of a historical writer, to relate, that the Son of God existed before the beginning of the world, that he formed this whole universe, and, having assumed a human nature, proved himself, on the earth, by various circumstances and actions, to be the true God?

But it will be said, that for this very reason, that St. John pursues a more extensive and clearer plan, than the other writers of the gospel history, it is evident, that his intention was to put Christians upon their guard against the errors of the Gnostics. Be it so. But why does he speak so much about the *λόγος*, and directly explain who he is? Why does he not discourse rather about Demiurge, whom these men maintained to be the author of all things, but inferior to the supreme God, nay, wicked and impotent in nature; and shew that this same *δημιουργός*, i. e. creator of the world, is the supreme God himself; and that he has a Son, who partakes of divinity in the same measure with the Father, and who may in a harmless sense be termed *λόγος*; and why does he speak of this *λόγος* in such a manner, as if Christians had never known any thing about any other? Why is he silent about Aeons, respecting whom the Gnostics philosophized in as trifling a manner, as they did with regard to the *λόγος*; and why does he not prove to these philosophers, that their opinion in regard to other natures, viz. Aeons, between the supreme God and Demiurge, is absurd and impious, and is grounded upon a false opinion respecting the origin of evil? I like better, therefore, the opinion of those, who think that it was St. John's intention, in this work, to write a sort of compendium, (not because there is an ancient tradition to this effect, nor I cannot hesitate to pronounce this, with SEMLER, in the Pref. to his Paraph. of St. John's gospel, a mere fable; but because any person, who reads the Gospel, and other writings of St. John, may easily perceive this for himself,) and to explain the Christian doctrine somewhat more minutely and fully; (which

* Whoever wishes to know something of the Aeons of the Gnostics, may consult BEAUSOBRE, *Hist. Crit. de Manichée et Manichéisme*, Tom. II. Lib. v. c. 2. p. 574; MOSHEIM, *Instit. H. E. maj.* p. 143 s.; and BRUCKER, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* Tom. II. p. 647, where he thus observes: "They are substantial virtues, which, having come out and emanating from God, have, indeed, a divine nature and essence, yet different from its source by a certain mode and peculiar way of existence of its own; intellectual and immortal, and having no reference to that time which is the continuing result of mutation."

is the opinion of **SEMLER**, *Hist. dog. fidei*, prefixed to Baumgarten's *Polem. Theol. T. I. p. 61.*) and, as there were not only many Jews, who impugned the divine nature of Christ, or, at least, had doubtful and various sentiments in regard to it, but also many Christians, who did not understand it with sufficient certainty, that he wished to prove it by arguments, and, at the same time, to explain the subject of his human nature, and of the union of the former with it; so that the whole doctrine in regard to our Lord Jesus Christ might be better understood, and be more clearly evident to all, and thus Christians might have, in this work, a kind of spiritual gift (*χάρισμα πνευματικόν*). And this opinion, no less than that which supposes St. John to have written against the Gnostic heresies, is supported by the authority of antiquity; and, as it has been thoroughly approved of by men deeply versed in Greek and Hebrew learning, it ought to be adopted by us. It may be sufficient to mention **ORIGEN**, passages of whom, as also of other writers, have been cited by **LARDNER**, in his *Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 383 s.*

The Apostle, however, uses a phraseology, which bears a strong resemblance to that of the Gnostic philosophers! So, indeed, some learned writers say, in order to shew that St. John contended against that class of men. I grant it. In the first place, however, these are single words, and particular phrases, separated from the context; some of which I have cited above. Now who can draw any inference from single words, in regard to the resemblance of the whole style? Many words occur in the New Testament, which are found also in **DEMOSTHENES**, and other elegant Greek writers. But is the style of the New Testament that of Demosthenes, and pure Greek, or is it derived from Demosthenes? (Unless any one will be so absurd as to say, with a certain writer, that the Holy Spirit had great delight in the eloquence of Demosthenes.) There are also, in the New Testament, entire phrases, resembling the Hebrew usage, which are found in **AESCHYLUS** and **SOPHOCLES**, and sometimes also in the same sense. But who can imagine that they are taken from them?—But, in the next place, it would be a

strong presumption against my opinion, if the words and phrases supposed to have been derived from the Gnostics, were entirely unknown in the sacred writings. I shall now attempt to shew, however, that this is not the fact. If I shall be able to do this, it will be evident, that neither are these words derived from the Gnostic or Oriental philosophy, nor is it aimed at by St. John in this place.

Let us begin with the word *λόγος*, the origin of which, I must freely confess, cannot be very easily explained; especially as it is peculiar to St. John alone, among the New Testament writers. I like, most of all, however, the opinion, that reference is made in this word to the Hebrew language. There are some, also, who refer to the usage of the Chaldee tongue, and particularly to the word *מִימְרָא*; on which subject there has been much discussion among various writers. The point has been certainly enforced with great learning; and I should be strongly disposed to agree to it, were not the *λόγος* distinguished from God, as a different person from the Father and the Holy Spirit. But it has not been proved with sufficient certainty, as some think, that the Chaldee writers use this word in any other way, than in descriptions of God, or of some peculiar divine revelation; as may be seen even by Mal. III. 5, where, instead of "I the Lord," the Chaldee version has *מימרי*, my word. As it is still, therefore, a subject of doubt, whether it was customary to use this word in a peculiar manner respecting the Son of God, I would not assert positively, that the usage of St. John is to be traced to that source. See DEYLING, Obs. S. T. I. p. 221 s., CARPZOV, Crit. Sac. p. 479 s., and especially JOHN HENRY MICHAELIS, Diss. de *מימרא* Chaldaeorum. I should think, however, that this appellation of the Saviour, *ὁ λόγος*, ought to be accounted one of those usages of speech, which were at that time, indeed, frequent among the Jews, but of which no examples have reached us. But that this term *λόγος*, used by St. John, was customary among those for whom he wrote, is evident from the fact, that he adds nothing in explanation of it; which, perspicuous as he is in all other respects, he would certainly otherwise have done, and not have used it as

a word well known to all. There are some remains, however, of this usage, in the Hebrew language; and these I shall now proceed to consider. It was customary with the Hebrews to use the word רִבֵּן to express a divine person, and particularly the Son of God, and to employ it as a synonymous term with עֶבֶר. I would not, however, with DEYLING, l. c. quote as an instance of this, Ps. xxxiii. 6; as commentators now generally agree, that רִבֵּן signifies, in that passage, the divine decree, and that this place, therefore, ought no more to be cited in proof of the divinity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Spirit. I would rather, therefore, with WITSIUS, Miscell. Sac. Tom. II. p. 102, and DEYLING, l. c. p. 223, refer to II. Sam. vii. 21; where David confesses, that all his blessings had come to him בְּעֵבוֹר הַבְּרִיךְ: and that this does not mean, "on account of the promise, kindly made to me by thee," as it may perhaps elsewhere, is shewn by the parallel passage, I. Chron. xvii. 19, in which those same supplications of David are repeated; for there, in reference to the same subject, the words are בְּעֵבוֹר עֲבָרְךָ, instead of בְּעֵבוֹר הַבְּרִיךְ, as in the former place. It is evident, therefore, that these words set forth the same idea, inasmuch as they are used concerning the same subject; and that they express the Messiah, who is sometimes called עֶבֶר, as appears from Isai. xlii. 1. xlix. 1. 3. lii. 13, and also from the circumstance that the Septuagint renders רִבֵּן, in the passage of Samuel referred to, by δούλος, which is no unimportant argument in favor of the opinion which I advance. But the sense of this word עֶבֶר is to be determined from the usage of the Hebrew language, according to which it does not mean the same with the Latin word *servus*; but the Hebrews call those persons the servants of kings, whom we, at the present day, call ministers, in a very honorable sense: this, therefore, is a title of dignity, with which Moses also is distinguished in the Old Testament, Josh. i. 1, as has been remarked by MASIUS, in his Commentary on this place, contained in the Critici Sacri. This circumstance may be urged against GEIER, on Ps. xviii. 1, who supposes that the word signifies an abject condition; which is not the fact. For עֶבֶר, like the same word in Arabic, means

properly, "to work as a laborer," as *κοπιᾶω* in the New Testament. Thus, in Gen. ii. 5, *קֹרְאִים עֲבָדִים*; iv. 2, *קֹרְאִים עֲבָדִים*; Prov. xii. 11. Isai. xix. 9. *עֲבָדֵי שֵׂפֶלֶת*, workers in flax. But *עָבַד* means, further, to pay attention to, to be devoted to, as in ii. Kings, xviii. 7. Isai. xix. 23. Whence *עֲבָדִים* signifies ministers, whom any person employs for the accomplishment of his designs. The Septuagint almost always renders *עָבַד* by *καῖδες*; but in Esth. ii. 18, it translates it by the honorable appellation *φίλοι*. The term *καῖδες*, moreover, is used in the New Testament, in the same way as *עֲבָדִים*: a clear instance of which occurs in Matt. xiv. 2, where the *καῖδες* of Herod, are his friends, or ministers, called in Mark, vi. 21, *μαγιστᾶνες*. Hence the Apostles are called *δούλοι*, on account of the august office of the Apostleship; and *δουλεῖν Κυρίῳ*, means, to teach the gospel. Of the same force is the word *λαμπουργός* in the New Testament, which is a title applied to kings, who are called *λαμπουργοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*; and *διάκονοι*, Rom. xiii. 4. 6; and even to the angels themselves, Heb. i. 14; nay more, even to our Lord Jesus Christ, ch. viii. 2. 6: and ch. iii. 1. he is called *ἀπόστολος τῆς ἐμολογίας*, i. e. the interpreter of the covenant, sent by God, in order that he might ratify the covenant; which titles have nothing, certainly, of an abject signification in them, and do not detract at all from the dignity of the person who bears them. The word *עָבַד*, therefore, means nearly the same as *קָרָב*, by which very title the Saviour is distinguished in the Old Testament. But *קָרָב* means, any minister, i. e. one who manages affairs in the place of another; and is applied principally to the counsellors of princes, and generals and commanders in war, not only in the Hebrew, but also in the other Oriental tongues. Hence, in the Ethiopic, it signifies a president, a governor; and is used for *ἄρχων* in John, iii. 1, and for *ἡγεμὼν*, in Matt. xxvii. 2. For the same reason *קָרָב* and *עָבַד*, Ps. civ. 4, and *עָבַד* and *עָבַד*, Josh. i. 1, are used indiscriminately, although it cannot be denied, that *עָבַד* is used by the Hebrews in a somewhat more honorable sense.—I have made these observations that it might be seen, that the words *עָבַד*, *עָבַד*, and *קָרָב* are synonymous, and, when used with reference to our Sa-

viour, signify the whole office, committed to him by God the Father for the benefit of men ; and that thus the reason might clearly appear, why the term *λόγος* is used by St. John ; and that it might be evident, that this title was applied to the Messiah in the Old Testament, and is not, therefore, to be looked for in the Gnostic, or any other philosophy of that kind. But as that ministry consisted principally in recovering the salvation and happiness of men, to the great glory of God, and not simply in making it known to mankind, and unfolding the way to its attainment ; on this account, I think that the title *λόγος* refers not merely to the office of a teacher, which our Lord Jesus Christ bore, but principally to his character as Redeemer, and that it means, therefore, not only a teacher, or, as HEUMANN understands it, in his *Explic. Libr. N. T. Tom. III. p. 7*, one who makes an annunciation, but the author of the salvation and happiness of the human race ; such as עֲבָר is described to be, by Isaiah, Ch. LII, and LIII, and as St. John speaks of him, when he calls him φῶς, ζῶν, κ.λ. And this is particularly consonant with the genius of the Hebrew language. For the primary and proper signification of דָּבַר is that of drawing, leading : and it was formerly applied, like the same word in the Syriac, to shepherds, who lead their flock, and to husbandmen, who draw furrows, on which account the Syriac word denotes a field, and plain ; and it thus agrees with the primary signification of עֲבָר. Hence מְדִבְרָה means properly, not a desert, but a place in which there are no cultivated fields, but which is designed for pastures, or into which a flock is led, as RELAND has observed, *Palæst. III. L. 1. c. 56. p. 374*. Thus Joel, 1. 19, where the words נִוְחַי מְדִבְרָה mean, either the cottages of the shepherds and the sheep-folds, or rather pleasant pastures, green meadows ; “ the excessive drought has consumed the places in which there are pastures.” In the next place, however, the word דָּבַר is applied to the office of generals and kings, and also of teachers. Hence it signifies, *either* to rule, govern, subject, compel, lead ; as Ps. xviii. 48, where בָּרַךְ עַמִּים הַתְּהִי is well translated by the Septuagint, *καὶ ὑποτάξας λαοὺς ὑπ’ ἑμῆς*, instead of which, in II. Sam. xxii. 48, it is *καὶ ὑποτάξας λαοὺς ὑποτάσσω μου*. In Ps.

XLVII. 4, and CXXXVII. 3, the Syriac word occurs in the same sense, in reference to those who lead others into captivity, and expresses the very difficult verb ללן, hence רנן signifies a general; or to teach, discourse, and also to be eloquent; for example, in 1. Kings, v. 13, where Solomon's acquaintance with natural productions is mentioned, that he could also explain the qualities of these. See also Hos. x. 4, and λαλέω in the New Testament, Mark, ii. 2, 1. Pet. iv. 11. Hence רנן is, in numerous places in the Psalms, synonymous with הנהיג, which means the whole system of divine instruction, and in this way also λόγος is used in the New Testament, as 1. Cor. i. 18, λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ. the doctrine concerning Christ crucified; also λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας, ii. Tim. ii. 15; λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, 1. John, ii. 14, Apoc. i. 2, in which last place λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ and μαρτυρία τοῦ Χριστοῦ are synonymous, and signify the Christian doctrine, and μαρτυρεῖν εἰς λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, to teach the gospel. Compare also Exod. iv. 14, and Jer. i. 6. Now if these significations be applied to the Saviour, when distinguished by the title of λόγος, the reason of so calling him may be more easily perceived; and it may thereby be seen, that the name is not to be looked for in the Gnostic, or any other philosophy. If the observations I have now made are thought, by some, not to carry with them that complete evidence which ought to exist, when we are obliged to gather the meaning and sense from the words, as in prominent points of doctrine, or when the context and subject-matter give no assistance in arriving at a true understanding of the signification; yet they are of some weight in establishing the interpretation for which I contend, from the usage and analogy of languages: and this is, perhaps, all that is necessary, in passages of this kind.

Let us now proceed to those other traces of the Gnostics, which are thought to exist in the gospel of St. John; in the examination of which I may be more brief. Besides the word λόγος, particular stress is laid upon the terms φῶς and ζωῆ, which are thought to have been used for the purpose of opposing the Gnostics. Thus GROTIUS observes, at this place.

“The fable of the Gnostics is refuted, that the *λόγος* is one emanation of God, *ζωή* another, *φῶς* another. St. John shews, on the contrary, that all these titles suit Christ alone.” It is hardly necessary to say any thing in opposition to this idea, since it is obvious, that the words *φῶς* and *ζωή* savor, not of Gnosticism, but Hebraism; for the words *דִּינָה* and *רוּחַ* occur in numerous places of the Psalms, in the sense of felicity of every kind, tranquillity of mind, joy, and the hope of everlasting life; as *נִחַם*, *לֵאשׁוּר*, and *אֲשֶׁר*, are used for miseries and calamity: for example, Ps. xxxvi. 10, where the two words above mentioned are connected together;* Ps. lxxi. 20; Isai. ix. 1; and in the New Testament, John, x. 10. And such a Saviour is promised in the Old Testament; that he should be *דִּינָה רוּחַ*, Isai. xli. 6; and he was acknowledged to be such in the New Testament, Luke, ii. 32, *φῶς εἰς ἀπαλάττωσιν ἰθύνων*; and he himself, also, applies this title to himself, John, viii. 12, *ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου*, which words I would thus render, “I am that light of the world,” predicted, viz. by the prophets: and I would understand it as referring not to the doctrine, delivered by him, but to the salvation procured by him; as appears not only from the words that follow, *ἵνα τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς*, but by the parallel places, ch. ix. 5, and xii. 46. And so, also, I think those words *דִּינָה רוּחַ* ought to be interpreted; viz. in reference to the author of human salvation and happiness; and also *φῶς* and *ζωή* in the place before us. For these words are used indiscriminately, although with some slight difference of meaning, which is this. The word *ζωή* signifies happiness, in such a manner as to refer, at the same time, to the power of conferring it upon men; on which account Christ is said to quicken (*ζωοποιεῖν*) men, which does not mean, as interpreters commonly suppose, to regenerate, but to bestow salvation; but *φῶς* signifies happiness, so as to indicate,

* The sense of this most beautiful passage is this: Thou art the source of true and permanent happiness, and from this source every kind of happiness abounds to us; *אֲשֶׁר*, according to the Hebrew usage, means, “to enjoy.”

at the same time, the method of obtaining it, viz. by the illumination of the mind, i. e. the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ. Since these words, therefore, are used in such a manner, as to be in no way applicable to the Gnostics, and since the signification which they have is not unknown in other parts of Scripture; it is evident, that the use of them should not be considered as being derived from the Gnostic, or Platonic philosophy, as many think with LE CLERC; and that the word ζῶη v. 4, must not be explained according to SEMLER's interpretation, in his Paraphr. of St. John's gospel, with reference to "spiritual natures enjoying perpetual life, as the most excellent species τῶν πάντων, and Christ, the creator of them." It may be further remarked, that the use of the words ζῶη and φῶς, in the sense of happiness, as of οὐκίος in the sense of misery, is conformable to the custom of all languages; as has been already observed by others, and shewn, with reference to profane writers, by BOS, Exercitatt. ad N. T. p. 52, and ELSNER, Obs. Sac. p. 290 s. I am very much surprised that GROTIUS, who, in other places, perceives all this perfectly well, should have hesitated with regard to this passage. Such, however, is usually the case with those, who go to the investigation of any writer's meaning, when blinded by a preconceived opinion.

No less clear is the matter, in regard to the word μονογενής, v. 14, and 18. GROTIUS is of opinion that this word, also, is used in opposition to the Gnostics, observing, that "the Gnostics are in brief terms condemned, who made the λόγος one, μονογενής another, and Jesus another." And yet he himself has well shewn, that, in order to understand this phrase, we must recur to the usage of the Septuagint in rendering the Hebrew יְחִיד, examples of which are to be found in Gen. XXI. 2. 12. 16, Amos, VIII. 10, Zech. XII. 10, &c., and Prov. IV. 3; from which places it may be seen, that this word means 'very much beloved;' for, in the former of them, they translate it by ἀγαπητός, and, in the last-mentioned, by ἀγαπίμενος. This is certainly true; except that GROTIUS is mistaken in supposing, that ἀγαπητός means, dear, or very much beloved; since it rather signifies "only;" for, in the above-mention-

ed passage of Genesis, Isaac is called יִצְחָק בְּרִיתוֹ , and it is added, וְיָחִידוֹ ; which would have been superfluous, had not the whole place signified, "take thine only son, who is also very dear to thee." This is evident, also, from the translation of SYMMACHUS, who has rendered יִצְחָק by $\mu\acute{\nu}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, and that of AQUILA, who translates it by $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$; as St. Paul also does, in Heb. xi. 17. Finally, this is in accordance with a refined usage of the Greek language, by which an only son is called $\delta\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. In reference to this are to be explained the well-known words, in Matt. iii. 17, and Luke, iii. 22. $\delta\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu \delta \nu\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon \delta \delta\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma, \epsilon\nu \omega\acute{\iota} \epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\sigma\alpha$, i. e. this is my son, beloved as an only son.—Since St. John, then, in the use of this word, followed the usage of the Septuagint, and it was a common thing with the sacred writers to distinguish the Son of God in this manner; for what reason, I pray, should it be asserted, that the Gnostics are condemned in this place? The Gnostics, forsooth, had one called $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, another $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$; St. John here mentions $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$; ergo—

I am surprised that GORIUS should consider the words $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$, in the same verse, as referring also to the Gnostics. "Here, also," he observes, "the dream of the Gnostics is refuted, according to whom $\alpha\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ was different from $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ and Christ." For it is well known, that the words יְרַחֵם and יְחַיֵּם are, in numerous places of the Old Testament, joined together, as Ps. xxv. 10, LXXXIX. 15, and in this very Ch. i. of John, verse 17; and that they are, by a hendyadis, for $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma \alpha\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\eta$, i. e. very true, or, perfect grace. But 'full of perfect grace,' means, very gracious, by far the most benignant. But if we thus interpret these words, as we must do, according to the Hebrew usage; how can we suppose them to refer to the $\alpha\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ of the Gnostics? Perhaps the Gnostics had a $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ also?

GORIUS also thinks, that, in verse 16, "St. John shews the true use of the word $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, in opposition to the Gnostics." The Gnostics talked about a certain $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, therefore St. John, in this place, referred to the same. This otherwise excellent commentator did not bear in mind, that the Apostle follows the Hebrew use of the word יְחַיֵּם , which, as I have al-

ready shewn, on Col. ii. 9, means either a quantity destined for some purpose, or absolutely, which signification is not without examples in Greek writers; or plenty and abundance; and that this is the meaning in the present passage: so that the sense is; out of the abundance of his favors, we have obtained very great and constant grace; or, we have received very great benefits from him; for this is the meaning of *χάρις ἀντὶ χάριτος*. This same usage St. John undoubtedly had in view, in the words *ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς*, in verse 18; which phrase is thought by GROTIUS, and others with him, "to have been used in an improper sense by the Gnostics, and here in its true and correct meaning." It is derived, however, from the Hebrew mode of banqueting, and signifies the greatest degree of intimacy, and community of purposes. Profane writers use the same phrase to express this idea: see ELSNER, Obs. Sac. p. 295. In this sense it is, that LAZARUS is said, Luke xvi. 22 s. to be *ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ*, i. e. intimate with Abraham, or, very near to him, or, enjoying the same happiness. And the same is the meaning, in the present passage, in regard to the Son of God: he has the same nature and dignity with the Father. I do not see, therefore, how St. John is defending the sense of this phrase from the perversions of the Gnostics; and I am clearly of opinion, that GROTIUS, and the other learned men who follow him, would never have thought of such an idea, nor have seen any thing here of the Gnostics, unless they had been at great pains to discover them.

So much in regard to St. John's gospel. Let us now proceed to his First Epistle; of which the following places are generally considered as having the same bearing; viz. Ch. ii. 18 s., 22 s., and 26. iii. 4—7, iv. 1—3. I shall briefly consider the principal passages. The greatest difficulty consists in the question, whom the Apostle means by *ἀντὶχριστοῦ* and *ψευδοπροφήται*; in determining which commentators differ, as the terms are used in various ways in Scripture. It is evident, however, that the *ἀντὶχριστος*, in these passages, is different from that spoken of in ii. Thess. ii; and that the *ψευδοπροφήται* are not the same who are mentioned in that well-known

place, Matt. vii. 15, where we are to understand, not those who teach false doctrines, but those who live in a manner unworthy of Christ and of his gospel, as the context there evidently shews ; and they appear to be the same with the *ψευδοδιδασκαλοι*, ii. Cor. xi. 13, who are so called, partly for the reason just stated, and partly because they professed to be greater than the Apostle Paul, on account of some outward advantages. In this place, however, it is evident that the *ἀντιχρισται*, Ch. ii. 18, and the *ψευδοπροφήται*, Ch. iv. 1, are the same ; for they are so described by the Apostle, viz. Ch. ii. 22, as *ἀρνούμενοι*, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ χριστός, denying that Jesus is the Christ ; and Ch. iv. 3, as *μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα*, not confessing that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. But whom are we to understand as being here referred to ? *ΜΟΣΗΕΙΜ*, Instit. Hist. Eccl. maj. p. 313, and others with him, think that these two classes of men are to be clearly distinguished from each other, and that by the former are to be understood the Jews, who denied the divine nature of Jesus Christ, and by the latter, without doubt, the Gnostics, who denied his human nature ; for it is one thing, he observes, *ἀρνούσθαι*, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός, to deny that Jesus is the Christ, and another, *μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα*, not to confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. I am surprised, however, that *ΜΟΣΗΕΙΜ* should have made a distinction, where none existed ; for, by a comparison of both places, it is plain that these phrases mean exactly the same thing, viz. to deny that Jesus, the son of Mary, is the Christ, the Saviour of the human race, sent by God into this world : for it is evident that in Ch. iv. 3, the Apostle repeats what he had said in Ch. ii. 22, and that he makes it a token for distinguishing true from false teachers, that the former confess that Jesus is the Christ, the Redeemer of the human race, but the latter deny it. What, therefore, is expressed in one place by *ὁ ἀρνούμενος*, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός, is, in the other, *ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα*. And what difference is there, whether I should deny that Jesus, the son of Mary, is the Messiah, i. e. the Saviour of the human race, or, that Jesus, who is the Messiah, has come into the world ? It is

impossible, moreover, that the Jews or Gnostics can be meant ; for, in the first place, those *ἀντίχριστοι* are said, Ch. II. 19, to have abandoned the Christian religion, *ἔξ ἡμῶν ἐξήλθεν* ; which is not applicable, at least, to the Jews ; and, in the next place, MOSHEIM shews, in regard to the Gnostics, (see his work, cited above, p. 395, and in many other places,) that they considered Jesus as the Son of God, and the Saviour of the human race. This excellent writer, therefore, has allowed that they did not altogether deny Christ's humanity. What other persons, then, are we to understand as being here described ? Those adversaries, truly, of Jesus Christ, who, rejecting the Christian faith, spoke in the most reviling terms of his redemption, and of his whole religion ; and particularly those impostors, who, boasting themselves to be the Messiah, endeavored totally to destroy the claims of our Saviour : so that *ἀντίχριστοι* are the same as *ψευδοχριστοι*, which is not only allowed by the nature of the case, for he who is *ψευδοχριστος*, a false Christ, is also *ἀντίχριστος*, antichrist ; but also by the nature of the Greek language, according to which *ἀντίχριστος* may mean, one who boasts himself to be Christ, or, who assumes the place of Christ ; for *ἀντι* is so used in composition, as, for example, *ἀντίδοτον*, a gift, which is conferred in the place of another. The instances cited to prove the contrary, by BRUCKER, on this place, and by CALOVIUS, against GROTIUS, are of no force. And that there were, at that period, many such madmen, who professed to be the Messiah, I have already shewn from JOSEPHUS, and others ; and it is also plain from the prophecy of Christ, Matt. xxiv. 5. 24. There is no necessity for mentioning every individual, the thing being evident ; and this, moreover, cannot be done, as the names of most of them have not come down to our times. Otherwise I would, with GROTIUS, class among such persons Simon Magus, and Dositheus, both of whom, as I have already observed, were rather enemies of Jesus Christ, than heretics.

How Chapter III. v. 4, is at all in point, I cannot possibly perceive. Perhaps because the Apostle is commonly supposed to be arguing, in that place, after the manner of a refined philosopher, who begins with the explanation of his subject :

which he would not have done, unless his intention had been to refute some particular persons. But who are these? No others, without doubt, but the Gnostics. I doubt it, however, exceedingly. For there is, in this place, no explanation of sin, as is generally supposed, but rather an admonition to avoid sin, grounded upon two reasons; the first of which is drawn from the defilement, both to body and mind, contracted by sin; and the second, from the guilt of a violated law, which accrues from it. For though I do not think there is any great emphasis in the words, *ὡς ἡ ποῦν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν*, as ALBERTI, in his Observations, on this passage, and others are of opinion, yet I do think that the word *ἀμαρτία* has here the sense of the defilement of sin; as is evident from its being opposed to the words, *ἀγνίσει ἑαυτὸν, καθὼς ἕσθινος ἀγνός ἐστι*. The meaning of this place, therefore, is this: "Whosoever defiles himself by doing what is wrong, at the same time violates the law, and contracts the guilt of a violated law; but that very defilement, which is in sin, is a departure from the law." This admonition is in itself so excellent and admirable, that it cannot be thought too identical, or superfluous, even if we do not adopt the opinion of MICHAELIS, Einl. ins N. T. P. n. p. 1524. Gott. 1788,* that the design of it was to confute the wickedness of the Gnostics. Verse 9, of the same chapter, which also some think, though I know not for what reason, to refer to the Gnostics, seems to me to be capable of an easy application to apostasy. I approve, indeed, exceedingly, of the interpretation of some very learned divines, who understand the words *καὶ οὐ δύναται ἀμαρτάνειν*, thus; "inasmuch as he is born again, and so long as he continues in regeneration and faith." There is no necessity for this, however, if we interpret the words thus; "whosoever has been led, by the power of the divine word, to embrace the Christian religion, has known its truth, excellence, and pleasantness,

* His words are, "which seems to be a proposition too identical, and superfluous, if we read it without reference to any polemical design." [See MARSN's Michaelis, Vol. iv. p. 406, Lond. 1802.—Tr.]

and has thoroughly felt and experienced it, will certainly *not* apostatize from it, since the divine word continually exerts its efficacy in strengthening his mind ; yea, it cannot be, that he should abandon and abjure this religion, after having once acknowledged it, for, through the divine goodness, his mind is so strengthened and confirmed, that such a thing appears to be altogether impossible (*ἀδύνατον*.)” This meaning is certainly not absurd, and agrees perfectly with the context, and with the subject itself ; for the Apostle adds, *ὅτι σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς μένει*. Now *σπορά*, which is the same as *σπέρμα*, is elegantly used, 1. Pet. 1. 23, in reference to the power of the gospel, or the *λόγος ζῶν Θεοῦ*. Moreover, the power exerted upon the mind by the truth and excellence of the Christian religion, is proved by personal experience ; and may be perceived in the fact, that so many thousands of men, of different ranks, not only have defended it with the utmost constancy, amidst threatenings of the most cruel punishments, but have also, with astonishing cheerfulness, sealed the truth of it with their blood, and with an ignominious and most excruciating death ; and were willing to die a thousand times, rather than abjure and deny it.

I now proceed to consider the Second Epistle of St. Peter ; for here also, and particularly in Chapter 11, traces of the Gnostics are looked for, and of course found. There is mention here made, it is said, of *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι* (false teachers,) in describing whom the Apostle uses a phraseology, different from that which he employs in the First Epistle, and also in the other portion of the Second, and agreeing with the language of the Gnostics ; it may hence be clearly perceived, therefore, that, in this chapter, reference is made to them. Let us consider, then, first, these *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι*, and see who are to be understood by them ; and then examine the phraseology of the Apostle, and its diversity. On both these points I shall be brief.

It is evident that these *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι* are so called by the Apostle, not only on account of very grievous errors, but because of their wicked life ; and that two crimes are especially laid to their charge. The one was, in general, their abandon-

ed morals, and dissolute and licentious mode of life ; the other, which arose out of this, their contempt of magistrates. They obtrude upon others, says the Apostle, *v. 1*, very pernicious opinions, *καρσιάζουσιν αἰρέσεις ἀπωλείας*, (which phrase has been already considered,) rejecting the Lord Jesus Christ, who redeemed them by his death, (*τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι*), and placing their chief happiness in feasting sumptuously every day, and indulging in the most depraved passions ; *v. 13*. They are inflamed with inordinate lust, *v. 14*, (*ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες μεστῶς μοιχαλίδος*,*) and are thoroughly practised in all the arts of heaping up and collecting money (*καρδίαν γεγυμνασμένην πλεονεξίας † ἔχοντες*). And not only by this abandoned course of life, but also by their way of talking, carrying the appearance of great affection and benevolence, in order that they may make whatever they wish a source of gain, (*ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ ‡ πλαστοῖς λόγοις*, *v. 3*.) they endeavor to deceive minds that are not sufficiently confirmed, *ψυχὰς ἀσθηρίκτους δολοῦζοντες*, *v. 14* ; and insolently treat them, as merchandize to make a traffic of, *ἐμπορεύσονται*, § *v. 3* ; and entice them to the farthest and most wanton extremes of lust ; || and teach that therein,

* See Bos, Exercitt. Phil. p. 237 ; who admirably explains these words.

† It matters not whether we read *πλεονεξίας*, or *πλοονεξίας*, since both readings are supported by the authority of MSS., and allowed by the genius of the Greek language. Comp. WOLFIVS, on this passage.

‡ *ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ*. There is here observable a twofold hebraism ; first, in the signification of the word *πλεονεξία*, which answers to the Hebrew word *גָּזַן*, which means *gain*, and is sometimes rendered in the Septuagint by *πλεονεξία*, as GROTIUS shews, on Eph. iv. 19 ; and secondly, in the structure of the words : for *ἐ* is for *δι*, as Grotius has also observed, on this passage of St. Peter.

§. Compare GROTIUS, on this place, respecting the meaning of this word.

|| Instead of *ἀπωλείας*, *v. 2*, we ought undoubtedly, with GROTIUS, to read *ἀσελγείας* ; in which reading the MSS. and Versions generally agree. This great man, however, is mistaken in supposing, that *ἀσελγεία*, Eph. iv. 19, means *the beginnings, or first degrees of lewdness*. For this word always signifies violent, unbridled, and shameless lust. Hence *ἀσελγής* means one who is lustful to a shameless and rare degree ; and *ἀσελγής* is applied to a species of lust, which decency forbids me to name.

partly, Christian liberty consists. Comp. v. 12, and Jude, v. 4. And, on account of this same Christian liberty, they despise magistrates, and are not afraid to refuse obedience to them, v. 10, pretending that Christians are not subject to human-governors: and they promise things that are utterly vain, *ἐπίρογκα ματαιότητος φεγγόμενοι*, v. 18; viz. v. 19, full liberty to gratify every lust and desire, *ἐλευθερίαν*, while, nevertheless, they subject themselves and others to the severe and cruel bondage of the filthiest (*φοδρά*) vices. Abandoning, therefore, the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, they have very grievously gone astray, v. 15, exactly according to the plan and course of Balaam, (*ὁδὸς τοῦ Βαλαάμ*) who preferred (*ἀγαπήσας*, from the Hebrew *קָהַל*) the unrighteous rewards received from Balak, to obedience to God. But as Balaam instigated the Moabites to entice the children of Israel to share in their forbidden lusts, and through these lusts to lead them into idolatry, and, by this means, brought upon them the severest punishments from God; so these false teachers, giving Christians the liberty of gratifying their carnal appetites, in order to answer their own avaricious views, have, in like manner, provoked against the church and themselves the anger of God, and those severe chastisements and penalties which usually follow this anger; which, indeed, shall not linger; on the contrary, they are already prepared for them; *οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκσταται οὐκ ἀγγεῖ, καὶ ἡ ἀπίστεια αὐτῶν οὐ νοστήσει*; v. 3.

But the question now comes, who these *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι* were? No other, undoubtedly, than the Gnostics, say some learned writers. Now I will not urge too strongly the fact, that the place referred to, in this chapter, is a prediction respecting teachers of this kind, who were yet to arise; and that the Gnostics, therefore, cannot be meant, because, according to the opinion of these same writers, the origin of the Gnostic philosophy is to be traced much higher than that period, which St. Peter here predicts. At any rate it may be seen, that if this place be regarded as referring to the Gnostics, their doctrine had not, as those writers think, as yet arisen, nor begun to be celebrated and spread abroad: which is what I have been contending for. There is no ne-

cessity, however, for supposing the Gnostics to be meant here, as it is well known that, among Christians themselves, there was a great number of teachers, and of others, who maintained wicked opinions of this kind both by word and example, of whom the Apostle, in this place, predicts a larger and more conspicuous number. And, for this reason, there are so many explanations of the nature of Christian liberty, in the writings of the Apostles, as in 1. Peter, ii. 16; Rom. xi. 20; viii. 2 s. 14 s. xiv. 16; ii. Cor. iii. 17; so many severe reproofs and threatenings, 1. Cor. v. and vi; so many injunctions to connect, with faith, holiness and true piety of heart and life, Jam. ii; so many exhortations to perseverance in faith; finally, so many admonitions to obey the civil rulers, even though they were heathens and wicked men; 1. Pet. ii. 13 s. Rom. xiii. 1 s. Now do these explanations, reproofs, exhortations, and precepts, relate to the wickedness of the Gnostics only? Who ever supposed that the Second Chapter of St. James, throughout the whole of which he opposes men, who led a wicked life, refers to the Gnostics? It is more probable, therefore, that in this place are meant persons of notorious wickedness; who, having abandoned the Christian faith, disseminated iniquitous opinions not only by their example, but also by their language and system, and enticed others to embrace and follow them; in a word, apostates, who, having abjured their faith, and Jesus Christ, lived in a most abandoned manner, and also corrupted others; of whom St. John, after Peter, speaks in his First Epistle, saying that Antichrist, of whose coming Christians had already been warned, is now come. This, moreover, may be clearly perceived from verse 20 s., where the Apostle expressly says, that these ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι had acknowledged and received the truth of the Christian religion, but afterwards had maliciously abandoned and abjured it. Further, it is evident that those ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι were of Jewish origin; for St. Peter had addressed the Jewish Christians, and, in v. 1, he expressly shews, that now also, as had before been the case, men of this kind should arise from among *them*, ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφήται ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἕσονται ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι. It may be added, finally, that learned writers, even among those

who, in other respects, most strenuously contend that traces of the Gnostics are found in the New Testament, and especially MOSHEIM, maintain that the Gnostics were not all so depraved in their opinions and lives, as the *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι* are here described. Comp. MOSHEIM, Institut. H. E. maj. p. 359, where he observes, that "most of them prescribed for themselves a severe rule of living, and, by abstinence, and various inconveniences, emaciated and tormented their bodies :” and, p. 357 s., he says, "they all certainly committed to our Saviour the office of informing, both by words and deeds, the souls of men, which had fallen into extreme ignorance of their origin and condition, and were forgetful of God, how they might escape from the snares of the wicked prince of darkness ; &c.” SEMLER expresses the same opinion, in his Comment. Hist. de ant. Chr. statu, p. 79 ; where he observes, that "most of the Gnostics were strict teachers of virtue.” But if this be so, how can those *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι* mean the Gnostics ? For this reason, MOSHEIM here agrees with me ; for he expressly maintains, in the above work, p. 317 s., that this epistle does not speak of philosophers, nor of those who advocated the ceremonial law, but of abandoned Christians, "who maintained that the holy system of Jesus Christ was the teacher of every vice and lust, and, by their own impure lives, supported this horrible doctrine.”—So much with respect to the *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι*.

As for the phraseology which the Apostle has used in this Chapter, and which, as has been very correctly remarked by learned men, (as, for example, among the ancient ecclesiastical writers, JEROM, de Script. Eccl. c. 1,) differs very much from his style in other parts, and has a great resemblance to the Epistle of St. Jude, while this Second Epistle of St. Peter, and the Epistle of St. Jude, resemble very much the phraseology of the Gnostics ; learned men seem to have here needlessly sought out and devised difficulties. If it is necessary, however, to assign any reason for the circumstance referred to, the most probable is, that it was in consequence of the prophecy, and denunciation of severe punishments, contained in this chapter. Now who does not know that in prophecies, or severe reproofs, the style is more elevated, and

sometimes also more uncommon, than in the simple statement of doctrines, and systems of morals? Who can read the xivth chapter of Isaiah, where the destruction of the Babylonians is threatened, or the reproof contained in Jeremiah, 11. 12, without perceiving that a very elevated style, and bold figures, are used? And from this circumstance not having been borne in mind by some commentators, those passages have been explained in a most extraordinary and unnatural manner. Or, to take an example from the New Testament, who can read the Apocalypse, and other writings of St. John, without observing the great difference there is between them? In the latter, the style is simple, sweet, and flowing softly along; in the former, it is elevated, magnificent, and also, in some places, repugnant to the usage of the Greek language; and therefore abounding in faults of expression, not to be found in his other writings, and such as we should not have expected to find in him.

The words themselves, moreover, and phrases, which the Apostle has employed in this prophecy, are such as may easily be accounted for, and explained, from the usage of the sacred writers, without having any regard to the trifles of the Gnostics. Of this kind, are, particularly, the phrase *σειραις ζήφου ταρταρώσας, παρέδωκεν εις χρισιν εσθημένους*, in v. 4; and *ὅς ὁ ζήφος τοῦ σκότους εις αἰῶνα εσθήρηται*, in v. 17, and the words immediately preceding, *οὗτοι εἰσι πηγαὶ ἄνδρῶν, νεφέλαι ὑπὸ λαίλαπος ἐλαυνόμεναι*. Some learned writers are of opinion, that these phrases are either derived from the usage of the Gnostics, that is to say, borrowed from them, or that they are employed in opposition to them; as MICHAELIS thinks, Einleit. ins. N. T. P. n. p. 1482 s. ed. Gott. 1788.* Let us, however, examine this point. We must here bear in mind, particularly as it respects the two first of the above phrases, an observation of some very learned commentators in regard to certain words, which are somewhat uncommon in the New Testament. When the Apostles undertook to teach the Christian religion in the Greek language, many subjects were necessary to be spoken

* [See MARCH'S Michaelis, Vol. iv. pp. 366, 368. Lond. 1803.—Tr.]

of, with which the Gentiles were unacquainted, or which, at any rate, they erroneously held ; so that there were no words to express these : as, for example, when the punishments of evil angels and men were to be mentioned. In order to express these, they were obliged either to invent new words, or to select others, whose ordinary signification had some resemblance to that which they wished to express. New terms they neither did, nor could invent ; for this is only to be expected from great genius, disciplined by education, not from fishermen and illiterate persons : they accordingly selected words, which were already well known, and employed on similar subjects. Thus, for example, they made choice of the word *αἰδης*, which is used by the Greeks in reference to the condition of both classes of men after death : the Apostles, however, after the usage of the Septuagint, which employs this word to express the Hebrew terms *לֹמֶץ* and *חַמְצָה*, added another signification ; using it, viz. with reference to the wicked only, and expressing by it their utterly miserable condition. But as this condition is frequently represented, in other places, by the word 'darkness,' *ζῆφος*, they employed this likewise to express the same meaning ; and added to it the word *σκιὰ*, instead of which, in the Book of Wisdom, xvii. 17, the word *ἀλωσις* is used, to signify the constraint, severity, and long duration of these punishments (for chains, and bonds, are used by the poets to express extreme constraint.). And as Tartarus signifies, with the Greeks and Latins, a dark and low place, where the wicked are tormented, they accordingly employed the word *ταραπίω*, entirely divested, however, like the rest of the terms now referred to, of the superstitious meaning attached to it by the heathen ; and signifying, to subject to the severest punishments which a spiritual nature can suffer. Now as it was no less difficult to select these words, so as to suit the comprehension of men, than to invent new ones, it is evident that they were suggested not by the genius of the writers, but by the Holy Spirit himself ; and this is certainly a strong argument for the idea, that words themselves were communicated by divine inspiration. On the signification of those terms among the Greeks, see. be-

sides GROTIUS, Bos, Exercitatt. Phil. on this place, p. 285 ; on Jude, v. 6, p. 293, and Apoc. i. 18, p. 295. There is, moreover, some ground for the use of these words, in that ancient opinion of the Eastern nations, that the souls of the dead pass into a dark and low place, where there is night and dreary solitude, and where past things are forgotten. This they called by the names, *ἡμέρα, τοῦ βύθου, ἡμέρα, ἡσυχίας, ἡσυχία, &c.* ; and the Greeks called it *ἄδης, or τάρταρος*. Hence, in explaining passages of Scripture, it is necessary to be somewhat cautious ; and even in interpreting Greek words, which have the same meaning, we must sometimes have recourse to this ancient opinion, if we would arrive at their exact signification. This was the opinion of that eminent critic VITRINGA, on Isai. xiv. 9 ; and has been farther illustrated by VENEMA, on Ps. vi. 6, xvi. 10, who has cited a great number of passages to establish the point. EVERARD SCHEID has also discussed the subject at large, and in a learned manner, in his *Diss. ad Cant. Hiskiaë*, p. 27—43. And if ancient and modern ecclesiastical writers had borne all this in mind, they certainly would not have looked in this place for the Gnostics ; who perhaps used words of this sort on account of the usage of the Greeks and Latins, who held nearly the same opinion, and used them in a Greek and Latin sense. Neither, which is more important, and applies chiefly to the ancient ecclesiastical writers, would they have philosophized in so trifling a manner about the condition of souls after death, and even respecting the descent of our Lord Jesus Christ into the lower world.

As for the phrases, *ἡπύγαι ἄνδρες*, and *νεφέλαι ὑπὸ λαίλαπος ἐλαυνόμεναι*, v. 17, these also are not entirely unknown in the sacred writings ; the former signifying imperfection of doctrine, the latter inconstancy in the faith. For example, in Ps. xxxvi. 9, pious men are said to be completely satisfied with the fatness of the house of God, and to be rather overflowed, than watered, with the sweetest rivers of pleasures ; i. e. to be enriched by God, here below, with the most choice and excellent gifts, productive of the greatest delight ; for this is the meaning of that very beautiful passage. And, on account of this plenty and abundance of spiritual blessings, they are compared to a

perpetual and most copious fountain ; as, in Isai. LVIII. 11, כְּמוֹתַי מַיִם יֵצֵאוּ לְאֵשׁ לֹא יִכָּבְיוּ מִיַּמִּינֵי, ὡς πηγῆ, ἣν μὴ ἐξήλιπεν ὕδωρ ; that is, thou shalt be like a fountain, which emits water continually, without cessation, i. e. a very abundant fountain ; by which phrase is expressed the exceedingly happy condition of the pious and faithful. So also, in Zechariah, XIV. 8, it is said that out of Jerusalem, i. e. the church of Christ, shall flow ὑδῶν ἡיים, living waters ; which is to be understood not literally, as Grotius thinks, but as referring to the successful propagation of the gospel. To the above place in Isaiah Jesus Christ seems to have had reference, in John, IV. 14 ; but especially in Ch. VII. 38, where he thus describes the happiness of a pious man : ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ (which, according to the Hebrew usage, is for ἐξ αὐτοῦ) ῥεούσουσιν ὕδατος ζωῆς, which, laying aside the allegory, means nothing else but this ; “ he shall be filled with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and with a great abundance of divine knowledge, tranquillity, joy, &c.” See Rev. XXI. 6. And therefore God himself, from whom all these benefits proceed, is called in Ps. XXXVI. 10, קִיּוֹר הַיְיִם, πηγῆ ζωῆς, and in Jer. II. 13, and XVII. 13, קִיּוֹר הַיְיִם ; they who cease to worship and reverence Him being said to leave the exhaustless fountain, and to hew out for themselves broken wells, בְּאֵרֹת נִשְׁבָּרִים, which cannot hold water, and are therefore altogether destitute of it. Hence the mouth and law of a wise man, i. e. his doctrine, are called, in Prov. X. 11, and XXII. 14, קִיּוֹר הַיְיִם, because this doctrine leads to true happiness ; as appears from what follows ; “ by obeying which, you will avoid all danger :” and for this same reason, piety towards God receives the same appellation, in ch. XIV. 27. Now it may hence be perceived, why wicked teachers are here called by the Apostle πηγαὶ ἄνυδροι ; namely, because they themselves are destitute of those divine gifts, and cannot, therefore, lead others to their attainment. This is shewn clearly by the parallel passage, Jude, verse 12, where they are called δένδρα φθισκωμένα, trees that are decaying, or, destitute of leaves, (referring, without doubt, to Ps. I. 3.) ἄκαρπα, δις ἀποθανόντα, entirely dead and dried up, so that there is no hope of their reviving, (for to die twice, means, to suffer a more

bitter death ; as in that celebrated passage of Phædrus, “bis videor mori,”) ἐκριζωθέντα, fit to be burned.—But these teachers are further called νεφέλαι ὑπὸ λαίλαπος ἐλαυνόμεναι, i. e. clouds, which are swiftly carried along by a wind, or tempest. Commentators differ in regard to the reason for this appellation. Some are of opinion, that they are so called on the same account for which they are termed κηγαὶ ἄνδρῶν; others, however, think that it is because of their pride, and vain boast of knowledge (γνώσις), as MICHAELIS, Einl. ins N. T. P. II. p. 1483. Ed. Gott: 1788.* Forsooth, because the Apostle speaks of the Gnostics in this chapter! But it has been already observed by GROTIUS, and CALOVIUS agrees with him, (Bib. Ill. on this place,) that those teachers are so called on account of the wavering character of their faith ; and this is not only clearly proved, but absolutely required, by the whole tenor of the discourse. For what the Apostle had first said figuratively, he unfolds more clearly and without a figure, in v. 20, 21 ; and who else can be there meant, but those who, having abandoned the Christian faith, have turned back again to their former wickedness? To this agree the parallel passages, Eph. iv. 14, where the Apostle admonishes them not to be like children, tossed and driven about by every wind of doctrine, κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας ; intending hereby, without doubt, to warn them against inconstancy in doctrine and faith : and Hebrews, xiii. 9, where he says, διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις καὶ ξέναις μὴ περιφέρεσθε, i. e. do not permit yourselves to be carried and tossed about by various and novel opinions. Moreover, the ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, of whom St. Peter speaks, are called by the Apostle Jude, v. 12, νεφέλαι ὑπὸ ἀνέμων περιφερόμεναι ; and v. 13, ἀστέρες πλανήται, which GROTIUS well renders, wandering, or fitting stars ; and says that their inconstancy is here meant. James, i. 6, is also a passage somewhat applicable to the illustration of the phrase under discussion. There is, therefore, no necessity for referring this chapter to the Gnostics ; and it is plain, that the

* [MARSH'S Michaelis, Vol. IV. p. 355. Lond. 1802.—Tr.]

words themselves which the Apostle uses, and the whole discourse, are sufficiently to be accounted for from the nature of the Greek language, and the usage of the other sacred writers.

On Chapter III, of II. Peter, there cannot be much said; as even those learned writers who are most firmly of opinion, that there are traces of the Gnostic philosophy in the New Testament, differ in the explanation of it: some asserting, but the greater part denying, that it is also referred to in this place. It may be sufficient to state, that this chapter cannot refer to any other advent of Christ, than that to the last judgment; as has been very clearly shewn by several learned writers, and as Michaelis himself thinks, l. c. There is no necessity, however, for supposing, that by the *ἐμσαίνεσθαι*, whom he predicts as hereafter (*ἐκ' ἰσχύατος τῶν ἡμερῶν*) to arise, are meant the Gnostics; since at all periods impudent men of this kind, who have derided the divine promises and threatenings, have existed in great numbers. Such persons, for instance, were found in the days of Noah; and of Malachi, who speaks of them in Ch. III. Will any one say that these were Gnostics?

Something yet remains to be said, (that I may not be thought to have left untouched any thing of importance,) in regard to the meaning of the words *ἀϊόν* and *ἀρχων*, Eph. II. 2; which some learned writers, particularly BRUCKER, on this passage, and MOSHEIM, on 1. Tim. I. 17, suppose, with Jerom, to be used in the Gnostic sense in the sacred writings, and to refer to a certain eternal, unchangeable Substance, and Spirit of the first rank, or prince of spirits. They appear to have been led to this idea, however, by the signification of eternity, which is supposed to be contained in the word *ἀϊόν*, and of chief power, thought to be comprehended in the term *ἀρχων*. Neither the one, nor the other, however, can be proved either from the usage of the Bible, or that of the best writers.

The word *αἰών* answers exactly to the Hebrew *עֵלֶּוֶן*, which, by its derivation, and the constant usage of the sacred writings, means time, the end of which is concealed from us;

or any space of time whatever; the length of which is to be determined, in each particular passage, by the context, and the design of the writer. It may therefore, indeed, signify a somewhat extended period, and even the highest extent of duration: for example, in that phrase, עַד־עַד־עַד־עַד, or, עַד־עַד־עַד, Ps. xc. 2, ciii. 17; in Greek, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος, or, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, i. e. as long as possible, or, for ever; Gen. xxi. 83, עַד־לְחַיֵּי, which is well rendered by the Septuagint, ἕως αἰῶνος. From the term by itself, however, we cannot prove the eternity of any thing; as appears plainly both from the Chaldee, as Esra, iv. 15. Dan. ii. 4. כְּחַיֵּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, and also from other places, which it is unnecessary to mention. A clear example is to be found, however, in Exod. xxi. 6, where the servant who does not wish, in the seventh year of his service, to embrace the privilege of freedom, is said to continue a servant עַד־חַיֵּי, i. e. till the time of the year of jubilee, or, as long as he lives. Deut. xv. 17. Those places are principally to be borne in mind, in which עַד is added; as, Isai. xlv. 17, עַד־עַד־עַד־עַד, ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος ἔστι, a salvation to endure for a very long period. Hence the עַד־עַד of the Hebrews are distinguished by them into עַד־חַיֵּי and עַד־עַד: on which account αἰὼν or αἰῶνες are used, in the New Testament, in reference to the N. T. times, if ὁ μέλλων is added, or οἱ ἐρχόμενοι; as Heb. ii. 5, where, indeed, the words are οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα, in the same sense, however, in which the phrase αἰὼν μέλλων is used in Ch. vi. 5; and δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος means, the power of the doctrine of the New Testament, which is expressly termed, in Rom. i. 16, δύναμις Θεοῦ, and in Eph. i. 19, ὑπερέβαλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως. In the same way we are to understand αἰῶνες ἐρχόμενοι, in Ch. ii. 7, of the Epistle to the Ephesians. Hence our Lord Jesus Christ is called, in Isai. ix. 5, עַד־עַד, i. e. the founder of the future age; where the Septuagint has κατατῆ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. The same meaning is assigned by LOCKE and MICHAELIS to Gal. i. 4; so that the phrase αἰὼν ἐνεστῶς signifies the times of the New Testament, and refers to freedom from the yoke of the ceremonial law. To this, however, seem to be opposed the words τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν

ἡμῶν, which clearly shew that the expression ὅπως ἐξέλθῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος κρηνοῦ means somewhat more than deliverance from the ritual law.—Now from this signification is derived another ; that, namely, by which αἰών, and αἰῶνες, עֲלֵיךְ and עֲלֵיךְ, denote time and the world itself ; as Joel, II. 2, where עֲלֵיךְ means, ‘at any time,’ or, ‘ever :’ Eccles. III. 11, where the Septuagint has translated word for word, εἰς αἰῶνα ἔδωκεν ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν, but the English Version more according to the sense, “he hath set *the world* in their heart :” Heb. I. 2, XI. 3, which passages are in point, and ought not to be thought to refer to the æons of the Gnostics : for they are a mere Hebraism, expressing the formation of the world, as they have been hitherto universally understood. Hence עֲלֵיךְ and ἀπ’ αἰῶνος mean, from the foundation of the world ; Gen. VI. 4, Luke, I. 70, John, IX. 32 : and πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, before the foundation of the world ; I. Cor. II. 7. Moreover, as every period of time has its peculiar manners, vices, pursuits, and dispositions ; hence עֲלֵיךְ, or also רוּחַ, אִיּוֹן, and γένεα, are used in reference both to the manner of life and conduct of any one, as Gen. VI. 9. Luke XVI. 8, which the Hebrews otherwise express by the term רָרָךְ ; and also to the manners, dispositions, and feelings, which distinguish any particular אִיּוֹן, or γένεα. The Latins use the word *ætas*, or *seculum*, in the same way ; as, in PLINY, “*seculum est, pecuniam amare ;*” and TACITUS, *Germania*, 19, “*nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi, seculum vocatur.*” The French use the word *siècle* precisely in the same way. See WOLFIIUS, and the citations there made. A place in point here, is Rom. XII. 2 ; where the Apostle says, μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, i. e. do not imitate the present age, i. e. the corrupt manners of this age. Therefore the words περιπατήσατε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, in this passage of the Epistle to the Ephesians which I have been endeavoring to explain, cannot possibly refer to a certain nature ; but, as we have seen, to the manners and habits of the men of that period, who resisted the gospel of Jesus Christ, which was delivered with such abundant clearness, and confirmed by so many and signal miracles. I would therefore translate the place thus :

“to which crimes ye also were sometime abandoned, after the manner of this period,” or, “as men are wont to live in this our age.” GROTIUS has admirably rendered it; “vixistis, ut mos erat perisque.”

Neither are we to imagine the idea of any great and distinguished power, to be implied in the word *ἄρχων*. For, as ERNESTI observes, *Instit. Interp.* p. 217,* he who possesses *ἀρχή*, i. e. any power and dignity, though small, such as belongs to the lesser judges in particular towns, is called *ἄρχων*. For every town in Judea, however small, had, like us, its *ἄρχωνες*, i. e. magistrates, or judges, who took cognizance of lesser causes, determined suits and controversies, and consulted the advantage and security of their countrymen. On the subject of these Archons of the Jews, WESSELIING has written an entire treatise, to which I would refer the reader. It is a person of this kind that is meant in Luke xii. 58; and, as GROTIUS has already observed, he is expressly termed *κρῆτης* in the parallel passage, Matt. v. 25. Such also was Jairus, who, in Matt. ix. 18, is called *ἄρχων*, and in Luke, viii. 41, *ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς*: compare MARKLAND, in his *Notes on Lysias*.† In the same way Nicodemus, who, in John, iii. 10, is called *διδάσκαλος οὗ Ἰσραὴλ*, is termed in v. 1, of the same chapter, *ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων*; in which place, as BRUCKER likewise has observed, bringing forward, at the same time, other passages in proof of this signification, a person is meant, who has any power whatever in ecclesiastical affairs, or, a public teacher. And this is perfectly agreeable to the use of the word by the Septuagint, from which, without doubt, this sense of *ἄρχων* with the New Testament writers was derived. For in that version, this word is used to render the Hebrew *רַב*, Exod. ii. 14, and *רִבֵּנָה*, Isai. xxii. 18, which, particularly in the Chaldee, signifies any possessor and lord. Nor, finally, is it repugnant to the usage of the best writers, who employ *ἄρχων* in no less simple a manner. Whence it is evident, that there

* [Page 413, Ed. Lips. 1809.—Tr.]

† [*Lys. Oper.* p. 533, Ed. Reiske, Lips. 1772.—Tr.]

is no necessity for understanding by ἀρχὴν τῆς θεουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, a spirit of the first rank, or the prince of spirits, or any thing of that kind : but he designates by this phrase one who possesses any power whatsoever ; by which, however, I would not be understood as taking from the devil, who, I doubt not, is here meant, all the power that is attributed to him in other places also of the sacred Scriptures, and that is here ascribed to him by the expression, τῆς θεουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, who exercises power in darkness, i. e. among wicked men. But, on the other hand, we must beware here of the absurdity of those who philosophize, to an extraordinary degree, about the power of the devil over the air, and miserably confuse themselves in the explanation of it ; as WOLFIVS, and those whom he cites, and, which much surprises me, even GROTIVS. Into which error they would not have fallen, if they had attended to the use of the word δῆλ by all the best Greek and Latin writers, and particularly the poets ; in the sense, namely, of darkness and obscurity. For example, in that celebrated passage of Virgil's *Aeneid*, l. r. 415,

— Venus obscuro gradientes aëre sepsit.

So also in the sacred writings, Wisdom of Solomon, xvii. 10, the Egyptian darkness is called δῆλ. There is no necessity, however, for citing examples, since they are easy of access, and this use of δῆλ is so well known and understood, and has been so established by learned writers, that there can be no doubt that it obtains in this place also. This is evident particularly from the fact, that the Apostle, as LUTHER, in his German version, has pretty clearly intimated, immediately himself adds an explanation in the words that follow, viz. : τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργουμένου ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπιστίας, i. e. that spirit namely, who now particularly displays his efficacy among unbelievers.* Whence it is evident, that δῆλ does not mean

* [LUTHER's translation of the verse is as follows : "In welchen ihr weiland gewandelt habt, nach dem Lauf dieser Welt, und nach dem Fürsten, der in der Luft herrschet; nemlich nach dem Geist, der zu dieser Zeit sein Werk hat in den Kindern des Unglaubens."—Tr.]

the air, for the air belongs to God, not to the devil; but darkness, i. e. *ὡς τῆς ἀπειθείας*, for in the parallel place, Ch. vi. 12, and Col. i. 13, the Apostle uses the word *σκότος*; but all know that *σκότος* signifies ignorance, vice, misery.—But the devil is called *ἄρχων τοῦ αἵματος*, or, *τοῦ σκότους*, i. e. of the wicked, since he exerts his power among them, and by them; and this power, moreover, is not inconsiderable, not indeed on account of the word *ἄρχων*, or *ἔξουσία*, but because of the multitude of wicked men, who are the instruments whereby the devil exercises his power. This explanation is so clear, and agrees so well with the usage both of the best writers, and of the sacred books themselves, and with the connexion of the whole discourse, that I cannot understand how BRUCKER could call it forced, *Hist. Crit. Phil. Tom. vi. p. 417 s.*; nor how those remarks can be considered as having any weight, which he has made against it, in the *Caten. Exeget. Bibl. Anglic. Tom. iv. N. T. p. 828*, and *Tom. vi. p. 62*. Moreover, the words *ἀρχαί*, *ἔξουσίαι*, *κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἵματος τούτου*, and *πνευματικά τῆς σαρραίας*, in this Epistle to the Ephesians, Ch. vi. 12, and in Coloss. ii. 15, are explained by most commentators in reference to the devil; by some also, with much less probability, as meaning Jupiter, and the gods of the Gentiles, which is the opinion of HARWOOD, in his “*New Introduction to the study and knowledge of the New Testament*,” p. 303 *s.* The most learned critics, however, explain them far differently, and are of opinion that the Jewish rulers, and men in authority are intended. This they prove very clearly, *first*, from the context; for, in the epistle to the Ephesians, there is an opposition between weak men (for this is the meaning, in that place, of *αἷμα καὶ σάρξ*),* and *ἀρχαί*, *ἔξουσίαι*, *καὶ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἵματος τούτου*, i. e. the powerful men of that period, who were also distinguished for their wickedness; and

* [The reader will at once perceive, that the author has departed from the correct and natural interpretation of the phrase *αἷμα καὶ σάρξ*, in this passage; which signifies here, as in several other places, *men*, and is opposed to *spiritual enemies*, or *demons*. See some excellent remarks in KOPP, N. T. in loc.—Tr.]

in the Epistle to the Colossians, the discourse, as we have already seen, is respecting the abolition of the ceremonial law, a subject which certainly can have no reference to the devil: and *secondly*, from the usage of speech both of the Jews, who usually distinguished by these appellations men of influence, kings, and princes, and also of the sacred writings themselves. For, in Acts, iv. 23, and 26 s., ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, the chief priests and elders, and also those who are afterwards mentioned by name, Ἡρώδης, Πόντιος Πιλάτος, σὺν ἔδνεσι καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, are called βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ ἄρχοντες. And in 1. Cor. ii. 6, St. Paul says, that he had delivered, indeed, wisdom to the Christians, but not of that kind which was possessed, extolled, and set forth, by the ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, by whom are meant, undoubtedly, the rulers of the Jews; for he adds, τῶν καταργουμένων, as before, in Ch. i. 19, he had said, that they were brought to nought by God. Of the number of these was Nicodemus, and he is expressly called, in John, iii. 1, ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, as we have already seen. Precisely in the same sense, St. Paul, in 1. Cor. xv. 24, speaks of ἀρχή, ἐξουσία, καὶ δύναμις, which SEMLER, in his paraphrase of this passage, explains, to my great surprise, of different orders of demons. More correct is the interpretation of HEUMANN, who, with GROTIUS, considers the words as denoting civil magistrates, or rather, those who have possessed power of any kind in this world, but have abused it in opposition to our Lord Jesus Christ and his gospel, and have therefore been his enemies: an explanation quite suitable to these passages which we are considering. Moreover, to understand κοσμοκράτορες in a different sense, is forbidden by the usage of the Greeks, who apply that title only to men in power. Compare DODD WELL, Diss. iv. in Irenæum, §. 38, p. 369, and DEYLING, Diss. de Chirographi et Principum legalium abolitione, §. 15.

These are the principal places, in which some learned writers are unanimously of opinion that there are traces of the Gnostic and Oriental philosophy; but in which I have attempted to shew that there are none whatever. To adduce any more, (for the multitude cited by some authors is almost without number.) was not my design, neither is it at all necessary;

since these are undoubtedly the principal passages, that can appear in any degree plausible. I shall now enter into a brief discussion respecting the Gnostics and their philosophy, whereby, perhaps, some light may be thrown upon what I have already said: and I shall venture to offer my own opinion, such as it is, in regard to them.

And first, let us consider the resemblance of style, which some have thought they discovered between the sacred writings, and the language of the Gnostics; and which, without doubt, gave rise to the opinion which I have been refuting. The fact itself I may concede, with perfect safety to my own opinion: for this is not to be decided by particular words or phrases, in which, however, the whole similarity consists; neither can it be inferred from them, that the inspired writers were thoroughly acquainted with the Gnostic and Oriental philosophy. This is just like saying that a man possesses the eloquence of Cicero, because he has understood the art of attaching some of his phrases, like a splendid patch-work, to his discourse; or that St. Paul had read Philo, or Josephus derived advantage from the writings of St. Paul, as some suppose, because both these authors bear a great resemblance to the Apostle! I may allow, therefore, without detriment to my own opinion, that some phrases are used by the sacred writers, which, in regard to sound, appear to have some resemblance to the language of the Gnostics. But I do not think that the reason of this circumstance is that which is adduced by some learned men, viz. that the Apostles referred to them: but rather that it is that which is mentioned by TERTULLIAN, *De præscript. adv. hæret.* c. 38. and 39, by IRENEUS, respecting whom we shall see presently, and by others, viz. that the Gnostics, in order to give a show of truth to their notions, alluded to different places of the Apostles, and borrowed words from them, and also the word *γνώσις* itself, and glossed over their own opinions with expressions from the sacred Scriptures, as impostors have always done, and as it is evidently the fact in respect to the Koran. In order to illustrate this more clearly, permit me to cite an example from the Valentinian school, which was almost the

chief of the Gnostic sects ; provided that the patience of the reader can endure the repetition of such absurdities. Others will thus be enabled to participate with me in the enjoyment of this feast, and to judge more certainly as to the correctness of my opinion. In the highest heavens, ὑψώμασι, so trifled these very acute philosophers, is εἰσιος Ἄων, supreme, invisible, eternal, and unbegotten ; whom they called Προάρχη, Προάτωρ, and Βύδος. With him is another first cause, Ἔννοια, and Σιγή. He determined with himself, ἐροβάλλειν, to produce from himself the beginning of all things. He cast this ἐροβαλή, as seed, into the generative parts of Σιγή, who thence conceived, and brought forth a son, very like his father, ἕμοιος καὶ ἴσος, called Νοῦς and Μονογενής. This parent, as it were, and original, of all things which were afterwards created, and, as it were, μόρφωσις παντός τοῦ πνεύματος, produced (ἐπέβαλεν) Λόγος and Ζωή, from whom ἄνθρωπος and ἐκκλησία have their origin, but Ζωή is τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.—Every one immediately perceives, that these things are derived from Ch. 1, of St. John's gospel, Col. 1. 15 s., &c. ; and IRENÆUS has expressly asserted it, Lib. 1. 'adv. hæres.' there telling us, that the Valentinians themselves also referred to the beginning of St. John's gospel, and to many other places.—Moreover, this Νοῦς, or Μονογενής, as he alone knew the προάτωρ, wished to impart this knowledge to the other Aeons also, but Σιγή, by the desire of the parent, prevented him ; though, meanwhile, the rest of the Aeons secretly wished to know the προάτωρ.—Here, again, allusion is evidently made to John, 1. 18, Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε, κ. τ. λ., τὸ μυστήριον χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σσιγημένον, Rom. xvi. 25, and to ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, Eph. iii. 9. Col. 1. 26.—Moreover they called Νοῦς by the name τὰ πάντα, in which they undoubtedly referred to Col. iii. 11 ; and they said that Christ took pity on the ἐνδύμησις τῆς ἄνω Σοφίας, who also was an Aeon, but out of the Πλήρωμα, and that he extended himself upon Horus, or Σταυρός, was slain, (ἀπεκρίνεσθαι) and by his own power produced a certain μόρφωσις, only, however, κατ' οὐσίαν, but not κατὰ γνῶσιν, and then returned on high. Eph. ii. 14. Col. 1. 20. She then sought τὸ Φῶς, since she had the odor of ἀφθαρσία, left her by Christ

and the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as she had not comprehended τὸ φῶς, while it was in the world.—This is an evident allusion to John, i. 5.—Christ was unwilling to return, but sent Παράκλητος, to whose power the Father delivered all things, ὅπως ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα κτισθῆν, τὰ ἕρατὰ καὶ τὰ δόξατα, Θένοι, Θεότητες, Κυριότητες—Col. i. 16.—Such is the way in which those famous philosophers discoursed! My readers will, without doubt, exclaim to themselves,—Here, *infelix lolium, et steriles dominantur avenae*. If any one would become further acquainted with these egregious trifles, let him consult IRENAEUS, l. c., and TERTULLIAN, adv. Valentin. c. 7 s., or the learned SENLER, who has collected them together, in his Hist. Dogmat. fidei, prefixed to Baumgarten's Polem. Theology, T. i. p. 147 s. Let it suffice to have adduced these instances by way of sample, in order to shew, that the Gnostics glossed over the wickedness of their impious and detestable opinions with words and phrases of sacred Scripture; and that, for this reason, if one or two examples be found in the Gnostics of any phrase common with the inspired writers, it is very reasonable to suppose, that they were not taken by the sacred authors from the language of the Gnostics, but by these latter from the works of the former, and turned to an improper use. There are some observations of BRUCKER, Tom. iii. Hist. Crit. Philos. p. 299 s., which deserve to be transferred to my pages. He there maintains the same opinion which I have just stated; observing, “let us bear in mind, and well remember, that Valentin accommodated this system to the Scripture doctrine of Christ; and, perceiving that various attributes of the divine Λόγος are therein described, took occasion thence of converting those attributes into aeons, and emanative natures.” This distinguished man has surely not been consistent with himself, in maintaining at one time, as strenuously as possible, that the New Testament writers oppose the Gnostics, and yet here expressing the opinion, that the Gnostics accommodated their opinions to the doctrine of the former, as delivered in the sacred writings.

Now from this very example, which I have cited, I think

every one must have perceived that which I designed, in the second place, to state; viz. that the system was so absurd, that the Apostles could not deem it necessary to refute it; and so refined, that illiterate men, writing to illiterate men, could not possibly treat of it. For not only was the Gnostic philosophy very difficult to be understood, but it contained also an innumerable quantity of subtle trifles, silly fables, ridiculous absurdities, foolish dreams and stories, (as ΒΑΥΚΕΡΑ himself asserts constantly, in his *Disa. Crit. de Cæsareo Basilidis*, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* Tom. vi. p. 507 s.) and unmeaning, shocking, barbarous expressions, *μεθύοντες καὶ παραλαλούντες τὰ ῥήματα, τὰ μὲν γέλωτι πεποιημένα, ἕτερα δὲ κλαυθμοῦ ἔργα*, 'the words of a drunkard and trifler, some of them ludicrous, and others full of lamentation,' as is the opinion of ΕΠΙΡΕΑΝΙΟΥS, *adv. haeret. Lib. 1. haer. 26.* ΒΑΥΚΕΡΑ, also, l. c.; which, to be comprehended in any degree, require an incredible] amount of labor, vexation, and weariness. It can scarcely, therefore, be understood, how the Apostles, entirely destitute of Greek learning, and particularly of the aids of philosophy, and dwelling upon one doctrine, delivered by their Master; and communicated by the Holy Spirit, and, at other times, always using both in matter and in words the greatest perspicuity, in accommodation to the mass of the people, could have wasted their labor in refuting absurdities of this kind; and should not rather have passed over, in silent contempt, the novel words of that pretended wisdom, perishing after a while by their very emptiness, and deserving pity rather than refutation. Far less can it be conceived, how illiterate Christians, unaccustomed to those subtleties, and instructed in a purer doctrine, could have had any desire to become acquainted with a system of that kind; or, if they had made themselves acquainted with it, could have been led away by any wish to profess it. Neither can it be comprehended, how the more learned and accomplished could have done otherwise than to deride and explode this wretched philosophy; (as ΤΕΡΤΥΛΙΑΝ has done in the whole of the Book 'adv. Valentinianos,') and say to those triflers what Balbus did to Velleius, the Epicurean, *Cic. de Nat. De-*

orum, II. 29;* 'Salem istum, quo caret vestra natio, irridendis nobis nolite consumere; et mehercule, si nos audiat, ne experiamini: non decet: non datum est: non potestis.' So full of stupidity, folly, and trifles, was the whole system! It is very certain, therefore, at least it is highly probable, that these subtleties were known, at most, only to learned men, who acquired them not, indeed, for the purpose of embracing them, but that they might hold them in abhorrence; but that they were in no respect suited to the mass of the people, who were unacquainted with refinements and subtleties of that kind, and therefore were equally unknown to St. Peter and the other Apostles, and to those to whom they wrote; and that fishermen no more comprehended them, than, in our own day, mechanics, shoemakers, and persons of that class, understand algebraic or metaphysical niceties. For even the Apostles themselves had not come forth from the schools of the philosophers, nor been accustomed to use words, phrases, and sentences, required by these men to express their subtle distinctions; on the contrary, they were all taken from among the common people, and were unlearned men, unacquainted with literature, ἀνεπιστοτοι ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιώται; † (St. Paul alone excepted; and he, too, was educated in the schools of the Pharisees, not of the Greeks, and not merely frankly confessed, but joyfully boasted of the fact, that he was ἰδιώτης ἐν λόγῳ, ‡ i. e. unacquainted with the art of eloquence, and with human learning;) nor were their instructions addressed to philosophers, but to an ignorant people, entirely unable to comprehend refinements of this description. But let it be granted, that, as some learned writers are of opinion, St. Paul, at any rate, had some knowledge of these subjects, which he may have acquired perhaps by hearsay; yet BAUCKER himself expressly states, Tom. III. Hist. Crit. Phil. p. 263 s. that "it was nothing more than superficial, and taught him, as it were, by the way:" ("superficialia tantum et ὡς ἐν παρεόδῳ in-

* [Clean. Op. Vol. rz. p. 3676, Edit. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1692.—Tr.]
 † Acts, iv. 13.

‡ II. Cor. xi. 6.

stituta,") and he shews that those are greatly mistaken, who would place him on the list of philosophers ; though C. G. THALEMANN, *Diss. de doctrina Pauli Judaica, non Græca*, p. 7, thinks that even Brucker has attributed more than was necessary to St. Paul. Be it, therefore, as I have said, that the Gnostic philosophy was not altogether unknown to him : who can suppose, I would ask, that the Apostle, in letters addressed to illiterate persons, would have expressed himself so obscurely, that perhaps, out of the whole number of those to whom he wrote, there could scarcely be one who would be able to find out the meaning, and in the least degree to see through the fallacies, and trifling refinements, of the Gnostic philosophers ? In refuting a system of such importance, as this is generally supposed to have been, they certainly ought not to have been so brief, or rather obscure, or to have only touched upon it with a word here and there ; but to have spoken more plainly and minutely, and explained the subject more fully and clearly, in order that every one might perceive, as evidently as possible, the wickedness of the Gnostic opinions, and the true character of the doctrine of Jesus Christ. This they were prevented from doing by the niceness of the subject, which could not possibly have been comprehended by the minds of the persons, whom they wished to instruct in the knowledge of divine things ; otherwise they would have done a thing very far from being useful to men, and such as no wise person, much less an apostle, can be thought to have committed. It was better, therefore, and productive of greater utility to others, silently to pass by these niceties, even if the sacred writers understood them, than to be writing what could not be understood. And for this reason, also, the Apostles, even if they had ever so well learned, yet, in their writings, have industriously avoided new words and expressions, invented by the philosophers, and to be borne, perhaps, in the schools, but not at all in the instruction of the common people ; and also all the elegance of the Greeks, which would not have been comprehended by those to whom they were writing : but, on the contrary, have observed the manner and usage of the Hebrews, that their works might easily, and with-

out need of any explanation, be understood by all those on whose account principally they were then written ; and who, chiefly from the use of the Septuagint version, were accustomed to the Hebrew mode of discoursing on divine subjects, and to the peculiar forms of expression of the Hebrew language. And it is, and always has been the plan pursued by those, who write not for philosophers, but for the mass of the people, (and such is the object particularly of those, whose aim is to instruct the human race, and even the lowest of mankind, in the knowledge of divine things,) not merely to be at no pains in regard to refinement of style, in using meanings of words, opinions, and phrases, taken from the schools of the philosophers, but even most studiously to shun and avoid them. Those who do not adopt this method, certainly shew a very great ignorance of the art of composition ; and are deservedly ridiculed.

That interpretation, moreover, which finds the Gnostics in the sacred writings, though learned, indeed, and ingenious, yet appears altogether too refined and subtle, and evinces a certain labor in invention and explanation, which at once indicates artifice. Indeed it is at times utterly astonishing, how harshly every thing, that has the least appearance of probability, is made to bend to the great object of discovering traces of the Gnostic philosophy : nay, how passages are forced and perverted, and the inspired writers are made to say things, that never entered into their minds, and one is obliged to confess, on many occasions, that the interpretation itself is much more difficult to be understood than that which it explains. Now I have always been taught to think, both by the precepts and the example of the most distinguished men, that the highest excellence of a good interpreter is simplicity ; and that the greater appearance of ease any interpretation possesses, and the more it seems to be of such a kind, that it must have presented itself spontaneously to the mind, the more true it may, generally speaking, be considered. See ERNESTI, Instit. Interpret. N. T.

p. 78.*—Whoever thinks, therefore, that there are traces of the Gnostics in the passages to which I have referred, and also in other places, appears to give an interpretation of too refined a nature, and to bring forward a forced and labored explanation; which, the greater appearance of learning it carries before it, the more its truth ought to be suspected.

Finally, a strong presumption against this method of interpretation is to be found in the circumstance, that, in the explanation of certain passages, the Gnostics are frequently described as having held some opinion, which they cannot be proved to have maintained by any historical evidence. These, accordingly, who maintain that there are traces of the Gnostic philosophy in the New Testament writings, are very often obliged to confess, that they cannot, indeed, prove by history this or that opinion to have been held by the Gnostics; but that they undoubtedly did hold it, because St. John, or some other person, refutes them. The greater portion of these writers argue in this way: St. Paul speaks of the Gnostics; therefore they were at that time in existence. I might, if it were necessary, bring examples of this: it will be sufficient, however, to refer to MICHAELIS, *Einleit. ins N. T. Part. II. p. 1134*, Ed. Gott. 1788,† and MOSHEIM, *on 1. Tim. 1. 4*. In the first place, however, it cannot be denied, that these learned writers, by their very confession that they are in doubt, and that they cannot advance any thing more certain than conjectures, betray the insuperable difficulties which stand in the way of their interpretation, and, in consequence, reason, as we say, in a circle. And, in the next place, this way of proceeding is completely to draw the meaning from another source, not from the sacred writings; and belongs to that species of interpretation, which seeks the meaning from things, and is employed rather about these, than the explanation of words; and derives the meanings of words rather from the opinions of some sect or philosophy, of which no trace has been left there by the inspired writ-

* [Page 167, Ed. Lips. 1809.—Tr.]

† [Marsh's Michaelis, Vol. III. Part 1. p. 279. Ed. Lond. 1802.—Tr.]

ers, than from the observations of grammarians, from the usage of speech of that period, and from the words and their meaning, legitimately investigated. The slippery and fallacious character of this method of accommodation, (for so it ought to be called, rather than interpretation,) may easily be perceived by every learned and intelligent man, at least if he is not already imbued with some false opinion, or hindered by any other cause from forming a candid judgment : and all the most distinguished theologians, and commentators on the sacred books, have already pronounced decidedly upon its uncertainty, and the greatest masters of interpretation have very clearly proved it. Finally, I will boldly assert, that learned men would never have fallen into this opinion, which I have attempted to refute, nor so strenuously insisted upon it, unless they had had the Gnostics in their minds, before they came to the task of interpreting the sacred books. This circumstance, however, is a proof, how much opinions, once imbibed, stand in the way of a correct decision, and, when brought to the explanation of the sacred writings, hinder a discovery of the true meaning ; so strongly prejudicing the mind, that it is blind amidst the clearest light, and resorts to every expedient, before it permits itself to be shaken from an opinion, once received and cherished.

In conclusion, let us make a few observations *respecting the sources and origin of the Gnostic heresy* ; for, although these may be understood, I think, from the foregoing pages, yet it would seem as if they ought to be stated, before I close, somewhat more summarily and clearly. Learned writers exceedingly differ in opinion, in regard to the quarter whence the Gnostics drew their opinions, and the source from which their errors flowed. Most authors consider the fountain-head to have been a certain philosophy, which Mosheim has distinguished by the name of the Oriental ; and even contend in the most strenuous manner, that from this the whole Gnostic doctrine took its rise. I have above shewn, however, and not, I think, without good grounds, that this opinion, if not entirely false, is at least very uncertain ; since it has never yet

been proved by any testimony, which even has any semblance of probability, that such a philosophy ever existed. We must look around, therefore, for some other origin of the Gnostic errors. And of these there were, in my opinion, more sources than one; as may be perceived even from the fact, that the Gnostics, as before observed, separated into parties, widely different, and completely disagreed with each other. It is my opinion, therefore, that the Gnostics derived their doctrines from a threefold source: *first*, from the Greek philosophy, the Platonic and the Pythagorean, and principally from the fictions of the poets concerning the gods and their genealogy, and other things of that nature; and of this, even that example just adduced from the school of Valentine, may serve for a proof; *secondly*, from the Jewish theology, which at that period had nearly assumed the garb of philosophy, and chiefly from the Cabbalistic trifles; *finally*, also, from certain doctrines of the Christian religion, which they mingled with their own opinions, in order to make them more acceptable to persons of every description. And, on this account, indeed, the Gnostic philosophy seems to me to have been a mixture, as it were, of Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity; and the Gnostics themselves to have been nothing but fanatics, or rather, if I may so speak, to have professed a system of naturalism and indifferentism. As to my last observation, that the Gnostics were fanatics, in this **SEMLER** and **MOSHEIM** agree with me. The former, in his *Comment. Hist. de ant. stat. Christ.* p. 30, observes; "we readily discover the uneasy earnestness, and somewhat fanatical disposition of these men:" and the latter, in his *Institut. H. E. maj.* p. 147, remarks, "the Gnostics were not indeed dull, and entirely sluggish in their character; but they were not, however, sufficiently sound in mind; in a word, they were metaphysicians, infected with a kind of fanatical contagion." No man can be at all doubtful as to this point, who has even slightly examined the opinions of the Gnostics.—Something remains to be said, however, in regard to the Jewish theology, from which, as I observed, the Gnostics partly derived their opinions. The chief source, and the foundation, as it were, of the Gnostic opinions, appears to have been the allegorical

mode of interpretation ; not indeed that in general use, but that inferior kind, used by the Alexandrian, or Greek Jews. For it has nothing improper in itself ; and is accordingly used by St. Paul in the Epistles to the Galatians and Hebrews, and was formerly adopted frequently by the prophets themselves. And that method of allegorical interpretation which is found in Philo, though carried to too great an extent, is not to be altogether rejected, but deserves some toleration and excuse. From Philo principally, the ancient ecclesiastical writers derived this method, transmitted, as it were, from hand to hand ; and used it very generally : among these, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen himself, and others, principally Latin writers, not much versed in Greek and Hebrew. For they were exceedingly pleased with this method of accommodating the figurative meaning of words, and of the things indicated by them, to their prominent doctrines ; as is the case with persons, who have no acquaintance with literature : and it appeared to them, accordingly, to be something secret, and, as it were, revealed from above. This very method, therefore, (which ought to be borne in mind, and is evident from the *Stromata* of Clem. Alex.) was called *γνώσις* ; and those who were skilled in it applied to themselves, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, the title of *γνώστικοί*. And this very circumstance was perhaps also the reason, that Clemens Alexandrinus, throughout nearly the whole of that excellent work, usually distinguished by this title pious, religious men, and the teachers of the church themselves ; persons as different as possible from those heretics, who presumed to call themselves Gnostics. There have always, however, been those in the Christian church itself, who have abused this method, and thus brought very great injury upon the pure doctrine ; not only causing grammatical interpretation to be neglected, and empty trifling to be every where substituted in its stead ; (as, in more modern days, it is evident has been done by Cocceius, a very distinguished man, and his followers,) but also opening the way to very grievous errors. This is plain even from the single example of Hymenæus and Philetus, 11. Tim. 11. 17 s., to whom, undoubtedly, St. Paul referred in 1. Cor. xv. 12.

since they denied that the dead will return to life ; into which error these persons and others fell from no other cause, than interpreting allegorically several passages of the prophets and of the gospels. Far more grievously, however, did the Jews err ; who, as they indulged their ingenuity much more, which was acute, indeed, but not enlightened from above, nor cultivated by sound philosophy and letters, and too luxuriant, were led by the use of this method to mingle with the pure doctrine, besides other corruptions, pernicious inventions, and horrible errors. And these Jewish inventions, arising from the allegorical mode of interpretation, and other opinions of that kind, peculiar to this people, if they were not the origin of the Gnostic errors, at any rate gave occasion to them, and were their principal source. Of this, in addition to what I have already stated, no small proof is afforded in the use of allegorical interpretation by the Gnostics, for the explanation of the Old Testament books ; as TERTULLIAN tells us, adv. Valent. c. 29 : and, besides this, in the remarkable agreement between the Gnostics and Jews as to some doctrines ; it being evident to any one, who compares the opinions of both, that those of the one were derived from those of the other. If these observations which I have thus far made respecting the sources of the Gnostic errors, are borne in mind, the ancient ecclesiastical writers may be reconciled ; some of whom, as we have already seen, supposed the doctrines of the Gnostics to have been derived from the Jewish fables, and others from the Greek philosophy : neither is it necessary to look for any other source. I am surprised at the inconsistency of Brucker upon this subject : for, in the passages cited above, he thinks that there is nothing more certain, than that the Gnostic philosophy was derived from the Oriental alone ; and yet in Tom. III. of the work so often mentioned, p. 296 s., where he is treating of Valentine, who was the most virulent and wicked of all the Gnostics, he wavers ; not rejecting the opinions of the ancient ecclesiastical writers, but saying that they all have some truth. This inconsistency is itself a proof of a doubtful and uncertain cause.

Finally, as for the *origin* of the Gnostic heresy, this, in my opinion, is to be traced primarily to Egypt, as late as the second Century. For there both the Greek philosophy, especially the Platonic, (as BRUCKER has shewn, *Hist. Crit. Phil. Tom. I. p. 644, and 667,*) and also the Jewish allegorical theology, if I may so term it, had many admirers and followers among the Greek Jews. In the next place, he who first treated of the Gnostics, was an ecclesiastical writer in Egypt, and, as he is called by BRUCKER, *Tom. VI. p. 516,* "a person very conversant with the opinions of his own nation;" (*nationis suæ opinionum callentissimus,*) namely, Clemens Alexandrinus. Finally, all the leaders of this heresy were Egyptians; for example, Basilides, Carpocrates, Valentine, and others: as has been shewn by SEMLER, *Select. Capita H. E. Tom. I. p. 41 s.; Comment. Hist. de antiquo Christ. stat. p. 77 s.;* where he says, "it is to be observed, that the greater part of the Gnostics were from Alexandria;"—and by MOSHEIM himself, *Instit. H. E. maj. p. 148, and 326.* It is not probable, therefore, that that heresy prevailed, at first, chiefly in Asia and Palestine, but only in Egypt. This I said was in the time of Adrian; though I do not mean to deny positively, that there were some, before this period, who agreed in many opinions with the Gnostics. TERTULLIAN, *de Præ. adv. Hær. c. 33,* has not denied this; and indeed it could not be otherwise; since these heretics were not themselves the authors of their opinions, but received most of them from others, and fashioned them after their own pleasure.* I intended, therefore, only to say this, that, before the second Century, neither the name of the Gnostics was in existence, (for I stated, a short time since, that those who, in the First, and in the beginning of the Second Century, are called Gnostics

* This is what TERTULLIAN means, when he says, *adv. Hermog. c. 8.* "hereticorum patriarchæ Philosophi;" which observation refers particularly to the Gnostics, and by which Tertullian means to shew, that the heresies of the Gnostics were derived from certain opinions of the philosophers. If some learned writers had thus understood Tertullian, it would have saved many unprofitable discussions and controversies.

by Clemens Alexandrinus, were different persons,) nor any peculiar sect, or heresy, pernicious to the Christian doctrine. To this those on the opposite side of the question usually object, that it is difficult to perceive how the Gnostics could, in the second Century, have acquired such numbers and reputation, unless we suppose that their trifles began long before. This makes nothing, however, against my opinion. For these learned writers appear to have no just ground for supposing, that the number of those who embraced the opinions of the Gnostics was large ; since this cannot be proved by any testimony from the ancient writers, who nowhere so express themselves as to lead us to the inference, that the number of the Gnostics was extraordinarily great. But even supposing that it was, I do not see that this circumstance ought to present any difficulty to the mind, or that it can prove the antiquity of the Gnostics ; since folly, barren and obscure as it is, generally finds more followers in a short time, than wisdom, with all its fruitful lustre, after a long period. And even those very injuries which they brought upon the Christian faith and doctrine, in the second, and two succeeding centuries, do not appear to have been as great as is generally supposed. That they were severe and various ; that many who had recently embraced the Christian faith, and were not as yet sufficiently confirmed in it, fell into doubts and errors through the abominable opinions of the Gnostics ; that the wavering were staggered ; and that thus whole churches were thrown into confusion ; I would not venture to deny. But that the true faith was, every where, entirely corrupted and weakened by them ;—that an innumerable multitude of persons was induced to embrace them ;—and that the whole world was defiled with these iniquitous doctrines ;—as is generally supposed by learned writers ; this I have never yet been able to persuade myself to believe. There is not the least trace of such a fact in any ancient author, nor any statement whatever that the number of these heretics was at all considerable. Neither can it in any way be conceived, how the ecclesiastical writers, burning, as they did, with an eager desire to oppose heretics, to expose all their errors, to drive

away what were plainly detected, and to refute them in the most convincing manner, and entirely root them out of the minds of men, could have suffered Christians to be corrupted and led away by detestable opinions, and poisonous reasonings of this kind ; and would not, on the contrary, have used every effort for averting so great a danger. Moreover, generally speaking, (and I perceive that *SEMLER* is of the same opinion, *Comment. Hist. de antiq. Christ. stat.* p. 78,) these numerous sects of the Gnostics seem to have been of more profit than injury to Christianity : since, like all who ever plotted ruin to the holy religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, they afforded a most favorable opportunity for more clearly perceiving its truth, for embracing it more heartily than ever, and for establishing it on firmer ground ; and thus, by the very snares which they laid, gave this most important evidence in its favor ; viz. that, in the midst of so many, and such various and pernicious enemies, and in spite of all the hostile attacks, and malicious insults of its assailants, it remained constantly unshaken and uninjured, supported by the divine aid, sustained by its own strength, and trusting to the justice of its cause ; and at length victoriously triumphed over every enemy.

HISTORY
OF THE
INTERPRETATION OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH.

—
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—

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INTERPRETATION
OF THE
PROPHET ISAIAH.

I. ANCIENT VERSIONS.

§ 1.

The Septuagint, together with the other Greek Versions.

THE Alexandrine version presents us with the first attempt that was made to exhibit the prophecies of Isaiah in a foreign idiom. It deserves the most particular attention, partly on account of the antiquity of the traditional interpretations which are contained in it, and partly because it is the groundwork of several other versions, as the Vulgate and Syriac. The translator has probably left no other book than this, although it discovers some resemblance to the translation of the Pentateuch.¹ In common with the translators of most of the

¹ The expression $\text{רִיבְרִיב רִיבְרִי}$ is preserved in Κόρις Σαββαθ almost exclusively by this translator. In the other books, it is $\text{Κόρις τῶν δου- μίων}$ or τῶν στρατιῶν . רִיבְרִי is rendered διδραχ only in XVII. 8. XXVII. 9 ; elsewhere δραχ is generally used.

Particular instances of agreement with the translator of the Pentateuch are the following: רִיבְרִי, γυμνασι , a stranger, a proselyte, only in xiv. 1 , and Ex. xii. 19 ; $\text{רִיבְרִי, κατέλαμμα καὶ στίγμα}$, xiv. 22 , and Gen. xii. 23 ; $\text{רִיבְרִי, μύτρα τετα}$, v. 10 , and Deut. xvi. 26 , (elsewhere it

other books, especially the poetical and prophetic, he is deficient in comprehensive and general knowledge of language, and in giving the grammatical sense, and interpreting with the necessary accuracy.² Consequently, he fails in making an adequate version of a text, which is in itself so difficult, and the obscurities of which are increased by its want of vowels³ and of spaces between the words. For these reasons difficult places are often misunderstood, (see ix. 21,) a suitable connexion very frequently missed, and in numerous instances it becomes necessary to express a meaning, which has no better foundation than critical and philological conjecture.

The following peculiarities of this translator are worthy of notice.

1. He is fond of explaining *tropical* expressions in *proper* language, although his success in thus giving the meaning is by no means uniform. For example: i. 25, כֹּל־בְּרִיךְ, πάντας τοὺς ἀνόμους, (Aq. Sym. Theod. κασσίστρον σου;) iii. 17, פָּשַׁע צִיּוֹן קִדְּרָה בְּנוֹת צִיּוֹן, ταπεινώσει ὁ θεὸς ἀρχούσας θυγατέρας Σιών; v. 17, רָעוּ בְּשֵׁם כְּרֹבֹם, βροσκηθήσονται ἢ διηρασμένοι (Sym. ἢ ἀμνοὶ) ὡς ταῦροι; vi. 1, וְהָיָה לְךָ מִלְּאִים מְלִיץ, καὶ πλῆρης ὁ δίκος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. (Sym. Theod. καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦτων αὐτοῦ ἐκλήρου τὸν ναὸν;) viii. 6, וְכִן רָמְיָהּ, ἀλλὰ βούλεσθαι ἔχειν τὸν ῥασσὶν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ῥομελίου βασιλέα ἐφ' ἰμῶν; ix. 14, מִבְּרַחַם מִבְּרַחַם, μέγαν καὶ μέγρον, but in xix. 15, ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος; x. 14, הָיָה נֶדֶר כֶּגֶן לֵא

is ἕψοι;) קִדְּרָה, ἐλαττώσει, in i. 27, xxviii. 17, lxx. 16, and Deut. vi. 25, xxiv. 13. Comp. also xiii. 16, and Deut. xxviii. 30. Also Isa. xxxviii. 11, where the idea of seeing God is removed. Comp. Ex. xxiv. 10.

The difference between the translator of Isaiah and that of the Minor prophets may be seen by comparing ii. 1—4 with Mic. iv. 1, &c., and from that of the historical books, from xxvii—xxxix compared with 2 Kings, xviii. 25.—A remarkable coincidence with the translation of the Psalms occurs in xvi. 14: וְיָרִיבֵם לְרַפְּאֵי, οὐδ' ἰατροὶ ἔν μιν ἀναστήσουσι, nor can the physicians raise up [a dead person], as if it were יִקְרָא יָמָם, just as in Ps. lxxxviii. 11.

² See my history of the Hebrew language and writing, [Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift, S. 78, 79.]

³ See, in proof of this, Gesch. der Heb. Spr. und Schr. S. 190.

ημεσιν ηδ ησθι και ουκ ειν ος διαφουξεσαι με, η αντειση μοι, (Theod.
 και ανθιγων το σόμα και σφρουθίζων;) x. 16, ויננוכב חזק, εις την
 σην τιμήν ατιμίαν; x. 19, ורע' γר καש οι καταλειφθέντες απ' αυτων,
 (Sym. τα επιλωσα των ξύλων του δρύμου αυτου;) xi. 4, ו'פ טבשב, τῷ
 λγγμ του σόματος αυτου; xi. 14, ויחשלפ ηתכב ופ, πεσασθήσονται εν
 ελίας 'Αλλοφύλων; xiv. 9, גרמ יתה, άρχοντες της γης; xiv. 12,
 פפן בן ה'ית, δ' Εωσφορος δ' πρωι ανατέλλων; xxi. 10, ונו בן יהודה,
 οι καταλειμμένοι και οι οδυνωμένοι; xxii. 23, και σετσω αυτον άρχοντα
 (τη') εν ετόσω πίσω; 24, και εσαι πεσοιδως (ו'לה ו'לתי) ε' αυτον π'ως
 ε'δοξος από μικρου έως μεγαλου, και θσονται ε'α'ι'κ'ε'μ'ά'μ'ε'ν'αι αυτῷ
 (פ'ל'ג'ת' כ'ל' כ'ל' ת'י' ת'י'מ'ת' כ'ל' ת'ר'ת' כ'ל' ת'ו'ע'ב'ת' ע'כ'ט'ת'); liii.
 4, ו'ת'ת, τας άμαρτίας ύμων; lviii. 1, ו'ת'ן כ'ת'ר, αναβόησεν εν ισχύι.
 As an instance of erroneous explanation, xxviii. 20 may be
 given: ו'ת'תו ת'ר ת'כ'ו'ת'ת' ת'ר'ת'ו'ת' ת'ר'ת'ו'ת' ת'ר'ת'ו'ת' כ'י, στενοχωρουμένοι,
 ου δύναμεθα μάχεσθαι, αυται δ' άσθενούμεν του ύμ'ας συναχθῆναι, (Sym.
 έκολοβώθη γάρ η σερμνη εις το μη αναπεσθιν, και η σκηνη έγνεστο εις
 το μη εισελθειν.) See also xxii. 23, xxv. 4, 5, xxxii. 2, xxxvii.
 27.

2. He often introduces short explanations to make the sense
 clear. For example: i. 21, ε'ολ'ς πισ'ת' (Σιών;) iv. 4, (των
 ύκων και) των θυγατ'ρων Σιών; v. 13, ת'ה'ר ו'ל'כ'ו, δια το μη ειδ'ναι
 αυτους (τον Κύριον); ix. 1, (τουτο πρωτον εις'); ix. 10, (και δικοδομή-
 σουμεν ταυτας πύργου); ix. 21, (οι άμα (πολιορκήσουσι) τον Ιούδαν; x.
 9, Καλάνης (ου δ' πύργος άποδομήθη); xxiii. 15, (ως χ'ρ'νος βασιλεύς,
 (ως χ'ρ'νος ανδρώπ'ου); xl. 1, (ιερε'ς); xlii. 1, ('Ιακώβ), ο πα'ίς
 μου. . . ('Ισραήλ), ο έκλεπ'ός μου; xlvi. 11, (το έμ'ον όνομα)
 βεβηλουται; lx. 1, φωτί'ζου, φωτί'ζου, ('Ιερουσαλήμ); lviii. 13,
 λαλησει λόγον (εν όργη); lxv. 4, (δια ενύπνια), see the note on this
 place.—Short *interpolations* taken from parallel places are
 also to be found; for example, i. 7, in the Alexandrine manu-
 script, which is from i. 22; xl. 5, το σωτήριον του θεου, from lii.

* The meaning of this addition to the text is explained in the Chal-
 dee, which expresses the signification of ת'ר'ת'ו'ת' in liii. 1, xv. 1, xxi. 1,
 by a periphrasis: (ב'ל'ב) ת'י' ת'ר'ת'ו'ת' ו'ל'ת' כ'פ' ה'פ'ת', the raising up of
 the cup of malediction that (Babylon) may drink it.

10; XLVII. 16, οὐδὲ ἐν τόσῳ γῆς σκοτεινῷ, from XLV. 19. Two larger interpolations, the causes of which I am not able to discover, occur in XIV. 20, ἐν τρόπον ἰμάτιον ἐν ἀμάρτι κρυφόμενον ὡς ἔσται καθαρὸν ὅπως οὐδὲ σὺ ἔσθι καθαρός, and XXIII. 22, καὶ δώσω τὴν δόξαν Δαυὶδ ἀντὶ, καὶ ἀρξεί, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀντιλέγων. On the other hand, there are also some omissions, as in XXXVI. 7, and v. 13 of ch. XXXVII.

3. He avoids such expressions as may be thought *indecent* and *offensive*, for which he substitutes euphemisms.³ For example: III. 17, πῶ γὰρ ἀνακαλύψει τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῶν; XIII. 16, ἠὲ γὰρ ὁπῶν, καὶ τὰς γυναικας αὐτῶν ἔξωσον, (comp. Deut. XXVIII. 30;) XI. 4, πῶ ἴσῃσι, ἀνακαλυμμένοι; XXIII. 17, ἡ γυνὴ γυνὴ τοῦ κληροῦ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ἔσται ἐμπόριον πάσαις ταῖς βασιλείαις τῆς βασιλείας; XXVIII. 8, ἀρὰ εἶδεται αὐτήν τὴν βουλήν, ἀντὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλή ἔνεκα πλεονεξίας. The last instance is a perfect *quid pro quo* for the correct translation of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, ὅτι πάσαι αἱ ἐργασίαι ἐπληρώθησαν ἐμοῦ. ὥστε μὴ ὑπάρχειν τόπον.—The author appears also to have taken umbrage at the cursing of *God* mentioned in VIII. 21, and therefore instead of ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ κληροῦ τοῦ πατρὸς, he substitutes καὶ κακῶς ἐρεῖτε τὸν ἀρχοντα καὶ τὰ πάτρια. (Symmachus has, in like manner, πάτρια ἰδῶλα, his country's idols.) It is not improbable, indeed, that in this passage the true meaning may be given.

4. In explaining *geographical* names he is often ignorant and arbitrary. Thus, X. 9, ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ κληροῦ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ κληροῦ τοῦ πατρὸς, (ὅτι ὁ πύργος ἀποδομήθη,) καὶ ἔλαβον Ἀράβιαν . . . in X. 29, he connects the words ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ κληροῦ τοῦ πατρὸς thus, Ῥαμᾶ, πόλις Σαουλ; XI. 11, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ κληροῦ τοῦ πατρὸς γυνὴ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν, καὶ ἐξ Ἀραβίας; XV. 1. γυνὴ τοῦ κληροῦ τοῦ πατρὸς, τὸ εἶχος τῆς Μωαβιτίδος; in XXIII. 1 and X. 14, he explains ὁπῶν by Καρχήδων, as the translator of Ezekiel does in XXVII. 12, 25, XXXVIII.

³ The same effort shows itself in the Talmudists and Masorites, and in the alterations which the Samaritans have made in the text. See my Comment. de Pentat. Sam. p. 60. These learned Jews seem to have considered such offensive expressions as inconsistent with the dignity of the holy scriptures.

13, but in LX. θ, שׁוּרֵי תוֹנִים is κλοῖα θάρις, and in II. 16, κλοῖον θάλασσης; XXXVII. 13, חַתְּתֵי עֵבֶר is Ἐσφαρουαῖμ Ἀναγονγάνα yet in the Alexandrine text it is, Σεφαρίμ; V. 12, כַּן בְּכַף שֶׁכֶּרֶת, αὐτοὶ εἰσὶν ἐν χώρᾳ Θεσμάδ, Alex. Σαιμάδ; XLIII. 3, כַּסֵּב, Σόρη, (but that is סנה;) XLIX. 12, מִיַּד גְּרָמִים, ἐκ γῆς Πέρσων (Aq. Sym. Theod. Σινεμ.)

5. Very frequently does he show the Alexandrine and generally the Egyptian Jew: for, when the subject relates to Egypt, he selects those terms which were the most usual and expressive in that country; and, indeed, he introduces such where they are less appropriate. Thus in V. 10, he explains the word חַתְּתֵי by the Egyptian measure ἄμβαβαι ἕξ (see the note;) in XXX. 15, כַּסֵּב by καστοφορεῖον, (which in other places is used for the Hebrew כַּסֵּב,) a cell, a treasury of the Egyptian priests. CREUZER'S Symbolik, Th. I. §. 247, 2te. Ausg. In XXXIV. 11, הַחַרְדִּית, a heron, is translated ἵβις. The observation is particularly applicable to ch. XIX., which contains a number of expressions very familiar to an Egyptian. Thus, in V. 2, for כַּסֵּב כַּסֵּב אֵל כַּסֵּב we have νόμον ἐπὶ νόμον; in V. 6, for חַרְדִּית, αὐτοὶ διὰρυχες τοῦ ποταμοῦ; in V. 7, for חַרְדִּית, ἄχ, the Egyptian word for reeds of the Nile: comp. the Heb. חַרְדִּית; in V. 9, for חַרְדִּית, Βύσσων; in V. 10, for חַרְדִּית, ποιῶντες τὸν ζῦδον; V. 11 and 13, for חַרְדִּית, τάνις. He appears also in the last passage to have availed himself of the history of Egypt, in order to illustrate the meaning; ἔβλεπον οἱ ἄρχοντες Τανως, καὶ ἐβλῶθησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες Μίμφως provided Memphis raised herself above the older chief cities of Egypt at a more recent period than the other. See DIOD. SIC. I. 50.

6. The translator of Isaiah has occasionally introduced in his version *allusions to relative circumstances in his own times*, and arbitrary changes made out of respect to the Egyptian Jews and also to the Jewish theology of his day. This is a disposition which appears to have been common to the learned of Alexandria and many others with the Samaritans*, and which seems heretofore to have been altogether over-

* See my Comment. de Pent. Sam. § 16.

looked. Thus in ix. 12, for: 'the Syrians from before, and the Philistines from behind, they devour Israel with open mouth,' the Septuagint has: Συρίων ἀπ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν, καὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας (Aq. Sym. Theod. τοὺς Φιλισταίμ) ἀπ' ἡλίου δυσμῶν, probably in order to introduce the subjection of the Jewish nation by the Greek dynasties of the Ptolemies and Seleucidae. As in the other places where the word *δυσμῶν* occurs, it is always correctly translated by Ἀλλόφυλοι, it is plain that intention, not ignorance, lies at the bottom of his version in this passage. According to the translator, then, the subjection of the Jews by the Greek dynasties was predicted by Isaiah.⁷—In ix. 25, the Hebrew means: 'blessed be my people Egypt, and Assyria the work of my hands,' which the Alexandrine translator interprets as a blessing pronounced on the Egyptian and Assyrian Jews: εὐλογημένοι ἰ λαὸς μου ἰ ἐν Ἀργυπτῶ, καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίῳ. As the prophets had frequently censured in plain terms the emigrations of the Jews to Egypt as opposition to the theocracy, (see Jer. xlii. 43,) and as the Hellenists were generally considered by the Hebrews as half profane, the Alexandrine translator avails himself of this passage, wherein Jehovah himself declares them blessed.—In ix. 18, the Hebrew *בְּיַמֵּי נְדָבָה*, city of destruction, as the Chaldee also interprets it, was probably altered in the Hebrew text of the Alexandrine Jews into *בְּיַמֵּי צְדָקָה*, city of righteousness; and hence the translation, *πόλις Ἀσπίδα*, which was explained of Leontopolis with its Jewish temple. See JOSEPH. Ant. xiii. 3. § 3.—Whoever is acquainted with the spirit of the more modern, sectarian Judaism, and with the art with which the Jewish parties explain, and even alter, the Old Testament to serve the views of their schools and sects, will readily perceive what value the polemics of the Alexandrians may have attached to such places. The last cited alteration is altogether analogous to the well known Samaritan reading of Deut. xvii. 4.

⁷ The Mehammedans also find in this book predictions of their own prophet. See D'HERBELOT, Orient. Biblioth. under *Isaia*.

It is one consequence of the more modern Jewish theology, that the translator sometimes speaks of demons, (xiii. 21. xxxiv. 14. lxxv. 11.) with which the age of Isaiah, properly speaking, was unacquainted.* To this subject is to be referred, perhaps, xxx. 4, where, for the Hebrew, כִּי הָיוּ בְּצַד וּמְלָכֵי יָוֶן, the Septuagint has, οἱ ἐῖσι ἐν Τάνις ἀρχηγοὶ ἄγγελου πόνηρου evil angels rule in Tanis, probably, in reference to the idolatrous worship which prevailed there, and which the Jewish theology ascribed to evil angels. But the passage relating to the Messiah, which in xxxvi. 11, the translator introduces, is of particular importance, while at the same time he removes the offensive declaration which might seem to be implied in the Hebrew, that Hezekiah had seen God.† For: כִּי רָאָה אֱלֹהִים הָיָה כִּי רָאָה אֱלֹהִים he has: Ὁυκέτι οὐ μὴ ἴδω τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ γῆς ζώντων, οὐκέτι μὴ ἴδω τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ γῆς. To see the meaning of this expression, which is hardly to be misunderstood, compare Luke, ii. 30, ὅτι εἶδον ὅς ὀφθαλμοὶ μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου; iii. 6, καὶ ἔβλεπα πάντα σὰξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, and Acts, xxviii. 28, τοῖς ἔδνεσιν ἀπεσάλη τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. See also Isa. xl. 5. liii. 10. in the Septuagint.

There are some passages where the translator has given a Chaldee signification to Hebrew words, because, undoubtedly, the Syro-Chaldaic idiom which then prevailed in Palestine, was familiar to him. For instance, in iv. 2, חַמָּה הָיָה is rendered ἐπιλάμψει. Comp. חַמָּה, brightness, splendor; liii. 10, חַמָּה

* [That the doctrine of demons or evil angels was unknown in the age of Isaiah is a statement, which will not be very readily conceded by those who admit the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the Old Testament. The reader may find it in Deut. xxxiii. 17. Ps. xc. (Sept.) 6. xcvi. (xcv. Sept.) 6, where δαιμόνιον is used, and in 1 Sam. xvi. 14, 16. xviii. 10, and elsewhere. Tr.]

† How offensive this language has been thought by the more modern of the learned Jews, is shown by the alteration of the Samaritan text in Ex. xxiv. 10, the Alexandrine version of v. 10 and 11, (see my Comment. de Pent. Sam. p. 51,) and the place in the Talmud, which relates to Isaiah's condemnation, Mishna, Tract. Jebamoth, iv. fin.

καθαρίσαι αὐτόν. Comp. כִּזְי, equivalent to כִּזְי, *to be pure*. But that this, or any other of the Alexandrine translators, was acquainted with any well founded meanings drawn from the usage of the Arabians,⁹ I am now obliged altogether to question. The instance in vii. 6, which, in an earlier publication,¹⁰ I alleged in favour of this opinion, may be differently explained; and if, in other places, significations are to be found which are now peculiar to the Arabic, yet is it to be considered, that the Alexandrian was acquainted with them as Hebrew or Chaldee.¹¹ See the note on LXV. 23.

The Hebrew text, from which the Alexandrine version was made, had, almost throughout, the same readings as have been preserved in the masoretical text. A right apprehension of the character of this version will easily convince a man of this. All the evident aberrations are to be attributed to conjecture, as, for instance, εἰς θάνατον in LIII. 8, for מוֹת, or, to other liberties taken by the translator. In general, too, the clear or real varieties are manifestly worse than the masoretical text; for example, δῶρα in VIII. 20, for נְתַנָּה, after the reading נְתַנָּה, μάτην in XXX. 4, for מַתְנָה, according to the reading מַתְנָה.

The writers of the New Testament employ, almost entirely, the Alexandrine version of our prophet, from which they make quotations with various degrees of accuracy, or merely according to their recollection. Only Matthew follows it more rarely, (for example, III. 3. comp. Isa. XL. 3; IV. 15, 16, comp. Isa. VIII. 23, IX. 1, according to the Alexandrine text; XIII. 15. comp. Isa. VI. 9), and sometimes recurs to the Hebrew text, which he explains in a different manner, probably according to the Chaldee version then in circulation. Comp. Matt. I. 23, ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθενομος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, (Sept. λήψεται) καὶ τέξεται διόν, καὶ καλέσουςι (Sept. καλίσσεις) τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ. The expression καλέσουςι for the passive κληθήσεται is very com-

⁹ Gesch. der Heb. Spr. P. 78.

¹⁰ Ubi sup.

¹¹ To show this is the principal design of the valuable work of KOCHER against Lowth, see below, § 20, 1, note 1. For critical improvement of the Greek text, see the remarks of SCHLEUSNER, in his Opus. crit. ad Versiones Græcas V. T. pertinent. Lips. 1812, pp. 326. ss.

non in the Aramæan, (see Gram. Lehrgeb. S. 798,) and bears upon an intermediate Chaldee idiom.—VIII. 17, ἀντὶς εἰς δόξασιν ἡμῶν ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν. Comp. Isa. LIII. 4, where the Septuagint expresses a sense altogether different, and not adapted to Matthew's purpose, ὄντος εἰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέροι, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐδυνάσται.*—Matt. XII. 18—21. Here Isa. XLII. 1, ss. is introduced, but very different from the Alexandrine version, and agreeing with the sense of the Chaldee, although not literally with our *Targum* of Jonathan. But that there was a Chaldee translation approximating partly to the Hebrew text, and partly to the Greek of Matthew, is probable even from particular explanations of words. See the Commentary on XLII. 4. A similar instance is afforded in 1 Cor. XV. 55, where Paul expresses the words of Isa. XXV. 8, ἡ ἄνη πνεῦμα ἡ ζωὴ thus: κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος, while the Septuagint is, κατέπειν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας. He takes πνεῦμα in the Chaldee signification, as Aquila also does in the same passage. Of the versions which have sprung from the Alexandrine, see below, § 6.

AQUILA, SYMMACHUS, and THEODOTIUS, of whose versions some fragments only are extant, are more literal translators, and confine themselves more closely to the text, than the author of the Septuagint, and no one of them allows himself such arbitrary freedoms as are so often met with in this version. They retain also the figures and tropes without attempting to explain them in proper language. Their translations of some places of this kind, which have been preserved, varying from those of the Septuagint, have been already introduced in order to afford a comparison, and may serve as examples.

* [On this verse, see MAGEE on Atonement and Sacrifice, No. XLII. p. 227, ss. In addition to the valuable observations which the reader will find in this work, I would just remark, that, although the prophet speaks directly of Christ as the atoning sacrifice for sin, yet his language implies also, as the ultimate effect of that sacrifice, the removal of bodily diseases, together with every evil to which we are here subjected. The evangelist may therefore very properly use this language in reference to the healing of diseases, although this is but a small part of the prophet's view. Tr.]

Pretty often they all three agree, and in such cases Symmachus and Theodotion follow Aquila. In other respects, the etymological character of Aquila, which is also anxiously and even absurdly literal, the somewhat discursive freedom of Symmachus, and the manner of Theodotion who selects without a remarkable knowledge of language, are well known. At times, the Septuagint had given a better version, than all its three successors, as, for instance, vii. 16, $\rho\rho \tau\omega\kappa$, which it renders $\phi\acute{\omicron}\beta\eta$, where Aquila has $\sigma\alpha\chi\alpha\iota\nu\iota\varsigma$, Symmachus $\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\upsilon\iota\varsigma$, and Theodotion $\beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\sigma\sigma\eta$. See the note. Theodotion helps himself occasionally by retaining the Hebrew word, as in u. 20, $\alpha\phi\alpha\rho\phi\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\delta$, iii. 24, $\phi\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\delta$.

§ 2.

The Chaldee Version.

THE Chaldee version of Isaiah is a part of the Targum of JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL, which extends through all the former and later prophets, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the minor prophets. Its author was of Jerusalem, and a pupil of Hillel, who was a fellow pupil of Simeon the just, and Gamaliel, the instructor of Paul, and must therefore have flourished a short time before the birth of Christ.¹² Against assigning so early a date to this work, JOHN MORIN and ISAAC VOSSIUS¹³ were the first to object. They maintained, that it was not composed until after the Talmud,

¹² See *Baba Bathra*, fol. 134, col. 1. *Succa*, fol. 28, col. 1. The saying that he received his interpretation from the prophets Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi themselves, (in the natural way, by tradition,) shows, as well as other fables, the high consideration in which his work must have been held. See *Megilloth*, l. p. 3. CARPZOV. *Crit. Sac.* p. 450.

¹³ JO. MORINI *Exercitat. Bibl.* pp. 321, ss. IS. VOSSIUS *de Septuaginta interp.* Cap. 2^o.

and appealed partly to certain fabulous interpolations, as in *Isa. x. 32*; and partly to some representations contained in it, which they explained as subsequent to the age of the Talmud. In a later period, EICHHORN and JAHN have endeavoured to place Jonathan as low at least as the 2nd or 3d century after Christ, rejecting the accounts which the Jewish writers give of him, or conjecturing that the Talmudists may have confounded the older Jonathan with some more modern writer of the same name¹⁴. They have also questioned the unity of this work; and, on account of the unequal composition of its various parts, have considered it as the production of many of the Rabbins¹⁵.

The reasons, however, which have been alleged against the antiquity of this Targum, are not satisfactory. "Were it as old as its advocates maintain, (says Eichhorn,) it could not have been unknown to the fathers;—it contains fables which came into circulation in a later age, (see Morin, *ubi sup.*;)—it attempts to remove the Messiah from the places which the Christians explained of him, (*Isa. LIII. LXIII. 1—5.*) which proves that controversies against the Christians were usual at the time of its composition;—not to urge the consideration, that a Chaldee translation was unnecessary at the period assigned to it." The first and last of these reasons carry their own refutation along with them: for the fathers, generally, had no knowledge of these Jewish works; and, the prevalence of the Chaldee dialect in the time of Christ shows, that such translations, which were, at the same time, interpretations, were then undoubtedly necessary. That the explanation of *Isa. LIII. LXIII. 1, ss.*, which considers these places as intended to apply to the Messiah, is set aside, is an asser-

¹⁴ EICHHORN, *Einleit. in das A. T.* I. S. 455, *dritte Ausg.* [11. S. 83, Vierte, § 231. *Tr.*] JAHN'S *Einleit.* I. S. 192. [Part I. § 47, p. 66. *Translation. Tr.*]

¹⁵ To the same purpose BERTHOLDT, II. S. 570. SCHMIDT also gives the author the appellation of *Pseudo-Jonathan*, which is applied to the translator of the Pentateuch. See *Christologische Fragmente*, in *Bibl. f. Ezeges.* I. S. 46.

tion which is utterly unfounded. In ch. LIII. it is expressly given and with the greatest arbitrariness.¹⁶ And if this is not the case with LXIII. 1, ss., there is no reason to presume that the omission arose from any polemic intention, especially as it cannot be proved that the Christians attached any extraordinary value to this passage as one referring to the Messiah, although it is imitated in a representation of him which is given in the Apocalypse, xix. 13—15. At the same time, the Targumist agrees with the Christians in most of the other places which they explained of the Messiah, particularly chaps. IX. XI. XLII. The introduction of the later Jewish fables would be a most serious difficulty, were it possible to show with any certainty the time of their origination. Morin, *ubi sup.*, appeals to the mention which is made of Antichrist's *Armillus* in Isa. XI. 4, which is more modern than the Talmud, (comp. Deut. xxxiv. 3, Pseudo-Jonathan.) But the general idea of Antichrist is more ancient than the New Testament, and that the name *Armillus*, the origin of which is unknown, must be so late, is destitute of proof. In addition to the mark of a modern age already noticed, I have found the following: the explanation of Edom in Isa. xxxiv. 9, by Rome, Gomer in Ezek. xxxviii. 6, by גרמניא, that is, Germany, (comp. גרמניא is the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. x. 2,) and the most extravagant additions in Isa. x. 32, respecting the army and camp of Sennacherib, and in Judg. v. 8, respecting that of Sisera. But not one of them obliges us to place the work after the destruction of Jerusalem, or after the Talmud; and there is reason to think that the additions may be interpolations, as they are entirely

¹⁶ It was inconceivable to the author, and it must be so likewise to every one who has really read this version, how Eichhorn, *ubi sup.*, should have got this account, which has also been repeated by BERTHOLD, (who, nevertheless, in his *Christologia Judæorum*, p. 158, has given a perfectly correct view,) until he found the sources of these and of the other quotations and statements in CARPZOV's *Critica Sacra*, p. 462. Besides Carpzov, complains only on the ground of his view respecting this perversion of the chapter applied to the Messiah, without making that use of it which Eichhorn has done.

wanting in the printed text of the Antwerp Polyglot, and consequently were wanting also in the manuscripts used in forming that text. Until stronger proofs therefore are alleged for the contrary, I shall adhere to that designation of its age which is marked out by tradition, especially as the Chaldee of this Targum is pure and similar to that of Onkelos, the doctrine which it contains respecting the Messiah seems to be rather earlier than the New Testament than later, (see below, or rather, comp. Isa. XLII. in the Targum with Matt. XII. 17—21,) and no definite trace of the government being overthrown appears in it, although the author has intermingled references to his own times.¹⁷

With more certainty still may the *unity* of this Targum, which almost all late critics have denied,¹⁸ be maintained. "The work," it is said, "is altogether unequal; the historical books are translated pretty literally, but the prophetic are paraphrased, and additional ideas often introduced. This shows the version to have been composed by various authors." Not necessarily: for the author does certainly interpret the historical parts of the prophetic books, (for instance, Isa.

¹⁷ According to Eichhorn and Bertholdt (*ubi sup.*), it *abounds with foreign words*. I confess that I have never been able to discover this multitude, and I find the judgment of Carpzov confirmed, who ascribes to it "a neatness of Chaldee expression and a purity of diction, approximating very nearly to that of Onkelos, and but little inferior to the pure and polished Chaldee of the Bible." Some Greek words are indeed to be met with, as *ἡγεμονία*, for instance, in ix. 13, but at most in the same proportion as in Daniel and Ezra.

¹⁸ I once thought that an undoubted reference to the destruction of the temple was contained in LUU. 5, where it is said of the Messiah, *הוא יבני בית מקדשא ראתהל כדובנא אטמכר כעויהנא*—*he will build the holy place which has been profaned by our sin, and given up on account of our transgressions*. But it is more natural to consider the author as placing himself in the situation of the prophet, and referring to the destruction by Nebuchadnezzar. The passage in r. 10, which inculcates the payment of tythes, seems, again, to presume that the temple was standing, and its worship still celebrated.

¹⁹ Bertholdt supposes that Jonathan or the Pseudo-Jonathan lived in the 2d and 3d centuries, and that he merely collected together and reduced to order more ancient fragments of Synagogue-Targums.

xxxvi—xxxix, and the book of Jonah), for the most part, in a simple and literal manner, while he paraphrases the poetical parts of the historical books, (Judg. v. 1 Sam. ii. 11 Sam. xxii. 23,) and explains the figures which they contain: so that this supposed inequality rather seems to belong to his manner. With regard to the degree, moreover, in which he acts the paraphrast, he is not entirely uniform; so that, for example, Isa. i. v. xxviii. especially, are greatly paraphrastic, and other chapters less so; but it would be very unreasonable to ascribe the work on this account, to various authors, since the same thing is true of the Septuagint, which sometimes varies in the same chapter, as in i, where, v. 22, the figures of silver and wine are retained, while in v. 25, those of dross and tin are abandoned. This want of uniformity is rather to be attributed to the inequality and variable manner of the translator. But it is said further, that "for certain Hebrew forms of speech, expressions occur in the former prophets which are not employed in the later, although the same forms of speech are contained in the original. In the former prophets, idols are almost constantly denominated טעות עממיא, *error gentium*, (1 Sam. vi. 5. 1 Kings xiv. 9,) and enemies are named בקלי דבביא, (1 Kings iii. 11. viii. 46. 11 Sam. xviii. 19,) while if these expressions are ever to be met with in the latter, they are exceedingly rare indeed."²⁰ If these two examples could justify any general conclusion, it would be the very contrary; for טעות (עממיא is of no importance, and only occurs in 1 Kings,) is also in the prophets the predominant, and probably the only designation of idols, (see Isa. i. 29. ii. 6, 7, 18,

²⁰ Thus Eichborn literally, I. S. 452. [Or. II. S. 67.] (Comp. CARPZOV. *Crit. Sac.* ubi sup. 8). "He has certain periphrases and descriptions peculiar to himself, which he almost every where employs: as, for instance, when he very often calls idols טעות עממיא *error gentium*; 1 Sam. vi. 5. 1 Kings xiv. 5; or, for the Hebrew אויבים, *enemies*, uses the phrase בקלי דבביא, *authors of enmities*, 1 Kings, iii. 11. viii. 46. 11 Sam. xviii. 19, &c." But Carpzov very correctly mentions these phrases as general expressions of the whole work, in the former and later prophets; and the above conclusion, which is not Carpzov's, is undoubtedly drawn, because he had adduced no examples from the later prophets.

20. XIX. 1, &c.) and בעל דבנא the usual translation of אֵיךְ, (see Isa. i. 24. ii. 8. LXII. 8. LXIII. 10. Jer. XLIV. 30,) although סנא does also occur. (See Jer. vi. 25.) But, in addition to these, other instances of uniformity are to be met with, which are far more remarkable and conclusive. Isa. XXXVI—XXXIX agrees literally with 11 Kings XVIII. 13, ss. as far as the agreement exists in the original; Isa. ii. 2—4 also with Micha v. 1—3, which is very different in the Septuagint. In Nah. i. 1, אֶ־כַּ is understood of the raising of the curse cup, as in Isa. XIII. 1. XV. 1. XIX. 1. XXI. 1. XXII. 1. XXIII. 1; אֶ־שֶׁשׁ is rendered אֶ־רָא in Jon. i. 3. Jer. ii. 16. XXIII. 1, 6, 10. LX. 9. LXVI. 19. Ezek. XXVII. 12. XXXIII. 13, instead of which it is אֶ־סִיִּים in Ps. LXXII. 20, and אֶ־שֶׁשׁ in Deut. x. 4.) In Isaiah the trees, and particularly cedars, are often explained by kings and princes, (see ii. 13. XIV. 8. XVIII. 5,) and in the same manner does the translator interpret 1 Kings iv. 33: “and Solomon spake of trees from the cedar that is in Lebanon, &c.” by: “he prophesied of the kings of the house of David, his successors, &c.” The very extraordinary statement, that the sun should shine 343 times (7×7×7) clearer, in Isa. xxx. 26, is contained also in 11 Sam. XXIII. 4. And the addition also respecting Sennacherib’s army and camp in Isa. x. 14, and that of Sisera’s in Judg. v. 8, (if they be genuine,) have great resemblance to each other. To avoid being tedious, I abstain from introducing any other instances; but, if some passages which have been interpolated are excluded, I must contend, that with the exception of unavoidable varieties in particular parts, the whole translation shows an uniformity which proves it to be the work of one author.

But it is proper to proceed from discussions of this nature, which are only introductory and incidental, to the *character* of this version, a subject which is particularly connected with my purpose. If it be compared with the other Targums, it must be placed, in respect to an exact perception and representation of the sense, between Onkelos and the more modern Targums; if it be compared with the Alexandrine version, although it may probably display a more accurate knowledge of language, yet, in consequence of a false me-

thod of interpretation, it indulges itself much more largely in arbitrary expositions, especially where chronological and doctrinal points are concerned, and make much more arbitrary paraphrases. Its character in general may be learned from the following notices.

1. This paraphrast frequently understands his text philologically and exegetically with perfect correctness, and expresses it, especially in historical discourses, with literal accuracy; but where the language is figurative, he attempts, in his paraphrastic manner, to elucidate it, either by *explaining the figures* or by introducing an additional observation. For example: i. 8, "as a cottage in a vineyard;" the Targum adds, "*after the vintage*:"—i. 21, "harlot;" Targ. *idolatress* :—i. 25, "thy lead;" ["tin," Eng. Tr.] Targ. *thy guilt* :—In ii. 13, ss. all the figures are explained; the *cedars* and *fir-trees* are interpreted of princes, the *walls* and *towers* of the inhabitants of towers and fortified places, the *ships* of wealthy merchants traversing the seas.—In v. 1—6, the parable is altogether removed, and in place of it a prolix interpretation is substituted:—in v. 17, for "sheep," ["lambs," Eng. Tr.] the Targum has *righteous* :—in vii. 3, for: "the Syrians stand in Ephraim," [v. 2, "Syria is confederate with Ephraim," Eng. Tr.] the Targum is: *the king of Syria is associated with the king of Israel* :—x. 14, "there was none that opened the mouth or peeped;" Targ. *spoke a word* :—xxii. 23, Targ. *I will appoint him as a true commander in a defended place*; v. 24, *and on him will all the nobles of his father's house support themselves, children and children's children, honorable and ignoble, from the priests in the Ephod to the Levites who play on the harp*. He translates very happily xxii. 22, "the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder," by: *I will give into his hand*.

2. But not unfrequently his exposition is altogether arbitrary, the grammatical interpretation is abandoned, the figures erroneously explained, and although the very words of the text may be repeated in the paraphrase, this is done in the most arbitrary connexion, and sometimes with an overwhelming flood of fictitious trifling. Chap. i. 6. "from the

sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it ;” Targ. *from the populace even to the honorable, no one is perfect in the fear of God.* (But the prophet is not speaking of the immorality of the nation, but of its unhappy political condition.) Vs. 24, אָנַחְתָּם כַּצָּרִי, [“I will avenge me of mine enemies,” Eng. Tr.] Targ. *Jerusalem will I comfort, but wo to the wicked, when I rise up to hold a court of vengeance on the enemies of MY PEOPLE.* He has not understood the meaning of נָחַם, and has therefore availed himself of a paraphrase. III. 24, כִּי תַחַת יוֹפֵי, Targ. *THIS vengeance will be taken on them, BECAUSE they sinned with their BEAUTY.* VII. 3, וְשָׂרֵי חַטֹּאתֵיהֶם וְשָׂרֵי חַטֹּאתֵיהֶם, Targ. *the REMAINING DISCIPLES, those who have not sinned and those who have TURNED from their sins.* He takes בָּנִים for sons equivalent to disciples. The proper names he frequently interprets. For example: טַבְעַל, v. 6, [Tabaal,] Targ. *he who will please us ;* (comp. II Sam. xvii. 7) :—x. 20, “they shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm ;” Targ. *shall plunder the treasures of his nearest neighbour :—xi. 14, “they fly together on the shoulders of the Philistines ;” Targ. they associate with one SHOULDER, (i. e. unanimously, see in the Heb. Zeph. iii. 9,) in order to beat the Philistines.* It is plain, that he is only intent on bringing in the original word, without any anxiety whether correctly or not. xiv. 14, “I will ascend above the heights of the clouds ;” Targ. *over all the people :—xviii. 1, אֶרֶץ צִלְצִל כְּנַפִּים, Targ. the country, whither ships come from foreign lands, like an eagle, flying with its wings :—xix. 10, כָּל עֵשׂ שֶׁכֶר אֲנִי נֹפֵשׁ, [“all that make sluices, and ponds for fish.” Eng. Tr.] Targ. אֲנִי יִהְיֶה עֲבָרִין סְכָרָא נִכְבְּשִׁין מִיָּא גְבַר לְנַפְשֵׁיהּ, it will be a place where they make lakes, ponds of water each one for himself :—xxi. 8, וַיִּקְרָא אֲרִיָּה, [“and he cried, a lion.” Eng. Tr.] Targ. *the prophet SPAKE ; I hear the voice of the**

* By means of an operation of this kind, he excludes Malachi from the list of the prophets, since he explains the name מְלָאכִי in Mal. i. 1, thus: מְלָאכִי רִיחְקִי שְׂמִיהּ עוֹרָא סְפָרָא, *my messenger, who is called Ezra the scribe.*

*hosts, who come on in their armour, like a lion:—*xxi. 10, *מִדְּשֵׁתִי בָּן גִּרְנִי*, ["my threshing, and the corn (lit. son) of my floor." Eng. Tr.] Targ. *the kings, accustomed to wage war, will come against her, in order to plunder her, like the countryman, who is accustomed to thresh the floor:—*xxi. 12, "from Seir they call to me;" Targ. *from heaven he calls to me*, the idea being drawn probably from Deut. xxxiii. 2, where Seir has been taken as the dwelling of Jehovah:—xxii. 18, *צָנוּךְ יִצְנַפֵּךְ צִנְפֶּךָ כְּדִיר*, ["he will surely violently turn and toss thee like a ball." Eng. Tr.] Targ. *יֵרֵךְ מִנְּךָ יָת מִצְנַפְתָּא וְקִפְיָךְ*, *he will take away from thee thy turban, and the enemy will surround thee, like an enclosing wall:—*xxviii. 10, *כִּי צִו לְצִו קִו לְקִו וְגו'*, ["for precept upon precept, line upon line, &c." Eng. Tr.] Targ. *when they were commanded to do the law (צִו), they would not do what was commanded them. The prophets prophesied to them, that, if they were converted, their sins should be forgiven them, but they disregarded the words of the prophets, walked according to the desire of their souls, and had no inclination to obey the law. They expected (קִו from קִוה) that idolatry should be established among them, and they waited not on the service of my holy temple. LITTLE in their eyes was my sanctuary to pray THERE (שָׁם). LITTLE in their eyes was my dwelling THERE:—*xxx. 7, *לִבְנֵי קְרָאֵי לֹאֲחֵי יָהּ הֵם שָׁבְתִי*, ["therefore have I cried concerning this, their strength is to sit still." Eng. Tr.] Targ. *therefore I struck (as if from קָרָה) many of them dead, armed men sent I upon them; for which translation no foundation is discoverable. Further examples may be seen under nos. 4 and 6.*

3. For the most part he retains the *geographical names*, like *Onkelos*, and seldom substitutes the modern terms, but then

²² It is necessary expressly to warn every one who wishes to consult this Targum nor to trust the exceedingly bad Latin translation in the Polyglots. This verse, for example, is thus translated: *reges, qui consueti sunt ad ineundum prælium, venient contra eam. ut diripiant eam, sicut ploustrum artificis ad triturandam aream.* The Chaldee is: *מְלִכֵין*

הַאֲמִינִין לְאַחֲרָא קְרָבָא יִתְּוִן עֲלֶהּ לְמַבְרָחָא כְּאַבְרָהָא הָאֲמִין לְמַרְשֵׁי יִתְּ אַחֲרָא

he is often correct. Examples: צֶעַן, xix. 13, and xxx. 4, צֶעַן; זֶרַי, xix. 13, מִפִּיִּים, (*Memphis*); מִצְרַיִם, xxxviii. 9, Nah. i. 4, מִצְרַיִם, *Batanaa*, (see the note on ii. 13); מִצְרַיִם, xi. 11, מִצְרַיִם; and, not unsuitably at least, מִצְרַיִם, xxx. 4, מִצְרַיִם (*Daphne*). Although he translates מִצְרַיִם in xi. 11 by הַיַּדִּים, *India*, it must be remembered, that by the ancients Ethopia and India were often interchanged in common life. * * * †—Occasionally, he has rendered a geographical name as an appellative, as he has also done with the names of persons. See lx. 6.

4. Like many ancient translators, (the Alexandrine and Saadiah particularly,) he very willingly rejects those anthropopathic terms, [in other words: expressions used in relation to the Deity which are founded on human analogies. Tr.] and other language which might give offence: both of which appear to him inconsistent with the dignity of God, and of the Holy Scriptures. Examples: i. 18, God says, "let us reason together:" Targ. מִיָּדָי אֶשְׁאֵל אֶתְּךָ *ask of me*:—iii. 17; he "will discover their secret parts;" Targ. *remove their glory*. Comp. xxviii. 7. 8.—vi. 1, "his train filled the temple:" Targ. *the temple was filled with the splendor of his glory*:—v. 6, "a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar;" Targ. *in his mouth was an oracle which he received from the divine majesty* (*Shecinah*), *on the throne in heaven above over the ALTAR*:—x. 6, the rod in his hand, instrument of his indignation; Targ. *the messenger sent by him, for a curse against them*.—Neither does he bear with the expression, *to see God*, (see above, p. 409), but substitutes for it in xxxviii. 11, *I shall appear before God*. So also i. 12.

5. Another characteristic of this version is, that it introduces *additions* to the text, some of which, as connected with its paraphrastic manner, have been exhibited under nos. 1 and 2. Among these additions, there are some which are constantly recurring, as אָמַר ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ, *the prophet saith*, xxxv. 3. xlviii. 16, lviii. 1. lxi. 1. lxii. 10. lxiii. 7. Less frequently they are longer, as in x. 32, that relating to Sennacherib's army drinking up the Jordan, &c. See above.

† [Three lines are here omitted. Tr.]

6. Much more abundantly than the Alexandrine translator, does he arbitrarily introduce into his paraphrase *views which belong to a later period than that of his author; Rabbinical sayings, and the Jewish theology of his own time, and often in such a way as to show too clearly the Rabbin of the Pharisees, and the learned scribe.* Examples: i. 15; "when ye spread forth *your hands*;" Targ. *when THE PRIESTS spread forth their hands to pray for you*; as if the prayer of the priest alone could in general prevail with God:—v. 10; he adds here: *on account of the sin of not paying the tythes*:—ix. 15; here, in place of "the prophet that teacheth lies," and who "is the tail," he substitutes, *the scribe who explains falsely.* (How confident was this learned scribe in the correctness of *his own* interpretations! And how characteristic of the different periods of prophecy and of Rabbinism, that the *author* of this gloss makes a false prophet, and the *translator* a false interpreter, the tail, in other words, the very lowest of the people!) In general *scribes* are promiscuously introduced, especially for *prophets*.—xxviii. 7; instead of, "priests and prophets err through strong drink they err in vision, (prophesying,) they stumble in (pronouncing) judgment, the Targum has, *priests and scribes are intoxicated with old wine they are turned to delicate food, and err in pronouncing judgment.* (Thus the translator every where brings the charge of luxuriously furnished tables against the Rabbins.)—Better still in v. 8, "their tables are full of *filthy vomit*, there is no place more;" Targ. *all tables are full of unclean and abominable food, there is no place where there is not some plundered good thing.* (It was necessary that the offence which the laity must have taken at *such* unlawful and extravagant indulgences of the Jewish clergy should be removed, especially since swines' flesh on their table was sufficiently obnoxious.) See also xxix. 10, xxx. 10. A strong trace of national pride appears in translating "the stars of God" in xiv. 13, by *the people of God*, suggested perhaps by the antecedent representation in Dan. viii. 10.—In vi. 1, instead of "the year that king Uzziah died," he has, with Saadiah and others, *the year that he became*

LEPROUS:—in x. 32, he has in mind the fabulous account of Abraham's deliverance from a burning furnace, in which he had been thrown as a destroyer of idolatry;* in xxviii. 1, he introduces the earthquake under Uzziah, in xlix. 15, the golden calf, in lxi. 1, Elias.—Among the points of Jewish theology which the author has incorporated in his version, the views which he gives respecting the Messiah are of real interest and importance in reference to the history of Jewish doctrines. He interprets numerous passages of the Messiah, and for the most part, in harmony with the New Testament.²³ “The branch of Jehovah,” in iv. 2, he explains by *the Messiah*, (no doubt according to the phraseology in Jeremiah and Zachariah, see the note on that place;) “the fruit of the earth,” (land,) by, *those who keep the law*; and v. 3 runs: *who is written for ETERNAL life, sees THE CONSOLATION OF ISRAEL*: that is, the time of the Messiah, (comp. Dan. xii. 1.)—ix. 6, is thus translated: *he takes the law upon himself, in order to keep it perfectly*, (Matt. v. 17.) and *he is named on the side of him*,† *whose counsel is wonderful*, (on the side) of God:²⁴ *a hero remaining for ever, from whom much felicity will come over us in his days*.—xi. 1, ss. According to this passage, *the spirit of prophesying* (v. 2.) rests on the Messiah: he will *slay* (v. 4) with his speech the *wicked Armillus* (the Antichrist,) *really righteous men will surround him*, (v. 5.)—In xiv. 29, he understands the Messiah by the cerastes that should spring out of the serpent's root, (that is, the son of Jesse,) and also in xxviii. 5, by Jeho-

* [Two lines omitted. Tr.]

²³ The greater part of these, together with those which Jonathan translated from the other books, may be found in BUXTORF. *Lex. Chal. et Talm.* Col 1269, ss.

† [Literally, from the Chaldee: and he is named *from before him*, &c. קָרַם בְּפָנָיו. Tr.]

²⁴ The word אֱלֹהִים, *God*, in this passage, may, according to the usage of the language, be taken as the object. and then the Messiah will be called *God*. But this would be altogether at variance with the Jewish theology, and to this, in all the elevated representations of him, (see BERTHOLDT, *Christologia Judæorum*, § 22,) it will be difficult to adduce one parallel instance.

vah himself, who should be an ornament of the people.²⁵—The “servant of God,” in XLII. 1, he explains of *the Messiah*, (מְשִׁיחַ מְלִיכָא), and almost all *in the future*, exactly as in Matt. XII. 17—21, (see my commentary,) so that he considers this place as prophetic of a Messiah, who should be the comforter of the poor, and the instructor of the heathen. In the same way does he explain “servant of God,” in XLIII. 10, which, in other places, he interprets of the people, and often in the same section. So especially, in the celebrated passage LII. 13—LIII. 1, where what is said of the depressed state of the servant of God is referred to the people, (LII. 14, LIII. 2, 3,) and what is announced respecting his elevation, or at least what he thus considers, is applied to the Messiah, (LII. 13, 15. LIII. 4, ss.) The grammatical interpretation is here deserted more than in any other place; and that most celebrated chapter²⁶ appears in reality to have been, in the time of the New Testament, a very important source of views relating to the Messiah. He illustrates thus: ‘Israel, indeed, was long poor and despised, and waited long for the Messiah (LII. 14. LIII. 3), but he will come, will scatter the heathen (LII. 15), will astonish the kings, and Israel will flourish and bloom before him, like a tree by the water brooks, (LIII. 2;) for he will intercede for the sins of the people, and God will pardon them for his sake, when the people become obedient to his instruction (v. 4, 6, 7). He builds up again the holy place, which was polluted

²⁵ Whether by *anointed of Israel*, in XVI. 1, 5, he means the Messiah, is uncertain, since this expression is elsewhere used of earthly kings.

²⁶ Respecting Jonathan's interpretation of this passage, see DE WETTE de morte Jesu Christi xpianita. pp. 70. ss. Respecting the more ancient Jews, who, according to the accounts of the more modern, have explained this section of the Messiah, see, as a supplement to the literary history of chapter LIII, which is given in my commentary, (Th. 3. S. 160. ff.) SCHÖTTGEN de Messia, in his Horæ Heb. et Talmud. I. II. pp. 181. ss., EISENMENGER entdecktes Judenthum, II. S. 757, HULSH Theologia Judaica, pp. 321. ss. That the idea of a suffering and dying Messiah can, in no way, be derived from this place of Jonathan, as STÄUDLIN, (Götting. Theol. Bibliothek, Th. I. S. 241,) and BERTHOLDT, (Christologia Judæorum, § 29,) suppose, has been shown by DE WETTE, ubi sup. Compare also his Bibl. Theologie, § 201.

by our sins (5); he leads the princes of the nations to slaughter (7), and the wicked into hell. The remainder of his people he purifies, and expiates their sins (10). Then they live long in Messiah's kingdom, see sons and grandsons, are delivered from the dominion of the heathen, become victors over their enemies' (11, 12). In v. 5, the discourse is expressly of his *doctrine*: *through his doctrine are we made abundantly happy, and when we obey his words our sins will be forgiven us.* Comp. XLII. 3, 4, and XI. 2. In this and in the *intercession* for the people which is ascribed to him, we have evidently the *prophetic* and *high-priestly* offices, which, together with the *kingly*, the Jews thus attached to the character of the Messiah, and which, in the epistle to the Hebrews, we find committed to Christ.—Other references to Jewish theology are the mention of the *second death* in XXII. 14, which the damned undergo in another world, (comp. the Jerus. Targ. on Deut. XXXIII. 6. Rev. II. 11, and Wetstein in loc., XX. 6, 14. XXI. 8.); the explanation of XXV. 33, by hell, (Gehenna); and the frequent mention of the *Schecinah* (שְׁכִינָה), XL. 22, LVII. 15, and elsewhere.

The text, which Jonathan had before him, was on the whole, the masoretic, and with this text he agrees also in the vowels, the cause of which may be, that the authors of the points were led by the paraphrases, or that the same interpretation which they exhibit was established as early as the time of Jonathan. Yet there are also varieties both in the consonants and vowels. For example: III. 12, נָשִׁים; Targ. מְרֵי חוֹבָא, creditors, (as if it were נְשִׁים):—III. 6, מִכְּשֵׁלָה; Targ. מִגְּבִירָה, after the reading, עַר הַחַרֵּם:—XIX. 18; here at עַר הַחַרֵּם, for which also עַר הַחַרֵּם is read, both readings are expressed; קִרְתָּא בֵּית שְׁמֵשׁ דְּעֵתִירָא לְמַחֲרֵב, *the city [Bethshemesh], city [house], of the sun, (Heliopolis), which will be destroyed,*—from חַרֵּם, the sun, and הַרֵּם, to destroy. The explanation is founded on Jer. LIII. 13, and although it may have had a controversial bearing against the Alexandrine Jews, (see above, p. 408,) yet it lays the foundation for other results.—II. 6, כִּי נָטַשְׁתָּה עַמְּךָ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל, ["therefore thou hast forsaken thy people, the house of Jacob." Eng. Tr.] is translated in the Targum, thus: *you have deserted the*

dreadful one, the strong, who delivered you, house of Israel. It is probable that after קָדֵשׁ he read קָדֵשׁ , (comp. Deut. xxx. 15,) which reading would give a very suitable sense. However, he has elsewhere allowed himself too great liberties, to permit us to attach much weight to this supposition.

From what has been said, it is evident, that this version, although of real advantage, should be used with great caution, and it appears to me that Dr. Rosenmüller has depended too often on its interpretations.

That there must have been a Jerusalem Targum on the prophets, is plain from a fragment, which BRUNS in *Cod. Kennic. 154*, found on Zech. xii. 10. Whether this is the same with that which *Asseman* deposited in the Vatican library, I am unable to determine.

§ 12.

The Syriac Version.

AMONG the old versions, the third place in point of time belongs to the Peshito *Syriac*, which, resting on the authority of the two last, and, moreover, conducted by more correct principles of interpretation and translation, meets the demands of a correct and faithful translator far better than those, and nearly in the same manner, as Symmachus and Theodotion. The author translates from the Hebrew text, not without knowledge of the language, with selected use of the Alexandrine version, more rarely of the Chaldee, but frequently also independently of both, agreeably to his own feeling and judgment. Where he does not happen to follow the Septuagint, he preserves the figures and tropes, and from arbitrary introduction of opinions he is freer than almost any other ancient translator, so that the name of *Peshito*, that is.

the *simple and faithful*,²⁷ is most appropriately applied to his work. Since also the character of both tongues favours this close approximation, the imitation is sometimes to be called masterly. As a proof of what has been said, so far as this may be shown in particular instances, the reader is referred to,

1. Some places where he has openly followed the Septuagint, even in cases of free and somewhat arbitrary translation. Compare in the Hebrew, Septuagint and Syriac, the following places; i. 22, 25. ii. 20. iii. 17. vii. 20. ix. 13. xxx. 4, 20. liii. 2.*—Still, in such cases he much more frequently abandons the Alexandrine version: see v. 17. vi. 1. ix. 8, 10. x. 14, 16. xi. 4, 14. xxii. 23. xxviii. 8. xxiii. 17. He preserves the expression *to see God* in the two places (i. 12. xxxviii. 12.) where it occurs. Yet he agrees with Theodotion, for instance in xxviii. 6.

2. Less observed is his agreement with the *Chaldee*, which,

²⁷ In the place of this usual interpretation, which, we shall see is also the correct one, Dr. BERTHOLDT (Einleit. 11. s. 593) has brought forward another, according to which it signifies *the extended, commonly used*, and is equivalent to *κοινή, vulgata*. He adduces the Chaldee expressions, כְּנִדְוֹן פְּצוּוֹן, *common custom*, פְּצוּוֹן כְּנִדְוֹן, *common manner*. But in the alleged cases the idea of *simple* lies at the bottom of the word, as Buxtorf has expressly remarked in his Chaldee Lexicon; and, which is chiefly important, this change of the idea is inappropriate in the present instance, since פְּצוּוֹן is constantly used of *literal* interpretations, of Scripture, in opposition to the *Medrashin*, allegorical and mystical interpretations. This is its meaning in this case, as is shown also by the use of the cognate words in the Syriac and Arabic languages. I agree entirely in the remark of the same author, (S. 594—5.) that the version is to be ascribed to the third, or probably to the second century, after Christ.

* [In the original these references, and others in this and the two following sections are given in full, in the oriental languages. From the difficulty of procuring suitable type for the Syriac and Arabic, and because the Hebrew and Greek quotations would be useless without the Syriac, I have been obliged to content myself by referring to the places. Tr.]

as we shall see below, is real dependence. See, for example, in Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, III. 3, 16, XXII. 5, XXIII. 10. XXVII. 8, בְּמִסְפָּה; Targ. *with the measure wherewith thou measurest, will they measure to thee*, (see Matt. VII. 2, and LIGHT-FOOT in loc. Mark, IV. 24,) Syr. *with the measure wherewith thou measurest, wilt thou judge him*. XXV. 7. XXVIII. 28. LIV. 7. LVII. 8. LVIII. 3. LXI. 8. LXVI. 18.—But that the Syriac translator really had the Chaldee version before his eyes may be inferred with some probability from the following examples. The difficult clause in XXXIII. 7, הֲוֹן אֲרֵאִים [“behold, their valiant ones;” Eng. Tr.] is rendered by the Syriac: *if he show himself to them*. It is evident that he has interpreted אֲרֵאִים by אֲרֵאִים לֵם for אֲרֵאִים לְהֵם, but this gives us only the *first*, not the *third* person, and the Syriac translator does not allow himself such arbitrary changes without reason. This is to be traced to the Chaldee. Here the version is אֲרֵאִים לְהֵם, which should undoubtedly be read in the first person, אֲרֵאִים לְהֵם; but the Syriac translator read it, as it stands in the Polyglott, אֲרֵאִים לְהֵם, and consequently rendered it also in the third person. See also XXII. 6, 24.

3. Where he translates independently, he often follows in difficult places exegetical conjectures, which have no further authority; but, in some cases, they may really be called happy.—Examples of independent exposition are as follows: m. 24, כְּתִיבָהּ, *their purple blue*,—(he combines it with תְּכֵלֶת). v. 2, 4, *Siliqua, carob fruit*; (to suit the context he chooses a contemptible species of fruit, scarcely fit for cattle. See Luke. xv. 16.) Sept. ἀνάβας:—x. 5, he commutes קָאֹן with קָאֹן:—XXVII. 10; here the paronomasia is followed up, and the translation is, *filth upon filth*, (as if וַיְזִי were equivalent to וַיִּזְעַק,) *vomit upon vomit*. Sometimes he omits words which are difficult, or at least difficult in the connexion in which they stand, or which appear to him superfluous; as, for instance אֲרֵאִים in XXI. 8, and the repetition in XXI. 11.—A truly happy exposition is that in x. 27, *broken is the yoke from the fat steer*. See my commentary on this place.—XXVII. 25, *with the steps* [“sole” Eng. Tr.] *of my feet*; Syriac. *with*

the hoofs of my horses.—He has also occasionally supposed Syriac idioms to be found in the Hebrew, and translated accordingly. Thus xiv. 12, חִלְלֵן בֶּן־שָׁחַר, [“O Lucifer, son of the morning,” Eng. Tr.] he translates, *howl in the very dawn.* His mind dwells on the idiom לַיְלָה בֶּן לַיְלָה in the same night, Jon. iv. 10, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא in that very day, בַּשָּׂעָה הַהִיא in the same hour. Comp. Deut. xxiv. 15. Prov. xii. 16.

To the question which has been so often asked, and which has not been answered on internal grounds, whether the author of this version were a Jew or a Christian, I can confidently reply, at least in reference to the translation of Isaiah, in favour of the latter opinion.* In support of a Jewish author no reason is alleged which can be considered as satisfactory, while in some places the Christian appears very plainly. Although he generally follows his text step by step, yet there are some translations which intimate the belief to which he was attached. The most important is vii. 14, where he translates עַלְמָה, *young woman*, the mother of Emmanuel, by *virgin*, while, in all other places where the same Hebrew word occurs, he gives the term which corresponds with it, (Gen. xxiv. 43. Ex. ii. 8. Ps. lxxviii. 26. Cant. i. 3. vi. 7,) as the Chaldee also does in this passage, עַלְמָתָא. Also, נַעֲרָה, in Gen. xxiv. 16, he translates by the same term. In like manner אֱלֹהִים in ix. 6, used of the Messiah, he renders by the word *God*, just as the Arabic translator; and in lii. 15, like Jerome, he makes the servant of God *purify* and *expiate* the sins of the people (with his blood); אָוֶן, Syr. כַּפָּרָה, Vulg. *asperget*.—Liii. 8: לְמֹו, in reference to the servant of God, is rendered *to him*, so that he appears as an individual and not as a collective body. The same interpretations are found again in Jerome and the (Christian) translator of the Arabic in the Polyglots; so that we see, that the Christian translators have not indeed allowed themselves such gross altera-

* For a Christian origin, see KIRSCH Præf. ad Pent. Syr. S. 6, BARTHOLDI'S Einleit. ii. S. 596, 598; for the Jewish, R. SIMON, *Hist. Crit. du V. T.* p. 272. Rotterdam, 1685.

tions as meet us in the Septuagint and Chaldee, while at the same time, in classical* places, they have maintained the claims of Christian doctrine. In the Psalms, the views of the translator appear in the circumlocutory interpretations of the titles, which are arbitrary and Christian. See Ps. II. VII. X. XVIII. XXII.

Besides the internal evidence, the fact that this version was, in a very early period, the generally acknowledged church version of the *Syrian Christians*, comprehending all parties, confirms the opinion that the author was a Christian. In addition to which it may be urged, that formerly the Syriac language appears to have been employed exclusively by Christian writers, and that not the least trace of its use among the Jews is discoverable. Its literal simplicity, which Simon considers as a mark of its Jewish origin, (where he seems to have had *Aquila* principally in view,) leads rather to the opposite conclusion, when the connexion between the Septuagint, the Targum of Jonathan, and Saadiah on the one hand, and between Symmachus, Theodotion and Jerome on the other, are attentively considered. The literal simplicity of this Christian translator is, moreover, essentially different from the syllable numbering manner of *Aquila* and of the Venetian translator. But that an occasional consultation of the Targum is no proof that the translator belonged to the Jews, is abundantly clear even from this translator of Isaiah, who never grants them, in doctrinal passages, the least influence. And yet even Jerome did not disdain to avail himself of Jewish instructors.—If no more definite grounds for the Jewish origin of this version in the other books can be adduced, (and I doubt whether this be possible,) even the accommodating views of Eichhorn must be given up²⁰; and

* [This word is technically applied to passages which are considered as prominent in reference to any particular point. Tr.]

²⁰ EICHHORN, (Einleit. S. 482, [11. S. 183,] § 250) endeavours to distinguish the various books, appropriating them to various authors, and DATHE (Præf. ad Psalt. Syr. pp. 23, ss.) suggests a proselyte as the translator.

when we consider the similarity of the Chaldee and the Syriac, the supposition of a proselyte from Judaism is altogether unnecessary.

His text varies here and there from the masoretic, but the variations are never superior to that text. In general the contrary is the case, as in viii. 20. x. 9. xvi. 1. liii. 7. xxviii. 26. xxv. 8. In the last text, he expresses the word לְנֶצַח twice with different meanings, thus: *to victory for ever*. It is frequently the case, that where many critics, particularly Lowth and Koppe, have been anxious to discover variations, none such are to be found. For instance in xiii. 10, קְסִילֵיהֶם, [“constellations thereof,” Eng. Tr.] is rendered *their hosts or powers*. Here Koppe conjectures that the translator read, קְסִילֵיהֶם, whereas he considered קְסִילֵים as the name of a star, and his *hosts* or *powers* is the Chaldee שְׂמַיָא of Dan. iv. 32, the δύναμις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ of Matt. xxiv. 29.—The text of the translator himself differs occasionally in the citations of EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN from that of the Polyglots, because he sometimes rather follows the Septuagint, and sometimes rather the Hebrew text.³⁰

§ 4.

Latin Version of Jerome.

The same select use of the earlier translations which is made in the Syriac, and particularly of the Alexandrine and three other Greek versions contained in the Hexapla, we find in Jerome, and in addition also to this, oral instruction communicated by Palestine Rabbins.³¹ For this reason his expositions very frequently agree with those of the later Rabbins:

³⁰ See G. L. SPOHN *Collatio versionis Syriacæ, quam Peshito vocant, cum fragmentis in commentariis Ephraemi Syri obviis*. Spec. I. Lips. 1785. Spec. II. Vitebergæ, 1794, 4to. Both together comprehend Isaiah.

³¹ *Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift*. S. 92.

however, he does not on that account abandon the cause of Christian doctrine any more than the Syriac translator, with whom he agrees most accurately in the places which have been before adduced. For instance VII. 14, *הַעַלְמָה*, *virgo*, see my commentary on this place;) IX. 6. *אֱלֹהִים*, *Deus* (of Christ); LII. 13, *הִרְסָה* *asperget*; LIII. 8, *לְמַעַן יַעֲרֹב עַלְמֵי עַמְּךָ*, *propter scelus populi mei percussi eum*. With the well known character of this version, and the abundant use which is made of it in the commentary, it would be unnecessary to illustrate what has been said by examples. But on the commentary of Jerome, compare § 7, 2.

§ 5.

Arabic Version of Saadias.

The celebrated Rabbi SAADIAS GAON, who died A. D. 942, after he had been since 927 principal of the Jewish academy at Babylon³², was the first who composed a grammar of the Hebrew language. He was also the author of the Arabic Pentateuch printed in the Polyglots, and of a version of Isaiah which, in its whole character, agrees most accurately with that of the Pentateuch.³³ Through the laborious exertions of Dr. PAULUS, this version has been given to the world, from the only known manuscript extant, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Cod. Pocock. No. 32. URI catalog. Cod. Heb. No. 156. It is printed under this title: R. SAADIAE Phijumensis Versio Jesaiae Arabica, cum aliis speciminibus Arabico-biblicis, e manuscripto Bodleiano nunc primum edidit, atque ad modum chrestomathiae Arabicae biblicae glossario perpetuo instruxit, H. E. G. PAULUS. Fasc. I. continens cap. 1—xxxviii. Jenae, 1790.

³² WOLFFI Biblioth. Heb. T. I. pp. 932—936.

³³ On the identity of the translator of the Pentateuch and of Isaiah, see TYCHSEN in MICHAELIS Neue Orient. Bibliothek. VIII. S. 76, ff.

Fasc. II. continens Jesaiam jam totum, ex ii aliis versionibus prophetæ specimina exhibens. 1791, 8vo." The work, originally written in the year 1244 in Hebrew letters, often without diacritical points, and not unfrequently erroneous, is published by the editor in the Arabic character, and provided with the vowel points. If, in a work involving very many difficulties, the editor has left much to be wished for in reference to the explication and right understanding of the text, yet in a first publication this is not to be severely found fault with. There is in this edition, and especially at the beginning, so much of this kind, that the reader stumbles at every step, and a reference to the many improvements at the end of the second part, which yet are not sufficient, is hardly to be expected of him, and therefore a new edition, corrected and improved as far as possible, is much to be wished for. It should be accompanied by an accurate punctuation and a Latin version, as it is difficult now and then to understand the meaning.³⁴

In general, as far as regards *apprehension* of the sense, the version, in an exegetical point of view, follows closely that interpretation of particular places which originated from the Jews and was admitted by their expositors. Consequently it has a frequent affinity with the Chaldee and the later Rabbinical commentators, although it possesses much thought and originality. In respect to giving the sense, it often takes a

³⁴ Many improvements in the text, and in the explanation contained in the subjoined notes, may be found in EICHORN'S Bibliothek. Th. III. S. 9. ff. and 465, ff. Others, with remarks in other respects important, are contained in MICHAËLIS Neue Orient. Bibliothek, Th. VIII. S. 75, ff. The publication of CH. DAN. BREITHAUPT (Commentationis in Sædianam versionem Iesaiæ Arabicam, fasc. I. Rostochii et Suerini, 1819, pp. 95, 8vo.) consists of an introduction and merely some improvements and observations of another kind on chaps. 1—III. A new edition however is promised. (Comp. Algem. Zeitung. 1819, No. 269.) ROSENMÜLLER, in his Scholia, has certainly done more than any other writer, although constantly, and even in the first chapters, where so many have gone over the ground, a gleanings still remains. See, for example, the note on l. 7.

free paraphrastic course, explains tropes, does away anthropopathic expressions, indulges in numerous additions, and changes the old geographical names for new. All this I shall now endeavour to evince by some examples.

1. This translator explains tropes and figurative forms of speech, or softens them by circumlocutions. For instance, in i. 21, זונה is translated *idolatress*; i. 8, בת ציון, standing for the city, merely *Zion*, but, when it stands for the nation, *assembly, people of Zion*, xvi. 1:—i. 10 is thus translated: *ye who are like the rulers of Sodom—ye who are similar to the people of Gomorrha*:—v. 11, שבעתי, [*“I am full,”* Eng. Tr.]; Arab. *I consider it as too much*:—ii. 6, הרפך יצלה הזאת, [*“this ruin,”* Eng. Tr.]; Arab. *this poor people*:—viii. 1, בחרטם אנוש, [*“with a man’s pen,”* Eng. Tr.]; *with the usual writing*:—x. 15, כפרים מפה לא עץ, [*“as if the staff should lift up (itself, as if it were) no wood,”* Eng. Tr.]; Arab. *as if the lifting up of the staff did not proceed from him, namely, from him who raises it*. Sometimes he adds the particle *like as*. See ii. 21. xiv. 3. Moreover, he is not always uniform, and sometimes preserves such expressions unaltered, as in ix. 14, גפה ואגמון, [*“branch and rush,”* Eng. Tr.]; Arab. *pond and palm twig*,³⁵ (only by an everted arrangement;) or selects the trope somewhat differently, as in ix. 6; *on whose head the government rests, where his mind is dwelling on a crown*.

2. He removes anthropopathic expressions or softens them. i. 15, אעלים עיני, [*“I will hide mine eyes,”* Eng. Tr.]; Arab. *I will shut up my compassion*:—v. 18, לכו נא ונבכהה, [*“come now and let us reason together,”* Eng. Tr.]; Arab. *come on until we meet one another*:—vi. 1, his splendor filled the temple:—xix. 1, יהוה רכב על עב קל, [*“the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud,”* Eng. Tr.]; Arab. *God covered his word in swift clouds*:—xxxiv. 16, 17, כי פי ונגו, [*“for my mouth it hath commanded, and his spirit it hath gathered them,”* Eng. Tr.];

³⁵ Dr. PAULUS gives a different punctuation to one of the words, and translates: *jugulum et ulcus (capitis aut faciei)*; but this gives no intelligible sense.

he with his word gives command respecting them, and his angel, he makes them together. Like a king he casts lot respecting them and divides it among them. Thus, in the manner of the later Jews, he makes God's angel or word (מִקְרָא) instead of himself to be engaged in the work of creation. Comp. also xxvi. 21. xxviii. 3, where word of God is used for Jehovah, and xxv. 10, for hand of Jehovah. For father of men applied to God, he uses creator, lxiii. 16. lxiv. 7, for arm of Jehovah lxiii. 12, power of God, while on the other hand in l. 2, the trope short hand of God is retained, probably because it was used in the Arabic, and, as a trope, without being offensive. In l. 5, instead of, "the Lord God hath opened mine ear," the Arabic is, *God has before instructed me in the matters.* Comp. yet i. 2, 18, 20, 24.—Like other translators, he supposes indecorous expressions to be inconsistent with the dignity of Scripture, and removes them. For instance, iii. 17, יִפְתְּחוּ יָעָרָהּ, ["will discover their secret parts," Eng. Tr.]; Arab. *he will bare their parts (or sides)* :—lvii. 8; here for וְיָרָהּ תִּיטֵן ["where thou sawest it," Eng. Tr.] he leaves an empty space :—and in xiii. 16, he expresses at least the milder reading of the Keri תִּשְׁכַּנְנָה.

3. His additions are similar to those of the Chaldee interpreter, and are very frequently intended to designate a change of the party speaking. For example, lviii. 1, he (God) spake to me :—v. 3, in the beginning, they say; and before the last member, O prophet, answer him :—lx. 8, then will I say :—lxiii. 1, then will it be said. See ii. 10. viii. 19. lxii. 1. lxiii. 11. Others are of less frequent occurrence. One which is more doctrinal is in xlii. 19, where to the words explained of the Messiah, *who is deaf—if it be not he to whom I send MY MESSENGER*, (i. e. the Messiah,) immediately he adds in a parenthesis, *when I shall have sent him to them*, (the people), thereby retaining the suggestion that this messenger is a personage whose coming was still to be expected.³⁶—On the other hand, he has also again omitted what

³⁶ Dr. Rosenmüller, on xlii. 19, considers these words as an inter-

appeared to him to be superfluous, as, for instance, the impressive repetition in L¹. 15, 17, and frequently.

4. Like the author of the later Targums and of the Samaritan version, instead of the *old geographical names* he introduces the *more modern* terms which were in use in his own day, and is very often correct. Thus, for example, בַּתָּן is *Batanæa*, II. 13; בְּרַבְמִישׁ *Cercusium*, X. 9; כּוּשׁ *Abbyssinia*, XI. 11. XVII. 1; נַחַל כְּצָרִים *El. Arish*, XXVII. 12; שֶׁבַרְיוֹן *Sebaste*, X. 9: others are not unsuitable, as כְּפָרַס *Cyprus*, XXIII. 1, (see my *Lexicon* on this word); גּוּזָן, the capital city of Chorasán, XXXVII. 12, (see the *Commentary* in loc. :); הַגֵּז *a city in Egypt*, XXX. 4, (see *Comment.* :); בְּלִנּוֹ *a city in Mesopotamia*, X. 8, (see SCHULTENS *ind. ad Vit. Saladini* on the word *Racca*;) יְלִיס XI. 11, and XXII. 5; חֲמֵדָן *Hamedan*, i. e. the chief city of Media, XIII. 17, and XXI. 2; אֶבְרָא *a city in Arabia*, LX. 6, (see ABALFEDÆ *Arabia, cur. Rommel*, p. 30, 42.—Some others, however, are very erroneous, as אֲרָמַס *Armenia*, VII. 5. IX. 11, (comp. *Gen.* X. 22,) where the similarity of the name has given rise to the mistake; חַמְטָה *Antioch* XI. 11; also, אֲשֶׁר in VII. 18, XI. 11, XX. 4, while *Mesopotamia* constituted only one part of the Assyrian empire. But he is not uniform, and sometimes explains אֲשֶׁר by southern Mesopotamia, VII. 20, VIII. 4; † יְרֵאָלָם he sometimes translates by *dwelling of peace*, LX. 1. or *city of peace*, XL. 2, which is of some importance in

polation by a Christian hand, and translates them, sane nisi cum ad illam, according to which the advent of that messenger is presumed to have taken place. But interpolations made in this work by a Christian writer are quite improbable, and the translation given above in the text is undoubtedly well founded, since אֲשֶׁר for when, used of the future, is a very common meaning, and then the preterite must be taken by the future completed. Thus, for instance, when you shall have come together with her, (Thousand and one nights, No. 162, in MICHAËLLIS' Chrestomathy, third edition, edited by BERNSTEIN, p. 188,) or, I will come to you, when that one shall have come before, (DSCHAUHARI in GOLIUS, col. 54,) in both which places, the Arabic uses the same word.*

* [In the original, it is *futurum exactum*. By this the author means what WEBSTER calls the *Prior-Future, indefinite*. Tr.]

† [An omission of one or two lines in this place is caused by the difficulty of printing the Arabic words. Tr.]

reference to the etymological interpretation. The word **תַּרְשִׁישׁ** he renders sea in II. 16, XXIII. 1, 10, 14. LX. 9, agreeing with the Targum, but in Gen. x. 3, he translates it *Tarsus*.

5. Not unfrequently does he make an attempt to retain the Hebrew words themselves, or with slight alteration, in the Arabic, which to his ear is generally euphonic. See I. 8, 9, 12. II. 3. V. 2, and compare Gen. XLIX. 11. Sometimes the exposition acquires in this way additional force, as in I. 7, where **כְּכַהֲלֵם זָרִים** is translated *like the rushing course of streams*.

6. Interpretations which correspond with those given in the Targum and by the Rabbins are constantly to be met with. Thus, for example: VI. 1, *in the year when King Uzziah became leprous*:—XXI. 5, **מִשְׁחֵי מִגֵּן**, and they anointed a king from them; comp. Abarbenel, who explains **מִגֵּן**, shield, by king, and Aben-Ezra who refers it expressly to Darius:—V. 24, *from the ornament of the people to the ornament of the priests, who take charge of the basins, and to the ornament of the Levites, who sing hymns*. See above the Chaldee and Syriac.—XXIV. 15, **בְּאֵרִים**, Targ. *when light comes for the righteous*; Saadiah, *when his light will appear*:—XXVI. 3, **יָצַר כְּמוֹתָם**, the creatures who are supported, i. e. who need support. In this way is the word **יָצַר** explained by Jarchi. Comp. IX. 4, with his note.—Ungrammatical connexions of words occur also, as in Jonathan; thus in XXII. 3, **יָחַד מִקֶּשֶׁת אֶפְרַיִם**, so that they are bound by one bow, as if the reading were, **מִקֶּשֶׁת אֶחָד**. Comp. VII. 21. On the other hand examples of meanings peculiar to the author and very suitable will be found in abundance in my Commentary.

Various readings in the consonants will probably not be found, provided the reader be thoroughly acquainted with his manner, and constantly keep it in view. In the vowels there are sometimes variations. See XLIX. 17, where instead of **בְּנִיךָ** he reads **בְּנִיךָ**.

§ 6.

Versions which have sprung from the Alexandrine.

Of the versions founded on the Alexandrine, all of which were composed by Christians, and may be made very serviceable in the criticism of the Septuagint, on the prophet Isaiah it is only the Latin, as far as it remains, the Arabic, the Armenian and the Georgian, that have appeared in print. Omitting the two last, which are not accessible to me, nor do I sufficiently understand them, I shall confine my remarks to the first, in reference to its critical relation to the Septuagint.³⁷

1. It is well known that the *old Latin version*, antecedent to the time of Jerome, was lost, with the exception of such books as were incorporated in the Vulgate. From the high estimation, however, in which the Old Testament writer under consideration was held, such a multitude of quotations from him according to this version is to be found in the early fathers, that Sabatier, in his important collection of fragments from them and from other manuscripts,³⁸ was able to restore three fourths of the whole book, 1000 verses out of 1293, which is not the case with regard to any other book of the Old Testament. This version follows, as is known, the text of the Septuagint which existed before the time of Origen, or

³⁷ The most important of these versions that have sprung from the Septuagint is undoubtedly the *Hexaplar Syriac*, of which the Ambrosian manuscript, which in the Norberg copy has but lately been used by MIDDLEDORFF, (*curae Hexaplares in Jobum*, 1817, 4to.) contains Isaiah. The *Ethiopic* is in the British Museum, and contains, along with the canonical Isaiah, the manuscript of Lawrence, from which *The Ascension of Isaiah* was printed. See Praef. p. v. It follows the Alexandrine recension.

³⁸ PETRI SABATIER *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versionis antiquae, seu vetus Italica et caeterae quaecunque in Codd. MSS. et antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt Romae*, 1743. T. I.—III. Fol. The version of Isaiah is in T. II, pp. 515—639.

what was called the *κοινή* or vulgate, and therefore agrees for the most part with the Vatican text of the Septuagint, which comes nearest of all to that of the *κοινή*.³⁹ On this account it is able, from its close literal manner, to afford important service for the restitution of the ancient readings. Thus, for example, in lx. 5, something is missed in the Septuagint which should correspond with the word *תַּרְנוּ*. Theodotion has, *καὶ χαρήσῃ*; and that it should also be so read in the Septuagint is shown by the Old Vulgate, *et gaudebis*, and also by the Arabic. It contains, too, all the additions of the Alexandrine version which are not founded on the Hebrew text, as in i. 21. iv. 4. ix. 1, 21. xxx. 4, xl. 1, 5. xlii. 1. lxv. 4, which, in part, as xl. 1. 5, are not found in the copies that have been affected by Origen's revision. Traces of the influence of Christian dogmatic or polemic theology I have no where found, and, were they in general circulation as early as the time of the translator, there was indeed no opportunity for it, since in the Septuagint according to the *κοινή* all the places which were formerly brought into consideration, as ix. 6, lii. 13. liii. 8, have entirely perished. The occurrence of *virgo* in vii. 14, is not to be taken into account, since this is the natural translation of *παρθένης*. In some places which have been misunderstood by the Arabic translator, he has given the sense more correctly, as, for example, in xxvi. 14.

2. According to the subscription of the Paris manuscript, the *Arabic translation* in the Paris and London Polyglots, in Isaiah, as in the prophets generally, was composed by an ecclesiastic of the Alexandrine church, whose age cannot be ascertained with certainty.⁴⁰ But the manuscript was written A. D. 1584. In reference to his age, thus much only can be said, that he must have written when the Arabic language had excluded in

³⁹ ROB. HOLMES, Præf. ad ed. OXON. LXX Interp. 1798, fol. Cap. 2. No. 2.

⁴⁰ See GABRIEL SIONITA in the preface to the Syriac Psalter, Paris. 1625, ALDER's Biblisch. Kritische Reise, S. 208.

Egypt the Greek (and Coptic), or had begun to exclude them, so that such versions had become necessary for the use of Christians; in other words, somewhat after the 10th century.⁴¹

At that period the patriarch of Alexandria, *Etychius, son of Patrick*, wrote a history of the world in Arabic, and afterwards many Christian writers in Egypt made use of that language, for instance, *Elmacin*. The Arabic diction of this translator seems at times to approximate to the vulgar dialect, as when he usually begins his version of the books with the form: *æ begin the translation of Malachi, &c.*, for: *I begin*. If we were better acquainted with the history of the lessons and portions of the Bible used in the Greek church, (of which further below,) we should probably be able to arrive at some conclusion respecting the age in which he lived.

Peculiar to this version, at least in Isaiah, in its external form, is a threefold division, each of which appears continuously in the same text. In the first place, Isaiah, as well as the other prophets, is divided into a number of *sections*,* of which Isaiah contains thirty, the portions being in general very badly divided, as no other principle seems to have been kept in view, except that of giving to each a nearly equal number of verses. Thus, for instance, number 2 begins with u. 10, (number 3 is wanting,) number 4 with vii. 3, number 5 with ix. 1, number 6 with x. 22, number 7 with xiii. 11. Better is that division, which however is confined to the beginning of Isaiah and to Daniel, which designates the *oracles* or *visions*, for instance, number 2 at u. 1, number 3 at vi. 1, number 4 at vii. 1, number 5 at xiii. 1, number 9 at xix. 1, number 10 at xx. 1. Beside these two divisions, there is also another of a liturgical kind, which is peculiar to Isaiah. Very frequently we meet with express indications by means of titles thrown in, that here a (church) *lesson* begins, with which an outline of the contents is usually given;

⁴¹ RENAUDOT Hist. Patriarch. Alexand. Jacobit. pp. 367, 418.

* The Arabic word is, in the Polyglot translations, incorrectly rendered *text*.

sometimes the *festival* on which the lesson is to be read is also mentioned, but never how far it extends. Yet this is, as I conjecture, only omitted in the impression in the Polyglots. The following may serve as specimens of such titles: 1. 21, *Lesson, wherein the prophet's amazement at the city of Jerusalem and its changes is contained, and what should happen to it and its inhabitants is mentioned*;—III. 16, *Lesson, containing the prophet's denunciation against the incontinence of the women of Zion*. Such are found too in III. I. V. I. VI. I. IX. 8. X. 1, &c. with the addition of the festival before VII. 10, thus: *Lesson for the festival of the birth (of Christ), containing the prophet's message to the house of David respecting the birth of Christ*;—before XL. 3, *Lesson for St. John's day*;—before LVII. 3, *Lesson for the Sunday*—, where something seems to be wanting;—before LX. 1, *Lesson for Easter Sunday*.⁴² There are also other titles, which contain notices of the contents together with historical and doctrinal explanations. For example, in XXV. 1: *thanksgivings*

⁴² As it has been ascertained, that definite portions for the festivals were earlier in use than for all Sundays, this directs us to that earlier time. Of the portions above referred to, two, namely VII. 10, ss. and XL. 3, ss., agree with the usage of the Western, that is, the Gallican church, which we learn from a *Lectionarium Gallicum* of the seventh century, (See MABILLON, Lib. 2. Liturg. Gallic. Paris, 1782, ed. II. Paris, 1729, pp. 106, ss. and comp. THAMERI Schediasma de origine et dignitate pericoparum, Jenæ 1716, pp. 102, ss.,) and XL. 3, ss. with our own portion in the Epistles.* The Section LX. 1 ss., on the other hand, was read in the Gallican church on the festival of the Epiphany, and LVIII., moreover, on Good Friday. With respect to the reading of definite portions of the *gospels* in the Greek church, the chief places may be found in CHRYSOSTOM, Homil. XI and LVII on John, and in LEO AELATIUS as quoted by Thamer ubi sup. p. 66. Respecting those from the *epistles*, I am not able to obtain any further accounts. The consecution of the lessons in the first chapters of Isaiah shows that they must have read all the books of the Bible in continuous succession. But generally in the history of liturgies these circumstances are not to be discovered.

* [The author refers to the portions appointed to be used by the Lutheran church, which are marked also in some editions of the German Bible. Tr.]

of King Hezekiah to the Lord on account of having conquered;—XXXI. 1: prophecy respecting the Jews, who went down to Egypt;—XXXIII. 7: prophecy respecting the King of Mosul (Assyria), on the victory of the King of Babylon over him, and how he would take the kingdom from him;—XXXV. 2: exhortation of the prophet to the weak, and annunciation of the coming of Christ;—XLII. 1: prophecy respecting the Lord Christ;—LII. 13: prophecy respecting Christ, of his crucifixion, and of the forgiveness of sins. In these additions the translator has availed himself of the traditions of the eastern Greek church.

With respect to the internal character of this version, it expresses, as might be expected from a work composed in Alexandria, the recension of the Seventy which was in general use in that church, and agrees therefore for the most part with the Alexandrine manuscript, which seems to have been derived from the Hexapla, in opposition to the Vatican, which is closely allied to the *Kolvn*.⁴³ But the copy used by the translator must have approximated more nearly still to the Hexaplar text, since he frequently shows a closer affinity to the Hebrew than the Alexandrine manuscript, in which he often agrees with the excellent Hexaplar *Codex Marchalianus*.⁴⁴ In particular, he fills up many chasms in the Septuagint, following Theodotion, as Origen also does in the Hexapla. But in these cases, I am not able to perceive that he has gone back to the Hebrew text itself,⁴⁵ which at that period was seldom done by Christians, or rather not at all, but merely that he has limited his sources to as complete a Hexaplar copy as could be procured.

As agreement with the Alexandrine manuscript is uniform and habitual with him, I think it preferable to give some examples in which he has varied from it, and seems to have ap-

⁴³ See HOLMES, Praef. ad Pentateuchum, (prefixed to the first volume of his edition of the Septuagint,) Cap. 2. No. 2, 3.

⁴⁴ See STROTH in the *Repertorium für Bibl. und morgenländische Literatur*, Th. 8, S. 189.

⁴⁵ See ROSENMÜLLER Scholia in Jes. on XLV. 9.

proached nearly to the Hexaplar copy. Thus in 1. 22, he wants the additional clause in the Alexandrine manuscripts, *ἀι πόλις ἡμῶν κυριεύουσι*:—x. 14, besides the words which are contained in the Vatican and Alexandrine manuscripts, *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅς διαφύξασθαι με, ἢ ἀντίστη μῶι*, he expresses also the addition of Theodotion founded on the Hebrew, *καὶ ἀνοίγων τὸ στόμα καὶ στρογγύλων*. THEODORET, Opp. T. ii. p. 244, has also the same.—xiii. 31; here the usual text of the Septuagint has a chasm: *καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ εἶναι*. . . . for the Hebrew *וְאֵין בְּמִוְעַר בְּנֵי אָמ*. The conjecture of Lambert Bos that *μείναι* is the true reading is strengthened by the Arabic: *no one remains on their traces*. What he found in his Greek copy corresponding with *בְּמִוְעַר*, I do not venture to determine, probably *ἐν τοῖς ἴχνεσι*, so that *בְּמִוְעַר* was expressed, as in PRON. v. 6.—xli. 1: here the usual text for *סִי בְּרַבֵּר כְּשֵׁן* is, *τὸ ὄραμα τῆς ἐρήμου*. Only the *Cod. Marchal.* adds, *θαλάσσης*, and thus also the Arabic: *prophecy to the inhabitants of the desert near the sea*. And the same reading is also to be found in the Old Vulgate, *visio deserti maris*, and in the commentaries of Theodoret and Procopius.—xli. 13; the usual text is: *ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐσπέρας κοιμηθήσῃς, ἢ ἐν τῇ ἰδῶ Δαδάν*, where both the tense of *κοιμηθήσῃς* and the particle *ἢ* are unsuitable. Only the *Cod. Marchal.*, *Mediol* in Sabatier, and Cyrill of Alexandria (Opp. T. ii. p. 312.) connect them and read *κοιμηθήσῃς*. Thus also the Arabic, which besides places here the words *κατ' ἐμοῖς ὀκσεῖ* from v. 12: *dwell with me in the wood, thou wilt rest in the evening on the way to Dadan*. The Vulgate is still more accurate, according to the Hebrew: *in saltu ad vesperam DORMIETIS, in via Dadan*.—xlv. 9: here the Septuagint is quite arbitrary: *ποῖον βέλτιον κατασκευάσα ὡς πηλὸν κεραμέως; μὴ ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριάσει τὴν γῆν ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν* (probably conjectural from xxviii. 24.) The Arabic is, according to the Hebrew: *wo to him that quarrelleth with his maker, and doth not know that he is made of a potter's sherd*. The first member is according to Theodotion; *οὐαὶ ὁ κρινόμενος μετὰ τοῦ πλάσσοντος αὐτόν*; in the second the intermediate Greek version, (probably Symmachus, Aquila,) is lost to us, for Theodotion also has here, *ἀροτριῶν τοὺς ἀροτριῶντας τὴν γῆν*.—lxvi. 17; here the Hebrew *בְּתַר רִחַק רִחַק* is expressed in the Septuagint merely by

ἐν τοῖς πρόθυροις, which the old Vulgate gives in the words *in liminibus*. The Arabic follows a more complete text : before the doors, and in the enclosed hedges, (*septa sacra*?)—The place LX. 5, has been already touched on above, when treating of the Vulgate.—ix. 6 : This is a case, worthy of notice, where a Christian doctrine, the divinity of Christ, is brought before us. In this text, where the Vatican, followed by the old Vulgate, reads, very widely different from the original, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος· ἄξω γὰρ εἰρήνην εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὑγίαιαν αὐτῷ, this Arabic version follows, as in general, the Alexandrine text : καλέσει τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, μέγας, βουλῆς ἄγγελος, θαυμαστός, σύμβουλος, ἰσχυρὸς (ἦ), ἐξουσιαστής, ἄρχων εἰρήνης, κατὰ τὸ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄξω εἰρήνην καὶ ὑγίαν αὐτοῦ, which, through its exceedingly great completeness and the union of the old reading with that of Theodotion, cannot at all be denied to be of Hexaplar origin, only instead of ἰσχυρὸς it expresses θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς. This reading, in which θεὸς is plainly introduced, (for ἦ is expressed by ἰσχυρὸς ἐξουσιαστής,) is found in the Aldine and Complutensian texts, and with the fathers, who strenuously defended it, and cried out against the Jews for corrupting the text.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Thus it is cited in the epistle of IGHATIUS to the Antiochians, cap. 3.* IRENAEUS adv. Haeres. iv. 66: et vocabitur nomen ejus, admirabilis, consiliarius, Deus fortis cet. EUSEBIUS DEMON. Evang. vii. p. 208, edit. ROB. STEPH., accompanied, however, by the observation, that it stands so only in some manuscripts. After he has quoted the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, he proceeds thus: ἡ Ἐβραίων φωνὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ ἰσχυρὸς ἢ περιέχον δι' ἃ σημαίνεται ὁ θεός. Πάλαχού γὰρ τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ κειμένου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μετὰ χεῖρας ὁμοίως περιέχεται ὥστε διὰ ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς καὶ θεὸς ἀνογοῦνται τὸ γενηθῆναι ἡμῖν παιδίων ἡμῖς τῶν ἰουκ ἂν ἡμάρτομεν, θεὸν δυνατὸν ἡμηνύσαι. In his commentary on this place he merely mentions the old common reading. THEODORET Opp. T. ii. p. 235, edit. SCHOLEX : ἵνα τῷ θεομάτῳ τὸ μῦθον, θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς. Τοῦτο δὲ καταργήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀβελαν, ἰσχυρὸς δυνατὸς ἡμηνύσαν· κῆται δὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἐβραίων ἡλγαβίος· τὸ δὲ ἢ θεός, κατὰ τὴν τούτων ἡμηνύσαν· τὸ γὰρ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός Ἐμμαουὺ καίματος, ὅπως ἡμηνύσαν.

* [COTLEBIUS, Ed. Ant. 1700, vol. ii. p. 110. This is one of the supposititious epistles. Tr.]

Some instances of evident variations I should prefer ascribing to a somewhat free translation. For example, in vii. 20, the Septuagint, according to the Alexandrine manuscript, is, ἐν τῷ ξυρτῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ μεμεθυσμένῳ; the Arabic, *with his great SHARP razor*. This is an explanation of the poetic figure, (which may have been interpreted by xxxiv. 5,) and is found also in the Syriac, according to Ephraim's reading, (ܫܪܦܝܐ, *sharp*), in the Chaldee, and in Saadiah.—xxii. 3, ἢ ἀλόντες σκληρῶς δεδεδεμένοι ἐσὶ. Arabic, *and those who fall* (namely, into their hands,) *will be harshly bound*.—Sometimes he entirely misunderstands the Greek text, an instance of which occurs in xxvi. 14, יִרְקוּ אֶל דִּיאָבֵל, ἰατροὶ ὅτι μὴ ἀναστήσουσι. Here the Vulgate has correctly, *neque medici resuscitabunt* (*sc. mortuum*), but the Arabic version is, *the physicians do not stand up*: a Greek gloss must therefore have been introduced, which expressed the Hebrew יִרְקוּ, (perhaps by ἀναστήσονται.) In other places his reading is no less erroneous than that of the common text. This is the case in v. 17, where the Hebrew דַּחַם תֹּרֶחֶם is expressed by τὰς ἐρήμους τῶν ἀπειλημένων, (of those who are taken or carried away,) which certainly can hardly be right and founded on the Hebrew text. And the Arabic is no better: *the fragments of the threatened*; and the translator may have had before his eyes the reading in bad Greek ἀπειλημένων, (which occurs in the *Cod. Alex.*) and have derived it from ἀπειλέω, which could give no such form, as it must have made ἀπειλουμένων. The true reading is, as I conjecture, ἀπηλειμένων, (which might easily be corrupted into ἀπειλημένων, especially, if read according to the itacism,) from ἀπαλείφω, to wipe away, to destroy. The Septuagint translators use this word in three places for the Hebrew אָהַרַב, (Gen. vi. 7. iv Kings, xxi. 13. Isa. xliv. 21,) from which they have here deduced דַּחַם, which they may have read as if it had been pointed דַּחַח.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ BOCHART, who, in his *Hierozoicon*, T. i. p. 524, edit. Lips., has examined this place, wishes to read ἀπαλειφόμενον. In reference to the verb this is admissible, but he gives no reasons for the alteration, and it is too remote from the letters of the word in question. ROSENMÜLLER

II. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS AND OF THE JEWISH RABBINS.*

§ 7.

Expositions of the Fathers.

BEFORE the time of ORIGEN, we find nothing in the fathers, except some occasional observations of a doctrinal kind, intended to illustrate the places which are referred to the Messiah, and these observations are generally of a polemical character, and directed against the Jews. See the introduction to ch. vii.⁴⁶ From the age of Origen, whose works on Isaiah are almost entirely lost,⁴⁷ to the middle of the fifth century,

endeavours to defend the usual reading: "instead of the allegorical, the translator has given the proper reading, understanding by *fat ones*, or furnished with marrow, (דִּי־חֵמֶה,) rich persons carried away to foreign countries." According to SCHNEIDER (Griech. Wörterb. ii. 158,) ἀνυλαμίνος is derived also from ἀνυλία, equivalent to ἀνύλλω, *to drive into straits, to embarrass*, and the Arabic translator may have used the present reading, if he had had this derivation and meaning before his eyes. But the knowledge of an ancient and unusual term is not to be taken for granted in a translator of so modern a date.

* There is a very accurate list of the older commentaries until the year 1754 in CALMET's *Bibl. Biblioth.*, and another in his *Dictionary of the Bible*.

⁴⁶ Through the limited diffusion of the N. T., and on account of the very frequent discussions with the Jews, the most ancient Christian writers attach an extraordinary value to the proof-places from the O. T. See J. G. ROSENMÜLLER's *Hist. Interpretationis librorum sacrorum in ecclesia Christiana*, Tom. i. p. 231, and compare Cramer, *Historia sententiarum de sacra librorum V. T. auctoritate ad Christianos spectante*. Lips. 1819. 4, Comment. I. p. 32.

⁴⁷ He had written on Isaiah in the three methods which were usual in his time, that is to say, a commentary in 30 books, extending to xxx. 6., Scholia, (σμμωσεις,) and 25 Homilies. Some of the last are still extant. See ORIGENIS *Opera*, Edit. DE LA RUE, T. III. ORIG. *Comment.* Edit. HUET. Rothomagi, 1668. Hieron. *Praef. ad Jes.* He is, most probably, the source from which many interpreters have drawn, and

(for after this period interpreters merely compiled from the works of their predecessors,) we meet with a small succession of commentators among the fathers, all of whom unite in making the received version the subject of their interpretations, and, with the exception of JEROME, in betraying an almost total ignorance of the original text. They find, also, numerous definite prophecies relating to the New Testament and later Christian periods, and add to the historical sense an allegorical and mystical one, which they, in a greater or less degree, consider as the principal meaning. In the interpretations advanced remarkable agreement appears conspicuous in all these commentators, because the later made so much use of the earlier.⁴⁸ Still, however, their importance is not confined to the aid they afford to the history of interpretation, and to the materials which they add to the documents of the times; the modern critic may discover among them grains of gold. With regard to the more remarkable proof-places which relate to doctrine, it is necessary, in addition to those writers who are professedly exegetical, to examine also the dogmatic and apologetic works, because such places are generally treated in them much more extensively.

1. Among the Greek Fathers the first who followed the steps of Origen was EUSEBIUS, whose *Ἐκπονήματα εἰς Ἡσάϊαν* was first made public by MONTFAUÇON.⁴⁹ He had the Hexapla before him; he compares very largely Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion with the Septuagint, and connects the

particularly Jerome.—Other expositors, now lost, are, DIDYMUS, who explained XL—LXVI. in 18 volumes, and APOLLINARIUS, who merely gave brief views of the contents, (See Jer. Praef.) also EUSEBIUS of Emesa, and THEODORUS of Heraclea, who are cited in the *Catenae*. See MONTFAUÇON, Coll. Nov. Patrum, T. II. p. 350.

⁴⁸ See, for example, CYRILL, THEODORET, JEROME, EPHRAËM SYRUS, on [VI. 1, 3. VII. 14, where the agreement is almost verbal. Comp. Note 58.

⁴⁹ BERN. DE MONTFAUÇON, Coll. nova patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum (Paris, 1706, II Tom. fol.) T. I. p. 357 ss. with an introduction. Very many passages are also illustrated in the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, especially in the 7th and 9th books.

literal interpretation with the allegorical, although he professes to consider the former as his principal object.⁵⁰ Sometimes he coincides with Jewish interpretations, as, for example, on vii. 8, and at others he controverts them, as on v. 20. Like most of the fathers, he is fond of tracing in history the accomplishment of every portion of predictions however minute, and hence the real historical point of view is, of course, entirely lost.⁵¹ The commentary of Eusebius is very extensively used, and is in fact transcribed in an exposition of i—xvi, attributed to BASIL the great, who died in the year

⁵⁰ JEROME, on xviii. 1, says of him: "Eusebius of Cæsarea, after he had pledged himself in his title to give a historical interpretation, runs out into various senses, and upon reading his work, I found it very different from what the title promised. For whenever history fails him, he passes on to allegory, and connects subjects which have no affinity in such a way, that I am surprised at his joining together in a novel manner of discourse stone and iron in one "mass." In truth, however, Jerome himself does not succeed much better; only he generally makes a distinction between the literal sense and the tropical.

⁵¹ Wherever any thing occurs which relates to destruction, he understands it of the Roman devastations under Titus, as in i. 5 ss. xix. 2, refers to the introduction of Christianity into Egypt, and the difficulties and contentions which arose; vi. 9, 10, to the obduracy of the Jews in the time of Christ. In the present day, we should certainly consider many of these applications as irrelative; as, for example, that of iii. 4, to the childish folly of the Rabbins and Jewish leaders, that of xviii. 1, (after Symmachus,) to the Jewish emissaries and proselyte-makers, that of xix. 1, to Christ's journey into Egypt, where the light cloud is the body of Christ himself born of the virgin. Some of these interpretations, however, contain historical information of real utility. Thus, from xliv. 5, we learn, that the Gentile Christians, when they suffered martyrdom, were accustomed to give themselves scriptural names; from xlix. 23, that the secular officers of the provinces, who had formerly persecuted the Christians, then, at the emperor's command, bent themselves and bowed the knee in the churches with profound humility, and were attentive in supplying the wants of the spiritual.—It is not unimportant in reference to the history of doctrines, that no mention is made of the Trinity in vi. 3, the threefold repetition being understood as indicative of emphasis. [And as this repetition may very well be thus explained, (comp. Jer. xxii. 29. Esek. xxi. 27,) the omission to notice the doctrine of the Trinity can hardly be adduced as evidence that Eusebius did not believe it. That it was the doctrine of the church in his day is undeniable. Tr.]

379.* The genuineness of this work, however, which in an early period was doubted, has been denied in our own time for reasons of no slight weight; and both on account of its tediousness and of its contents, which are, for the most part, of a moral and allegorical character, it has but little value.⁵² The interpretation (*ἑρμηνεία*), which CHRYSOSTOM has left of the first eight chapters is preferable, to which may be added six homilies on vi. 1.⁵³ The commentary of CYRILL of Alexandria, who died in the year 444, is not so tiresome as that of the same writer on the Pentateuch, but, notwithstanding all its prolixity, (it occupies a tolerably large folio volume,) it contains but little that is really solid and to the purpose.⁵⁴ Yet he has not altogether neglected the literal explanation of the Septuagint, (which he seems to have cited according to the text antecedent to the time of Origen,) and the grammatical application of the Jewish history; but of the other versions he makes no use at all.⁵⁵ But all the other writers in the Greek church are inferior to Cyrill's cotemporary, THEODORET, who was suspected of heterodoxy, and who died in the year 457. The substance of his commentaries on Isaiah has been published by JOHN SIRMOND from the Catenae, yet so that some parts of them seem to belong to THEODORE of Mopsuestia.⁵⁶ The reader will find here all that can be ex-

* [Cave, in his literary history, vol. i. p. 239, says, about the year 370. Tr.]

⁵² See the writer of the Catenæ, JOHN DRUNGAR in MONTFAUÇON'S Nova Coll. T. II. p. 351. Then, particularly GARNIER'S Præf. in T. 1. Opp. BASILI MAG. p. 47—63. The exposition is in T. 1. pp. 378—617, Opp. Edit. GARNIER.

⁵³ See Tom. I. p. 1016, T. V. p. 127, Edit. SAVILL. [T. VI. Edit. MONT.] Some of the homilies are considered as spurious. See SIXTI SESSIUS, Bibl. s. IV. p. 326.

⁵⁴ CYRILLI Alex. Opp. T. II. Edit. AUBERT (Lutet. 1638, fol.) Compare ROSENMÜLLER'S Hist. IV. 142 ss., SCHROECKH'S Kirchengeschichte XVII. S. 327. He generally coincides with the Vatican manuscript against the Alexandrine, as, for example, in that principal text ix. 6, whereby he loses the important proof-place for Christ's divinity.

⁵⁵ See Theod. Opp. Ed. Sirmond, T. II. and Edit. J. L. Schultze (Halae, 1770, 8vo.) T. II. pp. 165—402. Compare Cave, Hist.

pected, in a commentator on the Septuagint merely, and in the condition of biblical interpretation at that period; viz. historical and philological illustrations drawn from the other books of Scripture, analogous figures and scriptural representations, and frequent comparisons of the other Greek versions. The author confines himself to the Alexandrine text of the Septuagint, refers to the Hebrew only in difficult and classic places, (see p. 105 on ix. 6;) but sometimes he uses even the Syriac, as, for example, on viii. 21. (Comp. also on Dan. viii. 23.) That in certain places, however, as vii. ix. xi. liii. no historical interpretation is to be expected, but only a prophetic one, is in no degree surprising.—The commentary of PROCOPIUS of Gaza, a teacher of eloquence in the 6th century, brings into one view the best of the old Greek expositors, and may therefore be called a *Catena*, although he adds also original observations. It is of importance for the criticism of the Septuagint and of the other Greek versions.⁵⁶ Of the later catenae on Isaiah nothing has been printed.⁵⁷

2. Of the Latin church, we have only one single commentary extant, that of JEROME, in 18 books, written in the year 410. See on vi. 1. But on account of its copiousness, and because it is the only one which goes back to the Hebrew text,

Lit. Scrip. Eccles. p. 235, and Schultze's Praef. ad T. i. The complete commentary is to be found, according to the notice contained in catalogues, in some Italian libraries, and yet the Halle editor troubled himself to no purpose, either to get possession of it, or to obtain any certain account of it. See Praef. ad T. ii. pp. 8—11. Respecting Theodoret as an interpreter generally, compare Rosenmüller, *ubi sup.* iv. p. 38 ss.

⁵⁶ PROCOPII GAZAEI variorum in Esaiam prophetam commentariorum epitome, Graece et Latine edit. Jo. CUPERIUS, Paris. 1560, fol. comp. ROSENMÜLLER *ubi sup.* iv. p. 284 ss., SCHROEDER, xvii. p. 530, SIMON *Bibl. crit.* (Amstelsd. 1708, 12mo.) T. i. p. 179, and *Lettres choisies*, iv. p. 122 ss.

⁵⁷ See the notices in FABRICII *Bib. Graec.* vol. vii. cap. 17, p. 754. Respecting a catena of JOHN DRYGAIAR, (Ἰωάννης τῆς Δρυζαίου,) see MONTFAUCON, *Collect. Patr.* ii. pp. 360, 351.

it is the most important of all.⁵⁸ Much of it is borrowed from Eusebius, and in part literally translated,⁵⁹ and probably much more from Origen. He adds the commentary to his own translation, which he had published before, and which he illustrates, philologically, historically and tropologically. The philological or critical part of his illustration consists in this, that he often gives the variations in the Septuagint, in the three other Greek translations, and in the old Vulgate, and then goes back to the Hebrew for explanations, which are certainly of very unequal tenor and value. He is particularly remarkable for frequently advancing the most forced etymology of proper names, in order to support a mystical signification.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ It is in Hieron. Opp. T. v. Edit. Francof. T. III. Edit. MARTIANI, P. IV. Edit. VALLARS. Compare (ENGELSTOFT) Hieronymus interpres, criticus, exegeta, apologeta, cet. (Hannæ, 1787, 8vo.) pp. 129 ss., from which the view given by ROSENMÜLLER, ubi sup. III. pp. 345 ss., is taken, and my Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache, S. 92. Jerome mentions as his predecessor in the Latin church (Præf. ad Jes.) the martyr Victorinus, whom he names as *not eloquent, but learned, etsi imperitum sermone, non tamen scientia.*

⁵⁹ Comp. EUSEBIUS and JEROME on I. 8, 17, 21. III. 4, 12. V. 13. VI. 11. VII. 15, 18. XI. 3, 7. XII. 1. XVII. 1, 6. XIX. 1, 12, 18, 19, 23, &c., MONTFAUCON, in his notes on Eusebius, has noticed many places.

⁶⁰ Some examples of good and important philological expositions are the following: On the word יָחִיד in I. 1. "Non solum autem hic propheta, sed et alii, cum habeant in titulo, *visio quam vidi Esaias sive Abdias, non inferunt quia viderint, v. e. vidi dominum Sabaoth, cet., sed quæ dicta sunt, narrant, id est: 'audi cælum et ausculta terra.'* Propheta enim prius dicebantur *videntes, cet.*" He means to say, that יָחִיד does not apply merely to visions, as in ch. vi. but also to oracular declarations. See afterwards on the paronomasia in v. 7, on פָּנֵי אֲדָמָה , for *land* in XIII. 5, and בָּבֶל in XIII. 11, for *Babylon*. But along with these illustrations we find others so wretched and doubtful, and only half true or not at all so, as to make his statements of but little value. Thus on VII. 12, he says: "Juxta Hebræi sermonis ambiguitatem pro *non tentabo Dominum* possit legi *non exaltabo Dominum*. He refers to a commutation of נִסְּבָה and נִסְּבָה . On VII. 14, he first explains *alma* by "virgo *abscondita* et secreta, quæ nunquam virorum patuerit aspectibus, sed magna parentum diligentia custodita sit;" contrary to the usage of language and from a false etymology, although admitted by modern writers. Jerome proceeds further: "Lingua quoque Punica. *alma* de Hebræorum fontibus manare dicitur, proprie virgo *alma* appellatur." Importance has

In a historical point of view, he has this great fault, that he can scarcely ever place himself in the circumstances and feel the relations of the period of which he is writing, that he considers every place as if it were disjoined from the others, entirely confounds delineations of the present and predictions of the future, and is too much inclined to refer the latter to remote periods.⁶¹ He frequently adds, moreover, illustrations and traditions, which had been communicated to him by his Rabbinical instructor, and which are found again in the Rabbins, as a proof of a constant tradition.⁶² From his remarks

been attached to this remark, but let us read further: "Et ut risum præbeamus Judæis, nostro quoque sermone *alma* sancta dicitur, omnium pene linguarum verbis utuntur Hebræi. Ut et illud in *Cantico Canticorum* de Græco φεγγίσι (פְּרָקִים, III. 9.) id est *ferculum* sibi fecit Salomo, quod et in Hebræo ita legimus. Verbum quoque *nugas* [נִגְזָל Zeph. III. 18. *those that are removed*,] et *mensuram* (מְסֻרָה, a *measure*,) Hebræi eodem modo et iisdem usurpant sensibus" (†). Compare XIII. 1, on מְסֻרָה, which he translates *onus*, because it consists merely of burdensome predictions, and such as bring destruction; also others of the same sort. The remark which is made on II. 16. is given merely as Jewish opinion, but certainly it is without the least weight: "Hebræi putant, lingua propria sua mare *tarsis* appellari, quando autem dicitur jam, non hebraico sermone appellari, sed Syriaco. Comp. תַּרְסִיס".

Unfortunate etymologies are these: "*Misraim*, Μελισσῶνα, *tribulans*, XII. 1; *Memphis*, i. e. *os, ex ore*, (מִן הַפִּי, read *memphi*;) *Canaan, commotio* or *quasi respondens*, XII. 18; *Hierusalem*, i. e. *visio pacis*, I. 1; *Basan*, i. e. *αἰσχύνη*. Many of these are probably taken from Philo's significations of scriptural names, which Origen and Jerome afterwards translated. See my *Geschichte der Hebr. Spr.* S. 83. They are too poor to be attributed to Jerome's Hebrew teacher.

Jerome has, moreover, written the Hebrew words in Latin characters, and hence some editions have attached an erroneous punctuation to the Hebrew writing. See SIMON, *Lettres choisies*, T. I. p. 301, and compare ep. 20 ad Damasum.

⁶¹ Thus he refers I. 5—7 to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, II. 8, to the condition of Ælia Capitolina, the corrupters of wine, I. 22, to the Pharisees and heretics; the new judges, I. 26, to the Apostles; II. 4, to the peace which prevailed in the Roman empire at the time of Christ. Comp. LUTHER's judgment respecting such historical expositions, in § 9. So much less value should we attach to his opinion with respect to the arrangement of the Collection. See Einleit. S. 18. [§ 3.]

⁶² See on I. 10. VI. 1. VII. 8. XIII. 10. XIV. 19, XX. 6. Something of this sort is found in Eusebius, for example, on VII. 8. But when there is

also which relate to geography and antiquities, most valuable information may be obtained.⁶¹ But altogether insipid is his allegorical and mystical interpretation, ("tropologia,") the greater part of which he probably borrowed from Origen, respecting the value of which he expresses, with his usual inconsistency, very different opinions, but which nevertheless he seems to estimate very highly, and to consider as the most important.⁶² His mode of treatment also is very dissimilar. Sometimes he gives almost exclusively historical interpretations, as, for instance on xiii. 14, and sometimes nothing but tropological, as on xix. ; so that the reader can hardly believe that he has only one writer before him. A multitude of these interpretations relate to views and circumstances, which belong to events connected with Christianity.⁶³

any opposition to Christian views, he contends the point with earnestness. See, for instance, ii. 22.

⁶¹ See on *Ægyptus* in xix. 7, on *Ægyptus* in xix. 10, and on the state of Babylon in xiii, at the end. On the other hand, it is extraordinary that he should identify *Rabla* i. xiii. 1, with Antioch.

⁶² Præf. ; " Post historię veritatem spiritualiter accipienda sunt omnia: et sic Judæa et Jerusalem, Babylon et Philistim, Moab et Damascus, Ægyptus et desertum mare, Idumæa et Arabia, ac vallis Sion vel vallis visionis et ad extremum Tyrus et visio quadrupedum (xxx. 6.) intelligenda sunt, ut cuncta quæramus in sensu: et in omnibus his, quasi sapiens Paulus Apostolus jaciatur fundamentum, quod non est aliud, nisi Christus Jesus." On xiv. 1, 2, he calls the historical interpretation which he had given, an eating of dust in the manner of the serpent, "*in modum serpentis terram comedo.*" On the contrary xiii. 19, and vii. 11, he expresses himself thus: " Legi in cujusdam commentariis hunc locum per allegoriam extenuatum, sed nos elixas agni carnes non comedimus, verum assas: et quæ in nobis possint omnes voluptatum siccitate pituitas, re sacramentum fidei nostræ, dum plus sapimus, quam oportet sapere, negligamus."

⁶³ The firebrands in vii. 4, show him the wisdom of this world, philosophy and heresy, the end of which is burning (in hell); in vii. 6, Marcion is denoted, who wished to set the son of the good God (מַרְכּוֹן) for his Christ, but whose attempt proved abortive. By Egypt in ch. xix. we are not to understand the country of that name, for then much of the prophecy would not be appropriate, as, for instance c. 24, but it should be explained of the wicked world and sinful spirit of the age.

3. On the Syriac version we have a commentary in the same language by the celebrated **EPHRAÏM**, the Syrian, who died A. D. 378.⁶ Although his expositions are brief and not in all respects complete, yet, so far as relates to a correct apprehension of the historic sense, he is far superior to his predecessors in the Greek church, which no doubt was greatly owing to the superiority of the translation that was the subject of his commentary. Like Jerome, he usually gives, in the first place, and where the passages do not relate to the Messiah, simply the historic sense, to which he then adds the prophetic. Some examples from VII—IX, may be sufficient to show his manner.

On the words in VII. 15, "before the child shall know to distinguish between good and evil, the land shall be forsaken, &c." he comments thus: "also the land was really forsaken by the two kings. But he rather intends to declare, that the country, that is, the Jewish nation, was forsaken, previously to the time when the son of Mary was able to distinguish good from evil." Here he has in mind the fact, that the Jews were, at the time of Christ's birth, in subjection to the Romans, and obliged to pay capitation-tax.

On VIII. 1, "write thereon with a man's pen," (in the Syriac, "a man's writing,") he remarks: "that is, not with writing which is hard to be read, but make the strokes distinct, so that they may be clearly seen; thus write it with a man's writing, that is, such as shall be clear and intelligible to every man."

On v. 4: "Before the son of Isaiah shall be old enough to call father and mother, Tiglathpileser shall come, and put to death Rezin, king of Damascus, and in a short time, in the days of Pekah, will lead away captive the Samaritans."

and the light cloud r. 1, of the body of the holy virgin Mary, which carried Christ, in order to conquer them.

⁶ The commentary on Isaiah may be found in T. II. pp. 20—97 of the edition of his works by the three Maronites J., S., and St. Ev. **ASSEMAN**, and **PETRE BENOÏCT**, published at Rome, 1732—46, in 6 vols. fol. The Latin translation is in the second volume by the last named scholar, and is rather a free paraphrase, with a good deal of extraneous matter.

On ix. 6: "A child is born to us, a son is given to us."— "Although some parts of what is here said" (meaning, of what follows,) "apply to Hezekiah, yet there are other parts which are not applicable to him. And even in those which do apply to him, there is reference to the mysteries of his Lord, who should appear in his land." Afterwards, on the appellation, *prince of peace*: "this applies to Hezekiah, on account of his mildness. *The increase of his government* refers to the prolongation of his life (Is. xxxviii. 5.), and *the perpetuity of peace* applies to our Lord (Christ).

V. 7: "*Even for ever*. This is to be understood as in the salutation, let my lord, the king, live forever." See Neh. ii. 3. Dan. ii. 4. He means to say, that it signifies a long time, and is not to be taken literally.

From the total want of all definite principles of interpretation, the reader will find, along with these interpretations of the better class,* some others which are certainly of the most extravagant kind. For example, he refers the mountain, mentioned in ii. 2, to Golgotha, consecrated by the death of Christ, the union of the wolf and lamb, in xi. 6, to the Christian church, the wolf denoting heretics, and xi. 7, to the common enjoyment of the body of Christ in the eucharist.—"*The lion eats straw like the ox*: this teaches us, that the righteous along with the sinful will eat of the living body on the altar."

In this commentary fragments of other Syriac interpreters are occasionally interpolated, as, for instance, that of St. Jacob in vi. 7. These are usually in the spirit of the interpretations last quoted.⁶⁷

* [The looseness of the author's principles on the subject of prophecy, would lead him to consider as most correct, those illustrations, which limited the prophet's views to events nearly or quite contemporaneous with his own age. This remark may serve as a caution to the reader, and dispose him to qualify some of the author's observations. Tr.]

⁶⁷ In what spirit the ABBOT JOACHIM, who died A. D. 1202, and who was so renowned for his apocalyptic dreams, and the holy THOMAS AQUINAS must have commented on Isaiah, may be judged of from the

§ 8.

Rabbinical Expositions.

A *second* class of the old expositors is formed by the Rab-
bins. Although these writers began to be distinguished and
flourished principally from the 12th to the 15th century, yet,
in addition to their own views, they contain those of the
more ancient interpreters, as is proved by the coincidence of
their illustrations with what the fathers have occasionally
given from Jewish expositions. All of them are superior to
the fathers as grammatical and historical commentators, and
the weak and exceedingly tasteless allegorical and cabbalisti-
cal manner of expounding which distinguished the earlier
ages, begins with many of them to give place to an improved
system of interpretation.⁶⁸

1. The way to such a method of explaining scripture was
opened in the latter half of the 12th century by the two co-
temporaries, *Jarchi* (Rashi) and *Aben Ezra*, both of whom
composed complete commentaries on the Old Testament.
The former⁶⁹ adheres closely to the Chaldee version, which
is generally his guide in showing the sense. He gives also
historical illustrations, and for the most part follows those,
however insipid, which tradition had sanctioned. As he was
a strong Talmudist, these were very familiar to him, and he
does not rise above them. He frequently gives the corres-

known character of these men, their education, learning, habits of
thought, and whole mental constitution. The exposition of the former
was printed at Cologne in 1577, 4to, and that of the latter at Lyons in
1531.

⁶⁸ See particularly *ABEN EZRA'S* Preface to the Pentateuch, and
compare *SIMON'S* Hist. Crit. du V. T. L. III. c. 3.

⁶⁹ His work is contained in *Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible* (Basil. 1618,
1619, 4 vol. fol.) along the margin of the Hebrew and Chaldee texts.
It was printed also at Thessalonica in 1600, and at Verona in 1661.

ponding words in his vernacular tongue, the French, which, as they are written in Hebrew characters, are often extremely puzzling.⁷⁰ He is also in other respects sometimes obscure, so that the very careful Latin translation which has been made of his work, and which is accompanied by learned annotations, is a very acceptable assistance.⁷¹—Far superior to him is *Aben Ezra*⁷² in respect to independence of mind, freedom from prejudice, correct exegetical views, and thorough knowledge of the language. Although he does not reject the use of traditional interpretations, and generally touches the prejudices of his people with caution, yet every where the reflecting grammatical and historical interpreter shows himself, and as such he stands unrivalled in his nation. He is acquainted also with the Arabic language, which he often happily employs to throw light on the Hebrew.⁷³

As no accurate representation of the different character of these commentators can be obtained from the quotations of particular passages which are made in the commentary that follows this introduction, I will here present to the reader the most important remarks of both on chap. vi. 1—6, and vii: 1—9, in order to enable him to make a comparison.

JARCHI.

vi. 1. The year of Uzziah's death is the year in which he became leprous. God sat on his throne in heaven, and his feet were placed upon the ark of the covenant in the tem-

⁷⁰ For example, פוּסֵר פוּסֵר, טִצְוֹנֵשׁ and טִצְוֹנֵשׁ tisons, טַנְיָשׁוֹט engraisant, בְּרוֹצֵשׁ broses.

⁷¹ R. SALOMONIS JARCHI, ר' ירמיהו דיקטי, commentarius Hebraicus, in prophetas majores et minores, ut et Jobum et Psalmos, Latine versus atque notis criticis et philologicis illustratus, a Jo. FRID. BREITHAUP. Gothae, 1713. 4to.

⁷² Printed in BUXTORF's Bible. vol. iii. fol. 511—520 after Isaiah; also separately at Venice in 1526, fol., and at Basil in 1619.

⁷³ He is not here, however, to be implicitly trusted. See on v. 2 and comp. iii. 9.

ple. He sat to pronounce sentence on Uzziah.—2. The Seraphim stood במַעַל, that is, in heaven, וְלִי, in order to serve him. The covering of the feet was done from modesty, that the whole body should not be exposed.—3. *One cried to the other*: that is, they gave each other (the more exalted angels gave to the lower) the permission to begin, that one should not begin before the other, and the burning be faulty. (In the Synagogues something like this took place.) The three-fold holy is to be illustrated after the Targum.—4. אַמּוֹת is used for the posts, because they were measured with the cubit, אַמָּה. The quaking of the threshold refers to the earthquake which God sent in the time of Uzziah, (Zech. xiv. 5.) as a punishment on account of his sins.—5. טַמְאֵי, comp. Judg. xiii. 22. Zeph. i. 11. *Of unclean lips, that is, defiled by sins*.—6. רִצְפָה and רִצְפָּי occur here, and in Kings xiv. 6, in Elijah; in other places it is written with שׁ. Whence comes the צ? This is used in Isaiah and Elijah, in places where they bring unfounded accusations (דילטוריא delatoria) against Israel. Wherefore God spoke to an angel: ‘smite (רצוץ) the mouth of this prophet.’ Hence the צ (! !).—7. The touch with the coal must be chastisement. But what was the prophet’s strength, that the coal, which the angel was obliged to take up with the tongs, could be applied to his mouth without injuring him! In Tanchuma it is: stronger than the angels are they who do his word, these are the prophets.—8. *Whom shall I send?* I have, saith God, sent Amos, but the Jews called him a stutterer, because he had a stammering tongue. (See Rashi on Amos vii. 14.)

vii. 1. Why is the genealogy of Ahaz placed here? The scripture intends us to understand, that God has delivered him on account of his pious ancestors. Because he himself was irreligious, he is not mentioned in v. 2, but *the house of David*.—2. נָחָה is feminine, in reference to בְּלִכְנָה. He was the more terrified, because he had already sustained a defeat. See II Chron. xxviii. 6. It is said in Bereshit Rabba, that the unproductive trees are more agitated than the fruitful.—3. שאר ישוב בנך, the remainder, who will become converted

by means of Isaiah, they shall be my children. *Fuller's field*; after Jonathan. The Rabbins say, that Ahaz humbled himself before Isaiah, because he had covered over his head with a *fuller's* lie strainer. Sanhed. fol. 104, l.—4. חֲסָמָה, that is, be at rest, like wine on its lees, (עַל יִצְמָרִי.)—6. וְקִינָה, we will excite them by war, וְנִבְקִינָה, we will make it even, like a plain, (בְּקָעָה,) that they, like us, may be subjected to one king. *Ben Tabel*: according to Jonathan, the son that pleases us (טוֹב אֵלַי); it may also be explained thus: who is not good in the sight of God. According to the Gematry, *Tabel* is *Albam*, equivalent to רִמְלָא, thus: the son of Remlus.—8. For the computation of the sixty-five years see the commentary in loc.

ABEN EZRA.

VI. 1. The ancients tell us, that death is here put for leprosy, and understand it of the leprosy of Uzziah which was inflicted on him as a punishment for burning incense. But it may be explained, according to the literal meaning of the word, of Isaiah's beginning to prophecy in the last year of Uzziah's life: and then this will be the first prophecy. The train is that belonging to the throne, for it is usual with kings to spread long vestments over their thrones.—2. *Seraphim* (burning ones): these are so called, because they *burned* his mouth. מַפְעֵל לוֹ is equivalent to עָלָיו around him, on the right and left, as is the practice with great kings. *The covering of the face* is to be taken as that of the feet in Moses, (Ex. xxxiii. 22.) it is a mark of honour.—3. It must not be concluded from הָ, וְהָ אֵל, that there were only two of them; there are many. The threefold repetition signifies, that they *constantly* thus cried, as in Jer. vii. 4, xxx. 29, הִכַּל יְהוָה and אֵץ are three times repeated.—4. It is to be observed that וַיִּנְעוּ is in the past time, and יִפְלֵא in the future, as is usual with Hebrew writers, for the sake of elegance (?).—5. נִרְמִיתִי is synonymus with נִקְרַחְתִּי. He applies the phrase, *of unclean lips*, to the people, who were impure in language and conduct.—6.

וַיִּעַר with *Kametz-chatuph* from עָרָה, וַיִּעַר from עָרָה. Pure, not ordinary fire, was upon the altar.—7. The sin of the prophet, which was expiated, consisted of sinful words, since he had spoken as men of the world.—8. מִי יֵלֶךְ לָנוּ is spoken by Jehovah to the Seraphs; hence the plural לָנוּ.—We see also from what is said, that this must be the first oracle, because before it the prophet was unclean.

vii. 1. לֹא יָכַל refers to Rezin. Comp. v. 2.—2. Ephraim stands for the kingdom of the ten tribes, because the kings were originally taken from this tribe.—3. *Shear Jashub* is the name of the prophet's son, as I explain it, (כָּאֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר־עָרָה.) The derivation of the prophet's name from בָּנָה is ungrammatical,—4. הַשְּׂמֵרָה (*Milra*) means: remain on thy lees; but הַשְּׂמֵרָה (*Milel*) has the signification of, watch, preserve.—6. *The son of Tabeel*: some say that this stands for רַמְלָא, but this is trifling. The truth is, it is the name of some Syrian or Israelitish nobleman.

This may be sufficient to show, how little honour it does to the taste and judgment of the Jews, when they prefer the superstitious and often trifling Jarchi to the clear thinking and investigating Aben Ezra.

2. Much more extensive than both these writers is the commentary of DAVID KIMCHI on the prophets.⁷⁴ He flourished about ten years later, and endeavours to unite the most important matter of both his predecessors. To grammatical illustration he adds various meanings, and introduces prolix controversial questions, without any connexion, on points of history and doctrine. His work contains also several polemic places directed against the Christians, whom he calls מְגִידִים, *heretics*, against whom he probably inherited a hatred from his father, *Joseph Kimchi*, who was the author of many controversial works. These places are usually suppressed in the printed editions by the censor, and in manuscripts they are

⁷⁴ His commentary is printed in the Rabbinical Bibles of BOMBIC and BUXTORF, on the margin of the text. WOLF has given a list of the various editions. See *Bibl. Heb.* T. i. p. 301. A Latin translation of the Commentary on Isaiah by CESAR MALANIMEUS appeared at Florence in 1774.

in part erased, both by the Christians through polemic zeal, and by the Jews themselves through fear of the inquisitorial and other persecutions.* Such places in Isaiah are, II. 18, where the Christians are called idolators, because they worship the image of Christ; XXV. 3. XXVI. 5. XXXIV. 1, ss. LXIII. 1, ss., where Edom, devoted to destruction, is explained of Rome, the chief city of Christendom; XLIX. 6. LIII. 1, ss. VII. 14, ss., where the reference to Christ is opposed; LXVI. 17, where the self-consecration of the idolators is applied to the sign of the cross made by Christians, who are also identified with the eaters of swine's flesh. It is, at the same time, evident from this, that his exposition must, in part, have deserted the station of history. In the philological observations of his father, the Arabic is frequently employed.

In proof of what has been said, it may be proper to introduce here some of the places which are entirely suppressed in the printed editions. On XLIX. 6, he remarks thus: "With regard to the Christians, who explain this verse of him that was crucified, saying, that he is a light of the nations, because he hath enlightened the eyes of the nations even to the ends of the earth; tell them, that if he were a God he had not been a servant. As it is further said, *my God is my strength*, he had no strength of himself, and consequently was not God. And how has he also enlightened by his faith the eyes of the nations to the ends of the earth, while a large proportion of the nations remain who have not received his faith, the Israelites and Ishmaelites." The Pisaro edition adds: and again, as he says, *God is his strength*, to deliver him from the hand of his enemies, lo! he has not been yet delivered, nor preserved from the power of his enemies, who aimed at his life, and brought evil upon him.

* Pococke has pointed out and supplied these places, as far as relates to the prophets, partly from the edition printed at Pesaro in 1615, and partly from two Oxford manuscripts. See Not. ad Portam Mosis, pp. 318—343. In the editions and in other manuscripts the Persians and Samaritans are sometimes introduced instead of the Christians and Mohammedans.

On LIII. I, [LII. 13.] it runs as follows: To the Christians, who explain this of the crucified, you must answer,—how can it be said: *he* shall be blessed, exalted and extolled, and very high? As man he was not elevated and exalted, [except on the wood to which he was fastened;*] as God he was so from the beginning. But it says also; נִיָּגַע לְכוֹן, (v. 8.) Here it must mean לוֹ, for לְכוֹן is equivalent to לְהֵי, and plural.⁷⁶—It is: *he shall see posterity*, (v. 10.) As man he had no posterity; and if this be interpreted of the divinity, and posterity be explained by followers or disciples, this is contrary to usage, for disciples are never called sons.⁷⁷ But God has no posterity. Further we read: *he shall live long* (ubi sup.) As man he did not live long. But could it be said of him as God, that long life should be granted him as a reward? does not *his* life continue from everlasting to everlasting.—Lastly, (v. 12;) *he made intercession for the transgressors*. But were he God himself, to whom could he direct his intercession?

The same bitter and open hostility to Christianity is found also in the commentary of DON ISAAC ABARBENEL, composed about the year 1496,⁷⁸ the most extensive and also the most

* This clause is wanting in the Pisaro edition.

⁷⁶ KIMCHI, forgetting himself, contradicts this remark in another work. See his Heb. Gram. fol. 266. pag. 1. Ed. Venet. 8.

⁷⁷ Maimonides very justly opposes this, appealing, among other expressions, to this, בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים, sons of the prophets. See POCOCKE ubi sup. p. 433. The very same trope is used, when, in the present day, Christians are called in the East, [مَنْ مِثْلِي] these who are of the race of Christ. See STEPH. SCHULTZ in the Collection of Travels, by PAULUS, VII. p. 49.

⁷⁸ On Abarbenel, see the article Abrabanele. by J. M. HARTMANN in the Hall. Encyclopædie, i. s. 150 ff. The commentary on the prophets was printed at Pesaro in 1520, fol., and at Amsterdam in 1641, fol. under the title: פִּירוּשׁ עַל נְבִיאִים אֲרֻטִּים מִחוּבֵר . . . דְּרוֹן יִצְחָק אַבְרָבֵנְאֵל. A Latin translation by Jo. HENR. MAIUS appeared at Frankfurt in 1711, 4to., and an earlier one at Amsterdam in 1641, fol. Only the very rare edition of Pesaro contains the passages against the Christians, (see DE ROSSI, Bibliotheca Judaica Antichristiana, p. 7, ss.) in opposition to which many writers, as DANTE, CONSTANTINE L'EMPEREUR, A. PFYFFER, and others, have defended the more ancient, and often unhistorical doctrine and interpretation.—An examination of all the pieces of Isaiah

tedious of all. Peculiar to him is that tiresome manner, like the scholastic writers, of throwing in, at every chapter or sec-

which are applied by Christians to Jesus and to Christian doctrines, with the view of showing their irrelevancy, is contained in an exegetical polemic work, which goes through the whole of the Old Testament with this design. It is entitled: *Sepher Nizzachon jashan*, and is contained in WAGENSEIL'S *tela ignea Satanae*, *Altiorfi*, 1681, pp. 78—111. Where it opposes, by appealing to the connexion, the historical references to Jesus and his death in certain places, as VII. 14, IX. 1, SS. XI. 1, SS. LII. 10—LIII. 12, it will have the historical interpreter on its side,* and it is often successful against the arbitrary expositions of Christian cotemporaries, who, for example, found Jesus pointed out in XXV. 9, XXVI. 9, LU. 1, XLV. 1, (in Coresh,) LIX. 20, LXI. 1. We find here again also some expositions which are given by the fathers: for example, the government on his shoulder in IX. 6, explained of the cross which Christ bore, as in CYRILL; XXIV. 10, XLIX. 13, of the Christian souls delivered from hell by Jesus, and others of the same kind. In short, as far as this controversial work maintains the defensive, it is tolerable, and keeps to the point of history. But when it attacks, the reader scarcely knows whether to believe his eyes. It must, however, be confessed, that, as to the principle, the fathers have done no better, and such self-defence and bitterness are at least very readily to be accounted for in a people reduced probably to desperation, (the work seems to have been composed in Spain,) by the priests and inquisition. Thus אָרָךְ in u. 11, is explained of the man, who announced himself as a God, and who should no longer be trusted; v. 8, of the monks (גְּלִיָּהּ, *bald-headed*), and priests, who seized all the land to themselves, and v. 11, of the gluttony of the monks in their monas-

* [It will undoubtedly have on its side the German neologist, and the infidel of every name and country, who would undermine Christianity, by injuring the credit of the writers of the Old Testament, and by weakening our faith in the inspired assurances of the prophets, that God would send a spiritual deliverer for the benefit of mankind: but the man, who receives the doctrine of inspiration, and believes in the divine origin of the Gospel, will not very readily admit a principle, which takes it for granted, that Christ or his Apostles or both have either mistaken or perverted the meaning of the Old Testament writers.—It may be expedient, although it can hardly be necessary, again to remind the reader, that the author rejects the doctrine of inspiration, and that his philosophy will not allow him to believe in miracles. The translator supposes it preferable to give the sentiments of his original, with this accompanying caution, than to omit a note which contains information not accessible to an English reader. Tr.]

tion, a multitude of subtle questions, which he then answers largely enough. The Arabic commentary of **TANCHUM** of Jerusalem on the prophets, from which **POCOCKE** and especially **SCHNURER** have given specimens, which make us wish to possess the whole, is yet preserved in manuscript at Oxford.⁷⁹ - We have therefore no other writers to mention, except **SALOMO BEN MELECH**, who, in his **Michlal Jophi**,⁸⁰ gives almost exclusively grammatical and lexicographical expositions, which are generally taken from **Kimchi's** works. But for this very reason, and on account of the brevity and precision of his statements, he is very useful. The best interpretations of **Jarchi** may be found in abundance in the **Postillae** of **NICOLAUS DE LYRA**, who died in 1340, where they are introduced and employed. Of this work **Luther** often availed himself. A late German translation, according to the expositions of the Rabbins, has been lately presented to the public, by a learned Jew, **DAVID OTTENSOSER**.⁸¹

teries. V. 18, is pleasantly enough interpreted of the bell ropes. From his modification of some places, for example. in chap. 11. 1, it may also be really conjectured, that the author was not serious, and that he had no other design, than to subject to the severest ridicule the explanations which were then current in the church.

⁷⁹ See **URI** catalog. **Bibl. Bodlei.** p. 16. Compare also **POCOCKE** in many of his writings: viz. **Commentary** on **Joel**, **Hosea** and **Micha**; miscellaneous notes ad **Portam Mosis**;—**SCHNURER**, **Dissert. Phil. Crit.** pp 45, 324, also, **Specim. Tanchum. Hieros. Tubingae, 1791, 4to.**—**Pococke** intended to give an edition of the whole commentary.

⁸⁰ **SAL BEN MELECH Michlal Jophi. Const. 1686, fol.**

⁸¹ ספר ישעיה מתורגם אשכנזית ומבואר מאת דוד אטטנזוסער
 נדפס בפירדא כשנת תקס"ז לביע, that is: the book of **Isaiah**, translated into German and explained, by **DAVID OTTENSOSER**. Printed at **Fürth**, in the year of the world 5567, (A. D. 1807,) 8vo. The commentaries of **Jarchi** and **Kimchi** accompany it.

§ 9.

*Modern Translators and Expositors.**

AMONG the commentators who belong to the period of the reformation, we willingly assign the first place of all to LUTHER.* His translation of Isaiah first appeared alone in 1528, then in 1532 along with the other prophets, and in 1534 in the first edition of his complete bible.²² He did not himself publish a commentary on it, but some sheets of college notes taken during his lectures were prepared for the press in 1534, by one of his hearers.²³ The notes are brief, chiefly of a

* Those translators and expositors, with whom Isaiah forms only a part of a work on the whole bible, shall be designated by an asterisk.

²² *Der Prophet Isaias, Deudsch.* Wittemberg, b. Hans Lufft. 1528. 4. In the preface he speaks as follows: "We have indeed taken all possible pains in order that Isaiah should speak good plain German, although it is with difficulty that he can be made to do so, and has strongly resisted our efforts, for in the Hebrew he was very eloquent, so that it is with great labour that the unbending language of the Germans can be made to accommodate itself to his style."[†] The text is accompanied by some short notes in the margin.—The complete edition bears this title: *Die Propheten alle deudsch* D. MART. LUTH. M. D. XXXII. *Wittenberg, durch Hans. Lufft. fol.* Respecting the changes it has undergone, see PALM'S *Geschichte der Luth. Bibelübers.* S. 366. Considerable alterations were introduced in the complete edition. Thus in v. 1: *ich will meinen Vellern, for meinen Lieben*; in xl. 31: *werden mit Krafft verendert, für kriegen neue Krafft.*

²³ It is to be found in German in Th. 6, S. 1, ff. of the Halle edition On the arrangement of the prophecies of Isaiah he says, S. 9: "But he

† [As this passage is, of course, in old German, I subjoin the original, that the reader who understands the language may form his own judgment. "Wir zwar haben möglichen vleys gethan, das Isaias gut klar deudsch redet, wiewol er sich schwer dazu gemacht, und fast geweeret hat, denn er ist ym Ebreeischen fast wol beredt gewesst, das yhm die ungelenke Deudsche zunge saur ankommen ist." Jr.]

practical kind, and he abounds with digressions on his favourite subjects; some chapters, however, he treats more particularly. The allegorical interpretation he decidedly rejects, and only gives one specimen of it in Chap. VI.—More extensive and more learned, but at the same time rather doctrinal than historical and philological, are the commentaries of two other fathers of Protestantism, ZWINGLE⁴ and CALVIN.⁵ Yet

is not attentive to order, so as to give to each particular portion its proper place and with its own chapters and pages; one is so intermingled with another, that much of the first portion is introduced in connexion with the second and third, and the third is treated of somewhat before the second. But whether this is to be ascribed to the person who collected and wrote out the prophecy, (as appears to be the case with the Psalter,) or whether the author himself has so framed it as to make it appear that time and causes and persons have occurred in the order spoken of, which time and causes may not be cotemporaneous or in proper order, this, I must acknowledge, I do not know.* Also, S. 12; respecting the means of understanding the author: "Whoever attempts to explain this prophet, must be conversant in two things. In the first place, he must possess a thorough and fundamental knowledge of the Grammar, which I candidly confess I have not yet acquired, and wherein many distinguished teachers in the church, as Augustin and others, have been deficient. The second particular is an acquaintance with sacred history, which is still more necessary; and therefore, if only one of these two acquisitions can be made, I would prefer the latter." This observation he illustrates by the example of Augustin, who, by means of his acquaintance with history, has succeeded better than Jerome, who, with his knowledge of the language, treats the history somewhat negligently.

* 4 ZWINGLI Contemplationes Isaie prophetæ, Turic. 1529, fol. Also, Opera, Turic. 1544—45. T. III.

5 CALVINI Commentarii in Iesaiam prophetam. Primum collecti

* "Aber die Ordnung hält er nicht, dass er ein jegliches zu seinem Ort und mit eigenen Kapiteln und Blättern fassete, sondern ist fast gemengt durch einander, dass er viel des ersten Stückes under das andere und dritte mit einführt, und wol das dritte Stück etwa ehe handelt, als das andere. Ob aber das geschehen sey durch den, so solche seine Weissagung zusammengelesen und geschrieben hat, (als man im Psalter achtet geschehen zu seyn,) oder ob er es selbst so gestaltet hat, darnach Zeit, Ursachen und Personen sich zugetragen haben, von einem jeglichen Stück zu reden, welehe Zeit und Ursachen nicht gleich seyn noch Ordnung haben mögen, das weiss ich nicht."

with respect to a knowledge of Hebrew, not one of these men had made such advances as are requisite to communicate instruction to posterity. More important were these studies in the view of **OECOLAMPADIUS**⁶⁶ and **BRENTZ** ;⁶⁷ and **SEBASTIAN MÜNSTER** * and **WOLFGANG MEUSEL** (*Musculus*), among the Protestants, and **VATABLUS** * of the Catholics, availed themselves of their acquaintance with the Rabbins, in order to circulate the interpretations which they contain among Christians.⁶⁸ About the same time, **CASTALIO** *⁶⁹ at Basle gave to the world a translation composed in good Latin with some annotations, and the Portuguese prelate **FORERIUS**⁷⁰ an extensive commentary, and for that age valuable and learned.

2. The commentary of **CASPAR SANCTIUS**⁷¹ is the only one belonging to the early part of the 16th century which deserves to be mentioned. But towards the middle of it appeared **HUGO GROTIUS*** and **LOUIS DE DIEU**,* two equally celebrated expositors, who opened the road, each in his own way, to a more learned, enlarged, and liberal method of interpretation: the former by an unprejudiced treatment of the Old Testament, with the same correct spirit and elegant feeling which are applied to the other classic writings, from which he adduces the most appropriate parallel places ;⁷² the

opera N. GALLASII, deinde locupletati cura ipsius auctoris. Ed. III. Genevæ, 1570, fol. It was reprinted in 1583, and in the Amsterdam edition of his works, 1671, T. IV.

⁶⁶ Hypomnemata in Esaiam. Basil, 1525, 1567, 4to.

⁶⁷ Jo. BRENTII Esaias commentariis explicatus, Francof. 1550. Also Opp. T. IV. p. 124, Tubing. 1675, fol. See a conjecture of his on II. 6.

⁶⁸ SEB. MÜNSTER in the Critici Sacri. MUSCULI Comment. locupletissimi et recens editi in Esaiam prophetam. Basil. 1570, fol. The notes of VATABLUS are in ROB. STEPHENS' edition of the Vulgate, 1557, and also in the Critici Sacri. The last contain brief but very useful glosses, in the form of scholia.

⁶⁹ Biblia, interprete SEB. CASTALIONE, una cum ejusdem annotationibus. Basil. 1531, fol. The notes are in the Critici Sacri.

⁷⁰ FRANC. FORERII, Lusitani Olyssiponensis, Commentarius in Es. Venet. 1553, fol. Reprinted in the Critici Sacri.

⁷¹ CASP. SANCTII Commentarius in prophetas majores et minores. Antwerp. 1621, fol.

⁷² HUG. GROTIJ annotationes in V. T. Paris. 1644. They are also in

latter by careful grammatical and philological investigation of particular passages, accompanied by a learned and judicious use of the cognate dialects, especially the Syriac and Ethiopic.⁹³ The most important interpreters, until the middle of the 17th century, are to be found collectively in the *Critici Sacri*,⁹⁴ and are embodied in one continuous commentary in the publication of MATTHEW POOLE.⁹⁵ As far as relates to the extensiveness of the selection of notes, the latter work is the richer of the two.

§ 10.

It cannot be stated without regret, that the course thus opened by De Dieu and Grotius was pursued in the 17th century, by a much smaller number of interpreters than could be wished, and might have been expected. Among the great oriental scholars, who, from that period, adorned the reformed church, from the time of Edward Pococke and Samuel Bochart to that of Albert Schultens, no one has chosen Isaiah for the especial subject of a work, although excellent materials may be found in Bochart's writings to illustrate this

the *Critici Sacri*; and CALOVIUS, who, in his *Biblia Illustrata*, took the useless trouble to controvert at length whatever they contained in opposition to Lutheran orthodoxy, has introduced them into his work. A new edition appeared, under the superintendence of VOGEL and DÖDERLEIN, in which Isaiah is to be found in the third volume, with some additional remarks by Döderlein, in a separate *suætarium*, 1779, 4to.

⁹³ LUD. DE DIEU animadvers. in V. T. libros omnes. Lugd. Bat. 1648, 4to. It was afterwards reprinted, with his observations on the New Testament, under the title: *Critica Sacra*, Amstelod. 1683, fol. The notes on Isaiah are in pp. 190—243.

⁹⁴ The *Critici Sacri* (London, 1660, 9 vol. fol.) contain, in the fourth volume, the notes on Isaiah of MÜNSTER, VATABLUS, CASTALIO, CLARIUS, FORERIUS, DRUSIUS, and GROTIUS: most of whom have been already noticed. Clarius is not of much importance; he generally contents himself with transcribing Münster. Drusus has given a collection of the fragments that remain of the lost Greek versions, which afterwards MONTFAUÇON made the groundwork of his own publication.

⁹⁵ MATTHÆI POLI Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque sacræ scripturæ interpretum et commentatorum. Lond. 1669, 4to. Francof. 1679, fol. V. Voll. Isaiah is in volume III.

prophet, and a series of valuable observations on him has been left by SCHULTENS.*⁶⁶ Whatever, in addition to these, was published in complete works previously to Vitringa's, is not of great consequence. JOHN COCCEIUS*⁶⁷ is indeed often happy in his philological illustrations of particular places, and in this respect he deserves praise ; but, in consequence of his notorious attachment to a system of interpretation, which is perpetually discovering types and prophecies, and which is every where prominent in his work, is at present scarcely to be read with pleasure. Of SEBASTIAN SCHMIDT,⁶⁸ an interpreter by no means to be despised, properly speaking, only notes taken on the delivery of his college lectures have been printed. The critical notes of LOUIS CAPEL adhere, for the most part, to the various readings which he supposed to be discoverable from the versions, as in a late period those of HOUBIGANT and LOWTH.⁶⁹ The commentary of VARENIUS, Professor at Rostock, who died in 1684, which contains some useful collections, is by no means an agreeable work, in consequence of its scholastic method, and the introduction, with tedious prolixity, of matters unconnected with his subject.¹⁰⁰

*⁶⁶ ALB. SCHULTENS. animadvers. philol. et criticæ ad varia loca, V. T. Amstelod. 1709. It was reprinted, together with other writings, under the title: Opera minora, Lugd. Bat. et Leovardiæ, 1769, 4to. The observations on Isaiah are in pp. 252—292. In this work Schultens made great use of the Arabic language to illustrate Hebrew words and phrases, although he generally adduces passages from the grammarians and prose writers: indeed, no acquaintance at all with the Arabic poets is discoverable in his work. The philological interpretations which he thus deduces, he places in contradistinction to those which the traditions of the Rabbins had preserved. In his later works he speaks of these observations as of a youthful publication, and does himself retract several of them: however, it is often superior, for natural and unforced interpretations, to the other.

*⁶⁷ Jo. Cocceii Opp. Amstelod. 1701, fol. T. II.

*⁶⁸ SEB. SCHMIDII Commentarius super illustres prophetias Iesaiæ. Hamb. 1702, 4to. It is edited by Sandhagen, during the life and with the permission of the author.

*⁶⁹ LUD. CAPELLI Commentarii et notæ criticæ in V. T. Amstelod. 1689, fol. pp. 492—520.

*¹⁰⁰ AUGUST. VARENI Comment. in Esaiam, ed. Jo. Fecht. Lips. 1708, 4to.

But the publication of VITRINGA'S commentary constitutes an epoch in the history of the interpretation of this prophet. This work alone is of far more weight than the earlier expositions and a large proportion of the later. He is certainly attached to the Cocceian method of interpretation, and the frequency with which he shows when and how far the predictions of the prophet come down into modern periods of history, even to the middle ages, the interpreter of the present day will find it necessary to pass over; yet this weakness of his times* is abundantly redeemed by his superiority in other respects. The sense of every passage and of every difficult word is weighed by the assistance of a remarkable knowledge of scriptural language and of antiquities in general, by the use of all the literary preparation that his age could furnish, together with a carefulness and extent of examination which is often astonishing. Greatly worthy of attention also are his collections of historical notices relating to foreign nations, against which many of the prophecies are directed. On account of his views above mentioned, and because he has made but little use of the dialects, and in general only where they had been already compared by others, his value has often been estimated too low; but not a few biblical critics, who look down upon him with arrogance, would have done better to avail themselves of his labors, which could not but have been advantageous to their own.¹⁰¹

* [This is another illustration of the author's views and feelings on the subject of prophecy, which the reader is prepared to receive with caution. Tr.]

101 CAMP. VITRINGÆ Commentarius in librum Prophetiarum Iesaiæ, Leovardiæ, T. I. 1714. T. II. 1720, fol. Editio nova, Basil, 1732, 2 vol. fol. Another impression was given at Herborn, 1715, and another at Tübingen, 1732. A German translation, from which all the useless mystical interpretations are expunged, was made by ANT. FRIEDRICH BÜSCHING, with the title: CAMP. VITRINGÆ, Auslegung der Weissagungen Iesaiä. Th. I. with a preface by Mosheim. Halle, 1749; Th. II. 1751. 4. The author was professor of Theology at Franeker, and died in 1722. See the funeral oration on him by Schultens, prefixed to the first volume.

§ 10.

Since that time but little, comparatively speaking, has been effected in forming a collection of rich exegetical materials. It was reserved for the last twenty or thirty years of the 18th century to interpret the prophet, and the Old Testament in general, with feeling and taste, and in a manner worthy of the eastern poet; to treat the places applied to the Messiah, with a reference to genuine points of history, and to show that a considerable part cannot possibly look beyond the cotemporaries of Ahaz and Hezekiah.* For this period also it was reserved by profound and learned philological investigation to settle the meaning of words, especially in difficult places, by the aid of the dialects, for which Vitringa had done nothing; but which were shown by N. W. Schroeder, in a splendid specimen, to contain treasures that might be applied to the explanation of the prophet.

1. Cotemporaneous with Vitringa was J. H. MICHAELIS,* who published his valuable notes in the margin of his Hebrew Bible, printed at Halle, and which is particularly useful for the accurate references which it contains to verbal and real pa-

* [The imperfect and erroneous view which the author had formed respecting the character of the Hebrew prophets (see *Einleitung*, § 7,) would lead us to expect that he would endeavour to connect the prophetic representations of Isaiah with cotemporaneous persons and events. It is easy to perceive that the tendency of such an effort must be, to sap the foundations of revealed religion by destroying our faith in prophecy. But this "word, spoken by holy men of old as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," is too "sure" to be weakened by any attempts, and constitutes one of those proofs in defence of revelation, which time, that covers other subjects with obscurity often impossible to be removed, only serves to render more striking and conspicuous. See some good remarks on prophecy in Jahn's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, Part II, § 73—88, pp. 294—321. *Tr.*]

rallielisms.¹⁰² The commentary of LE CLERC^{*103} is not so valuable on the prophets as on the historical books; but CALMET^{*104} contains a very laborious, although not a critical, collection of historical materials. The critical notes and conjectures of HOUBIGANT¹⁰⁵ are characterized by boldness, injustice to the received text in favour of the versions, and want of grammatical acquaintance with the language, which is often conspicuous. ROBERT LOWTH¹⁰⁶ also is frequently not less bold as a conjectural critic, although his work on Isaiah possesses distinguished merit for elegant and poetical discernment. Himself a poet, endowed with true classical taste and feeling, he considered our prophet, and generally the Old Testament poetry in this view, which, since the time of GROTIUS, had been again altogether neglected; but afterwards, principally by means of Herder, became current in Germany. The notes relate in part to history and antiquities, in part to doctrine, (without derogating from the claims of the church system,) and in part to criticism. In this last department he ventures to introduce a multitude of alterations in the text, partly according to various readings supposed to be derived from the old versions, and partly from conjectures of his own, and of his friends, *Dr. Jebb* and *Archbishop Secker*. How unimportant and unnecessary these emendations so called were, is shown in a very profound manner by Ko-

102 Biblia Hebraica, ed. J. H. MICHAELIS, Halle, 1720. The notes are on the margin of the text.

103 Veteris Testamenti prophetæ ab Esaia ad Malachiam usque ex translatione Jo. CLERICI, cum ejusdem commentario philologico et paraphrasi in Esaiam, Jeremiam, ejus Lamentationes et Abdiam. Amstelod. 1731, fol.

104 AUG. CALMET Commentaire literal sur tous les livres de l'ancien et nouveau Testament, Paris, 1724—26.

105 C. FR. HOUBIGANT Biblia Hebr. cum not. crit. et vers. Lat. Paris. 1753, 4 vol. fol. The notes were reprinted at Frankfort in 1777, in 2 vols. 4to, under the care of C. F. BAHRDT. Those on Isaiah are in vol. II. p. 643, ss.

106 Isaiah. A new translation, with a preliminary dissertation, and notes critical, philological and explanatory. By ROBERT LOWTH, D. D. Lord Bishop of London. London, 1778, royal 8vo.

CHER,¹⁰⁷ a learned Swiss, educated in Holland, who, treading almost in the footsteps of Buxtorf, will not deviate a hair's breadth from the masoretical text, while at the same time he gives many useful illustrations. KOPPE¹⁰⁸ soon gave to the world a German translation of Lowth's work with additional notes of his own, critical and expository, far superior to those of his author. Here and there they justify Lowth's decisions, and exhibit some illustrations and criticisms, which, although more cautious than his, are still however often inadmissible. What Koppe has afforded for the higher criticism of Isaiah, has been already partially touched on, (Einleit. § 3, 3.). He first directed our attention to the necessity of denying, on historical grounds, the genuineness of many pieces ascribed to this prophet. But as in his division of the whole work as collected together he goes too far, and often proceeds arbitrarily, his criticism wants a firm support, and the collection appears to him as a loose intermingled heap composed of disjointed fragments taken from the works of various poets belonging to various periods. Although this hypothesis will appear unfounded in proportion as it is examined, yet many modern writers have adopted it without any limitation. The Clavis of PAULUS¹⁰⁹ contains ideas for historical interpretation much better digested and very appropriate, but still the number of persons acquainted with the Shemitic languages who would accede to its philological interpretation

107 *Vindiciae S. textus Hebraei Esiae adversus D. Roberti Lowthi criticam*, a DAV. KOCHERO, V. T. et ling. Orient. profess. Bernae, 1786, 8vo.

108 D. Robert Lowth, Lordbischofs zu London, *Iesaias, neu übersetzt, nebst einer Einleitung und kritischen philologischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen*. A. d. Engl. (by Richerz). Mit Zusätzen und Anmerkungen von J. B. KOPPE, Prof. zu Göttingen, B. 1—4. 1779—81. 8vo.

109 *Philologischer Clavis über das Alte Testament für Schulen und Acadamien. Iesaias*. VON HEIN. EBERR. GOTTL. PAULUS. Jens. 1793. 8vo.

is yet fewer. The scholia of BAUER,¹¹⁰ and the work in the exegetical manual of AUGUSTI and HÖPFNER,¹¹¹ are among the most useful of those modern helps which have appeared up to the present time for cursory reading. The former of these works especially, although a hasty composition, like most compositions of this author, shows every where his correct and striking discernment. But all the above mentioned expository writings are far exceeded by the commentary of ROSENMÜLLER, a second edition of which, revised and improved, has lately been published.¹¹² In the first notes selected from the works of Grotius, Dathe, and J. D. Michaelis are principally conspicuous, and with much that is valuable in the first part, it wants completeness in the last, (Ch. XL—LXVI.) In the second edition, which may be considered as an entirely new work, the author very frequently goes back to Vitringa, employs his materials, often introduces him in his own words, and has secured for himself great merit in the history of interpretation, by exhibiting almost throughout a very learned critique and comparison of the ancient versions, abundant quotations from the Rabbins, especially Iarchi, (we should greatly have preferred Aben-Ezra,) and from Jerome, particularly where he follows his Hebrew teachers. Perhaps indeed the author has too often followed such traditional interpretations. Some historical and critical views presented in the earlier edition are more satisfactory to me, than those adopted in this, as, for example, in ch. VII. When the author notices the conjectures of Lowth and Koppe, he often

¹¹⁰ JO. CHR. FR. SCHULZI Scholia in V. T. continuata a G. L. BAUER. Vol. VIII. pp. 173 ss. and vol. IX. 1794—5.

¹¹¹ Exegetisches Handbuch des A. T. für Prediger, Schallehrer und gebildete Leser. Fünftes und Sechstes Stück, enthaltend den Iesaias (v. J. CHR. W. AUGUSTI). Lips. 1799.

¹¹² ERN. FR. CAR. ROSENMÜLLERI Scholia in Vetus Testamentum. T. III. Iesaiæ vaticinia complectens. Sect. 1. Lips. 1791. Sect. 2, 1793. Sect. 3, 1793.—The new edition bears the particular title: Iesaiæ vaticinia annotatione perpetua illustravit E. F. C. ROSENMÜLLER, Vol. 1. Lips. 1811, (on the general title page, 1810.) Vol. II. 1818. Vol. III. 1820.

rejects them in the words of Kocher. The well known principles of philological interpretation which he pursues in respect to the analogy of scriptural language with the usage of the cognate dialects, which are the only correct principles, contribute to increase the superior excellence of his work ; and indeed nothing else could be expected from the scholar, whose acquaintance with the Shemitic languages is learned and comprehensive.

2. The number of translations, especially in German, which the present period produces, is very great, and although they are generally accompanied by some critical and exegetical remarks, it is only in a few that these remarks discover profound investigation. Before the appearance in German of the work of Lowth, translations had been made by **VOGEL**,¹¹³ **STRUENSEE**,¹¹⁴ **WALTHER**,¹¹⁵ and **J. D. MICHAELIS**.^{*116} The latter follows a multitude of critical and exegetical conjectures, which are now for the most part abandoned, and is destitute of force and dignity of language ; but his remarks for the unlearned abound with observations very acceptable even to the learned interpreter. **MOLDENHAUER**¹¹⁷ translates with little taste, and his interpretation contains little that can be called his own.

113 **GEORG JOH. LUDG. VOGEL's**, *Beysitzers der phil. Fac. zu Halle, Umschreibung der Weissagungen des Propheten Iesaias*. Halle, 1771. 8vo.

114 *Neue Uebersetzung der Weissagungen Iesaiä, Joëls, Amos, Obadia und Micha, nach dem Heb. Text, mit Zuziehung der Griechischen Version, von CHR. GOTTFR. STRUENSEE, Rector der Domschule in Halberstadt*. Halberst. 1773.—He attaches far too great value to the various readings supposed to be suggested by the LXX.

115 *Die Weissagungen des Propheten Iesaias, übersetzt von JOH. HEINR. WALT ER, Repetenten zu Göttingen. Mit einer Vorrede von ZACHARIÄ*. Halle, 1774, 8vo.

116 **J. D. MICHAELIS's** deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments, mit Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte. Der achte Theil welcher die Weissagungen Iesaiä enthält. Götting. 1777, 4to. Respecting the alterations of the text, see the same author's *Orientalische Bibliothek*, Th. 14.

117 *Uebersetzung und Erläuterung des Propheten Iesaiä*. Entworfen von **D. JOH. HEIN. MOLDENHAUER**, Pastor am Dom in Hamburg, Quedlinburg, 1780.

Metrical versions, but too free and modernized, with overbold critical improvements, borrowed in part from Lowth and Koppe, have been published by CUBE¹¹⁸ and Krägelius.¹¹⁹ The works of SEILER¹²⁰ and HOLSTER¹²¹ are altogether adapted to practical purposes. The translation of HENSLE¹²² is harmonious, without being too free, and the notes and views of the contents comprise many just and well-founded remarks. It is surprising that Hensler, a divine in other respects pretty free from prejudice, should have shown but little congeniality with the correct critical views of this book, and that he should have opposed them on such weak grounds. AUGUSTI,¹²³ in his translation, opposes with reason the practice, which, during the latter part of the preceding century, had become prevalent, of translating in a modernized manner and in Iambic verses, and therefore chooses on the other hand simple prose; yet he has probably attended too little to the harmony, and to a thorough investigation of difficult places. In the latest work of EICHORN on all the prophets,¹²⁴ Isaiah is divided into not less than 85 of their oracles or fragments, and

¹¹⁸ *Isaias metri-ch übersetzt mit Anmerkungen, von JOH. DAV. CUBE.* Th. 1. Berlin, 1785. Th. 2. 1786, 8. (It is incomplete, extending no further than the 39th chapter.)

¹¹⁹ *Isaias. Erster Theil. Neu übersetzt und critisch bearbeitet von GEBH. KRÄGELIUS, Prediger in Lippstadt Bremen, 1790.* 8.

¹²⁰ *Isaias aus dem Hebräischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen erläutert von D. GEOG. FRIED. EILEN.* Erlangen, 1783. 8.

¹²¹ *Die prophetische Schrift des Isaias, ein Lieblingsbuch Jesu, von R. HOLSTER.* Hanover, 1819. 8.

¹²² *Isaias, neu übersetzt mit Anmerkungen von CHRIST. GOTT. MILF HENSLE, Prof. der Theologie zu Kiel.* Hamburg und Kiel, 1788.

¹²³ *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments. Neu übersetzt von J. C. W. AUGUSTI und W. M. L. DE WETTE.* Vierter Bd. Die Propheten. Heidelberg, 1810. 8. The translation of Isaiah is by Augusti. See the exegetische Handbuch mentioned above, No. 111.

¹²⁴ *Die Hebräischen Propheten, von J. G. EICHORN.* Göttingen. B. 1, 1816. B. 2, 3, 1819. 8. For the places of Isaiah, see the list at the end of the third volume. The genuine prophecies of Isaiah had been published before by the author in JUSTI's *Blumen allhebräischer Dichtkunst*, Giessen, 1803, the text of which is here reprinted.

these are ascribed to various authors and times, and arranged according to the editor's hypothesis, for the most part in pursuance of the hints of Koppe. With the text are connected notices of the contents and historical remarks, which present the point of view in which the translator has considered them. The view given of the prophetic oracles in this work is in general quite characteristic of the author. According to it we have here for the most part no predictions of the future, but poetic descriptions of the present and even of the past.¹²⁵ In the German translation of DERESER with remarks, the author has availed himself of the progress made by the investigations of Protestant writers only so far as they supported the doctrines of his church.¹²⁶ Among the Latin versions of late date those of DÖDERLEIN¹²⁷ and DATHE¹²⁸ deserve a conspicuous rank, and are similar both in respect to manner and principles. Both these translators are strictly careful to express the sense of the original according to the genius of the Latin language, and at the same time never to paraphrase. Both of them also give some exegetical and critical remarks, which contain much valuable matter, although they both constantly alter the text and often without necessity.

3. It is proper to mention here those writers who have sought to acquire reputation by exegetical and critical examination of *particular places*, or of *certain portions* of the whole. To the latter belongs particularly the Hollander GREVE, who had formed the plan of a complete commentary, but has yet

¹²⁵ See the Introduction to chaps. xxviii—xxxiii.

¹²⁶ Die heilige Schrift des A. T. 4te. Theiles 1ster Band. Von D. TH. ANT. DERESER. Frankf. am Mayn. 1808.

¹²⁷ Esaias, ex recensione textus Hebræi ad fidem codd. manusciporum et versionum antiquarum Latine vertit notasque vari argumenti subiecit Jo. CHRISTOPH. DÖDERLEIN, D. Altorf, 1775. Ed. 2. 1780. Ed. 3. 1789. 8vo.

¹²⁸ Prophetæ majores ex recensione textus Hebræi et versionum antiquarum Latine versi, notisque philologicis et criticis illustrati, a Jo. Ave. DATHEO, Theol. D. et Prof. Lips. 1779. Ed. 2. 1785. 8vo.

only published a work on chaps. XL—LVI.¹²⁹ In the introduction, he states his objections to the view, maintained by German critics, that certain parts of Isaiah are not genuine. He also proposes a metrical scheme of his own, which rejects the present punctuation and rests upon a system of the author's invention having a closer connexion with the Arabic; and, to accommodate to this system when it will not suit the Hebrew text, he introduces a multitude of arbitrary alterations. Among the philological and exegetical observations on particular places, the works most distinguished for learning and happy conception of the author's idea are those of HOHEISEL,¹³⁰ SCHELLING,¹³¹ and ARNOLDI:¹³² those of SCHLEUSNER¹³³ and MÖSSLER¹³⁴ are less so. The

¹²⁹ *Vaticiniorum Jesaiæ pars. continens carmina a cap. XL. usque LVI. 9. Hebraica ad numeros recensuit, versionem et notas adjecit C. J. GREY, Ling. Orient et Antiq. Jud. Prof. Ordinarius in Acad. Francq. Accedit interpretatio Belgica, 1810. in long 4to. Comp. Allgemein. Lit. Zeit. 1816, Supplementary pages, (Ergänzungs Blätter,) no. 1. As early as the year 1795, the author announced an extensive work, in 3 or 4 quarto volumes: *Programma editionis vaticiniorum Jesaiæ novæ. Daventriæ, anno MDCCCXCV.**

¹³⁰ CAR. LUD. HOHEISEL, Prof. Gedanensis, *Observationes philologico-exegeticæ, quibus non nulla sunt in Esaiæ loca ex indole linguæ S., ex accentuatione Ebraeorum et antiquitatibus illustrantur et exponuntur. Gedani, 1729, 8vo.*

¹³¹ *Animadversiones philologico-criticae in loca difficiliora Iesaiæ, quibus præstantissimorum interpretum sententias exponit suam novamque proponit Jos. FRID. SCHELLING, Superintendens Schorndorf. in duc. Wirtemb. Lips. 1797, 8vo.*

¹³² ALB. JAC. ARNOLDI *Observationes ad quædam Jesaiæ loca. This is a new year's Program of the University of Marburg, 1796. 4to. Unfortunately, it only treats of three places, i. 8, 28. n. 6. but these are examined with that profound investigation and learning for which the author is distinguished.*

¹³³ *Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Weissagungen des Propheten Iesaias, von D. JOH. FRIED. SCHLEUSNER, in the Analekten für das Studium der exeget. und systemat. Theologie, edited by KEIL and Tzschirner. B. I. H. 2. S. 1, ff. (Leipz. 1813.) They extend through chaps. 1—XXIX.*

¹³⁴ CHR. GÜL. MÖSSLER *novæ locorum nonnullorum Iesaiæ explicatu difficiliorum interpretationis periculum. Viteb. 1808. 4to. It comprehends the first five chapters.*

most profound philological investigation, applied principally to Isaiah, is undoubtedly to be found in SCHRÖDER'S *monographie* on Is. III. 16, ss.; the next in MARTINI'S work on chap. LIII., with whom also SCHNURRER¹³⁵ and AURIVILLIUS must be mentioned, as accurate and able interpreters of particular places. The latest specimen of a translation, accompanied by a historical exposition of a popular kind,¹³⁶ may indeed contain much that is original both in respect to language and history, but proportionably less that is well founded and worthy of the present advanced state of interpretation.¹³⁷

135 Besides the Programs to be mentioned on xv. we may notice also the brief significations which are contained in some academical theses: *Thesium inauguralium pars philologico-critica*, præf. SCHNURRER, 1783, 1788. 4to.

136 *Reden und Lieder aus dem Iesaias, theils ganz, theils nach ihren schwersten Stellen übersetzt und erklärt, alle aber nach ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen dargestellt. Nebst einem Anhange aus dem Buche der Weisheit.* Freyberg, 1815 8.

137 A large and very minute list of old writings and dissertations on particular places, for the most part small and of little value, may be found in CALMET'S *Bibl. Biblioth.* S. 414 ff.

TREATISE
ON THE
USE OF THE SYRIAC LANGUAGE.

BY
JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS.

Translated from the German, by
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PREFACE.

THE following pages are extracted from the Preface to MICHAELIS' SYRIAC CHRESTOMATHY. This Preface was first published with the Chrestomathy in the year 1768; but it appeared at Göttingen in the year 1786, corrected, and enlarged by the addition of the author's valuable notes.

It is entitled: "Johann David Michaelis Abhandlung von der Syrischen Sprache, und ihrem Gebrauch: nebst dem ersten Theil einer Syrischen Chrestomathie;" *John David Michaelis' Treatise on the Syriac Language and its use; together with the first part of a Syriac Chrestomathy.* The first seven sections of the work are devoted to the following subjects:

- §. 1. View of the Syriac Language in general;
- §. 2. Chaldee and Syriac are the same language;
- §. 3. Syriac and Chaldee differ chiefly in the alphabet;
- §. 4. It would be advisable, to commence the study of the Oriental Languages with the Syriac, and to learn it before the Hebrew.
- §. 5. The Syriac is the easiest among the Oriental Languages, and the Hebrew the most difficult. The causes of this.
- §. 6. The Arabic is more difficult than the Syriac. The causes of this.
- §. 7. Is it easier to learn the Syriac or the Chaldee?

The next seven sections, from the eighth to the fourteenth inclusive, are devoted to *the use of the Syriac Language.* In the §. 15th, the author shows, that "Models of Poetry or Taste are not to be sought for in Syriac;" in the §. 16th and §. 17th, he gives a "View of the Chrestomathy," and the "Contents of the first part" of it; and in the §. 18th, he concludes with a very favourable Account of Castell's Syriac Lexicon.

The accompanying pages are a translation of the seven sections, which relate to the *Use of the Syriac Language.*

New-York, June 29, 1829.

THE TRANSLATOR.

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- §. I. The use of the Syriac Language for the illustration of the Hebrew.
 - §. II. The use of the Syriac Language, particularly in regard to Hebrew Grammar.
 - §. III. The use of the Syriac Language, in elucidating the phraseology of the New Testament.
 - §. IV. Of books written in Syriac : and of the use of the Syriac New Testament.
 - §. V. Some account of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament.
 - §. VI. The use of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament.
 - §. VII. The use which may be made of other Syriac works, particularly those published by the Assemans.
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THE USE OF
THE
SYRIAC LANGUAGE.

§ I.

The use of the Syriac language for the illustration of the Hebrew.

THE first and most usual object that is proposed, in learning the Syriac language, is derived from its illustration of the Hebrew. It is not necessary for me here to say all that might be said, since I have already stated the prominent topics, in the forty-first and forty-second paragraphs of my *View of the means which are employed for acquiring a knowledge of the Hebrew Language* ;* and I must request that these paragraphs be re-perused. I deem it necessary, however, to subjoin to them the following.

I. I have there indeed already observed, that the Syriac is less used than the Chaldee and the Arabic, for the illustration of the Hebrew ; and hence it readily follows, that any one,

* [The title of this work is : " Beurtheilung der Mittel, welche man anwendet, die ausgestorbene Hebräische Sprache zu verstehen." It was first published in the year 1756, when the author had resided at Göttingen ten years, devoting his chief attention to Hebrew Philology, and the works of Albert Schultens. See EICHHORN'S *Biblioth. der Bibl. Lit.* B. III. pp. 862. 863. Tr.]

who learns this easy language in any degree of perfection, can obtain from it more that was previously unknown; and in the explanation of the Scriptures, he can so much the more frequently have the advantage of something new.

It is only necessary, to take particular notice of some of the reasons, why so little has hitherto been derived from the use of a language as easy as this is.

The following is one. The Jews, our first teachers in Hebrew, understood the Chaldee, as it occurred in the Targum, and applied it to the Hebrew. Some of them, under the dominion of the Saracens, spoke the Arabic as their vernacular language; or, as learned men, they understood and used it. But, though they must have *understood* Syriac} books, they could not *read* them, on account of their peculiar written character; and they were not interested in these books, because they were for the most part the productions of Christians. Thus they did not use the Syriac; and most philologists among Christians tread in the footsteps of these their precursors. Some few, who rose above the character of mere imitators of the Jews, and among such I would name the venerated SCHULTENS as one of the most conspicuous examples, had unhappily too little knowledge of the Syriac, and a predilection for the Arabic, which this language can readily excite among its votaries, by its beauty, and the charm of its compositions: for, that beauty and poetry do not enter into the commendation of the Syriac language, I shall evince in a following* page.

In the second place, most students acquired their knowledge of Syriac, as I have already stated in the work before referred to, merely from the New Testament, without ever reading the Version of the Old. Now it is scarcely practicable, so to learn a language from the New Testament alone, that it may serve as a literary resource, independent of its

* [In the author's work, from which the present Treatise is extracted, may be found a section (§. 15.) entitled: *Models of Poetry or Taste are not to be sought for in Syriac.* Ty.]

connexion with the New Testament ; for there occur too few words, and what is of importance here, very few names of the works of nature and art. The Old Testament is, in this respect, of a character entirely the opposite, and to a remarkable degree more rich in its vocabulary.

In the third place, there has been, for fifty years past, a want of such books of interest, written in the Syriac language, as we may now own and use. And if any one devoted much attention to the language, he was obliged, if he had no access to manuscripts, to avail himself chiefly of the Versions of the Old and New Testament. Now it is easy to perceive, that from these alone the language cannot be acquired, in that extent and copiousness, which is practicable, if, as is the good fortune of our age, one has lying before him, and can make use of the *Oriental Library* of the truly excellent JOSEPH SIMONIUS ASSEMAN (so replete with important and various extracts from Syriac books), the admirable *Syriac Martyrology*, and the *Syriac Works of EPHREM SYRUS*.^{*} Should even the same word occur in these books and in the Bible, it is not the same to the reader ; for he here meets with it in a varied connexion, from which he can ascertain its meaning, and not unfrequently with certain characteristics, whereas, if a Hebrew word were extant at the same time in Syriac, and the Syrian had retained it in his translation, I am none the wiser for reading it in his version, than if I had pre-

^{*} [The titles of these three valuable publications are :

1. *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, recensens Manuscriptos, Codices, Syriacos, Arabicos, Persicos, Turcicos, Hebraicos, Samaritanos, Armenicos, Æthiopicos, Graecos, Ægyptiacos, Ibericos, et Malibaricos, ex oriente conquisitos, comparatos, avectos, et Bibliothecae Vaticanae addictos recensuit, digressit, &c. Auctoritate, Jussu et Munificentia Clem. XI.* It was published at Rome, 1719—1728. in 4 vols. fol.

2. *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Orientalium et Occidentalium, &c. Rome, 1748.* 2 vols. fol.

3. *Ephr. Syr. Opera*, in six vols. fol., published at Rome in the years 1732—1746. See WATT'S *Bibliotheca Britannica*. Tr.]

viously read it in Hebrew. It stands in the very same connexion, and thus is no further illustrated.

Here then the Syriac supplies us with records of great extent, from which we may elucidate the Hebrew, and which are not in use, because the public has been in possession of them but a few years. It is not the fate of learning, that very prompt use is made of the treasures, which enrich her. A book is printed, and lies long upon the shelf as an ornament not in use ; for it does not immediately serve the purpose of the learned ; and too little indeed was he favoured by fortune, that could buy it. How commonly does this occur ! It is a chance, if within a hundred years of the printing of an old outlandish book, any one can *guess* all, for which it might be useful, and of which the editor perhaps never once thought. In some cases this always remains undiscovered ; and the book is lavished, as those blossoms, which nature designs only to change again to garden-mould, after they have for a short time exhibited their beauties.

It is true, that Rome long since had these treasures in her Vatican Library : and I may with justice call this city the special seat of Syriac learning. But the best votaries of Syriac there do not occupy themselves, with a reference to Hebrew ; and they generally use their Syriac learning for a purpose, different from that of us Protestants. For as a great part of the Syrian church has submitted to the See of Rome, and efforts are made to gain the other also, it is necessary, with a view to be well versed in the usages, the liturgies, the antiquities, and the history of the Syrian Church, that an acquaintance be formed with their own writings. At Rome, therefore, the Syriac is pursued, almost after the same propensity, which Virgil ascribed to the Romans of old :

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

And it is important, in some measure to retrieve in the East, what seems to have been lost in Europe. In this manner is the Syriac, as to the actual knowledge that is obtained by its study, an important part of Roman learning ; and such is the

manner of its occupying those engaged in it, that they little think of making it illustrate Hebrew words.

2. From the Syriac, we may not only derive *much more* for the elucidation of the Hebrew, but often somewhat *more certainly*, than from the Jewish Chaldee with which we are acquainted.

The former of these two propositions I have already casually treated.* We have far more books of every kind in Syriac, from which we may learn this language to a much greater extent; and more words, phrases, and constructions are to be met with, in so varied a connexion, that it is easy to determine with certainty their true sense. This is not the case in regard to the Chaldee, where our limited reading is restricted to the versions of the Bible.

From this very difference arises the second claim: that the elucidations of the Hebrew from the Syriac are often *more certain*, and carry with them greater conviction, than those derived from the Chaldee. I can at least say, that as long as I have illustrated an obscure Hebrew word merely by the Chaldee, and miss that word or its signification in Syriac, I am not without sensible fear, lest I should go astray. We are acquainted with the Chaldee, (excepting Daniel and Ezra), only from the writings of such Jews, as undertook to translate and explain the Hebrew Scriptures; and they lived pretty long, somewhere between four and ten centuries, after the cessation of the Hebrew language. They introduced into their Chaldee many words, which, as learned men, they had obtained from the Hebrew Scriptures; just as the Christian Church has enriched other languages with Latin and Greek words. And they gave them, in Chaldee, that meaning, in which the Rabbins had properly or improperly understood them in the Bible. I am not certain then, whether this or that particular word of the Hebrew Bible, which I meet with in Chaldee books, was at any time a part of the vernacular language of the Chaldeans, or was only introduced into it by

* [See §. 4. of the work from which this Treatise is extracted. Tr.]

the Rabbins; and whether it owes the meaning, which Jewish writers give it, merely to *their* exposition of the Hebrew Scriptures, or to the *existing usage* of the Chaldee. But I am safe from this twofold apprehension, as soon as I meet with the word in Syriac, in that sense; for it was not spoken, as a half-learned language, by Rabbins, but as a native tongue, by such as were *not at all* concerned with the Hebrew Bible, or at least *too seldom*, to acquaint themselves with its unknown words, and to employ it in the acceptation, which exegesis required.

Whenever therefore, I meet merely in the Chaldee, with a word or alleged sense of the Hebrew Bible, that is not found in the other Oriental Languages, I have misgivings on the subject. And I am afraid, that it may be a word, *not* nurtured in its parent's arms, but in the schools; and that the Rabbi took it from the Bible, well or ill interpreted by him, and transferred it into the Jewish Chaldee. I am at least very distrustful, if I do not meet with the word in the Syriac. But as soon as this is the case, I am freed from my apprehension, and I think I am no longer about to move in a circle, if only I illustrate the Hebrew that is not clear to me, by means of the Chaldee and Syriac.

I will endeavour to make this more intelligible by an example, where the mere Chaldee is doubtful to my mind. The words of Isaiah, Chapter xiv. ver. 23. **וְטָאֲטַאתִּיהָ כַּמְטָאֲטָא הַשֹּׁמֵר** are most generally translated *I will sweep it with the besom of destruction.** The Chaldee, Syriac and Vulgate here led the way of the modern versions; and I have nothing whatever to say, in opposition to the sense, which is afforded by this translation. It is my wish only, that an explanation of the Hebrew words **טָאֲטָא** and **כַּמְטָאֲטָא**, which occur no where but here, should be obtained from the passage, independently of the other Orien-

* *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*, p. 995. In these Supplementa may be found many other examples, where we must remain in doubt, if we are acquainted with the signification of a word merely from the Chaldee.

tal languages, so that the noun may mean *besom*, and the verb *sweep*. The Chaldee alone very promptly offers this to me : for there טִיָּט signifies to *sweep*, and טִיָּטִיָּט *besom*, both from טִי *dirt*, and טִיָּט to *cleanse from dirt*.* Can I with safety rely on this? May it not be the case, that this Chaldee word is merely Rabbinic, and originated from the fact, that certain Rabbins interpreted the unknown Hebrew noun and verb, by *besom* and *sweep*? If it be so, I should argue in a circle, in case I proved the sense of the Hebrew word from the Chaldee : for in the Chaldee, the Rabbins merely so used it, because they believed, that it was to be so understood in the Hebrew!

I am free from this uncertainty, as soon as I find the same words in Syriac with the same meaning. But should that not be the case, my distrust in regard to the mere Chaldee is increased : and although I do not contradict it, yet I follow that sound logic, which it is so difficult to find, among most of those who interpret the Hebrew Scriptures.

Shall I mention one other example, where I decide, with more confidence, against the mere Chaldee? COCCEIUS, a man truly great in philology, who has furnished us with by far the best Hebrew Lexicon hitherto extant, (I make an exception, however, in favour of Castell, for in the Hebrew his is better still, although it is not used), would translate מְדוּלָּה מִיַּיִן in Isaiah 1. 22. *potus tuus circumcisus est aqua*. The expression is indeed peculiar. I understand it to be *Wine adulterated† with water*; but to circumcise wine with water sounds to me, almost the same, as if I heard of Jewish infant-baptism. COCCEIUS, however, took this sense of the word from the Chaldee, where certainly מְדוּלָּה is the same as מוּל to circumcise. But as long as I discover this word, neither in

* [See BUXTORF'S *Lexicon Chald., Talmud., Rabbin.*, Col. 847, on the Chaldee words cited; and GESNIUS' *Hebr. Handwörterbuch*, on the word טִיָּט and his *Commentary* on Isaiah, xiv. 23. Tr.]

† [The German epithet here used by MICHAELIS is *getauft*, which signifies *baptized*, as well as *adulterated*; hence his play upon the word, at the close of the sentence. Tr.]

one of the other Oriental Languages, nor in the Syriac, which appears in other particulars to be the same as the Chaldee, I believe that מְהַל *to circumcise*, is no word of the Chaldees themselves, derived from the parent stock; but that it is merely a word of the Rabbins who spoke Chaldee. And I believe, that it was formed by them from this passage of Isaiah, because they did not know what מְהַל meant, and represented it as well as they could by מוּל. In short, it is not ancient Chaldee, but modern and Jewish; and consequently, it is of no service for the explanation of a passage of Isaiah. But, on the other hand, if ܘܫܘܘܢ in Syriac also signified *to circumcise*, the views of Cocceius would have had somewhat greater probability.

§. II.

The use of the Syriac language, particularly in regard to Hebrew Grammar.

In the application of the Syriac to the Hebrew, we must bear in mind, not merely words and phrases, (the contents of the Lexicon,) but principally the Grammar of the language. Here also the Hebrew cannot well dispense with the aid of the Arabic and Syriac, because the Hebrew Bible is far too inconsiderable, to admit of a complete grammar being formed from it with sufficient accuracy. For, to give an illustration of the case:—if a certain alleged grammatical rule or exception depended only on a very few examples, and as to these, there was a possibility of giving a different analysis of the word, or of reading it in a quite different manner, the inquiry would be suggested: Is the alleged rule, exception, or anomaly, well founded, or only imagined? And this case is of frequent occurrence in Hebrew Grammar, which appears to some a mere assemblage of exceptions. In such a case, we cannot well decide on any thing, without adopting the aid of the other Oriental Languages, of which we know more than

of the Hebrew. If these recognize just such a grammatical deviation, it is thus rendered evident, that this has been adopted in the Hebrew; and it explains the example stated. But if such is not the case, the contrary continues probable, until it is shown, (at least by a sufficient number of undeniable examples, that is to say, such as cannot be otherwise explained,) that the Hebrews actually had such a rule, or exception, or anomaly.

Even the well-known rule, which is found in all grammars, that Vav and Yod, if they quiesce, may be omitted; or, that they may be inserted as *matres lectionis*, (so that we have the liberty of writing the same word both *in full* and *defectively*) is called in question by critics; some of whom are of opinion, that all these differences of orthography are not grammatical license, but errors of the transcriber. The Syriac language here turns the balance in favour of the grammarians, and against the rectifying critics;* for in the records of Palmyra I discover, that the same word is written, sometimes *in full*, and sometimes *defectively*.

The Hebrew Grammar occupies, to a certain extent, a middle course between the Arabic and Aramaean. Where the consonants, the most important part of the language, are concerned, it appears in general somewhat more like the Arabic than like the Aramaean; but this is not the case without deviation, and we may err, if we reject a Hebrew anomaly, with which the Arabs were unacquainted.

I will adduce an example, in which this happened to myself. The *Nun paragogic* of the Hebrews after the Future is well known. And it is still more common in Arabic, where there is inflected a *future paragogic*, which is so entitled. But the Hebrew grammars generally state, that beside this, there is also, although not often, a paragogic Nun suffixed to the

* [HOFFMANN (in his Syriac Grammar, Lib. 1. Cap. 1. §. 12. 2.) gives examples in proof of this. He says, however, that the occurrence of the *matres lectionis* is more frequent in *modern* than in *ancient* Syriac; and he accounts for the fact, by ascribing it to the influence of the Greek language. Tr.]

Preterit. Most examples of it are erroneous; and those adduced are only the result of perplexity, because it was found impracticable, to explain a certain obscure word, but by taking away something at the commencement, rejecting it from the middle, and suffixing it at the end.

The word ܐܘܪܝܢ Deut. viii. 3. 16., to be met with twice in the same chapter, is at least an appropriate instance of this anomaly. But, because I did not meet with any example of a paragogic Nun after the Preterit, in the other Oriental Languages, I suspected this also, and I intended to omit it in the future editions of my Hebrew Grammar. I would have ventured to change the vowel-points of the only example, and to express it in the Future ܐܘܪܝܢ . The Future was not indeed quite appropriate to the context; but in this too, I adopted an expedient, to aid it, and to translate: *which thy fathers would not have known.* This opinion did not last long. In Syriac writers, that had not hitherto been printed, I met with what grammarians keep out of view, that instead of ܐܘܪܝܢ may be inflected also ܐܘܪܝܢܢ : for instance, in ASSEMAN'S *Oriental Library*, T. i. p. 235. ܐܘܪܝܢܢܢ , or to take an example found in this Chrestomathy,* p. 78. ܐܘܪܝܢܢܢ . From this fact† I concluded that the Chaldees do the same; and in the Targum of Jerusalem and the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, instead of ܐܘܪܝܢ we often find ܐܘܪܝܢܢ . Then I began to think, that the same might once have been the case in Hebrew.

* [The extract in the Chrestomathy is from the *Chronicle of Darius*, in ASSEMAN'S *Oriental Library*, T. i. p. 411. In the Author's Syriac Grammar, §. 43., there are further examples. Tr.]

† [The use of the *Paragogic Nun* of the Preterit is well known in Syriac; for in the Preterit of almost all verbs, some of the persons appear with it. See HOFFMANN'S *Syr. Gram.* Lib. II. Cap. 1 §. 53. Annot. 3. In Chaldee also it is to be met with, as the author states; for instance, in the TARGUM, it occurs three times in a single verse. Ps. LXXVII. 17. EICHORN, (in his *Einführung ins A. T.* B. I. §. 11. pp. 76. 83.,) looks upon the Nun paragogic of the Hebrew as an *archaism*; but GESSENIUS, (in his *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache*, §. 78. Anmerk. 2.,) expresses a different opinion. Tr.]

In regard to the vowels and diacritical marks, Hebrew Grammar derives more illustrations from the Syriac, and but few from the Arabic. The probable cause of it is this: that after the Babylonian captivity, the Aramaean was for several centuries vernacular among the Jews who dwelt in Asia, and continued for a long time to be their learned language. It was no wonder then, if they at this time pronounced the Consonants of the unspoken Hebrew, according to their living language, that is, Aramaean; and were unacquainted with the ancient pronunciation, which, as I apprehend, may have approached more nearly to the Arabic. At the present day, almost every people in Europe pronounce, according to their own native language, the Latin, which was written with consonants and vowels: the Italians pronounce in a peculiar manner; the Germans and the French also; and the English depart very widely from them all. If it occurred to the Jews, therefore, a thousand years or more, after the total extinction of the Hebrew language, to add to the Hebrew text the present vowels and diacritical marks; it can scarcely be supposed otherwise, than that, from their ignorance of the long lost ancient pronunciation, they would have adapted their native language to the Chaldee or Aramaean. And that is not merely probable *a priore*, but I can prove it. When I issue my new Hebrew Grammar, on which I am now occupied, and which is to be reprinted in a form, entirely different from the editions of 1745, 1768, and 1778, there shall be given illustrations of the fact.

My late revered father, in his Dissertation entitled *Lumina Syriaca pro illustrando Ebraismo* (Halle 1756),* derived many grammatical elucidations from the Syriac; and as I have made his Syriac Grammar the ground of illustrations for my Chrestomathy, I hope that no one may have this Syriac Grammar, without connecting with it the above-mentioned Dissertation.

* [This Dissertation may be found in POTT's *Sylloge Comment. Theol.* P. 1. p. 170. ss. Tr.]

§. III.

The use of the Syriac language, in elucidating the phraseology of the New Testament.

The second use of the Syriac regards the Greek of the New Testament, which is so replete with Oriental phraseology. Cases of this are generally called *Hebraisms*; and I will not dispute about this word, since undoubtedly no man understands so much of the ancient Hebrew language, that he can with confidence deny it any expression of another Oriental language. It *may have been* Hebrew, without occurring in the small collection of Hebrew books now extant. But Christ, whose words are translated in the Gospels, and the other Jews of his day did not use, as their vernacular language, the *Hebrew*, but the *Chaldee* or *Syriac*. And many of the peculiar Greek phrases of the New Testament will be in vain sought for in the Hebrew Scriptures; yet they are to be met with in Syriac.

I have been marking, from time to time, in my New Testament, such Syriac phrases, and shall perhaps *publish them*, when the collection is more enlarged. Should I not have time for this, there will at least be found after my death, on the margin of my copy of WETSTEIN'S New Testament, what I have thus collected out of Oriental as well as Greek writers, that has not been taken notice of by others. I made use of WETSTEIN'S margin, because this kind of collection, on account of its similarity to his notes, seemed there to be most appropriate.* I will, however, adduce one or two examples.

The New Testament says sometimes: *to taste of death*;

* Something of this may be found in my *Einleitung ins N. T.*, [*Introduction to the New Testament*,] §. 20. ; in the fourth edition, pp. 145—149. [The corresponding reference, in Bishop MARSH'S Translation, is Vol. 1. Pt. 1. Ch. iv. Sect. v. pp. 135—139. *Tr.*]

for instance, in John VIII. 52. Hebr. II. 9.* Because this is not customary in the Greek, and is as little in accordance with our living languages, as they do not imitate the expression of the Scriptures, the learned have found in the taste of death, according to their pleasure, emphases, mysteries, and depths. At one time, it describes the *easy and rapid transition* of death; and at another, the *bitterness* of its taste; then again a third found in it a deep theological sentiment or allusion, because our first parents brought death upon themselves and all of us, by eating of a forbidden fruit, that was pleasant to the taste. In this emphasis and allusion to a mere scriptural narrative, we may truly be astonished to find, that the phrase is nowhere in the Old Testament; and this very deficiency might have been enough, to prevent the interpreter's explaining it merely by the emphatic word, a *Hebraism*. But we may find it in the Syriac and Arabic writers; the former of whom are more nearly allied to the New Testament, because Jesus and his Apostles spoke Aramaean.

In ASSEMAN'S ORIENTAL LIBRARY, T. I. p. 51. the Edesenes say: *ܕܡܝܢ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܕܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ* but one death awaits us, which we must taste,† that is, we can die but once. Here is the same expression, except only, that we see whence it is derived. A passage of EPHREM is more explicit, in his *Commentary on the book of Genesis*, Tom. I. p. 46. where he makes Lamech say: *ܒܘܩܕܡܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ* before that comes to pass, we shall die, and escape the misery (*ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ*) by the cup of death, which we must taste. They imagined, therefore, that Death held in his hand an empoisoned cup, which mortals were compelled to drink: in the same manner, perhaps, that

* [The passages of the New Testament, in which the phrase *γεύομαι θάνατον*, to taste of death, occurs, are the following: Matt. XVI. 28. Mark IX. 1. Luke IX. 27. John VIII. 52. Hebr. II. 9. In Hebr. XI. 5. also, where the Greek is *ὡς ἰδοὺ θάνατον*, not see death, the Syriac is *ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ* not (taste of death. Tr.)

† [Literally: One death is before us, which we shall taste. Tr.]

other nations are accustomed to furnish him with a fatal shaft, the Jews with a sword, and the common people in Germany with a scythe. Thus, too, may we understand the expression of Christ, when he so repeatedly calls the death which awaited him, a cup which he must drink.

There may be a doubt, perhaps, whether the Syrian Christians did not obtain these expressions from the New Testament, somewhat in the same manner that our German, and to a still greater degree the English language, have acquired many Scriptural phrases, because some people are desirous at all times to speak according to the Scriptures, or as SWIFT* has it, in his satire on the Puritans, according to their *father's will*.

This cannot, indeed, be confuted from the Syriac alone, because our Syriac writers generally are Christians: though the contrary may still be probable, on this account, that the New Testament must have received the expression from some other language, and Christ must have received it from the common language of the Jews. The Arabic here furnishes us with new aid, from the circumstance that it exhibits to us, as evidences of the expression, ancient poets who were *not* Christians. An Arabian bard of pagan times, whose poem I have transferred from SCHULTENS' Grammar into my Arabic Chrestomathy, [see p. 77.] † says:

سَقِينَا كَأْسَ حَتْفِ لَهْدَيْلِكَ

we must give the Hudailites the cup of death to drink; and SCHULTENS cites, (p. 442. of his Arabic Grammar,) a corresponding passage. †

* *Tale of a Tub*, p. 115. of the first volume of SWIFT'S *Works*, according to the Hawkesworth edition of 1760.

† Professor ADLER, in *Nonnulla Matthæi et Marci enunciatæ, ex indole linguæ Syriacæ explicata*, p. 13. states some further examples of Arabic phrases, which give appellations to Death, from drinking or intoxication. Some of these I think inapposite.

‡ [A similar phrase is often found in *Rabbinical* writers. Thus: All the children of the world טעמא דמוותא טעמין טעמין *taste the taste of death*. Dr. GILL (in his *Comment. on Matt. xvi. 28.*) quotes, in proof of this, *Zohar* on Gen., fol. 27, 4. and 37, 1. and on Exod., fol. 19, 2. and on Numb., fol. 50, 4. and 51, 2. 4; and *Midrash Koheleth*, fol. 83, 2. He refers also to *Beresheet Rabba*, Sect. 9, fol. 7, 3. 4., and Buxtorf (in his

St. Paul's expression, II. Cor. XII. 7., *the angel or messenger of Satan, to buffet me*, the best interpreters understand, as referring to a bodily disease. It is not my purpose at this time, to explain it from the opinion of the Jews, who ascribed every disease to some evil spirit, and regarded all these spirits, as subjects and messengers, or angels, of the *Angel of Death*, who in particular is called Satan. It is now my intention only, to supply a very similar Syriac expression, which I have met with in ASSEMAN'S ORIENTAL LIBRARY, T. I. p. 215., where a transcriber, in the subscription of a book, says that he wrote it at a time when he was sick; which is in Syriac, when I received buffetings on account of my sins:—

ܘܥܫܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܘܬܝܢ .

The verb *σκανδαλιζω*, so common in the New Testament, and of which I made mention some time since, in the *Program* * to my Lectures on the Septuagint, pp. 20. 21., may be here introduced; as I then expressly deferred what may be better stated while I am treating of the Syriac, than when speaking of the Septuagint.

The noun *σκανδαλον* is sufficiently explained by Commentators, and good Greek writers were not unacquainted with it. It properly signifies: the loose and lightly set small stick of a trap, which, at the slightest touch, suffers the weight resting

Lexicon Chal. Talm. Rabb.) gives the words of the citation. Dr. PAULUS (in his *Commentar über das N. T.*, Vol. II. Absch. LXXVII.) adds the following passage from *Jalkut Chadash*, fol. 69, 2.: "There are thirteen who *taste not the taste of death*: Enoch, Enoch the servant of Abraham, Methuselah, Hiram king of Tyre, Ebed-Melech the Ethiopian, Pharaoh's daughter, Serah the daughter of Asher, the three sons of Korah, Elijah, Messiah." Tr.]

* [The title of this work is: JOH. DAV. MICHAELIS *Programma, worinne er von seinen Collegiis über die LXX. Dollmetscher Nachricht giebt, und zugleich das erste von diesen Collegiis über die Spruchwörter Salomonis ankündigt*. Göttingen, 1767. ccxviii. Program, in which he gives an account of his Lectures on the Septuagint, and at the same time submits the first of his Lectures on the Proverbs of Solomon. See ROSENMÜLLER *Handb. für die Literat. der bibl. Krit. und Exeg.* B. n. Abth. I. Absch. X, St. 3. at the close. Tr.]

on it to fall; and in a general sense, the trap itself may be called *σκινδαλον*. The verb *σκανδαλιζω* derived from it, is not deduced from classic authors; but it must, according to its derivation, be the same as the phrase, *to set a trap for any one, or to catch him with it, or, if the trap itself be in the Nominative, the trap caught some one.* The pure Greek was still less acquainted with this verb in a moral acceptation.

In the New Testament the noun and verb are often met with, and perhaps not at all times in the same sense. We cannot properly call it a Hebraism, as we do not in one instance find the verb, in the whole Greek version of the canonical books of the Old Testament.* The Book of Sirach is the first that has it, Ch. ix. 5. xxiii. 8. xxxii. (or according to others xxxv.) 15. or as others have it 16. or 19; but still the New Testament may hence derive much for its elucidation. The last passage of Sirach requires more illustration that it gives: and in the two preceding, the word is used of a more particular catching, and placing of the snare. In the New Testament, on the contrary, it most generally occurs in such a manner, that (if I may be permitted, on account of the ambiguity, to retain the Greek word,) by *scandalizing*, inconsideration seems to be alleged, rather than wickedness and design. It does not, so to speak, set a trap, but only permits something to lie in the way, over which a person may fall.

It here seems to be the translation of the Syriac ܘܢܘܕܠܝܘܢ , which primarily, in its proper signification, means *to fall*, but then, *to fall away from a religion, be it true or false; to be irritated at any thing, and on this account, to break off from fellowship with him who does it.* I will adduce some examples from my Chrestomathy. At page 43, it is related, that the King of the Homerites desired and received from Alexandria a Bishop, before the decree of the Council of Chalcedon, which condemned Eutychus, was recognized at Alex-

* I have since, however, found one example of it in a canonical book. Dan. xi. 41; but that I could not have known in the year 1768, for Daniel in the Version of the Lxx. was first published at Rome in the year 1772.

andria ; but this Bishop soon died, and as this Council in the mean time was there recognized, and Theodosius was proscribed, *on account of the faith*, and because he would not subscribe to it, the King of the Homerites was displeased

ܐܘܬܝܢ ܘܥܘܕܝܢ (ܘܥܘܕܝܢ), and would not receive any Bishop from Alexandria. It may be remarked, that the word is here used, not of an apostasy, but of an affront, on account of which the Homerites separated from a Church, regarded by the writer as heterodox.

Bishops were introduced among the Homerites, in violation of the usages of the Church, and without being consecrated by Bishops ; see p. 45. The author greatly disapproves of this ; and he thus writes of those who disapproved of it, as well as himself : “ but many (ܘܥܘܕܝܢ), did not regard

this as an ordination, and did not recognize them ; upon which, there arose a great schism.” In this passage, it might be thought, perhaps, that the Syrians may have derived from the New Testament, their signification of the word, because

it occurs in an ecclesiastical sense : but in p. 97, ܘܥܘܕܝܢ *fallen*, has the same sense as *angered, displeased*.

This gives, it is true, to most passages of the New Testament where *σκανδαλίζω* occurs, no other sense than they already have among commentators : but still it illustrates them, and evinces, that this verb had acquired, in ancient Greek, and even with the Septuagint, a signification so unusual.* At direct variance with it, is a common pulpit observation, that [the German word] *ärgern* [to offend] does not mean to irritate a person, but to make him *ärger* [worse], or to corrupt his principles. This is a well meant moral and etymological reflection on the German word : but it is unwarranted

* [A very full investigation of this subject may be found in JOMAN-
NIS VORSTII *de Hebraïsmis N. T. Commentarius*, Pars I. Cap. III. §. pp. 87
—105. of the edit. Lipsiæ, 1778. Tr.]

in the Greek, which actually says with a Syriasm, *to provoke one to anger, to irritate*. And I must ascribe it to a happy accident, that in the German there is found a word, which so well expresses the sense of the Syro-Greek, although the German Translator knew nothing of the Syriac.

One particular passage of the New Testament, however, seems to be still more indebted to this interpretation from the Syriac, and to be, for the first time, by means of it, rendered intelligible and consistent. In Matt. xviii. 1—10. the subject is pride, and the severest curse is denounced against those, who *offend* one of the least; but of this it is said again, verse 10., *take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones*: just as if *to offend* and *to despise* were the same, or that *to offend* was a consequence of pride. This removes a great obscurity in the passage, as long as to offend is taken, in the usual ecclesiastical sense, of setting a bad example. But as soon as we understand by *σκανδαλίζω*, *to provoke one in such a manner, that in anger he withdraws himself from us; yes, and apostatizes from Christ himself*, and supply* the narrative from Mark ix. 33—50, all is then clear. As the disciples of Jesus disputed by the way, who among them should be the greatest in his kingdom, Jesus places a little child in the midst of them, takes it up in his arms, and says, if they do not become as this child, they cannot enter into his kingdom; and whosoever shall receive one such child, or the least disciple of Christ, in the name of Christ, and for his sake, will have received Christ himself. John ventured in reply, to make a suggestion to this effect: his master Jesus spoke somewhat too indefinitely. ‘Many strangers called upon his name. He himself, and his fellow-disciples, had in short met with one, who prayed over those who were possessed, and wished to cast out the evil spirit in the name of Christ; but they

* I refer to my Introduction to the New Testament, §. 96. pp. 910—916. In the *third* edition, §. 120. pp. 772—774. [In the *fourth* edition §. 121. pp. 879—881; and in Bishop MARSH'S translation, Vol. III. Pt. 1. Ch. II. Sect. 1. pp. 6—9. Tr.]

a forb'd him, because he was not in fellowship with them ; and yet he supposed, that Jesus would not disapprove of their conduct.' Upon this, Jesus answered : he did greatly disapprove of it. At least, this man could have been no adversary of his, but must have been a worshipper. And whosoever held in contempt only one of the least of his disciples, and injured him, and provoked him, on that account ; he would have severely to answer for it. If such an one, only an humble disciple, as was that individual of whom they spoke, should by their opposition be alienated from faith in him ; one of the greatest sins would have been committed. Here, *to provoke, to alienate from Christ, and to despise, are very nearly allied to each other.*

§ IV.

Of Books written in Syriac ; and of the use of the Syriac New Testament.

THE third use of the Syriac language consists in this, that it puts us in a situation, to read and understand a number of useful books, which are written in it.* This is generally the object for which we learn a language ; but we are apt to pass by this in regard to the Oriental Languages, at one time, because we design merely to use them for their illustration of the Hebrew, and our intention leads us no further than this : and at another time, because in these languages, (excepting a version of the Scriptures, or Liturgies,) very little is extant or known. The latter is not the case, in regard to the Syriac language. Independently of a complete Version of the whole Bible, and even of the Apocryphal Books, we are of-

* [An Essay on the Literature of the Christian Syrians, (Ueber die Literatur der christlichen Syrer,) by J. F. GAAB, is inserted in PAULUS' *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur*, Vol. III. pp. 358 ss. of the edit. Jena, 1791. Tr.]

ferred a valuable library of important, and for the most part unexamined works, most of them indeed as yet in manuscript, but *some* in print. and I would add, (lest the latter should be thought single sheets,) even *folio volumes*.

Among these works, it is true, the version of the Scriptures holds a very distinguished place, on account of its critical and philological use ; and an omission would be discovered here, if I did not make particular mention of it.

In regard to the versions of the New Testament, I shall readily be relieved from the necessity of this, as I should be compelled to repeat what I have treated at length on this point, in my *Curæ in versionem Syriacam Actuum Apostolicorum, cum consecrariis criticis, de indole, cognationibus, et usu versionis Syriacæ tabularum novi foederis*, (published in the year 1755),* and also in the second edition of the *Introduction to the New Testament*, §§. 24—31.†

But I must say something, in regard to the version of the Old Testament, at least as preliminary, and defer the proofs of what I state. Those, who have hitherto attended my usual *College Lectures*, which I read on some one or other chapter of the Bible, will readily recal to mind the proofs. If I have time, I will on some future occasion *gather them* from these Lectures, where they lie scattered, and transfer

* [This valuable work is a small quarto of two hundred pages, published at *Göttingen*, in the year above mentioned. It contains: §. i. interpretations of the Greek text derived from the Syriac; §§. ii—vi. a critical examination of the *Arabic Version of the Epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles*, edited by *Erpenius*, and a comparison of this version with the Syriac; §. vii. a collection of readings in the Syriac not noted by *Dr. Mill*; §§. viii—x. a comparison of the Syriac and Latin Versions; §. xi. a list of Greek MSS. allied to the Syriac; §. xii. a view of the peculiar readings of the Syriac; §. xiii. remarks on *Wetstein's* want of due care in examining Greek MSS. Tr.]

† In the fourth edition, more shall be stated on the value of this version; but I cannot designate the paragraphs, because so much of the work is not yet printed. [The author wrote these words in 1786, and in 1788 the *fourth* edition of his work was published. The passage referred to is §§. 53—60. pp. 361—409; in *Bishop Marsin's Trans.* Vol. ii. Pt. i. Ch. vii. Sect. ii—ix. pp. 4—51. Tr.]

them to the critical Dissertations, which I propose to write,* on the causes of the various readings in the Hebrew Bible.

§. V.

*Some account of the Syriac Version of the
Old Testament.*

The Syriac Version of the Old Testament is of great importance, and pleases me more than that of the New. It is incorrectly stated by some, that it was made from the Greek: as far as I have hitherto examined it, sometimes casually at isolated passages, and sometimes in my critical lectures on entire chapters, I find it throughout, immediately translated from the Hebrew text.† In the readings of the Hebrew text which it expresses, and in the interpretation which it gives of Hebrew words, it is very often different from the Septuagint: and in each chapter where I have instituted a comparison, I have found several such differences. I would offer to give examples, from any chapter that might be selected; but it is the less necessary, because my reader may find them, in the printed critical Lectures on the 16th., 40th., and 110th. Psalms.

* This is now out of the question; but some of the kind alluded to will be found in my *Introduction to the Old Testament*, if I live to finish it. [Of this work, only a small part ever appeared. It is the first portion of the first volume, published at *Hamburg* in the year 1787, comprising Introductions to the Book of Job and the Books of Moses. It contains 352 pages, small quarto, and is written in German. The author died four years after its publication; in the year 1791. Tr.]

† [This is also asserted, in express words, by GREGORY BARHEBRAEUS. See ASSEMAN'S *Oriental Library*, T. II. p. 274, and ABULPHARAGIUS' *History of the dynasties*, p. 100, together with the internal evidences adduced by EICHHEORN, in his *Introduction to the O. T.*, Vol. II. §. 253. Tr.]

I do not deny, that the Syriac Version not unfrequently agrees also with the Septuagint ; but that is not to be wondered at, and is no objection to what I state. No two translators always read or interpreted differently from each other ; and just as well do I discover, that the Syriac accords, sometimes with the Chaldee, and sometimes with Symmachus, or other Ancient Versions.

Nor will I deny, that the Syriac translator had at hand the Greek Version of the Scriptures, and may have taken much from it ; and I should wonder if he had not done so, as the Greek language was so much spoken in the cities of Syria, and indeed yet further in those of the Euphrates, and in Edessa. I do this, even in the German translation of the Hebrew Bible, in which I am now occupied.* In the preparation for it, I consult, not merely the Greek, but at the same time the other Ancient Versions, as often as I find it necessary ; and in the execution of it, I look into Luther's Bible, to borrow from it a happy expression, when I am in want of one ; but still I translate from the Hebrew. Just in this manner, I imagine, the Syriac translator acted, in regard to the Septuagint.

Some of the more remarkable coincidences, between the Syriac Bible and the Greek, did not however proceed from the original translator, but from a supposed improvement, which JACOB OF EDESSA undertook, at the beginning of the eighth century, and of which important notices may be seen in the *Journal des Sçavans*.† As far as my observation extends, the Syriac accords with the Greek, more frequently in Ezekiel, than in the other books ; but I do not know the cause of this. I have observed the same also, in regard to the Proverbs of Solomon, yet with the particular and unexpected circumstance, that the Chaldee Version follows the Septuagint still more ; so much so, that in my notes of readings to-

* [Michaelis made this observation in the year 1768 ; and the next year, a part of his very able *German Translation of the Bible* was first published. The entire work, in part improved and enlarged by the author, afterwards appeared, between the years 1773 and 1792. Tr.]

† The *Amsterdam* edition, October 1765, Vol. 1. pp. 67—99,

ward the middle of this book I find, in those readings of the Hebrew text which they translate, that the Septuagint is more frequently accordant with the Chaldee and Syriac, than with the Vulgate.*

It seems, that the books of the Old Testament were not all translated into Syriac by one hand ; for example, the translator of the books of Moses appears to me a different person from him, who furnished the Syriac Bible with the books of Chronicles. This may have a bearing on the preceding observation. Now and then I discover traces of the religion of the translator, which indicate a Christian and no Jew. A Jew by religion would not have employed the Syriac, but the Hebrew letters, and would have used the Chaldee Targums more copiously, than is observed in most books of the Syriac Old Testament. This a Jew by birth would have done, if even he had been converted to Christianity. If therefore most books of the Syriac Bible thus evince, that the interpreter had no acquaintance with the Targums, I then think, that the translator† never was a Jew by birth.

In the POLYGLOTS, the Syriac text is not the best, but often very incorrect. The fault of this cannot be ascribed to the

* When I wrote this I was unacquainted with a Treatise by Dr. DATHE, *De ratione consensus versionis Chaldaicae et Syriacae proverbiorum Salomonis*, Lipsiae, 1764, in which he makes this observation, and states as the cause of the fact, that the Chaldee translation was made from the Syriac, and afterward only altered in some places by the Jews. This subject I must defer, and treat of it in my Introduction to the Old Testament.

† [The religion and nation of the Syriac translator are unknown. KIRSCH, in the Preface to his edition of the Pentateuch in Syriac, (pp. II—VIII. of the edit. Leipzig. A. D. 1787), presents a brief view of the different opinions on the subject, and adds also some judicious observations. He argues, that the author of the Syriac Version was a Syrian. According to RICHARD SIMON he was a Jew ; that he was a Jewish Christian is maintained by DATHE ; and in the opinion of BERTHOLD and our author, he is to be regarded as a Christian. GESSENIUS, in the Introduction to his *Commentary on Isaiah*, Th. II. §. 12. 3., (or pp. 429. 430. of this volume,) maintains the last opinion. Tr.]

editor solely, although it is certain, that GABRIEL SIONITA was by no means an ASSEMAN; and for the publication of the Syriac Bible he brought neither the skill, nor even the care requisite, which might in some measure have supplied the want of learning. But the fault is partly to be ascribed to this: that in the execution of the work, there was unfortunately employed a very faulty manuscript. Dolath and Rish, Yud and Nun, especially in proper names, are often evidently altered. How frequently does this deviation give a sense, not all accordant with the Hebrew text! Although the faults are not limited to these few letters; yet I mention these only, because they are very frequently committed. But I have also found at times, in using the Syriac Version, that it must be printed incorrectly, and even so much so, that I can readily conjecture the true reading.* That word *conjecture* may indeed excite some suspicion, whether I may have guessed rightly: but if I add that I have at times confirmed my conjecture, on comparing EPHREM, and have found the *reading* which I conjectured, the *text* with *him*, or where the *text* was faulty and printed according to the Polyglots, still illustrated by him, this may in a measure call forth a favourable prepossession. I do not readily venture a critical conjecture; but if, so to speak, it obtrudes itself upon me, I adopt it.

From what has thus far been said, it follows, that whoever reads the Syriac Version of the Old Testament, not merely for the acquisition of the language, but would apply it to a critical use, or judge of its interpretations of the Old Testament, he will do well, at least wherever any thing appears to him obscure or doubtful, to examine the various readings of the Syriac Version, which are to be found in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot. I have commonly found among these

* In the *Polyglot Bible* which my revered father left me, I sometimes find, written on the margin, his conjectural emendations of the Syriac text; and I regard these conjectures in the main as probable, and most of them as true.

what I sought for, but not *always*; on many occasions EPHREM has had it, and other conjectures remain as yet mere conjectures, that is, without evidence.

Of how great importance EPHREM SYRUS may be to a scholar, who desires to read and use the Syriac Version, my reader may have already observed; but in regard to his Works, I shall soon speak further. It is my intention here, to point out only a few other helps, which the scholar, who wishes, if I may so speak, to exhaust the uses of the Syriac Version, must employ.

Of some books of Scripture we have Arabic Versions, which are made from the Syriac; of this character is the Arabic version of the book of Job, which is printed in the Polyglots, and in great part the so called *Maronite Arabic Version of the Psalms*.* Whoever compares these with the Syriac, will sometimes be enabled to understand an uncommon, and on that account obscure or doubtful Syriac word, with more correctness, or at least with a greater degree of certainty. This is particularly useful, in regard to the names of animals and plants; for these words have heretofore been very little understood, because we have no works on Natural History, in Syriac as we have in Arabic. GABRIEL SIONITA was accustomed to translate them, so to speak, without the least regard for the public, as it casually occurred to him, and as HE understood the Hebrew word to which the Syriac answered, from the Vulgate, or from a Hebrew Lexicon; just as if the Syriac

* [The Author here inserts a long note, on this and other Arabic Versions of the Psalms, which it is thought proper to omit.

It may be well to state, however, that the Arabic Version of the Psalms, in the LONDON POLYGLOT is formed from the Greek, and not from the Hebrew, as alleged by BAUNGARTEN in the *Haltischer Bibliothek*.

The *Maronite Arabic Version* of the Psalms, our author asserts in the omitted note, was formed, not from the Greek, but from the Syriac. See, to the contrary, ROSEMÜLLER's *Handbuch für die Literatur der bibl. Kritik und Exegese*, B. III. Abth. 5. Absch. 3; also EICHENDORF's *Einleit. ins A. T. B. II. Kap. III. §. 297*, and his *Repertorium*, Th. IV. Abh. III. Tr.]

translator must have understood the Hebrew word, in that manner which prevailed in Gabriel's day. CASTELI, whose Syriac Lexicon I esteem very highly, and regard as the most complete portion of his Heptaglot Lexicon, has indeed corrected many of these faults, and translated in his Lexicon differently from what occurs in the Latin Version of Gabriel Sionita: but words from natural history are still the very poorest part of his Dictionary. Here then the Arabic Versions seem to me to be of great use. They were made at a time, when both the Arabic and the Syriac were vernacular and living languages, in Syria, Mesopotamia and Assyria;* and when we might expect, that the translator knew, which plant or animal was called by this or that name in Syriac, as it was a common appellation; and in Arabic we are still less exposed to error.

The Latin Version, which accompanies the Syriac in the Polyglots is not to be trusted; and it has been made, neither with the necessary skill, nor even with proper care.

§. VI.

The use of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament.

The use which may be made of the Syriac Version is partly *critical*, in the proper acceptation of the word, and partly *exegetical*.

The *critical* is afforded, if we collect from this version the various readings of the Hebrew text which it expresses. It furnishes us with a great supply of these, hitherto not known

* It may be objected, that in this case no Arabic Version would be necessary. On this account I would state, that in cities where the conquering nation, the Arabian, prevailed, there the Syriac language gradually sunk more and more into disuse; and that as the Christians who resided out of the above-mentioned provinces used the Syriac language in divine worship, this language became unknown, at an earlier period, out of Syria, Mesopotamia and Assyria. This rendered Arabic Versions of the existing Scriptures necessary, before the Syriac wholly ceased to be a living language.

and still less examined, and many of them important. Sometimes it confirms the common reading of the Masorites, in opposition to other Ancient Versions, or to the Samaritan text; sometimes it contributes by its own, to set forth other readings of the Masorites. To what deference it may be entitled in either case, I cannot now inquire.

The *exegetical* uses I value far more highly, in regard to the Syriac Version of the OLD than of the NEW TESTAMENT: and for this reason, because in the Old Testament there is more obscure, that stands in need of explanation. This is the case particularly, if obscure Hebrew words are translated by the Syriac interpreter, who might know much more concerning them, than we in Europe, after the lapse of so many centuries. I have treated of this, in my *View of the means, to acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew language*, §. 22. 23. 24., to which I now refer, to save repetitions. Here, and as far as it relates to the signification of particular words, the Syriac Version (on account of its age. and because its author spoke, as his native language, one that was allied to the Hebrew,) has in a degree the authority and credibility of a witness. The case is different, as soon as the question is, whether this or that meaning is to be adopted in a particular passage pointed out; for the question, in this case, is merely logical, and can depend neither on witnesses nor authority. Yet still an Ancient Version may possess another kind of merit; which is, that it may elucidate an obscure passage of the Hebrew Bible, the sense of which at least modern commentators have misapprehended, and give an explanation that was not thought of, and which on close investigation may prove true. It is indeed merit enough, if this true explanation were to be met with only in a degree, and it gave us a hint, which led us further. I must acknowledge, that I have not unfrequently been indebted to the Syriac Version for something of this kind, and lest the supposition should arise, that it always consisted in trifles, I will give an example; and doubtful as it is, on account of a double reading, no friend of Christianity, no intelligent skeptic can regard it among trifles.

If we understand Isaiah xxv. 7. according to the usual in-

terpretation,* in which *בָּלַע* is *to swallow up*, *כִּסָּה* *to cover*, and *מִסְכָּה* *a veil*, then there arise phrases, the unfitness of which might convince any one, that Isaiah had in view nothing of the kind. What expressions! *THE LORD will swallow up the face of the covering, that is covered over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations.* What is a *face of the covering*: a covered face! some may reply. But how then can it be spread over the people? We cover a face, but we do not cover it over other heads. What an idea, *to swallow up the veil*; or if you will, *destroy the veil*, or *cast it into the sea*! LUTHER had too nice a sense of the proprieties of the German language, to have translated this: he used other words, and thus softened the hardness of expression, which he discovered.† The moderns have brought to the interpretation of the Scriptures more learning, but not equal taste. If we compare them with him, he appears to be an intelligent man, who had good taste, but was bold in translating, and attributed to his author his own sentiments; while all learned Commentators appear to be, I dare not say what, but only the contrary of the excellencies just commended.

I shall not adduce all that has been suggested, with a view to give a tolerable sense to the words of Isaiah; for how would it comport with a preface to a Syriac Chrestomathy? The only suggestion that I can make, before I proceed to the subject itself, is that all difficulties vanish, if instead of *הָלוֹט* we read with the Syriac, Chaldee, and Symmachus *שָׁלַיִט*. For as the verb *בָּלַע* signifies *to smite* (and particularly so

* [In the *text* of our English Bibles, it is thus: "And he will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations." In the *margin*, we read *swallow up*, instead of "destroy," and *covered* instead of "cast over." Tr.]

† [LUTHER's words are these: *Und er wird auf diesem Berge das Hüllen wegthun, damit alle Völker verhüllet sind, und die Decke, damit alle Heyden zugedeckt sind*; i. e. And on this mountain he will remove the veil wherewith all people are veiled, and the covering wherewith all nations are covered. Tr.]

in Syriac), and ܢܫܝܢ is used in reference to *anointing kings*, we may actually translate very handsomely, and agreeably to the context: *The Lord will smite the face of the tyrant, who rules over all people, and is anointed Lord over all nations: he will smite death for ever.* Here Death would signify the universal tyrant over all people; and as to ܡܫܚܢܐ, which I translate *Lord*, or more strictly, *unctio ad magistratum*, we need only be informed, that magistrates in the East assume as a title the *abstracta generis feminini*.* I regard this reading as any thing but substantiated, yet as I have mentioned the readings of the Syriac translator, it may serve for an example. I proceed to what I particularly propose to say.

I will, then, not change the Hebrew text at all, but take it as it stands in our printed Bibles; and the Syriac Version of the words: ܘܗַמְסַכְּהָ ܗܢְסוּכָה ܥַל-כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם first put me in the way for a better explanation. The Syriac translator renders them, almost retaining the Hebrew words:

ܘܗܡܫܚܢܐ ܗܢܫܝܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܬܐ

ܘܗܡܫܚܢܐ ܗܢܫܝܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܬܐ and the offering which is slain for† all people. The Hebrew words may by all means signify this; ܢܫܝܢ to pour, to shed, is the common word among the Hebrews, that is used of drink-offerings, and in Arabic it is applied to offerings in general, without this restriction. For

* [On the use of the *feminine abstract* in Syriac, see HOFFMANN's Syriac Grammar, Lib. iii. Cap. i. §. 110. Tr.]

† [The words ܘܗܡܫܚܢܐ ܗܢܫܝܢ may be translated *in behalf of*, as in Acts xiv. 1. Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak .

ܘܗܡܫܚܢܐ ܗܢܫܝܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܬܐ in behalf of thyself. Tr.]

ܕܢܫܢܢܐ signifies *he has offered*, ܕܢܫܢܢܐܢܐ
an offering, and ܕܢܫܢܢܐܢܐܢܐ the *blood of the offering*.

The very Syriac ܕܢܫܢܢܐ to *offer* seems to be the same as this, and a mere transposition of letters. As soon as the Syriac translator suggested to me this thought, it occurred, that I might permit ܕܢܫܢܢܐ to remain in the former part of the verse, without a single alteration of the reading, but in the sense which it has in the Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic, *to devote*. Then Isaiah is made to speak of an offering for all people, and of one, who was made a curse for all nations; and this in a very appropriate connexion. He had just been speaking, at least as I understand him, of the fall of Babylon, and had connected with it the happy period of the New Testament, which he delineates as a feast unto Zion, prepared for all people. Then follows, that with the offering for all people, Death also shall be destroyed for ever; that is, his power shall be taken from him, and immortality shall be restored. Is not this almost as express a prophecy of Christ, as that in Chapter LIII., and without the least violence to the words? To present it at one view, I will translate the 6th. to the 8th. verse, according to the interpretation, which I am accustomed to give in Lectures, and to establish by proofs, on account of its departure from that which generally prevails:—

*Jehovah will prepare on this mountain a feast for all people, a feast of costly meats and of wine, the fat of which shall be pure marrow, and where casks of wine shall be emptied. And he will smite on this mountain the visage of the curse, that has been cursed for all people, and the offering that is offered for all nations. He will destroy death for ever, and Jehovah will wipe away all tears from all faces.**

* [Our author adopted this version, almost word for word, in his *German Translation of the Bible*, Vol. viii., containing a Translation of

In respect to this value of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament, I have often regretted, that it could not be had for the use of students, in a cheap edition. The diminished price of the London Polyglot, which has hitherto cost fifty or sixty, and now may by chance be had at public sales for twenty Rix dollars, will suit a scholar here and there. Yet, on account of its size, it is not a book to be read in Universities.

Two days previous to my writing this, I have received the Syriac Psalter, which Professor DATHE has published at Leipzig. I consider it very useful, and we should have advanced further in Oriental learning, if, instead of the numerous editions of the Syriac *New Testament*, there had sooner been in existence a manual edition of the much more instructive Version of the *Old Testament*. Upon the first inspection of this Psalter, I see one thing which I could have little desired; it is the Latin Version, which makes it unfit for a manual in colleges, and renders the student remiss. The Syriac language is almost too easy, for any one to require a translation; it must therefore be for the use of those, who desire to learn no Syriac at all, and yet wish to read what is contained in the book. Since I have read the preface, I am satisfied with the translation; yet with the feelings of one who cannot alter it.

Isaiah, and a Commentary on the text. ROSENMÜLLER (in his Scholia in V. T. Pars III. Vol. II.) translates: "Et abolebit in monte hoc speciem operimenti orientis omnes populos, et velamen expansum super omnes populos" GESSENIUS (in his Version of Isaiah) says: "He destroys on this mountain the veil (*Schleier*), which covers the face of all people, the veil (*Hülle*) which veils all nations." AUGUSTI and DE WETTE (in their Translation) render thus: "And he removes from this mountain every appearance of the veiling (*Verhüllung*), the veiling, which spreads itself over all people, and the covering (*Decke*), wherewith all nations are covered." Tr.]

§. VII.

The use which may be made of other Syriac Works, particularly those published by the ASSEMAN.

Beside the Version of the Scriptures, of which I have necessarily treated more at length, the Syriac language offers us a very large store of valuable works, for the most part in manuscript, but some in print.

JOSEPH SIMONIUS ASSEMAN, (Europe has not heretofore recognized a scholar as accomplished in the Syriac language,) gives in his admirable *Oriental Library* an account of these, and sometimes extracts also from them. Some of the smaller works he has even published entire.

Another very important contribution is made by the works of EPHREM SYRUS, published at Rome in the year 1732—1746; but without some knowledge of Syriac, all hope must be relinquished, of becoming acquainted even with the subjects of which Ephrem treats, by the aid of the accompanying Latin translation of the work. This translation, which did indeed proceed from an Asseman, yet not from *Joseph Simonius*, but his nephew, STEPHEN EVODIUS ASSEMAN, is exceedingly loose. Sometimes the translator did not understand the Syriac; and in ~~other~~ ^{other} places, which are so easy, that one cannot go astray, he is so unfaithful, as to write differently from what is found in the Syriac. Here he omits what Ephrem says, and then he adds what the author never thought of; and all this so paraphrastically, that we do not read Ephrem, as much as Asseman.

This ASSEMAN published the *Acts of the Oriental Martyrs*, in the year 1748, which I highly value, on account of its Syriac text, and I mention it among the most valuable works. It is not my intention, however, to give an account of books, but of the use to which they may be applied. General and Ecclesiastical History, the Geography of Asia, and certainly the Interpretation of the Scriptures, as far as I have been able to

observe, will profit most largely, from the perusal of these works.

1. The Profane History of Asia has already acquired much new light, by means of what has hitherto been published of Syrian affairs. If space admitted, I might establish this, by the additions which I have noted, in the sixteenth volume of the *Universal History* (pp. 413—431. of the German translation), and which I mention, because they are derived merely from my Syriac and Arabic *Chrestomathy*. This portion of the *Universal History* is, however, one of the good parts of the work, and is probably the production of SALE, the best contributor to the *Ancient History*; a circumstance which I must state, because my additions certainly could not do much, if they should be added to the miserable *Continuation* of the *Universal History*, which is regarded in England as a Bookseller's publication, that gives bread to hungry authors. That in this compilation, there is something to be improved or added, need not be wondered at. Or I need merely mention the 46th. page of this *Chrestomathy*, where is printed the *Edessene Chronicle*. Together with the notice of the Edessene kings, extracted in ASSEMAN'S *Library*, it is the most considerable portion of the materials, which BAYER* used, in his *Historia Osroëhna et Edessena ex nummis illustrata*. And in regard to all this, these few sheets, which I publish under the title *Chrestomathy*, are a very small part of the stores in Historical materials, that are to be found merely in ASSEMAN'S *Oriental Library*, from which General History might obtain very great additional accessions, although Asseman did not write with a view to it, but to Ecclesiastical and Literary History.

How important would be the use of Syriac, if we had more entire works in that language, especially if they were historical. I will only mention one, a part of which we possess in a condensed form, in Arabic and Latin. GREGORY ABULPHA-

* [This is THEOPHILUS SIEGFRIED BAYER OF BAIER; and his very valuable work referred to, (see WATT'S *Biblioth. Britan.*) was published A. D. 1734, in 4to. *Tr.*]

RAGIUS 'whose *History of the Dynasties* EDWARD POCOCCO, in the year 1663, published in Arabic, with a Latin translation, and which is as yet one of the chief sources of Asiatic history,) is the same person, whose life is to be found in this Chrestomathy, at page 81 :* GREGORY BARHEBRAEUS, *primate of the Jacobite Christians in Chaldea and Assyria*. The work was originally written in Syriac, and was entitled ܠܘܕܘܢܐܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܪܝܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ. † It will be found in the notice of his writings, at page 112. numb. ܐܘܠܐ (i. e. 19). The Arabic is merely a translation, or rather, a general abridgment of it, which was made by BARHEBRAEUS himself, a short time before his death, at the request of certain Arabians; and he devoted not more than a month to it, as is related in his *Life*, at p. 105. of this Chrestomathy. But the Arabic Version, if I may so call it, does not by any means exhaust the uses of the original Syriac work. This consists of three parts, which ASSEMAN entitles : 1. *Chronicon Patrum et Regum* ; 2. *Chronicon Patriarcharum Antiochiæ et Jacobitarum* ; 3. *Chronicon Primatum, Patriarcharum, et Maphrianorum Orientis*. The Arabic wholly omits the last two parts, which indeed generally relate to Ecclesiastical history, but often comprehend particulars connected with General History; and it contains the first only, and that never entire, for ASSEMAN states, that the Syriac here comprises far more than the Arabic abridgment. ASSEMAN'S words are: *sed et prior pars, quam idem auctor Arabice postea publicavit, et Pocockius latine interpretatus est, MULTO PLURA continet, quam historia dynastiarum, sive facta Arabum et Mogulensium spectes, sive res Christianorum in Thracia, in Syria, in Mesopotamia et in Perside.*

How much would be gained by Asiatic history (which is so

* [The extract, containing the life of ܡܘܨܪܝܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ, is from

ASSEMAN'S *Oriental Library*, T. ii. pp. 248 ff. Tr.]

† [That is: "History of the times." Tr.]

greatly interwoven, in the middle ages, with that of Europe, particularly of Byzantium, of the holy wars, and of the Russian that is now coming to light ;) could we but read this author in the original, and without abridgment ! Among all the Syrians, with whom we are acquainted, he is by far the most learned man. He collected the materials for his history, in places where now ignorance prevails, from the treasures of ancient Libraries, which have probably been long since destroyed, and particularly, as he says himself, from Syrian, Arabian, and Persian writings, belonging to the archives of Maraga, in the province of Adorbigan. And, moreover, in his Syriac Preface, he declares it to be his chief object, to preserve to posterity the remembrance of what occurred in his time and that immediately preceding. This gives his work a still greater value, for GREGORY BARHEBRAEUS lived, just at one of the most interesting points of time, from A. D. 1226 to 1286, under the great Tatar conqueror, Hulak ; and as his predecessors lived to see the conquest of Jenghiskan, he lived to see Hulak, a brother of Mangu, restore at Bagdad the empire of the Califate. He was himself a resident in those countries, which were the theatre of this great revolution ; and as he was primate, he had the honour of seeing and being established by this great king, the very name of whom (to the humiliation of historical science, and of all thoughts of posthumous renown,) many an accomplished historian has not once heard !

Of this work (the manuscript of which is repositied in the Vatican Library, and has been used with so much advantage by Asseman in his Oriental Library,) I have spoken the more fully, because I desire, that the scholars of Germany may use it, not as a printed book, but by means of a *copy* in Libraries. I have some hope of this, which rests upon the deep interest which his Excellency the Prime Minister, Baron von MÜNCHHAUSEN* manifests in our university. This eminent promoter

* [The University of Göttingen long flourished under his auspices ; for the space of more than thirty years, he was entrusted with its interests as CURATOR ; but, two years after the hope of Michaelis had been ex-

of the sciences is engaged, in making one of the most important contributions to historical knowledge in Germany, and obtaining in manuscript, for our University, the Syriac Original of the Chronicle of Barhebraeus. Should this succeed, it shall be my first concern, in the subsequent* parts of this Chrestomathy, to print, as specimens, some of the most remarkable passages of the Syriac Work, which are not found in the Arabian Version, and consequently could not have hitherto been used by our historians. My wish extends indeed much further, and I would publish the entire work with a Latin Version; but this depends so much upon the will of booksellers, on the taste of the public, which alone engages publishers in such an enterprise, and on my life, health, and circumstances, that I will not now promise *any thing*. But this is certain, that what I cannot do, will be done by others after me.†

pressed, the great patron of learning was no more. He died A. D. 1770. See the CONVERSATIONS-LEXICON (in German, an English translation of which is forthcoming at Philadelphia, under the title: AMERICAN ENCYCLOPEDIA,) Art. MÜNCHHAUSEN. Tr.]

* [These were never published. But, as a substitute for them, we are furnished with a Syriac Chrestomathy by GUSTAVUS KNOX, which is derived in great part from valuable manuscripts. It first appeared at Göttingen, in the year 1807. Tr.]

† The whole aspect of things has been changed since the time when the above was written. The venerated WINCKELMANN, who would have been useful in obtaining the copy from Rome, was assassinated, and thus all failed. But new hopes have arisen. Prof. BRUNS found the same work in the Oxford Library, transcribed it, and printed a specimen of it in the year 1780, under the title: *De rebus gestis Richardi Angliæ regis in Palaestina. Excerptum ex Gregorii Abulpharagii Chronico Syriaco. Edidit, vertit, illustravit Paul Jac. Bruns, LL. D. Oxoniæ, 1780.* Since his return to Germany, he has offered an edition of the entire work. It is very desirable, that it should be obtained by subscription or limitation. The only evil is, that as soon as a particularly useful work, which probably a thousand persons would procure if it were out, (I think such might well be the case, as a far greater number of this Syriac Chrestomathy is already disposed of, and it was long since printed for the second time,) has been printed by limitation, the limited copies become rare; not from scarcity, for they are to be bought afterward at double price, but

2. Ecclesiastical history has already acquired very important accessions, merely from ASSEMAN'S *Oriental Library*. We cannot peruse BEAUSOBRE'S *Histoire Critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, without remarking, how much light is shed on the history of MANES by a single line of the *Edessene Chronicle*,* and what Beausobre in other respects owes to Asseman. From the same work are derived some of the most important additions, of which Mosheim availed himself, as his guides in Ecclesiastical History. And yet Mosheim, from his ignorance of Syriac, could make only an imperfect use of Asseman's work; for although Asseman annexes a Latin translation, and one indeed that is correct, to the Syriac passages which Mosheim cites, he that reads the text will discover more, than one whose attention, while he reads the Latin, is distracted by the intervening lines which are unknown to him.

But many resources, that might contribute much to Ecclesiastical History, have not hitherto been used at all. The third part of the Syriac Works of Ephrem, which is almost entirely directed against heretics, may, notwithstanding its declamatory tone, and its want of solidity, shed much new light upon the History of Polemics. I have found this particularly the case, in regard to the Manicheans; and I think it certain, that Beausobre might still receive considerable accessions from Ephrem. On this account, I propose to print something relative to this, in the future portions of my Chrestomathy. I shall make no mention of Asseman's *Acts of the Martyrs*: for while in the history of the martyrs there appear to be many fables, yet every one acquainted with Ecclesiastical History knows, how important they are, on ac-

from indifference, and because no one has "public spirit," as the English call it, to promote what is useful. I could wish, for the best interests of Oriental and Historical literature, that I might be put to the blush by the result, and reduced to the necessity of recalling my censure; with pleasure would I do so.

* It occurs in the Chrestomathy, at p. 62. [The extract in the Chrestomathy is from ASSEMAN'S *Oriental Library*, T. 1. p. 387 ff. Tr.]

count of the truth contained in them, which a critical eye can readily discover.

To Ecclesiastical History appertains, among other particulars, what is called *historia dogmatum*. This is indeed not as important to us, as to the Roman Catholics, because we do not establish our faith upon the authority of the fathers, or of an ancient Church ; but it is still important to us, in regard to the Canon of the Scriptures. As in my *Introduction to the New Testament*, I have now and then derived something from the decision of the Syrian Church, on those Books that are called in question, I must here correct an error which I have committed. I stated, p. 1899,* that Ephrem Syrus did not cite the *Revelation of St. John*, in those places, where Lardner, from his ignorance of the Syriac language, and his reliance on Asseman's translation, thought they were to be found cited ; and this is and continues to be the truth. I said, p. 1901, that no passage occurred to me, where Ephrem cited the Revelation, (I had not indeed perused his work for this purpose, but made extracts from it), and I intended to give a probable proof, that he did not regard it as authentic. But this will not now hold true ; for at p. 332. of the *Second Part* are the decisive words, which I here arrange in the poetic form, as they are metrical :

* [The author here refers to the *second* edition of his Introduction. In the *fourth* edition, (§. 278. pp. 1605. 1606.) he corrects his error ; gives a German translation of Ephrem's words ; and with great respect quotes Hassencamp. He says, p. 1605 ; " Ephrem Syrus, of whom I " believed in my *second* edition, that he had never cited the Revelation, be- " cause I found, that the passages quoted by Lardner were insufficient, has " indeed cited it, and even as a divine book. In the second part of his " Syriac works he writes, (p. 332.) expressly : ' John saw, &c.' "

The words here given in Italics are omitted by Bishop Marsh in his Translation. See Vol. iv. Ch. xxxiii. S. iv. p. 496. of the *London* edit. 1802. Tr.]

ܐܘܢܝܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ
 ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ
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 ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ

that is, *John saw in his revelation a great and wonderful book, written by God, and sealed with seven seals.* M. HASSENCAMP has pointed out the passage, in his work* against my Introduction, and in the preface, he has declared his purpose to make, from the *Syriac* Fathers, a collection of that kind, which LARDNER has given us from the *Greek* and *Latin*. The materials for such a collection are not indeed as important, as those which Lardner had before him; because we now have no Syriac writers so old, and as testimonies, almost all relates to antiquity. But I expect something more from the collector than from his precursor; for Lardner was a mere compiler, who always deserved the thanks of his readers, when he abstained from giving them opinions, and grounds for deciding: and in this Hassencamp is his opposite. If Lardner's errors are to be attributed to his advanced age, in which he continued to write, Hassencamp has the advantage of being young. In short, I include such a collection among the uses, which Ecclesiastical History and Doctrinal Theology may derive from Syriac records. This impartial notice must not be regarded as a singularity in me. I am displeased with no one, because he differs somewhat from me in opinion, and writes against me; nor yet, because he discovers a remarkable passage, which I did not discover. The belligerent manner of some scholars induces me to think it necessary, thus to apologize for my favourable notice of M. HASSENCAMP.

* [Anmerkungen über die letzten Paragraphen des H. Hofrath Michaelis, Einleitung ins N. T.; Marburg, 1767. Tr.]

3. The Geography of the East derives endless profit from the Syriac writers, particularly those of the middle and early ages. I need only mention the two geographical tables of the Monophysite and Nestorian Episcopal sees and monasteries, which are found in the second and fourth volumes of *Asseman's Library*: and yet they do not by any means contain the whole of what is geographical, nor do they cite all, as we may learn from Asseman. I am at least indebted to them in this respect, that I discover much which before was obscure, in ancient geography, particularly that of Syria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, and Persia; and I avoid the false steps of my predecessors. I have often stated, that if errors or uncertainty prevail in *Bochart's Geography*, neither is this to be accounted to the *disparagement* of Bochart, nor is *what I* say more correctly* to be accounted to my praise, but that the latter belongs to the good fortune of our day, which in truth I value as a sufficient recompense. *Bochart* wrote before these Syriac records were in print, and he could not predict what would be contained in them. This is sometimes the case with *Cellarius* also, in his *Ancient Geography*; though in general he was ignorant of that only, which he might have learned from *Asseman*, if he had lived in his day; and he commits few faults of his own. The views of *Cellarius* were indeed far more correct than those of *Bochart*, who was partial to a hypothesis chosen almost by an *absolute decree*, and was far too etymological. The Rector of Merseburg appears in the character of the judicious man, and the Frenchman, who was advanced at court, is the etymologizing pedant: and still, (with what injustice!) *Bochart* is valued in Germany more highly than *Cellarius*. Yet while *Cellarius* discovers a Syrian city, *Magog*, which is nowhere to be found, but which it was thought *Pliny* mentioned in his *Hist. Nat. L. V. c. 23.*,† and the ex-

* { Our author here alludes to his work entitled: *Specilegium Geographiae Hebraeorum exterae post Bochartum*, Goetting. 1769. 1780. 2 vols. 4to. Tr. }

† *Bambycen, quae alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur. Syris vero Magog.*

cessively sceptical Harduin did not doubt of this, but was more inclined to think of Gog and Magog; on the contrary, it immediately follows from ASSEMAN'S *Library*, that we must read MABOG, and have no thought of MAGOG: for ܡܒܘܓ is the city of HIERAPOLIS* in Syria.

The only writer, who has hitherto employed these records for a geographical purpose, is Dr. BÜSCHING, in his *Description of Asia*. It is not yet to be had in book-stores; † but as I am in possession of the first sheets of it, I can state, that ASSEMAN'S *Oriental Library* is one of the best and most advantageously applied resources of this Geography. Dr. Büsching's purpose is properly the Geography of modern times, and the present condition of the earth; yet he has much of what relates to the middle and the early ages. If I would treat of these in reference to the Scriptures, how much aid do I then derive from

* [This is the city which contained the celebrated temple of the goddess ܐܘܪܘܘܬܐ or ܐܘܪܘܘܬܐ THARTHO or THERATHO; and it has had the following names :

1. In *Syriac* ܡܒܘܓ MABUG;
2. In *Arabic* مابودا MABODA, from which, by an easy change of letters, may have originated,
3. In *Greek and Latin* BAMBYCE.
4. It was afterward called HIERAPOLIS, (Ἱεράπολις,) the Holy City; and
5. Its present name is MABUG, which is pronounced MAMBEDGE.

See MICHAELIS' *Lex. Syr.* on the words ܡܒܘܓ and ܐܘܪܘܘܬܐ .

See also MALTE-BRUN'S *Geog.* Vol. II. P. 1. B. XXVIII. *Ruins of Hierapolis.* Tr.]

† It is evident, that this must be understood of the year 1768, and not of 1786, as the second edition of the work may have already been in a great measure disposed of. [An English translation of Dr. BUSCHING'S *Geography* was published in England, in the year 1754, 6 vols. 4to.; and an English Translation with 36 maps, which I now have before me. afterward appeared. *Lond.*, 1762, 6 vols. 4to. Tr.]

Syriac! The Syrian Zobah of David has been diligently sought for, and nowhere found; but at last, from mere conjectures, and moreover in opposition to the whole connexion of history, it has been placed on this side of the Euphrates. They were the records of Syria alone, that ever taught me, this was a kingdom, the chief city of which was Nisibis; for such is the Syriac **ܢܝܨܝܒܝܫ**.*

I have as yet spoken only of one book. It is not necessary for me to remark, that out of the *Acts of the Martyrs* also, geographical knowledge may be obtained; and how much must be expected, if we acquire more Syriac works, particularly that above mentioned of GREGORY BARHEBRAEUS!

Geography becomes possessed of those regions, in which the Syriac language was formerly spoken, if we find the proper names of Countries, Cities, Rivers and Mountains, written in Syriac letters. As long as we are acquainted with them in *European* letters, we are often in danger of making two cities out of one name that is differently written. And two actually different cities, the names of which do not admit of being readily confused in Oriental orthography, but from the imperfection of our alphabet, when they are written in *European* letters, sound nearly alike, may be regarded as the same. At another time, we mistake an Oriental name, if we have it before us, merely in our own orthography: as many know, it must have happened in regard to JÖCHEN'S learned Lexicon, under the article HEBEDJESU, where is given a Syrian city, called SABA; but no one would hence suppose that this city was written **ܢܝܨܝܒܝܫ**, and revealed to us that Zoba, **צוֹבָה**, with the king of which David waged such dreadful wars.

* See my treatise *De Syria Sebasa*, which was read before our Society, on the 16th of November, 1768, and shall appear in the second part of my *Commentationes Societati Scientiarum oblatae*. [The Syrians and Arabs

call it **ܢܝܨܝܒܝܫ** and **ܢܝܨܝܒܝܫ**, *Nisibis* and *Natsibis*, from which the Greeks have derived *Nisibis*, on Coins *Nesibis* and according to STEPHENS *Nasibis*. See GRESNIUS' *Hebr. Dent. Handw.* **צוֹבָה**. Tr.]

4. The Syrian Interpreters of the Scriptures appear to me, to be worthy of regard. From my own use, I am acquainted only with EPHREM;* for the others are not in print, and I possess no manuscripts of them. But I will describe his work, according to my view of it.

We shall generally in vain consult him for elucidations of Hebrew words, and particular philological observations; because he comments on the Syriac Version, and not on the original text. What is valuable therefore in JEROME, and what EPHREM, by means of his native language, might have more fully effected, he has not effected. On the contrary, in a favourable point of view he is the opposite of JEROME. As the latter seems to love truth almost solely for philology, and to reserve nothing for the explanation of the subject that is homiletic or allegorical; EPHREM is judicious in this respect, and sometimes acute; no friend of miracles, and still less of fables. And in the prophecies, he is free from the propensity of endeavouring to find Christ every where, even when not the subject of prediction. A disciple of Cocceius, therefore, would not be satisfied with him; but that is no disparagement.

I will give one or two examples of his way of thinking. He thus understands Genesis iv. 1. I have borne a man-child unto the Lord. This is incorrect: for ܐܢܝܢ ܥܘܠܡܝܢ must be the accusative, on account of the Hebrew.† But yet I commend him, because he was not disposed to ascribe to Eve the knowledge of the whole doctrine of Christ.

Chap. vi. 4. he calls the *sons of God*, ܐܢܝܢ ܥܘܠܡܝܢ judges. He had previously explained: the *sons of Seth*, which are the *people of God*. In the second interpretation, did he refer to

* [This celebrated Syriac author lived in the fourth century. He was commended in the loftiest terms by the Greeks, Latins, Copts and Armenians; and was entitled by the Syrians *Master of the World*. See HOFFMANN'S *Prolegomena* to his Syriac Grammar, §. 2. N. 1. Annot. 3. Tr.]

† [ܐܢܝܢ ܥܘܠܡܝܢ is the HEBREW; and the SAMARITAN is precisely the same. Tr.]

Psalm LXXXII. 6. ? He is not willing that giants should be found in this chapter, and to get rid of them, he assumes, that the posterity of Cain, who inhabited an unproductive region, were diminutive, and therefore the well-grown posterity of Seth seemed to be giants.

In Chapter VIII. 14. he makes the observation, that as early as the time of Noah, the Solar year, consisting of 365 days, seems to have been known ; for on the 17th. day of the second month the deluge began, and it ended on the 27th. of the same month, in the year following. If then we reckon :

	<i>days.</i>
from the 17th. of the second month to the 16th. of	
the same in the following year, by the lunar year,	354
and thence to the 27th.	11
	365
the result is just	

Whether the suggestion be true or not, it evinces no ordinary genius. Another might perhaps have said more properly, God afforded the means of discovering the true year, but Ephrem gave rise to the suggestion.

In Chap. x. 9. we recognize the Mesopotamian, who thought more favourably of Nimrod, than other Commentators are accustomed to do. No one interprets the 10th. and 11th. verses better than he. Ephrem was at home in this country, and was acquainted with the common and the ancient names of cities.

In Chap. xv. 1—7. he so writes, that we must believe, by *righteousness* he understands as much as *a merit* : faith was reckoned to Abraham as a merit, and was rewarded by God with the performance of such great promises.

He suggests, at Chap. xxviii. 12., very judiciously, the ladder has no appropriate signification, but is introduced, that the angels may ascend and descend upon it : yet these angels are a representation of divine providence in behalf of Jacob.*

* [The Author adds some further observations, derived from EPHREM, which it is thought proper to omit. Some examples of his mode of interpretation are given above in this volume. See pp. 454. 456. Tr.]

These examples may very well suffice, to excite to the study of the Biblical Interpretation of this Father. But I wish we had several other interpreters, whom Asseman mentions, and who might in part be of more importance than the ascetic Ephrem.

MOSHEIM, in his *Institutiones Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, p. 208,* writes of THEODORE of MOPSUESTIA, (who is mentioned in this Chrestomathy, p. 4. †) : “Theodori Mopsuesteni opera, quamvis post obitum maximorum errorum accusatus sit, aut prorsus periisse, aut inter Nestorianos hodie tantum Syriacæ legi, dolebunt cuncti, qui vel ea considerarunt, quæ Photius ex illis retulit.” [Although Theodore of Mopsuestia, after his death, was accused of very great errors, the loss of his works, or their existence at present among the Nestorians in Syriac only, is lamented by all, who have paid attention merely to what Photius has cited out of them.] And he writes, at p. 211 : ‡—“Nemo longius in reprehendendis Origenis sectatoribus progressus est, quam Theodorus Mopsuestenus, qui . . . etiam in commentariis suis ad veteris Testamenti vates, ex antiquiori historia oracula eorum pleraque declarare, ausus est.” [No one went further, in censuring the followers of Origen, than Theodore of Mopsuestia, who . . . in his Commentaries on the prophets of the Old Testament, did not hesitate to explain most of their predictions by ancient history.] It may well be the case, that THEODORE goes too far, by not interpreting of Christ certain passages which actually relate to him, so that he may be regarded as a Judaizing interpreter. But a Christian expositor, who in a certain degree thinks with GROTIUS and LE CLERC, and is of so remote a period, may teach us much that is unknown ; and he is better than a JEROME. Perhaps he has not gone too far, but

* [The passage is to be found in MOSHEIM'S *Ecl. Hist. Cent. v. P. n. Ch. II. §. x.* ; in the *Helmstadt* edition (A. D. 1764), at p. 186. *Tr.*]

† [This mention of THEODORE occurs in the “Epistle of Simeon, Bishop of Betharsama, concerning the Nestorians,” found in ASSEMAN'S *Oriental Library*, T. I. p. 346 ff. *Tr.*]

‡ [See MOSHEIM'S *Ecl. Hist.*, Cent. v. P. II. Ch. III. §. v. ; in the *Helmst.* edition (A. D. 1764), at p. 189. *Tr.*]

while innocent is accused by those who are uninformed, as Mosheim seems to think.*

* [The character of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, as a Commentator on the Scriptures, is given by Dr. J. G. ROSENMÜLLER in his *Historia Interpretationis Librorum Sacrorum*, Vol. III. pp. 250—265. of the edit. Leipzig, 1807. On the subject of the *Literature of Syria* in general, HOFFMANN wrote an Essay (which appeared in BERTHOLDT's Theological Journal, T. XIV. pp. 225—291.) entitled: *Kurtze Geschichte der Syrischen Litteratur*, Brief History of Syriac Literature. On the History of the *Syriac Language* also, he treats at large, in the valuable *Prolegomena* which accompany his Grammar. Tr.]

APPENDIX,

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

*The best elementary works, for the study of the
Syriac Language.*

UNTIL the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Syriac Language had been little studied in Europe; but since that period, it has engaged the attention, and been illustrated by the publications of very numerous and able writers.

Among the elementary books, which have appeared, the following may be regarded as particularly valuable to the Syriac student.

I. GRAMMARS.

1. HENRY OPITZ'S SYRIASMUS, *Leipzig and Frankfort, 1678, 4to.*

It is highly commended by HOFFMANN, (*Gram. Syr. Prolegg.* §. 5. 2.) as excelling all that preceded it.

2. JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS' GRAMMATICA SYRIACA, *Halae, 1784.*

This is little more than a revised edition of the *Syriasmus* of CHRISTIAN BENEDICT MICHAELIS, the author's father. The work is not a mere compilation, as most publications of the kind, but is *original*, and the result of indefatigable labour. Its copious Paradigms of verbs and nouns are very useful. The volume is a small quarto, pp. 299.

3. ANDREW THEOPHILUS HOFFMANN'S GRAMMATICAE SYRIACAE LIBRI III. *Halae, 1827.*

No other Grammar of the language will compare with this. HOFFMANN occupies, in SYRIAC, the place assigned to DE SACY in Arabic, and to GESSENIUS in Hebrew Literature. To the Syriac student, no other elementary work can be as valuable. It is a quarto volume. pp. 418.

II. LEXICONS.

1. EDMUND CASTELL'S LEXICON SYRIACUM.

It originally appeared, as part of the **HEPTAGLOT LEXICON**, which generally accompanies the London Polyglot, and was published at *London*, 1669. Dr. CASTELL was aided in the execution of it by Bishop **BERVENIDGE**.

2. JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS' edition of this work.

It was published in a separate form, at *Göttingen*, 1788, and is entitled: *EDMUNDI CASTELLI Lexicon Syriacum, ex ejus Lexico Heptaglotto saeculis typis describi curavit atque sua adnotata adjecit JOHANNES DAVID MICHAELIS*. It consists of two volumes 4to., pp. 978.

3. CHARLES SCHAAP'S LEXICON SYRIACUM CONCORDANTIALE, *Lugd. Bat.*, 1708.

This admirable work contains all the words of the **New Testament**, and at the same time numerous other words and phrases, belonging to the Syriac and its kindred languages. It has also very useful indexes, in Syriac and Latin. **HOFFMANN** (in his *Gramm. Syr. Prolegg.* §. 5. 3.) says of this Lexicon: *It can scarcely ever fail the student of the New Testament.*

4. ETIENNE QUATREMÈRE'S SYRIAC LEXICON.

This indefatigable student has for some time contemplated a *Lexicon*. He has examined, with this view, all Syriac works now in print, and some MSS. also; he has visited the rich treasures in the Oxford library and the Vatican: and the result of his labours will, no doubt, be a far more complete Syriac Lexicon than any extant.

III. CRESTOMATHIES.

1. JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS' SYRIAC CRESTOMATHY, *Göttingen*.

It was the original design of the author, to issue this work in parts. The *first* Part, however, is all that appeared. It is a small octavo volume; and comprises a *Treatise* (in German) *on the Syriac Language and its use* (pp. 124. small 8vo.), and a *Syriac Crestomathy* (pp. 118.). The first edition of the work appeared at *Göttingen*, in 1768; and the second edition, containing some additional notes to the *Treatise*, was published at the same place, in 1786.

EICHORN (in his *Allgemeine Bibliothek der bibl. Litt.* B. I. SS. 144—148.) gives a brief notice of the second edition of the Treatise; and a critical examination of certain passages in the Chrestomathy was published by J. F. GAAB, in *PAULUS' Neues Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur*, Th. III. Abb. XI. SS. 366—378.

2. GEORGE WILLIAM KIRSCH'S SYRIAC CRESTOMATHY, *Hofae*, 1789.

This is an octavo volume, including a Chrestomathy, and a Lexicon. The Chrestomathy, highly commended by Hoffmann, is derived chiefly from the CHRONICLE OF BARHEBRAEUS. It has other extracts also from this author's writings, and from those of EPHREM SYRUS. The Lexicon is very useful.

A brief notice of the work is given by EICHORN, in his *Allgemeine Bibliothek der bibl. Litt.* B. II. SS. 548—550.

3. GUSTAVUS KNOES' SYRIAC CRESTOMATHY, *Göttingen*, 1807.

On this valuable work, derived chiefly from MSS., see above, p. 520.

4. O. G. TYCHSEN'S ELEMENTALE SYRIACUM, *Rostock*, 1793.

Beside a Chrestomathy (pp. 112, small octavo), and a Glossary (pp. 113—169), this work contains a comprehensive Grammar, of which EICHORN (in his *Allgemeine Bibliothek der bibl. Litt.* B. VII. S. 699.) says: "To this Grammar, which consists of only 31 pages, we may with strict propriety apply the adage *Short and Good*."

The work is accompanied with nine well-executed plates, containing various specimens of Syriac MSS., transcribed at Rome by ADLER. It comprises 28 specimens (pp. 32—82) of *pointed* Syriac, and a number of Extracts (pp. 82—112) *not pointed*. The volume contains 169 pages, and is perhaps to be preferred to any other *manual* of the language.

Many new works, relating to the Oriental Languages in general, and to the Syriac in particular, have recently appeared. The importance of these languages seems to be more and more discovered; and the sentiments of PROFESSOR LEE of Cambridge (in the Preface to his admirable *Hebrew Grammar*, pp. xvii—xix.), it is hoped, will soon become the prevailing sentiments of those who profess to be expounders of the Sacred Volume. "To expect fully to make out an Oriental

book, such as the Bible is, without the assistance of Oriental learning, is, in my estimation, a perfect absurdity. The names of Pococke, Castell, De Dieu, Schultens, Schroeder, and others, will ever be revered by those who appreciate the Holy Scriptures. They have left behind them enough to convince every candid mind, that there are in these dialects treasures innumerable, which have escaped their observation. Generally speaking, he who is best acquainted with these dialects, is by far the most likely person to be a successful commentator on the Hebrew Scriptures.”

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‡ In the Greek type, elsewhere, over the final syllable of a separate word, or of the last word in a distinct phrase, the grave accent is sometimes found, instead of the acute. An accent is often placed over the first vowel of a diphthong, instead of the second. And over the final syllable of a word, when followed by another in connexion with it, an acute accent sometimes occurs, instead of a grave.



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