

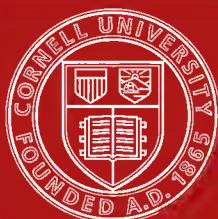
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N O T E S

ON

PASSAGES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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THE RELATION *W. G. P.*

1084; April 19.

BETWEEN

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY,

ILLUSTRATED IN

N O T E S

ON

PASSAGES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

CONTAINING

QUOTATIONS FROM, OR REFERENCES TO, THE OLD.

By JOHN GORHAM PALFREY, D.D., LL.D.

Non enim me cuiquam mancipavi; nullius nomen fero; multum magnorum virorum iudicio credo, aliquid et meo vindico; nam illi quoque non inventa, sed quaerenda, nobis reliquerunt; et invenissent forsitan necessaria, nisi et superflua quaerissent.

SENECA, *Epist.* xlv.

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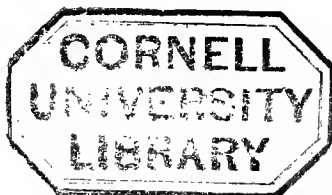
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TO THE FRIEND,
TO WHOM HE IS INDEBTED FOR THE PUBLICATION
OF THE LAST TWO VOLUMES
OF HIS LECTURES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT,
THE AUTHOR
RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBES
THIS WORK.

P R E F A C E .

THE following pages make a sequel to my "Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities," a large portion of their contents being a requisite complement to the leading argument of that work.

Independently of the inherent interest which belongs to the Jewish Scriptures, demanding diligent care for their correct exposition, I have chiefly aimed, in the series of comments now brought to a close, to make a contribution to the Evidences of Christianity.

From the earliest to the latest times, from the contemporaries of the Apostles to Voltaire and Thomas Paine, the Old Testament has been used as an arsenal for assaults upon Christianity. The Jews, who were addressed by our Lord and his first ministers, said that he did not correspond to the idea which their Prophets, venerated by them as unerring guides, had presented of the Messiah. The Pagan writers, as Celsus, Porphyry, and the Emperor Julian, adopted the same reasoning; and it has been repeated in modern times by Anthony Collins, and other able men. Physical science, as it has advanced, has sup-

plied indisputable contradictions to the account of the Creation, and other related statements, in the Book of Genesis, — statements for whose correctness the advocates of Christianity had acknowledged that religion to be responsible. The writings of Jews later than the time of Moses, especially the historical books, are represented to contain accounts of persons and transactions, now contradictory and essentially incredible, now unworthy of God to approve or direct; and such as are sufficient to refute the claims of Christianity, if they are to be taken as part and parcel of it.

There is no doubt of the exceedingly offensive spirit and language in which these objections have been urged; but it has never seemed to me, since I began to think upon the subject, that they have been effectually answered. I do not think that Jerome made a satisfactory reply to Porphyry, or Bishop Chandler to Collins, or Bishop Watson to Voltaire and Paine. I was a boy in college when our countryman, Mr. George B. English, published his book, entitled, “The Grounds of Christianity examined by comparing the New Testament with the Old.” In the strictures which it drew out, Mr. English was abundantly convicted of plagiarism; but I did not think then that his argument was disposed of, nor do I think so now. Other parts of the Evidences of Christianity may overpower any adverse inference from this class of considerations. But, allow the Jews and Pagans of the first Christian centuries, — allow the moderns, Bolingbroke, Collins, Morgan, and Voltaire,

— their premises, and I find myself compelled to own, that, as to this topic, they have the best of the dispute.

I deny their premises. If the expositions of the Old Testament, which I have set forth in this series of volumes, are correct, those opponents of Christianity have no ground to stand upon.

First, by a detailed examination of the Old Testament books in my “Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities”; and now, by an examination of passages in the New Testament which quote from, or refer to, the Old, with a view to show that the New Testament never puts upon the Old a sense different from what I had ascribed to it, — I have aimed to establish the following propositions, viz.: —

1. That the Pentateuch (with the exception of some later interpolations) was written by Moses, the divinely authorized revealer of the Jewish religion.

2. That the history, in the last four books of the Pentateuch, of the ministry of Moses, and of his promulgation of the Jewish Law and miraculous administration of the Jewish people, contains nothing incredible, or dishonorable to God; but that its contents are eminently of the opposite character.

3. That, as author of the Book of Genesis, Moses nowhere lays claim to the character of an inspired historian; that his object, in its composition, was to confirm the revelations and provisions of his Law, to which it is a preface; that its last thirty-nine chapters contain family traditions, sometimes more, some-

times less credible, — sometimes incredible, by reason of contradictions, and otherwise ; and that the earlier portion, evidently proceeding originally from diverse sources, and embracing irreconcilable statements, was collected and preserved by Moses, not because of its having any warrant of historical truth, but mainly because of its being evidence of a state of opinion, in times anterior to his own, accordant with doctrines and practices inculcated by his religion.

4. That the revelation of Judaism, and all miraculous administration of the Jewish nation, terminated with the age of Moses.

5. That the historical books after the time of Moses have no other authority than that of works of other historical writers of a rude age ; that their authors do not lay claim to supernatural inspiration, nor is that claim asserted for them by any authorized witness ; that they are to be taken, like other such compositions, as containing a basis and outline of truth, but with a large mixture of unfounded, self-contradictory, and incredible narrations ; and that, especially, Christianity neither makes itself, nor is in any way rightfully made, responsible for the accuracy of their contents.

6. That neither the Old Testament, nor the New, teaches, that, from the time of Moses to the time of Jesus, there was any man supernaturally informed of any future event whatever ; that the word *prophet*, in the Biblical use, did not denote a predictor of future events ; that the office of a prophet was not

that of a foreteller; that the anticipations expressed by the prophets often differed from events as they subsequently occurred; that their conception of the coming Messiah was to a great extent incorrect, and, as far as it was correct, was founded on a declaration of Moses, connected with earlier revelations to the patriarchs; and that there is no evidence of any fulfilment of an anticipation of theirs, of a nature to show the anticipation to have been supernaturally suggested to their minds.

7. That the miscellaneous writings of the later Jews, including devotional and ethical compositions (like the Books of Psalms and Proverbs), while they are such as to bear testimony to the improving culture exerted through the Law, are not the productions of men miraculously endowed and commissioned; that, interesting and profitable as any of them may be, they are destitute of any peculiar authority; and that, in the composition of some, as the books of Jonah and Judith, nothing more was contemplated than a fictitious narrative, with or without a moral.

These, I repeat, are conclusions which I have undertaken to maintain, not upon any grounds of abstract reasoning, but upon an examination, in detail, of the Old Testament itself, and of those texts of the New Testament which bear upon the Old. Few, perhaps, will take up my books prepared to agree with me. But it may not be too much to ask of candid persons who dissent, that they will consider what are the texts of Scripture on which their own dif-

ferent opinion rests, and then turn to the comments which I have made on those texts respectively. Intentionally, I am sure, I have not omitted any passage pertaining to the question, or done injustice to the argument which it may be thought by others to uphold. In respect to every passage which I have treated, I have honestly endeavored to ascertain the sense which the writer or speaker had in his mind, and intended to express.

The *quotations* from the Old Testament in the New, have, of course, had a principal share of my attention. In many of these, it has been the opinion of Christian scholars, that Jesus and the Apostles and Evangelists ascribed supernatural foreknowledge to the post-Mosaic writers of the Old Testament, and even represented as supernatural predictions passages which do not seem naturally to bear that character in their original use and connection. From an early age of Christianity to the present time, it has been the self-imposed task of commentators to maintain that this supposed representation, by Evangelists and Apostles, of the sense of the Old Testament writers, was a correct representation. In this argument, I am undoubtingly of the opinion, that Collins and other infidels were right in saying that such commentators have failed. Christianity needs, in this particular, a different defence from what has been made.

William Whiston, the associate and the successor of Sir Isaac Newton as Mathematical Profes-

sor at Cambridge, made a deplorably lame reply to Collins, in his treatises, entitled, "The Literal Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies," and "A Supplement to the Literal Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies." He assented to both the postulates of his opponent; namely, first, that the New Testament writers had applied the Old Testament passages in question to the proof of Christianity; and, secondly, that, in point of fact, those passages, as they now stand, are inapplicable to that use. But he assumed the utterly indefensible position, that the Old Testament had, in those passages, been corrupted by the Jews since the Apostles' time, for the very purpose of invalidating their argument; that, as those passages originally stood in the Hebrew Bible, and as they stood at the period when the Apostles quoted them, they were exact descriptions of Jesus, his religion, and his times, and received in him and his Gospel their literal fulfilment; and that it was only by the perfidious tampering of unbelievers with the records, in the second century, that this correspondence had been made to vanish. I do not know that Whiston's reasoning ever satisfied any wise man, except himself.*

My very able and learned predecessor and successor in the chair of Biblical Literature at our University have presented a different view of the subject. Acceding to the prevailing opinion, that, when an Evan-

* See my "Lowell Lectures," Vol. II. pp. 215, 216.

gelist or Apostle made a quotation from the Old Testament with such a form of introduction as "All this was done that it might be fulfilled," &c., he often meant to represent the original writer as having uttered a prediction now accomplished, they hold that the Evangelist or Apostle was in error in his interpretation of the language quoted by him. They urge that the commission of the Apostles and Evangelists to preach Christianity does not imply their being divinely secured against mistakes on all related subjects; and that they might be perfectly well qualified to convey to us the miraculous evidence of the doctrine of Jesus, without being disabused of the false theories in which they had been educated, and made competent expositors of the Jewish Scriptures.

An hypothesis which has such advocates is not to be lightly dismissed.* I have given it the best con-

* Mr. Norton has lately passed away from the circle of friends who revered and loved him with a singular devotion.

"My thread of life has even run with his
For many a lustre."

The first time that, then a child, I heard his name, I was with Mr. Buckminster, who stopped to accost him. What a conjunction! Since that day, the thought of one has been scarcely separated from that of the other in my mind. From the moment of my entering on professional studies, I was honored with Mr. Norton's friendship, and, through the many happy years which followed, it made one of the chief joys of my life. I always lived near him afterwards, and eventually, for almost the whole of the last quarter of a century, our homes were side by side. No one who had such opportunities as mine to know the rare extent and thoroughness of his learning, his religious love of truth, and the punctilious accuracy of his habits of study and of reasoning, could dissent from him without great self-distrust. If there was any man I have known to whom I could feel safe in implicitly submitting my own judgment, it would be he. I differed from him widely on some points of Scriptural criticism, as, the external history of the Pen-

sideration of which I am capable, and cannot find reason to accept it. It appears to me, that, if there was any subject on which the disciples of Jesus — Matthew, John, and Peter, his personal companions and Apostles, — Mark and Luke, intimate and confidential friends of Apostles, — Paul, fully instructed by Jesus himself in the long seclusion which followed his conversion (Gal. i. 11 - 19) — may be presumed to have been correctly informed, it was that of the evidences of the religion which they were to publish to the world. It is even particularly recorded, that their Lord, in an appearance to two disciples after his resurrection, “beginning at Moses and all the prophets, expounded unto them in all the Scriptures

tateuch, and the use made of the Old Testament by the writers of the New ; but it was with such diffidence as only the most careful and often-repeated revisal of my views would have enabled me to overcome. I know of no theological scholar, who has brought the resources and charms of so various and elegant accomplishments in general learning to be subsidiary to such a rich fund of Scriptural knowledge. His great work on the “Genuineness of the Gospels” — a magnificent monument of erudition, logic, and taste — exhausts the argument, supersedes all that before had been written upon it in modern times, and establishes on an immovable basis that cardinal fact in the Evidences of Christianity. His Translation of the Gospels, with Notes, announced as being now in the printers’ hands, is awaited with earnest expectation, as a work which may prove not inferior in importance to any that has seen the light since the time of the Reformers. It is greatly to be hoped that it may be followed by such translations and expositions of portions of the Epistles, as he is understood to have left in a state of preparation for the press.

The void which has been left by the death of this illustrious Christian scholar will not be filled in our age. Surrounded by every thing that could make life desirable, enriching it day by day with dignified employment and benignant kindness, enjoying it for himself and using it for others to the last, he resigned it in sacred peace.

“Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit ;
Nulli flebilior quam mihi.”

b *

the things concerning himself" (Luke xxiv. 27). But what is decisive with me is, that, on a careful review of references to the Jewish Scriptures by Evangelists and Apostles, I cannot find an instance of what appears to me misinterpretation on their part. I am not called upon to reconcile their authority as Christian teachers with their misconceptions of the Old Testament, because I do not see that they ever misconceived it. I am persuaded that expositions of that collection of writings, some current in the time of our Saviour, and others, more numerous, in our day, are founded in error; but I am also persuaded that it is error in which the Apostles and Evangelists did not share.

The reception of my theory of the Book of Genesis, expounded in the "Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities" (Vol. II. pp. 1 - 122), has afforded me great satisfaction. Though well satisfied of its truth, I considered it a novelty, as little likely to find favor, as any thing which I had proposed. If substantiated, it puts an end to a world of cavil. A friendly critic in the "Christian Examiner" (Vol. LIII. p. 7), while he dissents from other views maintained by me, pronounces this to be "pre-eminently satisfactory," as well as "original," and to "invest the book with a greater interest and higher value than can be assigned to it on any other hypothesis"; and I have been much gratified to observe a tacit adoption of this feature of my scheme in other authoritative quarters.

My argument in the present work (pp. 5 – 16), that the descent of our Lord from King David was no peculiarity, but a fact equally predicable of the generality of his Jewish contemporaries, will strike readers at first with surprise. But it is only a different application of what Jews and Christians unanimously recognize in another case. The time between David and Jesus was somewhat more than a thousand years. The time between Jacob and David was a century less. (See “Lectures,” &c., Vol. II. pp. 130, 131.) But everybody understands the millions of Jews in David’s time to have been all descended from Jacob.

I desire it may be remembered that my reasoning (pp. 233 – 237) from the construction of the Hebrew word corresponding to the word “justify” in the New Testament, is an independent passage, and may be thrown out without invalidating the rest of the argument. It seems, however, that, with equal fidelity to the Hebrew original, the Greek translators might have used some word corresponding to *rectify*, instead of “justify”; and that, had they done so, while the technical character of the expression would have been made manifest, an entirely different direction would have been given to theological speculation.

When, for brevity’s sake, I have used the expression, “the pseudo-Isaiah” (e. g. p. 172), I must not be understood as implying that the author of the writings erroneously imputed to Isaiah (xl. – lxvi.)

designed to pass them off as productions of that prophet. The contrary is apparent. It was a subsequent compiler who arranged with the works of Isaiah those compositions from a later hand. ("Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 180, 181.)

I have a few times referred, in the following pages, to my "Lowell Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity." But the frequent references to "*Lectures, &c.*" are always intended to indicate a different work; namely, the "Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities."

The texts commented upon are printed so as to represent the readings of Griesbach's Critical Edition, being copied from my edition, in 1830, of the "New Testament in the Common Version, conformed to Griesbach's Standard Greek Text."

If, in many instances, I have seemed but to encumber the page, by reprinting, with a simple reference to another place, some text which, with or without some verbal difference, had occurred and been discussed in a previous part of the book, I have considered this method to be necessary for the reader's convenience, who might have his attention turned to the same sentence, as it was presented in one or another portion of the New Testament. He might, for instance, look for a comment on Mark i. 11 in its place, and he should either find it there, or else be

referred for it, as he is (p. 129), to the remarks on the corresponding passage in Matthew iii. 17.

Some of the views and arguments which I present are original with me, and the illustrations the fruits of my own reading in the authors quoted. Others are drawn from the common stock of earlier criticisms, of which the later commentator freely avails himself, with more or less change, or without change, in the application. For others yet, I am specially indebted to this or that writer. And there remains a portion, of which I am now entirely unable to trace the source, so as to refer them to one or another of the classes above defined. I have framed most of these notes out of *memoranda* accumulated through a course of years, during which I was lecturing on the New Testament, and was used to set down all that occurred as suited to my purpose, generally without noting the source whence it was derived, whether from other commentaries, or from my independent reflections and investigations. Under these circumstances, it would not be possible for me with any completeness to indicate respectively the origin of the remarks which I have brought together; and I have thought it best wholly to decline an attempt so impracticable for myself, and so fruitless for the reader. I am little concerned, whether more or less of what I propose shall be found novel. Enough for me, should it prove true and useful.

“How well I have succeeded in my design, the

reader is now to judge. Perhaps it may be thought that I have mistaken the meaning of some passages of Scripture. All that I can say for myself is this only; — that in the explication of so many, it is well if I have not; that I have sincerely endeavored to follow truth, being very little solicitous where it led me; that, if I have failed, yet this I am sure of, that my intentions were good and upright. But if I have made it appear, that the writers of the New Testament argue strictly and very rationally, even in those points where our adversaries represent them as arguing very weakly and absurdly, I hope I have done no disservice to the cause of Christ." (Preface to Sykes's "Essay on the Truth of the Christian Religion.")

Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 4th, 1854.

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* These books contain no such reference to the Old Testament as to bring them within the plan of the present work.

NOTES

ON

PASSAGES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

PART I.

NARRATIVE BOOKS.

SECTION I.

GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

I. 1.*

Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.

THESE titles, applied to Jesus, the founder of our religion, refer to the Old Testament, and must be explained from it.

1. Jesus is surnamed *Christ*. The Greek word *Christ* (χριστός) and the Hebrew word *Messiah* (מָשִׁיחַ) are equivalent. (John i. 41.) They both mean *anointed*. Part of the ceremony of inducting the Jewish kings into their office consisted in pouring a perfumed oil upon their heads. (Judges ix. 8; 1 Sam.

* I shall not treat the question respecting the genuineness of the first two chapters of Matthew's Gospel. The external evidence against them consists in a statement of Epiphanius (A. D. circ. 360) that they were wanting from the copies in the hands of the Ebionites ("Sanct. Epiph. Opp.," "Adv. Hær.," cap. xxx. § 13, Tom. I. p. 138, edit. Petav.), a statement thought to derive confirmation from a notice by Eusebius ("Hist. Eccles.," Lib. iii. cap. 27), as well as by earlier fathers, of the disbelief of some of the Jewish Christians in the doctrine of the miraculous conception. The internal evidence, which resolves itself mainly into the question of a reconciliation of the passage with the introduction to Luke's Gospel, is discussed by Mr. Norton ("Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels," Vol. I., Additional Notes, pp. liii. - lxii.) with his characteristic eminent ability.

ix. 16; x. 1; xvi. 13; 2 Sam. ii. 4; v. 3; xix. 10; 1 Kings i. 39; Ps. ii. 2; xx. 6.)

Now the "prophet" who had been predicted by the founder of the Jewish institutions, and described by Moses as "like unto himself" (Deut. xviii. 15-18), had, in the course of time, come to be conceived of by the nation under the different character of a *king*. (Comp. John i. 41, 45, 49.) How this conception grew up, I have explained at large in another work, to which I refer, instead of here going again over the same ground. ("Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities," Vol. II. pp. 377-386; III. 18-21; IV. 306, 307.) From the age of David down, the advent of that illustrious personage, of David's blood, who was to exalt his country to a vast dominion, and make Jerusalem, his capital, the admiration and delight of the whole earth, was the darling hope of every Jew. In their times of prosperity, they had looked for the speedy fulfilment of that hope. In their depression and distress, it had been their resource against despair. It was not only, as some writers seem to suppose, at the era of the first Cæsars, that they were expecting their royal hero. They were looking for him in every period from that of the foundation of their monarchy, and especially in every period when the aspect of public affairs seemed so doleful that no help, short of his, would avail.

As this person, according to their erroneous conception, was to be a king in the common acceptance of that word, a fit name for him was the *anointed* (comp. e. g. 2 Sam. ii. 7; iii. 39), the *Christ*, the *Messiah*. This particular name, it is true, does not appear to have been ever applied to him by any Old Testament writer, unless we understand him to be designated by the word in a Psalm probably written by David. (Ps.

ii. 2; comp. "Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures," &c., Vol. IV. p. 317.) But no fact is more familiar to a reader of the New Testament, than that, in the time of Jesus, the word was in constant use among the Jews in the application which I have described.

Erroneous as was the apprehension entertained by the Jews concerning the illustrious personage who, in God's good time, was to appear among them, it was, however, founded upon a basis of truth. It had had its origin in the revelation, which, fifteen centuries before, Moses had been inspired to utter, that God would send to them "a prophet," or *teacher*, to be, like Moses, the publisher of new truth, and the founder of new institutions. In the ages after Moses, the genuine idea expressed in his words had, through natural tendencies of the human mind, been obscured, and its prime element had been made secondary. It was still believed that God's new messenger would be a "prophet," that is, a *teacher*. But it was believed that he would execute this office, that he would extend the truth, chiefly by his victorious arms; and the attributes of the religious reformer were subordinated in the popular thought to those of the powerful and magnificent sovereign.

Jesus was the personage whom Moses had predicted. The Jews of the time of Jesus were looking for the personage predicted by Moses, though, like their ancestors from a time at least as far back as that of David, they so greatly misconceived his character. It was the personage foretold by Moses, ill as they understood him, that they had in view when they spoke of the *Messiah*, or *Christ*. Jesus, therefore, when the time came for him to assert his claims distinctly (Matt. xvi. 13 - 17), rightly claimed to be the person denoted by that title. ("Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 382 - 384.)

Matthew, in the verse before us, omitting the definite article, uses the word *Christ* like a proper name. He does not say "Jesus *the* Christ," but "Jesus Christ." The explanation of this is, that, after Jesus had come to be fully recognized by his disciples as the Messiah who had been expected, his proper name and his official name became to them equivalent. During his stay on earth, the word *Christ* does not appear ever to have been applied to him except in the sense of the official designation. After his ascension, it almost, in the use of his disciples, superseded that of *Jesus* as his proper appellation, an effect to which, as Dr. Campbell well remarks, the commonness of the name *Jesus* among the Jews may have contributed. ("The Four Gospels Translated," &c., Vol. I. p. 225.)

I. 2-6.

Abraham begat Isaac and Jesse begat David the king.

From Judah, great-grandson of Abraham, to King David, the genealogy recorded by Matthew is, with slight differences in the forms of some names, the same as that in two passages of the Old Testament, which were probably his authority for it. (Ruth iv. 18-22, and 1 Chron. ii. 4-12.) The tracing of the parentage of Jesus through Jacob and Isaac up to Abraham, connects him with the promises to those patriarchs recorded in the book of Genesis (xxii. 18; xxvi. 4; xxviii. 14).

I. 6-12.

David the king begat Solomon and Salathiel begat Zorobabel.

This is nearly the same genealogy as that in the First Book of Chronicles (iii. 10-19). Three names and de-

scents, however, contained in that list as belonging to the time between Solomon and the Captivity, are here omitted; namely, the names of Joash, Amaziah, and Azariah. (Comp. 1 Chron. iii. 11, 12.) As the reigns of these three kings had been treated at length in the historical books, they cannot be supposed to have been unknown to the compiler of Matthew's genealogy, and the omission must be explained as a device to favor the Jewish conceit by which the time between Abraham and Jesus is distributed into equal periods, consisting of twice seven generations each. (Comp. Matt. i. 17.) In the same way it seems that we are to explain the omission of the names of Jehoiakim and Pedaiah. (With Matt. i. 11, 12, comp. 1 Chron. iii. 15-19.) And it appears to have been as a further accommodation to this plan, and an additional aid to the memory, that David and Josiah are both counted twice; that is, each, once at the beginning, and once at the end, of a series of fourteen names.

I. 13-16.

Zorobabel begat Abiud and Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ.

The Old Testament nowhere traces the royal line of David further down than Zerubbabel, except in a disjointed and unintelligible list of names in the First Book of Chronicles (1 Chron. iii. 19-24), in which the name of Abiud (son of Zerubbabel, according to Matt. i. 13) does not occur, nor that of any one of Abiud's descendants. From what source Matthew obtained his information, whether from public or family registers, he has not told us, and we have no means of ascertaining.

Whatever may be one's views of Matthew's inspira-

tion, it is entirely foreign from the purpose to say that Matthew had this list of names by supernatural illumination. The person who affirms this (unless he can show that Luke did not intend to give the genealogy of the putative father of Jesus) will have to maintain that another Evangelist (comp. Luke iii. 23-31) was at the same time made acquainted, in the same supernatural way, with an account of the parentage of Joseph, very different from that revealed to Matthew.

But I do not now dwell upon this. What I have to say is, that inspiration is in the present instance out of the question. However material in other cases, it cannot possibly be in this case an element in the argument, for the reason that the kind of proof here undertaken by Matthew is one to which, of its proper nature, supernatural illumination does not correspond, and to which it can afford no help. For some reason, Matthew undertook to represent to his readers that Joseph, husband of Mary the mother of Jesus, was descended from David. In the nature of things there was only one satisfactory way to do this; namely, by appealing to the documentary, or (wanting this) the oral, traditionary evidence which went to show that such was the fact. Had there been ancient records containing an opposite representation, it would have been in vain that Matthew would have contradicted them on the ground of alleged supernatural illumination. What he said by such illumination would of course have been true, but how could he have shown it to be so? If there had been no records relating to the question, it would have been a question which there would have been no occasion for him to touch, and which, in their absence, he could not have treated to any advantage. It would be preposterous to represent the Evangelist as proposing to bring the claims of

Jesus to the test of a correspondence of his actual descent with a genealogical list which to him (Matthew) was only known by inspiration, and so could only be known to his readers on his authority. If there were records existing which represented Joseph as descended from David, then, and then only, was there something pertinent for Matthew to say upon the subject. But, on that supposition, it is plain that his apostolical authority was in no sort responsible for the correctness of the list. He took it as he found it in the hands of his countrymen, and merely called their attention to it. The very nature of the argument precluded him from presenting on his own responsibility the facts with which he invited his countrymen to compare the circumstances of his Master's appearance. If they were not already in possession of the facts from sources other than his statement, there could be no place for the argument which he holds.

In my "Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures," &c., I have reasoned at large that the ancient Jews had no divine authority whatever for the opinion, which, from the time of David, prevailed among them, that the "Prophet" predicted by Moses, the personage idealized by them as the "Messiah," was to be the descendant, representative, successor, and heir of David. But, it will be asked, if the ancient Jewish writers (the Psalmists and Prophets) were not supernaturally apprised of the fact that the Christ was to be the son, the descendant, of David, how came it to pass that Jesus, the Christ, actually was David's descendant? Does not the fact that the Christ, when he came, actually turned out to be one of David's lineage, prove that those who, centuries before, had described him as of David's lineage, were divinely inspired?

I reply, —

1. How do we know that Jesus was of David's lineage? Do we know it from Matthew? Matthew says nothing of the sort. He says that Joseph, the husband of Jesus's mother, was descended from David. But he says positively and circumstantially (if the first two chapters of his Gospel are genuine) that Jesus was not Joseph's son; that he had no human father; that, in short, he had no relation whatever to the line traced up from Joseph to David.

2. But now let us suppose that Jesus was in some sense the son of Joseph, though Matthew (i. 16, 18-25) appears very distinctly to deny to him that parentage; and that Joseph was shown by the genealogical registers to be one of the posterity of David. Or rather, independently of the genealogy of Matthew, let us assume, what I think the Apostles understood to be the fact (Acts xiii. 23; Rom. i. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 8), that Jesus was a descendant from David (that is, through Mary, his only earthly parent). How far will any considerate person maintain that this goes towards proving the supernatural knowledge of those ancient writers who looked for a descendant of David in the Messiah? Was there any thing peculiar in being a descendant of David? Were there so few descendants of David in Judea at the time of the birth of Jesus, that, when Jesus appeared to combine the two characters of the Christ and a son of David, the writers who had identified the Christ with one of David's blood must be held to have been divinely inspired?

On the contrary, it is probable that at the time of the birth of Jesus there were in his country extremely few native Jews who were not of David's blood, though whether they would be able to prove that descent would depend on the condition of the ancient records. If the Messiah was to be a Palestine Jew, it could

scarcely be that the second king of Israel would not be one of his ancestors; — in other words, *his ancestor*, for the glory of David would overshadow all other ancestral dignity.

This may seem extraordinary, but it is as certain as the evidence of figures. The time between David and Jesus was a little more than a thousand years. A thousand years, according to the common way of reckoning, are equivalent to thirty generations, though twenty-five years are not a short time for population to double in, under favorable circumstances, and this would give forty duplications in ten centuries. The passage before us distributes (i. 17) the thousand years between David and Jesus into twenty-eight generations, which very evidently is an inaccurate statement on the side of brevity, because four names are omitted, while only one is repeated.

We will, however, assume the number of twenty-eight generations. There were twenty-eight persons in the series, each of whom lived long enough to have children. Now, if a man has two children, and if his descendants, taken one with another, have two children each, and if his posterity do not in any instance intermarry with each other, his posterity in the twenty-eighth generation will be two hundred and sixty-eight millions and a half in number; considerably more than a quarter part of the present estimated population of the globe.*

But, though a low ratio of increase is here assumed, this vast multiplication of individuals from one parent stock will not in fact take place, because, at different removes, descendants from one and the same parent

* If any one doubts about the correctness of this statement, let him look at the following table, in which the first column represents the successive

stock will intermarry with each other, and, as often as that takes place, the duplication of its posterity is arrested for that generation; that is to say, when David's great-grandson marries David's great-granddaughter, the children of this union, whatever be their number, will constitute no larger a number of descendants from David than if only one of the parents had been of David's lineage. Allowance is to be made for this, and it will of course cause the number of descendants from one pair to fall very far below what it would be, if those descendants had uniformly contracted matrimony with persons of different ancestry.

Another allowance is to be made. The Jewish genealogies scarcely admitted the names of females. With them, a man was represented as descended from another man, only when he was descended from him in an unbroken male line. Such is the construction of both the genealogies of Jesus in the New Testament. Ac-

generations from the first to the twenty-eighth, and the second the increase within that time, by duplication from a single pair:—

1	2	15	32768
2	4	16	65536
3	8	17	131072
4	16	18	262144
5	32	19	524288
6	64	20	1048576
7	128	21	2097152
8	256	22	4194304
9	512	23	8388608
10	1024	24	16777216
11	2048	25	33554432
12	4096	26	67108864
13	8192	27	134217728
14	16384	28	268435456

See the article *Consanguinity* in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," if these principles do not appear too simple to require further elucidation. You and I, reader, have had more than a thousand millions of *progenitors* since the time of the Saxon heptarchy. Whoever you are, it is extremely probable that the blood of Egbert of England, and of Egbert's meanest menial, runs in the veins of both of us.

According to the Jewish view, then, the "sons of David" in the time of Jesus were only as many persons as were connected with David by a line of sons and fathers. No account was made of daughters and mothers in this heraldry. According to our modern usages, by which the wife takes the husband's name at marriage, that class of descendants which bears the family name exactly corresponds to that of which alone the Jews took notice in their genealogies.*

Again; by no means all the posterity of David lived in Judea at the time of our Saviour's birth. Some fifty thousand persons only, a mere fraction of the descendants of those who had been carried away at the captivity, returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra. (Ez. ii. 64, 65; viii. 1-14.) Still those who did return were of the tribes of Judah (David's tribe) and Benjamin, and principally of the former. And it may be presumed that, among the exiles who returned, one class preponderated, namely, that of the families whose head could trace his descent in the male line from David. The opinion had then for centuries been rooted in the national mind, that the male line of David was destined to give a magnificent monarch to Israel. Of course, they who knew themselves to be within the range of that distinction might be expected to be most forward to avail themselves of the Persian king's permission to return to the theatre of their past and future greatness. In other words, for this special reason, as well as on the more general basis of calculation, it may be fairly presumed, that of the returning exiles who repossessed and repeopled Judea, and were the

* The occasional incidental mention of women in genealogies (i. e. Gen. xxv. 1; xxxv. 23-26; Matt. i. 3, 5, 6) constitutes no exception to this remark. Names of men are always given as constituting the links in the chain; names of women, never.

progenitors of the Jews contemporary with our Lord, a very large portion were of the male line of David.

Make what allowances we will for such reasons as have been suggested, still, so many scores of millions are to be thrown away from the rough computation of the number of David's posterity at the end of a thousand years, before we come down to the actual population of Palestine at that time, that we may be strongly inclined to the opinion, that a very large portion of the population at that time was descended in the male line from David, and that not to belong to that lineage was rather the exception than the rule. And it is further to be remembered, in confirmation of this view, that in the earliest steps of the succession, where, from the nature of geometrical increase, the number of sons would have a more important effect than at any other place in the series on the number at the end of the line, we happen to be informed that the number of sons was considerable. David is related to have had by his wives no fewer than nineteen (1 Chron. iii. 1-9), and his grandson, Rehoboam, twenty-eight (2 Chron. xi. 21). These instances, if taken into the calculation, would increase immensely the probable number of David's posterity in the male line at the end of twenty-eight generations. Numbers might belong to that line without knowing it, or without the existence of any evidence to establish their title. And it would be a palpable mistake to suppose that, when the title "Son of David" was occasionally applied to our Lord (e. g. Matt. ix. 27), it was done by those who had investigated his genealogy, and who regarded the mere fact of being descended from David as a distinction. He was addressed, in such instances, as *the particular* son of David, who it was hoped would assume his ancestor's royal preroga-

tive. He was greeted not merely as one who had David's blood in his veins, for in that an indefinite number of persons might compete with him; but as that son who it was hoped would ascend David's throne. In other words, a synonyme of the title *Messiah* was used.

But if these views are correct, why, it will be asked, should Evangelists think it worth while to show the descent of Jesus from David, supposing that Matthew has undertaken in some sense to do so?

I reply, in the first place, that the descent of a distinguished person is always an object of curiosity, and always a fit subject for his biographer. Had the genealogical lists represented Jesus, not as a descendant from David, but as having some origin less dignified, it would have been suitable for the author of a memoir of his life and ministry to record the result of his inquiries upon that point. Still more was the topic an interesting one, if the lists were found to represent Jesus as connected with the greatest of Jewish kings by a line running through Zerubbabel, the restorer of the nation after its great overthrow. But if the object was to point out circumstantially the descent of Jesus from David, in order to show that in him were fulfilled supernatural predictions uttered ages before, how comes it that we never, in the Gospels or Acts, find that argument presented for the conviction of unbelievers? Of all the characters in which the expected Messiah, as erroneously understood, is set forth by the ancient writers, none is more prominent than that of David's son. If, as the common interpretation supposes, his being David's descendant was a distinguishing fact, revealed ages before, to the end that, when he should come, the conformity of his lineage with that declaration should be one means of establishing his

claim, how, I repeat the question, could it fail to be continually appealed to by Jesus and his Apostles for that purpose, when they called the attention of their countrymen to that claim? By both Jesus and his ministers, after he had announced himself as the Messiah, no argument could have been more fit to be urged with emphasis and repetition. But Jesus never once appealed to his extraction in corroboration of his claim. So far from it, that he once used language (Matt. xxii. 41 - 45; Mark xii. 35 - 37; Luke xx. 41 - 44) which it would have been not at all surprising if his hearers had interpreted as an intimation that they were wrong in supposing that the Messiah would be one of David's posterity. Certainly, it had no tendency to make them regard that pedigree as a sign of the Messiah. And though Peter and Paul, the former in one instance, the latter in three (Acts ii. 29 - 32; xiii. 23; Rom. i. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 8), refer to the descent of Jesus from David, this is by no means presenting the topic with such frequency as, supposing it to be of the nature commonly imagined, we should expect, nor does either of these Apostles give such a statement of the genealogy of Jesus as would have been necessary to complete the argument on the common understanding of it. Paul never calls Jesus expressly the "son of David." In the three passages in which he refers to his descent, he speaks of him as "of the seed of David." Does not this peculiarity of expression denote that, having no human father, Paul did not think Jesus a "son of David" in the sense of the Old Testament writers of and after David's time, though he was *of the posterity* of David through Mary? *

* May the suggestion be permitted, that the nativity of the Messiah as the son of David's *daughter* was the only nativity which would neither confirm, on the one hand, nor positively contradict, on the other, the unfounded expectation of the Jews?

Still, I think that, supposing the passage under our notice to have been an original part of Matthew's Gospel, a reason with him for its insertion may have been to remove from the minds of his countrymen a prejudice against Jesus, by showing them that, if their genealogical registers spoke the truth, his descent (supposing him to be a son of Joseph, as well as of Joseph's wife) was actually such as to correspond with an arbitrary standard by which they were resolved to try the Messiah's claims. "Shall Christ come out of Galilee?" asked some of them; "hath not the Scripture said that Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was?" (John vii. 41, 42.) They were in error. They fell into the error through ascribing supernatural authority to writings which did not possess it. God had instructed his people that in good time he would "raise up unto them a prophet like unto Moses." He had not instructed them that that prophet should be a descendant from David. Still, so prevalent was that idea among the contemporaries of Jesus and Matthew, especially among those of them who adhered to the sect of the Pharisees, that from many minds a great stumbling-block in the way of a reception of Jesus would be removed by an appeal to records which declared that King David was a progenitor of Jesus. And if such registers were known by Matthew to exist, it was much more in the way of his duty to produce them and so to satisfy a prejudice, than it would have been to delay, in any quarter, the reception of the Gospel with which he was charged, till such time as he should be able to clear away from the minds of dull and unlearned Jews the mistakes entertained by them concerning the sense and authority of ancient writings. Supposing this suggestion to be well found-

ed, we shall understand Matthew to be addressing them thus: You expect the Messiah to be a son of David, because you think that authorized messengers of God have so declared. By this you mean, according to the established force of such language among you, that the Messiah is to be a descendant from David in the male line. In that sense, however, Jesus was not a son of David, or of any man. He was miraculously born of only a female earthly parent. But if any of you deny this, and think he was a son of Joseph, then, on your own grounds, you may receive him for the Messiah, for Joseph was David's son.

I. 19.

Joseph was minded to put her away privily.

For the law of divorce among the Jews, see "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. pp. 471, 472.

I. 21.

Thou shalt call his name JESUS; for he shall save his people from their sins.

The name *Jesus* (*Ἰησοῦς*) is but the Greek form of the Hebrew *Joshua* (*יְהוֹשֻׁעַ*), which means *deliverer* or *saviour*, being derived from the verb (*יָצַו*) signifying *he saved*. It appears to have been a not uncommon name among the Jews, at any period. The New Testament uses it in reference to the ancient contemporary of Moses, and to a contemporary of the Apostles (Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8; Col. iv. 11); and according to several manuscripts (see Griesbach, "Nov. Test." *ad loc.*) the question of Pilate (Matt. xxvii. 17) should read, "Which will you that I release to you, Jesus Barabbas, or Jesus called Christ?" Origen says ("Opp.," Tom. III. p. 918, edit. Delarue) that in many

manuscripts of his day the name Jesus was *omitted* before Barabbas ; and “ perhaps,” he adds, “ correctly, the name Jesus being inappropriate to a wicked man.”

I. 22, 23.

Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is, being interpreted, God with us.

In the first place, what is the Evangelist's meaning when he says that the words which he quotes from Isaiah (vii. 14) were words “ spoken of the Lord by the prophet ” ? They are said to be “ spoken of the Lord,” because they are part of the discourse which Isaiah, in the poetical form in which he has cast the remonstrance addressed by himself to Ahaz, has represented the Lord as speaking ; they are part of the discourse which Isaiah has (so to speak) *put into the mouth* of the Lord (Is. vii. 10, 14 ; comp. “ Lectures,” &c., Vol. II. pp. 415 – 417). — “ By the prophet ” (*διὰ τοῦ προφήτου*). Rather, *in* the prophet ; that is, in the prophecy. (Comp. “ Lectures,” II. 387 ; IV. 414, note §.) *Διά*, says Bretschneider (“ Lexicon in Lib. N. T.” *ad voc.*), “ is freely used by the Septuagint translators in rendering the prefixes ἐν (*in*) and ἐκ .” (For instances of *διὰ* signifying *in*, see also Rom. iv. 11 ; 1 Tim. ii. 15 ; 1 Pet. iii. 20.) But it is quite immaterial, for the explanation of the text before us, to put this meaning upon *διὰ*. The words were spoken *by* the prophet, because they are words of his composition ; at the same time that they may properly be said to have been spoken *of*, that is, *by* the Lord, in the sense above expounded.

The question respecting the purpose with which passages of the Old Testament are quoted and applied

by the writers of the New Testament, and by Jesus, their Master, in words of his reported by them, so far as that purpose is to be inferred from the form of language with which a quotation is introduced, is fully presented by this text. I shall, therefore, here treat the subject at some length, with statements and arguments to be referred to in the criticism of other texts, of the same description, which will come under our notice as we proceed.

I will, in the first place, state my general views concerning the objects and force of those quotations in the New Testament from the Old, which give rise to questions of interpretation. In this respect I class them under four heads, which I will specify in language used by me in an earlier work.

1. "To the first head belong those passages, which really were supernatural predictions, and really are referred to as such. For instance, when our Lord says, that Moses wrote of him (John v. 46), I understand him to refer to the supernaturally conveyed knowledge possessed by Moses of his future advent and character; a knowledge naturally incident to Moses's office as minister of the preparatory dispensation, and expressed by him, for example, in that prophecy appealed to by Peter in an address to his countrymen (Acts iii. 22): 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things' (Deut. xviii. 15); as well as in Moses's record of the promise made to the first three Hebrew patriarchs, that in their posterity should 'all the kingdoms of the earth be blessed.' (Gen. xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 18; xxvi. 4.)

"And on this class of references, being to real proof texts, — supernatural predictions fulfilled, — I find occasion for two remarks. The first is, that they pre-

sent no difficulty whatever in their application. The use of them in the New Testament does not strike the reader as foreign to their original sense. On the contrary, it is the sense which he would naturally put upon them as they stand in their original connection. Secondly, I consider every instance of this class of references to be to the Law, the Pentateuch, the five books of the supernaturally endowed lawgiver Moses ; and not to any other part of Old Testament Scripture." ("Lowell Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity," Vol. II. pp. 237, 238.)

2. In the second class of these quotations, "nothing but a legitimate rhetorical accommodation is designed. They are taken, as from their nature they may well be, indifferently from all parts of the Old Testament collection." (Ibid. p. 239.)

3. "The third class of the texts in question consists of those, which are produced as references to, or proof of, the opinions entertained in ancient times concerning the Messiah who was eventually to appear ; and, when produced from any other part of the Old Testament except the Pentateuch, they leave it an open question, as far as the mention of the Messiah is concerned, whether the authors of the language quoted possessed any supernatural information concerning him. That a great prophet was to come after himself, could be a fact known to Moses only through a direct divine communication. There was no other source whence he could derive it. They who came after him, however, knew it from his own recorded declaration ; and, for a series of ages, every Jew, on Moses's authority, without any new inspiration of his own on the subject, confidently and joyfully recognized the fact. Sometimes this last class of texts, indicative of the opinions of times between Moses and Jesus

respecting the coming Messiah, the nature of his office, the extent of his kingdom, and the spirit of his faith, are used by the Apostles in argument with the Jews of their own day. But there is no instance of this kind, where the argument used implies an assertion, on the part of the New Testament writers, of supernatural authority possessed by the authors of the Old Testament language which they quote." (Ibid. p. 241; comp. Acts xv. 15 - 18; Rom. ix. 26.)

4. "The remaining class of the texts in question, akin to that last mentioned, does not so commonly comprehend particular quotations, but consists rather of references to the general tenor of the Old Testament, showing to the Jews, that, on their own principles of interpretation, without arguing the question whether those principles were correct or not, Old Testament Scripture did not supply them with those objections to the faith of Jesus which they imagined." (Ibid. pp. 242, 243; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.)

The quotation before us belongs, in my opinion, to the second of the classes above specified. The nature of such quotations as I consider to be exemplified by this text, I am now to illustrate.

It is a common habit of writers, to give vivacity and variety to their compositions, by adopting from other well-known writers language which, either in its original sense, or in a sense which it is capable of expressing, is applicable to the case in hand. The more famous and the more familiar an author is, the more will he be quoted from in this way. Daniel Heinsius, the editor of Homer, says that there is scarcely a line of that poet, which has not been used by some ancient, in a sense different from that of the original. (Mich. "Introduction to the N. T.," Part I. chap. V. § 1.) It is a tendency of the mind, of the same nature as that

which leads a speaker or writer to apply to the subject which he is treating, the terms of that branch of knowledge or practice with which he is conversant. Thus, the clergyman is often found employing his scriptural or theological vocabulary in his conversation about common things ; and the lawyer and the physician, the farmer and the sailor, the chemist and the mechanic, convey and illustrate their ideas by phraseology supplied by the terms of their respective sciences and arts.

If to any subject which they treated, native Jews, like other men, were to apply language of which their memory was full, of what language would they avail themselves but that of their Scriptures ? If, like other men, native Jews, for the common purposes of style and expression, were to quote freely from esteemed and familiar writers, from what writers should they quote except from those of the Old Testament ? That collection comprehended almost the whole of their literature ; it comprehended all of their literature which was of considerable antiquity and estimation. Their memories were so crowded with the language of the lawgiver and the old chroniclers and poets of the nation, that it would perpetually present itself unbidden, as often as any thing occurred which it would fitly describe ; and the allusions which it embodied were not only of a character dignified and exciting to the reader, but of a character of peculiar dignity and sacredness. How natural, and to a Jew how graceful, to embellish a narrative or description by the remark, " This reminds us of what we read of in such or such a place in Old Testament history " ; or, " This might be well described by language used on a different occasion by this or that ancient prophet."

It would be easy, but it would be unprofitable, to

crowd these pages with examples from Pagan, Christian, and Jewish writers, of the kind of quotation of which I speak. The correctness of the general statement which alone I have made thus far, will not be disputed in any quarter. But, it will be said, the stress of the question lies in the form of words by which a quotation is occasionally introduced by a New Testament writer. In particular, when Matthew says, in the text now before us, "*All this was done that it might be fulfilled,*" &c., must he not be understood as saying, that events were supernaturally ordered so as to bring about an accomplishment of what had been supernaturally foreknown by Isaiah seven or eight centuries earlier, and declared by him in the passage which Matthew proceeds to quote?

I will draw no argument from the original meaning of the passage in Isaiah; because, on the one hand, we may misunderstand it, and, on the other hand, it is in a certain sense a supposable case that Matthew may have misunderstood it, though I believe nothing of that kind. But I answer, —

1. Looking no further than to Matthew's own representation in this case, is it possible to understand him as declaring any thing of the kind supposed? What does he say? He says that part of the prediction (if prediction it had been) was as follows: "They shall call his name Emmanuel (which is, being interpreted, 'God with us')." Did they call his name *Emmanuel*? By no means. Matthew himself declares just the contrary, in the next verse but one (i. 25). He says that Joseph "called his name *Jesus*." And he says, further, that this was done agreeably to a direction given to Joseph in a dream; namely, "thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins" (i. 21). It is impossible

to understand Matthew as representing Isaiah's language to be a prediction of Jesus, when Matthew himself declares that in one particular, which, supposing a prediction, was a substantive part of it as much as any other, it was actually contradicted by the event.

2. There are four other instances in the New Testament of a quotation being introduced, or a reference being made, by the same or a similar form of words (Matt. xxi. 4; xxvi. 56; John xv. 25; xix. 36). I shall treat of them in their respective places. At present I only ask whether any careful reader, be he Christian or infidel, really supposes John to have imagined that the direction to the Israelites (in Exod. xii. 46) not to break the bones of the lamb eaten at the annual Paschal feast, so as to taste the marrow, was a prediction of the proceeding of the Roman soldiers when they dealt with the body of Jesus differently from the bodies of the thieves crucified with him. (John xix. 36.) Common sense has some claims, and it has only one answer to such a question. And if we will not undertake to maintain that John, when he used the words, "These things were done, that the Scripture should be fulfilled," &c., must be understood as indicating a literal prediction, then clearly we are in every other instance precluded from doing so by arguments drawn from the mere form of the language.

3. From the nature of the argument, it is essential that, when an instance of supernatural foreknowledge is alleged, the precise words of the alleged prediction should be produced, to be compared with the actual event. But, in the present instance, this is not done. The variation from both the Hebrew and the Septuagint in Matthew's word corresponding to *they shall call*, may be unimportant except as showing that Matthew

was not quoting with that scrupulous exactness which belongs to the kind of argument (erroneously, as I think) attributed to him in the present instance. But this it does show; and this is a fact material to the inquiry in which we are engaged. A more significant fact is the rendering of the Hebrew word (עַלְמָה), which means *a young woman*, married or unmarried, by a word which so limits its sense as to denote only an unmarried female; a freedom of translation on which Matthew (though countenanced by the Septuagint) could not fairly have ventured, had he intended any thing more than mere rhetorical accommodation.

Had he designed the argument commonly attributed to him, the maiden condition of Mary was its main circumstance; this is an idea which the original Hebrew does not convey, whoever was the young woman that it spoke of; and accordingly Matthew would have been producing an argument, the very basis of which was a mistranslation of the passage quoted. I do not forget the probability that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, that is, the vernacular Hebrew of his day, and that his Gospel, as we have it, is a translation; and I have framed my statements above accordingly. But whether Matthew's original preserved the exact sense of Isaiah's word (עַלְמָה), in which case the variation contained in the Greek version (*παρθένος*) is due to his translator, or whether (as is in my view more probable) Matthew, intending only rhetorical accommodation, himself used a word corresponding to the Septuagint version, to make that accommodation more exact, in either case my argument is substantially the same. That is, either Matthew himself translated the Hebrew word accurately, and then he could not pretend that there was any remarkable correspondence between the language of the passage and the circumstances of

the birth of Jesus; or he translated it inaccurately, which he might do with perfect propriety, if only rhetorical embellishment was intended, but which he could not fairly do for the sake of producing an argument such as the original did not justify, and which, even if unfairly disposed, he could not have attempted to any purpose, through a misrepresentation of the meaning of so common a word.

These considerations go to show that the common view of Matthew's purpose in using the words, "All this was done that it might be fulfilled," &c., is untenable. I now proceed to explain and vindicate the interpretation which I think ought to be put upon them.

"That it might be *fulfilled*" (ὅνα πληρωθῆ). What do these words mean in this connection?

In its primitive sense, the verb (πληρῶω) here rendered *I fulfil*, signifies *I fill*, or *I fill out*. Such also is its common New Testament use (see, *instar omnium*, Matt. xiii. 48; Luke iii. 5; John xii. 3; xvi. 6; Acts ii. 2; v. 28; 2 Tim. i. 4). In such connections as that before us, it is impossible to maintain that, merely *ex vi termini*, the accomplishment of a supernatural prediction is intimated. The *filling out*, or fulfilling, or verification spoken of, is the same that we have in mind when we say, in the use of a scarcely different phraseology, *The old saying was made good*. It is of the same kind that the writer of the Second Epistle of Peter had in view, when he said (ii. 22), "It is happened unto them according to the true proverb, 'The dog is turned to his own vomit again'; and, 'The sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.'" In repeated instances in which the word *fulfil* is used in connection with a sentence quoted, it seems impossible to doubt whether they refute the idea that that word

must be taken to import the accomplishment of a supernatural prediction. (See, e. g. Matt. xiii. 14, 35; John xviii. 9; James ii. 23.) Matthew (viii. 16, 17) says persons diseased in mind and body were cured by Jesus, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, 'Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses.'" But Peter (1 Pet. ii. 24) and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 28) make a very different application of Isaiah's words. Which was right, on the common hypothesis? Or — one understanding Isaiah to have meant one thing, and the others another thing — were they all right, agreeably to some theory of *double senses* of the prophetic writings? Or, finally, were they all right (as I believe), because they were all making a mere accommodation of Isaiah's language to a different occasion from that in reference to which he had used it?

"*That* it might be fulfilled." The other material word in the clause is the conjunction *that* (ὅτι). Does not this indicate design? Does it not necessarily denote that the events previously related took place *in order* to create a correspondence with the language of a writer of the eighth century before?

I assume that in our Greek Gospel of Matthew the form of the sentence is correctly translated from Matthew's original, supposing that original to have been in the vernacular language of Palestine. It belongs to a class of expressions equivalent to each other, and which there is no nicety in translating. Whether we say *to fulfil* (εἰς τὸ πληροῦν), or *that it might be fulfilled* (ὅτι, or ὅπως πληρωθῆ), the sense of the expressions, and of a literal rendering of them into all languages, will be the same.

To do a thing; that a thing may be done; — in the common and authorized use of all languages, do these

forms of expression necessarily denote design? Deploring the fate of my friend lost at sea, I say, "He left his country only *to meet* his fate," or "*that he might meet* his fate." Is there any thing extraordinary in this expression; or will it cause any one to understand me as meaning that my friend left his country intending to rush on his death? Is there any danger that I shall be supposed to refer to a design entertained by him? Will not every one see that it is only *the event* that I have in view? So the Psalmist says (li. 4): "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, *that thou mightest* be justified when thou speakest," &c. So Jeremiah (xxvii. 15) represents Jehovah as speaking: "They prophesy a lie in my name, *that I might* drive you out, and *that ye might* perish." So the disciples in their question to Jesus (John ix. 2): "Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was [rather, *that he should be*] born blind?" So Paul (Rom. i. 20): "The invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, so that they are [rather, *that they may be*] without excuse." So John (1 John ii. 19): "They went out from us *that they might* be made manifest that they were not all of us." In such cases, taken from Scripture, though the form of expression belongs alike to all writings and languages, who dreams that the phraseology is intended to indicate *design*? Who does not see that the *result* is what is referred to? (For other Scriptural examples, if desired, see Exod. xi. 9; xvii. 3; Numb. xxxii. 14; Jer. vii. 18; Amos ii. 7; Matt. xxiii. 33, 34; xxvi. 12.)

Accordingly, that is, or should be, a familiar principle of interpretation which is laid down by Glass where he makes a distinction between the "*that* indicating the design" (the *ἵνα αἰτιολογικόν*), and the "*that* indi-

cating the result" (the *ἵνα ἐκβατικόν*), and says ("Philologia Sacra," Lib. I. Tract. VII. Canon 19), "The causal conjunction (*ἵνα, ut*), and the equivalent expressions, do not always denote the final cause of a thing, but frequently the event."

From this brief philological analysis, let us now pass to the *usus loquendi*, the practice of writers, which is the surest criterion of the meaning of words and combinations of words; and, by a few examples from other sources, enable ourselves to judge what is the received and authorized force of such expressions as that in question.

Ælian ("Hist. Var.," Lib. III. cap. 29) says that Diogenes the Cynic used to say, "that he *fulfilled* (*ἐκπληροῖ*) and endured in himself all the curses of tragedy, for he was a vagabond," &c. Olympiodorus, in his Life of Plato, applying to him a line of Homer, says: "The bees came and filled his mouth with honey-comb, *that it might be true of him*, that 'song sweeter than honey flowed from his tongue.'" Cicero in his Oration for Publius Sextius (§ 57), referring to some lines, which, when recited, had been thought by the audience to be applicable to himself, says: "Of me the elegant poet wrote." Again, in his Oration for Cneius Plancius (§ 24), he quotes two lines which he says were addressed to his sons by "a poet of eminence and talent," and then proceeds, "which lines their author *wrote not to stimulate* those royal youth to toil and honor, but *to stimulate* us and our children." Jerome ("Epist. 103 ad Paulin.") uses this language: "*In us* is that Socratic saying *fulfilled*, 'This little I know, that I know nothing.'" ("Opp.," Tom. IV. Pars II. p. 574, ed. Martianay.) Commenting on the clause, "and babes shall rule over them" (Is. iii. 4), he applies it to the leaders of the Jews in his own day, and says that

in them "the prophecy is fulfilled." ("Opp.," Tom. III. p. 36.) And again, on the words, "The child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honorable" (Is. iii. 5), he says ("Opp.," Tom. III. p. 37) that when this takes place, "that apostolic saying will be fulfilled, 'They shall bite one another, and be devoured by one another.'" (Comp. Gal. v. 15.) Plutarch, quoting a line in which Homer describes Agamemnon, says ("De Fortun. Alexand.," Tom. VII. p. 310, edit. Reisk.) that "Homer, in the same verse, set forth the greatness of Agamemnon, and uttered a prophecy of Alexander" (*μεμάντευται*). Epiphanius ("Opp.," Tom. I. p. 125, edit. Petav.) says that "in Ebion is fulfilled what is written, 'I was almost in all evil.'" (Comp. Prov. v. 14.) Eusebius ("Hist. Eccles.," Lib. II. cap. 1), referring to the conversion of the Ethiopian officer by Philip (comp. Acts viii. 27-32), says: "So that the prophecy obtained its fulfilment in him, 'Ethiopia stretcheth forth her hands to God.'" (Comp. Ps. lxxviii. 31.) Again (*Ibid.*, cap. 23), in a passage quoted from Hegesippus, relating to the martyrdom of James the Just: "They fulfilled that which is written in Isaiah (Is. iii. 11), 'Let us take away *the just*, because he is a reproach to us, for they shall eat the fruit of their doings.'" In a letter from the churches of Lyons and Vienne to those of Asia, preserved by the same writer (*Ibid.*, Lib. V. cap. 1), after a relation of some persecutions experienced by the former churches, it is said, "Then was fulfilled the declaration of our Lord, 'The day will come, when every one that slayeth you will think that he doth God service.'" (Comp. John xvi. 2.) And again (*Ibid.*): "The madness both of the governor and of the people, as of some savage beast, blazed forth so much the more, to show the same wicked hatred to

us, *that the Scriptures might be fulfilled*, ‘He that is unjust, let him be unjust still, and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still.’” (Comp. Apoc. xxii. 11.)

A few specimens from the Syriac may be thought to have a peculiar weight, from the fact that the Syriac language was all but the same as that which was the vernacular tongue of Matthew and John. That is to say, the Syriac and Chaldee languages, though written in a different character, have the closest resemblance in other respects, — in grammar, vocabulary, and idiom; and the language spoken in Palestine in the time of Jesus and his Apostles was a dialect between the two, called thence by scholars the *Syro-Chaldee*, and in the New Testament sometimes named the *Hebrew*. (John v. 2; Acts xxi. 40; comp. “Lectures,” &c., Vol. I. p. 4, note.) It was this dialect which Matthew and John used as their native tongue, and it was in this *Hebrew*, probably, that Matthew composed his Gospel, if the early statements of his having written in Hebrew are to be received.

In an anonymous life of St. Ephrem the Syrian, written in Syriac, (Asseman. “Biblioth. Orient.,” Tom. I. p. 35,) an angel is represented as charging him: “Take heed lest *that Scripture be fulfilled in thee*, ‘*Ephraim is as an heifer that is taught and loveth to tread out the corn,*’” &c. (Comp. Hosea x. 11, and observe the important resemblance between this case and Matt. ii. 23, in respect to the *paronomasia* of the name.) In a more full life of that father, also in Syriac, prefixed to the collection of his works extant in that language, we find the following: “*In him was fulfilled the word which was spoken concerning Paul to Ananias (Acts ix. 15), ‘He is a chosen vessel unto me.’*” (Sanct. Ephrem, “Opp. Syriace et Latine,” Tom.

III. p. xxiv.*) Again, in the same work (Tom. III. p. xlviii.), it is related that St. Basil said of him: "*This is he* of whom Christ in the Gospel speaks, 'I came to cast fire upon the earth.'" (Comp. Luke xii. 49.) Ephrem himself, the oldest of the writers in the Syriac language, whose works are extant, says of Aristotle ("Opp.," Tom. II. pp. 317, 318): "*He exactly fulfilled* that which was written concerning Solomon the wise, that 'of those who were before or after, there has not been his equal in wisdom.'" (Comp. 1 Kings iii. 12.) Again, he says (Ibid., Tom. II. p. 513, Serm. xxxiii. "Advers. Hæres."): "Infatuated men hate and reject what is good for them, as it is written, 'The Lord awoke, like one who slept.'" (Comp. Ps. lxxviii. 65.) The following sentence (Ibid., Tom. III. p. xxv.) presents an example of reference to words not found in Scripture, illustrating in a peculiar way the freedom and inexactness with which such allusions were made: "The love and peace of Christ began to be diffused in the hearts of clergy and of believers, *agreeably to what* the Lord says in the Gospel, 'Blessed is that servant, by whom the name of his Lord shall be glorified.'"

Let us glance at the Jewish writers, though what we have been speaking of belongs to a habit, not of the Jewish, or the Oriental, but of the human mind, and Ælian, Cicero, Plutarch, Eusebius, and Jerome might serve us sufficiently, without reference to Syriac or Hebrew authorities.

In the Book of Tobit, we read (ii. 5 - 7): "I returned, and washed myself, and ate my meat in heaviness, remembering that prophecy of Amos, as he said

* The reader must be careful to observe that the collection of St. Ephrem's works, in six volumes, is divided into two parts, of three volumes each; Greek and Latin, and Syriac and Latin. The reference here is to the sixth volume of the series, but the third of the Syriac portion.

(comp. Amos viii. 10), ‘Your feasts shall be turned into mourning, and all your mirth into lamentation’; therefore I wept.” In the First Book of the Maccabees (vii. 16, 17) it is said of one of the Syrian generals: “He took threescore men, and slew them in one day, according to the words which *he* wrote (comp. Ps. lxxix. 2, 3), ‘The flesh of thy saints have they cast out, and their blood have they shed round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them.’” In the book *Berachoth* (“Talmud. Babylon.,” edit. Marin., Tom. I. fol. 57, foot of p. 2*) it is said that a certain Mar, on entering Babylon, took up earth, and threw it beyond the Babylonish border, *to fulfil that which is said*, “I will sweep it with the besom of destruction.” (Comp. Is. xiv. 23.) Again: “Abai said that a stormy wind does not last more than two hours, to fulfil what is said (Nahum i. 9), ‘Affliction shall not rise up the second time.’” (“Talmud. Babylon.,” Tom. I. fol. 59, p. 1, a little below the middle.*) In the book *Kiddushin* (“Mischna Surenhus.,” Tom. III. p. 367) we read: “Whosoever is versed in Scripture, in the Mischna, and in the ways of the world, will not speedily sin, as it is said, ‘A threefold cord is not easily broken.’” (Comp. Eccles. iv. 12.) Again (“Mischna Surenhus.,” II. 266): “Rabbi Eleazar said, ‘Whosoever has not eaten on the night of the first day of the feast, should do it on the night of the last day of the feast. But the wise men say, there is no compensation in the matter; of this it is said, ‘That which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot

* I am thus particular in these references, to save the reader, who may wish to refer to the passages quoted, the trouble which I have had of finding them without aid, in solid folio pages of the Talmudical dialect, without index, version, or typographical facility of any kind. He may find yet others of the same sort cited in Surenhusius's Βίβλος Καταλλαγής, particularly under Theses II. and III. of the First Book.

not be numbered.'” (Comp. Eccles. i. 15.) Again (“Mischna Surenhus.,” II. 374): “What shall I do to thee, who enjoyest thyself before the face of God, who does to thee according to thy wish? Thou art like a son rejoicing before his father, and doing to him according to his wish. *Of thee the Scripture saith* (comp. Prov. xxiii. 25), ‘Thy father and thy mother shall be glad, and she that bare thee shall rejoice.’” These are but a few out of numerous examples of this form of expression which occur in the Mischna. I have not access to a copy of the Jerusalem Talmud. In an extract from it in Schaaf’s “Opus Aramæum” (“Selecta Targum,” &c., pp. 372, 373) is the following sentence: “When Rabbi Amun came before the king, he turned his head; some came desiring to kill him, but they saw two fiery sparks proceeding from his neck, and let him go, *to fulfil that which is said* (comp. Deut. xxviii. 10), ‘And all the nations of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the Lord, and they shall be afraid of thee.’”

The result to which I would lead the reader by these remarks is, that Matthew, in the quotation which he introduces from Isaiah, merely meant to say, in the use of a customary device of rhetoric, that words, used by that ancient writer in an entirely different application, might be adopted as applicable to those circumstances of the birth of Jesus which he, Matthew, was now describing.

II. 3-6.

When Herod the king had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born. And they said unto him, “In Bethlehem of Judea; for thus it is written by the prophet, ‘And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda, for out of thee shall come a governor, that shall rule my people Israel.’”

The words here quoted are from the prophet Micah (v. 2). It is not the Evangelist Matthew who applies them to the circumstances of the Messiah's birth. He relates that the application was made by "the chief priests and scribes of the people," without intimating what he himself thought of its correctness. A strictly literal translation of the words, as they stand in the original Hebrew, is as follows:—

"And [or, *but*] thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, little to be among the thousands of Judah; from thee shall go forth to me to be a ruler in Israel."

Which Dr. Noyes in his version correctly expresses thus:—

"But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah,
Who art too small to be among the thousands of Judah,
Out of thee shall come forth for me a ruler of Israel."

The quotations in Matthew's Gospel, as in the other New Testament books, are generally from the Septuagint version. But the Septuagint reading of this passage literally follows the Hebrew, except that for "Bethlehem Ephratah" it has *Bethlehem, house of Ephratah*; so that the New Testament quotation differs equally from both.

Perhaps the reference in the original (see "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 283) was not at all to the place of the Messiah's birth, but to that of the origin of his family, made so illustrious in the person of David and of his royal descendants. Such is a natural signification of the verb rendered *shall come forth* (מוֹצֵא), when used in this connection; and in what follows ("whose origin is from the ancient age, from the days of old"), the word rendered "whose origin," or *whose going forth* (מוֹצֵאתוֹ), is from the same root. (Comp. Gen. xvii. 6.) David, the founder of the royal family of Judah, was born at Bethlehem (1 Sam. xvi. 1),

which was otherwise named in ancient times *Ephrath* (Gen. xxxv. 19), and was thus distinguished from another Bethlehem in the territory of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15). Possessed, in common with all of his nation and time, with the idea that a royal descendant of David was to restore empire and greatness to Judah ("Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 377-379, IV. 276-281), and cherishing that hope the more fondly on account of the calamitous circumstances under which he wrote, Micah gave form to his glad anticipations in the passage of which the words before us make a part. He said that from the stock of royalty planted ages ago in Bethlehem Ephratah, there should spring a hero, who should cause his people to "dwell in security" from the Assyrian oppressors, and by his seven or eight generals "devour the land of Assyria with the sword, the land of Nimrod within her gates." (Mic. v. 2-6, *et seq.*; "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 278-280, 282, 283.)

But whether this was the whole force of Micah's language, or whether (as I think, on the whole, more probable) he supposed that David's birthplace would be also that of his great descendant, it appears that, among the punctilious and puerile interpretations of their ancient writers which prevailed among the Jews in the time of our Lord, and which he so often rebuked, this was one, — that Micah's language authoritatively pointed out Bethlehem as the place which was to be honored by the personal "going forth" from it (in some sense) of the Messiah. We learn this from another text, in which the Evangelist John, recording a conversation which took place thirty years after that related by Matthew, writes as follows: "Many of the people said, 'Of a truth this is the prophet'; others said, 'This is the Christ'; but some said, 'Shall

Christ come out of Galilee? hath not the Scripture said, that Christ cometh of the seed of David, and *out of the town of Bethlehem*, where David was?'" (John vii. 40-42.)

Upon this I remark, in the first place, —

That it does not clearly show that the persons here described as referring to Micah's words understood them as meaning, by the Messiah's "coming out of the town of Bethlehem," his birth at that place. It does not appear that inquiry had been made about his birth-place. If that had been the question, and the truth had been told, the objection would have been done away. What they knew was, that he had "come out of Galilee," when he appeared at Jerusalem, and assumed to be a public teacher; and this is what they seem to have considered as the inconsistency with Micah's description. They may have thought that his public manifestation was due, and that the prophet had declared it to be due, to that place where his great ancestor, the founder of his house, had received the royal unction from Samuel (1 Samuel xvi. 1, 13); that from that place he ought to issue when he came to Jerusalem to take possession of his throne. Now, supposing this to have been really the meaning of Micah's words (which I by no means think it was), then Jesus did not fulfil them; his birth at Bethlehem was nothing to the purpose, for his childhood and manhood had been passed in Galilee, and when he came to Jerusalem, he came from that province. Supposing that those who used the words erroneously thought that this was their sense, then the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem was no sign to them, and the prophet's language, even if really intended to designate the Messiah's birthplace, had been too equivocal to be appealed to in the way of proof.

But, though I have thought proper to suggest this view, I now waive it altogether, and, in what I am further to say, I proceed on the supposition that the persons whom John describes as referring to Micah's words had the same idea of their sense as "the chief priests and scribes," according to Matthew, had communicated, thirty years before, to Herod. Now an interpretation, and an opinion founded upon it, so diffused among the people, and so permanent, that they lived through generation to generation, were of course known to Joseph and Mary. In process of time, it also became known to them that Mary was to be the mother of him who was to "save his people from their sins." Under such circumstances, what were they to do? Bethlehem was sixty or seventy miles from Nazareth, the place of their residence. (Luke ii. 4.) Does any one imagine that, if, like their countrymen, they believed (however erroneously) ancient prophecy to have declared that Bethlehem would be the Messiah's birthplace, she who knew herself to be the destined mother of the Messiah would remain at sixty or seventy miles' distance from Bethlehem, to await his birth at Nazareth, and refute the prediction? Of course, she would go to Bethlehem in anticipation of that event, and thus the erroneous interpretation of language of an ancient writer, as containing a supernatural oracle, would bring about an event corresponding to that language in the mistaken sense which had been put upon it. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 337.)

But were not Joseph and Mary better critics of the Old Testament than their countrymen and neighbors? I see no reason to imagine it. But suppose they were, what then? Suppose that, while "the chief priests and scribes" were informing the king that Micah had announced Bethlehem as the Messiah's birthplace, and

while such was the opinion that everywhere prevailed, Joseph and Mary had read Micah's prophecy with better judgment, and put a truer construction upon his words. What should they do then? Were they causelessly and wilfully to outrage the common opinion, and erect an obstacle to the reception of the future claims of Jesus at the very outset? Luke says (ii. 3, 4) that, to be enrolled, — to give his name to the census, — Joseph had to go to Bethlehem, "because he was of the house and lineage of David." But he was to go thither only for the transaction of a business which would be very briefly despatched. It was not necessary that he should make any stay at Bethlehem for that purpose. It was a place within six miles of Jerusalem, to which he might immediately have returned when his interview with the enrolling officer was over, and his duty in respect to the census done; and it was a small suburb, perhaps with only one inn (Luke ii. 7), and such as could not have accommodated, so much as for a single night, any considerable portion of those who were of "the house and lineage of David." And though Luke says that it was necessary for Joseph to repair to Bethlehem, and gives the reason, he does not say or imply that it was necessary for Mary to accompany him. He was there to give an account of himself and his family, which he could do alone as fully, as credibly, and as responsibly as if he brought them with him. It would be preposterous to suppose that, either for the reason of any convenience in taking the census (an operation expensive enough without any such useless addition), or by force of any arbitrary rule, whole families, through the whole circuit of a nation, men, women, and children, old and young, sick and healthy, were obliged to make journeys from their homes to the respective places where their ancestors had settled on the first partition of the lands.

But Mary desired that, since her son was to be the Messiah, he should be born at Bethlehem, because such was the expectation of the people, and, whether she shared in their view of Micah's words or not, it was not fit that she should interpose any obstacle to the success of her son's future pretensions, by giving birth to him in some other place. Her husband had occasion to go to Bethlehem, to make his report there to an enrolling officer, agreeably to the imperial decree. It is probable that he might have chosen his time out of many weeks, or even out of several months; for the taking of a census was a long process. (Prideaux's "Connection," Part II. Book IX. pp. 505-507, edit. 1718.) It is probable that, had no other object than that of his enrolment been in contemplation, he would have made his short residence at the capital city, five or six miles off, instead of at the poor village of Bethlehem. But the time when the birth of Mary's son approached was the time that was chosen, in order that she too might make the journey, and that Bethlehem might be his birthplace, agreeably to the common expectation of the Messiah.

Let any one who supposes that the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem was divinely designed as a token of the Messiah, and was accordingly predicted as such many centuries beforehand, consider how unsuitable such an event would have been to such a use. How many children of inhabitants of Bethlehem were born there from age to age; and how easy would it have been for any Jewish mother to gain for her child the advantage of a false claim to be the Messiah, through a true claim to be a person in whose favor the prediction had been fulfilled!

I began my comments on this text by remarking on two particulars of the want of precision in Micah's

language, which rendered it unsuitable to yield satisfaction as to the correspondence of an event with it. I will suggest yet another. From Herod's course in putting to death all the children of Bethlehem under two years old (Matt. ii. 16), it may be inferred that his advisers, "the chief priests and scribes of the people," understood Micah to have meant that the Messiah's parents would be residents, and not chance sojourners, in Bethlehem. But if so, the fact did not correspond with their interpretation of Micah's words.

II. 14, 15.

When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, "Out of Egypt have I called my son."

The reference is to the prophecy of Hosea (xi. 1), where we read as follows: "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt." The words are part of a discourse which, by the rhetorical device so common with the prophets ("Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 415 - 417), and not uncommon with other writers, Jehovah is represented as uttering. It is therefore with strict propriety that the Evangelist quotes them as "spoken of the Lord by [or *in*] the prophet."

It is perfectly evident that by the original words Hosea intended no prediction whatever. The Septuagint text reads, "Out of Egypt have I called *his* [Israel's] children." But that is immaterial. Whether Jehovah's *son* or Israel's *children*, nothing can be clearer than that it is the Jewish people that is here signified (comp. Ex. iv. 22, 23), and that its past conduct and fortunes, and not any future events, are the subject of

the passage. In the infancy of the nation, Jehovah, through his love for them, led them out of Egypt by the ministry of Moses. (Hos. xi. 1.) They strayed into idolatrous practices (ibid. 2), yet he did not renounce them, but dealt forbearingly and tenderly with them (ibid. 4); and so on. There is not a word here which it is possible to understand as spoken by Hosea of the future Messiah, in any sense. Whatever we may think of Matthew's capacity and authority as an interpreter of the Old Testament, — whether we ascribe to him infallible knowledge, or only the most limited knowledge compatible with the smallest degree of common sense, — it is impossible to imagine that he could understand Hosea as speaking here of the future Messiah.

So clear is this case, that I consider the text as having the highest importance in its bearing on the general argument respecting the force of quotations from the Old Testament in the New. If Matthew, calling to mind a passage of Hosea, in which, in terms so plain that Matthew could not misunderstand them, the exodus of the people was referred to historically, could quote the words in reference to an event seven or eight hundred years subsequent to the quoted writer, then it is as certain as any thing of the kind can be, that Matthew did not intend to represent that event as accomplishing a prediction contained in those words. And if, in such a case as this, when the supposition of prediction accomplished is absolutely preposterous and out of the question, the Evangelist could introduce his quotation with the formal words, "*that it might be fulfilled* which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet," then it follows, that in no case whatever does the formality of that introduction permit us to infer that the Evangelist points to the words which he quotes as

containing a prediction, of which events have brought about the accomplishment.

Matthew simply suggests, in reference to the return of Jesus in his childhood from Egypt to Palestine, that God, in accomplishing the second great deliverance for his people, may be said to have done what the prophet had said he did in accomplishing the first; that is, to have called his son out of Egypt. And this is the nature of quotations of this kind, of which such a great mystery and perplexity has been made.

II. 16 - 18.

Then Herod sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, "In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not."

The quotation is from Jeremiah (xxxi. 15; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 362). In the passage of which it makes part, Jeremiah is referring to the desolation of the northern kingdom. Of that kingdom, Ephraim, of which Rachel was the ancestress (Gen. xlvi. 19, 20), was the chief tribe, and Ramah was one of its cities (1 Sam. i. 1). Accordingly, the poet, in the genuine spirit and style of his art, represents Rachel as weeping among the ruins of Ramah, and refusing consolation because her children were not there. Six hundred years after this, another slaughter takes place. It is true it takes place, not in Ramah, but in Bethlehem; and Rachel has no concern with it, because Bethlehem is in Judah, and that tribe is descended, not from her, but from her sister Leah (Gen. xxxv. 23). There was no occasion for weeping in Ramah, when the children of Bethlehem were put to

death. There would have been no propriety in representing Rachel as bereaved on that occasion, for the children of Bethlehem were no children of hers. And her lamentation described by the ancient prophet was on account of a state of things existing in his own time, and not of an event contemplated by him as future. All this Matthew knew and understood, quite as well as we. And it is impossible that he should have intended to say that there was a prediction of Jeremiah, where every intelligent reader sees that there was none; that there was a prediction of weeping in Ramah of Ephraim, which was fulfilled by a weeping in Bethlehem of Judah; and that a prediction of Rachel's sorrow for her children was fulfilled in the death of children who were not of her blood. — We have to trifle very absurdly with words, in the attempt to prove that Matthew trifled with them, if possible, more absurdly still. If we will dismiss such idle and unauthorized refinements, and bring to his Gospel the good sense which we should not refuse to any other book but the Bible, we shall see that the language simply expresses the plain and pertinent meaning; — the sharp and comfortless distress of bereaved mothers at Bethlehem, at this time, might be well described in language used anciently by Jeremiah when he was speaking of the desolation of Ramah and Ephraim.

II. 23.

He came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, "He shall be called a Nazarene."

Here we get new light, from a different side, on the force, or rather the *no-force*, (that is, of any such kind as has been commonly ascribed to it,) of this very formal manner of quotation. Nowhere in the Old Testa-

ment can we find the words said by Matthew to be “spoken by [or *in*] the prophets, ‘He shall be called a Nazarene.’” What then did he refer to? I have very little doubt that it was to a text in the Book of Judges (xiii. 5), where it is said of Samson that “he shall be a Nazarite.” It is true that Matthew’s word (*Ναζωραῖος*) is not the same as that (*ναζὶρ*) by which the Hebrew (נְזִיר) is rendered in the Vatican copy of the Septuagint. But in the Alexandrian copy (Judges xiii. 5), in the Vatican copy (Lam. iv. 7), and in Josephus (“Antiq. Jud.,” Lib. IV. cap. iv. § 4), we find Greek forms of the same word (*ναζιραῖοι* and *ναζειραῖοι*) all but identical with that of Matthew, and therefore it may be presumed that this latter form was in quite as familiar use as the former.

Again, let us apply to this case the probable opinion that Matthew wrote in his vernacular tongue. Whether we call it *Hebrew* or *Syro-Chaldee* (see above, p. 30) is immaterial; it bore a close resemblance to the Syriac. If he meant, as I have supposed, to refer to Judges (xiii. 5), he would adopt the Hebrew word (נְזִיר) with as little alteration as the structure of the dialect in which he was writing would permit. Now in the Syriac version of his Gospel we find an answering word, which I express as nearly as it can be in Hebrew letters, since where I print we have no Syriac types (ܢܙܝܪܝܐ). This form, or something closely resembling it, it is likely that Matthew, in his original, used as the rendering of the word (נְזִיר) in Judges (xiii. 5). And of this form, when in the translator’s hands it came to be transferred to the Greek of our present Gospel, the word (*Ναζωραῖος*) which we find, would be an easy and natural expression.

Matthew says that he is making a quotation; “that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by [or *in*] the

prophets, ‘He shall be called a Nazarene.’” Except that which I have suggested, I know no account of his quotation which has the smallest probability. But supposing this account to be correct, it throws important light on the purport of this large class of quotations made from the Old Testament in the New. They are not assertions of prediction fulfilled. They are easy and natural rhetorical embellishments, — adaptations, accommodations, applications (of a kind recognized by all nations, and in almost all sorts of composition), of expressions in common use, or expressions of some well-known writer, to some original sentiment, some passing event, or some habit or opinion which attracts notice. Between Samson, “a Nazarite unto God from the womb,” and Jesus, whose mother “came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth,” there was no actual, real resemblance because of those facts, — nothing, certainly, that made the residence of Jesus at Nazareth a literal fulfilment of any prediction that had been uttered respecting Samson’s ascetic habits. But an ambiguous word (*Ναζωραῖος*) signified either a *Nazarite*, which Samson was, or a *Nazarene*, which Jesus was; and Matthew, struck with the ambiguity, takes occasion from it, by a sort of *conceit* (I must use that word, for want of a more dignified one, to convey the idea), to apply, to the latter, words used by an Old Testament writer concerning the former. Could he have anticipated what a race of critics would arise in after times, and what would be the cost of his indulgences, in this way, of a writer’s natural taste, it may be presumed that he would have scrupulously abstained from its gratification.

III. 1, 2.

In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

When John the Baptist spoke of the "kingdom of heaven," he evidently used a form of words not new to those whom he was addressing. It is plain that it was of something which they were expecting that he spoke, when he told them that it was near at hand.

The "kingdom of heaven," the "kingdom of God" (Matt. vi. 33), and the "kingdom of the Son of man" (xiii. 41), are equivalent expressions. In my work on the Old Testament (e. g. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 377 - 384; IV. 276 - 279), I have explained repeatedly and at length the nature and the origin of the conceptions which those phrases were intended to convey. God designed in good time to follow and supersede the institutions of Moses with a religious dispensation more complete; and accordingly the lawgiver was authorized to announce to his people, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me." (Deut. xviii. 15.) It was also recorded in traditions preserved by Moses, that Abraham had received promises from Jehovah of a royal issue from his stock. (Gen. xvii. 6, 16; xxxv. 11; comp. xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 18; xxvi. 4; xxviii. 14.) As early as the institution of the monarchy, — as early, at all events, as the time of David, — these two ideas came to be combined; and a royal prophet, or propagator of divine truth, — a hero of irresistible martial prowess, of venerable wisdom, of splendid talents for administration, and of burning zeal for the Law, — became the hope of the nation. Under his conduct, their country should rise to a height of unprecedented glory. "Kings should see

them and stand up, yea, princes, and do them homage"; and all the glories so emulously described in the books of the Psalms, the prophets, and others, were to cluster around Jerusalem and Zion. The Messiah (equivalent to the *Christ* in Greek and the *Anointed* in English) became the special name of the fancied sovereign, and the phrases "the kingdom of heaven" and "the kingdom of God" designated the Jewish empire which was to be established. So, for instance, Micah (iv. 7) spoke of it while the first Jewish kingdom yet stood: "I will make the halting a remnant, and the far-scattered a strong nation." And the author of the Book of Daniel (ii. 44), after it had fallen: "In the days of those kings shall the *God of heaven* set up a *kingdom* which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall be left to no other people; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever"; and again (vii. 13, 14): "I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like a son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the aged person, and they brought him near before him; and there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed." (Comp. Dan. vii. 27.)

Such were the anticipation and the hope transmitted from generation to generation of the Jews, and which prevailed among them at the time when Jesus appeared. Such was the expectation of the "kingdom of heaven" or "kingdom of God," cherished at that time with even more interest than at some others, because of the depression to which the nation was then reduced. And when "in those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying,

‘Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,’” such as has been described was, without doubt, the new state of things, the establishment of which he was understood by his hearers to announce. That he himself had any more correct idea of the nature of the revolution about to take place, there is no reason whatever to suppose. He calls on his countrymen to repent, or *reform*, by way of preparation for a share in the benefits of the coming kingdom, because, according to the established opinion, the “Redeemer who was to come to Zion” was to “turn away ungodliness from Jacob,” and establish a society free from all injustice, dissension, and offence. (Is. xi. 1 – 13; lix. 20; lx. 21; Ezek. xx. 43; Mal. iv. 1 – 6.)

III. 3.

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

The words quoted are taken from the book of Isaiah (xl. 3), with one slight variation from the Septuagint text, and two from the Hebrew. The original writer, in the time of Cyrus, encouraging himself that the time is close at hand for his countrymen to be released from their captivity at Babylon and restored to their home, expresses his exulting hope under the image of hearing a voice command the construction of a straight and level road through the intervening wilderness, for the people, marshalled by their guardian God, to travel back and repossess their ancient domain. (“Lectures,” &c., Vol. III. pp. 237 – 239.) In point of fact, this language, and the occasion to which it relates, have nothing to do with the appearance of our Lord’s herald, John the Baptist, “in the wilderness of Judea.” But the words applied by the ancient writer to the

one case admitted of an easy and graceful application to the other; and that application, in the use of a common device of rhetoric, Matthew makes.

“*This is he that was spoken of* by the prophet Esaias.” Is there any thing in that phrase to refute the above explanation? Suppose we were recommending a candidate for office, should we have any hesitation in saying, “You have often heard descriptions of the man needed for this place; here is the very man so described”? Yet literally it was not true that the description had been drawn from that man; the description had been made independently of him, and afterwards he was observed to correspond with it. In the Epistle of Jude (14) we find these words: “Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, *prophesied of these*, saying, ‘Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds,’” &c. Who understands the writer as meaning that his own contemporaries were the persons whom the antediluvian Enoch (or whoever had assumed his name) had in view, when he uttered these words of warning? Who does not naturally and instinctively perceive the sense to be, that the sinners of the writer’s time might be aptly rebuked in words which he quotes as Enoch’s, anciently used on a different occasion, and respecting different persons? (See above, pp. 28 – 31.)

“*This is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias.*” Has this language any material bearing on the question whether Isaiah was the author of the fortieth chapter of the book which goes by his name? On the contrary, it is our custom to refer to a composition by its common title, whatever may be our opinion of the correctness of that title. We speak of “the poems

of Ossian," instead of using so inconvenient a periphrasis as "the poems of Macpherson, pretended by him to have been written by an ancient bard, named Ossian." A scholar quotes a fable "of Æsop," and an odé "of Anacreon," while he is satisfied in his own mind that they are pieces which did not proceed from the writers so named. (See, on this subject, "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 180, 181, 235, 236.)

III. 17.

And, lo, a voice from heaven, saying, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased."

This text presents the important question of the sense in which the title "Son of God" is given to Jesus in the New Testament.

The origin and explanation of the title are to be found in an idiom of the Old Testament; and that is the circumstance which brings it within the scope of our present investigation. A common form of speech among the Jews was, to call by the name of *son* of any person or thing, *whatever was connected with that person or thing, whatever resembled it, or resulted from it*. Thus a "son of Belial" (1 Sam. ii. 12) is a bad man; a "son of a murderer" (2 Kings vi. 32) is a sanguinary person; "son of perdition" (John xvii. 12), one that deserves perdition; "son of man" (Ps. viii. 4), a human being; "son of peace" (Luke x. 6), a peaceable individual; "sons of flame" (Job v. 7), sparks; "son of the morning" (Is. xiv. 12), Lucifer, or the morning star. In like manner those who resemble God, or are regarded as acting with his authority, or otherwise signalized by his favor, are called his sons. God is represented as saying to David concerning Solomon (2 Sam. vii. 14), "I will be his father, and he shall be my son"; and again (1 Chron.

xxviii. 6), "Solomon shall build my house and my courts, for I have chosen him to be my son." "Thus saith the Lord," said Moses to Pharaoh (Exod. iv. 22, 23), "Israel is my son, even my first-born; and I say unto thee, let my son go, that he may serve me." "When Israel was a child," Hosea (xi. 1) represents Jehovah as saying, "then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt." The conception and phraseology in question appear equally in the New Testament. Paul writes to the Galatians (iii. 26), "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus"; to the Corinthians (2 Cor. vi. 17, 18), "'I will receive you, and be a father to you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters,' saith the Lord Almighty"; to the Romans (viii. 14), "As many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God." St. John writes (1 John iii. 1, 2), "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God; beloved, now are we the sons of God."

Such being the settled use to which the Jews put the title, they would of course apply it, by eminence, to their expected Messiah. Favored of God above all others, he especially would be entitled to be called God's son. If the name was suitable to rulers, then especially to him to whom were to be given "dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him." If it was descriptive of righteous men, and of men efficient in accomplishing God's purposes, then eminently of that "righteous servant" of God who "by his knowledge" was to "justify many."

Thus it was, — it could not have been otherwise, — that, at the time of the appearance of Jesus, among the names commonly applied to the expected deliverer, (as "King of Israel," expressive of his office, as that

was understood, "Son of David," indicative of his descent, and "Messiah," or Christ, denoting the form of induction to the royal dignity,) was that of "Son of God," implying the divine favor extended and the divine authority delegated to him. These titles, and others, were used as signifying the same office, — the same person, — and were used indifferently.

Thus John the Baptist, "looking upon Jesus as he walked, saith, 'Behold *the Lamb of God.*'" (John i. 36.) "Andrew, who heard this, said to his brother Simon, 'We have found *the Messias.*'" (Ibid. 41.) Philip, their neighbor, "findeth Nathanael, and saith unto him, 'We have found *him of whom Moses in the Law and the prophets did write.*'" (Ibid. 45.) And Nathanael, in his turn, on coming to Jesus, said, "Rabbi, thou art *the Son of God*, thou art the King of Israel." (Ibid. 49.) In short, the several titles, though taking their different forms from the respective aspects in which the expected hero was viewed, were, in their application, equivalent. The demoniacs whom Jesus cured at Capernaum cried out, "saying, 'Thou art *Christ, the Son of God.*'" (Luke iv. 41.) The council who examined him before he was carried before Pilate, asked him, "Art thou *the Christ?*" (Luke xxii. 67.) And when they repeated the question, it was in the words, "Art thou then *the Son of God?*" (Ibid. 70.) By Matthew (xvi. 16) near Cesarea Philippi, Peter is related to have said to Jesus, "Thou art the *Christ, the son of the living God*"; and the profession was of that extreme importance, that it is difficult to suppose that either Evangelist would have omitted either of the two phrases, if he had recognized any difference in their meaning. Yet by Mark (viii. 29) we find Peter only related to have said, "Thou art the *Christ*," and by Luke (ix. 20), "The *Christ of God*"; and

after Peter's declaration our Lord is recorded (Matt. xvi. 20) to have "charged his disciples that they should tell no man that he, Jesus, was the *Christ*," which was not all nor the chief of what he would have forbidden them to disclose, if there had been a separate meaning in the phrase *Son of God*. "Is it not written in your Law," said Jesus (John x. 34 - 36), "'I said, Ye are gods?' If he called them gods unto whom the word of God came (and the Scripture cannot be broken), say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, 'Thou blasphemest,' because I said, 'I am the Son of God'?" His being *sanctified and sent into the world* by God, — in other words, his being *the Christ*, the legate of God, — is the reason he himself assigns for calling himself God's son; and this, in an express and formal justification of the propriety of his assumption of the title.

If the reasoning above is correct, then no mystical conception of the metaphysical nature of Jesus was intended to be expressed in the Scripture phrase, *Son of God*. In whatever is peculiar of its application to him, it is simply a title of office, equivalent to, and interchangeable with, the title of Messiah. The "voice from heaven," which, after his baptism by John, hailed him as God's well pleasing and "beloved son," was neither more nor less than a recognition of him in the character of that great reformer and deliverer, whom (with whatever degree of misapprehension of his true office) the chosen people had been expecting from age to age, on the authority of their great law-giver's promise (Deut. xviii. 15), that "a prophet would the Lord their God raise up unto them of their brethren, like unto himself."

IV. 13-16.

Leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephtholim; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, "The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephtholim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles, the people which sat in darkness, saw great light, and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up."

In the book of Isaiah (ix. 1, 2) we read, according to the Hebrew: * "Of old he brought the land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali into contempt. In future times shall he bring the land of the sea beyond Jordan, the circle of the Gentiles, into honor. The people that walk in darkness behold a great light; they who dwell in the land of death-like shade, upon them a light shineth."

Of the Septuagint Greek a literal translation is as follows, viz.: "Make haste the land of Zebulon, the land of Nephtholim, and other inhabitants of the sea-coast, and Galilee of the Gentiles beyond the Jordan. Thou people that walkest in darkness, behold a great light; ye who dwell in a region [which is] a shadow of death, light shall shine upon you." †

* That is, if we change the division between the eighth and ninth chapters, which in the Hebrew occurs at the beginning of the last period of the passage quoted, so that the ninth chapter begins "The people," &c. If we regard the Hebrew division, of course the discrepancy between the original and Matthew's quotation is greatly increased.

† The text stands thus in the Chaldee: "Formerly Zebulon and Naphtali emigrated, and those of them who remained shall be led by a mighty king into captivity, because they did not remember the power which was manifested at the Red Sea, and the miracles at Jordan, and the war of the cities of the nations. The people of the house of Israel, which walked in Egypt as in darkness, came forth to see a great light; upon those who dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, light has arisen." The Syriac varies the reading materially, in a still different way. In such an uncertainty of the text, it is impossible to frame that argument from supernatural prediction, of which an ascertained text must be the basis.

It is plain that Matthew has followed neither the one nor the other. It is plain that he has merely availed himself of a portion of the words and the general structure of the sentences, as no writer could think of doing if he meant to point to a supernatural prediction accomplished. If, in such a case as this, the quotation could be introduced by the words, "He came and dwelt in Capernaum, &c., *that it might be fulfilled,*" &c., how is it possible in any case to argue that the essential force of that expression requires the reader to understand it as indicating a prediction brought to pass?

In the original connection of the passage, as I interpret it (see "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 195, 196), Isaiah had expressed the sense that the disasters experienced by the northern tribes from the Assyrian inroad would not be permanent, but that the victories of the expected Son of David would restore to them freedom and prosperity. Isaiah had, it is true, referred to the Messiah, but to the Messiah very erroneously understood; nor can his words be construed as containing any allusion to a residence of the Messiah in the territory of Zebulon and Naphtali. Matthew, too, knew much more familiarly than we, that to dwell at Capernaum would not be the fulfilment of a prediction of dwelling "beyond Jordan," inasmuch as Capernaum was not on the side of the river denoted by the use of those words. He had no idea of representing the residence of Jesus at Capernaum as the accomplishment of a prediction. He had no idea that Isaiah had predicted a residence of the Messiah at that or at any other place. Isaiah had spoken of an illumination of the northern territory by the dawn of a political deliverance. Matthew takes part of his words, and applies them to the appearance, in that country, of a light of very different nature.

IV. 17.

From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

The ideas associated by the Jews with this expression were, as we have seen (above, pp. 46 - 48), quite erroneous. "They expected a new Jewish empire to be established on a more stable and glorious footing than the old. It was to be established and administered under heavenly protection by the Son of David, the Messiah. He was to be a valiant, politic, and magnificent prince, successful in his wars, and exalting his subjects to a temporal supremacy over the nations. The humble Jesus of Nazareth was no such prince. His office was to establish no such dominion. His was to be not a worldly, but a spiritual sway. Yet, because he came to set up a kingdom, a kingdom under heavenly protection, the only kingdom which was to be looked for, and the very authority which had been pointed at by Moses in words which later ages had misunderstood, he did not hesitate to begin his ministry with the declaration, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand,' and to repeat the same and similar language through its whole course. 'The kingdom of heaven' was at hand, though in a sense different from what had been understood, and in one which it remained for him to explain." ("Lectures," &c., Vol. II. p. 383.)

V. 2 - 10.

And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. . . . Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

Here we have the first recorded attempt of Jesus to disabuse his Jewish hearers of the errors which,

through false habits of thought, they had derived from their Scriptures. Here he begins to explain to them that there was to be no such "kingdom of heaven" as they had been looking for, but that Heaven was about to establish a dominion over men, and a society among men, of a very different kind.

The people, from whom Jesus had now collected an audience, were anxiously expecting, like their fathers before them, a "kingdom of heaven." They were right in their expectation of such a dominion, but they greatly misconceived its nature. The ancient sages of their nation, — Isaiah, Jeremiah, Haggai, and the rest, — adopting, from age to age, the notions of their time, had greatly misconceived it. Jesus had announced its approach to delighted ears (iv. 17, 23). Now he first proceeds to explain in what it would consist. It was to be an empire over the human soul. It would collect, form, and rule over a community of humble, meek, merciful men, men pure in heart, studious of peace, schooled by trial, hungering and thirsting for goodness.

Let us endeavor to place ourselves in the midst of that assembly to which Jesus made his first long address. How must the heart of every Jew have swelled with pride and hope to hear the announcement, that that great revolution was near which he expected would make Jerusalem the seat of a splendid empire, — the Son of David, the conqueror, the glory and delight of all nations, — and the meanest Israelite an object of the trembling veneration of subdued and humbled Gentiles! How greedily must his selfishness have fed itself on the anticipation of a share in the authority and magnificence of the kingdom about to be established! And, indignant as he was at the burdens, and still more at the insolence, of a Roman

domination, how must he have exulted in the thought that the time, not only for his emancipation, but for his revenge, was close at hand! When multitudes from all the districts of the Holy Land had collected about him who had uttered this long and anxiously expected summons, and drawn the eyes of all to him by wonderful works of power and mercy, and when, as if to take advantage of their enthusiasm, and place himself at their head, he was seen, surrounded by his special attendants, to go up into a mountain, and dispose himself into an attitude to address the crowd, with what an intensely excited expectation must every bosom have throbbed! With what a painful curiosity must the first words he should utter have been awaited! And what must have been the surprise and disappointment which succeeded, when those first words were heard: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven"!

Yet, while giving such a shock to their fixed prepossessions and ambitious hopes, — while revolting all their notions of a heavenly kingdom, drawn from the revered writings of "them of old time," — I think we may see that Jesus designed to break the force of the blow, by hinting that the view which he was presenting was not without warrant from those same Old Testament Scriptures which it seemed to oppose. To this end, not a little of the phraseology employed by him on this occasion appears to have been framed. (For instances, comp. Matt. v. 3 with Ps. li. 17, Is. lxi. 1, lxvi. 2; Matt. v. 4 with Ps. cxxvi. 5, Prov. xiv. 13, Eccles. ii. 2, iii. 4, Is. xxii. 12, 13, xxxv. 10, lvii. 10, 18, lxi. 2; Matt. v. 5 with Ps. xxxvii. 11, lxxvi. 9, cxlix. 4, Is. lvii. 13; Matt. v. 6 with Ps. xvii. 15, xxxvii. 25, xlii. 2, lxiii. 1, Is. lv. 1, lxx. 13; Matt. v. 7 with Ps. xxxvii. 25, 26, xli. 1, Prov.

xiv. 21, xix. 17; Matt. v. 8 with Ps. xxiv. 3, 4, lxxiii. 1, Is. xxxiii. 15, 16.)

V. 17.

Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the prophets;
I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

A caution very necessary, after what Jesus had been saying of the nature of that institution which was about to be set up in the world, so different from that military and magnificent "kingdom of heaven" which his hearers had been expecting. In every age, he who explains the Scriptures in their right sense, and exhibits them in their true position, exposes himself to the charge of aiming to "destroy," instead of to "fulfil" them. Reasoning unskilfully upon the contents of their sacred books, the Jews appealed to them in support of very pernicious errors. When Jesus announced great truths which contradicted those errors, he knew that in the minds of his hearers he incurred a suspicion, which he repelled in the words quoted above. He came, he said, not, as (from the freedom with which he had spoken) might be supposed, to deride, relax, or annul the ancient Scriptures, but, on the contrary, to fulfil, to complete, to carry out their object. The great object of their inspired lawgiver, Moses, had been, to introduce into the world right conceptions of the character and authority of God, and the principles of virtuous conduct. The object of those wise and good (if not supernaturally inspired) men, the prophets, had been, in their day and generation, to serve the same great cause of truth and righteousness. His aim was identical with theirs. His mission was to accomplish their proposed object, far more effectually and thoroughly than they had succeeded in doing, or had so much as attempted to

do (v. 18 – 20). He was not their opponent, but their more powerful co-worker, — their successor, rather, in a much higher sphere of the same labor. And, for present samples of the way in which it would be his office to “fulfil” the ancient teachers, by extending their narrow, and deepening their superficial discipline, he shows how his system of morality, in respect to the angry passions (ibid. 21 – 26), to the animal appetites (ibid. 27 – 30), to conjugal faith (ibid. 31, 32), to religious reverence (ibid. 33 – 37), and to the magnanimity of gentleness, the obligations of human brotherhood (ibid. 38 – 48, vii. 12), transcended and matured the best rules with which the devotees of the Law and the prophets were acquainted.

It is obvious to remark, that, if Jesus had come to fulfil “the prophets” in the erroneous popular sense in which the Messiah was then, as now, expected to fulfil them, this was the time and place to declare it.

V. 22.

I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, “Raca,” shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, “Thou fool,” shall be in danger of hell-fire.

“*Hell-fire.*” Literally, *the gehenna of fire*, or *the fiery gehenna*. *Gehenna* (γέεννα) is merely a representation in Greek letters of two Hebrew words, signifying “the valley of Hinnom” (גֵּיאַ הַחַיְהוֹם), a valley under Mount Zion and the southern wall of the city of Jerusalem. We first read of it in the Book of Joshua (xv. 8). In the times of the kings it became the scene of the idolatrous worship of Moloch. (1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings xvi. 3; 2 Chron. xxviii. 3; xxxiii. 6; Jer. xix. 2; xxxii. 35.) Josiah desecrated the place

(2 Kings xxiii. 10, 13), after which time it became a receptacle for the filth of the city, and the dead bodies of animals and of executed malefactors were thrown there. The worms and other reptiles, bred in this putrid matter, added to the loathsome aspect of the place, and from time to time fires were kindled to keep the nuisance in check, which would smoulder as long as the combustible substance lasted. So its "worm died not," and its "fire was not quenched."

By the *judgment* (*κρίσις*) indicated in the words "shall be in danger of the judgment" (v. 21), was indicated the local tribunal of inferior magistrates, seven in number, according to Josephus ("Antiq. Jud.," Lib. IV. cap. viii. § 14; comp. 2 Chron. xix. 5-7), established in each city. Our Lord, commenting upon the rules which he quotes, takes this "judgment" for the lowest term of the climax by which he illustrates the truth, that not only are men responsible for their acts, but also for their words and even their feelings, and that their responsibility will rise from less to greater in proportion to the aggravation of their offence. The "judgment" was the local magistracy. The "council," or Sanhedrim (*συνεδριον*), was the august central court at Jerusalem, composed of the high-priest and seventy assessors ("Antiq. Jud.," Lib. IX. cap. i. § 1; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. p. 342, note †; 2 Chron. xix. 8-11), and charged with the more important functions of judicature. The "fiery Gehenna" was the odious grave to which the victims of capital execution were consigned. Our Lord certainly did not mean to say literally, that whoever should harbor a vindictive thought would be punished by the municipal magistrates (for how would those magistrates find it out?); or that he who should use harsh language of reproach should be dealt with by

the supreme council. No more did he mean to declare, that he who should be carried so far by his anger as to insult his brother with yet more offensive taunts, should be condemned to the Gehenna of fire, in any literal sense of that phrase. He meant to announce that men were responsible for all their offences, of feeling and speech as well as action, in the measure of the aggravation of those offences respectively; and this sentiment he clothed in figurative language, drawn naturally from the phraseology of that doctrine on which he was commenting. (Comp. Wetsten. "Nov. Test.," Tom. I. p. 299.)

VII. 21.

Not every one that saith unto me, "Lord, Lord," shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.

Another step of progress in the exposition of the nature of the new institution about to be established under Divine auspices. Its subjects were not to be such as should merely be willing to hail Jesus as their commander, but such as should be disposed to devote themselves to a life of universal obedience to God's will.

VIII. 4.

Jesus saith unto him, "See thou tell no man; but go thy way, show thyself to the priest, and offer the gift, that Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them."

The Mosaic Law was not yet superseded, and Jesus turned the grateful feelings of the cured leper into a religious channel, by bidding him remember the religious acknowledgment which that Law prescribed. (Lev. xiv. 1-32; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. pp. 275-277.) A further object probably was, that, by the official declaration of the priest, all doubt might

be silenced as to the reality and completeness of the cure; and the direction, "See thou tell no man, but go thy way," was given lest the priests, hearing of the miracle which had been wrought, and wishing to discredit it, should be disinclined to do the leper justice, and declare him cleansed. The direction, "See thou tell no man," was perhaps further designed to guard against inconvenience, to which Jesus was sometimes exposed, from the curiosity of crowds. (Comp. Mark i. 45.)

VIII. 11, 12.

Many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness.

Still another step in the explanation of the nature of the new institution about to be introduced. Under the figure of admission to and exclusion from a festive entertainment, Jesus declares that the privileges of the coming kingdom are by no means to belong to God's anciently chosen people as such, according to the churlish doctrine of their bigoted nationality; that not only were the despised and hated Gentiles, from all quarters of the world, to be invited into it on an equality with the revered patriarchs of their own race, but that even the (so esteemed) natural heirs, men of Jewish blood, would be denied a place if they brought no better title to admission than that founded on their ancestry. While the illuminated festivity was proceeding within, they would be left in the damp and cold darkness outside.

VIII. 16, 17.

He cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias

the prophet, saying, "Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses."

The sense of the Hebrew of this passage (Is liii. 4), as correctly rendered by Dr. Noyes, is, "He bore our diseases, and carried our pains." The English of the corresponding Septuagint Greek is, "He bears our sins, and is pained for us." Our translation of the words, in the quoted form, scarcely represents the force of the last verb. One of the meanings of Matthew's word rendered "bare" (*ἐβάστασε*) is *took away, removed*; and there can be no doubt, from the connection, that this was the sense which Matthew had in view, and that he made his translation to accommodate that sense. The corresponding Hebrew word (סָבַל) will indifferently bear to have that sense put upon it, anywhere. But even if it will, nothing can be clearer than that, in the connection in which it stands in the passage quoted from Isaiah, it has no such signification. In short, the passage, understood agreeably to its context as it stands in the work from which it is extracted, — that is, understood in its true meaning, — admitted of no application of any kind to the case to which Matthew applies it. To make it susceptible of such an application, he gave a new turn to it by a peculiar translation; — a course quite unexceptionable if it was only rhetorical embellishment that was intended, but quite inconsistent with the supposition of Matthew's having intended to assert, in the words "that it might be fulfilled," that the writer of the passage quoted had a supernatural prescience of the proceedings of Jesus.

Another remark very important to be made upon this passage is, that another Apostle (1 Pet. ii. 24) refers to the same words which are here quoted by Matthew, and uses them in a wholly different sense. If

Matthew meant to represent them as containing a supernatural prediction of the works of healing done by Jesus, was he right in that interpretation, or was Peter right, who put them to an entirely different use? Both were right; but they can only be shown to be so, by rejecting the preposterous common theory of quotations. Neither intended to adduce the words as containing supernatural prediction which in time had been verified. Both meant to make an *accommodation* of them, in the way of a well-authorized and familiar ornament of style. One made one accommodation of them; the other, another. Each put the words to his own use; both did it with equal propriety; and there is no contradiction between them, as there would have been a most palpable one, if one had designed to say that the words in their original sense related to one event, and the other that they related to another.

VIII. 20.

The Son of man hath not where to lay his head.

The phrase *Son of man* occurs not far from seventy times in the Gospels, being, in every instance except one (John xii. 34), used by Jesus respecting himself; and this one does not in fact constitute an exception, since it is merely a repetition of the words of Jesus by those with whom he is conversing. The text before us, being the first in which the title occurs, presents the question respecting its import.

The phrase *son of man*, as used in the Old Testament, is commonly equivalent to *man* simply. So it is used by Elihu in the Book of Job (xxxv. 8): "Thy wickedness may hurt a man as thou art, and thy righteousness may profit the son of man." So by the Psalmist (viii. 4): "What is man, that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that thou visitest him?"

(Comp. *instar omnium*, Prov. viii. 4; Is. li. 12; Jer. li. 43.) There is, however, an occasional antithesis between two forms of the Hebrew (שׂוֹנֵי אֲדָמָה and בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה), both rendered literally, in English, *sons of men*, corresponding to the distinction between the two words signifying *man* (שׂוֹנֵי and בְּנֵי), in respect to the greater dignity implied by the former. In a Psalm (xlix. 2) this is expressed in our version by the words "low" and "high." (Comp. Ps. lxxxii. 7; Is. ii. 9; v. 15.) The form here rendered "high" (בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה) is very rarely found; the other (שׂוֹנֵי אֲדָמָה) occurs very frequently, especially in the Book of Ezekiel, where it is the constantly repeated form of address to that prophet. (See Ezek. ii. 1; iii. 1; iv. 1; v. 1, &c.)

Agreeably to this, it has been a common opinion of critics, that Jesus, in habitually applying the title to himself, intended to call himself *a man*, or *a man in humble condition*; and there have been other explanations, which I pass over, such as that *son of [the] man* means *son of Adam*, or *second Adam*, or *son of David*, or *second David*. I regard the phrase as having, as used by Jesus, a more specific meaning, and as containing a reference to a form of conception and of speech derived from (or at least according with) a passage in the Book of Daniel (vii. 13, 14), where it is said, "I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like a [or *the*] son of man came with the clouds of heaven," &c. In these words the subject in the writer's contemplation was the coming of the Messiah to establish the kingdom of heaven. Occurring in a passage of such brilliancy, the phrase *son of man*, though by no means sufficiently specific in its meaning to be restricted into a designation of the Messiah, yet was likely to take a place among those titles which might properly be ap-

plied to him. And the probability that such was our Lord's reference, when he used it, is greatly strengthened by his allusions, in connection with it, to parts of the context in Daniel's prophecy. Thus to Caiaphas Jesus said, "Hereafter shall ye see *the son of man* sitting on the right hand of power, and coming *in the clouds of heaven.*" (With Daniel vii. 13, 14, comp. Matt. xxv. 31, 32, Luke ix. 26; also, Acts vii. 56, Apoc. xiv. 14.)

But supposing this to be well founded, the question occurs, How could Jesus, from an early period of his ministry, use a title suitable to the office of Messiah, when he did not distinctly present himself even to his Apostles in that character, till a time not long preceding his crucifixion? I answer, that the title *Son of man*, though, for the reasons which have been presented, suitable to be applied to the Messiah, was not confined to that use, was not appropriated, was not peculiar to the Messiah; and therefore did not necessarily imply any pretensions, on the part of him who assumed it, to that character. That it admitted of being understood as synonymous with the title *Christ*, appears clearly from such a text as this (John xii. 34): "We have heard out of the Law that *Christ* abideth for ever, and how sayest thou, 'The *Son of man* must be lifted up'?" But that, on the other hand, it did not require to be so understood, seems to be recognized in the question which Jesus put to his disciples (Matt. xvi. 13), "Whom do men say that I, *the Son of man*, am?" leaving it undetermined what character was denoted by the title. On the whole, the truth appears to be, that the same reasons which dictated the reserve maintained in other respects by Jesus, as to an assumption of the character of Messiah, till a late period of his ministry, made it fit that, in the selection of a title,

he should avoid such as would prematurely provoke the hostility of his countrymen by a too plain annunciation of his claim, while, on the other hand, it should be such, that, after his crucifixion, his disciples, recalling his language to their minds, might see that that claim had, from the first to the last, been consistently, though not offensively, put forward. The designation *Son of man* suited both these objects, and it was the only one which suited them. It was a fit title of the Messiah ; but in Scripture and in common life it was familiarly used in a less definite sense. They who believed Jesus to be that personage would understand him as giving an intimation to that effect, as often as he called himself *the Son of man* ; while his negligent or unbelieving hearers would attribute no peculiar force to the expression, to the seditiously disposed so indefinite a phrase would not sound as a fit watchword of rebellion, and his adversaries, on the eager watch for some proof to convict him of disloyal designs, would have no pretence for founding upon it a charge against him. Possibly the title may have been further recommended to his use, as being the most modest and humble among those open to his election.

IX. 13.

Go ye and learn what that meaneth, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice."

Hosea (vi. 6) had in the words here quoted represented Jehovah as declaring his preference of humane dispositions over ritual observances. Jesus presents that sound principle, as announced in the authoritative words of the prophet, to the consideration of those Pharisees who had cavilled at his benevolent concern for publicans and sinners. I submit that we should understand Jesus as conveying a rebuke to the Phari-

sees, as well as justifying himself. As to the self-justification, that benevolence which had prompted his intercourse with men whom others despised, was declared, in the text quoted, to be approved by God above external worship. As to the rebuke of the Pharisees, it is as if he had said: When you come to understand the force of Hosea's words, you will see that, attentive as you are to "sacrifice," your censorious question convicts you of failure in that "mercy" which in God's sight is better.

X. 15.

It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city.

The use of a proverbial expression like this cannot be considered as any voucher for the truth of the ancient relations (Gen. xviii. 20, xix. 24) of the guilt and destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. When I say that a place is "as dark as Erebus," I do not mean to answer for the existence of Erebus.

X. 23.

Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of man be come.

This text, I think, confirms beyond reasonable question the account given above (see pp. 65 - 68) of the origin and import of the title, *Son of man*. I suppose this expression of his *coming* cannot be well explained on any other hypothesis. What is meant by the *coming* of the Messiah, I shall endeavor to show hereafter. (See below, pp. 88 - 91.)

X. 25.

If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub.

A name of vague but fierce reproach, which the

Jews borrowed from an idol of the Philistines. (Comp. 2 Kings i. 2, 16.)

X. 35, 36.

I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's foes shall be they of his own household.

In declaring what he foresaw as an immediate consequence of the introduction of his Gospel, Jesus availed himself of words of the prophet Micah (vii. 6), originally used by that writer in a connection and sense altogether different. The turn of phrase in which he announces the effect, not the design, of his preaching, ("I am *come to set* a man at variance," &c.,) illustrates the import of such forms of language, as explained above. (See pp. 26 - 28.)

XI. 2-6.

When John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, and said unto him, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" Jesus answered and said unto them, "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them; and blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me."

That Jesus was "he that should come" (comp. John vi. 14), John had already the fullest assurance (John i. 29-34). His message to Jesus was not one of inquiry, but of remonstrance. Respecting the character and office of him "that should come," John shared in the erroneous views of his countrymen, views from which even the daily companions of Jesus had not yet escaped. He heard of "the works of *Christ*," and he

argued from them that Jesus was intending presently to assume the magnificence and power which belonged to that exalted dignity. He heard of them "in the prison," from which he regarded them as a promise of speedy release for himself, as one of the triumphant Messiah's friends. But no Messiah was yet manifested in his overpowering greatness. The prison doors of John were not yet thrown open. And he became impatient, perplexed, scandalized, as Jesus himself implies (Matt. xi. 6). His message I consider as equivalent to this: Being the Messiah, as you are, how is it that you do not forthwith assert your prerogatives and protect your suffering friends? how is it that you so conduct yourself as might tempt one to think that after all the Messiah is not yet born?

Jesus did not give a categorical answer. He could not give such an answer to the messengers of John, without casting off that reserve, as to a proclamation of himself in the character of the Messiah, to which he adhered nearly down to the time of his last journey to Jerusalem. His reply was, in effect: Observe these miracles of mine, and report them to John; and then let John and his disciples judge for themselves who I am, and whether I can be trusted to mark out my own course, without prompting or animadversion from him. If I do not yet testify of myself, these mighty works which I am doing testify of me. If I do not yet proclaim what character I bear, let John judge, when he hears of them, whether it is fear, or want of power, that restrains me. Let him consider whether they do not show me competent to determine on my own method of proceeding, and whether he will not do well to be more modest and patient, and to cease being "offended in me."

Expressions in the reply of Jesus to John's disci-

ples have a certain similarity to what occur in different passages of the Book of Isaiah (xxxv. 5, 6, xlii. 7, lxi. 1), where the subject is the return of the people from captivity. (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 230, 242, 267.) But the language of Jesus needs no other explanation, than that it was naturally and properly descriptive of his deeds; nor do I think it by any means clear, that he was in any way referring to those passages. If there was such a reference, it was only in the way of a combination of words, which naturally arose in the memory from familiarity with the language of old Scripture, or at most was an accommodation, of the kind of which we have already seen several instances, of words that had been used by a well-known writer in one sense, to another sense in which they might be correctly applied.

XI. 10.

This is he of whom it is written, "Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee."

These words are quoted (not exactly, but with additions and changes) from the prophecy of Malachi (iii. 1; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 501). It is quite remarkable that those Christian expositors who are the most earnest for the theory of the supernatural foreknowledge of the Jewish prophets are in the habit of interpreting this passage as a prediction by Malachi of Jesus himself, as the "messenger of the covenant," and not as a prediction of John, his forerunner, though the latter is what the language of Jesus, if taken with the literalness usually contended for, would declare it to be. I think it is plain enough that Malachi, when he used the words, had in view the expected Messiah, according to that conception which

was current in his time, and that Jesus applied the words to John in the same way of *accommodation*, in which Matthew, using almost the same form of introduction ("This is he that was spoken of," Matt. iii. 3), had applied to John certain words of Isaiah, which in their original sense had no relation to him. (See above, p. 48.) John was a messenger, sent to prepare the Lord's way, and, so far, words originally used as descriptive of the Messiah were applicable to John. I here repeat the remark, for it is of leading importance, that, had the intention been to refer, in the text quoted, to supernatural prediction fulfilled, the quotation would have been made with exactness, instead of with the variations which we actually find. Otherwise, the standard of comparison of the event with the prediction would be wanting.

XI. 13.

All the prophets and the Law prophesied until John.

I pause upon this text, in order to ask attention to a necessary remark on the meaning of the word *prophecy* (*προφητεύειν*) in the New Testament. It sometimes means simply *to look forward, to contemplate the future*, without at all involving the idea of the foresight in question being of a supernatural kind. In this sense, I may be said with perfect propriety to *prophecy* that it will be fair or foul weather to-morrow, when I have no other knowledge on the subject than any one may have from observing the temperature of the air, and the face of the sky. So Cicero said ("Epist. ad Divers.," Lib. VI. Epist. 6): "Nothing unfortunate happened in that war, without my having predicted it" (*non prædicente me*); and again ("De Senectute," § 14), "How did it delight Gallus to predict (*prædicere*) eclipses of the sun and moon!" I

understand our Lord here to say: As the divinely revealed Law of Moses had reference to that better institution, the future kingdom of heaven, so the wise men who lived and wrote under it, with whatever intermingled errors, also constantly contemplated that great coming revolution in human affairs. The time for looking forward to the kingdom of heaven is now at an end. The kingdom of heaven is at hand, and John has been its forerunner.

XI. 14.

If ye will receive it, this is Elias which was for to come.

If this declaration of Jesus were all our information upon the subject, those interpreters who have for the most part been the guides of Christians would have insisted that there had been a metempsychosis, by which Elijah had reappeared in the person of John the Baptist. From that conclusion we are saved by John's own recorded declaration: "They asked him, 'What then? art thou Elias?' and he saith, 'I am not.'" (John i. 21.) Jesus refers in the text before us to an opinion entertained by his countrymen. Whether Malachi himself supposed or not that there would be a personal appearance of Elijah preceding that of the Messiah, when he represented Jehovah as saying (iv. 5), "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet," &c., it was thus that the Jews understood him, and on those words of his they grounded their own expectation of such an apparition. Jesus tells them that John was the only Elijah that was to come; in other words, that no Elijah at all was to come, but that John was to him what they erroneously supposed that Elijah would be to the Messiah. "If ye will receive it," said he, according to our English translation. "He approached them with great caution, to contradict one

out of the endless variety of their mistakes drawn from their dull and superstitious views of the Old Testament. If they had been prepared to "receive it," if they had been "able to bear it" (comp. John xvi. 12; 1 Cor. iii. 2), if their minds had been in such a state that he could have instructed them further concerning their Scriptures without altogether repelling them, it may be presumed that he would have refuted many of those errors which have been transmitted from those Jewish triflers to our day, to be the distress, the hinderance, and the shame of Christians.

Or we may change the pronoun supplied in the version, and render the words, "If ye will receive *him*." In this case they will import, If ye wish to receive Elijah, if ye wish to welcome the Messiah's forerunner whom ye look for, recognize that forerunner in John; no other will you see.

XI. 23.

If the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day.

I have indicated what I understand by references of this kind. (Comp. p. 69.) When I say that one or another is not the person to bend the bow of Ulysses or solve the riddle of the Sphinx, I do not expect to make myself answerable for the truth of the fables of Homer and Sophocles.

XII. 3, 4.

He said unto them, "Have ye not read what David did when he was an hungred, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shew-bread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests?"

I call attention to this passage, merely as containing a clear instance of an *argumentum ad hominem*, and

showing that this was a kind of argument which Jesus did in fact use. Taking the question raised by the Jews as an abstract question of religion and morality, Jesus might have justified his disciples on much higher grounds than that of David's example. (Comp. 1 Sam. xxi. 1 – 6.) He did not need the example of David for his or their justification. The argument which he used was only suitable *to silence cavil*, and to that end it was eminently suitable. If Jesus might properly use such a line of argument in this case, so he might in others; as we shall see that he actually did.

XII. 7.

If ye had known what this meaneth, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," ye would not have condemned the guiltless.

See above, p. 68. The application which Jesus appears here to make of the quotation is this: Those whom you accuse do no more than transgress against the ritual; you, who condemn those guiltless persons, sin against mercy, which Hosea, in so many words, places above the ritual.

XII. 17.

That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by [or *in*] Esaias the prophet.

I suppose Isaiah not to have been the author of the passage quoted ("Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 237, 238); a fact which I esteem to be perfectly consistent with the use of his name in such a reference as is here made. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 235, 236; Vol. IV. pp. 258, 259, 414.)

XII. 18 - 21.

Behold my servant, whom I have chosen ; my beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased : I will put my spirit upon him, and he shall show judgment to the Gentiles ; he shall not strive, nor cry ; neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory. And in his name shall the Gentiles trust.

This quotation from the prophecy of Isaiah (xlii. 1 - 4) accords precisely with neither the Hebrew nor the Septuagint. It differs from both in omitting two clauses before the last clause of the original, and in substituting the words " beloved " and " victory " (Matt. xii. 18, 20) for " elect " and " truth " (Is. xlii. 3). With the Septuagint it differs from the Hebrew in reading " his name " instead of " his law " in the last clause. (Comp. Is. xlii. 4 with Matt. xii. 21.) And with the Hebrew it differs from the Septuagint in the first of the verses quoted, where the latter reads, " Jacob, my servant, I will uphold him, Israel, my chosen, my soul hath adopted him."

The Septuagint translators here allowed themselves in too free a rendering ; but I conceive that they had a right apprehension of the purport of the passage. I think that the context clearly shows the original writer (as those translators understood him) to have here intended by the titles " my servant " and " my chosen," not the expected Messiah, but the chosen people of Israel. (See " Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 241.) In a sense different from the original sense, parts of the passage are applicable to the office, and part to the temporary forbearance and reserve, of Jesus ; and to these, accordingly, Matthew makes a graceful application of them, never dreaming that he should come to be understood as declaring that an

ancient writer had intended to describe a particular feature of Christ's conduct, and that in words suited to describe it at best very vaguely.

XII. 32.

Neither in this world, neither in the world to come.

World I take to be an altogether erroneous translation of the Greek word (*αἰών*) which it here represents. For want of a better English representative, that word may be rendered *time*, or *age*, or *period*. But its meaning, in Jewish use, is specific. The word *dispensation*, not at all its equivalent etymologically, is in signification, for the most part, convertible with it. In the Jewish acceptance, if I understand it, *the present age* (ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος, הַיָּמִים הַזֵּהִים) means the time antecedent to the expected Messiah's advent, and *the future age* (ὁ αἰὼν μέλλων, הַיָּמִים הַבָּאִים) means the coming time (the time which, till the Christian era, was future) of the Messiah's reign. These two periods, that which was passing, and that which was to come, comprehended all time but what was past; and accordingly, to say, in this sense, "Neither in this age, neither in the age to come," was the same as to say, "Never, at any time." The time embraced in the two periods they called "the ages" (οἱ αἰῶνες), or "the times of the ages" (χρόνοι αἰώνιοι). The time preceding both periods was "the time before the ages" (πρὸ τῶν αἰωνῶν, or πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων); or the latter form (χρόνοι αἰώνιοι, quasi "*the dispensation times*") may denote the times of the Jewish dispensation. (By its etymology, the word עוֹלָם, derived from עָלַם, *be concealed*, appears to denote an *unascertained, indefinite* time. The primitive meaning of αἰών, in classical Greek, is *a space, or period of time*. See Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, *ad verb*. For its Scriptural use, and

that of its derivatives, as above defined, observe the connections in which they occur in Tob. xiv. 5; Acts iii. 21; Rom. xvi. 25; 1 Cor. ii. 7, x. 11; Eph. iii. 9, 11; Col. i. 26; 2 Tim. i. 9; Tit. i. 2; Heb. ix. 26. And for further illustration of the phrases see Bretschneider, "Lex. N. T." in voc. *αἰών* (§ 3); Schöttgen. "Dissert. II. De Sec. Hoc et Fut." in "Hor. Hebraic.," &c., Vol. I. pp. 1153–1158; Buxtorf. "Lex. Chaldaic., Talmudic., et Rabbinic." *ad voc.*; Bertholdt's "Christologia," § 11; Koppe, "Nov. Test.," Tom. VI. pp. 138 *et seq.*)

XII. 38.

Then certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, "Master, we would see a sign from thee."

"A sign from heaven," as it is elsewhere more fully expressed (Matt. xvi. 1; Mark viii. 11; Luke xi. 16), was what the Jews of our Lord's time had fixed in their minds as that proof of his claim which the Messiah ought to exhibit; just as they read that Moses, the giver of the Law, had shown a "sign from heaven" in the supply of manna (Exod. xvi. 15; comp. John vi. 30, 31), and Elijah, the restorer of the Law, in the fire that consumed his sacrifice (1 Kings xviii. 38), and that protected him when assailed (2 Kings i. 10, 12; comp. Luke ix. 54). In the Book of Daniel, too, the Son of man was represented (vii. 13; comp. Matt. xxiv. 3, 30) as coming "with the clouds of heaven."

XII. 40, 41.

As Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; because they repented at the preaching of Jonas, and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here.

I have argued ("Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 464-474) that the Book of Jonah contains a fictitious history. In opposition to this view of it, "some stress has been laid upon our Lord's illustration of his entombment during three days, by the confinement of Jonah in the fish's body. Would Jesus, it is asked, have made such a reference to what was not a real event? I ask, in return, Why not? Who will maintain in terms any such principle of interpretation as what that argument rests upon? Who will pretend that, consistently with all the uses of language, illustrations may not be, and are not constantly, drawn from well-known fictions, just as from well-known facts? If, even in the solemnity of pulpit discourse, a speaker should exhort his audience to copy the kindness of the Good Samaritan, or to avoid the reckless courses of the Prodigal Son, would any one have a right to argue that he considered what was on record of the Good Samaritan and the Prodigal Son as historically true? Jesus bade his hearers imitate the Good Samaritan. (Luke x. 37; comp. xviii. 6) in language quite as strong as that in which he compared his three days' burial to Jonah's." ("Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 473.)

XIII. 13-15.

They seeing, see not; and hearing, they hear not; neither do they understand. And in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith, "By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive; for this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them."

"In them is fulfilled." For specimens of this and

similar forms of introducing a quotation in the way of *accommodation*, see above, pp. 28 *et seq.*

The following version of Dr. Noyes represents the Hebrew original of the passage here quoted from Isaiah (vi. 9, 10): —

“ He [Jehovah] said,
 ‘ Go, and say thou to this people,
 Hear ye indeed, but understand not,
 See ye indeed, but perceive not ;
 Make the heart of this people gross ;
 Make their ears dull, and blind their eyes ;
 That they may not see with their eyes, nor hear with their ears,
 Nor perceive with their hearts, and turn and be healed.’ ”

Judging from the connection in which they stand in the Book of Isaiah (see “ Lectures,” &c., Vol. III. p. 188), these words are in no possible sense a prediction of the state of mind of those hearers to whom the Messiah would address himself. They relate solely to Isaiah and his contemporaries. But the dulness and obduracy of the hearers of Jesus resembled the stupidity of the contemporaries of Isaiah. Couched in the phrases of an old prophet, the rebuke of them would fall with the more solemnity and force. Jesus naturally avails himself of that resource for impression. He says that the reproof uttered ages ago is *fulfilled*, — that the description implied in it is met, — in the inattentive Jews before him. His words, as Matthew reports them, are almost precisely those of the Septuagint version, which gives the passage in a form better adapted than the Hebrew to the use dictated by the occasion.

XIII. 34, 35.

All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables, and without a parable spake he not unto them ; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, “ I will

open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world."

The introduction to the words quoted is here in form very precise. Jesus addressed the multitudes in parables, *that it might be fulfilled* which was spoken by an ancient writer when he said: "I will open my mouth in parables," &c. If the accomplishment of supernatural prediction is in any case to be inferred from the mere force of such language, it would seem that it must be inferred in the present instance. If, in the present instance, other considerations forbid us to draw that argument from it, then of course we must give up the idea of founding it, in any instance, upon such forms of introducing a quotation.

Jesus quotes certain words, declaring their author's intention to "open his mouth in parables." He calls their author a prophet. And he says that his own speaking "in parables" *fulfilled* the prophet's words.— In what sense?

We look for the passage quoted, and we find it in one of the Psalms (lxxviii. 2). Very clearly that Psalm consists not at all of prediction, but, from first to last, of history. The writer says that he means to "utter dark sayings of old," and he proceeds with a recapitulation of the principal events in the Jewish annals, from the Exodus to the age of David. He does not at all appear as a *prophet*, in the sense in which that word is now commonly understood by readers of Scripture. He was a "prophet" in the wider sense, the true Scriptural sense, which I have explained elsewhere ("Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 368 – 371). He was a prophet, in the sense of being an instructor of the people. As the writer of this Psalm, he was a prophet, in the sense of being a poet.

Jesus taught in parables, and this he called a ful-

filment of the Psalmist's declaration of his own purpose to "open his mouth in parables." But the word which the Psalmist actually used (לְשׁוֹן) is of a much broader sense than *parable*. It means *apothegm*, *proverb*, and *poem*, as much as *parable*. "I will open my mouth in a *poem*," is Dr. Noyes's correct translation of the clause; and, in fact, throughout the Psalm, there is not a single instance of that particular form of composition, the *parable*, which Matthew reports Jesus to have repeatedly resorted to on this occasion, and which he illustrates our Lord's use of by the language quoted from the Psalmist. Who does not see that this is simply rhetorical accommodation? that it would be merely preposterous to interpret Matthew as producing the Psalmist's words for prediction, and declaring them to be in that sense fulfilled? But if it be impossible to take that view in the present instance, where the quotation is introduced in terms so strong and explicit, how is it possible in any case to found that argument on the strength of such terms alone?

XIII. 43.

Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father.

I think it probable that Jesus here had in mind language of the Book of Daniel (xii. 3), and used it in accommodation to his present purpose.

XV. 4.

God commanded, saying, "Honor thy father and mother."

The reference is to the fifth commandment (Exod. xx. 12), which is declared to have proceeded from God, affirming, so far, the divine origin of the Law of Moses.

XV. 7-9.

Well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, "This people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me; but in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

This is the rebuke of Jesus to certain "Scribes and Pharisees, who were of Jerusalem" (Matt. xv. 1). The passage referred to by him is from the prophecy of Isaiah (xxix. 13). And it is worthy of remark, that though the representation of Isaiah, literally taken, would make it to be God that prophesied, Jesus says, "Well did *Esaias* prophesy of you." This is distinct confirmation, on our Lord's own authority, of the explanation which I have given elsewhere of that form of representation, by which the prophets exhibit Jehovah as speaking. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 391, 415 - 417.)

"Therefore saith the Lord :

'Since this people draweth near to me with their mouth,

And honoreth me with their lips,

While their heart is far from me,

And their worship of me is according to the commandments of men.'

It is plain that Isaiah had not here in view the contemporaries of Jesus. He was not "prophesying" at all in the sense of predicting. In the use of a well-authorized device of poetry, he was rebuking his own contemporaries by putting reproofs of them into the mouth of Jehovah. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 222.) Our Lord adopts his language, with omissions and alterations, and tells the hypocrites whom he is addressing, that of them Isaiah "prophesied" when he used it; — meaning clearly this, and no more, that to them might be justly applied that writer's reproachful comment on the dishonest pretenders of his own time. The words used by Jesus more nearly re-

semble the Septuagint version than the Hebrew ; but that circumstance in the present instance is immaterial.

XVI. 1.

The Pharisees also with the Sadducees came, and tempting, desired him that he would show them a sign from heaven.

In all their vagaries of opinion respecting their expected Messiah, the Jews had never entirely lost sight of the original prediction of Moses concerning him, that he should be "a prophet like unto himself." And one particular of this likeness to Moses which they expected to see was his exhibiting some "sign from heaven," as they understood Moses to have done in the supplies of manna (Exod. xvi. 4), at the giving of the Law (ibid. xix. 18), at the manifestation to the elders (ibid. xxiv. 9, 10), and at the consecration of the tabernacle (ibid. xl. 34).

XVI. 4.

The sign of the prophet Jonas.

See above, p. 80.

XVI. 13, 14.

When Jesus came into the coasts of Cesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, "Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am?" And they said, "Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets."

Partly through a natural impulse of the imagination, seeking to connect every circumstance of sacredness and magnificence with the Messiah's advent, — partly on the ground of intimations, worse or better understood, in their old Scriptures, — the opinion prevailed among the Jews at the time of Jesus, that one or more

of the ancient prophets would reappear as the Messiah's precursor. Malachi had said (iv. 5; comp. Eccus. xlviii. 10) that Jehovah would send "Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord"; and this statement they had not only adopted literally, but had proceeded to improve upon it in their usual style of embellishment. (See Bertholdt, "Christolog. Jud.," § 15.) It was related in the Second Book of Maccabees (ii. 1-8; comp. xv. 13-16), that, upon the demolition of the temple by the Babylonians, Jeremiah had conveyed away and buried "the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense"; and the expectation was, that, as preparatory to the Messiah's reign, he would reappear to bring them to light. From a text in the Book of Isaiah (lii. 7) which speaks of "him (1.) that publisheth peace, (2.) that bringeth good tidings of good, (3.) that publisheth salvation," it seems to have been inferred by some punctilious interpreters, that the Messiah's government would have three heralds; and from an intimation in the more recent Second Book of Esdras (ii. 18), it is probable that Isaiah himself was expected to be one of them.

XVI. 16.

And Simon Peter answered and said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." And Jesus answered and said unto him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona."

To us Jesus is properly the Christ in Peter's later sense of being "*anointed* with the Holy Ghost and with power" (Acts x. 38). But in the minds of the Jews, and in that of Peter among the rest, at this time, the word *Christ* stood for an idea to which the true character and office of Jesus, the spiritual Saviour of men, did not correspond. Yet Jesus, by approving

the declaration of Peter, avowed himself to be the Christ.

The case here was the same as that of "the kingdom of heaven." The true kingdom of heaven had come, though those who had expected it had misunderstood its nature, and Jesus had a hard task to set them right. So the expected benefactor had come, though those who expected him had misconceived his character. Erroneously as they had thought of him, "still it was of the illustrious individual in whom, the patriarchs had been told, *all nations of the earth should be blessed*,—of the *prophet like unto himself*, whom Moses had foretold,—that they intended to speak. Him, and no other, they had in their minds, however imperfectly or incorrectly they apprehended him; and that person, and no other, Jesus was. As in the former case, relating to his institution, so in the latter, relating to himself, there was perfect propriety in his assertion that what God had been expected to send was at length sent, though in both cases the expectations which had been entertained needed to be rectified. The Later Prophets spoke of a great personage to come under a divine patronage, and, among his other offices, they described him as destined to extend the knowledge of God, and advance the well-being of men; and so far they were right. Their imaginations had wrongly depicted him as accomplishing these objects by the arts of war and polity; but this circumstance by no means precluded the propriety of our Lord's declaring himself to be the person whom, however mistaken in their description, they had in good faith intended to describe." ("Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 382 - 384; comp. Vol. IV. pp. 276 - 278.)

That, through all the blinding prejudices of his own times, sustained and consecrated as they were by the

erroneous representations of ancient venerated teachers of the nation, Peter should have been able to see, in the lowly Jesus, the *prophet like unto himself* of whom Moses had spoken, was something to call for the burst of commendation with which Jesus immediately addressed him. "Flesh and blood" had not revealed to him the truth which he proclaimed. The teachings of flesh and blood in former ages, as well as in the present, from the pen of David and Isaiah, no less than from the lips of Scribes and Pharisees, had been of a different tenor. It was no less than God's own inspiration that had enlightened him to see through the mists that had been raised to hide the great idea.

XVI. 21, 22.

From that time forth began Jesus to show unto his disciples how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders, and chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day; then Peter took him, and began to rebuke him, saying, "Be it far from thee, Lord: this shall not be unto thee."

When Peter was thus horrified by the information that Jesus was to suffer and die, Jesus had just avowed himself to be the Messiah (Matt. xvi. 17). It seems to follow indubitably, that Peter did not, with modern commentators, regard the language of Isaiah's prophecy (lii. 13 – liii. 12) as an authorized prediction of a suffering and dying Messiah.

XVI. 27, 28.

The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels, and then shall he reward every man according to his works; verily I say unto you, there be some standing here which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.

This imagery I take to be derived from the Book of

Daniel (vii. 13, 14); or rather from the popular phraseology of the time, into which the Book of Daniel may have originally introduced it, though it is quite as likely that that book itself only adopted language already in currency. It was necessary that Jesus, to be understood by those to whom he offered his revelation, should address them in forms of speech to which they were accustomed. Without announcing himself on this occasion as the Messiah, which he was not as yet prepared to do, he tells them, in the context, that the kingdom, which, agreeably to their expectation, was about to be set up by the Son of man, was to be, differently from their expectation, simply a moral government; that, instead of offering indulgence to ambition and luxury, it would be of a nature to impose the severest self-denials, and the most unreserved self-sacrifice; and that, from the time of its establishment in the world, God would dispense retribution to men according to their works, and to nothing else. It would not be descent from Abraham, as they thought, — it would not be ceremonial observances, — that would gain God's favor in the kingdom of his Son. The times of past ignorance he overlooked (Acts xvii. 30). But now the principles of a strict moral administration were to be made known to men, and by those principles all to whom the knowledge of them should come were to control themselves, and to be disposed of by their Heavenly Judge. Such would be the kingdom in which the Son of man would come, the kingdom which the Son of man would found.

And, he adds, "there be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." There is a vague sense in which the Son of man may be said to have come, the kingdom of God to be set up, in the world, from the

time that Jesus began to preach. But evidently there is some stricter designation of time that is meant when it is said that some of his present audience shall see the Messiah's kingdom coming. To what point of time does this language refer?

In my opinion, to the time of the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem. Such is the sense which we seem obliged to gather from the connection of the phrase in several other contexts, and such is the sense often put upon the phrase by the commentators, though I have not met with any satisfactory attempt to show the propriety of this application of it, — or, in other words, to show the identity or affinity between the two ideas of the coming of the Son of man, on the one hand, and the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, on the other.

The case I take to have been this: Judaism was to be superseded by Christianity; the religion of Moses by the religion of Jesus. The substitution of the Gospel for the Law was the establishment of "the kingdom of heaven," the "coming of the Son of man." The introduction of the Gospel was gradual. It began when "Jesus began to preach," and it was continued step by step with the labors of his Apostles. Still, there was one definite time to be regarded as that when Judaism was withdrawn and brought to an end, and Christianity took its place; and this I take to have been the precise point of time when the legal sacrifices finally ceased to be offered at the temple of Jerusalem, that is, when that edifice was demolished by the Romans. Judaism was then no more, for the ritual then abolished was essential to it. Judaism from that moment existed no longer, to obstruct, by the stupidity and violence of its blind votaries, the progress of that better faith for which it had been designed to prepare

the way. From that moment, the kingdom of heaven had come, though as yet only entering on its triumphs. At that moment, Judaism being "taken out of the way" (2 Thess. ii. 7), the Gospel being installed in its place as God's method of religious administration, the Son of man came in his kingdom. Some, standing in Jesus's presence at the time of the discourse now commented on, may well have seen that coming of his before they tasted of death, for it took place less than forty years after.

XVII. 2, 3.

And his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light; and behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias, talking with him.

To understand the phenomenon called the *Transfiguration*, it is necessary to observe the position of Jesus and his Apostles at the time of its occurrence. The Apostles had been attracted to Jesus by his miracles, and had come to indulge the hope that he would prove to be the magnificent prince and soldier for whom their nation had been looking. The longer they had been associated with him, the more confident grew that hope, till at length the impetuous Peter, in reply to his Master's inquiry as to the character which he was reputed to bear, announced his own persuasion that verily Jesus was the Messiah (xvi. 16). Jesus accepted the title, but immediately followed the avowal with what appeared the most extraordinary contradiction of it. Instead of declaring himself destined to the height of earthly glory, which the Messiah's dignity was thought by his disciples to imply, he declared that rejection, suffering, and death were to be his lot (21); and that his followers must prepare themselves for self-denial and martyrdom, and not for the honors of empire (24, 25).

The declaration was to the last degree perplexing and dispiriting to them. They needed to have their minds cleared, enlightened, and reassured. The glorious associations which in their minds had hitherto gathered about the idea of the Messiah being now violently withdrawn, another class of honorable associations, and one which corresponded to the truth, needed to be introduced to fill up the void. If their conception of the Messiah had been a correct one, it might have been fit that it should be confirmed and exalted by some vision of Jesus in the company of the captains and kings of old Jewish story, — of Joshua and David. As it was, to exhibit him, in visionary representation, in company with Moses, the giver, and Elijah, the restorer of the Law (xvii. 3), was to re-invest him with associations which were at once of a dignified character, and a character suitable to his true office of *a religious teacher*, which Moses and Elijah had been. The luminous appearance of his face and form (xvii. 2) appears to have been intended to liken him to Moses, whose “face shone” when he came down from the mountain where he had received the Law (Exod. xxxiv. 29 – 35).

Does the text declare that Moses and Elias, dead many centuries before, now actually descended to the earth, and in bodily presence conversed with Jesus? Such is the common opinion, and it is thought that the object of their communication was to prepare and encourage him for his future labors and sufferings. But I do not view the transaction in this light. As I regard it, it was not Jesus that needed illumination and excitement at this time, but his disciples, whom he had just astonished and distressed by his contradiction of their expectations concerning the Messiah. It was fit that they should be instructed and re-awakened

by a glorious vision, presenting to them their Master, not with the environments of regal pomp, but as the equal associate of the venerated ancient teachers of their faith. And such being the case, I understand further, that the presence of Moses and Elijah was visionary, and not real; that it was not Moses and Elijah actually conversing with Jesus that the Apostles saw, but that a vision of such a scene was presented to their view. This interpretation, I conceive, meets the full force of the Evangelist's language. "There appeared unto them" (*ὡφθησαν*), or "There was a vision to them of," or, "They seemed to see." (See Acts ii. 3; xvi. 9.) And let it be remarked, in confirmation of this view, that Jesus himself calls the scene a "vision" (Matt. xvii. 9).

The question may arise, How could the three Apostles recognize the visionary forms as representations of Moses and Elijah? I reply: All nations have their traditional representations of eminent persons of ancient times. The Jews no doubt had theirs of the giver and the restorer of the Law, — the former perhaps bearing his "two tables of testimony" (Exod. xxxiv. 29), the latter in that dress which John the Baptist appears to have imitated (2 Kings i. 8; Matt. iii. 4), — and to these conventional patterns the images presented to the view of the Apostles would, of course, be made to conform.

The author of the Second Epistle of Peter (i. 16 – 19) appears to have taken the view which I propose of this transaction, as having been designed to affect the mind, not of Jesus, but of his disciples.

XVII. 5.

While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them; and behold, a voice out of the cloud, which said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him."

Here again I find a reference to that all-important prediction of Moses (Deut. xviii. 15, 19), which, more than any thing else in the Old Testament, connects the Jewish dispensation with the Christian. At the baptism of Jesus (Matt. iii. 17) a voice from heaven had declared him to be God's beloved Son, the expected Messiah. Now a second time that announcement was made. To it was now added the charge, "*Hear ye him,*" in evident allusion, as I think, to what Moses had said of the prophet whom he foretold: "To him shall ye *hearken.*" And when from the cloud which wrapped the visionary forms of Moses and Elias there came this voice, the proclamation was made which the Apostles needed, in their hitherto misguided state of mind respecting the Messiah's office; they were taught that he was not to be another David, as their worldly fancies had depicted him, but a teacher of religion, such as the toil-worn Moses and the persecuted Elijah had been; — not the warlike king, whom the later writers of the nation had erringly supposed, but the very "*prophet like unto himself*" foreseen in the inspired vision of the ancient lawgiver; and that therefore, when Jesus told them of the opposition and sufferings he was to undergo in the prosecution of his work, it ought not to scandalize them (xvi. 21 - 23) as if it were something inconsistent with his office.

XVII. 10 - 13.

And his disciples asked him, saying, "Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come?" And Jesus answered and said unto them, "Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things; but I say unto you, that Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed; likewise also shall the Son of man suffer of them." Then the disciples understood that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.

The Apostles questioned with themselves respecting the relation borne by the visionary appearance of Elijah, which they had just witnessed, to the doctrine inculcated by the teachers of the Law, that a manifestation of Elijah was to precede that of the Messiah. Their words may be differently rendered ; either,

“ How fitly then [as appears from what we have seen] do the scribes say that Elias must first come !” or,

“ What then is this ? [τί οὖν ;] The scribes say,” &c. ; or,

“ What then do the scribes say [λέγουσιν] ? is it that Elias must first come ?” or,

“ Why may we not tell the vision ? (Comp. 9.) The scribes say,” &c. ; so the vision of Elias is but an accomplishment of their word, and if we proclaim it, it should win them to the Messiah’s cause.

The Apostles referred to that current opinion on which I have remarked above (pp. 74, 86), and Jesus, in his reply, repeats what he had said on a former occasion (xi. 14), that John the Baptist was the only Elias, the only herald of the kingdom of heaven, who would appear ; adding that, as John, contrary to what they expected of Elijah, had been unrecognized, persecuted, and slain, so would it be with his greater follower (xvii. 12 ; comp. xvi. 21). John, the Messiah’s precursor, was not literally Elijah, nor did the true Saviour of the world correspond to that idea in their minds to which they gave the name *Messiah*. But there was a true sense in which he might assume the name Messiah to himself as he had done (xvi. 16, 17), and in a similar sense he might give Elijah’s name to John.

XVIII. 1.

At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?"

The text illustrates the merely worldly views entertained by all Jews of our Saviour's time, and inherited by them from their ancestors, respecting the nature of the institution which their expected King of the Jews was to establish. Recognizing him in that character, the disciples desired to know which of them he proposed to promote to be his prime-minister. In opposition to the doctrine of their ancient kings and sages, Jesus informs them in his reply (2-4), that they must disengage their minds from all such views before they will be fit for even the lowest place among his followers, and that the exaltation which he is to confer is such only as will follow upon becoming humble, docile, simple, and unselfish.

XIX. 4, 5.

He answered and said unto them, "Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female, and said, 'For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh'?"

According to both accounts preserved by Moses of the origin of the human race (Gen. i. 27, ii. 21-23; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 31, 35), "he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female"; and to one of the accounts (ii. 24) is subjoined the rule of conjugal duty, which our Lord quotes: "For this cause," &c. The quotation precisely follows the Septuagint, except in the omission of the pronoun before "father" and "mother," and in an unimportant change of the syntax after the words "shall cleave"; and the Septuagint exactly represents

the Hebrew, except in the insertion of the words "the two." Whether the rule quoted, "For this cause," &c., is ascribed in the original narrative to Adam or to Moses as its author, may admit of question. I incline to think that we are to regard Moses as speaking therein, in the way of an inference from the ancient account which he was repeating of the creation of woman. If so, instead of "and said" (Matt. xix. 5), which erroneous translation of our Lord's words makes him refer the words quoted to God, contrary to the statement in the Old Testament narrative, we ought to read "and he [or, and Moses] said."

XIX. 7, 8.

They say unto him, "Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?" He saith unto them, "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so."

The reference of the questioners was to the law of divorce in Deuteronomy (xxiv. 1 - 4). In his reply, our Lord describes the spirit of the Mosaic legislation in one of its important characteristics. Some of its apparent precepts were only permissions, allowances, concessions to the low state of thought and morality among the people whom it had undertaken to educate, and whom it could only educate by taking them up at the low stage of improvement at which they were, adapting its discipline to their existing condition, and gradually raising them to a capacity for better things. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. pp. 97 - 100, 178 - 181, 471.)

Let it be observed, also, that our Lord's language and reasoning here attribute the Law to Moses.

XIX. 28.

Jesus said unto them, "Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

What I understand to be the origin and sense of the expression "the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory," I have fully explained above (pp. 66, 88 *et seq.*). The words "in the regeneration" we may either connect with the clause which follows them, and then we shall understand them to refer to the time when, after the establishment of Christ's religion, its regenerating influences shall be in full action on the world; — or we may connect them with the preceding words, as our translators have done, and then by "ye who have followed me in the regeneration" we shall understand, ye that have been associated with me in my labors for the introduction of the proposed reform. The imagery is continued to the close of the verse. As, adopting the phraseology in Daniel (vii. 13, 14), Jesus calls his establishment in a moral dominion, a sitting upon "the throne of his glory," so he tells his Apostles, who were to be the agents and representatives of his spiritual administration, that they too shall sit on thrones. And the figure is still further carried out. There were as many Apostles as there had been Jewish tribes; and this coincidence is brought to view in the language in which they are told that they are to have spiritual rule over God's people. The word *judge* here, as often in Scripture (comp. 1 Sam. viii. 5, Is. xl. 23), means simply to govern, to exercise sway; not to administer law, but to give, to promulgate it, which latter function belonged strictly to the Apostolic office. The twelve Apostles together were to give law to collective Israel. Nothing is said of any such distribution of power as that each Apostle should have a

tribe for his separate jurisdiction. One name of Israel regarded collectively was *the twelve tribes* (δωδεκάφυλον), or *the twelve-tribed nation*. (Comp. Acts xxvi. 7.)

XXI. 4, 5.

All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, "Tell ye the daughter of Zion, 'Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass.'" "

The passage from Zechariah (ix. 9), which is here quoted, reads, according to the Hebrew (which the Septuagint also follows very nearly): —

" Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion !
Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem !
Behold, thy King cometh to thee.
He is just and victorious,
Mild, and riding upon an ass,
Even upon a colt, the foal of an ass."

The prefatory words in Matthew, "Tell ye the daughter of Zion," appear to be taken from another prophet (Is. lxii. 11).

In commenting upon the passage as it stands in its original connection, I expressed the opinion ("Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 489) that the writer was but clothing in poetical language his conception of the Messiah as of a prince returning from successful foreign expeditions, and, seated no longer on his war-horse, but on the animal appropriate to festal processions, entering his shouting capital in the stately pageantry of peace (comp. Zech. ix. 10). Many readers, however, entertain the opinion that Matthew represents the words as containing a supernatural prediction, in which their original writer, Zechariah, in the sixth century before Jesus, described an act of Jesus so precisely, as at once to prove his own miraculous foreknowledge, and to furnish an evidence, through

the correspondence of the event with the prophecy, of the Messiahship of our Lord. I ask the attention of such readers to the following considerations.

1. The introductory language, "All this was done that it might be fulfilled," &c., proves nothing of that kind. For the true meaning of that phraseology, I refer to my remarks upon it in another place. (See above, pp. 25 - 33.)

2. If Matthew had meant to put the meaning supposed upon Zechariah's words and their fulfilment, he would have been careful to quote those words precisely. Otherwise his argument would have no force. Clearly it would be utterly irrelevant to say, "These words of an ancient prophet, uttered centuries before, were a miraculous prediction of an act of Jesus," and then to go on to quote, as words of that prophet, some which in fact he had not written. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 336.) But such a precise quotation Matthew has not made. This alone is sufficient to prove that his design was not that which has been ascribed to him.

3. In no sense of Zechariah's words does the proceeding recorded by Matthew circumstantially correspond with them. Zechariah spoke of "an ass, even a colt, an ass's foal"; Matthew, of a young ass, and its dam. Zechariah spoke of the King of Zion as coming "victorious" (יְשׁוּעָה, comp. Deut. xxxiii. 29, Ps. xxxiii. 16, Zech. x. 6), a particular which does not apply to Jesus.

4. The proceeding was one incapable, from its nature, of being an attestation to the Messiah's mission. For what was there to prevent a false pretender to that character from giving the same sign? A fraudulent claimant to the dignity of the Messiah might have ridden into Jerusalem upon an ass; and then,

according to the argument, he would have proved himself the true claimant.

Whether Jesus, in this proceeding, intended any reference whatever to this language applied to it by his Apostle, when relating it many years after, admits of a question. Jesus undoubtedly intended, by a conspicuous act, to attract the attention of the city to himself, as the great personage looked for from ancient times. The manner of his public entry, on an ass and not on a war-horse, rebuked the error which represented the Messiah as a warlike chief. If, still further, he intended his act to have a reference to Zechariah's words, we may understand his meaning to have been the same as if he had said: You have expected to see, in the Messiah, a sanguinary hero; I have come as a peaceful teacher, and therefore you are disposed to reject my claim; but let what I now do remind you that, if your ancient sages, your prophets, have often given that representation of him which you adopt, one, at least, has invested him with the associations of gentleness and peace. Do not refuse to listen to me because I do not come, as one writer has represented the Messiah, with garments rolled in blood (Is. lxiii. 1 - 6); remember that another pictured him as the benignant leader that I now appear.

Mark (xi. 1 - 8) and Luke (xix. 29 - 36) relate also the entrance of Jesus into the holy city, riding upon an ass. But they do not appear to have ascribed any part of the interest of that incident to its correspondence with the language of Zechariah, for they have not alluded to that correspondence.

XXI. 9.

And the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest!"

According to its etymology, Hosanna (הוֹשִׁיעַ נָא) means simply, "Save now, I pray!" or "Be propitious." (Comp. Ps. cxviii. 25.) It came to be used in a general way for a mere salutation of honor, in the vague sense of some English interjections which are but the indefinite utterances of excitement and enthusiasm. "In the highest," added to "Hosanna," seems but to have an intensive sense, such as "all" has, when prefixed to "hail." (Comp. Ps. cxlviii. 1; Luke ii. 14.) The words, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," are taken from a Psalm (cxviii. 26), the writer of which does not appear to have had the Messiah in view according to any conception of his office. It is said that this Psalm was familiar to the Jews, from being recited by them at the Feast of Tabernacles and other festivals. Whether this was so or not, the language of this verse well answered their purpose when they intended to salute Jesus as the Christ coming in Jehovah's name.

XXI. 13.

And said unto them, "It is written, 'My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.'"

The pseudo-Isaiah, imagining a time when numerous proselytes shall be made to the Jewish faith, represents Jehovah as saying (lvi. 7), "Mine house shall be called a house of prayer for all people." Jesus naturally adopts part of these words to declare the purpose to which the temple ought to be devoted, to the exclusion of every other use. These words only I understand Jesus to have quoted, with the preface, "It is written." But, in the antithesis which he presents in the next clause, he appears to have reference to Jeremiah's language (vii. 11), "Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?"

XXI. 16.

Jesus saith unto them, "Yea ; have ye never read, Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise ?"

This sentence is taken from a Psalm (viii. 2) in which the author sets forth the goodness of Jehovah in making man the chief among his works. Jesus, without any intimation of its containing prediction of any sort, which it evidently does not, makes a natural application of its language, as being suitable to describe the welcome with which he was received by children in the temple. The Septuagint version is followed, which has a word corresponding to "praise" (*αἶνον*), where the original Hebrew has "strength" (*יָצַח*). Perhaps, however, the Hebrew word will bear the meaning of the Greek.

XXI. 42.

Jesus saith unto them, "Did ye never read in the Scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner ; this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes ?"

The quotation is from a Psalm (cxviii. 22, 23 ; comp. Is. viii. 14, xxviii. 16), the occasion, date, and author of which are alike unknown. It celebrates a deliverance, through Jehovah's favor, from distress and hostility. By the natural figure of a stone, rejected at first as unfit for use, but afterwards selected to be the very corner-stone and fundamental support of a building, the writer illustrates his own transfer from a depressed and assailed to a conspicuous and honored position. Jesus had uttered a parable (xxi. 33 - 39 ; comp. Is. v. 1 - 7) in which he had intimated his own rejection by the Jewish people. Assured of the future triumph of his cause, he obscurely expressed that confidence of his by recalling the words of that ancient

worthy, who, from being cast by with contumely, had
 “become the head of the corner.”

XXII. 24.

Moses said, “If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.”

These words are not precisely quoted, but their substance is found in the Book of Deuteronomy (xxv. 5 ; comp. “Lectures,” &c., Vol. I. p. 470).

XXII. 31, 32.

As touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, “I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob” ? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.

The reference is to a passage in Exodus (iii. 6), where Jehovah is related to have manifested himself to Moses in Midian.

Does Jesus declare that the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is disclosed in this passage of the Pentateuch ? And if so, what is that interpretation of the passage by which he makes it yield this sense ?

To say of one party that he bears a relation to another, is not to declare that both are living. We may say that A is the grandson of B, without meaning that B survives. We may call Soult one of Napoleon’s marshals, without betraying an ignorance of the fact that Napoleon is long ago dead. “We are Abraham’s children” (John viii. 33), is an expression which has no reference to a continued life of Abraham. Jesus could not have meant to argue in this way from the words which he quotes.

This appears still more certain, when we consider that the only word in the translated sentence, from which such an argument as is supposed could possibly

be derived, is not in the sentence as written by Moses. The copula (*am*), according to Hebrew use, is not expressed, but left to be understood. In a translation, the past form (*was*) might be introduced instead of the present. The only basis for the supposed argument is found in the form of a translation, and not in the original. In other words, it does not exist.

The narrative of Matthew does not contain all that Jesus said on this occasion. Had it done so, it is to be presumed that we should better understand how he meant to treat the subject. That the account is incomplete, appears from its being given in an extended form by Luke (xx. 37, 38), whose own relation may have been imperfect, as well as that of Matthew.

It appears to me that the sense of Jesus was this: According to the common acceptation of language, in calling himself the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Jehovah announced those patriarchs as his favorites, and himself as their friend. (Comp. Gen. xvii. 8; xxvi. 3; xxxv. 12; Exod. iii. 6-8; Jer. vii. 23; Heb. xi. 16.) But whomsoever Jehovah distinguishes by his love and favor, he will not suffer to perish. The cherished of Jehovah he will not let die. "All live to him"; rather, *all his*, all belonging to him, all dear to him, live. Life is his to bestow, and to those whom he loves he will assuredly give it.

We are to remember further, that, in the series of discourses here collected, Jesus was arguing with the mistaken and conceited Pharisees and Sadducees, with a view not so much to convince as to perplex, confound, and humble them. For this purpose it was suitable that he should assail them with their own weapons, showing them that their own methods of interpretation would overthrow, or leave unsustained, their own conclusions. The Pharisees had taken

“counsel how they might entangle him in his talk” (xxii. 15). They tried to do it, and failed; his answer to their insidious sophistry was such, “that they marvelled and left him, and went their way” (22).. The Sadducees tried next (23), “and when the multitude heard” how he replied to them, “they were astonished at his doctrine” (33). “When the Pharisees had heard that he had put the Sadducees to silence,” they repeated the experiment (34); and with so little success, that “no man was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man, from that day forth, ask him any more questions” (46). The object immediately in hand was to silence these troublesome and arrogant doctors of Judaism, and divest them of that influence over the people’s minds which they used so subtly for the hinderance of the Gospel. Their incompetency was best exposed, when arguments such as those to which they were themselves accustomed were employed for their defeat and confusion. To disarm and silence an adverse disputant, his own opinions and methods of argument, even though they be erroneous, may be legitimately turned against him.

XXII. 40.

On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.

Of the two commandments to which Jesus refers, one is found in the Book of Leviticus (xix. 18), the other in that of Deuteronomy (vi. 5). In right and earnest affections towards God and man, says Jesus, in a piety and benevolence which enlist and occupy the whole being, all religion consists and is summed up. Religion is not ceremony, though forms of worship may suitably express it; it is not speculation, though divine truth is its fit sustenance and excitement; it is

not moral observance, though a sober, righteous, and useful life will be sure to be its fruit. It is strictly the state of that heart which abounds and overflows with devotion towards God, and good-will to man. And such religion, says Jesus, it was God's ultimate purpose in the Law (greatly as the objects of that dispensation have been misunderstood) to create, establish, and extend among men. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. pp. 91 - 100, 176 - 181.) And in their tendency to excite and diffuse such a spirit consists the value of the writings of those revered men whom you call your prophets. Creed and ritual, temple and priest, separate nationality and holy days, all that Moses authoritatively enjoined, and all that good men in the ages since have celebrated, have just as much value (and no more) as they have efficacy to promote in the human heart and spread through the human race the love of God and the love of man (comp. Matt. v. 17, 18).

XXII. 41 - 45.

While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them, saying, "What think ye of [the] Christ? whose son is he?" They say unto him, "The son of David." He saith unto them, "How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, "Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool"'? If David then call him Lord, how is he his son?"

The quotation is from a Psalm (cx. 1) in which, if I understand it correctly (see "Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. pp. 314 - 316), the expected Messiah was referred to, and described agreeably to the erroneous conceptions of that personage which prevailed in the time of the writer, King David (comp. Mark xii. 36; Luke xx. 42).

At first view, looking only at the shape of the argument, the purpose of Jesus might seem to be to

prove to the Pharisees, with whom he was conversing, that they were wrong in supposing that the Messiah whom they were expecting would be of David's posterity. — The Messiah is David's "lord"; David himself has called him so; but is not that fact inconsistent with his being David's son? is not the son the parent's inferior instead of his "lord"?

But alike from the terms of the conversation and from its context, I infer that the object of Jesus was not to prove or disprove any thing, but simply to perplex the Pharisees, and show to the by-standers what incompetent teachers they were, and what shallow and unskilful interpreters of the Old Testament Scriptures. The Pharisees, on a fundamental article, held two opinions, which, with all their pretensions to wisdom and authority, they did not know how to reconcile. Jesus but exposed this fact, without saying whether they were right or wrong in their conception of the expected Messiah as a "son of David." His purpose was answered when "no man was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth ask him any more questions." He had confounded the Sadducees (xxii. 23 *et seq.*) as to the interpretation of a passage in the Pentateuch; he now perplexed the Pharisees as to the interpretation of a Psalm; thus addressing himself to both sects with references to parts of the Old Testament to which they respectively attributed authority. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 139 - 141.)

"How then doth David *in spirit* call him Lord?" asked Jesus; and this expression has been hastily understood as importing that our Lord imputed a special inspiration, a miraculous illumination, to David, aiding him in the composition of the hundred and tenth Psalm. The least that such a supernatural in-

spiration, had David possessed it, might have been expected to do, would be to keep him from describing the future Messiah, the meek and peaceful Jesus of Nazareth, as a furious soldier who should "strike through kings," and pile up heaps of bloody and headless corpses, and slay till he should be exhausted with weariness and thirst (Ps. cx. 5 - 7). But the truth is, the words "in spirit" (*ἐν πνεύματι*) have no such narrow meaning. David spoke of the Messiah "in spirit," because he referred to him *in spiritual contemplation*, under a devout impulse, when musing of him in a religious state of mind. In the Scriptural sense of the phrase, a person is "in the spirit," or is "filled with the spirit," when he is occupied with religious thoughts, when he experiences a spiritual excitement and elevation, when he is in a pious frame of mind, when he is operated upon by spiritual motives. When Jesus spoke of David as having been "in spirit," he no more declared that David was inspired, according to the technical sense of that word, than he imputed inspiration to all true worshippers in the coming ages of his Church. (John iv. 23; comp. Acts iv. 8; vi. 3; vii. 55; xiii. 52; xviii. 25; Rom. i. 9; viii. 13; xii. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 3; 2 Cor. iv. 13; Gal. v. 5, 16, 17, 18, 25; Eph. v. 18; vi. 18; Phil. i. 19; iii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 12.)

XXIII. 13.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.

To the company of disciples of that pure faith which he was about to establish, Jesus gave that name of "kingdom of heaven" which had long been in use as denoting the Messiah's expected reign. In that company the scribes and Pharisees would not enroll

themselves, nor suffer it to be enlarged by the accession of any whom they could influence and restrain. They would keep the door shut, and the fold empty. "Ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men." A more literal translation would better represent the imagery: "Ye shut the kingdom of heaven in the face of men."

XXIII. 35.

That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar.

In the Second Book of Chronicles (xxiv. 20, 21) we read of a Zechariah, who is related to have been stoned to death "in the courts of the house of the Lord." But he is said to have been "the son of Jehoiada the priest." On the other hand, Zechariah, author of a book in the Old Testament collection, is called "the son of Barachiah" (Zech. i. 1). It is true that Jehoiada, father of that Zechariah whose tragical death is recorded in the history, may have been otherwise named Barachiah; or that the name Jehoiada may have been erroneously given him in the history, and that Jesus, in his allusion, may have restored his true name; or that Zechariah, the author of the book in the collection of the Minor Prophets, may have been slain "between the temple and the altar," though Old Testament history has not preserved the record of that fact. But neither of these suppositions appears so probable, as that, by a lapse of memory on the part of Matthew, the Zechariah whose death is recorded in the Book of Chronicles was confounded with the more famous prophet of the same name.

Our Lord is saying that, by their cruelty to his disciples, the Jews should provoke Divine judgments, so

heavy that it might seem as if all the murders recorded in the Old Testament, from the earliest to the latest age, were avenged in their persons. In its whole cast the language is so figurative that it would be out of the question to think of inferring from it the historical truth of any such narrative as that of the murder of Abel by Cain.

XXIV. 3.

The disciples came unto him privately, saying, "Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?"

Instead of "the end of the world," I render, *the end of the age*, meaning by *the age* the same as is denoted by the more full expression *this age* in distinction from *the age to come*; namely, the age of the Jewish dispensation, the ante-Messianic period. The Messiah's "coming," and "the end of the age," concerning which the disciples inquired, I conceive to have been but two expressions for the same thing, or rather expressions indicating two events necessarily coincident in point of time. In the parallel passages, Mark (xiii. 4) and Luke (xxi. 7) say nothing about "the end of the world," from which we infer that the question concerning it was not an independent question, but practically equivalent to the preceding one, respecting the "coming" of Christ. What the questioners desired to know was, the time when the preparatory Mosaic institution should terminate, and the Messiah's reign begin. For my view of the origin and force of the phraseology, I refer to remarks on previous passages of this book (pp. 78, 79).

XXIV. 15.

When ye, therefore, shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand).

Looking forward to that desecration of the temple by the Roman invaders, which was to take place forty years after his time, Jesus referred to it as what might be well described by language used (Dan. ix. 26, 27) respecting another event, in the book called that of Daniel the prophet. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. p. 387; IV. p. 414; see also above, pp. 49, 50.) Luke (xxi. 20), in his record of the same discourse, recites no reference to Daniel, as it may be supposed that he would have done had that reference made a substantive part of our Lord's statement.

"Whoso readeth, let him understand." These parenthetical words I consider to be words of Matthew, and not of Jesus, whom we should rather expect to find saying, "Whoso *heareth*, let him understand." Matthew wrote before the events predicted by Jesus took place. He recorded the prediction as he remembered to have heard it uttered by his Master. But he did not pretend himself to understand its precise import, nor could he expect it to be understood, at present, by the reader of his narrative.

XXIV. 29.

Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.

Language figuratively descriptive of a great moral revolution, after the manner of that poetical phraseology with which the hearers of Jesus were familiar, as used by the prophets in the same sense. (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 328 - 330.)

XXIV. 30.

Then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall

see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.

Since the time when the Book of Daniel was written, and very probably from an earlier period, the Jews had been in the habit of using this language (Dan. vii. 13, 14, xii. 1, 2) in relation to the expected appearance of their Messiah. This language, so familiar to them, and so expressive, Jesus, their true Messiah, God's anointed messenger to them, adopted in announcing his speedy assumption of his spiritual authority. To use this language was simply to say, in a form accommodated to their conceptions, The Messiah then shall set up his dominion among you and in the world. (See above, pp. 66, 88, 98 *et seq.*)

XXIV. 38.

As in the days that were before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and knew not until the flood came, and took them all away, &c.

No one, from this language of Jesus, can infer the historical credit of the account of the deluge in the Pentateuch (Gen. vi. 13 *et seq.*), unless he is prepared to maintain that illustrations cannot as properly be drawn from fictitious narrative as from true. We are in the habit of deriving lessons from the stories of the benevolent Samaritan and the prodigal son, and Jesus derived one from that of the unjust judge, going so far, in relation to this, as to use the language, "Hear what the unjust judge saith" (Luke xviii. 6).

XXV. 31 - 33.

When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth

his sheep from the goats, and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.

With these all-important words, and those which, extending to the end of the chapter, follow out and complete their meaning, Jesus closes this long discourse, the last which he is recorded to have uttered before that paschal supper with the twelve, from which he went to be betrayed to his death. These words are the climax of his instructions. In language familiar to his hearers, he had before declared that the Messiah's advent was at hand; that the prophet, ages before announced by Moses, and indicated, though with a large mixture of erroneous conceptions, by the line of later Jewish sages, was about to assume his office. "The Son of Man" he had said (xxiv. 30) was "coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." Now at last he proceeded to declare in what sense he employed those magnificent expressions. He proceeded to explain, that what he meant by them was the establishment of a moral empire, of a religious administration. The Messiah would institute a rule which would distinguish not at all between the Jew and the Gentile, but simply between the wicked and the good. Here at length was developed the whole plan of the government of which he was to be the head.

"When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations." And what then? How will he exercise this universal sway? What sort of a dominion will be this glorious throne of his? Will he oppress the subject heathen? Will he exalt to wealth and grandeur his brethren of the stock of Abraham, and distinguish with peculiar honors the companions

of his day of small things, the faithful men who had been "with him in the regeneration"? — Nothing of all this. He would apply the principles of a moral retribution. He would govern men as moral agents. The everlasting distinctions between right and wrong, between righteousness and inhumanity, between love and selfishness, would be all that his dominion would recognize. His august power would be used to encourage and reward those who delighted to succor and serve the needy, the helpless, the oppressed, the forsaken of their fellow-men, while to be indifferent to their sorrows would be to provoke the retributions of his unbending law of equity.

According to this understanding of the passage, which the text and context appear to me absolutely to require, it evidently lends no authority to the common opinion of a simultaneous judgment of all men at the time of a future second coming of Christ. That opinion I take to be alike destitute of support from reason and from Scripture. What Jesus here refers to is simply the office which his religion is to discharge in the world, — the principles of that administration which Christianity is to establish among men. The coming of the Son of Man of which he speaks, is simply the establishment of that religion. "*When the Son of Man shall have come* (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 54) in his glory, and all the holy angels with him," — i. e. when that institution of the Messiah's dominion shall have taken place, which an ancient writer has indicated in these words, — "*then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another,*" &c. That is, thenceforward shall he administer a moral government upon those rules and principles of moral administration which the rest of the

passage proceeds to specify. The erroneous, current exposition of the passage depends mainly, perhaps, upon a particular force unjustifiably attributed to the particles *when* and *then*, as if they could only import a reference to a point of time, — an assumption than which none could be more unfounded. If I say that, *when* I come into possession of an estate which I am expecting, *then* I will be liberal, no one understands me to mean that my liberality is to be confined to the hour or the day when I acquire its resources, but that I will be liberal *then* and *thenceforward*, — that, having come into a certain condition, I will not only begin, but continue to conduct myself accordingly. So in the case before us. When, says Jesus, the Messiah's kingdom is set up, — when his religion has taken its permanent place among the influences by which God acts on man, — then and thenceforward retributions will be dispensed according to its distinctive principles, and (for any thing this text says to the contrary) dispensed to every man immediately, as every man leaves this probationary world. No doubt, before Christianity was revealed, men were judged according to the same essential principles of rectitude which Christianity recognizes; but it is agreeable to those principles that men should be judged more or less strictly, according as, while living, they had been in possession of more or less light. Before the Christian revelation, men could not rightfully be judged by the law of Christianity, so far as that was distinct from, being an improvement upon, the law of natural reason. When the Christian revelation was made, — that is, from and after the time of its being made, — they who had come into the possession of it were rightfully judged by it.

The object of the passage is to develop and proclaim the character of the Messiah's kingdom, as being

a moral government. The Jews, and among them the Jewish disciples of Jesus, looked for a Son of Man, who, when he should sit on the throne of his glory, establishing a political administration, would gather Jews around him, to lead them to victory, vengeance, and spoils. Jesus, using almost his last opportunity to rectify his disciples' still faint and erroneous views concerning the nature of his empire, told them that, on the contrary, when he should sit on the throne of his glory, all nations alike would be gathered before him as subjects of his administration, and that that administration would be of a spiritual character, exerting itself in the adjudging of retributions agreeably to the principles of a moral discrimination. All nations would be his subjects, and the question concerning them would be, not of whom they were born, of Abraham or of some other parentage, but how they had done their duty in life. He now expands the doctrine which in part of the same words he had briefly announced on a former occasion. (Comp. xvi. 27, 28.)

XXVI. 24.

The Son of Man goeth, as it is written of him.

Suppose Jesus, when he says "The Son of Man goeth," to refer to his death (which has been denied by some commentators, but I think without reason), what did he mean by saying that he was about to die, *as it was written*? Where was it written that he should die? Nowhere in the Old Testament Scriptures, if I interpret them correctly. It was written, so to speak, in the book of the Divine purposes. It was so determined and arranged by God's providence. The figure is a simple one, and is in frequent Scriptural use. (See Job xiii. 26; Ps. cxxxix. 16; cxlix.

9 ; Prov. viii. 15 ; Is. x. 1 ; lxxv. 6.) Luke evidently understood this to be our Lord's meaning ; for in the parallel passage (xxii. 22) he reports Jesus as having said, "The Son of Man goeth *as it was determined*" (*ὡρισμένον*).

XXVI. 31.

Then saith Jesus unto them, "All ye shall be offended because of me this night ; for it is written, 'I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.'"

In the prophecy of Zechariah (xiii. 7) we read, according to the Hebrew text : —

"Awake, O sword, against my shepherd,
Even against my fellow, saith Jehovah of hosts ;
Smite the shepherd, and let the sheep be scattered."

The Alexandrine version has *shepherds* for "shepherd" in both instances ; and for the last clause it reads, "and pluck away the sheep."

In the original passage, Zechariah, after the usual manner of the writers of his class, "forebodes great national calamities, to be succeeded by as signal public prosperity and glory. Jehovah, he says, designs to smite the shepherd of his people, and scatter the sheep, and turn his hand against the lambs. Two thirds of the whole nation shall be cut off and die, and only a third part survive," &c. ("Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 494.) It seems scarcely possible to do greater violence to language, than by that interpretation which supposes our Lord to have found here a prediction of the circumstances of his arrest by the Jews. He does but refer to language originally used in respect to one occasion, and apply it to another which the terms were suitable to describe, in the manner of which we have already seen numerous instances. If the case did not already appear too clear for argument, I might

add, that, if John, who heard what Jesus said, had understood him to be pointing out a prediction fulfilled, he would scarcely have omitted to notice so important a fact. But in the parallel passage (John xvi. 32) he has left it entirely out of sight.

XXVI. 53, 54.

Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels? But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?

There is no necessity for so interpreting these words of Jesus as to make them declare (contrary to what, on independent grounds, appears to be the fact) that there are passages of the Old Testament foretelling the circumstances of affliction and loneliness in which he was now placed. That whole plan of Providence for the spiritual redemption of the world, which had been introduced and entered on in the mission of Moses recorded in the Jewish Scriptures, was to be completed, accomplished, "fulfilled," in the mission of Jesus. (Comp. v. 17, 18.) But Jesus knew that, in order to carry into effect the objects of his mission, it was necessary that he should suffer and die. His sufferings and death made an essential part of that instrumentality by which it pleased God to influence the minds of men in order to their reformation and salvation. The Scriptures, and the divine purpose to which they related, could not be fulfilled, unless the object of Christ's mission were fulfilled; and that was only to be through the agency of his sufferings and death. It is in this natural sense that I understand the sentence, which, I conceive, is rightly pointed in the edition of Griesbach, and which, with that punctuation, reads as follows: "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to

my father, and he will presently give me more than twelve legions of angels? How then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled? *for* thus it must be"; i. e. "thus," in this way and no other, through my sufferings and by no easier method, is the consummation, to which the Scriptures point, to be brought about.

XXVI. 56.

All this was done, that the Scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled.

"All" what? Does Matthew mean to say, that all the incidents of the scene in the garden, detailed by himself in the preceding ten verses, had been specially foretold in "the Scriptures of the prophets"? It is quite obvious that so strict an interpretation must be abandoned, and that the most the words can be understood to mean is, that the fate of Jesus, in its general character of being one of suffering, corresponded with ancient predictions. But I am satisfied that they do not mean so much as that; and after departing from that strictest construction of the words which it is impossible to maintain on any grounds, the question of the degree of closeness of that correspondence which the Evangelist intended to point out between the words of ancient Scripture and the events that had passed beneath his eye, becomes one to be determined by a free consideration of the manner in which he may be supposed to have viewed the subject.

My own understanding of the matter is this. At the time when Matthew wrote, as in earlier times, the idea of a suffering Messiah was one to the last degree repulsive to his unconverted countrymen. "Christ crucified" was "to the Jews a stumbling-block." The notion of such a person they understood as being in plain contradiction to the whole tenor of the Old

Testament Scriptures, where the coming Messiah had been referred to. Matthew had the best reason to know this. In telling the story of his master's desertion and humiliation, it could not fail to rise to his mind. And he naturally and appositely throws in the declaration, that what he was relating took place, not in opposition to old Scripture, rightly understood, but, on the contrary, in order to its fulfilment. Of the "Scriptures of the prophets," or teachers, the writings of the great prophet, Moses, made incomparably the most authoritative part; and what he had said of the "prophet like unto" himself, and the benefactor in whom all the nations of the earth were to "be blessed," was put in its proper train to be "fulfilled" by the transactions which Matthew was now relating. And if the writers who had come after Moses had much misconceived the character of the coming prophet, and had overlaid the conception of his spiritual office with the trappings of worldly greatness, still it was the teacher foretold by Moses that they had intended to describe, and it was in fact through a painful earthly experience that that highly fated being was to fulfil his destiny. Such was the voluntary self-sacrifice of Jesus, — we may understand Matthew as saying, — to accomplish those Divine purposes to which the ancient dispensation related, and opened the way.

I have commented on these words as words of Matthew. If we prefer to ascribe them to Jesus, the application of my remarks to that view is easy.

XXVI. 63, 64.

The high-priest answered and said unto him, "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." Jesus saith unto him, "Thou hast said; nevertheless, I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven."

Jesus makes the same avowal to the high-priest which he had made to his Apostles by "the coasts of Cæsarea Philippi" (xvi. 16, 17); and adds, in a reference, which the high-priest could not understand, to that spiritual authority which he was presently to assume through the establishment of his Gospel: Mean and powerless as I seem to stand before you, I shall before long be manifested in that sovereignty which the Psalmist and the author of Daniel intended to extol, when they spoke of the coming Messiah as advanced to a seat on God's right hand (Ps. cx. 1), and as "coming with the clouds of heaven" (Dan. vii. 13).

XXVII. 9, 10.

Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, "And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me."

The text affords valuable illustration of the sense in which the New Testament writers connect events of their own time with language of the Old Testament, declaring that one has "fulfilled" the other. Matthew has related that Judas, having received thirty pieces of money as his reward for betraying his master, was struck with remorse when he saw that Jesus was sentenced to death, "and went and hanged himself"; and that "the chief priests," taking the money from the temple floor, where he had thrown it, and reflecting that, after the use which it had served, it ought not to be put into the treasury (comp. Deut. xxiii. 18), concluded to buy with it a burial-place for strangers. And "then was *fulfilled*," he says, the saying which he proceeds to quote, "spoken by Jeremy the prophet."

But he quoted from memory, and incorrectly, which

it is quite impossible to suppose that he would do, if he meant to direct the reader's attention to a supernatural prediction uttered by an ancient seer, and now brought to pass in an event which he was himself recording. No language resembling that recited by Matthew occurs in the prophecy of Jeremiah, as it has come down to us. Similar language does occur in the book known by the name of Zechariah. (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 487, 488.) The writer relates (Zech. xi. 12, 13; compare "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 491, 492) that, having asked a recompense of his public service, he was insulted with a mean donation, which, indignant at the disrespect shown both to himself and to Jehovah, whose will he had declared, he threw back into the public treasury. The text, according to the Hebrew, reads thus:—

"Then I said to them, 'If it seem good in your eyes, give me my wages; if not, keep them.' And they weighed for my wages thirty shekels of silver. And Jehovah said to me, 'Cast it into the treasury, the goodly price at which I was valued by them!' And I took the thirty shekels of silver, and cast them into the house of Jehovah, into the treasury."

For "treasury," which is a rendering well sustained by the etymology, as well as by the connection and by ancient versions, the Septuagint reads "foundery." The Hebrew word (מַצְיָוֶה) is also the present participle of a verb signifying *he formed*, or fashioned, as a potter does his ware. And by putting this sense upon it, Matthew has prepared the passage for the application which he makes. (See above, p. 45.)

Such I take to be the true explanation of the facts.* If it is so, Matthew, when he prefaced his quotation with the words, "Then was fulfilled," &c., had no idea of indicating that it contained a supernatural predic-

tion ; nor is it possible for a sober interpreter so to regard it, for not only is it a narrative of a past transaction, but there is no similarity between it and the supposed result, except a similarity partly slight and verbal, and partly factitious. As to the reference of the words quoted to Jeremiah as their author, it is not improbable that passages were ascribed to him in Matthew's time, which subsequently were incorporated into our prophecy of Zechariah ; or perhaps all the books of the Later Prophets were cited as the " Book of Jeremiah," his book being placed first among them in some collections. (" Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 303, 337 ; comp. p. 236.) To the statement of Jerome (Tom. IV. p. 134, edit. Martianay), that in a Hebrew copy of an apocryphal Jeremiah, lent him by a Nazarene Jew, he had found the passage word for word as quoted by Matthew, I attach no importance. The fact may well have been so ; but the natural explanation of it would be, that Matthew's words had been interpolated into the copy of the ancient prophet shown to Jerome. One old manuscript, collated by Griesbach, reads " Zechariah " for *Jeremiah*, and two, with the Syriac version, omit the prophet's name. But, quite obviously, these are but expedients to save the Evangelist's plenary inspiration. Some critics have been disposed to have recourse to the passage in Jeremiah, which relates his purchase of certain land from Hanameel (Jer. xxxii. 7 - 14). And so much as this may be true, that the Evangelist, confusing the two narratives in his recollection, had taken some words of Zechariah, the author of one, and referred them to Jeremiah, the author of the other. But such a supposition is obviously quite inconsistent with the theory of his having designed to quote a supernatural prediction, and point out its accomplishment.

XXVII. 35.

And they crucified him, and parted his garments, casting lots ;
that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet,
“ They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture
did they cast lots.”

The quotation is from a poem which has with probability been ascribed to David (Ps. xxii. 18). The writer, whoever he was, is called in this text a “ prophet,” by no means in the sense of a foreteller of future events, which is but a modern and indefensible interpretation of the word as used in Scripture ; but simply in the sense of a *writer*, or, more specifically, a *poet*. (See “ Lectures,” &c., Vol. II. pp. 368 – 370 ; comp. Tit. i. 12.) It would seem that no conclusion, relating to the construction of language, could be clearer or more unquestionable, than that the Psalmist is treating of his own sorrows, and not of those of any other person in a distant future age. Confining his attention to the piece itself, it is impossible that a reader should dream of any other sense. Whether the Evangelist, in taking a sentence from it, and prefacing his quotation with the words “ that it might be fulfilled,” &c., meant to put upon it an interpretation so entirely different as has been supposed, is a question which a reader will be prepared to answer, according to the view which he may have seen cause to take of my argument on this class of expressions in the preceding pages. (See pp. 25 – 33, *et al.*) I understand the Evangelist as simply pointing out the striking coincidence through which an incident of the crucifixion of his Master might be aptly described in the Psalmist’s words.

I have thus treated this passage, as if written by Matthew, because English readers will look for a note upon it in its place. But it was not written by Mat-

thew. The whole latter part of the verse, as given in our common editions, beginning with the words "that it might be fulfilled," is spurious, and as such is eliminated in Griesbach's edition. In other words, Matthew made no allusion to the words of the Psalmist in this connection. Nor did Mark (xv. 24). Nor did Luke (xxiii. 34). John did (xix. 24), in the sense which I have above explained.

The fact is remarkable. If the words of the Psalmist, with their peculiar verbal coincidence, had in fact been a prediction of a circumstance attending the crucifixion of Jesus, is it supposable that Mark and Luke would have neglected to put them to their proper use? Especially, can it be supposed that Matthew would have neglected to do so, who is so fond of enlivening his narrative with references to the Old Testament Scriptures?

XXVII. 46.

Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?" that is to say, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

These words are taken from the same composition as the quotation last commented upon (Ps. xxii. 1). They are in the original Hebrew, except the verb ("hast thou forsaken"), which is Syriac, the sentence being constructed in that mixed dialect which was in use in Judea in the Evangelist's time. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. p. 4, note *.)

We easily clothe our thoughts and emotions in language supplied by memory, even when we should be unwilling to admit that our state of mind was the same as that by which the language was originally prompted. (Matt. xxvii. 43; comp. Ps. xxii. 8.) At all events, nothing is more natural or common than to

express an emotion of one's own in language which, under similar circumstances, has been used by some other person. And that Jesus should have so used the language of the Psalmist, if for the moment his soul had been overshadowed, like the Psalmist's, by a sense of wretchedness and desertion, would be a fact requiring no further explanation. But as I do not think that this was the state of mind of Jesus at this time, I do not regard this as the right explanation of his quotation from the Psalm. I believe that, in uttering the first sentence of that composition, he did not mean to adopt that sentence alone as an expression of his feelings, but that he intended so to adopt the composition taken as a whole. It begins, it is true, with a wail of misery (Ps. xxii. 1 - 18). But it passes into a strain of confiding supplication (19 - 21), and ends with an exulting shout of triumph (22 - 31). As Jesus hung upon the cross, his revilers had mocked him in language taken from one of its verses (Matt. xxvii. 43). Possibly their allusion reminded him of it, and caused him to ponder its whole sense, so suitable to his circumstances of apparent abandonment by his Father, but of real glory and close and blissful communion with him. And, in uttering its first words, he at once recalls to his own mind its animating sense, and intimates to the by-standers that if in appearance his outward affliction, so too his inward joys, were like those of that ancient sufferer, beloved of God, who had closed his lament with such words as these: "All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee. For the kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the Governor among the nations. . . . They shall come and shall declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be born, that he hath done this." (Ps. xxii. 27 - 31.)

XXVIII. 20.

× Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

“The end of the world,” or *of the age*, (*ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος*,) is the same phrase which was used by the disciples of Jesus when they asked him (Matt. xxiv. 3) respecting the tokens of his “coming, and of the end of the world,” and is to be understood here in the same sense. (See above, pp. 78, 111.) *The end of the age* is the winding up of the Jewish dispensation. Jesus promises his Apostles his presence, encouragement, and support in their labors to bring the old order of things to a close, and to introduce the new one.

SECTION II.

GOSPEL OF MARK.

I. 1.

Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

See above, pp. 1, 50 – 53.

I. 2.

As it is written in the Prophets, “Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way; the voice of one crying in the wilderness, ‘Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.’”

The first part of this quotation is inexactly taken from Malachi (iii. 1); the second from the pseudo-Isaiah (xl. 3). To meet this fact, the later manuscripts, followed by the earlier printed editions, appear to have corrupted the Evangelist’s text. According to the best evidence which we have (see Griesbach’s

critical edition, *ad loc.*), Mark wrote, not "as it is written in the prophets," but "as it is written in Isaiah the prophet." His memory deceived him, and he supposed the whole of what he quoted to be taken from Isaiah. There is nothing extraordinary in this, if rhetorical embellishment, as I maintain, was the object in such quotations. But if the Evangelist had intended any thing so important as a reference to a supernatural prediction fulfilled, is it possible to conceive that he would have allowed himself in such a negligence? Is it possible to imagine him to have argued that an ancient writer, by supernatural foresight, had used certain words, which the event had now fulfilled, when he had not ascertained that that writer had used those words, and when, in fact, he had not used them?

For remarks on the quotations, which are also separately made by Matthew, see above, pp. 48, 49, 72, 73.

I. 11.

There came a voice from heaven, saying, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

See above, pp. 50 – 53.

I. 14, 15.

Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel."

See above, pp. 46 – 48, 56.

I. 43, 44.

He straitly charged him, and forthwith sent him away; and saith unto him, "See thou say nothing to any man: but go thy way, show thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing those things which Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them."

See above, p. 62.

II. 10.

The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins.

For remarks on the origin and force of the phrase *Son of man*, see above, pp. 65 – 68.

II. 26.

In the days of Abiathar the high-priest.

See above, p. 75. — According to the history (1 Sam. xxi. 1 – 6) this transaction took place in the high-priesthood of Ahimelech, Abiathar's father. Perhaps Mark's memory was in fault; perhaps, instead of "in the days," we should render *in the presence*, of Abiathar; perhaps we should understand Mark as using a form of reference, as if he had said, "in that passage of the history which relates to Abiathar." So our Saviour, when he says, "Moses *at the bush*" (Mark xii. 26, Luke xx. 37), is understood as referring, under that phraseology, to those passages of Scripture where the incident of "The Bush" is treated of. See Michaelis's "Introduction," &c., Part I. chap. iv. § 5.

IV. 11, 12.

Unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables; that seeing they may see, and not perceive, &c.

Who can doubt that Matthew and Mark meant to make the same application of the language of old Scripture? Yet when Matthew uses the words (xiii. 14, 15), it is with the apparently formal introduction, "In them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith." See above, pp. 80, 81.

VI. 15.

Others said, that it is Elias; and others said, that it is a prophet, or as one of the prophets.

See above, pp. 85, 86.

VII. 6.

Well hath Esaias prophesied of you hypocrites.

See above, p. 84.

VII. 10.

Moses said, "Honor thy father and thy mother."

See above, p. 83. — For "Moses said," we read in the parallel passage in Matthew, "God commanded."

VIII. 11.

The Pharisees came forth, and began to question with him, seeking of him a sign from heaven.

See above, pp. 79, 80. — Mark omits our Lord's reference, reported by Matthew (xii. 40, 41, xvi. 1 - 4), to "the sign of the prophet Jonas." This fact suggests the observation, applicable to numerous other cases, that, as the Evangelists wrote independently of each other, and for different readers, it may be presumed that, if references made to the Old Testament by any one Evangelist had been adduced by him as in the nature of proof, and not merely of illustration, the same references would have been found also in the other Evangelists, when the same connection, whether of narrative or of discourse, made it suitable.

VIII. 27 - 29.

He asked his disciples, saying unto them, "Whom do men say that I am?" And Peter answereth and saith unto him, "Thou art the Christ."

See above, pp. 1 - 4. — I have already remarked (p. 52) that Mark omits from Peter's declaration the phrase "Son of the living God," recorded by Matthew, which it is scarcely credible that he should have done, if, instead of being merely equivalent to *Messiah*, it

meant so much more than that title as has been commonly supposed.

VIII. 38 - IX. 1.

Of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels. . . . There be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power.

See above, pp. 88 - 91.

IX. 4.

There appeared unto them Elias, with Moses ; and they were talking with Jesus.

See above, pp. 91 - 93.

IX. 7.

This is my beloved Son ; hear him.

See above, p. 94.

IX. 12, 13.

He answered and told them, "Elias verily cometh first, and restoreth all things ; and how it is written of the Son of Man, that he must suffer many things, and be set at naught. But I say unto you, that Elias is indeed come, and they have done unto him whatsoever they listed, as it is written of him."

See above, p. 95. — "*It is written* of the Son of Man," &c. For the meaning of this language, see above, pp. 117, 118, where "it is written" is shown to be equivalent to "it is determined" (Luke xxii. 22). So in the text of Mark before us, our Lord, referring to the death of John, says, "They have done unto him whatsoever they listed, as it is written of him." But where else than in the counsels of God was it ever "written" in what manner John should die?

IX. 43, 44. ' .

The fire that never shall be quenched, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

See above, pp. 60, 61.

X. 3.

He answered and said unto them, "What did Moses command you?"

See above, pp. 96, 97.

X. 47.

He began to cry out, and say, "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me."

For the origin of the idea prevalent among the Jews that the Messiah, the prophet like unto Moses (Deut. xviii. 15), would be one of King David's posterity, see "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 377-386; Vol. III. pp. 18-21; Vol. IV. pp. 306, 307. But Mark nowhere says, either in his own person or in that of his Master, that Jesus was a descendant from David. (Comp. above, pp. 5 *et seq.*)

XI. 7.

They brought the colt to Jesus, and cast their garments on him, and he sat upon him.

See above, pp. 99-101. — In relating this incident, Matthew and John (xii. 14-16) embellish their narrative with a quotation from Zechariah. Neither Mark nor Luke (xix. 29 *et seq.*) does so. It is to the last degree difficult to suppose that they would have omitted the quotation, had they regarded it as having the prophetic significance imagined by later interpreters.

XI. 9.

They that went before, and they that followed, cried, saying,
 "Hosanna! blessed is he that cometh in the name of the
 Lord."

See above, p. 102.

XI. 17.

He taught, saying unto them, "Is it not written, 'My house
 shall be called of all nations the house of prayer'? But ye
 have made it a den of thieves."

See above, p. 102.

XII. 10, 11.

Have ye not read this Scripture, "The stone which the builders
 rejected is become the head of the corner; this was the
 Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes"?

See above, pp. 103, 104.

XII. 26, 27.

Have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God
 spake unto him, &c.

See above, pp. 104–106. Comp. Rom. xi. 2, where
 the true translation is "in Elias" (*ἐν Ἠλίᾳ*); and Jahn,
 "Einleit. in das A. T.," § 102.

XII. 31.

There is none other commandment greater than these.

See above, p. 106.

XII. 35.

How say the scribes that Christ is the son of David?

See above, pp. 107–109.

XIII. 14.

When ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing where
 it ought not (let him that readeth understand).

See above, pp. 111, 112.

XIII. 24-26.

In those days shall they see the Son of Man coming in the clouds.

See above, pp. 112, 113.

XIV. 21.

The Son of Man indeed goeth, as it is written of him.

See above, pp. 117, 118.

XIV. 27.

It is written, "I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered."

See above, pp. 118, 119.

XIV. 49.

The Scriptures must be fulfilled.

See above, pp. 119, 120.

XIV. 61, 62.

The high-priest asked him, and said unto him, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" And Jesus said, "I am": and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.

See above, pp. 121, 122. — The passage illustrates the equivalence of the three titles, *Christ*, *Son of the Blessed* (that is, Son of God), and *Son of Man*. See above, pp. 50-53, 65-68.

XV. 28.

And the Scripture was fulfilled which saith, "And he was numbered with the transgressors."

The reference is to Isaiah liii. 12. (See above, pp. 17 *et seq.*, and comp. Luke xxii. 37.) Neither Matthew nor John makes this quotation.

XV. 34.

Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, "Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?"

See above, pp. 126, 127. Mark reports Jesus as using a Syriac form for "My God." *Eli* (in Matthew) is pure Hebrew. *Eloi* occurs in the Septuagint (Judges v. 5).

SECTION III.

GOSPEL OF LUKE.

I. 5.

A certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abia.

See 1 Chron. xxiv. 5, 10.

I. 17.

He shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.

Mourning over the sinful practices of his time, Malachi had said (iv. 6) that it seemed as if Jehovah would have to send another Elijah, another restorer of the Law, to "turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers." The angel who spoke with Zechariah is here represented as applying the words, in an inaccurate quotation of them (comp. Mal. iii. 1), to John, the forerunner of the new Christian dispensation. John, with a spirit and power like that of the great ancient reformer, was to be the Lord's herald in introducing the coming kingdom. (See above, pp. 74, 75, and comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 502.)

I. 19.

The angel answering said unto him, "I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God, and am sent to speak unto thee, and to show thee these glad tidings."

"The mythology of a divine council of seven angels is believed to have had its origin in the attendance with which the Persian king, Darius Hystaspis, surrounded his throne. (Eich. 'Einleit. in die Apokryph. Schrift,' s. 408, Anm. *h.*) But however this might be, it was a doctrine of the Persians (Bertholdt, 'Einleit.,' § 582; Corrodi, 'Versuch,' Band I. ss. 89 – 91), with which people the Jews had no intimate relations till the time of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus; and several generations must be supposed to have passed before the Jews incorporated into their own popular faith an article so peculiar, and so foreign to their national theology." ("Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. p. 363.) The Jews brought with them from Babylon the names of the seven chief angels (comp. Apoc. viii. 2), on their return from the captivity. So testify the Rabbins with one accord. (See Wetsten. "Nov. Test." in Luc. i. 19.) The later Jewish books present the names of four of them; viz. Gabriel (Dan. viii. 16, ix. 21), Michael (Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; comp. Jude 9, Apoc. xii. 7), Raphael (Tobit iii. 17, v. 4, viii. 2, ix. 1, 5, xii. 15), and Uriel (2 Esd. iv. 1, v. 20).

And now, in his narrative of events connected with the birth of Jesus, the Evangelist Luke relates that the miraculous apparition which foretold to Zacharias the birth of his son "said unto him, 'I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God.'" How are we to understand this? Are we to take it as corroborative of the truth of that doctrine concerning angels which the Jews, in the feeble days of their exile, had imbibed from a Pagan source? Are we to consider God as

here confirming the dreams of the Persians? Does the language of Luke convert the speculations of the times of and after Darius Hystaspis into articles of Christian faith, and establish the doctrine that there is a superhuman being, privileged to "stand in the presence of God," and bearing the name of *Gabriel*?

We naturally think, in the first place, of the evidence upon which the knowledge of this transaction, with all its particulars, has reached us. Zacharias was the only eye and ear witness to it; and him it is not in the slightest degree probable that Luke ever saw. At the time to which it belongs, Zacharias was already "well stricken in years" (Luke i. 7), so as to have given up the hope of posterity. It was thirty years after that, before Jesus began to call disciples, and we do not know even that Luke became a disciple during his personal ministry. (Comp. Luke i. 1, 2.) The account must have been transmitted from Zacharias to him through intermediate hands (comp. Luke i. 65); and we can scarcely rely so confidently on its having been transmitted with verbal exactness, as to feel certain that the words "I am Gabriel" were actually used by the supernatural appearance, when that part of the narrative would, in the course of transmission, be so likely to take such a form, from the current superstition respecting the hierarchy of angels. And this idea gains strength, when we remember that the Evangelist Matthew, who may be supposed to have been better acquainted than Luke with the mother of Jesus, does not name Gabriel in his account of these transactions. (Matt. i. 20, 24; ii. 13.) Luke says (i. 65, 66) that "all these sayings were noised abroad throughout all the hill-country of Judea; and all they that heard them laid them up in their hearts." May we not understand him as here indicating the source

of his information ; viz. common report, which always improves upon a story ?

But let us suppose the words, after floating in tradition for more than half a century, to have been at length recorded by Luke precisely as they had been spoken to Zacharias, what inference is it necessary to deduce from them in respect to the existence of a superhuman being, named Gabriel ? Undoubtedly, it would be altogether extraordinary, and contrary to the doctrine of chances, that a heathen or even a Jewish speculation should have hit so exactly right as to guess that very name of a superhuman being which revelation afterwards declared to be his true name. Very clear and strong evidence would seem to be requisite to establish a fact so singular.

I take it to be quite unnecessary to resort to so violent an interpretation of the words, even supposing them to be recorded precisely as they were spoken by the supernatural messenger. *Ex vi termini*, in the Old and New Testament sense, an *angel* meant simply a messenger, an errand-bearer, any medium of communication or action whatever, and this equally between man and man or between God and man. Such is the meaning of the corresponding Hebrew and Greek words (מַלְאָךְ and ἄγγελος). The angel, or instrumentality, may be inanimate, sentient, or human, or it may be a superhuman manifestation or creation, whether temporary or permanent. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. p. 104.) In the case before us, a superhuman messenger bore God's errand ; and, taking the words "I am Gabriel" to have been used by him just as they are recorded, I understand the natural construction of them to be, that he used a language significant to Zacharias, as being borrowed from the current conceptions of the time. When he said, "I am

Gabriel (or *a Gabriel*), that stand in the presence of God," it is as if he had said, I am what you understand Gabriel to be; I am a highly trusted minister (comp. 1 Kings x. 8, xii. 6, Job ii. 1, Dan. vii. 10) to make known and execute God's declaration and will. The words "that *stand* in the presence of God" (*παρεστηκώς*), I would rather render "that *have stood*," &c.; signifying, "that have just come from God, and have my instructions directly from him." — Gabriel means *the power of God*. "This is Elias which was for to come," said our Lord of John the Baptist (Matt. xi. 14), because John was performing the office assigned by the popular belief to Elias. So this manifestation was Gabriel, because it bore God's message, as a being called Gabriel was supposed to do.

I. 26.

And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth.

It is not related that the apparition to Mary called itself by the name of *Gabriel*, as that to Zacharias had done. But the Evangelist, or those from whom he derived the account, associating the two events together, naturally gave to one appearance the name said to have been claimed by the other. This would the more readily be done, as the angel that spoke to Mary also informed her of the condition of the wife of Zacharias (i. 36). — "The angel Gabriel was sent from God" to Mary; that is, there was an appearance to Mary like what there had been to Zacharias (11 - 19).

I. 32.

He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father

David ; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever ;
and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

With our knowledge of the office and authority of Jesus, as he afterwards disclosed them, we perceive that they are not accurately described in these words. But it was the only kind of description of them which Mary, entertaining the current views of the expected Messiah, would at this time have understood, and therefore the fittest to be addressed to her ; — if, indeed, we are not to suppose the language of the angel to have suffered some change, conforming it to the current opinions, in its transmission through many years, and perhaps through many hands, from Mary to Luke.

I. 35.

Therefore also that holy thing which shall be born shall be called the Son [rather, a son] of God.

The angel, if correctly reported, may seem here to have indicated the miraculous conception of Jesus as a reason for his being called *Son of God* (comp. iii. 38), additional to that which, with the Jews, had made that title equivalent to *Messiah*. (See above, pp. 50–53.) Matthew (i. 18–21) gives no such explanation of the name. It may have been more suitable to be communicated to Luke's Gentile readers (who were accustomed to divine generations in their own mythology) than to the Jews for whom Matthew wrote. On the other hand, there were instances of supernatural birth in Jewish history (Gen. xvii. 17 ; Judges xiii. 2, 24 ; 1 Sam. i. 5, 20), without the appellation *Son of God* being made consequent upon it.

On the whole, however, I think it is a mistake to suppose that the angel was here referring to, and giving an additional explanation of, the peculiar title,

Son of God, by which Jesus, as Messiah, was afterwards to be known. I suppose that he was not alluding to that title, but merely answering the question of Mary. Mary asks, How can I have a son, who will be a son of no man (i. 34)? The angel replies, Your son will be a son of God, who by supernatural power creates him. "He shall be called" (*κληθήσεται*) often means simply *he shall be* (Is. lvi. 7; Matt. v. 9, 19; Luke ii. 23; xv. 19; 1 Cor. xv. 9). But waving this, we may render the word (still regarding it as an answer to the question of Mary) *he may be called*, you may properly call him a son of God, since he is to be no son of a man.

I. 46-55.

Mary said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord. . . . As he spake to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed, for ever."

Mary's hymn of thanksgiving is in great part a collection of expressions from the Old Testament Scriptures, which she applies to herself. (Comp. 1 Sam. ii. 1, 3; Ps. xxxiv. 3; xxxv. 9; Gen. xxx. 13; Judg. v. 24; 1 Sam. i. 11; 2 Kings xiv. 26; Ps. xxv. 18; cii. 17; cxi. 9; cxxvi. 2; Gen. xvii. 7; Exod. xx, 6; Ps. ciii. 17; xxxiii. 10; lxxvii. 15; lxxxvi. 13; xcvi. 1; Is. xl. 10; lii. 10; 1 Sam. ii. 7, 8; Job v. 11; xii. 18; Ps. cxiii. 7; Is. lxvi. 2; Ps. xcvi. 3; Is. xxx. 18; lv. 5; Jer. xxxi. 3, 20.) The fact is important in connection with the inquiry in which we are now engaged concerning the use made in the New Testament of the Old Testament writers; as it shows how natural it was to a pious Jew to give utterance and illustration to his own thoughts in language borrowed from the worthies of ancient times.

I. 70.

As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began.

By the "world" (*αἰών*) I understand the time of the Jewish dispensation. (See above, pp. 78, 79.) Zacharias correctly interpreted the language of "the holy prophets" of the post-Mosaic period, when he understood them, in their imperfect apprehension of the office of the coming "prophet," as expressing the expectation that, by the agency of a descendant of David (i. 69), the people would be saved from their enemies, and from the hand of all them that hated them (71).

I. 73 - 75.

The oath which he sware to our father Abraham, that he would grant unto us, that we, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all our days.

The reference appears to be to Genesis xxii. 17.

I. 76.

Thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways.

Here language of Malachi (iii. 1; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 501, note), which appears to have originally denoted the Messiah, is applied to John the Baptist. (Comp. Matt. xi. 10; Mark i. 2; Luke vii. 27.)

II. 22 - 24.

And when the days of their purification, according to the Law of Moses, were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord; (as it is written in the Law of the Lord, "Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord";) and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the Law of the Lord, A pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons."

The regulations here referred to are found in different parts of the Mosaic code. (Comp. Exod. xiii. 2; xxii. 29; xxxiv. 19; Numb. iii. 13; viii. 16, 17; Lev. xii. 2, 6, 8.)

III. 4-6.

As it is written in the book of the words of Esaias the prophet, saying, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.'"

Luke extends the quotation from Isaias (xl. 3-5) further than had been done by Matthew (iii. 3) or by Mark (i. 3), and in the last clause he follows the Septuagint version. For remarks on the quotation, and the import of its application to the case of John, see above, pp. 48, 49. In respect to that part of it which is added by Luke (iii. 5), it is especially plain that he could only have intended to make a rhetorical accommodation of the words of the pseudo-Isaias, and by no means to adduce them as a prediction fulfilled in John. What improvement of the highways was made in the time, and at the bidding, of the Baptist?

III. 22.

A voice came from heaven, which said, "Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased."

See above, pp. 50-53.

III. 23-38.

And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli, which was the son of Adam, which was the son of God.

For my views of the purpose of Luke, as well as of Matthew, in recording the genealogies of Jesus, or rather of his mother's husband, see above, pp. 5-16. Matthew (i. 2) has traced the line only from Abraham. Luke (iii. 34-38), transcribing from Genesis (v. 3-32, xi. 10-26), deduces it from the origin of the human race. But what is more material is, that in two thirds of that portion of the genealogy which covers the same ground (for in what relates to the period from Abraham to David they agree), the accounts of the two Evangelists are at irreconcilable variance. Matthew says (i. 12, 16) that Joseph was the son of one Jacob, and through him descended from Zerubbabel, the prince of the Jews in the time of Cyrus. (Comp. Ez. iii. 2.) Luke (iii. 23-27) agrees that he was of the posterity of Zerubbabel, but through a line of ancestors so entirely different from that specified by Matthew, that in no one instance do the two Evangelists give the same name. From Salathiel, father of Zerubbabel, to King David, they diverge again. The line of descent, according to Matthew (i. 6-12), was the royal line, through Solomon and his successors on the Jewish throne, ending with Jechoniah, whom he represents as Salathiel's father; while Luke (iii. 27-31) declares Salathiel to have been son of one Neri, and through him descended, by a parentage of otherwise unknown names, not from Solomon, but from Nathan, another son of David and Bathsheba. (2 Sam. v. 14; 1 Chron. iii. 5.)

The commentators have thought it necessary to harmonize the genealogies of Matthew and Luke. The most approved way of doing this has been to represent Luke (iii. 27-31) as giving, from David, the natural descent of Salathiel, and Matthew (i. 6-11) as tracing the lineage of Jechoniah, who is supposed to

have taken Salathiel (i. 12; comp. 1 Chron. iii. 17, 19, Jer. xxii. 30) for his adopted son; while, from Salathiel's son, Zerubbabel, down, it is proposed to understand Matthew (i. 13-16) as stating the parentage of Joseph, and Luke (iii. 23-27) that of Mary, it being thought that Joseph might be called the son of Eli (23) as having married his daughter.

If this hypothesis is correct,—if Jesus was no otherwise a son of David than as being a descendant from him through a Jewish mother,—then he was scarcely a son of David in the sense of the Old Testament writers who are relied on for that representation. I formerly thought (see “Lowell Lectures,” &c., Vol. II. p. 361) that this exposition of Luke's genealogy might be maintained, though plainly subject to the objection of having been constructed to meet the supposed difficulties of the case. On more full reflection, however, the conjectures which it involves appear to me to be too violent. I will not say that the objections to the scheme are conclusive. But the arguments for it fall short of satisfying my mind. And the reader of what I have written on Matthew's genealogy has observed that I find no difficulty in leaving the two passages unreconciled.

Though the Jews of the age of the publication of the Gospel expected their Messiah to be of the posterity of King David, the Evangelists Mark and John did not esteem it worth their while to say any thing of the manner in which he might be considered to sustain that relation. For some reason, as, perhaps, to rid themselves of a cavil of unbelieving Jews, Matthew and Luke looked at the extant genealogies with reference to that point. Matthew found one in which was traced from King David the descent of “Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus” (Matt.

i. 16). Luke found another, in which was traced in a different way the descent from David of Joseph, the "supposed" (Luke iii. 23) father of Jesus. But both the Evangelists tell us, at the same time, distinctly and circumstantially, that of that Joseph, son of David, Jesus, their master, was not the son. If any for whom they wrote believed otherwise, rejecting the narrative of the miraculous conception (as some of the early Christians did), for such persons an account of the parentage of Joseph (so far as it appeared credible) would be interesting, as being equally an account of the parentage of Jesus. But whosoever believed what we find in Matthew (i. 18 - 25) and Luke (i. 26 - 38) of the circumstances of the birth of Jesus, to him it would be a matter of less concern how or whether Joseph, his mother's betrothed, was descended from the ancient kings.

As I view the case, God had never made known that the coming Messiah, the "Prophet," should be of the posterity of David; and therefore, whether Jesus was in fact descended from that monarch or not, it was not requisite to the proof of Jesus's Messiahship to show that he was thus descended. Matthew and Luke, however, through a natural curiosity respecting the origin of that family of Joseph, of which their master had been a member, and very probably for more special reasons, such as I have hinted at, sought for genealogies of Mary's husband. They made their search, as they wrote their Gospels, independently of each other. They found two lists, as it is not at all surprising that they should, which did not agree together. And such as they found them, they set them down;—in good faith, but, not improbably, with small assurance in their own minds of the absolute correctness of documents so ancient. Such as they

were, those interested in the history of Jesus might conveniently find them in their narratives, to serve such use as might be thought fit.

IV. 17-21.

He found the place where it was written, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." And he began to say unto them, "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears."

The quotation is from the pseudo-Isaiah (lxi. 1, 2), though not made with exactness. The words "to heal the broken-hearted," appear not to have been written by Luke. (See Griesbach, "Nov. Test." *ad loc.*) The clause, "and recovering of sight to the blind," is in the Septuagint version, but not in the Hebrew. The word "bruised," or oppressed (רָצוּצִים), for *bound*, seems to be taken from the similar passage in the third preceding chapter (Is. lviii. 6). The Hebrew, "he hath anointed me" (מָשַׁח אֵתִי), might be strictly rendered, *he hath made me a Messiah*, and the Greek (ἐχρισέ με), *he hath made me a Christ*.

When our Saviour, after reading these words, said, "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears," he did not mean to declare that the writer, from whom he quoted them, had predicted in them his advent and ministry. Any one who will look at them in their original connection will see that they have no meaning of that kind. It is clear that the writer is speaking of himself, and of himself alone. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 266, 267.) Nor does Jesus put any different construction upon his language. What Jesus says is, that the words which the ancient

writer used respecting his own labors, he, Jesus, may properly apply to himself. That Scripture, originally descriptive of another person, was now "fulfilled," filled out, (comp. John iv. 37,) in him who was about to offer a remedy for every moral evil.

A criticism of Dr. Sykes upon this passage is so well expressed, as to tempt me to transcribe it at length. The fact that that learned writer (erroneously, as I think, see "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 235 - 238) supposes Isaiah to have been the author of the words quoted, makes no difference as to the bearing of his argument on the point now in question.

"The Scripture of *Isaiah* was *that day fulfilled* no otherwise than as *Jesus* in fact did preach *the acceptable year of the Lord* in one sense, as *Isaiah* had done before him in another sense. Not that our Saviour meant any *double* completion of prophecies; but he *applied* or *accommodated* the words of *Isaiah* to the present occasion; and they were equally true in both instances, in that which the prophet used them, and in that which *Jesus* used them: and consequently the term *fulfilled* does not signify a designed event accomplished, or that *The Messiah* was in the intention of Providence to preach upon these words in the synagogue at *Nazareth*, but only this, that the words of *Isaiah* are this day *verified*.

"The reason why I conclude this to be a mere accommodation only is, that *Isaiah* speaks of such a day, wherein the *Jews* were to *build up the old wastes*, to *raise up the former devastations*, to *repair the waste cities*, *the desolations of many generations*, ch. lxi. 4. What has this to do with the appearance of *another* sort of *liberty*; with a *freedom from captivity* to which the *repairs of cities* that have long lain waste can have no manner of relation? *Jesus* preached up

a kingdom of a *spiritual* nature ; a *kingdom which was not of this world* ; and consequently such a one in which there was no need of *fenced cities and walled towns* for the security of his subjects. The *deliverance* which he *preached*, was to such as were *captives* to sin and death ; and the *acceptable year* was that in which the *Redeemer* was to arise to the people of God. The words of *Isaiah* were very proper to make the subject of his discourse upon, because they suited the present purpose : and he used them not by way of *argument* or *proof* that *he* was designed in those words, but only took occasion to speak to the point he had in view from those words." ("Essay on the Truth of the Christian Religion," edit. 2d, pp. 263 - 265.)

IV. 25-27.

Many widows were in Israel in the days of Elias, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months. And many lepers were in Israel in the time of Eliseus the prophet, and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian.

Probably some tradition authorized this reckoning of three years and a half for the drought in the time of Elijah, as we find it also in the Epistle of James (v. 17). According to the history, there was a fall of rain in the third year (1 Kings xviii. 1, 45).—To illustrate a principle and habit of character and action (viz. that a prophet's sphere is not apt to be about his own home), Jesus alludes to two familiar anecdotes in an ancient Jewish book. The illustrations were equally forcible, whatever might be the authority of that book as a trustworthy record of facts. To maintain the contrary, would be to say that our Lord could not properly draw conclusions from the stories of the Prodigal Son, the Unjust Judge, the Penitent Publican, or the man who hired laborers into his vineyard.

IV. 41.

Devils also came out of many, crying out, and saying, "Thou art the Son of God." And he, rebuking them, suffered them not to speak : for they knew that he was Christ.

Here the phrases "Son of God" and "Christ" appear as synonymous and convertible. (See above, pp. 50 - 53.)

V. 14.

He charged him to tell no man : but go and shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, according as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.

See above, p. 62.

VI. 3, 4.

Jesus, answering them, said, "Have ye not read so much as this, what David did, when himself was an hungred, and they which were with him ; how he went into the house of God, and did take and eat the shew-bread, and gave also to them that were with him ; which is not lawful to eat but for the priests alone ?"

See above, p. 75.

VI. 20.

He lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said, "Blessed be ye poor ; for yours is the kingdom of God."

See above, p. 56.

VII. 22.

Then Jesus, answering, said unto them, "Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard ; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached."

See above, p. 70.

VII. 27.

This is he of whom it is written, "Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee."

See above, p. 72.

VIII. 10.

Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God : but to others in parables ; that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand.

See above, p. 80.

IX. 7, 8, 19.

It was said of some, that John was risen from the dead ; and of some, that Elias had appeared ; and of others, that one of the old prophets was risen again.

They, answering, said, " John the Baptist : but some say, Elias ; and others say, that one of the old prophets is risen again."

See above, p. 85.

IX. 20.

He said unto them, " But whom say ye that I am ? " Peter, answering, said, " The Christ of God."

See above, pp. 86, 131. If the expression, " the Son of the living God," recorded by Matthew as having been used by our Lord on this occasion, had had a meaning, additional to that of " the Christ," so peculiar and important as is commonly supposed, one is quite at a loss for a reason for its omission by Luke. Supposing the expressions to be substantially equivalent, that question does not arise.

IX. 26, 27.

Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he shall come in his own glory, and in his Father's, and of the holy angels. But I tell you of a truth, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God.

See above, p. 88.

IX. 30, 31.

And, behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elias ; who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem.

See above, p. 91.

IX. 35.

There came a voice out of the cloud, saying, " This is my beloved Son ; hear him."

See above, p. 50.

IX. 54.

They said, " Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did ? "

See 2 Kings i. 10, 12.

X. 12.

It shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city.

See above, p. 75.

XI. 29 - 32.

He began to say, " This is an evil generation : they seek a sign ; and there shall no sign be given it, but the sign of Jonas. For as Jonas was a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of Man be to this generation. The men of Nineveh shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it : for they repented at the preaching of Jonas : and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here."

See above, pp. 79, 80.

XI. 51.

From the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple.

See above, p. 110.

XVI. 16.

The Law and the Prophets were until John : since that time the kingdom of God is preached.

See above, p. 73.

XVII. 26 – 29, 32.

As it was in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of Man. They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark ; and the flood came and destroyed them all. Remember Lot's wife.

See above, p. 113.

XVIII. 31 – 33.

He took unto him the twelve, and said unto them, " Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished ; for he shall be delivered unto the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and spitefully entreated, and spitted on ; and they shall scourge him, and put him to death, and the third day he shall rise again."

Careless readers of this text have understood our Lord as declaring that somewhere in the prophetic writings of the Old Testament were contained predictions of the various events here specified. If he did so declare, we can find those predictions. Where are they ? - Where can it be pretended that any Old Testament writer has foretold the following things, or any one of them, concerning the Messiah, or the Son of Man : that he should be delivered to the Gentiles ; that he should be mocked, spit upon, and scourged ; and that, after dying, he should have a resurrection on the third day ? We search in vain for declarations of this tenor.

Matthew (xx. 17 – 19) and Mark (x. 32 – 34), as well as Luke, have, with great particularity, related

this important conversation. Both of them, like him, give in detail the declaration of Jesus respecting his approaching sufferings, death, and resurrection. But neither of them has any intimation to the effect of these events being among "things written by the prophets." Can this fact be reconciled with the supposition that those Evangelists considered the events specified to have taken place in fulfilment of supernatural prediction? Had they entertained that opinion on a matter so exceedingly singular and important, is it possible to suppose that they would have omitted all reference to it? Especially, is it possible to entertain this supposition concerning Matthew, the only one of the three, as far as we know, or have reason to suppose, who himself heard this discourse of Jesus? This consideration acquires still greater force when we remember that on another occasion when Jesus expressed himself to the same effect, though less fully, in terms recorded by the same three Evangelists (Matt. xvii. 22, 23; Mark ix. 30 - 32; Luke ix. 43 - 45), no one of them gives any hint of ancient prediction being accomplished.

When Jesus had thus declared what should befall him, his disciples, says the Evangelist in the next sentence (xviii. 34), "understood none of these things; and this saying was hid from them, neither knew they the things which were spoken." How was this, if those sufferings of Jesus, to be followed by his death and resurrection, of which he had just been speaking, were foretold of the Messiah in the prophetic books? The disciples knew Jesus to be the Messiah, and if in their ancient Scriptures it was predicted that the Messiah would be delivered to Gentiles, mocked, spitted on, scourged, put to death, and restored to life, how could they fail to understand, how could the saying

have been "hid from them," how could they not know "the things which were spoken," when their Master declared that thus it was to be with him? The cause of their perplexity was of just the opposite kind. It was because such things were not written by their prophets respecting the Messiah, that they were astonished and bewildered that Jesus, whom they believed to be the Messiah, should announce that such was to be his lot. Had it been "written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man" that he would be subjected to such indignities, what Jesus said of himself would have been plain enough. It was simply because his disciples were unable to reconcile it with the idea which the prophets presented of the Messiah, as a magnificent prince, triumphant over Gentile foes, that "this saying was hid from them, neither knew they the things which were spoken."

The construction, in the original, of the clause rendered in our version, "all things that are written by [or *in*] the prophets *concerning* the Son of Man shall be accomplished," is peculiar and anomalous. The peculiarity consists in the syntax of the dative of the person (τῷ υἱῷ), and it is equally observable, whether we understand the sentence as has been done by our translators, or render it, "all things that are written by [or *in*] the prophets shall be accomplished in the Son of Man."

The word out of which the misapprehension of the sentence arises, is that rendered "shall be accomplished" (τελεσθήσεται). The noun from which it is derived (τέλος) signifies simply *an end*, and the verb (τελέω), *I bring to an end*. Founding themselves on an assurance given by their great lawgiver, the writers called Prophets had spoken largely of a future dispensation, which acquired the name of *the kingdom of*

God. It is true that they greatly misunderstood its nature, but still that kingdom of God, which they had intended to foreshadow, was established when Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Man, introduced his religion among men. In that just and important sense, when Christianity was published, all things written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man were accomplished (or wrought out to their end); or, all things written by the prophets were accomplished (or wrought out to their end) in the Son of Man.

But how? By entirely unexpected methods. And Jesus, as the circumstances demanded, presents the truth in the form of what to his hearers was a paradox. So far from coming into possession of his kingdom through splendid conquest, he was to arrive at it through an experience of suffering, and (as the world estimates such things) defeat and shame. The prophets had written of a future establishment of the dominion of the Son of Man. In a better sense than they understood, his dominion was to be established. What they had written concerning him was to be brought to pass. But it was to be brought to pass in a way of which they had not dreamed. The Messiah's kingdom was to be founded when he should have risen again after being treated with insult and cruelty, and put to death.

With these remarks, I present the following paraphrase as bringing out the true sense of the passage:—

“He took to himself the twelve Apostles, and said to them, Behold, we are now going up to Jerusalem, and there that kingdom of the Son of Man, spoken of by the ancient writers, is to be set up. It will be through an instrumentality expected neither by them nor by you. For the Son of Man will first be betrayed to Gentiles, who will treat him with indignity and

violence, and at length put him to death. But, notwithstanding all this, victorious over such reverses, three days only will pass before he will rise again, to establish himself in that office of which the great lawgiver wrote (Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14; Deut. xviii. 15), and to which the line of later sages constantly looked forward, though they so imperfectly understood its nature."

XIX. 35.

They cast their garments upon the colt, and they set Jesus thereon.

See above, p. 99, and observe that neither Mark nor Luke refers, like Matthew, to the passage in Zechariah.

XIX. 38.

Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.

See above, pp. 101, 102.

XIX. 46.

It is written, "My house is the house of prayer"; but ye have made it a den of thieves.

See above, p. 102.

XX. 17.

What is this then that is written: "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner"?

See above, p. 103.

XX. 38.

He is not a God of the dead, but of the living; for all live unto him.

To the account of the reasoning of Jesus on this

occasion, as given by Matthew and Mark, Luke adds the clause, "for all live unto him." I would rather render the words, *for all belonging to him live*. So understood, they sustain the view which above (pp. 104 – 106) I have presented of the passage as it stands in the other Evangelists. "All belonging to him live." That is, those whom he recognizes as his own, in the sense of being objects of his favor, he will not suffer to die. In the text of the Law referred to, he recognized Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as his own, in the sense of being objects of his favor. It may be inferred, then, that he would not permit them to perish.

XX. 42, 43.

David himself saith, in the book of Psalms, "The Lord said unto my Lord, 'Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool.'" "

See above, pp. 107 – 109.

XXI. 22.

These be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled.

"Written" where? In the book of God's decrees; in the counsels of Divine Providence. (See above, pp. 117, 118, and comp. Ps. cxxxix. 16.) Or we may understand our Lord as referring to the threats uttered by Moses (Lev. xxvi. 14 – 39; Deut. xxviii. 15 – 68) of punishments to be incurred by the people, should they be rebellious and perverse, and declaring that a retribution, of even such severity as that, was what the people of his age had incurred, and were about to experience.

XXI. 27.

Then shall they see the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory.

See above, pp. 112, 113.

XXII. 30.

That ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

See above, pp. 98, 99.

XXII. 37.

I say unto you, that this that is written must yet be accomplished in me, "And he was reckoned among the transgressors."

The quotation is from the pseudo-Isaiah (liii. 12). Of whomsoever the words might have been originally spoken, nothing could be more natural, or more conformable to the established uses of language, than for our Lord to say that they were accomplished in him, when he was in circumstances which they correctly described. In point of fact, I think that by the original writer they were used in reference to the Messiah, though in a different sense from that in which the application is made of them by Jesus. See "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 252-259.

XXII. 69.

Hereafter shall the Son of Man sit on the right hand of the power of God.

See above, pp. 121, 122.

XXIII. 46.

And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

He expressed his emotion in language of the Psalmist (xxxix. 5; comp. Wisdom iii. 1).

XXIV. 25 - 27.

He said unto them, "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?" And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself.

In reading this text, I have often doubted whether we have the correct version of the first clause. The phraseology rendered by our translation "believe all" (*πιστεύειν ἐπὶ πάντων*), is a peculiar construction. The use of the preposition (*ἐπὶ*) after this verb (*πιστεύειν*), and preceding a dative of the subject, occurs, I believe, in only three (or, in effect, two) other places in the New Testament (1 Tim. i. 16; Rom. ix. 33; comp. 1 Pet. ii. 6); and there in constructions much less harsh. It might, perhaps, admit a question, whether we ought not to render, "O fools, and slow of heart to believe (that is, in me), *after* all that the prophets have said!" or, "O fools, and slow of heart, to believe (in me), *upon* (that is, founding your slowness to believe, your prejudices and objections, upon) the representations of the prophets!"

But, passing by this, "all that the prophets have spoken" is the representation of the prophets taken together, taken as a whole. The representation of the prophets (that is, of the teachers of old time) had included the idea that the Messiah should be a great deliverer; and accepting that representation of the Messiah, and believing for a time that he had at length come in the person of "Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people" (xxiv. 19), the disciples had "trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel." But events had come to pass which shook their faith. Contrary to what they expected, differ-

ently from any thing they had been prepared for by the ancient sages who had written of the Messiah, Jesus had been betrayed, condemned, and crucified. They were amazed, perplexed, and desponding; and Jesus rebukes them for being dull of understanding (under the pressure of this disappointment and distrust) to believe that he could be the person whom the disclosures in the Old Testament had in view.

“Ought not” — was it unfit that the Christ should “enter into his glory” through a course of suffering, as Jesus had done? The disciples thought it was utterly unfit; they found no such representation in their prophets, from whom their ideas had been drawn; and because they had seen their Master a sufferer, they could not any longer see how he could be the Messiah. Jesus showed them that, on the contrary, it was fit. He did not show that it was fit in the sense of being a suitable fulfilment of ancient predictions declaring that the Messiah was to be a sufferer. This was not to be shown, for there were no such predictions. But he showed them that it was fit in itself, — fit as part of the plan of God’s providence and grace, — and that, taking “all that the prophets had spoken” together, looking at their representation in its various stages, tracing their conception to its source, and making allowance for the causes of the erroneous views which they had associated with it, there was no reason why the fact of Jesus having been a sufferer should forbid his being acknowledged as God’s anointed.

And how did Jesus show this? Precisely in the way which would have been necessary, on the supposition that my theory of the subject is true. “Beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself.” From Moses’ Law he showed how, in God’s

original disclosure, through Moses, of the future coming of a "prophet like unto himself" (Deut. xviii. 15), the idea of a Messiah had its germ and standard. Then, from the series of later writers, he showed how that idea had been corrupted, and ideas of merely worldly pomp and conquest had been connected with it, until it had become irreconcilable in the minds of readers with the idea of one who should suffer and die. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. p. 381 *et seq.*; Vol. IV. p. 304 *et seq.*)

By the authority which the disciples (in common with great part of their nation at this period) erroneously attributed to the writers called by them the Later Prophets, the disciples were misled into such a conception of the Messiah as made them ready to give up their Master's pretensions to that character when they saw him suffer and die. Under this influence, they became slow of understanding to believe that Jesus could set up a kingdom. The account given by Luke of his Master's correction of their error, is extremely brief. But it accords entirely with what my views of the Old Testament lead me to believe to have been the truth of the case. They thought it was utterly unfit that the expected benefactor, on his way to his greatness, should be a sufferer. "He expounded unto them in all the things concerning himself." He showed how much, in ancient descriptions of the Messiah, was well founded, and how much was erroneous. "Beginning at Moses," he developed the idea of the Messiah as having been originally, according to God's own oracle, that of a "prophet," a teacher, the head of a moral empire; an office with which the idea of a previous discipline of suffering was by no means inconsistent, but the contrary. And then, glancing at the later writers, he showed how that primitive con-

ception had from age to age been corrupted in their hands, in a way to create those very prepossessions, unfavorable to an acknowledgment of the claims of Jesus, by which these simple disciples were now embarrassed.

XXIV. 44 - 47.

And he said unto them, "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me." Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, "Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem."

The sense of the first clause in the declaration of Jesus here recorded, is perhaps better brought out, in translating, by a little different collocation of the words, equally accordant with the original: "All things which were written in the Law, &c. must be *fulfilled concerning me*";—that is, concerning me and no one else; I, and I alone, am the Messiah to whom they pointed.

Moses, by supernatural instruction, and therefore, of course, with exact correctness, had spoken of a "prophet like unto himself." Jesus was that prophet, and so the words of Moses were fulfilled in him. The writers who came after Moses, the Prophets and Psalmists, without supernatural instruction, and therefore with liability to human error, had had the same personage in view in what they had written, however they had deviated from a correct description of him. Whatever, therefore, they had written concerning the Messiah, was to have its completion in Jesus, and in no other

person. To him, authorized or mistaken, exact or inexact, it all related. Its subject and aim was his assumption of a divinely bestowed office. Its mistakes were mistakes respecting the nature of that office. "These are the words," he says, "which I spake unto you while I was yet with you." This is what he had in effect told them, when he declared himself to be the Christ.

This was difficult for them to believe, for in the Scriptures which they revered there were parts which they could not at all reconcile with the idea of a suffering Messiah. "Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures," discerning the different degrees of authority belonging to those writings, their relations to each other, and so the just inferences to be deduced from the whole. "And said unto them, 'Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer,' " &c. "It behoved" (*ἔδει*), *it was fit*; the same word which is used in the question (xxiv. 26) "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things?" &c. The asserted *fitness* by no means arose out of what had been "written in the Prophets and in the Psalms," but out of the nature of things, and of the office of a moral reformer which Jesus was to fulfil. (Comp. Luke ix. 22.) The sufferings of Christ were fit, notwithstanding what was there written. "Thus," on the one hand, says Jesus, "it is written," by the Prophets and Psalmists, "yet thus," on the other hand, it was and is fit, for the fulfilment of God's high purposes, that the Christ should suffer and die (xxiv. 46). When allowance was made for the errors of the Prophets and Psalmists, and when, from those errors, their conception was traced back to its primitive source, it would appear that, notwithstanding their representations, there was no unfitness in the Messiah's sufferings.

“That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations,” was a view of the main purpose of his commission as foreign from the popular conception of it, as that he should be a sufferer.

SECTION IV.

GOSPEL OF JOHN.

I. 21.

They asked him, “What then? Art thou Elias?” And he saith, “I am not.” “Art thou that prophet?” And he answered, “No.”

See above, pp. 85, 86.

I. 23.

He said, “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, ‘Make straight the way of the Lord,’ as said the prophet Esaias.”

See above, pp. 48–50, 144. What is further to be remarked here, however, is, that John the Baptist says that *he* is “the voice,” &c.; and that, instead of the word corresponding to “prepare,” which is used by the Septuagint translators and by the other Evangelists, John has “make straight.” It is plain that the Baptist, or the Evangelist who records his saying, was not studious of exactness in the quotation.

I. 34.

I saw and bare record, that this is the Son of God.

See above, pp. 50–53.

I. 36 - 49.

Looking upon Jesus as he walked, he saith, "Behold the Lamb of God!" Nathanael answered and saith unto him, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel."

This passage illustrates the meaning of the phrase *Son of God*, showing it to be, as I have argued, equivalent to *Messiah*. John declares Jesus to be the *Lamb of God* (i. 36). One of his two disciples, who hear him, says to his brother, "We have found the *Messias*, which is, being interpreted, the *Christ*" (41). — Again, Philip says to Nathanael, "We have found *him of whom Moses in the Law, and the prophets did write*" (45); and Nathanael, being convinced, in an interview with Jesus, of the correctness of Philip's opinion, expresses his conviction in the avowal, "Rabbi, thou art *the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel*" (49).

"Rabbi," means *Doctor*, or *Teacher*. "Son of God," in my opinion, is equivalent to *Messiah*; and this being so, there is no hardness in the collocation. But others think that it means *God the Son*, one of the persons of the Divine Trinity, the infinite Majesty of heaven and earth. How will the sentence read on that supposition? "Teacher, thou art ——." I cannot venture to make the substitution.

I. 51.

Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man.

See above, pp. 65 - 68. I think there is here an allusion to the passage in Genesis (xxviii. 12), where it is related that Jacob saw "the angels of God ascending and descending," in his dream at Bethel; and our Lord's sense, conveyed in this figurative language, is, You shall see that I have direct intercourse with heaven. (Comp. Ps. xxxiv. 7, xci. 11, 12.)

II. 17.

His disciples remembered that it was written, "The zeal of thy house eateth me up."

It is so written by one of the writers of the Psalms (lxi. 9). But that writer is clearly speaking of himself, without any reference to Jesus, or to any other person. And he uses the words respecting himself in an application entirely different from that which the disciples make of them to their Master. The words employed by the Psalmist in reference to himself in one sense, are susceptible of being referred to Jesus in another sense. And in this latter the disciples adopt them. "His disciples remembered that it was written"; or, as we might phrase it, They were forcibly reminded of that expression. (Comp. xii. 16.)

II. 18 - 22.

Then answered the Jews, and said unto him, "What sign showest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things?" Jesus answered and said unto them, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." But he spake of the temple of his body. When, therefore, he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this; and they believed the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said.

See above, p. 79. In order to rise from the dead, Jesus must first die. But before his death and resurrection actually took place, his disciples had found it impossible to reconcile their conception of the Messiah, as they had derived it from the Scriptures, with that of his being removed by a violent death (Matthew xvi. 22; Mark ix. 32; Luke ix. 45, xviii. 34). They could not, at the same time, "believe the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said." But "when he was risen from the dead," their minds were more enlightened. "They believed the word which Jesus had said,"

because now the fact had illustriously confirmed it. And, with the new light which had broken on their minds respecting his character and office, now also "they believed the Scripture." They looked at the Scripture through a different medium from what they had heretofore done. They applied to it truer methods of interpretation. Those representations of the Messiah which had forbidden them to conceive of him as a sufferer, they now saw to be representations made by uninspired men. The radical Scriptural idea of the Messiah they traced to Moses's conception of him as "a prophet," a *teacher*, and holding to this, and using it as the key to what was said by the later writers, of inferior authority, they were able at once to "believe the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said." See above, pp. 161 - 166.

III. 14, 15.

As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.

Clearly a figurative illustration, drawn from the account in the Book of Numbers (xxi. 6 - 9) of the cure effected through the instrumentality of the "fiery serpent" made by Moses. As by the lifting up of the serpent men's bodies were cured, so men's souls will be by the lifting up of the Son of Man. As in the former case men did not perish, but had life, so in the latter case they will have better, even "eternal life." Of the same description is the comparison of the resurrection of Jesus (Matthew xii. 40) to the reappearance of Jonah, as related in the book which bears his name.

IV. 5.

Then cometh he to a city of Samaria, which is called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground which Jacob gave to his son Joseph.

See Josh. xx. 7, xxiv. 32; Judg. ix. 7; also, Genesis xlix. 22–26; and comp. “Lectures,” &c., Vol. II. pp. 113, 114, 119, 120.

IV. 20.

Our fathers worshipped in this mountain.

See “Lectures,” &c., Vol. I. p. 492, note.

IV. 25.

The woman saith unto him, “I know that Messias cometh (which is called Christ); when he is come, he will tell us all things.”

From this text (with which comp. iv. 29, 39–42) it would appear that the Samaritans, who did not possess the writings of the Prophets, but only the Law (see “Lectures,” &c., Vol. I. p. 73, Vol. II. p. 138), retained better than the Jews the primitive idea of the Messiah as a *teacher* (Deut. xviii. 15).

V. 39, 40.

Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come to me, that ye might have life.

There existed in our Saviour’s time, among the Jews, an expectation of an “eternal life” after death. (See Matt. xxii. 23 *et seq.*; Luke xiv. 14; John xi. 24; Acts xxiii. 8.) Whencesoever derived, and however shaped by communications with their Babylonian, Persian, and Greek masters, it was not a doctrine taught in their ancient Scriptures. They, however, with whom Jesus was now conversing, erroneously supposed that

it was so taught. I understand him as saying to them, You imagine that in your Scriptures you have disclosures of a life to come, and therefore you do not need me to make it known. But examine them, and see whether it is so. They no further reveal that doctrine, than as they speak of me, who¹ am appointed to bring it to light; of me, to whom you are unwilling to listen. — Why should he have bid them search the Scriptures for that doctrine, if the opinion already confidently entertained by them, that it was taught in those writings, was well founded?

V. 46, 47.

Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?

If ye are not moved by his writings, whom ye profess so to reverence, how can it be expected that ye will be by my words, whom you professedly contemn? — “He wrote of me”; the particular reference, I suppose, is constantly to the promise by Moses of a “prophet like unto himself” (Deut. xviii. 15).

VI. 14, 15.

Those men, when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, said, “This is of a truth that Prophet that should come into the world.” When Jesus, therefore, perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, &c.

The text bears witness to the popular confusion of ideas between the “prophet” predicted by Moses, and a secular “king.”

VI. 30, 31.

They said therefore unto him, “What sign showest thou, then, that we may see and believe thee? What dost thou work? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert, as it is written, ‘He gave them bread from heaven to eat.’”

The quotation is from a Psalm (lxxviii. 24). When the Jews asked, as they often did, for “a sign,” and “a sign from heaven,” as the proper authentication of the mission of Jesus (see above, pp. 79, 85, 131), they seem to have had in view such Old Testament relations as those of the sending of manna, and of the descent of flame upon Mount Sinai (Exod. xix. 18; comp. John vi. 49, 58), upon the sacrifice of Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 38), and upon the soldiers sent to apprehend him (2 Kings i. 10, 12), according to their interpretation of those narratives. — The miracle which Jesus had just performed in feeding the multitudes (John vi. 11), bore a resemblance to the provision of manna, but not in the particular, supposed to have belonged to that phenomenon, of a shower from the sky. The Jews seem to invite Jesus, if he intends an imitation of the act of Moses, to make it complete.

VI. 45.

It is written in the Prophets, “And they shall be all taught of God.”

By the pseudo-Isaiah, describing that glory and felicity which he anticipated for his countrymen returned from their exile, it was said (liv. 13; comp. “Lectures,” &c., Vol. III. pp. 259, 260), “And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord.” This language, says Jesus, may well be applied to the present state of things. God is now teaching you by me; and, as he continues in the same verse, “Every man that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me.”

VII. 37, 38.

Jesus stood and cried, saying, “If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink; he that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, ‘Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.’”

In "the Scripture" we find such language as this: "With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation" (Is. xii. 3); "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground" (Is. xlv. 3); "Thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not" (Is. lviii. 11). These texts bear a very faint resemblance to those expressions of our Lord which he compared with what "the Scripture hath said." Yet none, I believe, have been or can be pointed out as more likely to have been had in view by him. Such an instance shows plainly that the expression, "as the Scripture hath said," and such like, will not bear to be strictly interpreted, and that it is out of the question to consider them as indicating a reference to a supernatural prediction fulfilled.

VII. 40 - 42, 52.

Many of the people, therefore, when they heard this saying, said, "Of a truth this is the Prophet." Others said, "This is the Christ." But some said, "Shall Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said, that Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was?"

"Search and look: for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet."

See above, pp. 35, 171. These prejudiced persons perhaps made rather too broad a generalization, when they said that from Galilee had arisen "no prophet." Of the ancient prophets, it is likely that Nahum, at least, was a native of that province. (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 285.)

VIII. 17.

It is also written in your law, "The testimony of two men is true."

“At the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established.” (Deut. xix. 15.)

VIII. 56.

Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day ; and he saw it, and was glad.

The vision of the Messiah's day, which, indistinct as it was, reasonably caused Abraham to rejoice, was that related to have been disclosed on Mount Moriah (Gen. xxii. 18 ; comp. xii. 3).

X. 22.

And it was at Jerusalem the Feast of the Dedication, and it was winter.

See “Lectures,” &c., Vol. IV. p. 144.

X. 34, 35.

Jesus answered them, “Is it not written in your Law, ‘I said, Ye are gods’? and the Scripture cannot be broken.”

The words quoted by our Lord as the basis of his argument occur in a Psalm (lxxxii. 6). — “The Scripture cannot be broken” ; that is, “There is no blotting those words out of Scripture.”

XI. 27.

I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world.

I would translate, “*he* who is to come into the world,” each of the three clauses containing, in my view, one of the equivalent titles of the Messiah. See above, pp. 50 – 53, 70, 171.

XI. 49 – 52.

And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high-priest that

same year, said unto them, "Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." And this spake he not of himself: but being high-priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation; and not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad.

Caiaphas had said nothing (50) of any effect of the death of Jesus to "gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad." We must accordingly translate John's words, with equal literalness, "Being high-priest that year [or, high-priest as he was that year], he spoke prophetically; *for* [ὅτι] Jesus was [in fact] to die for that nation [as Caiaphas, using those words in a different sense, had said], and not for that nation only [was he to die], but also [which Caiaphas had not said] that he might gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad" [that is, among the Gentile nations].

But in what sense is it meant that Caiaphas, "high-priest as he was that year, spoke prophetically"? It is difficult to imagine that John intended to affirm Caiaphas to have been endowed by God with the supernatural power of predicting the future, and that too respecting an office of Jesus which even the disciples of Jesus did not yet understand. Nor was it any part of the high-priest's function under the Law to foretell coming events. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. pp. 211, 212.) It is simply the same vivid language — but language never misunderstood, in common discourse — which we use, when, remarking on some striking coincidence (whether actual, or merely fanciful or verbal) between something which has occurred and something which had previously been said, we say, "The man did not speak of himself; unconsciously to himself, he foretold the future"; — "He

uttered prophetic words, so that one might imagine him inspired"; — "The event marked his utterance for providential, so exactly was it fulfilled." (Comp. Tit. i. 12, 13.)

This is one of the cases in which examples are more satisfactory than analysis and discussion. Shakespeare says: —

"Every flower
Did, as a prophet, weep what it foresaw,
In Hector's wrath."

And again: —

"Jesters often prove prophets."

Dryden says: —

"He loved so fast,
As if he feared each day would be her last;
Too true a prophet to foresee the fate,
That should so soon divide their happy state."

Is it objected that these examples are from poets? A speech is under my eye, in which the following language is used: "When I found the Senate of the United States throwing themselves into the breach, that body, which Martin Van Buren, in 1828, *in a spirit of prophecy, foretold* to be the only obstacle to Executive encroachments," &c. A newspaper paragraph, which just now falls in my way, speaking of the Rev. Dr. Stillman's sermon for the Boston Female Asylum, says, that when he agreed to perform that service, "he declared that he doubted not that an institution founded on the benevolent affections, would, like the snow-ball, accumulate in its progress, and become of extensive utility." And the writer adds: "*This was prophecy, — and it has been fulfilled.*" These persons did not mean to declare that Dr. Stillman and President Van Buren had literally supernatural prescience. Nor did John mean to pronounce the same

thing of the high-priest Caiaphas. It would be useless to multiply illustrations of this sort. Everybody uses such expressions freely, and no one using them doubts of being understood. See above, pp. 29, 73.

XII. 13.

Hosanna ! Blessed is the King of Israel, that cometh in the name of the Lord !

See above, pp. 101, 102.

XII. 14-16.

Jesus, when he had found a young ass, sat thereon ; as it is written, " Fear not, daughter of Sion ; behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt." These things understood not his disciples at the first ; but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto him."

See above, pp. 99-101. John's quotation from Zechariah is very inexact, even more so than that of Matthew ; and this in a case where, if the Evangelists had designed to point out a fulfilment of supernatural prediction, a precise citation of the words was all-important. — " These things understood not his disciples " ; this literal accordance of a transaction in the last days of Jesus with certain language used in another sense by an ancient writer, in a poetical representation of the Messiah, was not contemplated, perceived, or attended to by the disciples of Jesus at the time ; but afterwards, " when Jesus was glorified," the coincidence was remarked, as having a sort of curiosity and interest ; and it was the more striking, as the disciples, when they made the arrangement, had nothing of the kind in view. " Then remembered they that these things were written of him [that is, of the Messiah], and that they had done these things unto him [that is,

to Jesus, who was the Messiah].” And Matthew and John, in their histories, call the attention of their readers to that coincidence. (Comp. ii. 17.) But Mark (xi. 7) and Luke (xix. 35), though they relate the occurrence at length, have not thought it worth while to notice any resemblance borne by it to language of Zechariah, as it would seem that they could scarcely have failed to do, had they regarded it in the singularly important light of the accomplishment of a prediction made six or seven centuries before.

XII. 34.

The people answered him, “ We have heard out of the Law, that Christ abideth for ever ; and how sayest thou, ‘ The Son of Man must be lifted up ’ ? ”

“ The Law ” is used for *the Scripture*, in the same loose sense as in a text just remarked upon (x. 34). Not Moses, but ancient writers who had succeeded him, had used language which it was not unnatural to interpret as indicating their belief that the Messiah would be immortal (Ps. lxxxix. 36, 37, cx. 4 ; Is. ix. 7). And such in fact has been the construction put upon that language by more recent Jewish writers. (See Bertholdt, “ Christol. Jud.” § 28.)

This text is a clear confirmation of the argument maintained above (see pp. 65 – 68), that the titles *Christ* and *Son of Man* were subject to be used as equivalent and convertible.

XII. 37, 38.

Though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him ; that the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, “ Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed ? ”

The words quoted are from the pseudo-Isaiah (liii.

1). It is perfectly plain that in them the writer is not predicting the incredulity with which the declarations of the Messiah would be listened to, but is complaining of the incredulity which would attend what he himself says concerning the person described in the following passage. By orthodox commentators that person is understood to be the Messiah, supernaturally foreknown by Isaiah. I also think that the writer is speaking of the Messiah, though without any supernatural foreknowledge. ("Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 256-259.) But whoever understands the Messiah to be the subject of the passage must needs regard the introductory words, quoted by John, as the writer's remark on the reluctant reception, by his own contemporaries, of what he was about to say, and not as any prediction of the aversion which would attend the teaching of any future person. It would seem that nothing could be clearer than this. And yet, if it be so, there is an end of the question respecting the inference supposed to be deducible from the emphatic form, "that the saying might be fulfilled." If in this case all that can possibly be meant by it is, that the words quoted well accord with, and describe, the incident to which they are applied, then nothing more can be inferred, *ex vi termini*, from its use in any other case.

XII. 39 - 41.

Therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias said again, "He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them." These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him.

The quotation, which is from the Book of Isaiah (vi. 10; comp. pp. 80, 81, 130), is very inexactly

made. The language which introduces it, "because that Esaias said," is quite strong; but from the context (Is. vi. 5, 8) nothing can possibly be clearer than that Isaiah is speaking of his own ministry, and the insensibility which it had to encounter on the part of his own contemporaries. The words well described the dulness of those whom Jesus addressed, and as such John applied them. It is as if he had said, "They would not believe," — the truth could not reach them, — because their senses were obtuse, and their hearts hard, just as Isaiah said was the case with the men of his own time. The words ("These things said Esaias," &c.) subjoined to the quotation, I understand to be John's reference to the place in Isaiah's book from which the quotation was taken: — I quote these words, he means to say, from that part of Isaiah's writings where he poetically describes a vision of the Divine glory (Is. vi. 1 *et seq.*; "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 186 – 188). "When he saw *his* glory"; that is, the glory of him who in the words quoted is introduced (John xii. 40) speaking of himself as willing to "heal."

XIII. 18.

I speak not of you all; I know whom I have chosen; but, that the Scripture may be fulfilled, "He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me."

The Psalmist (xli. 9; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. p. 323), speaking of the cruel ingratitude of which he was himself the object, had said: "Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did *eat of my bread*, hath lifted up his heel against me." Our Lord quotes the words in application to the treachery of Judas, changing, however, "did *eat of my bread*," to "eateth *bread with me*." If any one chooses to

entertain the fancy, that the words of the Psalm were prophetic of the conduct of the false disciple, he of course supposes the writer to have spoken in the person of Jesus. Let him consider how he will reconcile that hypothesis with another part of the Psalm: "I said, 'Lord, be merciful unto me; heal my soul; for I have sinned against thee'" (xli. 4).

XV. 25.

This cometh to pass, that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their Law: "They hated me without a cause."

"That is written in their *Law*"; see above, p. 178. The words quoted occur in two of the Psalms (xxxv. 19, lxix. 4; comp. cix. 3), where quite plainly the writer is expressing his sense of personal injury. They belong to that very small number of poems in the Psalter, so painful to the feelings of the Christian reader, which express the bitterest vindictiveness. To suppose that they are words used by inspiration concerning the future experiences of Jesus, involves the impossibility of attributing to him language the most directly opposed to the humane and forgiving spirit of his religion. The *fulfilment*, in this case, of "the word written in their Law," consisted simply in the fact that Jesus was hated without a cause, as the writer of the Psalms referred to complained that he himself had been.

XVII. 12.

While I was with them in the world, I kept them in Thy name; those that Thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost but the son of perdition, that the Scripture might be fulfilled.

I think that the Old Testament will be searched in vain for any Scripture which can with any probability be interpreted as referring to the apostasy of Judas.

I think that the fulfilment of Scripture here brought to view refers, not to the loss of the son of perdition, but to the *keeping* of the other disciples of Jesus; a sense which will disclose itself if we throw the last clause but one into a parenthesis, thus: "Those that Thou gavest me I have kept faithful (so that no one of them is lost, except that son of perdition), that the Scripture might be fulfilled." The Scripture was to be fulfilled through the triumphant establishment of the Messiah's kingdom in the world; and the Messiah's kingdom was to be established through the faithful adherence and service of his chosen followers. Thus it was that Jesus had kept his followers faithful (with one only exception), "that the Scripture might be fulfilled."

XVIII. 8, 9.

Jesus answered, "I have told you that I am he; if, therefore, ye seek me, let these go their way"; that the saying might be fulfilled which he spake, "Of them which Thou gavest me have I lost none."

The quotation here is not from the Old Testament; but being introduced with the same form of words which often precedes Old Testament quotations, it furnishes an illustration of the import of that phraseology. When Jesus had used the language here quoted (see John xvii. 12), it is as certain from the context as any thing can be, that he had not been predicting any future incident whatever, but had been referring to his past watch over his disciples, and its success evinced in their fidelity. Yet the Evangelist, who could not but have understood his Master as he has caused his Master to be understood by us, now declares that Jesus subsequently interceded with the Jewish officers for the release of his followers, to the end that those words

“might be fulfilled.” It seems to be placed beyond a doubt by this instance alone, that the *fulfilment* so often pointed out in connection with quotations in the New Testament means simply the suitability of an accommodation to one event, of language originally applied to some other event. Jesus at this time (xviii. 8) interposed to protect his disciples, agreeably to that superintendence of them which in another sense he had spoken of at another time (xvii. 12).

XIX. 7.

The Jews answered him : “ We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God.”

In this text I find further proof that the title *Son of God* is simply equivalent to *Messiah*. Nowhere in the Law is death made the penalty of professing one's self the *Son of God* in those terms, but it is expressly denounced against the false assumption of the character of the *prophet like unto Moses*, afterwards called the *Messiah*. (Deut. xviii. 18, 20.)

XIX. 24.

That the Scripture might be fulfilled which saith, “ They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots.”

The Scripture here quoted is from a Psalm (xxii. 18), in which, if there is any meaning in language, the writer is setting forth his own wrongs and sorrows, and by no means bewailing those of any future sufferer. (See “ Lectures,” &c., Vol. IV. p. 322.) He says in effect : So confident are my enemies of my ruin and my fall, that even now they are planning for the distribution of my effects among themselves. The Evangelist, when he said that the soldiers made a partition of the garments of Jesus, “ that the Scripture might

be fulfilled," meant simply that the incident might be described in the same language as had been used by an ancient sufferer. So plain is this, that it seems quite superfluous to add, that John is the only one of the Evangelists who has pointed out the correspondence, though all four (comp. Matt. xxvii. 35 ; Mark xv. 24 ; Luke xxiii. 34) have related the occurrence ; a fact scarcely to be reconciled with the supposition of a supernatural prediction fulfilled by it.

XIX. 28.

After this, Jesus, knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, saith, "I thirst."

Under a wrong impression, as I conceive, of the true construction of this sentence, commentators have searched for the words "I thirst" in Jewish Scripture, and have found, not those words, but the words "in my thirst" (Ps. lxix. 21). I understand the meaning of the Evangelist to be that which to a careful reader is disclosed by the following punctuation, corresponding to what is exhibited in Griesbach's manual edition of the original Greek ; viz. "Jesus, knowing that all things were now *accomplished that the Scripture might be fulfilled*, saith, "I thirst." That is, Jesus, knowing that he had now acquitted himself of his whole task in establishing his kingdom, — that every thing to the last had now been done by him that was to be done for the accomplishment of his work as Messiah, and accordingly for the fulfilment of Scripture, which had spoken of that work, — now permitted his mind for the first time to turn to his own sufferings, and to breathe out in a single word the agony of his mortal fever. He did not say, "I thirst," for the purpose of fulfilling any Scripture. But, knowing that nothing was left to be done of that work by which he

was to fulfil Scripture, he was at liberty to spend one thought upon himself.

XIX. 36.

These things were done, that the Scripture should be fulfilled :
“ A bone of him shall not be broken.”

Nothing can be more express than this language, if we insist on interpreting it without regard to idiom and usage. The words of the Old Testament, “ Neither shall ye break a bone thereof,” were “ fulfilled ” by the forbearance of the soldiers to break the legs of Jesus ; and not only so, but the forbearance of the soldiers to break the legs of Jesus was to the very end “ that the Scripture should be fulfilled.” If ever there was a case in which the *reductio ad absurdum* was conclusive, it is so in the present instance to show that the popular interpretation of the phraseology relating to a fulfilment of Scripture cannot be sustained. The ceremony of the Paschal Feast was designed to commemorate the hasty departure of the Israelites from Egypt. It was accordingly full of indications and symbols of haste. “ Thus shall ye eat it ; with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand ; and ye shall eat it in haste.” (Ex. xii. 11.) They were not even to stop to break the bones of the lamb, so as to taste the marrow. (Ibid. 46 ; comp. Numb. ix. 12 ; “ Lectures,” &c., Vol. I. p. 138.) And this direction, relating to a subject so entirely different, is said by the Evangelist to be “ fulfilled ” in the omission of the guard to break the legs of Jesus as he hung dead upon the cross. It is palpable to sense that his only meaning was, that the words, transferred from their original signification, might be applied to what he was relating.

XIX. 37.

And again another Scripture saith, "They shall look on him whom they pierced."

In the prophecy of Zechariah, God is represented as declaring that his unmerited clemency will melt his people to repentance and contrition. Self-condemned and abased, he says, they will turn back to the Divine Benefactor whom they have grieved and wounded by their impieties; "they shall look upon me, whom they have pierced." (Zech. xii. 10; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 493.) This had nothing whatever to do, nor did the Evangelist imagine it to have any thing to do, with the stabbing of the side of Jesus by the spear of a Roman soldier. But the words occurred to his memory as he wrote, and he set them down, as a rhetorical accommodation, not as a mystical criticism.

XX. 9.

As yet they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the dead.

No wonder if they did not understand the Scripture as declaring that the Messiah was to rise again from the dead. For nowhere had the Old Testament Scripture so declared. But this was not the Apostle's meaning. What he meant was, that they hitherto so interpreted the Scriptures, as to make it incredible to them that the Messiah should suffer and die, which death was indispensable to his rising again. Like others of the most religious part of their countrymen at that period, they erroneously ascribed to the later writers of their nation, the Psalmists and the Prophets, an authority similar to that of the original revelation embodied in the Law of Moses. The Psalmists and Prophets had erroneously spoken of the Messiah as a

magnificent, and sometimes, perhaps, as an immortal prince, in such terms as to misguide the opinions of simple men, of the class to which John and Peter belonged. Possessed with these views of the authority and interpretation of the national writings later than Moses, — their minds occupied with incorrect conceptions of the Messiah drawn from those writings, — “as yet they knew not the Scripture” in such a manner as to allow them to entertain the idea “that he must rise again from the dead.” They had not learned to reconcile the Scripture with that idea. It was not that Scripture had declared that he would so rise. It had declared nothing of the kind. But they supposed that it had authoritatively declared the contrary. And this confounded them. (Comp. Mark ix. 32.) Afterwards they knew better. (Also with *γραφή* comp. *γεγραμμένον*, as explained above, p. 117.)

SECTION V.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

I. 15 - 22.

In those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said, “Men and brethren, this Scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus. For it is written in the book of Psalms, ‘Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein’; and ‘His bishopric let another take.’ Wherefore of these men must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection.”

Peter quoted on this occasion from two of the vituperative Psalms (lxix., cix.). Nothing more is necessary

than to read them, to be satisfied that in neither had the writer any reference to Judas, or to any future person, but that both, on the contrary, contained the expression of personal resentment against personal enemies. In one, the quotation is by no means exact; so far from it, that, instead of a single person being spoken of, — a point most material for the common explanation, — the language of the original is, “Let *their* habitation be desolate, and let none dwell in *their* tents.” In both, if Judas was intended at all, he was intended throughout, for the same person or persons are spoken of from the beginning to the end of the compositions respectively. What harm had Judas done to the writer of these poems? Yet the persons of whom it is wished that their “habitation” may “be desolate” (lxix. 25), and that another may “take their office” (cix. 8), are the same who had given to one writer “gall for his meat,” and “vinegar to drink” in his thirst (lxix. 21), and who had opened against the other “the mouth of the deceitful,” and spoken against him “with a lying tongue” (cix. 2).

But the case is too plain for argument. All that is requisite, in order to be satisfied what the original writers intended, is to read their poems with an un-biased mind. As to Peter’s purpose in quoting from them, I think it is somewhat lost sight of in consequence of incorrect punctuation and translation of his words, as recorded by Luke. I would represent the first of the sentences containing Peter’s proposal thus: “Men and brethren, the Scripture which the Holy Spirit by the mouth of David anciently spoke, must needs be fulfilled concerning Judas [must have a fulfilment in Judas], who was guide to them that took Jesus.” What was this Scripture? It consisted in periods which he quotes, relating to vacating a place,

and being superseded in it by another: "Let his habitation be desolate," and, "His bishopric let another take." And how was that Scripture to be fulfilled? By proceeding, as Peter proposes, to an election to fill the vacant office: "Of these men must one be ordained to be a witness with us."

"This Scripture *must needs* be fulfilled concerning Judas," &c. Rather, *it is fit*, or *it has become fit*, that the words should be verified in the case of Judas; that is, by the filling of his office. The word rendered "must needs," is the same common word (*ἔδει*) which in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (ii. 3), for instance, is rendered, "I *ought* to rejoice," or it is fit that I should rejoice.

"This Scripture which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before." Spake *before* (*προεῖπε*) signifies spoke *formerly* or *anciently*. (See 2 Cor. vii. 3; Gal. i. 9, v. 21; 1 Thes. iv. 6; Heb. x. 15.)—*The Holy Ghost spake by the mouth of David*; that is, the spirit of holy indignation in David's heart gave itself utterance in these words of his. We say, a patriotic, a devout, a selfish, a treacherous spirit *spoke by a man*, meaning that the man gave utterance to such a spirit, that he spoke in such a frame of mind. We say, "There spoke the spirit of martyrdom"; "There was the utterance of the spirit of '76."

II. 14-21.

Peter, standing up with the eleven, lift up his voice, and said unto them, "Ye men of Judea, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and hearken to my words: for these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day. But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, (saith God,) I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young

men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams : and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit ; and they shall prophesy : and I will show wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath ; blood, and fire, and vapor of smoke : the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come : and it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved."

Peter's quotation from the prophecy of Joel (ii. 28 - 32), for the most part, follows the original. The principal deviations are the addition of the words, "and they shall prophesy" (Acts ii. 18), and the transposition of two clauses at the end of the next preceding verse.

After the effusion of the spirit on the day of Pentecost, the disciples "began to speak with other tongues" (Ibid. 4). "This," said Peter, "is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel."

What was his meaning in this? Did he mean that Joel, by supernatural foresight, had predicted the events of that day, and that his prediction had come to pass? How could that be? What "young men" appeared to have "seen visions," and "old men" to have "dreamed dreams"? Where were the "wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath"? Where the "blood, and fire, and vapor of smoke"? When had the sun been "turned into darkness, and the moon into blood"?

Nothing of this sort was Peter's meaning. Had Joel's language been supernatural prediction, it must have been exact and infallible, and it must have been precisely fulfilled. Had there been any such precise fulfilment? The narrative answers that question.

The fact simply was, that Joel, referring to the advent of the future Messiah, of whose character and

office he had but imperfect and erroneous conceptions, had indulged himself in a pomp and prodigality of poetical imagery. But still what he had intended to speak of was the Messiah's advent. So Peter correctly understood him. Now the Messiah's advent had actually taken place. And it was for Peter, on the day of Pentecost, to announce that it had taken place. And when, the attention of the crowd having been fixed by the manifest miracle, he came forward and declared, "This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel," what he meant to say, and all that he meant to say, was this: Behold, that time of the Messiah at length has come, which every Jew has for ages been expecting, and of which Joel, with his obscure conception of it, spoke thus in his boldly figurative language, eight centuries ago.

In or before Hezekiah's time, Joel, having no more knowledge on the subject than his contemporaries, but speaking the common sense of the nation, anticipated the Messiah's coming, and, in the use of a common expedient of the poetical art, represented God as pre-announcing it. (Joel ii. 19 *et seq.*; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 433, 434.) In the same vein of poetical amplification, he depicted it as destined to be attended with certain striking physical phenomena (Joel ii. 30, 31; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 328-330); phenomena which nobody pretends to have in fact occurred coincidentally with the appearance of Jesus. To the multitude at Jerusalem, seven or eight hundred years after Joel, Peter declared that the event referred to by Joel had taken place. But he did not pretend to prove what he said by showing that a supernatural prediction had been fulfilled. Considered as supernatural prediction, the words of Joel had by no means been fulfilled. We cannot look at them — Peter

could not have looked at them — in that light ; for, taken literally, we must own that they had been falsified (Acts ii. 19, 20). Peter's proof of what he has announced is not at all of that sort. Having *declared*, in the use of the passage from Joel, that the Messiah had come, — “ this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel ” (ii. 16), — he goes on to *establish* it (ii. 22, 24, 40) by quite other kinds of proof than by appeals to prophecy ; viz. by pointing to Christ's supernatural works (“ Jesus of Nazareth, a man *approved* of God among you by *miracles*, and *wonders*, and *signs*, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves do know ”) ; by bearing witness to his resurrection from the grave (“ whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death ”) ; and by methods of conviction which are not specified in the record (“ with many other words did he testify ”).

In connection with these first specimens of the preaching of Apostles to unbelievers, after the death of their Master, I submit this question : If the Apostles believed that the evidence from predictions of the Jewish prophets made part of the evidence of Christianity, why did they not more frequently adduce it ? why did they not call attention to more of those numerous passages, which, to later commentators, have seemed so important ? for though miracles might safely be left to speak for themselves, prophecies would be but too likely to escape attention, unless pointed out.

II. 25 - 32.

David speaketh concerning him, “ I foresaw the Lord always before my face ; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved : therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad : moreover, also, my flesh shall rest in hope ; be-

cause thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; thou shalt make me full of joy with thy countenance. Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day. Therefore being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins one should sit on his throne; he, seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that he was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption. This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses."

Peter quotes from a Psalm (xvi. 8-11). I think that he understood the passage to have referred, in its original meaning, to the Messiah, and that he was right in so understanding it. I do not suppose that Peter regarded the writer of that Psalm as having possessed any knowledge respecting the Messiah's resurrection from the grave, or any knowledge concerning him not generally possessed by his countrymen in the same age, or any supernatural knowledge on any subject.

Elsewhere ("Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. pp. 319, 320) I have used the following language:—

"I conceive that in this Psalm we have an expression of the sentiments, purposes, and hopes of David, and that he speaks not at all in the person of the Messiah, but in his own person. At the same time, I think that in the latter part of the Psalm he had in view the expected advent of his greater successor, and that accordingly the Apostles Peter and Paul put the natural and correct construction upon his words in their original meaning, when they declared him to have referred therein to the "raising up" of the future Messiah. I take the case to have been this. Possessed with the opinion, current in his nation, that the splendid fortunes understood to await it were to be enjoyed through the instrumentality of an illustri-

ous monarch of his own line, David, in expressing his grateful sense of the various goodness of God which had distinguished him, is led especially to rejoice that his glory is not to pass away with his life; but that he is to enjoy a virtual immortality in his greater offspring. Recognizing Jehovah as being on his right hand, his immovable champion, he feels that his prosperity is perennial and secure. His heart is glad, and his spirit rejoices, in the thought, that death, the universal leveller, cannot prostrate him. He will lay down his body to its last rest in hope, for he knows that he is not to lie down to nothingness and oblivion. He will not be wholly abandoned to the grave; the greatness of David will not be all swallowed in the pit. He will revive in his magnificent son; a living branch will be made to spring from the dead root; and thus, though compelled, like others, to undergo in his own person the sentence of mortality, God will lead him, in the person of his descendant and representative, along the ways of life and action. Full, therefore, shall be his joy in Him who is thus present with him at all times; endless his satisfactions in the Divine Protector for ever at his right hand. This conception (by no means violent, or transcending very narrow limits of the license of poetry) of life renewed and prolonged in one's descendants, is the same which has been already remarked upon as expressed in other Psalms." (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. pp. 311, 318; also 2 Sam. vii. 12-16; 1 Kings xi. 36; 2 Kings viii. 19.)

I suppose that this is the correct construction of this ode, and that it was the construction put upon it by Peter. That Apostle, I conceive, argued to the following effect:—

“David was speaking (Acts ii. 25) concerning *him*

[with reference to the future Christ, when he said], 'I foresaw the Lord,' &c. The royal poet could not have been speaking of himself with strict individual reference; for, as we all know, he was mortal; "he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day" (29). When David said that he was not to die, he must have meant that he was to have a continued life in his offspring. He was persuaded that from his posterity God would raise up Christ to "sit on his throne" (30), and when he rejoiced that God would not give him up to the grave, nor suffer him to see the pit, he must be understood to have been speaking "of the resurrection [rather, of the *raising up*] of Christ" (31). "This Jesus *hath* God raised up [that is, This Christ, even Jesus, hath God now raised up, or, This Christ hath God now raised up, in the person of Jesus], whereof we all are witnesses" (32).

Such I take to have been Peter's exposition of the passage which he quotes, — a correct exposition of the sense which David, the writer of the Psalm, intended to express. And if so, Peter does not ascribe to David any supernatural knowledge concerning the resurrection of Jesus, nor any knowledge or opinion whatever respecting the future Christ, which was not shared by David's contemporaries.

"David speaketh *concerning him*" (ii. 25); that is, with reference to the Messiah's advent, as I have rendered it above, in conformity with the common version. If, instead of "concerning him" (*εἰς αὐτόν*), we should read *concerning himself* (*εἰς αὐτόν*), we should then understand Peter as saying that David applied the words quoted to himself, in reference to the immortality which awaited him in his offspring.

"My flesh shall rest in hope (*ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, חַטָּאֵי*); because (*ὅτι, 'ב*) thou wilt not leave my soul (i. e. *me*)

in the pit," &c. (26, 27). I am much inclined to render these words thus: "My flesh shall rest (or, repose) upon the hope, *that* thou wilt not leave," &c.

"Neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption" (27; comp. Deut. xvii. 20; Ps. xxxvii. 28). On my interpretation, David calls himself God's "holy one," or *saint*. There was no singularity in his giving himself that title (comp. Deut. xxxiii. 8; 2 Chron. vi. 41; Ps. xxx. 4, xxxvii. 28, lxxxvi. 2, lxxxix. 19), though in fact the genuine original of the Hebrew was probably in the plural number, "thy holy ones."

"Therefore, being a *prophet*" (30). The Old Testament history nowhere represents David as possessing supernatural foreknowledge, or any supernatural endowment or prerogative. On the contrary, it represents the prophet Nathan as the medium of Divine communications to him (2 Sam. vii. 4 *et seq.*), and where the strongest encomium is passed upon him, no such character is attributed (*ibid.* xxiii. 1). David is said to speak as "a prophet," in the sense that in the words quoted he spoke, not (as at first view might seem) of present time, but (not supernaturally, however) of future. (See above, pp. 73, 174 - 177.) The very clause refers to what (if we credit the history) he did not become acquainted with by inspiration of his own, but by a message through Nathan (2 Sam. vii. 11, 12).

"Knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ, to sit on his throne," &c. (30).

The genuine reading here is, "that of the fruit of his loins one should sit on his throne," or "that of the fruit of his loins He (God) would seat one on his throne." The Greek answering to the intervening words in the received text is spurious. (Comp. Gries-

bach, "Nov. Test.," *ad loc.*). — The word rendered "knowing" (εἰδώς) sometimes means no more than *being persuaded*, without implying any thing respecting the correctness of the persuasion (comp. οἶδα, Acts xx. 25). — "Knowing (or persuaded) that *God had sworn with an oath to him*"; that is, persuaded, like his contemporaries, that it was God's solemn and fixed purpose concerning him. The phraseology in which this purpose is represented as taking the form of an oath is derived from one of the Psalms (cxxxii. 11; comp. cx. 4; also, "Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. pp. 310, 315). — Peter's sense is conveyed, I suppose, in the following paraphrase: David, speaking, in the Psalm quoted, of the future, and persuaded that it was the Divine purpose that the Messiah should be his descendant (since, in his mind, the prophet predicted by Moses was identified with a monarch of his own race), had in view the coming of that Christ whose actual coming I and my fellow-Apostles now announce.

"He, seeing this before, spake of the *resurrection* of Christ" (31). The Greek word (ἀναστάσις) is not, I suppose, correctly translated here "resurrection." Its primitive meaning — *raising up* — is equally applicable to a revival from the dead (or *resurrection*), and to a being brought into the world, or elevated to some conspicuous service (comp. Judges ii. 16, 18, iii. 15; Acts xiii. 22, *et al. h. m.*). The context, I think, determines the latter to be the true sense in the present instance. "The Lord thy God," Moses had said (Deut. xviii. 15), "will *raise up* unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee; unto him ye shall hearken." "This Jesus *hath God raised up*," now says Peter (Acts ii. 32), "whereof we all are witnesses." It was not a resurrection of the Messiah from the grave that Moses spoke of, or that Peter spoke of, taking up

Moses's words, but the Messiah's *coming into the world*, and assuming his office (comp. iii. 22, 26). And to this *raising up*, this *coming* of the Messiah, and not his *resurrection*, it is quite evident to me that Peter declared David to have referred in the words quoted by Peter from David's Psalm (ii. 30, 31).

This, which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere stated, seems to me certain. One part of the context may appear to the reader to conflict with it. "Him ye have taken," it is said, "and by wicked hands have crucified and slain, whom God hath *raised up*, having loosed the pains of death" (ii. 23, 24). Here, it may be urged, the *raising up* spoken of is specified as being from the grave. I answer, — 1. Suppose it is so, how does that fact control the interpretation of the rest of the passage? Jesus was raised up as the Messiah, and he had a resurrection from the grave; and the word used by Peter (*ἀνέστησε*) is equally applicable to both. That the respective contexts should determine the word to have the one signification in one verse, and the other in another, is nothing surprising. But, 2. I am by no means certain that the fact is as assumed. I do not know but that Peter, when he said that God had "raised up" Jesus, "having loosed the pains of death," meant to refer to him as being *raised up* in the sense which I have given to the expression in the following verses. Jesus had been put to death; "by wicked hands" he had been "crucified and slain." If God meant to *raise him up* in the office and dignity of Messiah, it could only be by "loosing the pains of death" for him. And accordingly there would be nothing unnatural in construing the words *raised up* in this verse precisely as in those on which I have remarked at length. Jesus, says the Apostle, "by wicked hands" was "crucified and slain." But God has restored him

to life, and so, in despite of the murderous malice of his enemies, has fulfilled the promise made to Moses, of *raising up* the Messiah. It is true he was crucified. But that did not put an end to his claim. God *raised him* to the office of Messiah, notwithstanding.

II. 34-36.

David is not ascended into the heavens : but he saith himself, "The Lord said unto my Lord, 'Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool.'" Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.

The quotation is from a Psalm, in which I understand David to have referred to the exaltation of his great expected successor. (See Ps. cx. 1; above, p. 107; "Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. pp. 314-316.) I paraphrase Peter's words as follows:—

"Being by the right hand of God exalted," I say (ii. 33); for he is exalted by God to be the medium of his spiritual communications to men; and to him accordingly may be fitly applied those words of David, "The Lord said unto my Lord, 'Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool.'" Those words, indeed, originally, — though in a lower sense, — must be understood to have been spoken by David concerning the Messiah whom he looked for. It is impossible to suppose that he had himself in view, for he was merely a great monarch; nor in any sense naturally conveyed by the words can he be said to have *ascended into heaven*, or to have *sat down at God's right hand* (34, 35). In view, then, of the miracle now wrought before your eyes (2-4, 33), and of the other supernatural works of Jesus to which I have called your attention (22), let all the nation of Israel be assuredly persuaded that that Jesus, whom they have just

put to death by crucifixion, was no other than the august personage whom under the name of *Christ* (31) and of *Lord* (34) their fathers and they have for ages been looking for (36).

III. 18.

Those things, which God before had showed by the mouth of all his prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled.

The word here translated “suffer” does not necessarily signify painful experience. It denotes simply *experience* of whichever kind. The prophets (or *preachers*) had spoken of the coming of Christ, according to their conceptions of him. In part (so far as they relied on and reproduced the revelation by Moses) they had spoken correctly, in part they had spoken incorrectly, of the future Christ’s experiences, — of his position, office, and agency. So far as they had spoken correctly, God “had showed by their mouth,” because he had showed by the mouth of Moses, whose representation their representations did but repeat. They had not represented the Christ as destined to be outraged and put to a violent death, as Jesus was. Such was by no means their idea of him. What they had said of his greatness and exaltation, of the things “that Christ should experience,” and the empire he should attain, God had now brought to pass in a way which they had by no means looked for. Their anticipations of a dominion for their hero, says Peter, God “hath *so* fulfilled,” fulfilled in this unexpected way; allotting a life of hardship to his beloved Son, and a cruel death to “the Prince of Life” (15).

III. 21.

Whom the heaven must receive, until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets, since the world began.

“Whom the heaven must receive.” He is no earthly ruler, as has been thought (comp. Acts i. 6). He has been taken to heaven, and is invisible there. Nor will he any more be made manifest, except in that establishment of his kingdom which will take place when his religion supersedes Judaism. For “restitution” (*ἀποκαταστάσις*) I would rather read *accomplishment*, or *consummation* (see, however, Matt. xvii. 11, and comp. Mal. iv. 5, 6). — “God hath spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets.” I have remarked on the same expression above (p. 200). — “Since the world (*αἰών*) began.” The “world” here spoken of, I take to be the *age* of the Jewish dispensation (see above, p. 78).

III. 22 - 26.

Moses truly said unto the fathers, “A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass, that every soul which will not hear that Prophet shall be destroyed from among the people.” Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise told of these days. Ye are the children of the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with our fathers, saying unto Abraham, “And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed.” Unto you first, God, having raised up his Son, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.

I regard this passage as very expressly confirming that view which I have taken repeated occasion to state and maintain, respecting the promise through Moses of a “prophet” (or *teacher*) to be “raised up” in future time (Deut. xviii. 15), as being the foundation and germ of the Jewish conception of the Messiah, entertained through the series of later ages.

I have spoken, says Peter, of the state of things

now opening, as the accomplishment of what your teachers have had in view "since the world began" (21), — ever since the institution of the Jewish peculiarity; *since the age began*, I say, for Moses himself, who laid its foundations, "said to the fathers" of the race, "A *prophet* shall the Lord your God *raise up* unto you," &c. (22, 23). And that same event which Moses thus foretold has (with whatever mixture of error with his truth) been had in view, on his authority, by the whole succession of teachers of our nation since his time; "as many as have spoken have likewise foretold of *these days*"; this advent of Jesus, and nothing different or future, fulfils whatever has been truly anticipated respecting the setting up of the Messiah's reign (24). To you, successors of the teachers and of the patriarchs, is it granted now to experience the fulfilment of that other promise made by God to the founder of your race, when he said, "In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed." God promised by Moses that he would "*raise up* a prophet" (Deut. xviii. 15); he hath done so, "having *raised up* his Son," Jesus. He promised to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be *blessed*" (Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18). He hath made this promise good, in that he hath sent a spiritual deliverer, a bearer of the richest of all blessings, — in that, "having raised up his Son (Jesus), he hath sent him to *bless you*." To "bless you," how? He defines the way, left undefined in the original promise. It was, by "turning away every one of you from his iniquities."

IV. 11.

This is the stone which was set at naught of you builders, which is become the head of the corner.

See above, p. 103. To Jesus, says Peter, well may the language of the Psalmist (cxviii. 22) be applied.

IV. 24-28.

They lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, "Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is ; who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, ' Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things ? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ.' For of a truth, against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were gathered together in this city, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done."

Peter and John first glorify in their own language the power of God, which had now rescued them from danger, and on which they relied for protection for the future: " Lord, thou art God," &c. (24). They next (25, 26) glorify it in the language used by David in one of his Psalms (ii. 1, 2; comp. " Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. pp. 316-318). And they show how that language is applicable to the event to which they apply it. " By the mouth of his servant David " God had said [David had poetically exhibited God as saying], " Why do the *heathen* rage, and the *people* imagine vain things ? " so now, say the Apostles (Acts iv. 27), " the *Gentiles* and the *people* of Israel were gathered together." " The *kings* of the earth stood up," said the Psalmist, " and the *rulers* were gathered together"; " both *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*," say the Apostles (ibid.), — the first a king, the second a governor, — have now been " gathered together." They conspired, said the Psalmist, " against the Lord and against his *anointed* "; here, again, say the Apostles (27), David's words are precisely in point; for king and ruler, heathen and people, have combined against God's holy *anointed* child [or, servant] Jesus. — And then, to guard against any such unfavorable conclusion

as the Jews were wont to draw from Jesus's having been punished as a malefactor, they add that this extraordinary catastrophe was in accordance with God's mysterious purposes; — "for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done" (28; comp. ii. 23).

VII. 2, 3.

The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran, and said unto him, "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall show thee."

The discourse of Stephen, in this chapter, contains a recital of many of the most prominent events of the early Jewish history, with frequent quotations, more or less formal, of the language of the early writers. Several of them I shall pass over, as not affording occasion for any special remark. Some of the quotations differ from the original, either in the way of addition, omission, or change; and some of the statements of fact vary from the corresponding ones made by the Old Testament writer. We have no means of determining whether these inaccuracies are to be referred to Stephen, to Luke, who undertook to record his words, or to the person, whoever he was, who heard and reported them to Luke. But the necessary inference from them appears to be, that, at least in some stage of the transmission, there was not that precise regard to the language of the Old Testament writers, which would have been inseparable from the opinion, had it existed, that that language was dictated by unerring inspiration.

In the text above, it is in contradiction to the history (Gen. xi. 31 – xii. 1), that the Divine summons is said to have been addressed to Abraham, "when he

was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran"; and in the quotation, the words of the original, "and from thy father's house," are omitted, and the words "and come" are inserted in the last clause, in their place.

VII. 4.

From thence, when his father was dead, he removed him into this land.

But, according to the statement in the history, Abraham was born when Terah, his father, was seventy years old (Gen. xi. 26), or thereabouts, and he left Haran when himself "seventy and five years old" (ibid. xii. 4); when Terah, therefore, had about reached his one hundred and forty-fifth year. But Terah lived to be two hundred and five years old (ibid. xi. 32). It was not, therefore, according to the history, after Terah's death, but not far from sixty years before it, that Abraham migrated to Canaan.

VII. 6, 7.

And God spake on this wise: that his seed should sojourn in a strange land, and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat them evil four hundred years. "And the nation to whom they shall be in bondage will I judge," said God; "and after that shall they come forth, and serve me in this place."

The quotation is from Genesis (xv. 13, 14), where we read "with great substance," instead of "and serve me in this place," which latter words seem to be taken from the account of the commission to Moses (Exod. iii. 12). Comp. Exod. xii. 40, 41; "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. p. 140.

VII. 14.

Then sent Joseph, and called his father Jacob to him, and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls.

In the history (Gen. xli. 27) the whole family of Jacob, including Joseph with his wife and sons, is reckoned to have been seventy in number. But the Septuagint version of the same passage gives Joseph nine sons, and, with Stephen, calls the whole number seventy-five.

VII. 16.

The sepulchre that Abraham bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor, the father of Sychem.

Here is a confusion of two facts recorded in the history. It was Jacob, not Abraham, who "bought a parcel of a field at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father," and that not for a tomb, but for an altar (Gen. xxxiii. 19, 20). The sepulchre in which Jacob directed that his body should be laid was that of "Machpelah, which is before Mamre," bought by Abraham of Ephron, the Hittite (Gen. xlix. 29, 30; comp. xxiii. 3 - 20, l. 12, 13). On the other hand, according to the record in the Book of Joshua (xxiv. 32), Joseph was actually buried in the place which the discourse of Stephen indicates.

VII. 26.

Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?

The language of Moses, as recorded in the history, was, "Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?" (Exod. ii. 13.)

VII. 37.

This is that Moses, which said unto the children of Israel, "A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear."

Another express instance of that fact which I consider to be vital to a correct explanation of the rela-

tion of the New Testament to the Old, namely, the identification, in the minds of the early disciples, of the *Prophet* promised by Moses with that *Messiah* whom they declared Jesus to be.

VII. 42, 43.

Then God turned, and gave them up to worship the host of heaven ; as it is written in the book of the prophets, " O ye house of Israel, have ye offered to me slain beasts, and sacrifices, by the space of forty years in the wilderness ? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made, to worship them : and I will carry you away beyond Babylon."

The quotation, from the prophet Amos (v. 25 - 27), is made, like so many others in the New Testament, with a want of exactness quite inconsistent with the supposition of such a sanctity being attached to the words, as would have belonged to them had they been regarded as words uttered by Divine inspiration or suggestion. In "Remphan" (Acts vii. 43), compared with "Chiun" (Amos v. 26), the popular commentators have been forced by their own principles to recognize a troublesome problem ; the former reading has a near resemblance to that of the Septuagint. "Beyond Babylon" (Acts vii. 43), instead of "beyond Damascus" (Amos v. 27), is a very material alteration of the prophet's words. (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. p. 401.)

VII. 48 - 50.

The Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands ; as saith the prophet, " Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool : what house will ye build me ? saith the Lord ; or, what is the place of my rest ? Hath not my hand made all these things ? "

The words are quoted from the pseudo-Isaiah (lxvi. 1, 2), with no important change.

VII. 52.

Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which showed before of the coming of the Just One, of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers.

We see here the exaggerated representation of strong emotion. Regarded as a precise statement of fact, it would not be borne out by the Old Testament records.

VIII. 32 - 35.

The place of the Scripture which he read was this: "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and like a lamb dumb before his shearer, so opened he not his mouth: in his humiliation his judgment was taken away: and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth." And the eunuch answered Philip, and said, "I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other man?" Then Philip opened his mouth, and began at the same Scripture, and preached unto him Jesus.

The quotation is from the prophecy of Isaiah (liii. 7, 8). I have elsewhere expressed my opinion ("Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 255 - 259) that, in the passage to which it belongs, the writer, without any supernatural knowledge whatever respecting the future condition of Jesus of Nazareth, was referring to the expected Messiah in terms according with the conception entertained of that personage by himself in common with his contemporaries. When the Ethiopian officer asked Philip, "Of whom speaketh the prophet this?" Philip, we are told, "opened his mouth, and began at the same Scripture, and preached unto him Jesus." That is, I presume, Philip explained the passage in the way that I have done. Believing that to be the true exposition, I must needs suppose it to have been Philip's, if he was a correct interpreter. Philip, I suppose, replied to the Ethiopian, "The proph-

et is speaking, not by any miraculous foresight, but as any of his contemporaries might have spoken, of that illustrious personage called by our nation the *Messiah*, who was predicted by our lawgiver Moses, and who was expected by every Jew in this writer's time." Philip seized the happy occasion to impress the Ethiopian courtier's mind. He "preached unto him Jesus." "At last," said he, "in this age of ours, has appeared, in the person of Jesus, that Messiah of whom the ancient prophet spoke." "He began at the same Scripture" the discourse with which he undertook to enforce that truth. It was a Scripture that afforded a good opening and introduction to such a discourse. How the discourse proceeded, what topics it embraced, what methods of conviction it employed, we are not told; but only that it was so satisfactory and persuasive as to bring the officer to desire to be baptized in token of his faith in Jesus (36).

X. 14.

Peter said, "I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean."

See Lev. xi., xx. 25; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. pp. 266 - 273.

X. 43.

To him give all the prophets witness, that, through his name, whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.

With that reign of the Messiah which they looked for, the ancient writers of the nation had constantly connected the idea of a moral reformation, and consequent *Divine forgiveness* and favor. (See, e. g., Is. lix. 20; Jer. xxxi. 34; Dan. ix. 24; Mic. vii. 18; Zech. xiii. 1; Mal. iv. 2; comp. Matt. iii. 2, iv. 17; Acts xi. 18.) That Messiah, whose followers they repre-

sented as having their sins remitted, has appeared, says Peter, in the person of Jesus, whom we preach; but that remission of sins, he adds, is only to be obtained by any one, by believing in Jesus and becoming his disciple.

XIII. 20.

He gave unto them judges, about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet.

Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. p. 130.

XIII. 22.

He raised up unto them David to be their king; to whom also he gave testimony, and said, "I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will."

Paul would never have quoted so inaccurately from the Old Testament writings, if he had entertained that opinion respecting their authority, which has been held by Christian commentators. (See 1 Sam. xiii. 14; Ps. lxxxix. 20, 21; and comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 41 - 43.)

XIII. 23.

Of this man's seed hath God, according to his promise, brought unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus.

God had promised to raise unto Israel a Saviour (Deut. xviii. 15), and a Saviour, as Paul says, he had now sent in the person of Jesus. He had raised him up, Paul adds, among the descendants of David; but this is no part of what he had promised, or of what Paul says that he had promised. — "Of this man's seed." I have remarked elsewhere (see above, p. 14) on Paul's avoidance of the expression "Son of David."

XIII. 27.

They that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every Sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.

How did the condemnation of Jesus *fulfil* the prophets? Not because those writers foretold his condemnation. It is impossible to find such a prediction in their writings. But they had expatiated on the glories of a coming kingdom of the Messiah; and as to the reality of that dominion they had spoken correctly, though they misunderstood its nature. The Messiah's kingdom had at length been established. Its establishment had been brought about by a means which they had no conception of, namely, the condemnation and death of Jesus. In this sense that condemnation had fulfilled "the voices of the prophets," which voices the Jewish contemporaries of Paul "knew not" in any such manner as to discern the basis of truth that lay in them. They embraced the erroneous accident, and overlooked the essential substance.

XIII. 29.

When they had fulfilled all that was written of him, they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a sepulchre.

For the meaning which, on the whole, I think should be put upon the word "written," in this place, see above, p. 117. The sentence may be explained, however, in the same manner as the text last commented upon.

XIII. 32, 33.

The promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the first Psalm, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee."

“The promise which was made unto the fathers,” I take to be that made through Moses, “A prophet shall the Lord your God *raise up*,” &c. (Deut. xviii. 15). “God hath fulfilled the same,” says Paul, “unto us their children, in that he hath *raised up* Jesus”; that is, sent him into the world. The word “again,” in our version, indicating that it is the resurrection of Jesus from the dead to which Paul refers, is not in the original, but is superfluous and misleading. (Comp. Acts xiii. 23, 24.) The raising of Jesus “from the dead” was a different thing, of which Paul proceeds to speak in the next verse.

“As it is also written in the first Psalm (ii. 7), ‘Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee’ [or, ‘this day have I made thee so’].” David may have intended in this Psalm “to represent the expected prince as speaking, and using language which would be suitable for him, supposing the conceptions entertained by his nation respecting his character and office to have been correct.” (“Lectures,” &c., Vol. IV. p. 317.) On that interpretation, the words were originally used by the writer of the poem in the same application which is made of them by Paul: “Thou art my Son, my chosen and beloved messenger to men; I have constituted thee to that office.” If, however, we prefer the other construction, and consider David as referring to himself, and representing Jehovah as saying to him, “Thou [David] art my son,” &c. (ibid.), we shall then understand Paul as quoting words originally used in reference to David, and applying them to Jesus agreeably to the same principles and usages of composition which have already been treated so much at length. We shall understand him as saying, “The words of the first Psalm (“Thou art my Son,” &c.), originally used respecting the elevation of David to the regal

dignity, may be fitly applied to that institution of Jesus in the office of Messiah, which took place when God fulfilled in his person "the promise which was made unto the fathers."

XIII. 34-37.

And as concerning that he raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, he said on this wise: "I will give you the sure mercies of David." Wherefore he saith also in another Psalm, "Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." For David, after he had served his own generation by the will of God, fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and saw corruption: but he whom God raised again saw no corruption.

By "the sure mercies of David," I understand the pseudo-Isaiah (lv. 3; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 260), from whom Paul appears to have borrowed the phrase, to have meant the crowning mercies connected with the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom; these the prophet calls "the sure mercies of David" (comp. Ps. lxxxix. 1-4), either because David had so often expressed his expectation of them, or because the Messiah, according to this writer's conception of him, was to be David's son. "The sure mercies of David," says Paul, God at last, after so many ages of hope deferred, has "given to you";—that event, of the establishment of the Messiah's reign, to which (with however imperfect knowledge) the prophet referred when he used those words, was brought to pass when God "raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to corruption," agreeably to the language used in another Old Testament passage. (Acts xiii. 34, 35; comp. Ps. xvi. 10.) David, in that passage, speaks in the first person: "Thou wilt not give me up to the grave," &c. But, argues Paul, it is impossible to apply the words, in a strictly literal sense,

to that prince, for we know that he, "having served the will of God in his own generation [or, *in his own individual life*], fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and saw corruption"; but the words are applicable to that Messiah whom I and my associates announce. David did not expect to be immortal in his own person; he expected to revive in the Messiah, his descendant; and behold, the Messiah is now come.

This exposition of Paul accords entirely with the view which I have taken of the Psalm in question. ("Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. pp. 318 - 320.) I have maintained, not simply that the words of that Psalm are applicable, in the way of accommodation, to the Messiah, but that the author had the Messiah in mind when he wrote them, and used them in reference to him; and this not with any supernatural knowledge of the Messiah, but as any Jew of his time might have done. My only doubt is in respect to a minor point, which is somewhat subtle, but which at all events does not affect the main scheme of the interpretation. When Paul says, "he raised *him* up from the dead," and "*he* whom God raised again saw no corruption," the obvious construction is thought to be that which makes *he* and *him* represent Jesus. I shall not controvert this. It accords very well with my conception of the Psalm, and of Paul's purpose in quoting from it. Paul might well say that David's expectation of his own continued life in his race would not be realized in the Messiah unless the Messiah were immortal, which Jesus would be, now that God had "raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to corruption." But perhaps it would be following out more consistently the idea which I understand to pervade the Psalm, and at the same time be doing no violence to Paul's language, to regard him as applying the

words directly to David, and not to Jesus. Jesus was the Messiah. David had in view the sending of the Messiah (his own revival in his offspring) when he said of *himself* "thou wilt not leave *me* in the grave, nor suffer thine holy one to see corruption"; and Paul may have meant to pursue precisely that idea when he said, that though David, regarded merely as one who in his own time had served God's will, had wholly passed away and seen corruption, yet that David, regarded as the Messiah's predecessor, had seen no corruption, David being revived in that personage.

XIII. 40, 41.

Beware, therefore, lest that come upon you which is spoken of in the prophets: "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you."

This text requires no explanation. Paul merely uses language of Habakkuk (i. 5) to enforce a remonstrance which the words well and earnestly conveyed.

XIII. 46, 47.

Lo, we turn to the Gentiles: for so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, "I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth."

I think that the "light to the Gentiles," intended by the pseudo-Isaiah (xlix. 6; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 248) in the words here quoted by Paul, is the people of Israel (comp. Is. xlix. 3, 5). "So hath the Lord commanded *us*," says the Apostle, "saying, 'I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles,'" &c. If by "us" we understand Paul and his fellow-preachers, we shall then regard him as saying: The Lord hath given us a commission which may be fitly ex-

pressed in these words of an ancient prophet. If we take "us" to mean, in Paul's quotation, what it did in the prophet's original words, then we shall interpret Paul thus: It was long ago said that the Jewish people was to be a "light of the Gentiles," and "for salvation unto the ends of the earth." We, apostles of Jesus, are about to make it so, when "we turn to the Gentiles," and publish to them a doctrine which had its birth in the bosom of the Jewish race.

Other commentators, with not so much reason, as it seems to me, consider the "light to the Gentiles" spoken of to be the prophet himself; and others yet, with still less probability, to be the expected Messiah. If the former of these constructions is correct, then Paul says, in the words quoted: The Lord has given to me and Barnabas a like trust to what he was anciently represented as having given to his prophet. If the latter, then he addresses the Jewish cavillers as follows: My companion and myself "turn to the Gentiles" with our proclamation of Jesus, the Messiah, agreeably to that ancient conception of the Messiah, whereby he was represented as no monopoly of the race of Abraham, but "a light of the Gentiles," and "for salvation unto the ends of the earth."

XV. 13 - 17.

James answered, saying, "Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name. And to this agree the words of the prophets; as it is written, 'After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up. That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth these things.'"

James's quotation is from the prophecy of Amos

(ix. 11, 12). In our common version James is represented as proceeding thus (18): "Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world." But this clause is spurious. (See Griesbach, "Nov. Test.," *ad loc.*) The true reading is: "All the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doth these things, known from the beginning." The words "known from the beginning" do not occur at the end of the passage quoted by James from Amos (ix. 12); but perhaps (for the quotation is in no part accurately made) they correspond to the words of Amos in the previous verse (ix. 11), "as in the days of old," which words James (Acts xv. 16) omits from their proper place in the passage quoted. In the way in which he arranged them, he perhaps intended them to contain his comment on that adoption of the Gentiles which was now taking place, his words being equivalent to these: "Saith the Lord, who is making these things to be such as they were anciently recognized."

Amos, when he wrote these words, was referring to the Messiah's reign ("Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 404, 405), which, like all other Jews, he expected, though with an imperfect apprehension of its nature. And James merely states, that when Peter "declared how God at the first did visit *the Gentiles*, to take out of them a people for his name" (Acts xv. 14), he declared no hitherto unheard of principle of Divine administration; that, on the contrary, however unpalatable to his Jewish contemporaries, the ancient writers of the nation had recognized it in some sense, and that, at all events, it harmonized with their language. "To this agree the words of the prophets," he says; and, to establish this point, he quotes a passage from Amos, unquestionably referring to the Messiah's reign, and not restricting its benefits to Jews, but (in the form in

which James recites them) distinctly naming, as one of the concomitant circumstances, "that the *residue* of men might seek after the Lord, and all the *Gentiles* upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord."

It must not be overlooked, that these last important words, on which rests the argument of the Apostle James, are not correctly quoted from Amos, who (in the Hebrew text) says in the place of them, "that they may possess the remnant of Edom, and of all the heathen which are called by my name, saith the Lord." Perhaps the Hebrew words of Amos, where he speaks of *the heathen called by the Lord's name*, are quite as much to James's purpose as those which he has substituted for them. But I think it altogether unquestionable, that, had he regarded them as containing supernatural prediction, it is not in this careless and inexact way that he would have appealed to them. James's quotation follows the Septuagint version much more nearly than the Hebrew. But his quotation, as reported by Luke, by no means represents that version exactly; for instance, the Septuagint translators have nothing corresponding to the important words, "the Lord," after "seek."

XV. 20 (29).

That they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood.

See Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16; Lev. vii. 26, xvii. 10-14.

XVII. 2, 3.

Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three Sabbath-days reasoned with them out of the Scriptures; opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ.

Could Paul have shown by the testimony of the Old Testament Scriptures, "that Christ must needs have suffered"? I think not. I can find no such testimony. Could he have shown that the Christ "must needs have risen 'again from the dead"? Certainly not. The Old Testament says nothing of the kind.

What, then, was the nature of Paul's argument and exposition?

He had to deal with Jews prepossessed with the same erroneous views of the Old Testament writings as those which prevail among Christians at the present day. The assembly which he addressed in the synagogue of Thessalonica imagined, like the great majority of Christians now, that those Old Testament writers called the Psalmists and the Prophets were supernaturally inspired, and of course infallible teachers of religious truth; and when they found those writers describing the future Messiah as a splendid monarch and victorious soldier, they were satisfied that such alone was the Messiah they were to look for. But the poor Galilean peasant, Jesus, was no magnificent prince, and no triumphant warrior. They turned a deaf ear to Paul, therefore, when he said, "This Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ."

Paul's task then was to show that *it was fit* (*ἔδει*) that Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead (rendered in our version, "that Christ *must needs* have suffered," &c.). It would not have been fit, if divine inspiration had in ancient times declared that the Messiah's course was to be one of brilliant earthly success and glory, as the Jews with whom Paul was reasoning, in consequence of their erroneous estimate of the authority of the Psalmists and Prophets, believed. It was necessary for him to show them their error in this

respect. Before they could recognize the Messiah in an obscure sufferer, like Jesus of Nazareth, it was necessary for them to be satisfied that the writers, from whom they had derived conceptions of the Messiah so inconsistent with that supposition, were not authoritative guides. This, I have no doubt, was the view which Paul was "opening," when "three Sabbath-days he reasoned with them out of the Scriptures." "This Jesus, whom I preach unto you, *is* the Christ," Paul said, notwithstanding he has suffered, and been put to a malefactor's death. "It is fit," — there is nothing unsuitable or incredible in the fact, — that he should "have suffered, and risen again from the dead" to fulfil his office. If you should rely on the Psalmists and Prophets as infallible oracles on the subject, you would, it is true, conclude that it was not fit. For such is not their representation. But their representation, so far as as it differs from, or adds to, the original Mosaic revelation on which it is founded (Deut. xviii. 15), is of no authority to determine your belief. What is "fit" in itself is not less so by reason of any thing that they have said, for they are not authoritative guides upon that question. And he "reasoned out of the Scriptures, opening" and expounding them in maintenance of this view.

XVII. 11.

They received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so.

The investigation which occupied the Bereans, I understand to have been the same in which I have endeavored to aid the readers of these comments, and of my work on the Old Testament; namely, to ascertain the authority and sense of different parts of the Jewish Scriptures, and their bearing on the mission and

office of Jesus, and on the Christian revelation in general.

XVIII. 18.

Having shorn his head in Cenchrea ; for he had a vow.

See Numb. vi. 1 – 21 ; and comp. Acts xxi. 23, 24, 26 ; “ Lectures,” &c., Vol. I. pp. 330 – 332.

XVIII. 28.

He mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was Christ.

The argument used by Apollos I understand to have been of the same tenor as that which I have above (pp. 218 – 220) ascribed to Paul.

XXI. 25.

As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication.

See above, p. 218.

XXIII. 5.

It is written, “ Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.”

Comp. Exod. xxii. 28.

XXIV. 14, 15.

This I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and in the Prophets ; and have hope towards God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust.

Paul said that he not only agreed with the Phari-

sees in receiving the doctrine of the resurrection, which the Sadducees rejected (Acts xxiii. 8), but that he also believed in the Prophets as well as the Law; — though he believed in Law and Prophets not according to the current Jewish opinions of their authority and sense, but according to a construction of his own and of his fellow-Christians; “after the way which” the Jews called “heresy.”

XXVI. 22, 23.

I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come; that Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people, and to the Gentiles.

Moses had said (Deut. xviii. 15) that a prophet, called in later times the Christ, should “show light unto *the people*,” and the Prophets (in unison with the promises to the patriarchs, Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14) had added (Is. ix. 2, lx. 1–3, *et al. h. m.*), that he should enlighten “the Gentiles.” But (independently of the question whether either of them had in any way left it on record “that Christ should suffer”) certain it is that no such declaration as that he “should *rise from the dead*, and show light unto the people,” &c., is to be found in their writings.

It is merely by a mistranslation of his words, that Paul is made responsible for that erroneous assertion. The particle (*εἰ*, *if*) represented here by “that” (“*that* Christ should suffer, and *that* he should be the first,” &c.), will, it is true, in a peculiar Attic construction, bear that rendering, though the occasions for it are infrequent. Buttman says (“Grammar,” § 149), “When *εἰ* follows *θαυμάζω* [*I wonder*], and some other verbs expressing emotions of the mind, it ought strictly to

signify *if, when*, and to be used merely of things which are uncertain; e. g. ‘*if or when* thou dost not perceive this, I wonder at it.’ The Attic custom, however, of avoiding a tone of decision in discourse, has been the occasion that *εἰ* is used of things not only highly probable, but even entirely certain; and consequently stands for ὅτι [*that*],” &c. There are a few New Testament examples of this use. (Comp. Mark xv. 44; Acts xxvi. 8; 2 Cor. xi. 15; 1 John iii. 13.) But “testifying” (μαρτυρούμενος), the word prefixed in the present instance, is a word apparently as far as possible out of the range of those verbs expressive of “emotion” which admit this peculiar translation of the particle after them.

But the correct interpretation of the passage does not mainly turn on the rendering of this conjunction. Indeed, understand the words “when I say” before “that,” and the true sense will be sufficiently expressed. Another word in the sentence requires more particular remark. It is that rendered “other than” (ἐκτός). It is often equivalent, as our translators here understood it to be, to *except, beside, additional to*. But such is not precisely its primitive meaning. Derived from the preposition (ἐκ) which means “from,” it signifies literally *out of, without, outside*. (Comp. Matt. xxiii. 26; 1 Cor. vi. 18; 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.) That which is without is *strange, foreign, alien*. (1 Cor. v. 12, 13; Col. iv. 5; 1 Tim. iii. 7.) Sophocles (“Antigone,” v. 330) has this sense of the word (ἐκτός ἐλπίδος, for *contrary to expectation*). So I understand Paul to use it. My doctrine, he says, concerning the Christ as a universal enlightener is not *foreign, alien, contrary*, to the doctrine of our ancient Scriptures.

So that, in short, I understand his declaration to be to this effect: When I proclaim a Christ, the enlight-

ener of Jews and Gentiles, I testify nothing foreign, nothing opposed, to what “the Prophets and Moses did say should come,” *even if* [or, *when I declare that*] the Christ whom I preach is a sufferer, and was first to rise from the dead, and then “to show light,” &c.

Agrippa, and the Jews about his tribunal, had no notion of a suffering, dying, and risen Messiah. Paul declares that the idea of the Messiah which they entertained, so far as it was of one who, as Moses and the Prophets had declared, should “show light unto the people and to the Gentiles,” was his own also, and that he in no way contradicted it, nor declared any thing inconsistent with it, when he further averred that it was God’s will that the Messiah should first suffer, die, and rise, as Jesus had done.

XXVIII. 23.

There came many to him into his lodging ; to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the Law of Moses, and out of the Prophets, from morning till evening.

See above, pp. 161 – 164, 208, 209.

XXVIII. 25 – 27.

When they agreed not among themselves they departed, after that Paul had spoken one word, “ Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our fathers, saying, ‘ Go unto this people and say, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand ; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive : for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed ; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.’ ”

See above, pp. 80, 81.

PART II.
APOSTOLICAL EPISTLES.

SECTION I.

EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE ROMANS.

I. 6, 7.

The called of Jesus Christ ; beloved of God, called to be saints.

THE Epistles of Paul, especially the controversial parts, abound in the use of a vocabulary drawn from the Old Testament, and requiring a reference to its original use in that collection of writings, in order to a correct interpretation of it where it occurs in the Christian Scriptures. Himself a Jew, like the rest of the Apostles, St. Paul of course employed words agreeably to Jewish usage. Especially when he discussed questions raised by Jews out of the technical phraseology of their sacred writings, it was unavoidable that he should use that phraseology in its accepted technical sense.

The family of Abraham occupied a peculiar position, from the time when they were selected by Divine wisdom to be recipients of revelations of religious truth. That position was expressed in the Old Testament by various titles and epithets.

They were entitled in very numerous passages, "the *Congregation* of the Lord" (e. g. Numb. xvi. 3, xxvii. 17, xxxi. 16 ; Deut. xxiii. 3 ; Josh. xxii. 17 ; 1 Chron. xxviii. 8 ; Mic. ii. 5) ; a word equivalent to *Church*.

As God had *invited* them to the possession of a true

theology, and the enjoyment of corresponding privileges, they were said to be his *called*. "Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel, my *called*." (Is. xlvi. 12; comp. xli. 9, li. 2; Hos. xi. 1.)

The Israelites collectively, by reason of this relation, were God's *chosen*, or what is the same thing, his *elect*. "Ye seed of Israel, his servant; ye children of Jacob, his *chosen* ones." (1 Chron. xvi. 13.) "For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine *elect*." (Is. xlv. 4; comp. Deut. iv. 37, vii. 6, x. 15; 1 Kings iii. 8; Ps. xxxiii. 12, cv. 6, 43, cvi. 5, cxxxv. 4; Is. xli. 8, 9, xliii. 20, xliv. 1, 2; Ezek. xx. 5.)

They were his *saved*, or *delivered* (Deut. xxxiii. 29); his *purchased* (Exod. xv. 16); his *redeemed* (2 Sam. vii. 23); his *ransomed* (Is. xxxv. 10, li. 10).

They were his *children* (Deut. xiv. 1); his *sons* (Is. xliii. 6); his *people* (Exod. v. 1); his *inheritance* (Deut. ix. 26); his *servants* (Lev. xxv. 55); his *beloved* (Jer. xii. 7); his *holy ones*, or *saints* (Deut. vii. 6; Ps. cxlviii. 14; 1 Mac. i. 46).

These expressions, and others of similar tenor, it is to be carefully remembered, have no reference whatever to the particular character or position of individuals. They relate to the people of Israel collectively, comprising, as it did, characters of every degree of goodness and wickedness, from Moses to Nadab, from Elijah to Jezebel. They relate to that people collectively as the *Church of God*; in other words, as that portion of mankind on whom God had bestowed the privileges of a revealed religion. All Gentiles, indiscriminately, are "strangers," "aliens," "afar off," "not a people." All Jews, good or bad, on account of the nation's having the oracles of God in its keeping, are comprehended in the class of the "called," the "elect," the "purchased," "the household," and so on.

This is plainly the case in respect to those titles which to our minds suggest most naturally something of a moral significance. To the whole congregation of the descendants of Jacob it is said, "Thou art an *holy* people" (Deut. vii. 6, xxvi. 19, xxviii. 9). "He exalteth," says the Psalmist (cxlviii. 14), "the praise of all his *saints*"; an honorable title; and to whom applied? He explains: "the praise of all his saints, *even of the children of Israel.*" Even the phrase *children of God*, in this connection, implies no favorable testimony in respect to character; for he is himself represented as saying (Is. i. 2), "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me."

Herein we have a key to the sense of a large portion of the Apostolical Epistles of the New Testament. Certain expressions were in common use with the Jewish writers before our Saviour's time, and consequently in the common colloquial use of the Jews in his time, when they spoke of the subjects to which the ancient writers had applied those expressions. Those expressions had been applied to the Jewish nation as a body, — not to single persons, nor with any reference to moral desert. They had denoted no more nor less than the state of religious privilege which the Jewish nation, as such, enjoyed, in being the possessors of a revelation with its attendant distinctions and advantages; — in short, as being the *covenant people*, the *visible Church of God*. We know from the Acts of the Apostles (x. 1 – xi. 18, xv. 1 – 31), that, at an early period of the preaching of Christianity, the question began to be moved, whether the descendants of Abraham were still to continue what they had been, — the only covenant people, the exclusive visible Church, of God, — or whether Gentiles were now to be permitted

to share their privileges. It was natural — not to say unavoidable — that the question should be discussed by Jews in the use of those terms by which Jews had been accustomed to designate their superiority; — unavoidable, because this was their vocabulary consecrated to that use, and they had no other. In short, the great dispute of the infant Church, whether the benefits of the Jewish Messiah's mission were designed for Jews only, or for Gentiles also, was, according to the phraseology of the time, a dispute whether Jews were still to possess exclusively, or henceforward to share with Gentiles, a right to the titles of a *called, elect, saved, redeemed people*, and such like.

It is in reference to that controversy, which he treats at large in his Epistle to the Romans, that Paul, taking, as he always did, the liberal side, addresses himself, in the beginning of that Epistle, to the whole Church of Rome alike, composed of both Jewish and Pagan converts, as “the called of Jesus Christ,” and the “beloved of God.” As he viewed the case, all who gave “obedience to the faith *among all nations*” (i. 5) were “the called of Jesus Christ” (6), as much as the Jews had been the *called* of Moses. As much as the Jewish nation had formerly been, so much all, Jews or Gentiles, who were now willing to accept the Gospel of Jesus as the message of God, were “beloved of God; called to be saints” (7).

I. 17.

Therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith; as it is written, “The just by faith shall live.”

In the latter clause of this verse (in which, after Griesbach, I adopt the verbal arrangement necessary to bring out the Apostle's meaning), language used by an ancient writer (Hab. ii. 4) in a different sense and

application (comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 289) is employed by way of accommodation to St. Paul's doctrine, which it well expresses. The sense of the former clause, I think, is correctly represented in this paraphrase: "In the Gospel of Christ God's method of justification is revealed as resting upon faith from first to last." Or it may be rendered: "Therein, for the foundation of faith, God's method of justification by faith is revealed."

The subject of *justification by faith*, so much discussed in the Epistles of Paul, particularly in those to the Romans and Galatians, is here introduced. The doctrine is more fully and exactly set forth in passages a little further on, where it is said, "A man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law" (iii. 28; comp. 20, 22, iv. 2); and again (iv. 5; comp. Gal. ii. 16), "To him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness [rather, for *justification*]."

What is the meaning of these propositions? It depends on the signification of the terms, "justification," "faith," and "works" or "deeds of the law."

The strictly orthodox sense (so called) of the doctrine, I may exemplify in the definitions of the Westminster Catechism and Confession, according to which, —

"*Justification* is an act of God's free grace unto sinners, in which he pardoneth all their sin, accepteth and accounteth their persons righteous in his sight, not for any thing wrought in them, or done by them, but only for the perfect obedience and full satisfaction of Christ, by God imputed to them, and received by faith alone." ("Larger Catechism," Quest. 70.)

"*Justifying faith* is a saving grace, wrought in the heart of a sinner by the spirit and word of God, whereby he, being convinced of his sin and misery,

and of the disability of himself and all other creatures to recover him out of his lost condition, not only assenteth to the truth of the promise of the Gospel, but receiveth and resteth upon Christ and his righteousness therein held forth, for pardon of sin, and for the accepting and accounting of his person righteous in the sight of God for salvation." (Ibid. Quest. 72.)

"*Good works* are only such as God hath commanded in his holy word, and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by men, out of blind zeal, or upon any pretence of good intention. These good works, done in obedience to God's commandments, are the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith, and by them believers manifest their thankfulness, strengthen their assurance, edify their brethren, adorn the profession of the Gospel, stop the mouths of adversaries, and glorify God." ("Confession," &c., chap. xvi. §§ 1, 2.) In short, good works are acts of Christian obedience, from Christian principles and motives.

That which may perhaps be regarded as the prevailing scheme among liberal commentators of the present day represents *justification* as meaning "absolution from sin, and assurance of the heavenly happiness"; *faith*, "the whole temper and character of a Christian"; and *works*, or *deeds of the law*, "observance of the Jewish ritual." (Comp. "Test. Nov. Hammond. et Cler." ad Rom. iii. 4; Locke, "Paraphrase and Notes," &c. on Rom. iv. 25.) And on this basis the proposition will signify: "A man obtains assurance of final salvation, not in consequence of observing the ceremonies of the Jewish Law, but of having become possessed of the Christian spirit and character."

Objections to this exposition are, —

1. That it ascribes an unauthorized sense to the word *faith*; a sense not justified by its etymology,

nor (as I think) by the practice of the sacred writers, Jewish or Christian, but merely devised to meet a supposed exigency. "Faith in Jesus Christ" means *belief that Jesus is the Christ*. It is that act of the mind by which the mind recognizes Jesus in the character of the Messiah. I know what "dispositions of the heart" means, but the "faith of the heart," of which I sometimes hear from the pulpit, has no more meaning for me than the passions, affections, or appetites of the understanding. It is true that we read, "With the heart man believed unto righteousness." (Rom. x. 10.) But it is a Jew who uses the language; and in the usage of his nation *the heart* (לֵב) means not more the seat of the affections, than the mind or understanding. (Comp. Judg. xvi. 17; 1 Kings x. 2, 24; 1 Chron. xxix. 18; Job ix. 4, xii. 3, xxxiv. 10, xxxvi. 5; Prov. vii. 7, ix. 4; Is. vi. 10, x. 7.)

2. That it unjustifiably limits the sense of the word *works*, in making it refer to the Jewish Law, instead of standing for *universal religious obedience*. (Comp. Rom. iv. 5, ix. 11; Tit. iii. 3-5.)

3. That it represents *justification* as a thing future to Christians, whereas the Apostle speaks of it as a thing passed. (Comp. Rom. v. 1, 9; 1 Cor. vi. 11; Tit. iii. 7.) Nor can it be shown that the words *justification* and *justify*, or their equivalents in Greek, ever, in the New Testament, denote admittance to, or assurance of, *final salvation*. I do not deny that they are used in connections where final salvation is the subject (as, perhaps, in Rom. ii. 13), but that they ever themselves express that sense. The distinction between sense and signification is a familiar one.

4. That it represents Paul as defending an insignificant proposition; for whoever should regard the works of the Jewish Law as obligatory, would be prompted

to perform them by that very principle of obedience assumed to be denoted by the word *faith*. In such a case the *works* and the *faith* which Paul places in such precise opposition would coincide.

I take *faith* and *works* in their common acceptation, understanding, by the one, *belief*, and by the other, *obedience in general*; and *justification* I interpret as importing *admission to the present privileges of the Christian community*; in other words, admission into the visible Church, the society of Christians, the company of the covenant people of God. On this basis, the proposition will read as follows: — A man is introduced into the Christian community simply on the condition of recognizing the authority of Jesus, its head, and not on any condition of previous obedience rendered by him, of whatever kind.

The doctrine here expressed, more largely stated, will be this: — Christianity freely offers its enlightening and sanctifying influences to whosoever will avail himself of them. He who *believes* that it is from God, is in a condition to avail himself of them, which no person who does not believe can be, from the nature of the case. All who are ready to be benefited by it, then, it adopts. No such person does it reject, on account of previous disobedience, greater or less. Every believer in its divine original it receives, so far as to regard him as a member of the visible Church, free to enjoy and use all the privileges it holds out, which privileges he then remains at liberty to use or misuse at his option and his peril; and according to his use or abuse of them will be his final lot.

According to this view, St. Paul meets the plea of the Jewish converts — viz. that in order to be a member of the Christian community, which, in their apprehension, was but an improved continuation of the Jewish,

it was necessary first to comply with the Jewish ritual — by declaring that, so far from any particular form of works (“deeds of the law”) being requisite for initiation, no performance of works whatever, no past obedience, was the ground of admission to the name and opportunities of discipleship. (Comp. Acts viii. 36, 37.)

This rendering of the proposition in question, besides being in striking accordance with the liberal spirit of Christianity, has the advantage of harmonizing with our knowledge of the state of the controversy in the Apostolic age throughout, and with the uniform tenor of St. Paul’s reasonings, illustrations, and phraseology, when, in different places, he presents the argument. Whatever difficulty belongs to it consists in finding authority for explaining the words *justify* and *justification* in the manner proposed. For the other two words are taken in their plainest and commonest sense.

Accordingly, I inquire what is the sense of the words *justify* and *justification* in the technical use of Scripture. And the inquiry brings me to this conclusion ; that they belong to that class of terms, lately commented on (see pp. 225 – 228), which relate to *reception into the visible Christian Church*. A man is *justified* when he becomes a member of the company of believers ; and his *justification* is his transfer into that new position.

Words are arbitrary signs. Usage fixes their sense, and the satisfactory way to ascertain their sense is to observe their use. But I will premise an etymological view of the words in question, which possibly may deserve some attention, as accounting for their use.

The Greek words (*δικαίωω* and *δικαιοσύνη*) rendered in our version of the New Testament *justify* and *righteousness*, occur frequently in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, from which the Evangelists and

Apostles have borrowed much of their phraseology. In the Septuagint they correspond respectively to a Hebrew verb and Hebrew nouns, all from one root (צָרַק, הִצְדִּיק, and צִדְקָה). Accordingly, by ascertaining the meaning of these Hebrew words, we ascertain the sense which the corresponding Greek words had in Hellenistic use; that is, in the use of the Septuagint version and the New Testament.

Now the Hebrew words are derivatives from a root (צָרַק), the primitive meaning of which appears to be, in the infinitive, *to be straight*, or *erect*. In the *Hiphil* form, the verb will of course mean *to cause to be erect* or *to set up*, and the noun, *an erect posture*. But in a secondary sense of the word, akin to that by which in English we use *uprightness* and *rectitude* for a moral quality, the radical verb (צָרַק) is used in Hebrew for *he stood morally erect*, or *he was innocent*; and its *Hiphil* form accordingly denotes *to cause* or *esteem* a person *to be morally erect* or *innocent*, that is, *to justify* a person, and the derived noun stands for *moral erectness* or *uprightness*, as well as for the condition of being physically upright.

But there is clearly no reason for deserting the primitive meaning of a word in a given case, when the secondary will not in that case give us so good a sense. Let us keep to the primitive sense in this instance, and see whither it will lead us. On the text, "Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness" (Gen. xv. 6), St. Paul founds much of the argument in his Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, thus directing attention to it as the source of his peculiar phraseology. If, instead of rendering the last word (צִדְקָה) *righteousness*, we give it the primitive meaning of *a setting up*, or *an establishment*, we obtain a sense which, besides being more literal, much better

suits the context. We shall then understand the Old Testament writer as saying, that Abraham's belief was counted to him, not for *righteousness*, or personal merit (which it is not directly to his purpose to speak of), but for the ground of his being *set up*, the ground of his *establishment*, as the head of the covenant people of God. The text, thus understood, is precisely to the sacred writer's purpose, for he is treating of the origin of the privileges possessed by the Jews in that character. And, on this construction, it is also eminently to the Apostle's purpose to quote the text, in the connection in which his quotation of it occurs; his object being to show that the ground of the *establishment* of Christians in the character of God's covenant people was the same ground — namely, that of faith — on which had rested Abraham's previous establishment in the same relation.

Now if we ought to adopt this sense for the Hebrew word (עֲדָתָהּ) in the Old Testament passage just commented on, we must (if we admit the translation into Greek to be faithful in this instance) attribute the same sense to the corresponding Greek word (δικαιοσύνη) in the Septuagint version. And if, in the Septuagint version, the Greek noun is used to denote *an establishment* in the condition of God's *peculiar people*, God's *Church*, it further follows that the same sense naturally attaches to the word when it occurs in the same connection in the New Testament. The verb (δικαίωω), the root of the noun in question, will then also mean *to establish* in this relation. And the representation of Paul, in such passages, is elucidated by etymological analysis.

I should have less confidence in an argument belonging to Hebrew philology, and going to attach to a word a sense not set down in the lexicons (natural as

the derivation seems to me), but that I think it strongly corroborated by a comparison of two other passages of the Old Testament. In a Psalm we read, "Then stood up Phinehas, and executed judgment, and so the plague was stayed; and that was counted unto him *for righteousness* (לְצִדְקָה) unto all generations for evermore." (Ps. cvi. 30, 31.) This refers to a transaction recorded in the history. (Numb. xxv. 11–13.) We turn to it, and what do we find? An account of the *establishment* of Phinehas and his family in the hereditary dignity of the office of high-priest, or, as it is there expressed, of his having, "and his seed after him," God's "covenant of peace," "even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood." Phinehas's act "was counted unto him *for righteousness* unto all generations for evermore," — that is, for *establishment* in a permanent transmissible pontificate. The words "unto all generations," &c. have no sense, without torture, on the interpretation which supposes a personal quality of Phinehas to be referred to under the name of his "righteousness." As Phinehas's devout zeal was counted to him for the *establishment* of himself and his posterity in the sacerdotal office, so Abraham's faith was counted to him for *establishment* and confirmation of himself and his descendants in the privileges of God's people, adopted for the reception of his Law; and the belief of Christians (so Paul asserts) was counted to them in like manner for a like *establishment* in a church state.

It must be superfluous to say, that I by no means propose, as a conclusion from the above remarks, to change the long-accustomed nomenclature on this subject, by substituting the word *establishment*, or any other, for the technical *justification* to which we are used. All technical words are but jargon as long

as they are new, and it is better to attempt to define and fix the sense of an old one, than to supersede it. I have but aimed to trace a process of thought by which phraseology of an ancient language has come to be used in a very peculiar and strictly technical sense, — a sense by no means represented by our word *justification* interpreted by its common use. And now, though I have ventured to submit this philological investigation, I am quite content to throw it all aside, and reach the same result by another process. Whether or not the word rendered *justify* sometimes means *to establish*, unquestionably it often means *to deliver, set free, redeem*. It has been sufficiently shown (p. 226) that the words *salvation, redemption*, and others equivalent, denote, in frequent Scriptural use, the transfer from the condition of “aliens,” “strangers,” “not a people,” &c. (to use the Jewish vocabulary appropriated to the case), to the condition of God’s “children,” “inheritance,” and “saints”; — that is, the condition of members of God’s visible Church, entitled to the use of its means of edification. If, then, it further appears that the Greek or Hebrew word rendered *righteousness* or *justification* is used in Scripture as convertible with those translated *deliverance, redemption*, &c. when the latter are employed in their most unrestricted sense, of rescue from any evil whatever, we may reasonably conclude that it is convertible with them also when used in this specific technical application. Now, that those Greek and Hebrew words are used as equivalent to those which stand for “deliverance,” &c. in a general sense, — without consideration of the nature of the evil delivered from, — no careful reader of Scripture can fail to have observed. (See Acts xiii. 39; Rom. vi. 7; comp. Ps. lxxi. 15, iv. 1, xxiv. 5, li. 14, xcvi. 2; Is. xli. 10, xlv. 8, 24, xlvi. 13, xlviii. 18, li. 5, lvi. 1, lviii. 8, lxii. 1, 2; Dan. viii. 14.)

There is no more satisfactory way to ascertain the sense of words used by Christians, in the Apostolic age, in the discussion of questions growing out of Jewish opinions, than to observe what sense the words had in Jewish writings of the same period, if there are any such to which we may have access. The apocryphal book of the Wisdom of Solomon lends important confirmation to the view which I have taken of the phraseology now under investigation. Its author appears to have lived not far from the time of St. Paul, if he was not St. Paul's contemporary. ("Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. pp. 351, 352.) The Jewish community and church, as such, without regard to the moral condition of the whole or a part, he designates as "the *righteous*" (see Wisdom x. 15 – 20), as well as "the saints" (xviii. 1, 5). "Of thy people," he says, referring to the exodus from Egypt, "was accepted the salvation of the *righteous*, and destruction of the enemies" (xviii. 7). The qualification, "the *righteous*," is clearly intended to denote the Jewish people at large, without regard to the moral attributes of all or any. The point is put beyond doubt by a later verse. "The tasting of death touched *the righteous* also, and there was a destruction of the multitude in the wilderness" (xviii. 20). Who were those "righteous" whom "the tasting of death touched"? We turn to the history (Numb. xvi.), and we find that they were the wicked men who experienced a severe visitation of the Divine displeasure for their share in the conspiracy of Korah and his company.

The opinion that the words on which I am commenting should always be taken to denote a moral quality, and never to import a mere external condition or change, can no more be maintained on the less safe ground of etymological theory, than on the ground of

fact and usage. More plausibly might it be argued from etymology, that, between the two simplest senses of the verb in question, in the different languages, — namely, to *make just*, on the one hand, and to *hold just*, or to *clear*, on the other, — the former ought always to be preferred. But in fact this would give a rendering which according to use, which settles such things, the Hebrew verb will scarcely bear (possibly Isaiah liii. 11 may be an instance), and the Greek and English verb not at all. It so happens, that, between the two meanings of *made just*, and *held just*, *acquitted* (to which latter meaning the sense of *deliverance in general* is analogous, so that the same word would naturally come to be used for both), use, which is the sovereign arbiter, has given the one to the verb, and the other, prevailing, to the noun derived from it; so that by *justify* (הַצְדִּיק, δικαιώω) we mean, not to *make just*, but to *hold just*; while, on the contrary, by *righteousness* (צְדָקָה, δικαιοσύνη) we mean, not the state of him who is *held just* (that is *acquittal, deliverance*), but the state of him who is *made just* (that is, *innocence, purity, uprightness*). Undoubtedly such is the classical use of the Greek noun. But it is clear that the derivation is at least equally in favor of the other sense, which my argument demands, and I have before shown that the Scripture use approves that sense.

The scheme of interpretation which I maintain may be thought liable to the objection of requiring two quite different senses to be put upon the word *justify*, when occurring in the same argument as conducted by two different New Testament writers; and this was the opinion of John Taylor, whose otherwise judicious treatise upon this subject was formerly held in great consideration. He supposed (“Key to the Apostolic Writings,” Chaps. XII., XVII.) that it was necessary to

distinguish between what he called a "first" and a "full and final" justification. By the "first justification" he understood that spoken of by St. Paul, namely, admission to the present privileges of believers; by the "full and final," an admission to heavenly rewards, treated of in the Epistle of James. I cannot admit that there is any good ground for this distinction. In my opinion, the word is used by both writers in the sense in which I have argued that it is used by Paul. The writer of the Epistle of James does not affirm that obedience (works), and not faith, is the ground and condition of that justification of which he speaks; in which case, it is true, we should have to understand him either as contradicting Paul, or as treating of some other justification. His aim is to show how that faith is to be manifested and discerned, which, whenever it exists in an individual, is, as Paul says, the ground of that individual's justification, or admission among Christians, — how that justifying faith, if possessed, will be made known and evinced. And he says it is to be made known and proved, not by professions merely, but by corresponding actions; and that thus it was that the justifying faith of Abraham and others was in fact made known. (James ii. 14–26.) His theme is: If actions contradict the wordy profession of that faith, which, if it existed, would alone *justify*, or entitle its possessor to a Christian welcome, then it is to be held not to exist, and the ground of *justification* fails. "Faith without works is dead"; that is, it is no faith at all. None of the virtue of faith resides in a pretended faith of that description. Faith? No, it is not faith. It is pretence. — And this is unquestionable, and is no inconsistency with the doctrine of Paul, supposing both writers to have meant the same thing by *justification*.

If I construe the language in James's Epistle correctly, the technical use of the word *justify* in the New Testament is uniform.

Instead of remarking specially on every text, which would involve much repetition, I invite the reader to try the correctness of the exposition I have been defending, by reading in connection the first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, with a substitution of *justification*, or *method of justification*, for *righteousness*,* and understanding *justify* and *justification* as having the reference which I have pointed out, to the great *deliverance* from Gentile darkness to the light of revealed truth. He will find, if I mistake not, that what may have hitherto perplexed him is a connected and cogent affirmative argument on the question, whether Gentiles, in consequence of merely believing in the Messiah, might be received on an equal footing with Israelites into the community endowed by the Divine mercy with the privileges of a revealed religion; — the great question this of the Apostolic times, and the question to which the most careless reader cannot fail to see that a great part of the Apostle's reasoning certainly relates, and that, too, the part in which the words under consideration constantly occur. St. Paul first meets in this Epistle the Jewish claim to be exclusively the recognized people of God, by affirming that Jews and Gentiles are alike guilty before him, so that neither can make that claim on any ground of merit. This topic is pressed in the first three chapters, after which he argues, in the fourth, that Abraham, from whom, as by inheritance, his descendants supposed their privilege to be derived, himself obtained it

* *Righteousness*, in ii. 26, is on every account a false translation, and does not enter into the argument. Here, as in v. 18, the word is not *δικαιοσύνη*, nor *δικαίωσις*, but *δικαίωμα*.

in the same manner in which Gentile converts had sought it now, — that is, by belief. Thus he establishes the truth, that the mere faith of Gentiles is “counted to them for righteousness,” — for *justification*; that no other condition of admittance into the Christian community is imposed, except a belief in Jesus, its head.

So he asserts against narrow-minded Jews the most catholic principles in relation to the name and prerogatives of discipleship. He teaches that “God is no respecter of persons”; that neither descent from Abraham, nor ancient privileges attached to that lineage, constitute, under the Christian dispensation, any exclusive title to any expressions of his gracious regard; that, the use of the Jewish peculiarity having ceased, — a use in which, though the Jews supposed otherwise, the ultimate benefit of all mankind had been as much contemplated as their own, — it was thenceforth abolished, and all, of whatever race, were admitted to the full advantages of Divine revelation, who, by belief in him through whom the revelation was made, were rendered capable of appropriating its advantages. Faith is the condition, and the sole condition, of the enjoyment of the privileges offered by the Gospel. In the nature of things, those privileges cannot be enjoyed by any who do not believe in the divine authority of their giver; and from no one who does believe in it, and who thus becomes receptive of them, does the Divine mercy permit them to be withheld.

II. 24.

The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you, as it is written.

The reference may be to expressions of Isaiah (lii. 5) and of Ezekiel (xxxvi. 20, 23).

III. 4.

Let God be true, but every man a liar ; as it is written, " That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged."

The words are found in one of the Psalms (li. 4). They are adopted simply as well expressing the sentiment which Paul was urging on his own part.

III. 9 - 22.

We have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin ; as it is written, " There is none righteous, no, not one : there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable ; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre ; with their tongues they have used deceit ; the poison of asps is under their lips ; whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness. Their feet are swift to shed blood ; destruction and misery are in their ways ; and the way of peace have they not known : there is no fear of God before their eyes." Now we know that what things soever the Law saith, it saith to them who are under the Law ; that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God. Therefore by the deeds of the Law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight : for by the Law is the knowledge of sin. But now the righteousness of God without the Law is manifested, being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets ; even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all them that believe.

The passages here quoted occur in the Psalms and Prophets. (Ps. xiv. 3, liii. 2, 3, v. 9, cxl. 3, x. 7 ; Jer. iv. 22 ; Ps. xxxvi. 1 ; Is. lix. 7, 8.) They contain animadversions, by the writers of those books, on the moral delinquency of the men, of their own nation and times. The phrase " the Law " (19) is used, as sometimes elsewhere (see John x. 34, xii. 34), for the Old Testament Scriptures in general. Paul's argument is, that, on the ground of moral desert, the Jews have

no claim above the Gentiles to the possession of God's gift in Christianity. To prove this, he quotes several reproofing sentences from their ancient writers; and he argues that those animadversions, found in "the Law," must be understood as having been applied to Jews, because "whatsoever things the Law saith, it saith to them that are under the Law." It does not speak for those who have it not. It does not contain descriptions of those with whom it has no concern, and who will not read it. — The last period of the passage under our notice, I would paraphrase as follows: "Now is manifested [that is, in the Gospel] God's method of justification independent of the Law, a method approved by the testimony of both Law and Prophets; even that method of justification which rests upon mere belief in Jesus Christ, and extends its benefits to all who entertain that belief." God's justifying on the ground of faith alone was "witnessed by the Law" in a text (Gen. xv. 6) on which Paul is presently going to argue at length (Rom. iv. 1 – 25). And it was "witnessed by the Prophets," in such remarks of theirs as he had just been quoting, showing, as they did, that, on the ground of desert, the Jews could set up no claim to an exclusive justification.

III. 24.

Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.

The Greek original (*ἀπολυτρόσις*), like *redemption*, the English word which here represents it, means, in its primitive sense, to *rescue by the payment of a price*. But in the Scriptural use, the idea of a price, or equivalent, is often lost sight of, and the word denotes *rescue, deliverance*, in general, by whatever means obtained. Thus God is said to "redeem with a stretched-out

arm." (Exod. vi. 6; comp. Is. l. 2; Deut. vii. 8, ix. 26; 1 Chron. xvii. 21.) "Through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus," through the deliverance which Jesus wrought, his disciples were brought, by God's free goodness, into a justified, a church, a covenant state. See above, pp. 225 - 242.

III. 25.

Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness.

For "a propitiation," I suppose we should read *a mercy-seat*. So the word (*ἱλαστήριον*) is properly rendered in the only other place where it occurs in the New Testament (Heb. ix. 5). It had been used in this sense by the Septuagint translators in rendering the Hebrew כַּפֹּרֶת (Exod. xxv. 17-22; comp. Lev. xvi. 13, and numerous other texts of that book; Ezek. xliii. 14, 17, 20; Amos ix. 1). It was through the mercy-seat that God was approached, under the old dispensation; so, in the new, he had now *publicly set forth* (*προέθετο*) Christ, as a mercy-seat, through which believers in Christ's death ("through faith in his blood") might approach him. It may be observed, however, that the words "through faith" are of doubtful authenticity. Omitting them, and accordingly reading the clause, "whom God hath set forth a mercy-seat in his blood," we shall understand the Apostle to represent Jesus as consecrated to that service by his own blood, as the mercy-seat of old was by the blood of a victim. (See Lev. xvi. 14.) By "righteousness," in the last clause, I understand *method of justification*.

III. 28.

We conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the Law.

See above, pp. 228 – 242.

IV. 2, 3.

If Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to glory, but not before God. For what saith the Scripture? “Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.”

The sense of the text may be expressed as follows, viz.:— If Abraham had been justified as a reward for his works, he might have had something to boast of. (Comp. ii. 17, iii. 27.) But no; it was not so, I call God to witness (*ἀλλ’ οὐ, πρὸς τὸν θεόν*). For what does the Scripture say? It says, that Abraham believed God, and that belief, a state of mind in which there is no merit and no cause for self-complacency, was reckoned to him as his ground of justification. (See above, pp. 234, 236, 241, 247.)

IV. 6–8.

Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, “Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.”

The quotation is from a Psalm (xxxii. 1, 2). All that the Psalmist meant was to speak of the happiness of having one’s sins forgiven. But the expression “the Lord will not impute sin” was so much to the purpose of the argument which the Apostle was holding, to the effect that past sins would not exclude from that justification which was now offered to the believer in Christ, that he quotes them in an accommodation to that sentiment.

IV. 9, 10.

We say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness. How was it then reckoned? when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision.

The Jews of Paul's time imagined that observance of that rite, which was the seal of the ancient covenant, was a necessary preliminary to a place among the justified people of God. Paul tells them that so far was this from the truth, that Abraham himself, the father of their church and nation, was justified before he was circumcised (comp. Gen. xv. 6, xvii. 11, 24), — received into a covenant state, when he had only believed.

IV. 17, 18.

As it is written, I have made thee a father of many nations; according to that^o which was spoken, So shall thy seed be.

In obtaining justification through his belief, says the Apostle, Abraham became the precursor, not only of the Jews, his natural descendants, but of all, of whatever lineage, Jewish or Gentile, who, in this respect, should walk in his steps; thus fulfilling, in an unexpected sense, those words which had spoken of him as the head of a numerous and a various line.

V. 1, 2.

Being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand.

What was that "peace with God," of which the Apostle here speaks? It was the reconciliation with him which took place, when, by their faith in Jesus, the converts were transferred from the condition of "stran-

gers," "aliens," "afar off," to that of God's "children," his "chosen," his "saints," &c. What does the Apostle mean by "this grace wherein we stand," and to which "we have access by faith"? Clearly, the privileges of Christian discipleship. The text strongly confirms the view presented above (pp. 225 - 242) of the doctrine of justification by faith.

V. 12 - 19.

Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned; (For until the Law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless, death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come. But not as the offence, so also is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification. For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ :) therefore, as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.

Every considerate reader sees that, of themselves, these words convey no sense. They are a rude translation of a passage to which it is quite plain that the translators did not themselves attach any clear meaning. It is a passage which greatly perplexes the interpreter, as well on account of its very elliptical character, as on account of its dealing (like much of the rest of the Epistle) with the conceptions and terms of

a controversy long ago obsolete. The ideas which English readers are apt to suppose to be conveyed by the words, are ideas attached to those words in the technics of modern theological metaphysics. They are ideas not expressed in those words, and altogether unknown to St. Paul.

I am not now composing a commentary on the New Testament, but only attempting to explain the references therein to the Old. The question raised, under this category, by the passage before us, is, what the writer meant by his reference therein to Adam; and in particular, whether he meant to say or imply that the account in Genesis of Adam, and of his eating the forbidden apple, was genuine history, and that that offence of his had some influence on the condition of the human race, his posterity.

In order to provide a reply to these questions, I find it necessary to set down a paraphrase of the whole passage, according to what appears to me, on the whole, to be its import.

Let it be remembered, that the passage occurs in the midst of a long argument, drawn from various premises, to show that the Jews were no better entitled than the Gentiles to *justification*, that is, to participate in the benefits of the Christian revelation. Justification through Jesus Christ, Paul maintains, was offered alike to every believer in him, of whatever race or past profession. The Gentiles could not claim the boon on any ground of merit, for they had been grievous sinners (i. 18-32). Nor could the Jews any more, for they had added to a like sinfulness the guilt of higher privileges abused (ii. 1-29); a fact which their own sages in every age had testified against them (iii. 1-20). So all, Jew and Gentile alike, must be content to receive the Gospel gratuitously, on no other

condition than that of believing in it as God's truth (iii. 21 - 31). The Jews ought not to account this any new doctrine, for it was precisely on this ground, that their ancestor, Abraham, from whom they derived their own claim, had himself received justification (iv. 1 - 25). In their own similar justification, the gracious, unmerited gift of God, all Christians ought to rejoice and triumph (v. 1 - 11); and so far from grudging to men of heathen race an equality of privilege with themselves, and so far from wishing that justification should be limited to themselves, or limited in any way, the Jews ought to exult and be grateful that justification was henceforward the universal inheritance of every human being who would accept it, as much as that mortality had been which was introduced into the world by the first man.

“Accordingly,” says Paul (v. 12), “as sin was introduced into the world by one individual, and death was introduced into the world by means, or as a consequence, of sin, just so the reason why death has proved the universal lot of man is, that all men have been sinners.” If, in the case of the man who was the first to sin and the first to die, death is to be attributed to sin as its cause, the same must hold good as to other men. All other men must have sinned, because we know that all other men have died. — And thus the Apostle reaches, in another way of argument, the conclusion that all men alike, Jews as much as Gentiles, must owe their justification, their enjoyment of Christianity, not to any desert, but to God's unconditioned goodness. (Comp. iii. 9, 23.)

(13, 14.) “For it is thus shown that sin was present in the world from the time of the first man down to the time of the giving of the Law of Moses. You will say that a transgression cannot be charged where

there is no law to transgress, and you will remind me of my own assertion to that effect. (Comp. iv. 15.) But it is certain that death held sway in the world from the time of Adam to the time of Moses, and this too over such as had not transgressed a special express command, as Adam did, who, in this matter of the connection between sinning and dying, was a representation, a type, of what was to come after; that is, of the human race, his posterity."

(15.) Having thus argued the disease to be universal, the Apostle goes on to urge that it may be expected, from God's goodness, that the remedy will be so too. "But will not God's favor," he proceeds, "be as comprehensive as the exigency which calls for it, viz. sin? (*Οὐχ ὡς τὸ παράπτωμα, οὕτω καὶ τὸ χάρισμα;*) Yes, indeed (*γάρ*); if, sharing in the sinfulness introduced by one person (that is, sinning as he had done), the many, like that person, have been condemned to die, still more assurance may we feel that the goodness of God, and his gracious gift brought by another person, Jesus Christ, were designed to be extended to the many; to Jews and Gentiles alike; to the whole human race."

(16.) The Apostle repeats his question and reply. "Let me ask again, Will not God's bounty be as comprehensive as was the loss which began with that one sinner? Yes, indeed; a condemning judgment (judgment to condemnation, *κρίμα εἰς κατάκριμα*) originated with one sin (*ἐξ ἑνός*, with *παραπτώματος* understood, comp. 18); but God's gift of justification (*τὸ χάρισμα εἰς δικαίωμα*) is so large as to follow upon many sins."

(17-19.) He repeats and expands them yet further. "Yes; if, originating with the sin of one person, death began with that one person its universal reign, much more assurance may we feel that receivers of an abun-

dantly gracious [a universally offered] gift of justification will reign in the life obtained through that other one, Jesus Christ. So then, as, introduced by one sin, God's sentence of condemnation to death took effect upon all men; in like manner, introduced by one obedience, God's purpose of a life-giving justification has taken effect for all men. Yes; as, beginning with the disobedience of one man, the many (Jews and Gentiles alike) became sinners, falling into like disobedience, so too the goodness of God will take care that the many (Gentiles and Jews alike) shall share in the justification offered by him who was the first to avoid sin."

I shall not presume that I have given a correct paraphrase of a passage which has tasked the ingenuity of Scriptural commentators from Origen to the present day. From various causes, among which are its relations to forgotten opinions and controversies, and its singularly elliptical structure, there is not a more intricate passage in the New Testament; and I cannot fitly express my astonishment at the confidence of those interpreters who are sure of understanding it, when they draw from it that extraordinary system of theology which includes the doctrines of "imputed sin" and "imputed righteousness," — doctrines whose statement is a mere contradiction in terms. My business, however, at present, I repeat, is not that of a commentator upon the New Testament, but only upon such portions of it as put a sense upon language of the Old Testament. The argument before us evidently relates to the account of the disobedience of Adam in the first book of Moses (Gen. iii. 1 - 19). According to my view of that narrative, it is merely a fiction. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 40 - 43.) The question for our present consideration is, whether Paul appears, from the passage before us, to have regarded it in a

different light; — whether he has argued from it as genuine history.

If Paul, in this passage, affirms any thing bearing on the authority and sense of the Old Testament narrative, it is, that there was one progenitor of the human race; that his name was Adam; and that he died in consequence of sinning. He either affirms this, or he affirms nothing on the subject. As I understand him, he affirms nothing on the subject.

I am struck by his language where he speaks of Adam (14) as a “type” (τύπος), a representation, a figure, an emblem, a symbol. I know very well that a being or thing, possessing an actual, independent existence, may be a type, or emblem, of some other being or thing. But still I cannot but remark that Paul here represents that “Adam” of the narrative in Genesis, who transgressed and died, in no other light than as a “figure of what was to be afterwards”; language altogether suitable, had he understood the offending and sentenced Adam to be merely a creation of the ancient philosopher’s fancy.*

But, it will properly be asked, if Paul’s argument does not imply and mean that the disobedience of Adam, as related in Genesis, and his death in consequence of that disobedience, were historical facts, what does it mean?

I answer, Paul is using, in this instance, the kind of argument called by the logicians *argumentum ad hominem*, or *argumentum ex concessis*; that is, where one confutes an opponent by reasonings drawn from premises which the opponent, whether correctly or not, admits. This kind of argument is perfectly legitimate

* According to the Son of Sirach (Ecclus. xxv. 24), as much a learned Jew as St. Paul, it was not of Adam, the man, but “of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die.”

and well authorized. It pervades the Socratic disputations throughout. It is as suitable to be used in Scripture, as elsewhere. And nowhere could it possibly be used with more appropriateness than in a case like the present. When St. Paul was combating an error drawn by the Jews from an erroneous interpretation of their Scriptures, (viz. the error that they alone were entitled, under the Christ's reign, to the privileges of God's justified people,) what more suitable than that he should confound them by showing the inconsistency of that opinion with another opinion derived by them from those same Scriptures, without intending to imply, on his own part, the correctness of this latter opinion ?

Now the Jews of the age of the Christian revelation were miserable interpreters of their ancient records, a fact which, to adduce no other proof, our Lord's conversations with them constantly imply and expose. They supposed the narratives at the beginning of the Book of Genesis to be revealed truth. They supposed it to be matter of fact that Adam and his wife, the first man and woman, were divinely condemned to death, and to various hardships on the way thither, in consequence of having eaten of fruit which had been forbidden to their use. They perhaps supposed, though nothing of that kind does the narrative in Genesis declare, that, in consequence of the delinquency of the first pair, death became also the lot of their posterity. (Ecclus. xxv. 24.)

Paul uses this error of theirs to dispossess their minds of a different, and, practically, far more hurtful error. He reasons with them on their own premises. On the ground, he says, of being God's *sanctified people* (Exod. xxxi. 13 ; Lev. xx. 8, xxi. 8, xxii. 9, 16, 32 ; Ezek. xx. 12, xxxvii. 28), God's *holy people* (Exod. xix. 6 ;

Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 19), God's *saints* (Deut. xxxiii. 3; 2 Chron. vi. 41; Ps. xxxiv. 9, l. 5, lxix. 2, cxlviii. 14), you set up a claim of desert to a monopoly of the privileges of Christianity. But you are not saints in any such sense as you suppose. You are sinners. That you are so, you must needs infer from another doctrine which you hold. You are of opinion that the death of Adam was, by divine appointment, the consequence of his having sinned. Death you regard as the punishment and the token of sin. If so, you and all other men have sinned, for death, you well know, is, and has been, the lot of all men alike. And then he goes on to argue from God's goodness, that if, in respect to death, and to that sinfulness which the Jews understood it to indicate, all men were on a level, God would not fail to place all men also on a level in respect to those Christian privileges by which the means were afforded of escape from sin.

Here is nothing to authorize the theory of *imputed sin*, &c. So far from it, that the argument, borrowed by Paul from his opponents, that a man's subjection to the sentence of death proves that man's own personal sinfulness, looks in precisely the opposite direction.

VIII. 36.

As it is written, "For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter."

Every reader sees that this is but an accommodation which the Apostle makes to himself and his fellow-Christians of language used by the author of a Psalm (xliv. 22).

IX. 6-17.

They are not all Israel, which are of Israel: neither, because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children: but, In

Isaac shall thy seed be called. That is, they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God: but the children of the promise are counted for the seed. For this is the word of promise, "At this time will I come, and Sarah shall have a son." And not only this, but when Rebecca also had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac; (for the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth;) it was said unto her, "The elder shall serve the younger." As it is written, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." What shall we say, then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. For he saith to Moses, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy. For the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, "Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth."

Abraham had other children than Isaac, but in the line of Isaac alone were the promises made to Abraham fulfilled. (Gen. xxi. 12.) Isaac was born in accomplishment of a promise made to Sarah (Gen. xviii. 10, 14); and being so born, it was fit that he should be reckoned as the posterity to whom the promise applied. Of the two sons of Isaac, it was determined, before their birth, that only one, and he the younger, should enjoy and transmit the privileges designed by God for his chosen family. (Gen. xxv. 23; Mal. i. 2, 3.) Through Moses (that very Moses who gave them those promises from God on which they rested their overbearing claims) God had declared his unrestricted sovereignty, and his purpose not to limit his favors, or give to any claimant a monopoly of the prize. (Exod. ix. 16, xxxiii. 19.) Of these facts the Apostle avails himself to show to the Jews that God, in now adopting Gentiles into his family, was proceed-

ing on no other principles than what had been applied in the case of the Jews themselves, and recognized in their own Scriptures.

IX. 25-29.

As he saith also in Osee, "I will call them my people, which were not my people; and her beloved, which was not beloved." And it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, "Ye are not my people," there shall they be called the children of the living God. Esaias also crieth concerning Israel, "Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved." For he will finish the work and cut it short in righteousness: because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth. And as Esaias said before, "Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we had been as Sodoma, and been made like unto Gomorrha."

That prerogative of God to adopt whom he would into his family, and that diminution of the comparative importance of the chosen people, which were such a surprise and scandal to Jews of his day, the Apostle says were matters recognized by their own ancient writers (Hosea i. 10, ii. 23; Is. x. 22, i. 9); so that they could be no cause of offence to such as professed to reverence the Scriptures.

IX. 31-33.

Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness. Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law. For they stumbled at that stumbling-stone. As it is written, "Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone and rock of offence: and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed."

The first of these verses I would render (agreeably to the criticism on pp. 228-242), "Israel, though professedly adhering to the rule of justification, did not ar-

rive at a true apprehension of that rule." After which the Apostle goes on to say, that when the Israelites of his time had stumbled at the true doctrine concerning Christ and the terms of membership of his Church, it was a blindness and perversity not different from what their ancestors had displayed, according to the testimony of the holy men who had witnessed their aberrations, and reproved their want of that faith which would have given them a happy confidence. (Is. viii. 14, 15, xxviii. 16; in which latter text Paul's quotation follows the Septuagint version.)

X. 5-8.

Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the Law, that the man which doeth those things shall live by them. But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise: "Say not in thine heart, 'Who shall ascend into heaven?' (that is, to bring Christ down from above;) or, 'Who shall descend into the deep?' (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.)" But what saith it? "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart": that is, the word of faith which we preach.

The Apostle's reasoning I understand to be as follows: If you would claim Christian justification — that is, a place in the Christian community — as your right on the ground of your obedience to the Jewish law, you must be able to show that you have rendered a perfect obedience, agreeably to a strict interpretation of that principle laid down by Moses (Lev. xviii. 5). But this no man can show. It concerns all men, then, to approve and admit that simple method of justification, whose only condition is belief: So easy and accessible and attainable is it, as to admit of a natural application to it of that language in which Moses declares how freely his Law offers itself and its benefits to the well-disposed mind. Of that Law, says Paul,

Moses affirms (Deut. xxx. 11-14) that it is not necessary to explore the sky or the deep in search of it, for it is close at hand to every seeker. So it is, the Apostle adds, with Christ and his justification. They need not to be sought in the heaven, whither Christ is gone, nor in the abodes of the dead. They are to be had by whosoever will believe and profess; and this, he says yet further (Rom. x. 11, 13), is a doctrine which may be expressed in words of Isaiah (xxviii. 16) and of Joel (ii. 32).

X. 11-13.

The Scripture saith, "Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed. . . . Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved."

See Is. xlix. 23; Joel ii. 32; also the Septuagint version of Is. xxviii. 16, where, however, the Hebrew reads, "shall not make haste."

X. 15-21.

How shall they preach except they be sent? As it is written, "How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!" But they have not all obeyed the Gospel: for Esaias saith, "Lord, who hath believed our report?" So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. But I say, Have they not heard? Yes, verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. But I say, Did not Israel know? First Moses saith, "I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, and by a foolish nation I will anger you." But Esaias is very bold, and saith, "I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me." But to Israel he saith, "All day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people."

In this passage is a succession of quotations from the Old Testament, which it is plain that Paul merely

accommodates to the present uses of his argument with the Judaizing Christians. He vindicates his own preaching to the Gentiles. To the bearer of such a message as that which he publishes may be well applied, he says, that language which the Old Testament writer used (Is. lii. 7) of the herald of the return of the tribes from their captivity in Babylon. "Does any wonder that my preaching, if intended by Divine Providence to be addressed to the Gentiles, is not universally effectual? It is no greater failure than was complained of by the ancient sage. (Is. liii. 1.) And the very words of his question, 'Who hath *believed our message?*' import that it is through *hearing* such instruction as I diffuse, that *faith* is produced. And as to a small number of believers having been gathered, it is not so. On the contrary, I rejoice to ask, have they not listened, as well as heard? Yes, verily; the diffusion of the Gospel doctrine may already be described in that language which the Psalmist uses (xix. 4) of the universal proclamation of the heavenly luminaries. And has not Israel all along known, that God's favor might be extended to Gentiles? Yes, as long ago as the time of Moses, God said that (in another sense, it is true) he would so favor the heathen, as that his people would be moved to angry jealousy. (Deut. xxxii. 21.) And elsewhere in the Old Testament, very bold and strong language was used, more pertinent still to the case in hand, where it was said (Is. lxxv. 1, 2), 'I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me.' While the perversity of the Jews of the present day is well described in the same passage, where, concerning the Jews of that ancient time, God is represented as saying, 'All day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.' "

XI. 2-4.

God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew. Wot ye not what the Scripture saith of Elias? how he maketh intercession to God against Israel, "Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life." But what saith the answer of God unto him? "I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal."

To the cavilling question, "Hath God cast away the people formerly known by him [acknowledged as his chosen]?" as if an exclusion of them were involved in an admission of believing Gentiles to equal privileges, Paul replies, in a use of Old Testament language, and in allusion to a fact of Scriptural history. By no means all Jews, he says, are left out from Christ's Church. Many are members of it; and none are excluded from it, but by their own fault. It is now even as it was in ancient times, when Elijah is related to have complained that Jehovah's service was universally deserted, and to have been told that he still had many worshippers. (1 Kings xix. 14, 18.)—"What the Scripture saith of Elias"; literally, *in Elias*. See above, pp. 130, 134.

XI. 7-10.

Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election hath obtained it; and the rest were blinded (according as it is written, "God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear") unto this day. And David saith, "Let their table be made a snare, and a trap, and a stumbling-block, and a recompense unto them: let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see, and bow down their back away."

The Israelites, as a body, were formerly God's favored, chosen, "elect" people. They would be so still, but for their own blindness, which, Paul says, may

well be described in language applied by ancient writers (Is. xxix. 10 ; Deut. xxix. 4 ; Ps. lxix. 22, 23) to the stupidity and perverseness of men of their own times.

XI. 26, 27.

So all Israel shall be saved : as it is written, "There shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob : for this is my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins."

The force of this quotation appears from attention to the emphatic words of the clauses by which it is introduced. "*So*," says the Apostle, "all Israel shall be saved" (that is, all Israel that is saved at all). *So* it shall be saved. How? By a process which words of ancient Scripture well describe. (Is. lix. 20, 21.) "*As it is written*"; that is, by the Deliverer's "turning away ungodliness from Jacob," and by "the taking away of their sins." Through this "ungodliness," through these "sins," they incurred that blindness by which they kept themselves out of the communion of Christians. When their moral incapacities were taken away, the blindness which made them unbelievers would be dispelled, and the way into Christ's fold, through faith, would be unimpeded.

XI. 34.

Who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?

Without the form of quotation, the Apostle here clothes his thought in the words of Old Testament Scripture. (Is. xl. 13, 14.)

XII. 19, 20.

Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath : for it is written, "Vengeance is mine ; I will

repay, saith the Lord." Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.

The purport of these quotations (from Deut. xxxii. 35 and Prov. xxv. 21, 22) is too plain to demand any comment.

XIII. 8-10.

He that loveth another hath fulfilled the Law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: therefore love is the fulfilling of the Law.

"The Law" of social duty, expressed in the commandments of the second table (Exod. xx. 12-17; comp. Rom. xiii. 9), consists, with one exception (Exod. xx. 12), of prohibitions of different kinds of "ill" to our "neighbor." But "love" — the principle of the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" — "worketh *no* ill to his neighbor." The whole comprehends every part; and so "love is the fulfilling of the Law."

XIV. 11-13.

It is written, "As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God." So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God. Let us not, therefore, judge one another any more.

A natural application of words in which an ancient writer (Is. xlv. 23) expresses his hope of a future universal worship of Jehovah.

XV. 3.

For even Christ pleased not himself; but, as it is written, "The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me."

The quotation is from a Psalm (lxi. 9; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. p. 323) in which it is altogether unquestionable that the writer was speaking of himself. He addresses himself to God, and says, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up"; and then follow the words which Paul adopts. This language, the Apostle says, may well be applied to Christ, who, in the service of God, exposed himself to the insults of God's enemies.

XV. 4.

Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.

"Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our instruction," just as every thing is done for our profit, that we actually profit by. Provided we derive a hopeful spirit of resignation and tranquillity from the Scriptures, then it turns out that they were written, "that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope." Cæsar was not slain with any view to discourage the ambitious schemes of Napoleon. But if Napoleon had been deterred by reading the record of that deed, it would have been done and recorded for his admonition. Such is the unquestionable use of language. (See above, p. 26 *et seq.*) And thus it is that Paul, having applied to Christ language used by a writer who, in ancient times, had been persecuted for his religious loyalty, says, that "whatsoever things were written aforetime" may be put to the use of instructing men in later days.

XV. 8-12.

Now I say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the

fathers ; and that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy ; as it is written, “ For this cause I will confess to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy name.” And again he saith, “ Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people.” And again, “ Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles ; and laud him, all ye people.” And again Esaias saith, “ There shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles ; in him shall the Gentiles trust.”

Jesus Christ, says Paul, “ was a minister of the circumcision,” — that is, born of, or commissioned to, the covenant race, — to bring about (not to contravene, as it was pretended that indulgence to the Gentiles would do) the true purpose of God, and to fulfil an expectation raised by the very fathers of the Jewish line ; viz. that the Gentiles should have occasion to “ glorify God for his mercy.” And this point he establishes by quotations from ancient Scripture, in which the heathen are spoken of as future worshippers of Jehovah, and destined to share in the blessings of the Messiah’s reign. (Ps. xviii. 49 ; Deut. xxxii. 43 ; Ps. cxvii. 1 ; Is. xi. 10 ; comp. Gen. xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14.)

XV. 20, 21.

Yea, so have I strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man’s foundation : but, as it is written, “ To whom he was not spoken of, they shall see : and they that have not heard shall understand.”

Who can for a moment doubt that these words (from Is. lii. 15), used by the original writer in an entirely different sense, are here applied by St. Paul, in the way of mere rhetorical accommodation, to the plan which he declares himself to have pursued, of carrying the message of Christianity to regions where no preacher had preceded him ?

XVI. 25, 26.

The mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the Scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith.

The "mystery" — the hitherto unknown truth of the Gospel — "kept secret since the world (*ὁ αἰών*) began," — from the very beginning of that dispensation which the Gospel was to succeed, — was now "made known *to all nations.*" And it was made known "by the Scriptures of the prophets," because those writers had from time to time expressed their expectation that "all nations" would ultimately in some way have a place in God's benignant regard. (See, e. g., the texts quoted on the last page.)

SECTION II.

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THE quotations in this Epistle are all of that kind which present no difficulty to the interpreter who adopts the principles on which I have proceeded; while most of them would be explained on those principles, by critics of any school whatever. They are instances of accommodation by Paul, to his own uses, of language used by writers of the Old Testament, without any intimation that the application made of the words by the Apostle had been in the mind of the original writer. Having made this remark once for all, I need scarcely do more than set down Paul's words, with references to the passages from which they respectively quote.

I. 2.

To them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints.

They were "sanctified" and "saints" collectively, as constituting a community of believers in Christ's religion. (See above, pp. 225 - 228.)

I. 19.

It is written, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent."

Rebuking the presumption of his contemporaries, Isaiah (xxix. 14; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 222) had represented Jehovah as using this threat concerning them. Paul appropriately applies the language to the ambitious marplots of his own day. In part of the following verse, "Where is the wise? where is the scribe?" Paul seems to have had in mind an expression of Isaiah in a different place (xxxiii. 18).

I. 31.

According as it is written, "He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."

An inaccurate citation from the Book of Jeremiah (ix. 24).

II. 9, 10.

As it is written, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit."

An ancient writer (Is. lxiv. 4; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 270) had made this remark concerning the marvellous providences of God. Paul applies it, without verbal exactness, to that token of God's gracious providence, given in the revelation of Christianity.

II. 16.

Who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him?

Without formal quotation, Paul seems to be using Old Testament language. (See Isaiah xl. 13.)

III. 19, 20.

The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. For it is written, "He taketh the wise in their own craftiness." And again, "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain."

The sentences quoted are from the Books of Job (v. 13) and the Psalms (xciv. 11).

V. 7, 8.

For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.

Language strongly figurative, but quite intelligible, if we do not undertake to refine too far. The Jews, when the paschal lamb was slain, feasted upon it with unleavened bread. ("Lectures," &c., Vol. I. p. 137.) "*Our* passover, too, is slain for *us*, even Christ," says the Apostle (such is the exact rendering of the words). By his death a feast is spread for us, — the feast of God's grace. Let us gladly keep the offered festivity; and, instead of a "leaven of malice and wickedness," — a fermenting element of angry passions, — let our unleavened bread be a spirit of sincerity and truth.

VI. 16.

What! know ye not that he which is joined to an harlot is one body? for two, saith he, shall be one flesh.

To a hasty view, the form of Paul's argument here is that of an appeal to Scriptural authority. But he

could have intended no more than such an illustration as any book, without authority, would afford. For the passage to which he refers (Gen. ii. 24) relates professedly and solely to the conjugal relation, and not at all to the relation of which he is speaking.

IX. 9, 10.

It is written in the Law of Moses, "Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn." Doth God take care for oxen? or saith he it altogether for our sakes? for our sakes, no doubt, this is written.

Nothing can be clearer than that the provision of the Mosaic Law here referred to (Deut. xxv. 4) was intended to have a merely literal interpretation. St. Paul, urging the rightful claim of preachers of the Gospel to a support, quotes the words as embodying a principle which demanded a much wider application than that originally designed. "Is God careful for oxen?" he asks (that is, for oxen alone); "or is he assuredly saying it for our benefit? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written." It was *written for them*, not at all as having originally had them in view, but as susceptible of a useful application to their case. It is a result, and not a design, that Paul indicates (the *ἐκβατικόν*, as distinguished from the *ἀιτιολογικόν*. See above, pp. 27, 28; also Rom. xv. 4; 1 Cor. x. 6, 11).

X. 1-5.

For, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ. But with many of them God was not well pleased; for they were overthrown in the wilderness.

The point which St. Paul is urging is, that justified persons, persons who have been received into the community of believers, the Christian Church, may, after all, through misconduct, fail of the Divine favor and acceptance. And this point he illustrates by allusions to Jewish history. The signs of a place in the Christian brotherhood were baptism, and eating and drinking the elements of the Lord's Supper. So it might be said that the Jews, at their Exodus, were "baptized unto Moses" by the spray of the Red Sea through which they passed, and the guiding cloud which went before them in their marches, and that they kept a Eucharist together when they refreshed themselves on the manna and the water supernaturally provided in the wilderness. Yet, after all, "with many of them God was not well pleased"; the proof of which was, that "they were overthrown in the wilderness" (Numb. xiv. 37, xxv. 11). And so it might be with Christians; they, like those Jews, might be faithless to their privileges, and fall away from God's favor. — "They drank of the spiritual Rock that *followed* them" (x. 4). Illustrations of this expression have been drawn from an alleged legend of the Jews to the effect that a run of water accompanied their fathers in the march through the wilderness. (See Schöttgen *ad loc.*) But I apprehend it to be in consonance with common use, to understand the word "follow" as denoting simply *repeated occurrence*. The rock *followed* them, because they drank from it at different times (Exod. xvii. 6; Numb. xx. 11; comp. Ps. lxxviii. 9, xxiii. 6). — "And the rock was Christ" (*ibid.*); that is, Just as I have made of the passage through the Red Sea an emblem of Christian baptism, and of the supply of manna an emblem of the Christian eucharist, so by the rock from which our fathers drank in the wilderness, I

symbolize Christ, the source of our souls' refreshment.

X. 6.

Now these things were our examples, to the intent we should not lust after evil things, as they also lusted.

The narratives referred to "were our examples" (or rather, *warnings*), because capable of imparting to us instruction. (See above, pp. 264, 269.)

X. 9.

Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents.

As in the two next preceding verses (comp. Exod. xxxii. 6; Numb. xxv. 9), and in the next following (comp. Numb. xiv. 2, 35), so in this, the Apostle refers to a narrative in the Law (Numb. xxi. 5, 6). The word "Christ" is of doubtful authenticity. In its place, some of the best authorities (manuscripts and versions) read *Lord*, and others, *God*. If we accept *Christ* as the true reading, we shall then understand an ellipsis after the second "tempted" ("as some of them also tempted [God]," &c.), or we shall understand *Christ*, in this place, as a descriptive title, applicable to Moses as well as Jesus, and not as a proper name ("Neither let us tempt our *anointed leader*, as some of them did theirs").

X. 11.

Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.

The same exposition is here required as in the statement to the same effect, a few verses back (1 Cor. x. 6).

X. 20, 26.

They sacrifice to devils, and not to God.

The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.

The Apostle seems to be interweaving sentences of old Scripture into his discourse (Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. xxiv. 1).

XI. 8, 9.

For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man.

Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man.

It has been thought that here are references to the account of the creation of Eve, in Genesis (ii. 18, 21). But this is uncertain; Paul says nothing expressly to that effect; and it becomes less probable when we consider that the same Old Testament book contains a different account of the origin of the human race (Gen. i. 26, 27; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. p. 35). Quite independently of any allusion to the first Book of Moses, Paul might say that woman belonged to man, and was created for his benefit. But supposing that there was such an allusion, it would not imply any certificate on Paul's part of the historical correctness of that account. It would be more naturally interpreted as simply an *argumentum ad hominem*.

XIV. 21, 22.

In the Law it is written, "With men of other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people; and yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord." Wherefore tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not.

"In the Law it is written" (21). Here, as in some other places, the word *Law* stands for the whole volume of Old Testament Scriptures. (Comp. John x. 34,

xv. 25.) Paul's reference, made evidently from memory, is a loose and inexact one to two disconnected passages of the Prophets Isaiah (xxviii. 11, 12) and Jeremiah (v. 14, 15). Isaiah says, "With stammering lips, and another tongue, will he speak to this people; yet they would not hear"; which Lowth (note *ad loc.*), with sufficient correctness, paraphrases thus: "Ye shall be taught, by a strange tongue, and a stammering lip, in a strange country; ye shall be carried into captivity by a people whose language shall be unintelligible to you, and which ye shall be forced to learn like children." Jeremiah's language (which Paul may be thought to have had especially in view, when in his quoted words he represents God as speaking, which the passage in Isaiah does not) is, "Wherefore, thus saith the Lord of hosts: 'Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel,' saith the Lord; 'it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say.'" Here, too, the sole meaning evidently is that God's vengeance should be visited upon Israel through the agency of invaders, of foreign race and speech. It is simply in the way of a rhetorical application, that St. Paul uses the ancient writer's words. Not to say that their tenor and purpose were quite aside from those of his argument, he would, at least, had he intended to use them in the way of argument, have felt bound to use them with some precision. His statement is simply equivalent to the following: When God, of old, permitted alien invaders to execute his judgments on his people, he was said to have spoken to his people "by other tongues and other lips." It was the disobedient, and not the faithful, whom he then addressed. The same is true now, in a different sense. Now, too, when he employs

instruments speaking foreign languages, he appeals thereby "not to them that believe, but to them that believe not."

XIV. 34.

They are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the Law.

See Gen. iii. 16. The words *they are commanded*, are supplied by our translators. Nothing corresponding to them was written by Paul, nor does he give any intimation that a rule is binding on the conscience of believers, by force of being found recorded in the Book of Genesis. He says that it belongs to women "to be under obedience," a position also assigned to the women for whom he wrote by the Law which they revered. He says that it is their place, and that, in so declaring, he declares no more than a rule of behavior which they own. (Comp. below, p. 295.)

XV. 3, 4.

I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures.

What does Paul mean here by "the Scriptures"? In the Second Epistle of Peter (iii. 16) we find Paul's writings referred to as *Scriptures*. Did Paul here use the phrase in the same way, as indicating writings of his Christian associates? I do not suppose that he could allude to either of our Four Gospels, for I understand them all to have been composed later than Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. But other works of the same sort were earlier in circulation (Luke i. 1, 2); and it is supposable that it was one or more of them that Paul had in view when he said that what

he orally delivered was *according to what others had written*. So the author of the Epistle of James quotes as "Scripture" some book not belonging to the collection which we call by that name (iv. 5).

If, however, by "the Scriptures," he meant the books of the Old Testament, in what sense was it that he declared Christ to have died, to have been buried, and to have risen "again the third day, according to the Scriptures"? For whoever may suppose that he finds Christ's death and burial alluded to in the Jewish books, no one will pretend that they speak of Christ's *rising*, still less of his *rising on the third day*. My explanation of this, provided we suppose the "Scriptures" of the Old Testament to be referred to, depends on the force of the word rendered "according to" (*κατά*). I think that, by rules both of etymology and common sense, the *accordance* here indicated may be understood as merely *absence of contradiction*. Contrariety and consistency exhaust the relations between a fact and a written statement connected with it. When there is not contrariety, there is a sort of accord. Entertaining those entirely incorrect views which the Jews of Paul's time did entertain concerning the coming Messiah, they imagined the alleged facts of the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus to be fatal to the pretensions of Jesus to be the Messiah, inasmuch as they were contradicted by the whole tenor of ancient Scripture. Paul, on the contrary, held, and here declares, that those Scriptures, when rightly estimated as to their authority, and rightly interpreted as to their sense, did not contradict his declarations respecting Christ's death, burial, and resurrection. In the sense of being reconcilable with, not contradictory to, the true original idea of the Christ, as presented in the Old Testament books, those facts were "according

to the Scriptures." The *accordance* here indicated is the converse of the *opposition* referred to by Paul in a similar connection in the words (Acts xxvi. 22, 23), "saying *none other things than* those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come, that Christ should suffer," &c. (See above, pp. 20, 223.)

XV. 20.

Now is Christ risen from the dead, the first fruits of them that slept.

The metaphor of "first fruits" is drawn from the Law. The word used here (*ἀπαρχή*) appears to denote *prime fruit*, fruit first in point of excellence, while another word (*πρωτογέννημα*) means fruit first in point of time. So Origen says ("Opp.," Tom. IV. p. 4, edit. Delarue), "One would not err in calling the Law of Moses *the earliest fruit* (*πρωτογέννημα*), and the Gospel *the prime fruit* (*ἀπαρχή*)." The distinction is observed in the Septuagint, though overlooked in our English version. Christ was not the "first fruits of them that slept," in the sense of having been restored to life before any other, but in the sense of being the most excellent, the chief, the leader, the head, of them that have slept and risen.

XV. 22.

As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

By the phrase "all in Adam," every one understands, *all mankind*, just as to speak of a person as "in Christ" (comp. Rom. xvi. 7) is to describe him as a Christian. Into such forms of expression every writer and speaker naturally slides. It would be altogether unsafe at this day to argue from a person's using the phrase "every son of Adam" in the sense

of *the whole human race*, that he believed in what is related of Adam in the beginning of Genesis as historical fact. Equally unjust would it be to Paul to frame such an argument from his words. By force of ancient usage, founded originally in error, we naturally speak of the *rising* and *setting* of the sun. Must every one who uses those forms of expression be held as declaring his belief in the false natural philosophy which they imply? We speak of certain physical affections under the names of *St. Vitus's dance*, and *St. Anthony's fire*. By the use of this phraseology, do we pledge ourselves to any theory of disease?

If by the language "as in Adam all die," we see cause rather to understand "as all men die *with* [or, *like*] Adam" (comp. 1 Cor. iv. 21; Heb. ix. 25; 2 Cor. xiii. 4; Col. ii. 6), the reasoning as to the question in hand will be the same. In the mention of Adam as the person with whom that universal mortality began which was the only thing to his purpose, and which was well known by experience, Paul will be understood as employing a form of expression, or of thought, familiar to his countrymen, without proposing to vouch for the correctness of the traditionary opinion in which it had its origin.

XV. 25-27.

He must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. For he hath put all things under his feet.

In expressing his conviction of the future universal empire of his Master, Paul does but advert to the language of a writer of former days who had no higher conception of the Messiah than as a splendid earthly sovereign, at whose feet Jehovah, his patron, would

strike down all his foes. (Ps. cx. 1; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. pp. 314 - 316.)

XV. 32.

If the dead rise not, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.

Paul remembers words of an ancient writer (Is. xxii. 13) which forcibly express his thought, and adopts them accordingly.

XV. 45.

And so it is written, "The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit."

Where is this "written"? The first clause, or rather what is very like the first clause, in the Book of Genesis (ii. 7); the latter clause, in no book that we are acquainted with.

XV. 54, 55.

When this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

There is in these verses a certain resemblance to two passages of the prophetic writings (Is. xxv. 8; Hosea xiii. 14); but no otherwise than in the way of verbal accommodation.

SECTION III.

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

Most of the references to the Old Testament in this Epistle consist of quotations such as are used by all writers to give liveliness to a discourse, and raise no question as to the construction put upon the Jewish Scriptures by the author of the book. See 2 Corinthians iv. 13 (comp. Ps. cxvi. 10); vi. 2 (comp. Is. xlix. 8); vi. 16 – 18 (comp. Lev. xxvi. 11, 12, Is. lii. 11, 12, 2 Sam. vii. 14); viii. 15 (comp. Exod. xvi. 18); ix. 6 (comp. Prov. xi. 24, xxii. 8); ix. 9 (comp. Ps. cxii. 9); xiii. 1 (comp. Deut. xix. 15). In most of these instances, the words quoted are applied in their original sense; in some, as in the last specified, where the Apostle speaks of his three journeys as three “witnesses” to the conduct of his Corinthian converts, the reader sees an example of the habit of the New Testament writers to accommodate Old Testament language to meanings and uses of their own.

In one chapter of this Epistle (iii. 7 – 16), a fanciful application is made, in different ways, of the relation (Exod. xxxiv. 29, 30, 33 – 35) that when Moses came down from Mount Sinai, after receiving the elementary Law, his face was radiant, and he covered it with a veil. Having only a rhetorical embellishment in view, Paul adopted that interpretation of this narrative which was current in his time, as it is in ours, though its correctness is by no means unquestionable. (See “Lectures,” &c., Vol. I. p. 229, note.)

I. 1.

All the saints which are in all Achaia.

That is, the receivers of Christianity. (See above, pp. 225 - 228.)

III. 7, 8.

If the ministration of death in letters, engraven in stones, was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not steadfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance, which glory was to be done away; how shall not the ministration of the spirit be rather glorious?

Paul's ministry was a "ministration of the spirit" (comp. iii. 6), because it imparted rich spiritual privileges, hitherto unenjoyed. The ministry of Moses was a "ministration of death," because it dealt largely in denunciations of death; capital punishment was its great penalty. It was for the most part a code of hard and rigid law, having appropriately its elementary doctrines "written and engraven in stones" (comp. Exod. xxxi. 18); yet, in all its inferiority to the Gospel, so "glorious" was it, that the face of its bearer Moses was suffused with a transitory, indeed, but an intolerable brightness. How intensely glorious, then, must be the superior "ministration of the spirit"! Every judicious reader sees here, not argument (which was not intended), but the natural use of an historical statement in the way of poetical illustration of a glowing thought.

III. 13 - 15.

Not as Moses, which put a veil over his face, that the children of Israel could not steadfastly look to the end of that which is abolished: but their minds were blinded; for until this day remaineth the same veil in the reading of the Old Testament; it not being revealed that it is done away in Christ. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart.

Entirely changing the application of the circumstances of the same narrative, Paul now represents

the veil as drawn over the hearts of his countrymen, to blind them "in the reading of the Old Testament," and only to be removed by Christ. How can any reflecting person attend to such language as this, and continue to maintain that, whenever the New Testament writers use a passage from the Old, they intend to adduce it in its original sense, and make it, as such, a basis for their argument?

VII. 15.

What concord hath Christ with Beliar?

By its etymology, Belial (בְּלִי' יָעַל, of which Beliar is the Syriac form) means *worthlessness*. In the Old Testament the word only appears in combination with "children" (Deut. xiii. 13), "sons" (Judges xix. 22), "daughter" (1 Sam. i. 16), and "man" (1 Sam. xxv. 25).

XI. 3.

I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.

Nothing can possibly be inferred from this language as to Paul's opinion of the fabulous or historical character of the history, in Genesis, of the serpent and Eve. Should I say, "I fear you will be tantalized as Tantalus was, when the water for which he thirsted would go no further than his lips," by no sound principle of interpretation could my words be shown to imply that I recognized the story of Tantalus as the record of a fact.

SECTION IV.

EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

II. 16.

Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the Law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the Law ; for by the works of the Law shall no flesh be justified.

The sense of these words, and the import of the doctrine they express, have been fully discussed in my remarks on the corresponding statement in the Epistle to the Romans. (See above, pp. 228 – 242.)

III. 6, 7.

Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Know ye, therefore, that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham.

The Apostle here makes the same use of a statement in Genesis (xv. 6) as he makes in his Epistle to the Romans. (See above, pp. 234, 246.) Belief in God, he says here, was, according to the ancient record, Abraham's sole title to "righteousness"; that is, to justification. And it is so, he argues, with all men, as much as with Abraham. Faith is the only principle and condition of admittance to the privileges conveyed by God's revealed truth. Not the descendants of Abraham by birth are his spiritual heirs, as the Jews maintained, nor those who, like that patriarch, observed the rite of circumcision, but those who, like him, *believed*; "they which are of *faith*, the same are the children of Abraham."

III. 8, 9.

The Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the Gospel unto Abraham, saying, "In thee shall all nations be blessed." So then they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.

Paul here adopts the obvious sense of the Divine promise anciently made to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 18, xxii. 18), as indicating that other nations, besides that of which he was to be the progenitor, were to receive benefits through him; a promise which was, in the fulness of time, to be accomplished by the agency of Jesus, his descendant. But how could "the heathen," "all nations," be blessed *in* Abraham, "with faithful Abraham"? Clearly, by the terms of the case, it could not be by virtue of any hereditary transmission of the blessing in his custody, for the Gentiles were aliens from his blood. That "all nations" were to be blessed in him, Scripture had declared. They could not be blessed in him by virtue of being his posterity; for his posterity they were not. There was but one other way; and this, Paul argued, was the true way. They must come to be blessed in Abraham, by the same means by which Abraham himself had obtained the blessing. They must be justified by *believing*, even as Abraham had been justified.

III. 10-12.

For as many as are of the works of the Law are under the curse: for it is written, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the Law to do them." But that no man is justified by the Law in the sight of God, it is evident: for, "The just by faith shall live." And the Law is not of faith: but, "He that doeth them shall live in them."

Paul meets these punctilious Jewish reasoners on their own ground. When you undertake, he says, so

to exalt the authority of the Law, consider what that authority declares. Before you presume to rely for your justification on your observance of the Law, and to exclude from justification those who do not keep the Law, observe that, by its own terms, your pretensions will be overthrown. What blessing can it give you, on the ground you assume, when, on the contrary, it expressly denounces a curse (Deut. xxvii. 26) against whoever does not perseveringly obey every one of its requisitions, which you very well know that no one of you does, and when the life it promises, according to its own language in another place, is only for those who keep its "statutes and judgments" (Lev. xviii. 5); while, according to another Old Testament writer (Hab. ii. 4), whose language well expresses the doctrine insisted on by Paul, the spiritual life of the justified is that which they attain to, not by means of keeping the Law, but by means of faith?

III. 13, 14.

Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law, (being made a curse for us, for it is written, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree,") that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

"The curse of the Law" here spoken of, I take to be the imprecation quoted, just above (Gal. iii. 10), by Paul. Christ had redeemed, or relieved, us from it, by bringing believers under a different dispensation of religion from that to which this language related. The quotation which follows (from Deut. xxi. 23) I have placed, with its introduction, in a parenthesis, to indicate the relation which, in my view, the sentence so constituted bears to the context. There is, I presume, no imaginable sense in which Paul could have

intended to assert, as a substantial verity, that his Master was "made a curse." The passage which he quotes, relating to a matter as remote as possible from theological doctrine, prescribes a speedy burial of malefactors. (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. p. 482, note||.) As Paul writes, and repeats freely the words *blessing* and *curse*, a passage in which the latter word is used occurs to his memory; along with it, an idea presents itself, such as, in the profane writers, we are accustomed to call *a conceit*; a vague resemblance strikes him between the crucifixion of Jesus, and the ancient exposure of the dead bodies of criminals by "hanging on a tree"; by one of those rapid strokes, which in all writers give spirit to a composition without contributing to the main texture of discourse, he throws out the allusion in a brief parenthesis, and then passes on with his argument. It needs scarcely be added, that by "the blessing of Abraham" we are to understand the blessings to be conveyed through him to all nations, and by "the promise of the spirit" to be obtained "through faith," the spiritual privileges which were assured to the believer.

III. 16, 17.

Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made (he saith not, "and to seeds," as of many, but as of one, "and to thy seed," which is Christ); and this I say, that the covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the Law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect.

Here, again, I think that, by throwing a clause into a parenthesis, the relation of the different parts of the passage to each other is better exhibited. I understand the Apostle as making in it a passing suggestion, not belonging to the main thread of the argument, to this

effect: Mark, by the way, that the Old Testament text (Gen. xvii. 7) speaks of one posterity, and not of several, as if designing to intimate the unity of a Church, which being one in Jesus its head (comp. Gal. iii. 28, 29) recognizes no distinction between Jew and Gentile.

Paul's argument in the next verse is, that, according to the well-established principles of all contracts, the Mosaic Law, on which the Jews founded their exclusive claims, could not abrogate or change the conditions of that covenant with Abraham, "confirmed of God before as to Christ," in which it had been promised that to all nations Abraham's posterity should impart blessings, to be secured by faith in their giver. — "The Law, which was four hundred and thirty years after." Four hundred and thirty years after what? After the covenant with Abraham, spoken of immediately before? There was, I suppose, an interval of six hundred and forty-five years between those two events. (Gen. xv. 13; Exod. xii. 41; Acts vii. 6; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. p. 140.) The reading of the Septuagint version, however, which was in the hands of Paul's Galatian friends, represented the interval as being but four hundred and thirty years; and as his argument was equally good whether the time was longer or shorter, there was no reason why he should raise an irrelevant question by correcting the received computation. Or we may reconcile the figures by translating Paul's words (though the definite article is not expressed), "after *the* four hundred and thirty years"; that is, the memorable four hundred and thirty years of African servitude. (Comp. Exod. xii. 41.)

IV. 21 - 27.

Tell me, ye that desire to be under the Law, do ye not hear the

Law? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a free woman. But he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the freewoman was by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, for she is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is our mother. For it is written, "Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not; for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband."

The sense of this passage is utterly obscured in our common version by a mistranslation of three Greek words (*ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα*). The rendering "which things are an allegory" represents Paul as saying precisely what he did not mean to say. The history of the births of Ishmael and Isaac was not an allegory; nor did the Apostle so understand it; nor does the grammatical construction of his words admit of such a version. We should read, "Which things [which historical facts] are *allegorized*" (that is, by Paul, in the manner which he goes on to state); or, "which things, *when allegorized*, are [or, stand] thus; namely, these [the mothers of Abraham's sons] are. [or, represent] the two covenants," &c. To *allegorize* is to frame an allegory; and an allegory is often framed on a basis of historical facts; and that is what Paul declares himself to be doing in the present instance. In this and another instance or two, he is a constructor of allegory, but an allegorical interpreter (who, of course, supposes allegory to exist before he proceeds to interpret on that supposition) I apprehend that Paul never is. (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 333, 334.)

Paul recites with precision the narrative which he

proposes to allegorize. "Abraham had two sons. He who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh"; — there was nothing supernatural in the circumstances of Ishmael's birth. (Gen. xvi. 15.) "But he of the freewoman was by promise"; — Isaac was miraculously born, agreeably to a promise of Jehovah, after his mother had passed the age of child-bearing. (Gen. xviii. 10.) Taken as materials for an allegory, the mothers represent "the two covenants"; Hagar, the Jewish; Sarah, the Christian. Hagar, a slave, represents "the one from [the covenant given from] the Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage"; "for this Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia" [Mount Sinai goes in Arabia by the very name of *Hagar* (see Koppe, "Test. Nov.," Vol. V. pp. 136, 137)]; and [in my allegory] she corresponds "to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children [to the existing Jewish institution, whose adherents render a slavish service]." But the superior [here I would change the punctuation, and read, *Ἡ δὲ ἄνω, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν*, and translate, She that is above (for this rendering see John viii. 23; Phil. iii. 14; Col. iii. 1, 2), the superior, that is, Sarah] is, or corresponds to, the free Jerusalem, the free Christian Church, "which is our mother," which numbers as its children us free Christians, as the free man Isaac was the son of the free woman, Sarah. And to us, in view of the growth to which the Christian Church is destined, may be applied what was said by the prophet (Is. liv. 1) to Sarah's posterity of old: "Rejoice, thou barren, that bearest not," &c. (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. p. 259.)

IV. 28 - 31.

Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise.
But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him

that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Nevertheless, what saith the Scripture? "Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free woman." So then, brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free.

Paul pursues the allegorical application of the history: As Isaac was a child of promise, being born according to the promise to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 10), so we are children of promise, being born, as it were, into the Christian Church, agreeably to another promise to that patriarch (Gen. xii. 3). Ishmael, "born after the flesh, persecuted [with insult] him [Isaac] that was born after the spirit." (Gen. xxi. 9.) So we, the spiritual children of Abraham, are persecuted by his carnal children. But God's purpose of giving us Christians the inheritance of his grace is similar to his purpose for Isaac, expressed in ancient Scripture, where it said, "Cast out the bondwoman and her son, for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free woman." (Gen. xxi. 10.) In short, brethren, in our origin and our privileges we answer to him of old who was son of the free woman, and not to him who was son of the slave.

V. 13, 14.

By love serve one another; for all the Law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

That is; if you will be tenacious of the Law, show your attachment to it, not by observing circumcision (v. 1) or any other particular of its temporary ritual, but by the practice of that mutual charity which was its comprehensive rule (Lev. xix. 18), and is a rule of perpetual obligation.

SECTION V.

EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

IV. 7-10.

Unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore he saith, "When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men." (Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.)

The Apostle quotes here from a Psalm (lxviii. 18), where, according to the most approved translation, we read as follows, viz. : —

"Thou hast ascended on high ;
Thou hast led captive the vanquished ;
Thou hast received gifts from men."

The Psalm appears to be a triumphal ode on the occasion of the reconveyance of the ark to its place after some victory obtained by the Israelites over their neighbors on the northeastern frontier (lxviii. 15, 22). It is Jehovah who is addressed by the Psalmist in the quoted words. If the Apostle had intended to represent them as having originally had any relation to the subject which he was treating, of course he would have taken care to quote them exactly, instead of changing the structure of the sentence as he has done, and making the material alteration of "gave" for "received." Nothing to the contrary of this remark can be inferred from the introductory words rendered "Wherefore he saith" (*Διὸ λέγει*). They may be briefly rendered, "As to which the Scripture saith"; meaning simply, The Scripture uses language which I may

apply to this matter. (Comp. Eph. v. 14; James iv. 6; texts which are decisive as to this interpretation.)

Paul had been reminding his Ephesian converts of the great exaltation they had attained in being "made to sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." (Eph. ii. 6, i. 3.) He subjoins the exhortation to do credit, by an humble walk, to the dignity of their calling: "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with longsuffering, forbearing one another in love" (iv. 1, 2). It is to this topic, I think, that he means his quotation to apply. According to my view, his train of thought might be thus expressed: Be humble, that you may be exalted. Descend, that you may ascend. (Comp. Luke xiv. 10.) Do what God himself is represented to have done in that choral burst of triumph, in which he is said to have led captive his enemies, and to have "ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things." Observe that he is said to have "ascended." One can only ascend from a lower level; and the word implies that God, not jealously adhering to the abode of his majesty, "descended first into the lower parts of the earth" (that is, "these lower regions," viz. the earthly, the terrestrial regions; not any "parts" which are "lower" in relation to the earth's surface, but the earth's surface itself, which is "lower" in relation to "heaven"). If God could first descend so that he might ascend to his greatness, so may you. — "Gave gifts unto men," instead of "received gifts from men," the Apostle perhaps wrote by an error of memory. Perhaps he may have had authority for it, as the reading now appears in the Chaldee and Syriac versions. At all events, having done so, he makes a further application of the words accordingly. As,

according to these quoted words, God anciently “gave gifts unto men,” so, he says, God is giving them now ; to some he gives gifts to be Apostles ; to some, to be prophets, &c. (iv. 11).

V. 14.

Wherefore he saith, “Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.”

Rather, “*it* saith.” But who or what saith ? It has been customary with the commentators, but with little show of probability, to understand the Apostle as referring to some language of Isaiah (xxvi. 19, lx. 1). I suppose the words are simply a fragment of one of those sacred lyrics which it seems (Eph. v. 19) that the Ephesians used in their worship. They nearly fall into lines in one of the Anacreontic measures : —

*Ἐγείρε ὁ καθεύδων,
Καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
Ἐπιφάνσεις σοι ὁ Χριστός.

I think we hear people introduce a quotation with the words “It says,” when the quotation is from some well-known composition, of some degree of authority, greater or less ; — it may be, the Bible ; it may be, the catechism or the hymn-book. It seems sufficiently clear, from this instance, that it is not safe to maintain that the use of the form always implies a reference to some book of Scripture.

V. 31, 32.

For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh.
This is a great mystery : but I speak concerning Christ and the Church.

No intelligent reader can doubt that these words, in their original use (Gen. ii. 24), were applied to the

conjugal relation, and to that alone. Paul says that he turns them into a significant *emblem* or *symbol* (*μυστήριον*, comp. Apoc. i. 20, xvii, 5, 7), by making an application of them to the union subsisting between Christ and his Church. (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. p. 334.)

VI. 2, 3.

Honor thy father and mother (which is the first commandment with promise, that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth).

By the first clause inclosed in the parenthesis, I understand the Apostle to be calling attention to the fact, that this command is sanctioned by an encouraging promise (comp. Exod. xx. 12), while those which precede it all bear the form of prohibition. And his words which follow, "that it may be well with thee," &c. (Eph. vi. 3), are merely a recital of that promise, and by no means his own declaration that long life is to be expected as the reward of filial obedience. (Comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. p. 173, note; Ps. xxxvii. 27, 29.) Paul simply describes the commandment to which he refers as being "the first commandment which, in the Decalogue, was accompanied by a promise; viz. the promise, 'That it may be well with thee,' " &c.

SECTION VI.

EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

II. 16, 17.

Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days; which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.

The ritual Law, in comparison with that of Christ's religion, is as unsubstantial and ineffective as a shadow compared with a substance. Or, possibly, the idea is that the ritual of Moses prepared for the spiritual discipline of Christ's religion, as the shadow, thrown forward, is the precursor and herald of the substance. It is in vain to pretend to find here any such doctrine as that the old dispensation was *typical* of the new, in the technical sense held by divines.

SECTION VII.

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

II. 3, 4.

Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.

It does not belong to my plan to inquire whom St. Paul means here by the "man of sin." In describing

his impious pretensions, Paul appears to have had in mind, in one clause, language used in the Book of Daniel of the Syrian scourge of God's people, Antiochus Epiphanes. Of that prince it had been said, "He shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every God." (Dan. xi. 36; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. IV. pp. 404, 451.) It is probable that Paul accommodates these words where he says that the man of sin "opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God," though the resemblance of phrase may be merely accidental.

SECTION VIII.

FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

II. 12 - 14.

I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman, being deceived, was in the transgression.

This was a very sufficient and appropriate argument for Jewish women. (Comp. Gen. ii. 18, 22, iii. 6.) Zealous, like their teachers, for the Law, it was suitable to silence them by an appeal drawn from the letter of the Law. The Epistle had especial regard to Judaizing teachers and persons under their influence. (1 Tim. i. 5 - 11; comp. 2 Tim. iii. 6.) To turn their own weapons against them was a way of reasoning always recognized as legitimate.

V. 17, 18.

Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor,

especially they who labor in the word and doctrine. For the Scripture saith, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn," and, "The laborer is worthy of his reward."

In the former of these instances (Deut. xxv. 4), old Scripture directs one application of a general principle of justice, of which the Apostle commands another. The general statement of that principle, which, in the last clause, Paul appears also to refer to Scripture, is nowhere found therein in the words specified, though it is in sense. (Lev. xix. 13; Deut. xxiv. 14, 15.)

SECTION IX.

SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

I. 9.

Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began.

God "hath saved us and called us with an holy calling"; that is, he hath made us his covenant people, and invited us to the privileges of a revealed religion. (See above, pp. 225 - 228.) And this he hath done, "not according to our works" (see above, pp. 228 - 242), but according to a purpose which (to be fulfilled, in good time, by the agency of Jesus) he entertained "before the world began" (*πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων*), that is, which he entertained so early as before the time of the introduction of Judaism (see above, p. 78), and even announced before that time to the patriarchs. (Gen. xii. 3, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14.)

II. 8.

Jesus Christ, of the seed of David.

See above, p. 14; also, Rom. i. 3 and Gal. iv. 4.

II. 19.

The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, "The Lord knoweth them that are his."

"The Lord will show who are his," Moses had said, at the time of the rebellion of Korah. (Numb. xvi. 5.) Paul appears to apply the words to God's recognition of his children in Christ.

III. 8.

As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth.

Jannes and Jambres were the names given by the Targumists and Talmudists to two sons of Balaam, and to two Egyptian magicians, who, among other misdeeds, opposed the application of Moses (Exod. vii. 11 *et seq.*) to Pharaoh. (See Wetsten. "Nov. Test.," Tom. II. p. 362.) Paul's reference, in this instance, confirms what I have repeatedly said, in the course of these comments, of the legitimacy of drawing illustrations from fabulous characters and events. (See above, pp. 80, 113, &c.)

III. 15, 16.

From a child thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.

It will not fail to be observed that in the common version the word *is*, which constitutes the *copula* of the propositions in the latter verse, is in Italic letters, indi-

cating that there is no word corresponding to it in the Greek original. Every proposition consists of a subject, a predicate, and a *copula* expressed or understood to connect the two. In the Greek of this passage the *copula* is understood. The question is, *where* it is to be understood, and where, accordingly, in a translation, it is to be inserted. With fidelity to the original at least equal to that of our English translation, the Syriac and Vulgate, the earliest versions, as well as Clement, Origen, Tertullian, and others of the earliest Fathers, insert the *copula* further on, so as to represent the following collocation: All Scripture [or, every writing] given by inspiration of God *is* also profitable, &c.; — thus merely affirming that whatever writings are so given are useful for teaching, &c., and not touching the question what particular writings are so given.

But another question, not less important, relates to the force of the single word (*θεόπνευστος*) rendered by our translators, “given by inspiration of God.” It is compounded of the two very common words signifying *God*, and *breath* or *spirit*. *Θεοῦ πνεῦμα* is *God’s spirit*, or *a divine, religious spirit*; and *θεόπνευστος*, by etymological analogy, is an epithet signifying *prompted*, dictated, animated, *by a religious spirit*.

The sentence accordingly will read, Every writing dictated by a religious spirit is useful for teaching, &c. Timothy, “from a child,” had been acquainted with that collection of Old Testament writings known by the name of “Holy Scriptures.” With some compositions of inferior value, it contained others to which the word *θεόπνευστος* deserved to be applied; among them the inspired communications of the great law-giver himself, to which that word was applicable in its highest sense. By the light they shed on the plan

which the Divine wisdom had been pursuing from the earliest separation of the Jewish race, and had now consummated in the revelation of the Gospel, they were able to make the reader "wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus."

In further illustration of this interesting passage, I copy at length a note appended by Mr. Norton to his publication (in 1820) of "Locke's Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles; and Le Clerc on Inspiration":—

"Before any thing can be inferred from this passage, it is necessary to determine the true meaning of the word *θεόπνευστος*, rendered *given by inspiration of God*. If this term does not necessarily imply any thing *miraculous*, then the text affords no evidence in favor of the opinion which it is quoted to support.

"The word occurs nowhere else in the Scriptures; and I have seen but one example produced of its use by any profane author.* As, however, we know the words of which it is compounded, and as analogous expressions are very common, there seems little difficulty in determining its meaning.

"The force of the expression, then, I believe, is precisely the same as if the writings spoken of had been said to be composed *ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ*, *by the spirit of God*. Now every one acquainted with the phraseology of the Scriptures knows that many things are ascribed to *the spirit*, or *the holy spirit*, or *the spirit of God*, when no miraculous operation is supposed by the writer. *The spirit of God* is a term used in the Scriptures to denote (among other meanings) *all influences upon, and communications to, the human mind*,

* Phocylides, in the following line:—

Τῆς δὲ θεοπνεύστου σοφίης λόγος ἐστὶν ἄριστος.

which the writer refers to God as their author ; whether they are considered as proceeding from him directly or remotely ; whether as miraculous, or as regulated by the ordinary laws of the physical and moral world ; whether they are to be referred immediately to an act of his power, or are the immediate consequence and result of means and motives, and the operation of other agents. The term is as often used to denote influences and communications not regarded as miraculous, as to denote those which are thus regarded. All the means and motives which God employs to bring men to goodness, are referred to the Spirit of God ; and he who is affected by these means, and acts under the influence of these motives, is said to be actuated by the *Holy Spirit*, or the *Spirit of God*. Abundant evidence of what has just been stated may be found by consulting the lexicons and concordances of the Old and New Testaments, and especially Schleusner's article on the word *πνεῦμα*, a translation of which, by Mr. Buckminster, is contained in the first volume of the General Repository.

“ Having settled the sense of the term *Spirit of God*, we may determine that of the word *θεόπνευστος*. This is to be understood in a similar latitude of signification. It is equivalent, as has been said, to the words, *written by the Spirit of God* ; and these words denote nothing more than *written under those influences which proceed from God*, whether miraculous or not. The writings thus characterized may have been the works of prophets, who received direct miraculous communications from God ; or they may have been nothing more than the works of men, whose minds were acted upon by the motives which he presents, and who had that sense of religion and duty, which his dispensations to the Jewish nation were adapted

to produce. In the present case, the term is, I conceive, applied to writings of both these classes.

“In the text in question, the rendering of the words *πᾶσα γραφή* by the words *all Scripture*, is incorrect. They should be translated *every writing*. Allowing the common reading and construction to be correct, the following rendering will, it is believed, express the true sense of the text, as nearly as it can be expressed in our language :—

“*Every writing* (that is, of the Old Testament, the *ἱερὰ γράμματα*, the *Holy Scriptures*, mentioned in the preceding verse) *was composed under those influences which are from God, and is profitable, &c.*

“If this mode of reading and constructing the verse is correct, it may be regarded as a general proposition, not to be understood strictly and universally ; since it is at least doubtful whether the Apostle would have ascribed the Song of Solomon in any sense to divine influence.

“But the text may be otherwise understood and thus rendered :—

“*Every writing, composed under those influences which are from God, is profitable, &c.*

“The account which has been given of the terms *Spirit, Holy Spirit, and Spirit of God*, will serve to explain other passages, which are usually quoted in defence of the doctrine of the inspiration of the whole of the Old and New Testaments.”

SECTION X.

EPISTLE TO TITUS.

I. 1-3.

The faith of God's elect, and the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness (in hope of eternal life), which God, that cannot lie, promised before the world began; but hath in due times manifested his word through preaching, which is committed unto me.

I have inclosed in a parenthesis the words "in hope of eternal life," which I understand to be equivalent to "resting on a hope of eternal life," and to be added as a description of "*the truth* which is after godliness," that is, which is productive of godliness. According to this simple arrangement, it is not "eternal life," or "the hope of eternal life," which is declared by the Apostle to have been "promised" by God "before the world began" (*πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων*); that is, before the times of the Jewish dispensation. (Comp. above, p. 78.) We have no knowledge that eternal life, or the hope of it, was promised thus early; but the contrary. What the Apostle truly declares to have been promised thus early (Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14; Deut. xviii. 15) was, that "truth" after godliness, which, Paul adds, was "in due times manifested" through Jesus, and made known to the world "through preaching," in which Paul was employed.

II. 14.

A peculiar people.

The disciples of Jesus, says Paul, sustain a special relation to God, as did the disciples of Moses of old. (See Exod. xix. 5; Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18; and comp. above, pp. 225 - 228.)

SECTION XI.

FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER.

I. 9 - 12.

Receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls. Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you ; searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto you, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the Gospel unto you with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven ; which things the angels desire to look into.

From these words, Peter appears to me to have understood the case of the ancient writers called *Prophets*, just as I have represented it. They were not inspired, or supernaturally instructed men. On the contrary, they had very imperfect apprehensions — apprehensions unsatisfactory to themselves — of that “grace that should come,” to which they referred in vague language, founded on the promises made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Gen. xii. 3, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14), and on the promise made by Moses (Deut. xviii. 15). They testified, indeed, through “the spirit of Christ which was in them” ; that is, a spirit, an impulse, which led them to speak of Christ. But as to what it “did signify,” — what in particular was imported by the general language which Moses, their great authority on the subject, had used in relation to the coming teacher, — respecting this they were at a loss ; respecting this “they inquired and searched diligently” ; and, as appears from what they have written upon it,

they inquired and searched with only partial success, arriving at conclusions very materially erroneous. The general terms in which Moses had foretold the coming "prophet like unto himself," had reference to, and ultimately had their fulfilment in, "the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." The prophets of the later ages had meant their representation of the expected Christ to be a repetition and amplification of the idea presented by Moses, and therefore they might properly be said to "testify beforehand the sufferings [or experiences] of Christ, and the glory that should follow," because these were the true import of the promise of Moses, and it was the promise of Moses which (distorted and incorrect as was in fact the image they gave of it) the prophets had designed to repeat. (Comp. Luke x. 24.) And much, in relation to the subject and to the "manner of time" of its occurrence, as they were ignorant of, this they knew, — "it was revealed" — it was obvious to them — that the hope of the Messiah's coming was not accomplished in their day, but remained to be accomplished subsequently, and accordingly was accomplished, as Peter says, in the time of those to whom he was writing. "Unto whom it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto you [unto a future time, — unto your time, as it turns out] they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the Gospel unto you with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven; which things the angels desire to look into [things, so far from being subject to be comprehended by the old Jewish sages, with their imperfect hints derived from Moses, that still, even after the great fact of the Messiah's mission has taken place, they are matter for the scrutiny of higher intelligences]."

I have founded part of the above remarks on the common translation, "the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow" (i. 11). But I doubt whether the Greek will any way bear this rendering. The literal sense of the words (*τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα*) is, *the sufferings to Christ*; that is, the sufferings down to Christ's time. Whose sufferings? Who did "the prophets" expect would "suffer" till the time of Christ's appearance, and then have suffering succeeded by "glory"? They expected precisely this respecting the nation to which they belonged. I propose, therefore, instead of "the sufferings of Christ and the glory which should follow" (which is not a correct representation of Peter's words), to read, "the [national] sufferings till the Messiah's time, and the glory fated then to be disclosed."

I. 15, 16.

As he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation; because it is written, "Be ye holy, for I am holy."

Here Peter simply casts his own exhortation into the form of a command recorded to have been anciently given by God (Lev. xi. 44), and fortifies his precept by a repetition of that command.

I. 18, 19.

Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.

They had been "redeemed" from a "vain conversation"; that is, they had been rescued from an irreligious life. They had been rescued by the "blood of Christ," because Christ's death had been the needful

attestation to that Gospel of his which was the instrument of their moral renovation. (Comp. John i. 29; 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20; Tit. ii. 14.) His blood was "precious," because it was the blood of one innocent as a lamb; resembling, in his freedom from moral defect, the physical perfection of those victims, which the ritual required to be "without blemish."

I. 23-25, II. 4-10.

Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth. For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away; but the word of the Lord endureth for ever. And this is the word which by the Gospel is preached unto you.

To whom coming, as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, and precious, ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. Because it is contained in the Scripture, "Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded." Unto you, therefore, which believe, he is precious; but unto them which be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, even to them which stumble, being disobedient to the word: whereunto also they were appointed. But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light; which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God; which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy.

In these two passages, it is quite clear, that, to express his own sentiments with the greater liveliness and effect, the Apostle does but cull sentences and expressions from different parts of old Scripture, and transfer them from their original meaning, with free

alterations to suit the purpose to which he applies them. (Comp. Is. xl. 6, xxviii. 16 ; Ps. cxviii. 22 ; Is. viii. 14 ; Jer. vi. 21 ; Exod. xix. 6 ; Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2 ; Hos. ii. 23 ; also above, pp. 225 - 228.)

II. 22, 24.

Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth ;
by whose stripes ye were healed.

Here is another instance of precisely the same kind as the last two. The Apostle, in speaking of his Master, adopts language which had been employed in the Old Testament with a different application. (Is. liii. 9, 5 ; comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. III. pp. 252 - 259.) No one can argue that, by merely applying to Jesus language borrowed from an ancient writer, Peter meant to imply that, in using that language, that writer had described Jesus, unless he is prepared to maintain that, when the same Apostle (1 Peter ii. 9, 10) calls "the strangers scattered throughout Pontus," &c. (ibid. i. 1) "a royal priesthood," and "a people which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy," those "strangers" were the persons whom Moses and Hosea had designated when they first used those expressions.

The interpretation of this passage of Peter's Epistle is the more important, as it contains the only reference in the Epistles of the New Testament to what has been considered the most striking prediction of Jesus in the Old. (See above, p. 64.)

III. 10 - 12, 14, 15.

He that will love life and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile ; let him eschew evil, and do good ; let him seek peace and ensue it. For the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his

ears are open unto their prayers; but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil. . . . And be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled; but sanctify the Lord God in your hearts.

Here again the Apostle does but clothe his sentiments and injunctions in words of old Scripture, as a preacher of the present day would do. (Comp. Ps. xxxiv. 12-16; Is. viii. 12, 13.)

III. 18-20.

Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit; by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which sometime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water.

Our English translation of these verses I take to convey an altogether erroneous idea. As they stand in the printed editions of the Greek, the sentence is very incompact, and its import, accordingly, obscure. It has probably suffered violence in transcription, — a fact which is indicated by some variety of reading in the manuscripts. Taking the text as it is printed, by “the spirits *in prison* (ἐν φυλακῇ), which sometime were disobedient,” I understand the disobedient spirits once imprisoned *in the bondage* of iniquity (comp. Isaiah xlii. 7), or (preferably) the spirits, once disobedient, now *in safety*. (Comp. ἐφύλαξε, “saved,” 2 Pet. ii. 5.) For “*when* the long-suffering of God waited,” I propose, by an easy and perfectly allowable change (ἄ, τε for ὄτε), to read “*which also* the long-suffering of God awaited.” We shall then understand the Apostle as saying, that Christ, by that holy spirit which dwelt in him, and which was but quickened into higher life when he died, had gone forth [during his earthly ministry] and

preached to benighted minds, once disobedient, now saved ; *which also* [that is, *the like of which*, — preaching efficacious to men's salvation] God's long-suffering mercy was awaiting, all the time that, in Noah's days, that ark was in preparation, wherein eventually eight persons were saved in the flood of water ; *which also* [that is, *water*, applied in baptism] doth also now save us, &c.

But this explanation of a difficult passage, right or wrong, is something aside from my purpose. The only question presented by it, in connection with the argument I now am treating, is, whether Peter could thus refer to Noah and his ark, unless he believed the account of them in Genesis to be historically true. And upon this point I have nothing to add to what I have already said in different places, of the perfect rhetorical and logical legitimacy of allusions of this kind to fabulous narrations. (Comp. above, pp. 80, 113, 297.) In saying that, in the ministry of Jesus, God's long-suffering mercy waited for men to betake themselves to the ark of refuge, just as he put off the flood all the time that the ark was building, Peter presented a lively image to readers to whom the narrative of that proceeding was familiar ; but by no recognized rules of the interpretation of language can he be understood to vouch for the narrative as true.

IV. 8.

Above all things have fervent charity among yourselves ; for charity shall cover the multitude of sins.

In the original use of the words here quoted, their meaning appears from the antithesis in the context (Prov. x. 12) to have been, that charity conceals a neighbor's faults. It is not clear, nor is it material, whether the Apostle meant to repeat them in this

sense, or with the different import that charity is a virtue so excellent that it will atone for, and, as it were, blot out, faults in its possessor.

IV. 18, V. 5.

If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear ?

God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.

Quotations from the Book of Proverbs (xi. 31, iii. 34, the former, however, not from the Hebrew, but from the Septuagint) are here naturally introduced, after the manner common with all writers.

SECTION XII.

FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

III. 11, 12.

We should love one another ; not as Cain, who was of that wicked one, and slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him ? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous.

Am I asked, whether St. John, exhorting his disciples to mutual love, could refer to the story of Cain (Gen. iv. 8) unless he regarded it as true history ? I ask in return, whether I am precluded from advising a young friend to adopt for himself the choice of Hercules, unless I am ready to maintain the truth of the story in the Memorabilia ; or whether I may not enforce my exhortation to join effort to prayer, by referring to the tale of Hercules and the Wagoner, without making myself responsible for the existence of Hercules and the wagoner as real persons. (See above, pp. 80, 113, 297, 309 ; also, below, p. 341.)

PART III.

BOOKS OF DISPUTED AUTHENTICITY.

SECTION I.

EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

THE New Testament books on which I have remarked, with others which contain no reference to the Old Testament calling for comment (viz. the Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon, and the First Epistle to the Thessalonians), complete the list of those whose authenticity was unquestioned in the primitive Church (*ὁμολογουμένα*). The others found in the received collection were anciently called *spurious* or *disputed* (*νόθα* or *ἀντιλεγόμενα*). These names are taken from Eusebius, who states the distinction in different places. ("Hist. Eccles.," Lib. II. Cap. 23, III. 3, 25, 31, VI. 20.)

In my remarks on the acknowledged books, it has been my aim to show, that in no case presented by them does Jesus, or any Apostle or Evangelist, attribute to the Old Testament, or to any passage in it, any sense different from that which in my work on the Old Testament I have set forth as the true one. The case stands thus. Confining our attention to the Old Testament, and applying to it the established rules for interpreting language, we conclude that it, and its several parts, convey such and such a meaning. But the question arises, whether Jesus and his Apostles have ascribed to it any meaning different from this, on

any of the numerous occasions on which they have referred to it. I am persuaded that they have not; and this opinion I have endeavored to maintain in the comments contained in the previous pages of this volume.

But I cannot say the same of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. That composition contains numerous allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament; interpretations, in my opinion, altogether incorrect, and proceeding on an exegetical theory indefensible, unsound, and delusive. (See "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 333 - 352.)

This fact would exceedingly perplex me, if I supposed the Epistle to the Hebrews to be the work of Paul, or of some other divinely authorized expounder of the Christian religion. But I do not so suppose. The common notion of its having been written by Paul, I take to be not only unsupported by evidence, but to be opposed by a convincing weight of evidence. To present an outline of the argument on this subject is all that is consistent with my limits or my plan.

The evidence in respect to the authorship of this book, as of others, is of two kinds; external and internal.

Under the head of the external evidence, champions of the Pauline origin of the work have found a topic of argument in another book of the New Testament collection. A recent writer says: "The first evidence to be adduced on this subject, though of a nature somewhat indirect and uncertain, is worthy of our close attention, on the ground of its antiquity and authority. It is the testimony of the Apostle Peter, who, in his Second Epistle (iii. 14 - 16), writes as follows: 'Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in

peace, without spot, and blameless. And account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you; as also in all his Epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction.’” (Gurney’s “Canonical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews.”*) And he proceeds to argue, (1.) that this Epistle was addressed to the same persons to whom Paul had, on some occasion, written (iii. 15), and that it was addressed to Jewish Christians only (iii. 1; comp. 1 Pet. i. 1), as no letter of Paul was, unless he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews; (2.) that the reference in the context (2 Pet. iii. 10 – 13) must be to the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 27, 28, x. 19 – 37, xii. 1, 14, 15, 25 – 29).

No part of this argument is good.

1. The Second Epistle of Peter (so called) cannot be shown to contain “testimony of the Apostle Peter.” It was probably not written by that Apostle. (See below, p. 334.) Still it appears to have been a composition of the first century, and as such would have weight in relation to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, provided it in fact referred to that work.

2. The Second Epistle of Peter purports to have been written (2 Pet. iii. 1; comp. 1 Pet. i. 1), if to any Jewish Christians, to those dispersed through Asia Minor, whereas even the author of the argument which I am refuting allows that the Epistle to the Hebrews “was probably addressed to the Jewish Christians of Palestine.” The reasoning, therefore, as far as it is founded

* The copy of this tract which I use is in the second volume (p. 409 *et seq.*) of the Andover “Biblical Repository.”

on the language, "even as our beloved brother Paul also hath written *unto you*," falls to the ground.

3. It is not necessary to suppose that the reference in the Second Epistle of Peter was to any epistle of Paul now extant. It is by no means probable that all the letters of Paul have survived the chances of time. But supposing otherwise, the reference in question does not so naturally point to any part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as to one or more of Paul's acknowledged Epistles; as that to the Romans (ii. 4-10), addressed mainly to Jewish Christians, or that to the Galatians (v. 13-26, vi. 9), or that to the Ephesians (v. 27), both addressed to Christians (the former to Jewish Christians) of Asia Minor; or (if the reference be thought to be from the whole passage which treats of a consummation of earthly things, 2 Pet. iii. 8-14) to the First Epistle to the Corinthians (xv. 12-58), or the Epistles to the Thessalonians (1 Thes. iv. 13-v. 3; 2 Thes. i. 6-10).

Such reasoning as this is easily dismissed. The most important testimony to be appealed to for the Pauline origin of the Epistle, is that of the eminent Greek Father, Clement of Alexandria. Eusebius ("Hist. Eccles.," Lib. VI. Cap. 14), speaking of a work of Clement, extant in his day, but now lost, says: "The Epistle to the Hebrews he [Clement] asserts was written by Paul to the Hebrews, in the Hebrew tongue; but that Luke carefully translated it, and published it among the Greeks. Whence also one finds the same character of style and of phraseology in the Epistle as in the Acts. But it is probable that the title *Paul the Apostle* was not prefixed to it; for, as he wrote to the Hebrews, who had conceived prejudices against him and suspected him, he wisely guards against diverting them from the perusal by giving his

name. A little after this, he [Clement] remarks: 'But now, as the blessed presbyter used to say, since the Lord, who was the Apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul, by reason of his inferiority, as if sent to the Gentiles, did not entitle himself an Apostle to the Hebrews, both out of reverence to the Lord, and because he wrote of his abundance to the Hebrews, as a herald and Apostle of the Gentiles.' "

Clement flourished at the close of the second century of our era. He has been supposed, in the last passage quoted from him by Eusebius, to have materially fortified his own testimony by declaring that his opinion concerning the origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews was also held by "the blessed presbyter," or elder. By this title he sometimes designates Pantænus, his predecessor as head of the Alexandrian school, and is understood to do so in this place. I think it highly probable that such is the fact. But I see no evidence (though every writer whom I have consulted makes the admission) that Clement meant to represent "the blessed elder" as referring to the Epistle to the Hebrews in any way whatever. The question treated by "the blessed elder" appears to have been simply, why Paul, a descendant from the Jewish patriarchs, "a Hebrew of the Hebrews," who loved so well his "kinsmen according to the flesh," in all that he had written to expose errors incident to their pride of parentage, never called himself "the Apostle to the Hebrews," but always "an Apostle of the Gentiles." (Comp. 1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11.) It is by no means clear that the last clause, containing the reference to what Paul "wrote of his abundance to the Hebrews," is to be comprised within what Clement ascribed to "the blessed elder."

Was Clement's alleged belief in the Pauline origin

of this Epistle an opinion founded on evidence, better or worse? Was it an *opinion* of any kind, in the true sense of that word? or was it only an idea taken up from unexamined report? * or was it only a guess? Clement was a credulous man, and his fondness for allegorical interpretations (see "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. p. 338) would have especially disposed him to value this work, which abounds in them, and to attribute to it an Apostolic authorship.

Further; that Clement was little acquainted with its history, appears from this, that he calls it a translation from the Hebrew, which it almost certainly was not. There are *paronomasiæ*, which, being founded on forms of Greek words, strongly indicate a Greek origin. (Comp. Heb. v. 8, 14, vii. 7, ix. 10, xi. 37, xiii. 14.) There are reasonings founded on the Greek of the Septuagint version, where that text is erroneous. (Heb. i. 6, comp. Deut. xxxii. 43; Heb. x. 5, comp. Ps. xl. 6.) To adduce no other argument to this point, there is a passage (ix. 15–18) the whole structure of which depends on a twofold meaning of the Greek word (*διαθήκη*) which signifies both *covenant* and *testament*. There is no equivalent word in Hebrew, and the passage could not be composed in that language. Nor is this reasoning rebutted by saying that there is such a word in Syriac, and that the *Syriac* may have been the *Hebrew* which Clement meant. For that Syriac word is merely the Greek (*διαθήκη*) in Syriac letters, adopted and transferred into the Syriac version of the Bible as untranslatable, just as the au-

* Le Clerc says of Clement ("Biblioth. Univers.," Tom. X. p. 231): "The extensive reading of this learned man had not formed his taste; for it is not necessary to be much of a connoisseur to perceive that what he has cited as written by the Apostles Peter and Paul neither bears the stamp of their style, nor conforms to their doctrines."

thors of our version have adopted and Anglicized the Hebrew *Messiah*, and the Greek *Christ*, or as the Douay translators have used the Hebrew *Pasch*, for what we call the *Passover*. Michaelis says ("Introduction," Chap. XXIV. § 12) that the Syriac word is "used both in the sense of *covenant* and that of *testament*, as Castell and Schaaf have clearly shown from many passages of the Syriac version." But, in point of fact, these lexicographers have produced no instance of the latter signification, except from the version of the Epistle to the Hebrews.*

Origen, Clement's pupil and successor at Alexandria, and the most learned man of Christian antiquity, is commonly referred to as an authority for the Pauline origin of this Epistle. He might well be biased in its favor, for he was even more of an allegorical interpreter than his master. ("Lectures," &c., Vol. II. p. 339.) But, in point of fact, Eusebius's statement of Origen's opinion on the subject is as follows:—

"Respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews, he [Origen], in his homilies thereupon, expresses himself thus: that 'the complexion of the style of the Epistle enti-

* A notable specimen of the carelessness with which subjects of this nature are often treated appears in the tract of Gurney, quoted above, "On the Canonical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews." He says: "Pantænus was succeeded in the school of Alexandria by Clement (A. D. 192), whose testimony to the Pauline origin of this Epistle is also preserved by Eusebius, and is quite explicit." And for this "quite explicit" testimony of Clement of Alexandria, he refers to a passage of Eusebius (Lib. III. Cap. 38) which does not treat of Clement of Alexandria at all, but of Clement of Rome. And Eusebius does not quote or allege any opinion of this Father upon the subject, but merely reasons in his own behalf, from certain resemblances of language between one of the Epistles ascribed to Clement and the Epistle to the Hebrews, "that this work is by no means a late production; whence it is probable that it was also numbered with the other writings of the Apostles; for, as Paul had addressed the Hebrews in the language of his country, some say that the Evangelist Luke, others that Clement, translated the Epistle."

tled *To the Hebrews*, does not exhibit that rudeness which belongs to the Apostle, who acknowledges himself to be unskilful in speech, that is, in style. (2 Cor. x. 10.) But that the Epistle is composed in somewhat pure Greek, every one capable of discerning differences in style will own.' And again, 'that the thoughts of the Epistle are admirable, and not inferior to those of the Apostle's acknowledged writings, this too would be admitted as true by any one familiar with those writings.' Afterwards Origen says further: 'To give my own opinion, I would say that the thoughts are the Apostle's, but the diction and composition those of some one who recorded the Apostle's discourses, and, as it were, made notes of what the teacher uttered. *If, then, any church holds this Epistle to be Paul's*, let it be commended for so doing; for it was not without cause that the ancient men delivered it as Paul's. But the truth as to *who wrote the Epistle* [τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν], God knows. Accounts have reached us from some who say that Clement, Bishop of Rome, wrote the Epistle, and others who say it was written by Luke, the same *who wrote* [ὁ γράψας] the Gospel and the Acts.' (Euseb., "Hist. Eccles.," Lib. VI. Cap. 25.)

If this is testimony to Paul's being the author of this Epistle, in any proper sense of those words, what would be testimony against it? Origen liked the sentiments of the Epistle. As was natural for him, fond of allegorical interpretation as he was, he thought them admirable, and eminently worthy of Paul. This favorable prepossession of his is no help to us in determining the actual origin of the composition, but it inclined him to lay stress on the representation of those ancient men (οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες, perhaps Pantænus and Clement, his predecessors at Alexandria) who had

somehow connected the Epistle with Paul's name, and to consider any church which received it as his, as worthy of commendation. Still, Origen was a competent judge of composition. He discerned the differences in Greek style, and he was familiar with the style of Paul; and being so, he saw that Paul could not have been, in the common and pertinent sense of the words, *the writer* of this treatise. Whether the writer was Clement of Rome, or Luke *who wrote* the Gospel and the Acts, or some one else, "God knew." But the style was so different from the well-known style of Paul as to forbid the idea of its having proceeded from him in any other sense than as being the work of some one who had adopted that Apostle's thoughts, and set them down in his own language. In other words, Origen had no evidence that Paul was the writer of the Epistle; he saw, from its style, that Paul could not have been its writer; and the rest of his comment upon the subject is but the speculation of a prejudiced man, and destitute of critical value. I may add, that Origen manifestly understood the Epistle, in Greek, to be in his hands in its original form, and not in a translation from the Hebrew; and his difference of opinion, in this respect, from his master Clement, shows how little its history was known. Origen and Clement both saw that the Greek style was not Paul's, and to connect it with Paul's name, notwithstanding this material fact, they resorted to different hypotheses. One suggested that it was a translation by Luke from an original by Paul; the other, that it was a sort of commentary, made up from his oral discourses.

The homily from which the extract just remarked upon was made by Eusebius, was written when Origen was more than sixty years of age, and may be supposed to express the result of his most mature reflections on

the subject. Lardner suggests ("Credibility," &c., Chap. XXXVIII. § 10 (8)) that it may be the fulfilment of a purpose referred to in a letter several years before, wherein, after quoting from the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says ("Opp.," Tom. I. p. 20, edit. La Rue): "Possibly some one, pressed with this reasoning, will take refuge in the opinion of those who reject this Epistle as not written by Paul; for whom we need to prepare another argument to show that it was Paul's." At any rate, we do well to recur to this full exposition of his opinion as to the sense in which the Epistle could be ascribed to Paul, when we find him, as we do in different places, quoting from it as a work of that Apostle.

Dionysius, who became Bishop of Alexandria in the year 247 or 248, naturally succeeded to that partiality to the Epistle to the Hebrews which had been entertained by his eminent predecessors in that city. Eusebius ("Hist. Eccles.," Lib. VI. Cap. 41) quotes him as having written thus: "The brethren withdrew and gave way, and, like those whom Paul commends, 'took joyfully the spoiling of their goods.'" The allusion appears to be to Heb. x. 34.

Theognostus, who flourished about A. D. 280, is one of the Greek Fathers who have been supposed to vouch for the Pauline origin of this composition. But I do not find that he has given any opinion on the subject. His supposed testimony is contained in the following words of Athanasius: "They both [Athanasius is speaking of Origen and Theognostus] treat this subject, saying that this is the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, when they who have been favored with the gift of the Holy Spirit in baptism return to sin; therefore, *say they*, such shall receive no remission, agreeably to what *Paul also says* in the Epistle to the

Hebrews: 'For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they fall away, to renew them again unto repentance.' (Heb. vi. 4-6.) This they alike say." (St. Athanas. "Opp.," Epist. IV. ad Serapion. § 9.) It is not improbable that the comment, "according to what Paul also says," &c., is Athanasius's own remark, and not part of his quotation from Theognostus, which quotation ends with the words, "such receive no remission." The opinion of Athanasius, in the fourth century, concerning the authorship of this Epistle, is of much less consequence than the opinion of Theognostus in the third.

Methodius, a few years later than Theognostus, is referred to, to the same effect. He has frequently used language resembling that of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but this of course he might do, to the extent even of showing that he was acquainted with that work, and still there would be no evidence respecting his opinion as to its author. In one piece of his, this language occurs: "Ye will obtain unspeakable renown, if ye shall overcome, and seize the seven crowns, for the sake of which the race and combat is set before us, according to the master, Paul." Here has been thought to be a reference to an expression in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xii. 1). But the allusion may equally well be to the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians (vi. 12 *et seq.*; comp. 1 Cor. ix. 24). At all events, it is too vague to be the foundation of any argument. Another piece ascribed to Methodius, called the "Homily concerning Simeon and Anna," contains the following comment: "God took on him the seed of Abraham, according to the most divine Paul." (Comp. Heb.

ii. 16.) But the treatise is probably spurious, and from a later hand. Both the works cited are extant, but not within my reach. I quote them from Lardner. ("Credibility," &c., Chap. LVII. § 8.)

A work ascribed to Archelaus, who lived about the same time, uses language, in two places, resembling language found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But such a fact has no bearing on the question in hand. There is no mention of the Epistle, nor of Paul in connection with it. And the authorship and date of the work itself are very doubtful. (Lardner, "Credibility," &c., Chap. LXII.)

Some of the Fathers, in controversy with the Manichees, quoted this Epistle, from which it has been inferred that the Manichees regarded it as, in some sort, a work of authority. (Ibid. Chap. LXIII. § 6 (4.)) But whether as a composition of Paul or not, is a question which this fact leaves altogether untouched.

Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, in the beginning of the fourth century, ascribed this Epistle to Paul. (Socrat. "Hist. Eccles.," Lib. I. Cap. vi. p. 13; Theodor. "Hist. Eccles.," Lib. I. Cap. iv. p. 14.) So did Maximin, the Arian, about the same time. (St. Augustin. "Opp.," Tom. VI. p. 694, edit. Basil.) But Theodoret says, that those afflicted with Arianism "rejected it, and judged it to be spurious" ("Opp.," Tom. III. p. 393, edit. Paris.); and Epiphanius testifies to the same effect: "They reject the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it is not the Apostle's." (Epiph. "Hæres." LXIX. Cap. 37.)

If the testimony of the Greek Fathers for a Pauline origin of this Epistle is defective and inadequate, that of the Latin Fathers is altogether in the opposite direction. Lardner says of them ("Supplement," &c.,

Chap. XII. § 14 (3)): "Concerning the Latin writers, it is obvious to remark, that this Epistle is not expressly quoted as Paul's, by any of them, in the first three centuries."

Our two great authorities for the authorship of the New Testament books, besides Clement of Alexandria, are his contemporaries, Irenæus of Lyons, and Tertullian of Carthage. Tertullian wrote in Latin. The work of Irenæus was composed in Greek, but, except some quotations by the Greek Fathers, is now extant only in a Latin translation.

Irenæus very frequently quotes the acknowledged Epistles of Paul, but no intimation has been found in his writings of his considering the Epistle to the Hebrews as being Paul's work, or of its being so considered by Christians in or before his time.

Tertullian once quotes the Epistle, but expressly ascribes it to Barnabas. "There is an Epistle of Barnabas," he says, "inscribed to the Hebrews" ("De Pudicit." Cap. XX.); and its identity with the work under our consideration is proved by the passage which he goes on to cite (Heb. vi. 1, 4-8). The connection in which he refers to the work is such as would have biased him in favor of quoting it as Paul's, if he had supposed himself to have any authority for so doing. Tertullian's testimony against its Pauline origin much more than balances that of Clement in its favor, encumbered as the latter is by Clement's perception of the want of similarity in the style to that of Paul's acknowledged writings. And when Clement's testimony is rebutted, what remains of the evidence on that side is of little consideration.

The Latin Father, Caius, of Rome, is assigned to the year 210, some twenty years before Origen. Of three or four books written by him, only some frag-

ments remain. Our information respecting their contents is chiefly through statements of Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius. Eusebius says ("Hist. Eccles.," Lib. VI. Cap. 20): "Caius, a most eloquent man, makes mention of but thirteen Epistles of the holy Apostle, not reckoning that to the Hebrews with the rest; and, indeed, to this very time [A. D. *circ.* 320], by some of the Romans, this Epistle is not thought to be the Apostle's." Jerome's testimony is: "Reckoning up only thirteen Epistles of Paul, he [Caius] says the fourteenth, which is inscribed to the Hebrews, is not his; and with the Romans, to this day, it is not looked upon as Paul's." ("De Vir. Illus.," Cap. LIX.) And that of Photius: "He [Caius] enumerates only thirteen Epistles of Paul, not reckoning that to the Hebrews." ("Biblioth.," p. 38, edit. Schott.)

Of St. Hippolytus, ten years later, Photius says that he was a disciple of Irenæus, and adds: "Nevertheless, he advances some things which are not right; especially, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not the Apostle Paul's." (Ibid. p. 302.)

Cyprian of Carthage, in the middle of the third century, is a very important authority, for one not among the earliest, both on account of the extent of his writings, and the frequency of his Scriptural quotations. There are quotations in Cyprian's works from every Epistle of Paul except the short one to Philemon. But he has nowhere quoted from, or alluded to, the Epistle to the Hebrews. He further repeatedly makes the remark, that Paul had addressed Epistles to "*seven churches*" ("Testimon.," Lib. I. Cap. 20; "De Exhort. Mart.," Cap. 11); which number is made up by the churches of Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, and Thessalonica. It would have been *eight*, had Cyprian supposed Paul to have written to the Hebrews.

Perhaps Lactantius ("Instit.," Lib. IV. Capp. 13, 14, 20, 22) received the Epistle to the Hebrews as a work of the Apostle Paul. But he belongs to the beginning of the fourth century; a time too late for his opinion to have any original authority. And the Arnobius who is quoted to the same effect was not his contemporary, but another writer of the same name who lived in the latter part of the fifth century. (Lardner, "Credibility," Chap. LXIV. § 1.)

The earliest translation of the New Testament was that into the Syriac language, called the Syriac *Peschito*, or *exact*. In the collection of books contained in this version, the Epistle to the Hebrews was not originally included, though at a later period a Syriac version of that book was inserted. This fact cannot be explained consistently with the supposition, that the persons by and for whom the version in question was made regarded the Epistle to the Hebrews as a work of Paul.

If the believers in the Pauline origin of this Epistle in the third and fourth centuries had been much more numerous than they were, still we are carefully to remember that the question is not of a nature to be settled by a mere counting of votes. What we consult later writers for, is simply their testimony to the established opinion of the Church in the first two centuries. What Tertullian, Irenæus, Caius, Hippolytus, and others at the end of the second century, did not know respecting the canonical authority of a book, it is impossible that Eusebius or Jerome should have known afterwards. What we seek to learn respecting a book of the New Testament is, whether it had undisputed acceptance in the Church at the earliest period at which we can obtain evidence upon the subject. If it had not such acceptance at that time, no opinion of after-times can cure that fatal flaw in its claim.

Had the work been really Paul's, it would be extremely difficult to explain how its true authorship should have ever been doubted in any quarter. It is a long composition, of great elaborateness, and, considered as from Paul's hand, would have been a work of singular curiosity and importance, particularly as establishing, on the great Apostle's authority, an extremely peculiar system of interpretation of the Old Testament. Had it been Paul's, it seems that it would have been sure to attract an attention which would for ever have precluded all doubt of its being so.

On the other hand, it is easy to explain how, not being Paul's work, it should have come, in some quarters, to be ascribed to him. Its affluence of Rabbinical learning would suggest a reference of it to the eminent pupil of Gamaliel; and those converts from Judaism with whom lingered an attachment to the allegorical method of interpreting their ancient Scriptures, and those Gentile recruits, who, in their philosophical schools, had been largely exercised in this kind of trifling, would delight in any pretence for sustaining themselves by the authority of such a name. The concluding salutations, and the reference to Timothy (Heb. xiii. 23-25), bear a resemblance to passages in Paul's acknowledged writings, which would naturally suggest his name to a person investigating the authorship of an anonymous composition.

Proceeding from the external to the internal evidence, we find occasion for the following remarks:—

1. There are several favorite forms of language frequently used by Paul in his acknowledged Epistles, but never once occurring in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the connection equally calls for their use. The phrase "in Christ" (*ἐν Χριστῷ*), commonly used for the condition of a Christian believer, is found in

Paul's acknowledged Epistles seventy-five times; the "Lord Jesus Christ" (ὁ κυριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός), eighty-three times; "the Gospel" (το εὐαγγέλιον), fifty-nine times. The Epistle to the Hebrews does not present a single instance of either. In the acknowledged Epistles, Paul calls God by the title of our "Father" thirty-six times. The Epistle to the Hebrews never refers to him by this title, but it once (xii. 9) gives him the peculiar designation of "the Father of spirits," unknown to the acknowledged Epistles. In all these Epistles, except that to Philemon, is found the title "Apostle," indicative of an authorized messenger of Jesus. The Epistle to the Hebrews presents but one instance of the use of the word (iii. 1), and that is in an application to Jesus himself, a use which it never once has in the other Epistles. In two cases, the Epistle to the Hebrews uses the word *church* (ἐκκλησία); but in one of them (ii. 12; comp. Ps. xxii. 22) it refers, in a quotation from a Psalm, to the congregation of the Jews, and in the other (xii. 23), to the society of the blessed in a future state; while it presents no instance of that application of the name, so common in the Epistles of Paul, to the community of Christian believers.

2. Nothing is more remarkable in the acknowledged writings of St. Paul, than the prominence with which he places himself before the reader. His argument always presents the hue of his own mind. His personal peculiarities appear upon his page. No writer was ever more spontaneous, more individual and self-demonstrative. From the aspects of the writer one could draw the portraiture of the man. The Epistle to the Hebrews, cold, abstract, simply argumentative, has a character singularly the reverse of all this. An algebraic demonstration would present as much indication of its author.

3. The rhetoric of the Epistle to the Hebrews is altogether unlike that of the acknowledged Epistles, in its general tone and spirit. From the force of his character, his understanding, and his feelings, Paul wrote with great vigor, but never with any appearance of study or art. He pours forth without premeditation such a sweeping torrent of burning thoughts and words, that it is often extremely difficult to discern his method. Constantly a collateral view strikes him, and he rushes off in a parenthesis, of which he is at no pains to mark the end, nor to point out to the reader where he resumes the thread of discourse. His sentences are often involved; his expressions harsh; his constructions bold, to the very limits of license in style. Entirely the opposite of all this, the Epistle to the Hebrews is uniformly methodical, elaborate, and ornate. The writer was evidently a person who carefully affected the rhetorician. To an almost wearisome degree, he displays himself as an artist and a precisian in style.

4. He deals throughout in a description of argument, which Paul in no one instance uses in his acknowledged works. From first to last, he presents allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament. They make the staple of his speculations. They mark the peculiar training of his mind, and a distinctive character of his convictions and his tastes. No person who could write as he did in this particular, could possibly have written as Paul has done in his acknowledged Epistles, with an absolute omission of all such matter. For I repeat, that, not only has not Paul generally written in this strain, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews could not have failed to do, but he has nowhere presented so much as a single specimen of that kind of writing. (See above, pp. 286, 292,

and comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. II. pp. 333 - 335.) It is impossible, I conceive, to explain this fact consistently with the idea that the Epistle to the Hebrews was his work.

5. There is, finally, a more general view of the treatise, as to the bearing and force of which every reader must answer for himself. It relates to what is matter not for argument, but for intuition. Different persons have different styles in composition, as they have different countenances, different voices, and a different chirography. We distinguish different styles as we do different handwritings, — with perfect assurance for ourselves, and yet on grounds which we cannot explain or vindicate to another mind. If I am familiar with Gibbon's rhetoric, it is in vain for any one to place before me a chapter of Hume's History, and tell me that Gibbon wrote it. I know better, as soon as I look at it. From the first sentences I read, I see that the thing could not be. So of Paul's acknowledged Epistles, as compared with the Epistle to the Hebrews. I cannot speak for others, nor argue with others, if they dissent from me; — as to intuitions, every one is a rule to himself, and no man can correct or explain alleged opposite convictions on the part of any other man. But for myself, I need only a little inspection, to be completely and indisputably satisfied that the Epistle to the Hebrews did not proceed from the same pen with the thirteen Epistles of Paul. The first known advocate of the Pauline origin of the former, Clement of Alexandria, saw this difficulty, as it has been seen in later times, and was fain to escape from it by the supposition that the work was composed by Paul in Hebrew, and translated by another hand into Greek. This supposition we have seen to be without probability; had it been correct, it would not have

removed the difficulty felt by Clement; that difficulty remains in its unabated and insuperable force.

In denying that the composition can have proceeded from St. Paul, we imply no imputation whatever upon its author. He has nowhere assumed that Apostle's name. He has rather implied (ii. 3, 4) that he was one of those who had received the Gospel at second-hand from those endowed with miraculous powers to publish it. It is an ancient work, and, however destitute of Apostolical authority, and however radically erroneous in its scheme of Old Testament interpretation, there is no reason to doubt that it was written by an honest man, and for an honest purpose.

I have thus briefly explained why I follow some of the foremost champions of orthodoxy, — including the greatest names among the Reformers, Luther, Calvin, Erasmus, Melancthon, Beza, and others, — in denying that the Epistle to the Hebrews was a work of the Apostle Paul. But if not written by that Apostle, it is simply an anonymous work of early Christian antiquity, and the fact of the peculiar interpretation which it puts upon passages of the Old Testament ceases to be an important fact to the Christian interpreter of the present day. Had Paul, or any other divinely commissioned expounder of Christianity, declared that the Old Testament required or would bear such interpretations as are indicated by this writer, such a fact, and the conclusions to which it would lead, would doubtless be of great curiosity and interest. But there is no such fact. Paul did not write the book. There is no evidence that the book was written by any other divinely commissioned teacher of our faith. It was the work of some good man in early times, much more ingenious than wise, — a friend to a system of Old Testament interpretation, which never

had any thing reasonable to be said in its behalf. It is of no authority whatever to guide or restrain us in our study of the Old Testament. We are to study the Old Testament for ourselves, altogether independently of any constructions put upon it by the author of this book, — with no more bias towards the fanciful and arbitrary system of allegorical interpretation than if this book had never been written.

Entertaining these views of its want of authority, and regarding the system of allegorical interpretation, which it exemplifies, as altogether visionary and delusive, I am discharged from subjecting it to further consideration. It explains the Old Testament in a way inconsistent with expositions presented by me elsewhere; but its explanations demand no further attention, when it has been shown to be itself destitute of authority.

SECTION II.

EPISTLE OF JAMES.

THIS Epistle is of doubtful authenticity. I regard it as probably a genuine work of James, the Apostle, distinguished from his associate James, son of Zebedee (Matt. x. 2; Mark iii. 17; Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 13, xii. 2), by the surname of *the Less*. He was the son of Alphaeus, or Cleophas (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13), and was probably the same who is called the “brother” of Jesus (Matt. xiii. 55; comp. Mark xv. 40; John xix. 25; Gal. i. 19), in the Jewish sense of being his cousin, or near kinsman. He appears to have had a sort of precedency in the

church of Jerusalem (Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 9, 12), and by some of the early writers is called its *bishop*.

But for my present purpose it is unnecessary to go into the question of the authenticity of this Epistle, inasmuch as the few references to the Old Testament which it contains raise no questions of interpretation different from those with which we have become familiar in our examination of the preceding books. As to most of those references, it will suffice merely to designate them.

II. 8.

If ye fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," ye do well.

Comp. Lev. xix. 18.

II. 21 - 26.

Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar? Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect? And the Scripture was fulfilled which saith, "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness"; and he was called the friend of God. See ye how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only? Likewise also was not Rahab the harlot justified by works, when she had received the messengers, and had sent them out another way? For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also.

Comp. Gen. xv. 6, xxii. 1 - 10, 17, 18; Is. xli. 8; also see above, pp. 239 - 241. How was "Rahab the harlot justified by works"? She was *justified*, according to the meaning of that word which I have explained above (pp. 228 - 242). It is impossible to imagine any other justification in the case. She was adopted into the Jewish nation, — into the community of God's chosen people. She was justified in the way of which we read in the history: "She *dwelleth in*

Israel even unto this day, because she hid the messengers which Joshua sent to spy out Jericho" (Josh. vi. 25); and by marriage she was further adopted into the Jewish family (Matt. i. 5).

IV. 5.

Do ye think that the Scripture saith in vain, "The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy"?

We find no such sentence in "the Scripture" as that which is here recited. Griesbach would substitute a punctuation such as to make the verse read: "Do ye think that the Scripture speaketh in vain? Doth the spirit that dwelleth in us lust to envy?" But such a use of the verb (*λέγει*, with a suppression of the subject, the thing spoken), if not inadmissible, is at least unusual and awkward.

IV. 6.

He giveth more grace. Wherefore he saith, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble."

Comp. Prov. iii. 34.

V. 11.

Ye have heard of the patience of Job.

See above, p. 310.

V. 17, 18.

Elias was a man subject to like passions as we are, and he prayed earnestly that it might not rain: and it rained not on the earth by the space of three years and six months. And he prayed again, and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit.

Comp. 1 Kings xvii. 1, xviii. 41-45; where, however, it is not said that either the drought or the rain followed a prayer of Elijah. That circumstance was probably a traditional gloss upon 1 Kings xviii. 42. Comp. also above, p. 310.

SECTION III.

SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER.

THIS Epistle is not contained in the Syriac version, though, if genuine, it must have been written before that version was made; and it must have been of earlier date than the Gospel of John, or Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, both of which books are contained in that version, and the latter may be supposed to have come more slowly into circulation, having been addressed to an individual, while the Second Epistle of Peter professes (iii. 1, comp. 1 Pet. i. 1) to have had a general destination.

Origen is the earliest writer known to have mentioned this Epistle. For the fact of his having done so, Eusebius is our authority. According to that writer ("Hist. Eccles.," Lib. VI. Cap. 25), Origen referred to it in the following terms: "Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built, has left one Epistle undisputed; let it be granted also that *he wrote a second*, for this is doubted." Eusebius himself (Ibid., Lib. III. Cap. 3), after speaking of Peter's First Epistle as "an undoubted work of the Apostle," says: "That which is called *the Second*, we have been informed, has not been received into the New Testament; nevertheless, appearing to many to be useful, it has been carefully studied with the other Scriptures." Jerome, though in one place ("De Vir. Illust.," Tom. IV. Pars. ii. p. 101, edit. Martianay) he says that it "is denied by many to be Peter's, because of the difference of style from the former Epistle," in another has referred to it as genuine ("Epist. ad Paulin.," Tom. IV. Pars ii. p. 574); and it has been re-

ceived as such from the fourth century down. But no unanimity in this late period can compensate the deficiency of early testimony.

An argument in favor of the Apostolic origin of this composition has been drawn from an alleged resemblance of its style to that of the First Epistle. But this is certainly no greater than was within the reach of one, who, if he was not the Apostle, obviously designed an imitation of him. (2 Peter i. 1, 17, 18, iii. 1.) On the other hand, an alleged dissimilarity of style, both of thought and language, particularly in the second chapter, has been made the foundation of an opposite argument; and that so early, as we have seen, as the time of Jerome.

On the whole, it would appear to be quite unsafe to reason from this Epistle, as if it declared or intimated the opinions of the Apostle Peter on any subject, though, as the work of a Christian writer of an early time, it has its curiosity and interest.

I. 17-21.

He received from God the Father honor and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount, and have the word of prophecy more sure; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts. Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

The second sentence above I conceive should be understood: "And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount, and *have the word of prophecy confirmed.*" It was con-

firmed by its fulfilment. "The word of prophecy," in the present instance, was that which in early times had foretold the advent of a great benefactor to the world. (Gen. xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14; Deut. xviii. 15.) That "word of prophecy" was fulfilled and "confirmed," when Jesus the Messiah appeared, and "when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'" Down to that time, men had been in error as to what they were to look for; and, building a fabric of their own upon the general hints which had been given, they had adopted the conception of a deliverer quite different from the spiritual deliverer whom God had designed to send. For, as the writer very correctly remarks, "no prophecy of Scripture *explains itself*;" conveys its own full meaning (*ιδίας ἐπιλύσεως*, — not "is of any private interpretation"; that is a rendering without pertinency, and, indeed, without significance, except for such as suppose that Scriptural prophecy is to be interpreted by some public authority). However precise a prediction may be, should it even specify the height, complexion, and features of some future man, such is the imperfection of language that we never get the complete idea till the man appears whose correspondence with the prediction we are to discern. This being so, "until the day dawn," and discover all, we "do well" to "take heed" to supernatural prediction, "as unto a light that shineth in a dark place," and not — by indulging our imaginations, as the Jews had done in filling up the outline of their portraiture of the Messiah, so as to make all definite and full-sized — take the risk of falling into error like them. The arbitrary human expositions which had been given of prophecy were not to be regarded as of authority. To expound a prediction by

making it more definite than the original, — by connecting new ideas with it; — was the same as to make a new prediction, a thing not within the compass of unassisted reason. “For prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” So far as God’s holy spirit had authorized any to declare the future, so far had they declared it. Only so far did man’s function respecting the future extend. To attempt to enlarge “by the will of man” on any revelation of God, or to make that specific which he had left general and indistinct, was to fall into just that vicious style of speculation, by which the Jews, misinterpreting the general intimations in Genesis and Deuteronomy of the future Messiah, had disqualified themselves for a ready reception of Jesus in that character.

II. 4-9.

If God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment; and spared not the old world, but saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly; and, turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly; and delivered just Lot, vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked; (for that righteous man dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing, vexed his righteous soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds;) the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations.

In the first of these verses, the writer has been understood to refer to a fable in the composition called the Book of Enoch. (See below, p. 342.) Possibly he refers to some traditional gloss on that passage in the history, which relates that the messengers (the “angels,” see above, p. 139) of Moses returned with a

discouraging report from their exploration of Canaan ["kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation" (see Jude 6, and comp. Numbers xiii. 25 - 33)]. At all events, he refers to something nowhere found in the Old Testament. And he refers to it in terms precisely equivalent to those in which, in the rest of the passage, he refers to certain narratives in Genesis (vii. 17 - 24, xix. 4 - 25). The correct inference appears to be, that no more in the one case than in the other can it be maintained from his language that he expresses his belief in historical facts.

II. 15, 16.

They have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness, but was rebuked for his iniquity: the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet.

Another reference of the same class as those last remarked upon. (See Numb. xxii. 7, 21 - 33; and comp. "Lectures," &c., Vol. I. pp. 381 - 384.)

II. 22.

It is happened unto them according to the true proverb, "The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire."

A form of language common in all times, and distinctly illustrative of more formal verbal accommodations. (See above, pp. 20 *et seq.*)

III. 5 - 8.

This they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water; whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished; but the heavens and the earth which are now, by his word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition

of ungodly men. But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

In opposition to some who maintained (comp. 4) that all earthly things were permanent, the writer says that the earth had once been destroyed by water, and would again be destroyed by fire. The latter opinion he certainly did not derive from Old Testament Scripture. Whether he drew the former from that, or some other source, he does not say. In the last verse is a sort of quotation from a Psalm (xc. 4).

III. 13.

We, according to his promise, look for new heavens, and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

The phraseology in which the *promised* blessing (comp. iii. 4, 9) is described, appears to be borrowed from the book of Isaiah (lxv. 17, lxvi. 22).

SECTION IV.

EPISTLE OF JUDE.

THE Epistle of Jude bears so strong a resemblance, not only in topics, but in language, to the second chapter of the Second Epistle of Peter, as to suggest the idea of their having been but different copies of the same work, which, having circulated for a time without a fixed character as to authorship, finally took the names respectively of those two disciples, the one remaining as a distinct piece, the other being inserted into the midst of a composition of different origin.

The Epistle professes to have been written by a

Jude, "the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James" (1). These titles have been differently understood to indicate the Apostle Judas, otherwise called Lebbeus, and also surnamed Thaddeus (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 16; John xiv. 22; Acts i. 13), or Judas, called, with James, Joses, and Simon, the "brother" of Jesus (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3).

The main defect in the historical evidence of the genuineness of this Epistle is its absence from the Syriac version. Of the three great early authorities on such questions, Irenæus does not appear to have referred to it (Lardner, "Supplement," &c., Chap. XXI. § 2); but Tertullian (alluding to Jude 14) says ("De Cult. Femin.," Lib. I. Cap. iii. p. 151, edit. Rigalt.), "Enoch is quoted by the Apostle Jude"; and Clement of Alexandria distinctly quotes from it two or three times ("Pæd.," Lib. III. Cap. viii.; "Stromat.," Lib. III. Cap. ii. *sub fn.*), and calls it a work of Jude. It is repeatedly quoted by Origen, who also said of it ("Comment. in Mat.," p. 463, edit. Delarue), "Jude wrote an Epistle, of few lines indeed, but full of the powerful words of the heavenly grace, who at the beginning says, 'Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James.'" He however said in another place (*ibid.* p. 814), "*If any one receives also the Epistle of Jude, let him consider what will follow from what is there said,*" &c. As late as the time of Eusebius, after which there could be no testimony to settle the question, the genuineness of the work was still contested. "Among the disputed books," says he (Lib. III. Cap. 25), "though approved by many, is reckoned that called the Epistle of Jude."

Supposing the work to have originated in the Apostolic age, there would still remain the important ques-

tion respecting its authority, whether it was written by the Apostle Jude, which it does not declare itself to have been, or by one of those "brethren" of Jesus who had no such commission to speak in his name, and who, down to a late period of his ministry, at least, had taken no part in his work. (John vii. 5.) And this is a question which antiquity has not transmitted to us sufficient means for solving.

5.

I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this, how that the Lord, having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed them that believed not.

See above, p. 270.

6, 7.

And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day. Even as Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities about them in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire.

See above, p. 337.

9.

Michael the archangel, when, contending with the Devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, "The Lord rebuke thee."

There is no more than a partial verbal similarity between this passage and one in the prophecy of Zechariah (iii. 1, 2). The writer is evidently referring to a popular legend, from which, agreeably to a well-authorized practice of all times, he draws a moral. Origen ("De Princip.," Lib. III. Cap. 2, *sub init.*) refers for the fable to a book called the "Ascension of Moses."

11.

They have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gainsaying of Core.

That is, they have shown a malignity like that displayed in the legendary history of Cain (Gen. iv. 8), and a rapacity and an intractable spirit like those of ancient adversaries of Moses, and rebels against Jehovah. (Numb. xvi. 32, xxii. 7.)

14, 15.

And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, "Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him."

Referring to this text, Tertullian says, in the passage quoted above (p. 340), that Jude quoted from the Book of Enoch, a book which, I suppose, no tolerably informed person, whether Jew or Christian, of the Apostolic age, esteemed as a writing of authority.

The material remark to which the text gives rise relates to the manner in which the word "prophesied" is used, consonant to what I have argued at large to be a familiar and well-authorized application of such phraseology. (See above, pp. 28, 49.) The writer rebukes contemporaries of his own, and proceeds to say, "Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these." It is impossible to imagine him to have meant that the author of the words which he then quotes as prophesying "of these," had "these" in his mind when he so "prophesied." The sense of Jude clearly was, that the words *were applicable* to "these."

We cannot help admitting that such was the purport of the form of quotation in this place. And if such an interpretation is unavoidable here, equally natural and equally fit is it in relation to passages involving forms of quotation no more expressly significant (for more expressly significant it is impossible that any form should be) of prophecy fulfilled.

SECTION V.

REVELATION OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.

THE Apocalypse presents numerous applications of the imagery and language of the Old Testament, especially of those of the Books of Ezekiel and Daniel. It adopts, for instance (i. 7), from the prophet Zechariah (xii. 10, 12) words used by that writer respecting God, and applies them to Jesus. On the other hand (ii. 27), it adopts language commonly thought to relate to the Messiah in its original use (Ps. ii. 9), and applies them to faithful Christian men. The following list of passages, in some way pointing to the Old Testament, may deserve the reader's attention, viz.: ii. 14 (comp. Numb. xxv. 1, 2, xxxi. 16); x. 9 (comp. Ezek. ii. 8—iii. 3); xi. 1 (comp. Ezek. xl.—xliii.); xiv. 20, xix. 13—15 (comp. Is. lxiii. 1—3); xxi. 1 (comp. Is. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22); xxi. 2 (comp. Lev. xxvi. 11, 12; Ezek. xliii. 7); xxi. 15 (comp. Ezek. xl. 3—5); xxii. 2 (comp. Ezek. xlvi. 12; Gen. ii. 9); xxii. 18 (comp. Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32). But there is no express quotation from the Jewish Scriptures, nor any reference to them of a nature to throw light

upon the inquiry which I have been pursuing in the preceding pages. This being so, it would contribute nothing to the execution of my present plan, to discuss the question of the authenticity of the book.

THE END.

