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THE QUOTATIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

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THE QUOTATIONS OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT FROM THE
OLD CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT
OF GENERAL LITERATURE 

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To

THE MEMORY OF MY

FATHER

REV. HEZEKIAH JOHNSON

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTORY,	ix
I. THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION,	I
II. QUOTATIONS FROM MEMORY,	29
III. FRAGMENTARY QUOTATIONS,	62
IV. EXEGETICAL PARAPHRASE,	74
V. COMPOSITE QUOTATIONS,	92
VI. QUOTATIONS OF SUBSTANCE,	103
VII. ALLEGORY,	116
VIII. QUOTATIONS BY SOUND,	139
I. Change of Reference not involving any material change of the words quoted, or of their meaning,	140
II. Change of Reference effected by an intentional change of the language quoted,	154
III. Change of Reference produced without altera- tion of the language, but by the use of it in a new sense,	167

IX. DOUBLE REFERENCE,	186
I. The Case Stated,	186
II. The Debate,	186
III. The Usage of Literatures,	198
IV. How Double Reference is Indicated,	222
I. By Means of Overflow of Language,	222
II. By Means of Types,	224
V. Double Reference in Scripture,	231
VI. Final Propositions,	331
X. ILLOGICAL REASONING,	336
XI. RABBINIC INTERPRETATION,	372

INTRODUCTORY

THE principal difficulties which have been found with the quotations of the New Testament from the Old may be stated as follows :

1. The writers of the New Testament, instead of translating their quotations directly from the Hebrew, and thus presenting us with exact transcriptions of the original text, have taken them generally from the Septuagint version, which is not free from faults.

2. Their quotations from the Septuagint are often verbally inexact, and their variations from this version are seldom of the nature of corrections, since they seem usually to have quoted from memory.

3. They sometimes employ quotations so brief and fragmentary that the reader cannot readily determine the degree of support, if any, which the quotation gives to the argument.

4. They sometimes alter the language of the Old Testament with the obvious design of aiding their argument.

5. They sometimes present in the form of a single quotation an assemblage of phrases or sentences drawn from different sources.

6. In a few instances they give us, apparently as quotations from the Old Testament, sentences which it does not contain.

7. They regard some historical passages of the Old Testament as allegories, and thus draw from them inferences of which the original writers knew nothing.

8. They often "quote by sound, without regard to the sense."

9. They habitually treat as relating to the Messiah and his kingdom passages written with reference to persons who lived and events which happened centuries before the Christian era.

10. When they understand the passage which they quote, they often argue from it in an inconclusive and illogical manner, so that the evidence which they adduce does not prove the statement which they seek to support by means of it.

11. They deal with the Old Testament after the manner of the rabbis of their time, which was uncritical and erroneous, rather than as men inspired by the Holy Spirit to perceive and express the exact truth.

I present the difficulties thus broadly in the beginning, that they may be in the mind of every reader as he pursues the discussions which follow. I shall examine them in the light of general literature. I am far from consenting to all the conclusions reached by Matthew Arnold in his "Literature and Dogma"; yet, with him, I think it just to regard the writers of the Bible as the creators of a great literature, and to judge and interpret them by the laws of literature. They have produced all the chief forms of literature, as history, biography, anecdote, proverb, oratory, allegory, poetry, and fiction. They have needed, therefore, all the resources of human speech, its sobriety and scientific precision on one page, its rainbow hues of fancy

and imagination on another, its fires of passion on yet another. They could not have moved and guided men in the best manner had they denied themselves the utmost force and freedom of language; had they refused to employ its wide range of expressions, whether exact or poetic; had they not borrowed without stint its many forms of reason, of terror, of rapture, of hope, of joy, of peace. So also, they have needed the usual freedom of literary allusion and citation, in order to commend the gospel to the judgment, the tastes, and the feelings of their readers. Bearing all this in memory, I shall inquire whether in their quotations from the Old Testament the writers of the New have disregarded the laws of literature.

These laws are of two kinds: first, those which belong to all literatures of all ages and nations, like that of truth, or that of beauty; and secondly, those which change with season and clime, the dictates of evanescent or local taste and custom, like the absence of rhyme from ancient poetry, the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, or the alliteration of English poetry. In quoting from the Old Testament, do the writers of the New violate the fundamental law of all literature, which is that of truth? Or do they observe this, and do the accusations made against them proceed from forgetfulness, either of the laws of literature in general, or of temporary laws, the literary custom, prevalent in their age? The answer will be found in the following pages, where I have sought to secure for the writers of the New Testament a candid hearing in the court of the republic of letters, a commonwealth of which, to say the least, they are illustrious citizens.

My argument turns partly upon the modes of expression which all great writers of all languages and all ages adopt by instinct as the most convenient means of transferring their thoughts to others. It also turns often upon the special modes of expression employed in Greek literature, since the New Testament was written in Greek; and hence something must be said here concerning the acquaintance of the authors of the New Testament with Greek literature. I shall limit the inquiry to the Apostle Paul and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, for it is with their quotations that the chief difficulties are found.

Little, however, need be said about the unknown writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, for, though his style is far from that of Plato or Demosthenes, his work shows him to have been a master of the Greek tongue in its literary forms. He uses it not lamely, partially, stammeringly, but with such ease and power as few of the Greeks themselves attained. It has been well said¹ that his words are "martialled grandly," and "move with the tread of an army, or with the swell of a tidal wave." If, as is now generally conjectured, he was Apollos, his skill in the use of Greek is explained by the notice of him in the Acts:² Apollos was "born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures." "Born at Alexandria," he would use Greek as his native tongue. It was precisely at Alexandria that Greek literature was most sedulously studied in the apostolic age, and learned Jews were not behind others in their admiration of it,

¹ By the Rev. William T. C. Hanna.

² 18 : 24.

as is proved by the writings of Philo, every page of which is saturated with it. Moreover, the "eloquence" of this man was exhibited in Greek, the language of Ephesus and Corinth, where we find him preaching. The Greek of the epistle is of an Alexandrian cast; and its eloquence, which is very great, is that of an orator, rather than an essayist, for the words are often chosen for their sonorous quality, and the whole work is marked by a solemn pomp of sound, by resonant and harmonious sentences, so that the reader is often tempted to think of it as music rather than as language. It would be as absurd to suppose that one unacquainted with the best Greek literature wrote this epistle, equally wonderful for its language and its thought, as to suppose that one unacquainted with the best English literature wrote Burke's orations or Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection."

The Greek of the Apostle Paul is not the same in kind with that of this writer. It is ordinarily less even and sustained, and more broken, tumultuous, and eager; yet at times it rises higher, and attains unexampled tenderness and beauty, as in 1 Cor. 13, which is an exquisite poem, a lyric of love to God and man. It has been said that the Greek of the apostle is not his own, but that of an amanuensis, who translated his thought into Greek; but a little consideration will show that this supposition is erroneous. He must have employed various amanuenses, as his epistles were written at intervals through many years and at many different places. But his style, though bearing marks here of haste and there of leisure, or here of mid-life and there of advancing years, is always that of the Apostle

Paul. This could not have been the case had his many different amanuenses been also his translators; each one would have given us his own peculiar style.

Furthermore, this apostle on several occasions quotes from minor Greek poets (Acts 17 : 28 ; Titus 1 : 12). A writer familiar with the minor poets of a people is not ignorant of the major; if he has mastered his Cowper and his Burns, so as to have them at hand for ready use in extemporaneous speech, he has not neglected his Milton and his Shakespeare.

The words which Paul quotes in his address at Athens he attributes to "certain of the Greek poets"; he uses the plural, and thus shows that he has read them in two authors, Aratus and Cleanthes.

Yet again; in this address he follows in a striking manner the order of thought which he found in Aratus; the poet says :

Zeus fills the haunts of men,
The streets, the marts; Zeus fills the seas, the shores,
The harbors; everywhere our need is Zeus.
We also are his offspring.

The apostle says :

In him we live and move and have our being; as certain even of your own poets have said, For we also are his offspring.

Both place the thought of our own life in God immediately before that of his paternal relation in us.

To say that the apostle picked up the words of Aratus and Cleanthes in the street, where they were a commonplace phrase, that he used the plural instead of the singular only by accident, and that he followed

the sequence of thought found in Aratus without being aware of it, is to resort to such desperate measures as amount to a confession of error.

Again. The Apostle Paul knew that he was appointed by God to carry the gospel to the Gentiles, and it is incredible that he should not wish to become acquainted with Gentile modes of thought and speech, so as to be prepared the better to accomplish his ministry. The missionary to any people does not consider himself adequately equipped for his office till he has learned as much as possible of their books; and since such a study is the dictate of ordinary common sense we ought not to suppose that it was neglected by the apostle who was emphatically "a wise master-builder."

Lastly. He had abundant opportunity. He was born in a Greek-speaking city, and spent his early boyhood there. His father had lived long enough in the Gentile world to acquire Roman citizenship. Thus Greek was his native tongue. It is true that he went to Jerusalem early; but he returned to Tarsus after his conversion, and passed years in it before his severer labors began. Thus Godet writes¹:

It has often been denied that the quotations from Greek poets which are to be found in St. Paul's writings are proofs of his having had a certain degree of Greek culture; and to support this denial it has been asserted that he was too young when brought to Jerusalem, and there educated, to have previously imbibed the elements of profane literature. But those who maintain this view forget this sojourn of Paul at Tarsus, when he must at least have been considerably over thirty, since before the age of thirty he would hardly have been sent on a mission to Damascus as delegate of the Sanhedrin. During the

¹ "Studies on the Epistles," p. 4.

few years which he now spent with his relatives, waiting until God should call him to his work among the Gentiles, he had time to acquire a good knowledge of their literature, and no doubt tried to do so, in order to be more fit for the work which lay before him. The literary resources of his native town, at that time a rival of Athens and Alexandria, would therefore, no doubt be made use of by him as far as this was possible for a Jew.

At least six,¹ and perhaps eight years elapsed between the conversion of Saul of Tarsus and his call to Antioch by Barnabas, when the vast activities of his ministry to the Gentiles began. The interval must have been one of preparation.

These arguments are sufficient, in the absence of counter evidence, and henceforth the burden of proof is on the other side. Is there any evidence that the apostle was not acquainted with Greek literature? There is none whatever. If there is none, then his skill as a writer of Greek, his quotations from Greek poets, his birth of Greek-speaking parents and in a Greek city, his abundant opportunities to study the works of the great Greek authors, his call by God to preach to the Gentiles in Greek, his amazing activity of mind and body, his scrupulous care to take every advantage of circumstances in presenting the Cross to the Gentile world; all these things join to render it impossible to doubt that he was well acquainted with Greek literature. It is not necessary to say, however, as some have done on these grounds, that he was a master of Greek literature, a specialist, an expert.

In order to save space I have merely referred to the

¹ See the chronological table in Farrar's "St. Paul," Vol. II., p. 624.

longer passages of Scripture which I have discussed, and have not produced them in full, and it will be necessary at times for the reader to turn to these in his Bible and examine them in the light of their context, that he may weigh my argument intelligently.

It will be rightly inferred that my plan does not embrace the discussion of all the quotations, but only of those with which some difficulty has been found. I think I have omitted none that have been called in question by any recent scholarly writer with whose work I am acquainted. I have paid special attention to the criticisms of Kuenen in his "Prophets and Prophecy in Israel," because they are the boldest and the ablest expression of negative criticism on this subject. I have also kept in view the works of Döpke and Toy.

So far as I am aware, this is the first attempt ever made to compare the quotations of the New Testament from the Old with those of general literature. I have no doubt that, laboring in a field so vast and so wholly untrodden, I may have erred in certain minor details of my work. But I think that my main conclusions will not be disproved, for I have sought to render my citations from ancient and modern literature so abundant that no one can call in question the chief statements which they support. I have also sought to make them so clear that any person may verify them for himself. I have kept before my mind the wants of the reader acquainted only with English, and have avoided, as far as possible, technicalities which he could not appreciate or weigh. I have used throughout my work the Revised version of the Bible, except where I have said that I cite from some other version. In a few in-

stances I have followed the American revisers where they differ from the English.

In quoting from the Greek and Latin writers, I have availed myself of approved translations wherever I could, and I hope that this general acknowledgment of my indebtedness will be deemed sufficient, and that thus I shall be freed from the necessity of encumbering my pages with a multitude of footnotes of no value to the reader. I have compared the translation with the original in almost every case, that there might be no doubt of its substantial accuracy. I have drawn specially from Bryant's "Homer," Jowett's "Plato," and Goodwin's "Plutarch."

I have thought of two methods of treating the difficulties which I have stated. One would be to take up the quotations as they occur in the New Testament and weigh in turn the objections brought against each. This would possess the advantage of a well-recognized order in the succession of the books and chapters and verses. But inasmuch as the same objection is often made to a score of the quotations, it would have to be presented and discussed many times, and the repetition would be wearisome. Moreover, as the reader will perceive on advancing farther in this study, the discussion of each objection is so voluminous that it cannot be given more than once. I have chosen, therefore, a second method, and shall discuss the difficulties in turn, and shall take up the quotations as they are brought forward by certain critics to illustrate these difficulties. This method, however, is subject to a serious disadvantage. It frequently occurs that several difficulties are found with one and the same quota-

tion, and hence it becomes necessary to consider the passage in several different chapters, so that the entire discussion of it can be followed only by turning to several places. I have endeavored to modify this disadvantage, as far as possible, by abundant cross references.

For invaluable assistance in the preparation of this book I am indebted to my wife, and to my son, Franklin Johnson, Jr.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, October, 1895.

THE QUOTATIONS

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT FROM THE OLD

I

THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION

THE quotations of the New Testament from the Old are not usually exact translations of the Hebrew; the majority of them are drawn from the Greek version called the Septuagint, and follow this where it agrees with the original, and also where it departs from it. Less frequently they adhere to the Hebrew and abandon the Septuagint. In some instances, finally, they abandon both as far as mere language is concerned. Some of the quotations belong in part to one of these classes, and in part to another or to others. The proportion of quotations from the Septuagint is stated thus by Kuenen,¹ whose argument I am about to consider :

A German scholar, who has subjected the whole of the citations in the epistles of Paul to a very exact examination, comes to the conclusion that an unacquaintance with the Septuagint is shown in only two of the eighty-four, while of the remaining eighty-two there are only twelve which vary essentially from this translation. Another, whose book is itself a continuous

¹ "Prophets and Prophecy in Israel," p. 455.

proof that he would gladly give a different testimony, begins by acknowledging that "the Old Testament quotations are for the most part either borrowed word for word from the Septuagint, or at least agree with that translation. The passages from the Hebrew text form a minority which is hardly worth noticing."

267.
Turpie,¹ on careful examination, finds that the writers of the New Testament, even when they have quoted in a general way from the Septuagint version, have departed from it somewhat in thirty-six per cent. of their quotations, have altered it to a less accordance with the Hebrew in nearly twenty-eight per cent., and to a closer accordance in nearly four per cent., and have kept it unaltered in not quite thirty-three per cent. The majority of these variations are the result of memory-quoting, and will be accounted for in our next chapter; at present we have to consider only the fact that the Septuagint was used by the writers of the New Testament as the basis of their quotations.

The first of all the arguments adduced by Kuenen to prove that the writers of the New Testament mistake in their exegesis of the Old, is drawn from this prevalent use of the Septuagint, and I shall permit him to state it here in his own way:

If now the Greek translation were an accurate reproduction of the original, or if, where it varies, it followed a better text than that which has been preserved to us in the manuscripts and editions, this use of it would be nothing surprising, or would even testify to the accuracy of the New Testament writers. But the contrary is true. In the two hundred and seventy-five passages of the New Testament which contain citations from the Old, of course only a comparatively small part of the Old occurs. Yet

¹ "The Old Testament in the New."

we notice more than one divergence of the Septuagint from the original, which either is of very doubtful value or merits distinct disapproval, whether it be that the translator had an incorrect text before him, or that he did not understand his original, and therefore gave a wrong rendering of it.

The rest of the argument consists of examples to show that the faults of the Septuagint are not always amended when the writers of the New Testament quote it, but are often transferred to their pages without notice. I admit this, and hence need not reproduce the proofs which Kuenen has collected.

In only a few instances, however, does Kuenen claim that the New Testament writers have gained any advantage in argument by quoting the inexact translation of the Septuagint, instead of making an exact translation for themselves; and in all these examples he is mistaken, as I shall now show.

One is the quotation of Isa. 59 : 20, 21 and 27 : 9, in Rom. 11 : 26, 27.

Isa. 59 : 20, 21.

A redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord. And as for me, this is my covenant with them.

Isa. 27 : 9.

By this shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged, and this is all the fruit of taking away his sin.

Rom. 11 : 26, 27.

There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer; He shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob: And this is my covenant unto them, When I shall take away their sins.

The quotation in the epistle is thus composite, being

formed of two different passages from the prophet. The ancient custom of quoting in this manner will be considered in our fifth chapter.

There are three marked changes in the quotation :

First, the prophet says "a redeemer shall come to Zion"; while the apostle quotes him as saying "out of Zion." However, even Kuenen does not complain of this, and Toy writes : "No additional Messianic sense is gained by the alteration." I pass it by, therefore, as of no significance.

This first change, which is confessedly without significance, is made by the apostle himself. The second is made by the Septuagint, and is accepted by the apostle because it does not affect his argument in any way. The prophet says the "deliverer shall come to them that turn from transgression," but the Septuagint, followed by the apostle, "he shall turn away ungodliness from " the people. That the change does not affect the argument of the apostle will be apparent if we state the argument and then look back at the original passage. The argument is that "all Israel shall be saved," or in other words, that the Jews in general shall turn from sin and accept the Messiah as their Redeemer. This is also the teaching of the prophet in the text quoted and in the context. Going back to the eighteenth verse of the chapter quoted from, we find a prediction of judgments : "According to their deeds, accordingly he will repay, fury to his adversaries, recompense to his enemies ; to the islands he will repay recompense." In the next verse the result of this interposition of God is portrayed ; it is a general turning of the world to the true God : "And they

shall fear the name of Jehovah from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun. When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the spirit of Jehovah shall drive him away." That this prediction refers to the coming of the world to Jehovah is held by interpreters in general, among whom I may mention Cheyne, Henderson, Alexander, Knobel, and Delitzsch, the last of whom paraphrases it as follows: "In all quarters of the globe will fear of the name and of the glory of Jehovah become naturalized among the nations of the world." Therefore the prophet is looking forward into the Messianic age. Then follows the promise quoted by the New Testament writer: "A redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob." That those who "turn from transgression in Jacob" are the Jewish people in general, and not a small remnant, is evident from the preceding verse, which foretells the conversion of the world. Therefore the change made by the Septuagint and not corrected by the apostle renders the passage neither more nor less a prophecy of the gathering of the Jews into the church; and it is as such alone that he uses it.

Kuenen lays greater stress on the third change; for the apostle cites from the Septuagint its free version of the second passage, as of the first. But, just as the first of the two prophecies of which the quotation is composed proclaims the coming of the Deliverer to Israel in general, as really in the Hebrew form as in the Greek, so the second proclaims the purging of sin from Israel in general, as really in the Hebrew form as in the Greek. Let us examine it also in the light of its context. Beginning at the sixth verse, we see that the

time to which the prophecy looks is the Messianic age : "In the days to come shall Jacob take root, Israel shall blossom and bud ; and they shall fill the face of the world with fruit." That this refers to the world at large, and not merely to the Holy Land, is held by such interpreters as Cheyne, Bredenkamp, and Delitzsch ; the last of whom writes : "The prophet here says, in a figure, the same that the apostle says in Romans II : 12, that Israel, when restored once more to favor as a nation, will become 'the riches of the Gentiles.'" In the seventh and eighth verses God declares that he will afflict Israel, though not beyond measure. In the ninth verse he depicts the effect of the affliction.¹ "Therefore, by this shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged ; and this is all the fruit" of the affliction, "to take away his sins." The removal of the sins of Israel in the Messianic age is thus asserted as strongly by the original Hebrew as by the Septuagint version which the apostle quotes. Here again, the change which he adopts from the Septuagint gives him no advantage whatever, except possibly that of a brief statement of the purport of the entire prophecy.

Let us sum up the results of our discussion of this quotation. The changes to which Kuenen objects were found by the New Testament writer in the Septuagint version, and he did not go out of his way to correct them, because they did not at all concern the movement of his argument, nor alter the essential meaning of the prophecies to which he appealed.

➤ It is fair always to ask what it is that a writer seeks

¹ So Alexander, Hitzig, Henderson, Knobel.

to prove or to illustrate by a quotation, before we pronounce him guilty of unfaithfulness in retaining in it some imperfection of the version to which he appeals. If this rule were observed, the difficulties which have been found with Heb. 2 : 6-8, would vanish at once. The writer of this epistle is proving the lofty nature of man, and quotes from the Septuagint version of Ps. 8 : 5 for the purpose : "Thou madest him a little lower than the angels." Many critics tell us that the Hebrew word here rendered "angels," means God ; and others regard themselves as bound to show that it means angels, or to abandon the doctrine of plenary inspiration. The contest over the passage has been persistent, writers of one school maintaining that it proves the author of the epistle to have been ignorant or careless of the Hebrew, and not inspired, and writers of another school maintaining the accuracy of the translation which he adopts. "Unless it had so signified," says Turpie,¹ "it would not have been found in the inspired writings of the New Testament translated by such a word." The whole controversy is idle, for the New Testament writer gains nothing by the substitution of the word angels for the word God, if that is indeed the meaning of the Hebrew word. Were the case reversed, had the Hebrew said angels, and had the New Testament writer quoted it as saying God, this would have been to secure an unfair advantage for his assertion of the lofty nature of man. It might be maintained, indeed, that he loses a certain force of proof by adopting the Septuagint statement, which lifts man near to the

¹ "The Old Testament in the New," p. 119.

angels, instead of the Hebrew, which perhaps lifts him near to the Godhead; but it is evident that he considers the more moderate declaration of the Septuagint as strong enough for his purpose. His argument would be exactly the same, whether he quoted the psalmist as saying God, or as saying angels; for in either case he would prove the very lofty nature of man, which is all that he wishes to do.

In carrying his argument to its conclusion, it still remains adequate to his purpose to write "angels," with the Septuagint, instead of "God," with the Hebrew, if that is the meaning of the Hebrew word. His course of thought is this: Man was made originally "a little lower than the angels," or than "God"; he was "crowned with glory and honor"; he was "set over the works" of nature; and "all things were put in subjection under him." Such were his constitution and his earthly lot by the divine appointment at his creation. That the psalm here quoted refers to the original state of man, and not to his present degradation in sin, is held by such interpreters as Dean Johnson in the "Speaker's Commentary," Toy, in his "Quotations," and Delitzsch. The last great critic calls it "a lyric echo of the Mosaic account of the creation," and adds: "The poet regards man in the light of the purpose for which he was created." This purpose, however, man does not now fulfill; the position for which he was formed he does not occupy; he has fallen far below the magnificent inheritance provided for him. But the intention of God in the creation of man is fulfilled in Jesus, the Son of Man, the ideal Man, the Head of humanity. As a man, he was made

“a little lower than the angels”;¹ or, if one prefers, “than God,” since he himself testified, “My Father is greater than I.”² Thus the argument is perfect, no

¹ In our Common version of Heb. 1 : 6, we read: “And again, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.” There is no discrepancy between that passage and the one before us. That sees Christ in his concrete personality; this in his human nature. Moreover, that passage, according to the best interpreters, must be referred either to his resurrection or to his second coming, and hence to his glorification, for the sentence must be rendered, not, “And again, when he bringeth,” but, as in the Revised version, “When he again bringeth,” when he a second time bringeth, “his first-born into the world”; and moreover, the Greek word rendered “bringeth” is in a future tense, and in the margin of the Revised version is rendered “shall have brought.”

² The interpretation of the passage up to this point is universally accepted. From this point on, however, interpreters differ. The difference does not concern my argument, which relates only to the earlier part of the text. Yet I may say that I hold the view of Stuart and Hofmann. The incarnation, though it was the humiliation of the Son of God, may be considered as the exaltation of the son of Mary, the bringing into being of a human nature of the highest possible type, but confined, as we are, to the body and exposed to want and pain and mortality. In this sense Christ was “made a little lower than the angels” “because of the suffering of death” to which man is doomed for his sin; he was “crowned with glory and honor” and “all things were put in subjection under him,” “that by the grace of God he should taste death for every man.” That is, he was made man because we are exposed to physical and spiritual death; he was made man that he might die for us. But he was not made sinful and degraded man; he was made as man was made in the beginning, but “a little lower than the angels,” or “than God,” and “crowned with such glory and honor” as the first man possessed before his sin. The Gospels give us abundant evidence on every page that he had dominion over nature during his earthly ministry, so that there is no need to refer the passage to his present state of exaltation. This interpretation seems to me the only one grounded in a simple and grammatical reading of the text and context. By him we are to attain our lofty nature and destiny: God is to “bring many sons unto glory” through the “author of their salvation”; for now, since the incarnation of Jesus, “he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one” common human

matter which of the two meanings is adopted. It is worthy of further observation that the great majority of commentators, theologians, and preachers, though they may not agree as to its interpretation, find it sufficient as it stands, and feel no need of the substitution of the word "God" for the word "angels."

Another illustration of the equal value to the argument of the Septuagint translation and of the Hebrew original, though it is possible that they differ slightly in sense, is found in Heb. 1 : 7, where the writer quotes from Ps. 104 : 4 :

Who maketh his angels winds,
And his ministers a flame of fire.

The quotation follows the Septuagint almost exactly. It is said by many that the passage in the Hebrew, interpreted in the light of its context, presents a different thought, which would require in English a different order of the words :

Who maketh winds his messengers
And flaming fire his ministers.

It is claimed, that is, that in the Hebrew God is said to make winds and flames obey him and accomplish his purposes as his angels do, while in the Septuagint he is said to make the angels obey him and accomplish his purposes as the winds and flames do. This view of the Hebrew is admitted to be very doubtful ;¹ but for-

nature. Delitzsch differs widely from Hofmann concerning this passage, yet expresses great admiration of his labors in elucidating it. Zimmer criticizes the exegesis of Hofmann in his "Exegetische Probleme," and yet cannot help praising it. His objections lead me to a higher estimate of it.

¹ Against it are Ellicott and Alford.

tunately we need not discuss it; we need only consider what it is the writer of the epistle here teaches, in order to perceive that the evidence is perfect in either case. His statement is that the Son of God is superior to the angels. His proof is that God institutes a comparison between the angels and the winds and flames, while he never compares his Son to such inanimate forces, but speaks of him as divine, saying, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever." Our conception of Christ would be very different had God instituted a comparison between him and the inanimate forces of nature, and had said,

He maketh the winds his Son
And a flame of fire his first-born;

Or,

He maketh his Son a wind
And his first-born a flame of fire.

Some of the foremost biblical critics¹ find in this passage of the Old Testament a proof that its writer held the winds and flames to be a sort of drapery or real embodiment of the angels, and the angels to be the moving spirits of these their corporeal abodes! One would think that these men were not accustomed to poetry. The fact which underlies the comparison—for we have only a comparison here—is the ministerial office alike of the angels and of the winds and flames, while Christ is Lord of all. This is the argument. Hence the sacred writer does not need to enter into any minute and teasing discussion of the Hebrew, or to depart from the only Bible accessible to his readers,

¹ As Gesenius.

since the poetic comparison between the angels and the inanimate forces of nature is perfectly clear, whichever view of the Hebrew is taken.

It is objected, again, that the Hebrew says nothing about angels, but speaks only of "messengers" in a general sense, so that the writer has gotten from the Septuagint a proof which he could not have found in the original. The same Hebrew word means messenger and angel, just as the same Greek word means both. The angels are the special messengers of God, and hence they are designated by this convenient term. It is therefore mere assertion that in the passage before us the original writer meant messengers in general, and not angels. The assertion is not sustained by a particle of proof of any sort. On the contrary, there is no passage in the Old Testament, unless this is an exception to an otherwise universal rule, in which the word is used of purely inanimate forces; it always refers to an intelligent being, either celestial or terrestrial. That the word signifies angels in this place is understood by the two greatest Hebrew lexicographers, Gesenius and Fürst, and by the vast majority of competent Hebrew critics.

Another example adduced by Kuenen is the quotation of Isa. 29 : 13, made by our Lord, and recorded in Matt. 15 : 8, 9 and Mark 7 : 6, 7. The prophet wrote : "The Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw nigh unto me, and with their mouth and with their lips do honor me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear of me is a commandment of men which hath been taught them." The Pharisees criticised the disciples for "transgressing the tradition of

the elders" in neglecting to "wash their hands when they ate bread." Their Master answered the critics, telling them that they placed their tradition above "the commandment of God," and set aside the latter to observe the former. He gave them an example of their breach of the divine law by means of their tradition, citing the well-known case of the "corban." Then he quoted Isaiah's condemnation of those who worship with the lips only, and not with the heart, and render a service which is merely "a commandment of men," and not such as God himself requires. Nothing could be more appropriate than this passage.

Nor is it either more or less appropriate in its Septuagint form, which the evangelists adopt, with a slight change, as follows :

This people honoreth me with their lips ;
But their heart is far from me.
But in vain do they worship me,
Teaching as their doctrines the precepts of men.

Our Lord says truly that in these words Isaiah prophesied of the Pharisees to whom he quotes them. Isaiah prophesied to the Jews of his own time ; but, as the Scriptures are for all men of all ages and all places, he also prophesied of all those who at any time bring to God an external worship, and put human precepts in the room of the divine. This is no accommodation of the prophecy ; since it inheres in the very nature of prophecy, which is an expression of the will of the unchanging Deity, that its underlying principles shall be of universal and perpetual application.

The Septuagint differs a little both from the He-

brew and from the form of the passage used by the evangelists. It has :

But in vain do they worship me,
Teaching precepts of men, and teachings.

This sentence the evangelists slightly alter, in order to express the real meaning of the prophet. Thus Broadus writes :

Matthew and Mark have slightly modified the Septuagint into "teaching teachings (which are) precepts of men." This not only improves the phraseology of the Septuagint, but brings out the prophet's thought more clearly than would be done by a literal translation of the Hebrew, for Isaiah means to distinguish between a worship of God that is taught by men, and that which is according to the teaching of God's word.

Such verbal changes to develop the sense more clearly are considered in our fourth chapter.

Yet another example adduced by Kuenen is Amos 9 : 11, 12, as quoted by James in Acts 15 : 16, 17. The prophet predicts the raising up of the "tabernacle of David," "as in the days of old," "that they may possess the remnant of Edom, and all the nations, which are called by my name, saith the Lord that doeth this." Instead of "the remnant of Edom," the Septuagint and James have "the residue of men." This is the change criticised by Kuenen, on the ground that it favors unduly the thesis of James, who wished to show that the gospel was designed for the Gentiles, and not for the Jews only. It does not do this, however, for, in any case, the very next phrase of the quotation is sufficiently sweeping and emphatic :

And all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called.

Whether "the residue of Edom, and all the nations," or "the residue of men, and all the nations," are to be brought into the kingdom of David, surely makes no difference. Kuenen would limit arbitrarily the expression, "all the nations upon whom the name of the Lord is called," to the peoples immediately around Palestine, whom Jehovah was to conquer by means of Jewish armies. Toy takes a somewhat similar view, but goes farther in the right direction, and says well, that the prediction, though it related "immediately to the restoration of the political fortunes of Judah, and in this sense was never fulfilled, doubtless involved in the prophetic feeling the establishment among the nations of the true worship of the one true God, and so found its realization in the spread of Christianity over the world." But let us take the passage with the limitations of its scope which Kuenen prescribes. Even thus, it will teach what James found in it, the truth that the kingdom of God shall not be confined to the Jews under the reign of the "Son of David," but shall break through its ancient walls, and be extended over the Gentiles around the Holy Land. The position taken by James was not that the kingdom of the Messiah was destined to become strictly universal, but that it was destined to throw down the barriers of the one people and embrace other peoples as well. This was all he needed to prove; for no Jew who admitted this truth would care to dispute the question of strict universality. I shall close my discussion of this passage with a single sentence from Hackett: "The citation from Amos was pertinent in a twofold way: first, it announced that the heathen were to be admitted

with the Jews into the kingdom of Christ ; and secondly, it contained no recognition of circumcision, or other Jewish ceremonies, as prerequisite to their reception."

Still another instance brought forward by Kuenen is the quotation of Gen. 12 : 3, and perhaps 22 : 18, in Gal. 3 : 8. The promise to Abraham, according to this critic, was that all peoples of the earth should bless themselves or each other by making use of his name, as one might say : " May I be or may you be as fortunate as Abraham was." " It was understood differently," the critic adds, " by the Greek translator, who renders it thus : ' In thee shall all the people of the earth be blessed.' The Apostle Paul adopted this interpretation from him, and thus naturalized it in the Christian world."

The apostle combined in his quotation the essence of two promises made to Abraham, according to the literary custom illustrated in our fifth chapter. It is admitted by all that the meaning of the two is the same. The only question is whether the interpretation given by Kuenen, or that given by the apostle, is the correct one. The great majority of Hebrew scholars sustain the latter, among whom are Keil, Cook, Lange, and Delitzsch.

The question is not one of mere grammar, but of the meaning of the promise. It is freely admitted that the sentence in the Hebrew text is reflexive, and may be translated literally : " In thee shall all nations bless themselves." But the meaning will then be, as Delitzsch says : They shall wish themselves blessed as Abraham was, and by the same means by which he

secured his blessing, that is, by faith. And thus desiring the blessing of faith, they shall obtain it. To limit the reference of the promise to a mere glib proverb, is to belittle both it and the God who gave it. The nations were to bless themselves in Abraham not only in word, but also in deed. Thus the Septuagint, adopted by the New Testament writer, expresses the real thought of the Hebrew text.

Again. In Heb. 12 : 5-13, the sacred writer exhorts his readers not to be discouraged by sufferings, which, he reminds them, are evidences that God deals with them as with sons, and hence of their divine sonship. To prove this proposition, he quotes from Prov. 3 : 11, 12 :

My son, regard not lightly the chastening of the Lord,
Nor faint when thou art reprov'd of him ;
For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,
And scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.

This is from the Septuagint. In the Hebrew the last line is as follows :

Even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.

On account of this difference Kuenen complains that the quotation is taken from the Septuagint instead of the Hebrew. But it is evident at a glance that the proposition of the writer is proved by the passage in either form, and in one form just as cogently as in the other ; so that not the slightest advantage to the argument is either gained or lost by the use of the Septuagint version.

But, granting that the faults of the Septuagint, in

the passages quoted, do not affect in any way the argument of the New Testament writers, were they not bound, nevertheless, to correct these departures from the Hebrew original, or to translate directly from it? Why quote from versions in the least degree imperfect? Kuenen insists that it was wrong for them to do so. The objection, however perplexing at first, loses its force at once when brought into the court of general literature. The writers of the New Testament quoted from the Septuagint because it was the only written version of their time. The Jews in general had long ceased, not merely to speak and write, but also to read Hebrew; even to the majority of those who lived in Palestine it was a dead language; and it was necessary for them to "search the Scriptures," if at all, in some translation with which they were acquainted. The learned Jews read Hebrew; but that they had lost all minute and critical knowledge of it is evident from the puerile interpretations of the rabbis and from the numerous errors of the Septuagint version, completed two centuries before the apostolic age. At the same time, this Septuagint version, being the sole version which they possessed in writing, was a work of the very first importance. It was necessary for the apostles to appeal to it, since it contained the only documentary evidence to which the great mass of their readers could turn to verify the Christian argument from history and type and prophecy.

The world of the apostolic age, even the Jewish world, stood much farther from the Hebrew Old Testament than our modern world does, with its untiring microscopic criticism and its wealth of commentaries

distributed to every Christian home and bringing the results of the ripest learning to every child in the Sunday-school and at its mother's knee. The world of the apostolic age was much more dependent upon the Septuagint, its one written version, and upon such oral versions as the rabbis might make in the synagogues, than we are upon our modern versions.

The New Testament was not written for a limited number of learned men; but for the great world, and for the churches gathered out of it, and thus for people of ordinary intelligence. In quoting from the Septuagint, its writers did as all religious writers of all ages have done, in so far as they have addressed the people not technically learned; they quoted from the version which their readers knew. The writer in English, whatever his denomination, quotes by preference from the ordinary English version, or from the Revised, though neither is free from errors. The writer in German, however widely he may differ from the creed of Luther, quotes from the version of Luther, unless there is some special reason for an appeal to another. The writer in Burmese, even if an Episcopalian, quotes from the Burman version, the work of a Baptist missionary. This is the common law of religious literature.

Thus the writers of the New Testament dealt with the inaccuracies of the common version of their time much as the conscientious theologian of to-day deals with those of the versions most accessible to the people. The theologian, in quoting from either of the well-known English versions, does not reject any text which he wishes to use because its language seems to him less exact than some other form of words, if the divine

thought is preserved in its integrity. Nay further, when he finds in it some slight inaccuracy of meaning, if this has nothing to do with his argument, he takes the passage as it is, and refrains from adverse comment, lest he enfeeble his production by endless and unprofitable digressions. If, however, the inaccuracy stands in his way, he removes it, and brings out the full light of the truth which it obscured or concealed; and, on the other hand, if it is of a nature to favor his cause unduly, he refuses to avail himself of it, "not handling the word of God deceitfully." To quote from a version unknown to his readers and not trusted by them, or to overload his pages with perpetual teasing emendations of the version which he employs, would be foolish, as it would debar him from the world and render his work futile. So the writers of the New Testament, in citing from the Greek, seldom corrected the version to which they appealed, unless to do so was necessary to their course of thought; and they refrained from using inaccuracies of which they might easily have taken advantage.

A good instance of the passing over of a verbal inaccuracy which might have been pressed into the service of the writer is found in Heb. 10 : 5-9 :

When he cometh into the world, he saith,
 Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not,
 But a body didst thou prepare for me ;
 In whole burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin thou
 hadst no pleasure :
 Then said I, Lo, I am come
 (In the roll of the book it is written of me)
 To do thy will, O God.

Saying above, Sacrifices and offerings and whole burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein (the which are offered according to the law), then hath he said, Lo, I am come to do thy will. He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second.

The quotation is from Ps. 40 : 6-8. It has primary reference to the psalmist himself. Its secondary reference to Christ will be shown in the ninth chapter of this book, and need not detain us here. That which I wish especially to observe is the phrase of the Hebrew text : "Mine ears hast thou opened," and the departure from it of the Septuagint, which reads : "A body didst thou prepare for me." The author of the epistle quotes from the Septuagint, but he makes no use of this phrase in his argument. Yet it is one that might have been employed with force. The writer might have exhibited the psalmist as predicting the preparation of the body of Christ in the incarnation with express reference to its sacrifice as a substitute for the sacrifices which God "would not." Indeed, many have leaped to the conclusion that he really bases his reasoning upon it, so appropriate is it to his purpose. Thus Toy¹ says : "This argument might have been made without the quotation, but a desirable support from the Old Testament seemed to the author to be presented in the Septuagint phrase 'a body thou hast prepared me.'"

The impression, however, that the author of the epistle has rested his argument upon the phrase of the Septuagint is erroneous. It is true that a phrase at the first glance distantly resembling that of the

¹ "The Quotations in the New Testament."

Septuagint occurs a little farther along in the epistle: "By which will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Christ once for all." But that this is quite independent of the phrase quoted from the Septuagint is evident from the following considerations:

1. The two phrases are not the same in any particular except that both contain the word "body." The Septuagint has: "A body didst thou prepare for me"; and the epistle: "By which will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Christ once for all." Could any two statements be more diverse?

2. Not only are they different in form, but they are thoroughly different in meaning. The phrase of the Septuagint, were it genuine, would refer to the incarnation; but that of the epistle refers solely to the crucifixion. One looks to the birth of Christ, and the other to his death. It is true that this distance might have been bridged over by the writer of the epistle; he might have said that the body of Christ was prepared with reference to its crucifixion, and thus have brought the expression into his argument. He has pointedly failed to do this, which shows that he did not regard the phrase in question as belonging in any way to his course of reasoning.

3. We may not only prove thus that the phrase of the epistle cannot have come from the Septuagint version of the psalm, being thoroughly different from it both in form and meaning, but we may go farther and show whence it did come. Its source is not far to seek. It came from Christian history; and nothing was more natural to a Christian writer of the apostolic age

than to speak of the crucifixion of our Lord as "the offering of the body of Christ."

4. The argument which the writer derives from the psalm closes before the introduction of the phrase in question. The argument is that the Mosaic sacrifices have been abolished by the self-sacrifice of Christ, in obeying the will of God and coming into the world to die. The only phrases of the psalm which the writer uses in drawing his conclusion are these: "Sacrifices and offerings thou wouldest not," and, "Lo, I am come to do thy will." The psalmist, says the writer, "taketh away the first, that he may establish the second." Here his argument ends.

5. When the writer comes to the phrase in question he has passed from his direct argument from the psalm, to speak, not of the incarnation of Christ, but of our sanctification through his death. Christ says, "when he cometh into the world," "Lo, I am come to do thy will." But it was the will of God that he should die for us, and hence "by that will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Christ once for all."

If we admit, for a moment, what I think incorrect, that in the phrase, "the offering of the body of Christ," we are to find a direct reference to the phrase, "a body didst thou prepare for me," it will be evident, even then, that the writer lays no stress upon the expression of the psalm, but gives emphasis only to the obedience of Christ, and regards that as the real substitute for the sacrifices of the old dispensation. This is granted by so free a critic as De Wette,¹ who says: "Had the

¹ Quoted by Tholuck, "Kommentar," at Heb. 10 : 10.

Septuagint translated, 'ears hast thou prepared me,' the entire sense" found in the passage by the New Testament writer "would have remained," and in the words of the psalmist "the idea of the fulfillment of the divine will as the true atonement would always have lain preserved."

It should be added that the underlying sense of the phrase in the Septuagint is the same with that of the Hebrew phrase, though the language is so different. The Hebrew says: "Mine ears hast thou opened," that is, to hear the divine voice in an obedient spirit. The Septuagint says: "A body didst thou prepare for me," that is, as an organ by means of which I may obey the divine voice. Thus in both cases the obedience of Christ unto death is presented to the reader as the substitute for the sacrifices of the Mosaic dispensation. This is maintained by all critics, of all schools. The writer of the epistle, therefore, might have employed the phrase of the Septuagint with some emphasis; and his refusal to do so is an interesting evidence of his scrupulous care to keep within the bounds of propriety in his use of the Old Testament.

In a number of instances, however, the writers of the New Testament show their knowledge of the Hebrew text, and quote from it, if there is special occasion to do so.

In the Gospel by Matthew the Hebrew is used, instead of the Septuagint, perhaps more frequently than elsewhere. Westcott,¹ following Bleek, calls attention to the fact that when Matthew himself speaks and

¹ "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels," p. 229, note.

refers to the fulfillment of prophecies, he leans to the Hebrew original ; while, when he represents others as speaking and quoting, he leans to the Septuagint version. Westcott infers from this that the apostle composed his Gospel of two kinds of material : first, of his own peculiar reminiscences and reflections, in which he quotes from the Hebrew, because familiar with it ; and secondly, of an oral statement of the life of Christ shaped by the earliest teachers of Christianity and taught to the Gentiles and the Greek-speaking Jews, in which the Septuagint was used, because it was the only Bible which the hearers possessed and to which they could appeal. This oral Gospel, according to the theory, the apostle, when he committed it to writing, respected too much to change. The speculation is interesting.

I give here a few illustrative instances of recurrence to the Hebrew text for reasons which we can weigh and appreciate :

At Matt. 2 : 15, Hosea 11 : 1 is quoted as a prophecy of Christ : " Out of Egypt did I call my son." The quotation follows the Hebrew exactly. The Septuagint says : " Out of Egypt I called back his children " ; and the word " children," being plural, could not be applied to Christ as an individual ; and thus the typical character of the verse is lost.

At Matt. 8 : 17, the evangelist quotes from Isa. 53 : 4 : " Himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases." The Septuagint has : " He bears our sins and suffers for us," which would seem to refer especially to the crucifixion. Translated literally, as in the margin of the Revised version, the Hebrew has : " He hath borne

our sicknesses and carried our sorrows." We see at once why the New Testament writer abandons the Septuagint and recurs to the Hebrew: he is speaking of miracles of healing, to which the Hebrew words directly refer, while the Septuagint version does not preserve the reference of the prophecy to sickness.

At Matt. 12 : 18-21 we find a quotation from Isa. 42 : 1-4, beginning with the lines :

Behold, my servant whom I have chosen ;
My beloved in whom my soul is well pleased.

This is from one of the prophecies which refer to Christ directly. But the Septuagint gives an erroneous interpretation of the passage, rather than a translation, and wholly obscures the reference to Christ, and thus renders the passage unsuitable for the purpose of the New Testament writer :

Jacob is my servant ; I will lay hold on him :
Israel is my chosen ; my soul has accepted him.

At Luke 23 : 46 our Lord, when about to die, quotes a line of Ps. 31 : 5 :

Into thy hands I commend my spirit.

The Septuagint has the future tense, "I will commit," which is not quite appropriate, since our Lord utters the words, not with reference to what he intends to do at some time more or less distant, but with reference to his spiritual act at the moment of speaking. Hence Luke here abandons the Septuagint for the Hebrew form of the sentence.

The quotation of Zech. 12 : 10 at John 19 : 37 is another example. The evangelist is recording the piercing of the side of Jesus by the Roman soldier, and says : "Another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced." This is in every way appropriate to the event. The Septuagint is exchanged for the Hebrew, because it contains no reference to the piercing : "They shall look to me because they mocked."

At Rom. 9 : 17 the Apostle Paul speaks of the divine sovereignty, and to prove this doctrine quotes the words uttered by Jehovah to Pharaoh and recorded at Exod. 9 : 16 : "For this very purpose did I raise thee up, that I might shew in thee my power, and that my name might be published abroad in all the earth." The apostle follows the Septuagint in a general way. But the Septuagint is more impersonal : "For this purpose hast thou been preserved," is a form of language which does not assert clearly the divine agency, and the apostle therefore abandons it for that of the Hebrew, which is personal. Moreover, the statement that God had "preserved" Pharaoh to show forth his power by means of him, would not illustrate his supreme sovereignty quite so well as the statement that God had "raised him up" for this very purpose. There are thus two reasons for the preference shown by the apostle for the Hebrew in this part of his quotation.

After a careful study of the New Testament in its relation to the Septuagint version of the Old, I can find no fault with these words of Tholuck :¹

¹ "Kommentar zum Briefe an die Hebräer," Beilage I., p. 37.

It is a remarkable fact that, although all the authors of the New Testament seem to have used the Septuagint translation, yet where that translation—at least as it lies before us¹—wholly wanders away from the sense of the original, or becomes entirely destitute of meaning, they either resort to another translation, or themselves translate the text independently. We do not recall a single place, either in the Gospels or in the epistles of Paul, where a text of the Old Testament, as to its essential contents, has been disguised by the use of the Septuagint version.

¹ Referring to the uncertainty of the text of the Septuagint version.

II

QUOTATIONS FROM MEMORY

THE quotations in modern literature are usually, though not uniformly, fairly exact in language, as well as in thought. But the writers of the New Testament seem often to quote from memory, and, while scrupulous to give the sense of the passage in so far as it affects their argument, they are not careful of the precise language. They sometimes depart from the subsidiary shades of thought in subordinate phrases, if these have nothing to do with their teaching. They sometimes exercise even greater freedom if the quotation is used merely for literary allusion or decoration.

It should be observed, therefore, that verbal exactness in quoting is a habit only recently introduced in literature. It was impossible, in effect, before the invention of printing made books abundant and the construction of indexes and concordances rendered it easy to find any passage at will. It has prevailed especially since the invention of quotation marks, which seem to call attention to the very words, and even letters, and to certify their correctness. Yet even to-day it is far from universal; and in the age of the apostles centuries were to elapse before it should be thought of by any one. Sanday¹ has well said: "The ancient writer had not a small compact reference Bible at his side,

¹ "The Gospels in the Second Century," p. 29.

but, when he wished to verify a reference, would have to take an unwieldy roll out of its case, and then would not find it divided into chapter and verse like our modern books, but would have only the columns, and those perhaps not numbered, to guide him." It should be added that the Apostle Paul, at least, and perhaps others of the authors of the New Testament, often wrote during a journey, or in prison, where books were not easily procured.

The writers of the Old Testament, whose inspired example would possess for the writers of the New the authority of a divine law, quoted with reference to the sense, and not the exact language. Thus, the Ten Commandments, as given in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, are declared to be a reproduction of that which God proclaimed on Sinai: "God spake all these words." The same claim is made for the Ten Commandments as given in the fifth chapter of Deuteronomy: "These words¹ Jehovah spake unto all your assembly, in the

¹ It should be stated that דבר, the Hebrew term here rendered "word," usually refers to the larger outlines of expression, and also to the ideas expressed, rather than to each individual word. It is like the Greek λόγος in this respect. We have no word in English exactly corresponding to it in meaning; but perhaps UTTERANCE is as nearly like it as any at our service. The Ten Commandments are always called the "ten words" in the Old Testament (Exod. 34 : 28; Deut. 4 : 13; 10 : 4); and never the Ten Commandments; they are thus named because they are the ten utterances of God's will. Those passages which have been held by some theologians to teach the doctrine of verbal inspiration, like 1 Cor 2 : 13, cannot justly be cited in its favor, because the original terms in these passages which we translate "word" and "words" have this larger meaning, and do not refer to the exact phraseology. So when it is said, as in the place immediately before us, "these words Jehovah spake, and added no more," the reference is general, and not to the minute details of the language employed. We might render the sentence: "These things Jehovah spake."

mount, out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice : and he added no more." The claim is well founded in both cases ; for, though these two editions of the law differ at certain points very widely in language, the underlying sense is the same. This may be called the uniform rule of quotation in the Old Testament : compare 2 Sam. 23 : 17 and 1 Chron. 11 : 19 ; 2 Sam. 5 : 19, 20 and 1 Chron. 14 : 9-11 ; 1 Kings 9 : 3-9 and 2 Chron. 7 : 12-22.

If we turn to the apocryphal writings associated with the Old Testament we shall observe the same liberty in the citations from the canonical Hebrew Scriptures. There is more quoting in Baruch than in any other of these productions ; and here, as elsewhere, it is usually so free that perhaps it should be called an echo, rather than a reproduction, of the sacred authors. The book, Dr. Bissell¹ says, "is substantially made up of reminiscences more or less clear, or quotations more or less direct, from the various books of the canonical Scriptures, especially Jeremiah and Daniel, Nehemiah, Isaiah, and Deuteronomy. Compare Baruch 1 : 3-14 with Jer. 26 : 32 ; Baruch 1 : 15-2 : 29 with Dan. 9 : 7-19 ; Baruch 2 : 21 with Jer. 27 : 11, 12." The reader can judge, by these instances, the freedom with which the writer of the book quotes, and of which all the writers of the Apocrypha avail themselves in their use of the Old Testament.

No one can represent better than Plato the most

¹ "The Apocrypha of the Old Testament," Vol. XV. of the Lange series. I assume, with the support of the great majority of critics, that Baruch was written before our era.

careful literary habits of the classical Greek writers. His works are adorned with many quotations from the poets, and specially from Homer; but, though usually exact, he is often not so; and he is much more careful of the rhythm of the original than of the words. The following instances will be sufficient to illustrate his freedom:

1. In the "Ion," section 538, he reproduces three lines of the "Iliad," XXIV., 80, but substitutes three words of his own for as many of the text, an average of one for each line.¹

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<p>Ἡ δὲ μολυβδαίνῃ ἐκέλη ἐς βυσσὸν ὄρουσεν, ἦτε κατ' ἀγραύλοιο βοὸς κέ- ρας ἐμβεβαυῖα ἔρχεται ὠμιστῆσιν ἐπ' ἰχθύσι Κῆρα φέρουσα.</p>	<p>Ἡ δὲ μολυβδαίνῃ ἐκέλη ἐς βυσσὸν ἴκανεν, ἦ τε κατ' ἀγραύλοιο βοὸς κέ- ρας ἐμμεμανῖα ἔρχεται ὠμιστῆσι μετ' ἰχθύ- σι πῆμα φέρουσα.</p>

2. In the "Ion," section 537, he quotes from the "Iliad," beginning at XXIII., 335, the direction of Nestor to Antilochus how to drive in the chariot race, displacing two words of Homer by two of his own.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<p>Αὐτὸς δὲ κλυθῆναι ἐϋπλέκτω ἐνὶ δίφρῳ, ἦλ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦτον ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον κένσαι ὀμοκλήσας, εἰζαὶ τὲ οἱ ἦνία χερσίν.</p>	<p>Κλυθῆναι δὲ, φησί, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐϋξέστω ἐνὶ δίφρῳ ἦλ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦτον ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον κένσαι ὀμοκλήσας, εἰζαὶ τὲ οἱ ἦνία χερσίν.</p>

¹ Paley's Iliad, XXIV., 80, note.

Ἐν νόσση δὲ τοι ἵππος ἀρισ- τερὸς ἐγγχοιμφθῆτω, ὥς ἂν τοι πλήμνη γε δοάσσε- ται ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι κύκλου ποιητοῖο· λίθου δ' ἀλέ- ασθαι ἐπαυρεῖν.	Ἐν νόσση δὲ τοι ἵππος ἀρισ- τερὸς ἐγγχοιμφθῆτω, ὥς μὴ τοι πλήμνη γε δοάσσε- ται ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι κύκλου ποιητοῖο· λίθου δ' ἀλέ- ασθαι ἐπαυρεῖν.
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3. In the "Ion," section 539, he quotes from the "Odyssey," XX., 351, the address of Melampus to the suitors, with three substitutions of words and the omission of a whole line.

THE ORIGINAL.

Ἄθρειοι, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσ-
χετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων
εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά
τε νέρθε τε γούνα.
Οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδθη, δεδάκρυν-
ται δὲ παρειαί·
αἷματι δ' ἐρράδαται τοῖχοι
καλαί τε μεσόδομαι·
εἰδώλων δὲ πλέον πρόθυρον,
πλείη δὲ καὶ ἀγλή,
ἰεμένων Ἐρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζό-
φον· ἡέλιος δὲ
οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ἀπόλωλε, κακὴ δ'
ἐπιθέδρομεν ἀχλύς.

THE QUOTATION.

Δαιμόνιοι, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσ-
χετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων
εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά
τε νέρθε τε γούνα,
οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδθη, δεδάκρυν-
ται δὲ παρειαί·

εἰδώλων τε πλέον πρόθυρον,
πλείη δὲ καὶ ἀγλή
ἰεμένων Ἐρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζό-
φον· ἡέλιος δὲ
οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ἀπόλωλε, κακὴ δ'
ἐπιθέδρομεν ἀχλύς.

4. In the "Symposium," section 178, he quotes a brief passage from Hesiod's "Theogony," at line 116, omitting two entire lines, and drawing together the words preceding and following them.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα</i></p> <p>Γαῖ εὐρύστερνος, πάντων εἶδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ [ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλυμπού,] Τάρταρά τ' ἰερόεντα μυχῶ χθονὸς εὐρουοδείης, ἰδ' Ἔρος.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα</i></p> <p>γαῖ εὐρύστερνος, πάντων εἶδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ, ἰδ' Ἔρος.</p>

5. In the "Laws," book IV., section 706, he quotes at length from the "Iliad," XIV., 96, the rebuke with which Ulysses answered the advice of Agamemnon to launch the ships and abandon the camp, but substitutes three words of his own for as many of the poet.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<p>^b Ὅς κέλειαι, πολέμοιο συνεσταύ- τος καὶ αὐτῆς, νῆας εὐσσέλμους ἀλαδ' ἔλκέ- μεν, ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον Τρωσὶ μὲν εὐκτὰ γένηται, ἐπικρατέουσί περ ἔμπης, ἡμῖν δ' αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος ἐπι- ρέπη. Ὅ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ σχήσουσιν πόλεμον, νηῶν ἀλαδ' ἔλχομενάων, ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, ἐρωή- σουσι δὲ χάριτες. ^γ Ἐνθα κε σὴ βουλή δηλήσεται, ὄρχαμε λαῶν.</p>	<p>^o Ὅς κέλειαι πολέμοιο συνεσταύ- τος καὶ αὐτῆς νῆας εὐσσέλμους ἀλαδ' ἔλκειν, ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον Τρωσὶ μὲν εὐκτὰ γένηται ἐελδομένοισί περ ἔμπης, ἡμῖν δ' αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος ἐπι- ρέπη· οὐ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ σχήσουσιν πολέμου νηῶν ἀλαδ' ἔλχομενάων, ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, ἐρωή- σουσι δὲ χάριτες. ^γ Ἐνθα κε σὴ βουλή δηλήσεται, οἱ ἀγορεύεις.</p>

6. In the "Republic," book II., section 363, he quotes from the "Odyssey," XIX., 109, but omits entirely the second line of the passage.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
Ἡ βασιλῆος ἀμόμονος, ὅστε θεουδῆς	Ἡ βασιλῆος ἀμόμονος ὅστε θεουδῆς
ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφ- θίμοισιν ἀνάσσω,	εὐδικίας ἀνέχῃσι, φέροισι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα
εὐδικίας ἀνέχῃσι φέροισι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα	πυρούς καὶ κριθάς, βριθήσιν δὲ δένδρεα καρπῶ,
πυρούς καὶ κριθάς, βριθήσιν δὲ δένδρεα καρπῶ,	τίκτεθ' ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θά- λασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθύς.
τίκτεθ' ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θά- λασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθύς.	

7. In the "Republic," book II., section 364, he quotes a famous passage on prayer, from the "Iliad," IX., 497, but omits the whole of the second line and reproduces the third in an inaccurate form.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
Στρεπτοὶ δὲ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,	Στρεπτοὶ δὲ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,
τῶνπερ καὶ μείζων ἀρετῆ τιμὴ τε βίη τε.	καὶ τοὺς μὲν θυσίαισι καὶ εὐχολαῖς ἀγαναῖσιν
Καὶ μὲν τοὺς θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχολῆς ἀγανῆσιν	λοιβῆ τε κνίσση τε παρα- τρωπῶσ' ἀνθρωποὶ
λοιβῆ τε κνίσση τε παρα- τρωπῶσ' ἀνθρωποὶ	λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερ- βῆ καὶ ἀμάρτη.
λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῆ καὶ ἀμάρτη.	

8. In the "Republic," book II., section 379, he quotes two lines from the "Iliad," XXIV., 527; but gives the second only in a general way, so that it is at first hardly to be recognized.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<i>Καταλείπεται ἐν Διὸς οὐδῆι, δῶρων, οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἔτερος δὲ ἑάων.</i>	<i>Καταλείπεται ἐν Διὸς οἶδει Κήρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθ- λῶν, ἀντάρ ὁ δειλῶν.</i>

9. In the "Republic," book III., section 388, he quotes from the "Iliad," XVI., 433. The opening words of the quotation, "Ἄτ' αἶ," are not in the original.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<i>ᾧ μοι ἐγὼν, ὅτε μοι Σαρπη- δόνα, φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν.</i>	<i>Ἄτ' αἶ ἐγὼν, ὅτε μοι Σαρπη- δόνα φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν.</i>

10. In the "Republic," book III., section 388, he quotes from the "Iliad," XXII., 168, the lamentation of Jove over the fall of Sarpedon, but changes one word.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<i>Ἡ φίλον ἀνδρα διω- κόμενον περὶ τεῖχος ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμαι, ἕμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ.</i>	<i>Ἡ φίλον ἀνδρα διω- κόμενον περὶ ἄστυ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμαι, ἕμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ.</i>

11. In the "Republic," book III., section 390, he quotes from the "Odyssey," IX., 8. The second and third words of the quotation are not in the original, but two others, of similar meaning, have been displaced by them.

THE ORIGINAL.

Παρά δὲ πλήθω σιτράπεζαι
σίτου καὶ χρεῖων, μέθυ δ' ἐκ
κρητῆρος ἀφύσσω
οἶνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγγεῖη
δεπάεσσιν.

THE QUOTATION.

Παραπλεῖαι ὡσι τράπεζαι
σίτου καὶ χρεῖων, μέθυ δ' ἐκ
κρητῆρος ἀφύσσω
οἶνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγγεῖη
δεπάεσσι.

12. In the "Republic," book III., section 408, he quotes from the "Iliad," IV., 218, but changes for others the fourth and last words of the line.

THE ORIGINAL.

Αἰμ' ἐκμυζήσας, ἐπ' ἄρ' ἦπια
φάρμακα εἰδώς.

THE QUOTATION.

Αἰμ' ἐκμυζήσαντ' ἐπὶ τ' ἦπια
φάρμακ' ἔπασσον.

13. In the "Republic," book IV., section 424, he quotes from the "Odyssey," I., 351, but discards two words for others of his own.

THE ORIGINAL.

Ἄοιδόν μᾶλλον ἐπικλεί-
ουσ' ἄνθρωποι,
ἦτις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη
ἀμφιπέληται.

THE QUOTATION.

Ἄοιδόν μᾶλλον ἐπιφρονέουσ'
ἄνθρωποι,
ἦ τις ἀειδόντεσσι νεωτάτη
ἀμφιπέληται.

14. In the "Republic," book V., section 469, he quotes from the "Works and Days" of Hesiod, line 121. In the original there are thirteen words. Plato omits six of these, and replaces them with four others.

THE ORIGINAL.

Τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς
μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς
ἔσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες
θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

THE QUOTATION.

Θεὶ μὲν δαίμονες ἀγνοὶ ἐπιχθό-
νιοι τελέθουσιν,
ἔσθλοὶ, ἀλεξίκαχοι, φύλακες
μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

15. Usually the changes which Plato makes in his quotations do not affect his course of thought. But there is at least one remarkable exception to this rule. In the "Laws," book VI., section 777, he quotes from the "Odyssey," XVII., 322, to show that slavery corrupts the enslaved. Homer says:

On the day that one becomes a slave,
The Thunderer, Jove, takes half his manliness away.

This is in the exact direction of Plato's argument. But he carelessly diverts it from its proper bearing by making it read:

Jove takes half his understanding away.

He introduces also several other verbal changes.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<p><i>Ἡμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαί- νυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς ἀνέρορ, εὐτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δοῦ- λιον ἡμᾶρ ἔλγσιν.</i></p>	<p><i>Ἡμισυ γάρ τε νόου ἀπαμείρε- ται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς ἀνδρῶν οὗς ἂν δὴ κατὰ δοῦ- λιον ἡμᾶρ ἔλγσει.</i></p>

Aristotle is even less careful of verbal accuracy.¹ Thus in his "Rhetoric," book I., chapter 15, section 1, he borrows from the "Antigone" of Sophocles. "The quotation," says Welldon,² "is made somewhat loosely, as though the passage would be familiar to every one." Cope³ says that Aristotle "usually misquotes" Homer; and again that "his fashion is" to misquote in general.

¹ See, for example, Grant's "Aristotle," "Nicomachian Ethics," III., 8, 4, note. Aristotle not seldom attributes his quotations to the wrong sources.

² "The Rhetoric of Aristotle," Welldon, p. 101, note 2.

³ In his "Rhetoric of Aristotle," Vol. 1., p. 207, note, and p. 276, note.

The latest of the great Greek writers with whose productions any of the apostles would be acquainted is Plutarch, who was born A. D. 40, and must have published many of his works before the end of the first century, when it is supposed the "beloved disciple" was about to close his life. Plutarch quotes in the same inexact manner with others.

Thus in his treatise on the "Delay of the Divine Justice," at the beginning of the twentieth chapter, he has a citation from the "Works and Days" of Hesiod, which, as Hackett¹ points out in his note on the passage, is "apparently from memory," as it is not literal.

At the close of his treatise on "The Love of Wealth," he quotes a short line from the "Iliad," XXIII., 259, omitting a word.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<i>Νηῶν δ' ἔκφερε ἄεθλα, λέβη- τάς τε τρίποδάς τε.</i>	<i>Νηῶν δ' ἔκφερε λέβητάς τε τρίποδάς τε.</i>

In his treatise on "The Folly of Seeking Many Friends," section 5, he quotes a line from the "Iliad," V., 902. In the original there are eight words; in the quotation, nine; three of which, however, are wrong.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<i>ᾠς δ' ὄτ' ὀπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐπειγόμενος συνέπηξεν.</i>	<i>ᾠς δ' ὄτ' ὀπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐγόμφωσεν καὶ ἔδησε.</i>

I cite, as an instance of inexact quotation in Greek

¹ "Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked," p. 138, note 1.

literature later than the apostles, the following lines from the "Iliad," XX., 127. They are found in Lucian's "Philopatris."

Whatever web the Parcaë at his birth
For him have wove, that is his fate on earth.

Tooke¹ translates the lines thus, and adds: "The author quotes the passage from memory, with his own alterations."

Cicero may be taken as the best example of the Latin writers, and though often verbally exact, he is not uniformly so.

Thus in his "Letters to Atticus," IV., 7, he quotes three words from the "Odyssey," XXII., 412, but mistakes as to one of them.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<i>Θύχ' ὀσίη, κταμένοισιν.</i>	<i>Θύχ' ὀσίη φθιμένοισιν.</i>

In his "Letters to Atticus," I., 16, he quotes from the "Iliad," XVI., 112, but omits three words from the latter half of the first line.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<i>* Ἐσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι 'Ὀλόμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι, ὄππως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε.</i>	<i>* Ἐσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι, ὄπ- πως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμ- πεσε.</i>

In his "Letters to Atticus," II., 11, he quotes two lines from the "Odyssey," IX., 27, inserting a word which is not in the original.

¹ Tooke's "Lucian," II., p. 723.

THE ORIGINAL.

*Τρηγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθῇ
 κουροτρόφος· οὐ τοι ἔγωγε
 ἦς γαίης δύναμαι
 γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσ-
 θαι.*

THE QUOTATION.

*Τρηγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθῇ
 κουροτρόφος· οὐτι ἄρ' ἔγωγε
 ἦς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώ-
 τερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.*

In his "Republic," book I., section 32, he quotes a line from Ennius, with the word "regni" in the second place. In the "De Officiis," book I., section 8, he quotes the same line with the word in the sixth place.

In his "Republic," book I., section 41, he quotes three lines from the "Annals" of Ennius; but omits the closing word of the first, and a whole line between the second and third. See "The Republic of Cicero," by G. G. Hardingham, p. 112, note 145.

The following, from Trollope's "Cicero,"¹ states very well, if somewhat strongly, the attitude of the Latin writers in general toward Greek literature, and the great freedom with which they quoted it :

The Romans, in translating from the Greek, thinking nothing of literary excellence, felt that they were bringing Greek thought into a form of language in which it could thus be made useful. There was no value for the words, but only for the thing to be found in them. . . The general liberty of translation has been so frequently taken by the Latin poets—by Virgil and Horace, let us say—that they have been regarded by some as no more than translators. . . There has been no need to them for a close translation. They have found the idea, and their object has been to present it to their readers in the best possible language.

Similarly Reid says, in his "Academica of Cicero":²

¹ Vol. II., p. 253. ² Pp. 24, 51.

The philosophical works of Cicero were merely transcripts from the most approved Greek writings on the subjects with which they deal. The arguments in favor of dogmatism are frequently stated by Cicero to be wholly taken from his old teacher, Antiochus of Ascalon. That Cicero did not rely on his own recollection of Antiochus' lectures, but transcribed the opinions from a book or books by the master, can be clearly proved, though the fact is nowhere stated. . . His writings are in fact, to a great extent, translations, though free translations, from the Greek sources.

It would be easy to extend these evidences from the classics, but I shall close with three instances from Seneca, who was a contemporary of the Apostle Paul.

In his seventy-sixth letter, he quotes from the "Æneid," VI., 103, with a mistake of one word for another.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
Non ulla laborum,	Non ulla laborum,
O virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit :	O virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit :
Omnia præcepi, atque ani- mo mecum ante peregi.	Omnia præcepi, atque ani- mo mecum ipse peregi.

In his eighty-sixth letter he quotes a line from the "Georgics," I., 215, but adds a word, and also substitutes one word for another.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
Vere fabis satio ; tum te quoque, medica, putres.	Vere fabis satio est ; tunc te quoque, medica, putres.

In his ninety-third letter he quotes ten lines from the "Georgics," III., 75, omitting two lines in the heart of the passage, and mistaking a word in the third line.

Philo conformed to the methods of quoting which were pursued alike by the Hebrew and the classical writers, being familiar with the productions of both. As he was born about twenty years before Christ, his books may have assisted to form the style of some of the authors of the New Testament; but whether this is true or not, they illustrate the literary customs of the first century. His quotations are from the Septuagint, like those of the apostles and evangelists; but he sometimes shows an acquaintance with the original Hebrew, and leans toward it. Siegfried,¹ who has examined his quotations with much care, has assembled a great number which are inexact. I give but a single example:

In his treatise on "Meeting for the Sake of Receiving Instruction," he quotes from Lev. 18 : 1-5. He begins with verses 1 and 2 and a part of verse 3; then a succeeding part of verse 3 is omitted and its closing words are given; then follows the beginning of verse 4, then the omitted portion of verse 3, then a further portion of verse 4, then verse 5.

The early Fathers of the church continued the custom of quoting with little reference to verbal exactness. Reuss² says of their quotations: "They are mostly only small fragments taken out of the Scriptures and applied to various uses in the later theological works; and these uses did not always require strict adherence to the original words, but permitted quotation from memory simply, which is oftener the case

¹ See his three articles in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie," 1873.

² "History of the New Testament Scriptures," Vol. II., section 394.

the farther back we go." Hence, these quotations are of little use in establishing the text of the New Testament.

Indeed, the custom of verbal exactness in quoting is not yet a century old. In the time of Jeremy Taylor it was still unknown, and in his works he cites the Scriptures with the utmost freedom. Dr. Ezra Abbot took pains to count in how many ways this author quoted a single passage of the New Testament (John 3 : 3-5). He says :¹ " I have noted nine quotations of the passage by Jeremy Taylor. All of these differ from the common English version, and only two of them are alike." He shows that the same verses are quoted in the Book of Common Prayer² without regard to verbal precision.

The propriety of quoting from memory, and without regard to verbal exactness, is admitted by Kuenen ;³ but he accuses the writers of the New Testament of sometimes altering not only the words, but also the essential meaning of certain passages. He says :

It is not to those numerous divergences which have little or no effect upon the meaning of the citation that I wish to direct attention. But along with these, others of a less innocent nature occur. The alterations introduced, designedly or undesignedly, by the New Testament writers, are often very essential. They affect the thought of the Old Testament writer, substitute something else in its stead, give it a specific direction, or limit it in such a way that it is made to apply to one single object. It was with regard to such modifications that I thought myself justified in asserting that they cannot but exert an influ-

¹ "The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel," p. 39.

² Public Baptism of Infants. Baptism of Those of Riper Years.

³ "Prophets and Prophecy in Israel," p. 459.

ence on the judgment formed regarding the inferences which are deduced (by the New Testament writer) from the citation. For him who adheres strictly to the original, these inferences have no force as proofs.

This is a grave accusation, for it affirms that the authors of the New Testament have altered, perhaps "designedly," some of the passages of the Old which they quote, so as to transform them by this violent method into "proofs" of teachings to which, in their original state, they bear no testimony. Kuenen attempts to sustain this charge of ignorance or design by seven examples, five of which I shall examine here, leaving two to be considered in other chapters, where they properly belong. We may be certain that these examples are the strongest and clearest which Kuenen could discover; for a critic so able and so much accustomed to debate would not fail to select the most effective weapons. If therefore they shall turn out to be quite innocent, because quite in accordance with the laws of literature, we may dismiss more briefly any others which we may be called upon to notice in the farther progress of our work.

The first instance is Isa. 28 : 16, as quoted in Rom. 9 : 33 ; 10 : 11 ; 1 Peter 2 : 6, 8. The Hebrew reads, as translated by Toy : "Behold, I found in Zion a stone, a precious corner-stone, solidly founded; he who trusts shall not make haste." The accusation of Kuenen is based on the fact that the passage is quoted in the New Testament with the addition of the words "in him," so that it reads : "He who trusts in him shall not make haste." He objects to the words "in him," "because," he says, "they make it possible to

understand the trusting of which the prophet speaks as trusting in the Christ. If they are omitted, then, of course, he means trusting in Jahveh."

The answer is two-fold.

First, the words "in him" are found also in the Targum on the passage,¹ proving that the rabbis were accustomed to insert them as an explanation of the meaning.² They also considered the passage Messianic, as the Targum shows. It referred primarily to Jehovah, who, the prophet says, in the disasters of Israel from the hostilities of the Assyrians, will set himself and his word as a firm foundation-stone. Those who believe on him, or on it, shall not make haste to flee from the enemy. But the rabbis may have been quite right in seeing in the verse also a prediction of the Messiah, on the principle of double reference, which I shall consider in the ninth chapter of this book.

But secondly, we do not need to insist upon this. We may allow Toy, who belongs to the same school of criticism with Kuenen, to express for us the view which we may adopt, and which at once refutes the charge which we are considering: "The spiritual principle announced by the prophet—that God is a firm foundation for those who trust in him, and a terror to those who willfully reject him—finds a new illustration in every new manifestation of him, and the most striking of all in the last and highest self-manifestation in Jesus Christ." We may carry this thought a little farther. The apostles taught that Christ was "God manifest in

¹ Toy, "Quotations," p. 146.

² The custom of adding to a passage words designed to explain it will be considered in our fourth chapter.

the flesh." Hence, to believe on Jehovah truly was to believe on Christ, and to believe on Christ was to believe on Jehovah: "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father: he that confesseth the Son hath the Father also."¹ All Christians to-day hold this. Much, therefore, of that which was said of Jehovah could be applied to Christ with perfect propriety, as in the quotation before us, where the effect of faith in Jehovah and the effect of faith in Christ are justly held to be similar or identical.

Another instance of such a change in the quotation as Kuenen thinks cannot be justified, he finds in Rom. 11 : 2-4, where the sacred writer quotes from 1 Kings 19 : 10-18. If we turn to the Old Testament passage, we read that Elijah in a moment of discouragement, mourns that he is left alone in his allegiance to Jehovah, while all the rest of his nation have become Baal-worshippers. The result may be stated in the words of Kuenen :

The complaint is answered by Jahveh commanding him to anoint Hazael to be king of Syria, Jehu to be king of Israel, and Elisha to be a prophet. "It shall come to pass," so it is said farther, "that him that escapeth the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay; and him that escapeth the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay. Yet I will leave seven thousand in Israel, all the knees that have not bowed before Baal, and every mouth which hath not paid homage to him." The meaning is not for a moment doubtful: the judgment to be executed by Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha, of course strikes the wicked; . . . only those faithful to Jahveh, seven thousand in number—a round number, of course—shall be spared, and shall remain after the punishment has been executed. But of this narrative Paul takes the first verse, the

¹ 1 John 2 : 23.

complaint of Elijah, and the last, the prophecy concerning the sparing of the seven thousand, and cites them in such a way that he brings them into immediate connection with each other. For in place of "I will leave," he writes: "I have reserved to myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee before Baal." Elijah complains, "I am left alone"; God replies, "Thou art mistaken; there are still seven thousand faithful men remaining." Of this opposition, or if it be preferred, of this correction of Elijah, there is no trace to be found in the original. True, the inference may also be derived from it that Elijah was not the only servant of Jahveh, and had therefore been guilty of exaggeration in his despondency; but in the quotation as given by Paul this stands in the foreground as the real chief matter.

The first charge against the writer of Romans is that he changes the tense of the original, and makes God say, not "I will leave seven thousand," but "I have reserved seven thousand." This change, however, makes absolutely no difference with the course of thought pursued by the apostle, which is as follows: Elijah deemed himself alone in his faithfulness; but God declared that it was not so, that a very large number should be preserved from idolatry and from its punishment. "In the same manner, then," the apostle continues, "at the present time there is a remnant according to the election of grace." "As there was a remnant of old, so there is a remnant now." Let the reader change the tense of the quotation and make it future or past, as he prefers, and he will see that the historic parallel remains wholly unaffected.

When Kuenen denies that the answer of Jehovah was intended to cheer the despondency of Elijah by showing him that he was not alone, he goes very far in

order to discover a small objection to the New Testament. It is difficult to understand how any fair man, after reading the narrative, can say: "Of this correction of Elijah there is no trace to be found in the original." The entire answer was adapted to remove the discouragement of the prophet, and Toy is right in calling it "God's consoling word to Elijah."

Does the apostle consider the answer of God to Elijah a prediction of a remnant of Israel in his own days? Toy¹ answers in the affirmative, and there need be no objection to this view. The argument would then be as follows: "As God was careful even in such times of declension to keep a remnant of Israel true, so will he be careful now. His mercy, so conspicuously displayed then, is a pledge and prophecy that his mercy to his chosen people shall never fail." This use of sacred history is common. Knowing that God is unchangeable, we say: "He made his gospel prevalent over ancient heathenism, and this is a sure prophecy of the success of modern missions to the heathen." "He did not permit the Roman government to destroy his holy word in the third century, and this is a sure prophecy that he will not permit it to be destroyed by any of its foes, but will give it to the world." "He sustained me wonderfully in my great trials last year, and this is a sure prophecy that he will not desert me in those which are to come."

But we are not obliged to take this view. Toy bases it on the word rendered "then" in both our Common and Revised English versions of verse five. He con-

¹ "Quotations," p. 154.

siders this word as equivalent to "therefore." But it is by no means always so; and it is perhaps not usually so. Thayer¹ gives this as its primary, though not its only meaning, and adds that "others regard the primary force of the word as confirmatory and continuative, rather than illative," and cites Passow, Liddell and Scott, Kühner, Baumlein, Krüger, Donaldson, Rost, Klotz, and Hartung, as holding the latter opinion. If we read the passage in this latter way, we shall regard its author as referring to the story of Elijah merely for an encouraging example, a vivid illustration, a historic parallel.

Another instance of what Kuenen regards as unwarranted change is found at 1 Cor. 14 : 21, 22, where the Apostle Paul quotes Isa. 28 : 11, 12, as follows : "In the law it is written, By men of strange tongues and by the lips of strangers will I speak unto this people, and not even thus will they hear me, saith the Lord. Wherefore tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to the unbelieving."

The truth which the apostle here illustrates, is that the gift of tongues is not an evidence of a high degree of faith, as is that of prophecy, but of a relatively low degree of faith. He illustrates it by quoting a passage in which Isaiah upbraids the people for their disobedience. The prophet had pointed out to them their true rest, but they would not enter into it. He therefore declares that God will speak to them "by men of foreign tongues and by the lips of foreigners," referring to the Assyrians, who were destined to carry them

¹ "Lexicon," at the word *οὕτως*.

away captive to a land where they would hear a foreign speech. This is to befall them because when they were admonished "they would not hear." Now in place of this last phrase, "they would not hear," the apostle has, "and yet for all that they will not hear me." This is the change which Kuenen condemns, affirming that it favors, if it was not designed to favor, the teaching of the apostle that the gift of tongues is a sign to the unbelieving. But it does not in the least. The original may be considered even stronger, since it connects by a direct assertion the affliction of foreign tongues with the unbelief of the people, making the latter the cause of the former. Toy is much more moderate here than Kuenen, and says: "The apostle gives the verbal sense of the Hebrew with general correctness in his translation."

The difficulties found with the passage arise chiefly from misinterpretation. The erroneous view often advanced is this: When the writer says that "tongues are for a sign to the unbelieving," he has in mind the heathen who might be present in the Christian assembly. These heathen would not understand the sign; they would say: "Ye are mad." Hence the writer changes the quotation to make it correspond with this rejection of the sign, and represents the prophet as saying: "And not even thus will they hear me, saith the Lord," instead of: "Yet they would not hear."

But this view of the statement that "tongues are for a sign to the unbelieving" is wrong, for the following reasons: (1) The unbelievers upbraided and threatened by Isaiah, in the passage quoted, are not the heathen—they are the Jews; and hence the "unbeliev-

ing" in Corinth to whom "tongues were for a sign" were not the heathen, but the erring people of God, of whom the faithless Jews were a type. (2) The Apostle Paul was not so foolish as to say that "tongues are for a sign" to a class of men who would not probably hear them at all, and who, if they heard them, as he himself says, would necessarily suppose the speakers to be insane. (3) The antithesis established in the sentence shows that the writer is thinking of an unbelieving church, as contrasted with a believing church, when he says that "tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to the unbelieving: but prophesying is for a sign, not to the unbelieving, but to them that believe." Who are they "that believe" in this case? Not the heathen, but a church well advanced in Christian faith. The "unbelieving" therefore are not the heathen, but a church little advanced in Christian faith. (4) Let us assume for a moment that the "unbelieving" are those without the church, and the "believing" those within, and see what conclusion we are driven to. "Tongues," in that case, "are a sign" to those without the church, and yet produce no good effect upon them; while "prophecy" "is not a sign" to those without, and yet becomes the means of their conversion. The "philosophic apostle" never reasoned in this way. Evidently, then, the two "signs," "tongues" and "prophecy," are considered in this passage as "signs" in relation to the church, and not in relation to those without the church, though in relation to these also "prophecy" might be called a very valuable "sign," since it is adapted to reach their minds and consciences.

Is it said that the apostle would not apply the word "unbelieving" to the Corinthian church? But in Titus 1 : 15 he applies it to recreant Christians, and in John 20 : 27 our Lord himself applies it to Thomas, one of his apostles. Then why should it not be applied here to a church proven by the whole epistle to have been complacent in the toleration of most frightful sins in its communicants?

Is it said that the writer applies the word "unbelieving" in the very next verse to the heathen? Yes; he permits it to return to its ordinary reference there, as is natural. This sudden shifting of the reference of a word is common in all literatures, and I could readily adduce a hundred instances of it both from classical English and classical Greek; but the following examples from a single book of the New Testament may suffice: the word "temple," John 2 : 19, 20; the word "born," 3 : 6; the words "lifted up," 3 : 14; the word "water," 4 : 10, 11; the word "thirst," 4 : 14, 15; the words "to eat," 4 : 32, 33; the word "harvest," 4 : 35; the word "meat," 6 : 27; the word "bread," 6 : 32; the words "eat" and "flesh," 6 : 52, 53, 63; the word "father," 8 : 38, 39, 56; the word "God," 10 : 35, 36; the word "sleep," 11 : 11, 12; the word "wash," 13 : 8; the word "world," 17 : 24, 25.

The interpretation of the passage which I have given is sustained by Beet, Conybeare, Storr, Flatt, Baur, Schulz, Kling, and many others.

The argument of the apostle then is as follows: Had the Israelites before the captivity believed Jehovah, they would have listened to Isaiah the prophet, and

would have been nourished and guided by the gift of prophecy; but as they were unbelieving, the best that God could do for them was to speak to them in the unknown tongues of foreigners. Even so, had the Corinthian Christians been in a believing state, they would have possessed the gift of prophecy, and would have been nourished and guided by their prophets; but as they were relatively unbelieving, the best that God could do for them was to send them the lowest of spiritual gifts, that of unknown tongues, a sign to strengthen the feeble remnants of such faith as they possessed, but also a sign signifying the feebleness of their faith. By seeking greater faith they would attain higher gifts and receive the grace of prophecy, while still retaining in due measure the "tongues" on which they set such an exaggerated estimate.

Meyer, in his third edition, regards the "tongues" of the Old Testament passage as typical of the "tongues" of the apostolic age, since the foreign speaking of the Assyrians is declared by Isaiah to be in some sense the speaking of God to his people. "The analogy," says Kling, stating the view of Meyer, "between the type and the antitype is founded on the extraordinary phenomenon of God's speaking to his people in a foreign tongue;" and, I may add, speaking in this way instead of through his prophets. I have no special objection to this view; yet I incline to that of Shore,¹ who regards the citation as "rather an illustration" than a proof; and of Hodge, who says that "Paul does not quote the passage as having any prophetic refer-

¹ In Ellicott's "New Testament Commentary."

ence to the events in Corinth." It is a vice of many commentators to see in every quotation of the New Testament an effort to prove something; whereas the great majority of them, as of the quotations in general literature, are merely for illustration, for ornamentation, or for force of language. The only reason for supposing that the quotation here is for proof of doctrine, is found in the Greek word rendered "wherefore," at the beginning of the twenty-second verse. But this word is not necessarily one of logical inference. Gould¹ gives it only the force of "and so," or "so that." Meyer renders it here by "sonach," which his English translators render in turn by "accordingly." The Greek word is used here with a verb in the indicative, and not in the infinitive; and "the distinction," says Winer, "seems to be this: with the indicative it presents the facts in succession purely externally as antecedent and consequent; while with the infinitive it brings them into closer connection as issuing one from the other."

The "tongues" referred to by Isaiah were very different from the "tongues" referred to by Paul; and many critics regard the parallel as chiefly one of words rather than of the things signified. I do not agree with them, for there is a very real analogy between the two cases, taken as a whole. But if their view shall commend itself to any reader, he will find abundant instances of this sort of illustration in all literatures, as I have shown in our eighth chapter.

Still another example of alleged unwarranted change

¹ "American Commentary."

adduced by Kuenen is found in 2 Cor. 6 : 18, where the Apostle Paul is rehearsing certain admonitions and promises made to the children of God, and using them as the ground of his exhortation to abstain from the pollutions of the heathen world. Among these promises is the following :

I will be to you a Father,
And ye shall be to me sons and daughters.

It is to this that Kuenen specially objects. According to him, and many others with him, it is from the address of God to David concerning Solomon in 2 Sam. 7 : 14 : "I will be his father, and he shall be my son." The apostle changes the person and the number, in order to make the passage apply, not to Solomon, but to Christians, which, the adverse critic holds, he has no right to do.

There can be no objection to the supposition that the words spoken by God concerning Solomon are in the mind of the apostle, and are adapted by slight changes to their new position in his writings. The promise made to David concerning Solomon was based upon the character of both, and, inasmuch as God "changeth not" and "is no respecter of persons," they belong to every devout soul. This promise is often used in the modern pulpit, and in modern religious literature, in the same manner, as the voice of God to us. Indeed, the great majority of the promises of holy Scripture were made to individuals who lived centuries ago, and not directly to us. Yet we always quote them as pointing to ourselves. Nor do we consider it necessary to excuse ourselves when we do so ;

the immutability and impartiality of God enter so deeply into Christian consciousness that we never think of calling them in question, or of reasoning to establish them. This is the view of the writers of the New Testament, as, for instance, in 1 Cor. 10 : 11 : "Now these things happened unto them by way of example : and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages are come." The criticism of Kuenen would forbid us to apply any promises of the Bible to ourselves, except those of a very general nature. "Thy brother shall rise again," would not be for us. "Them that are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with him," would not be for us. "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved," would not be for us. We cannot admit the objection based upon the application to all Christians of words spoken concerning one whom God recognized as his child. Nor can we condemn the apostle for the slight grammatical changes by which he adapts the words to their new position, for we often quote in the same manner. We say : "Your brother shall rise again," when we are attending the funeral of a young Christian man, and are endeavoring to console his bereaved family. We say : "He has fallen asleep in Jesus, and therefore God will bring him with Christ at the last day." We say : "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and ye shall be saved," applying to many hearers or readers the promise given to a single individual. In a thousand such instances we change the grammatical person, the number, the tense, and yet quote faithfully.

I am not confident, however, that the quotation is taken from 2 Sam. 7 : 14. It seems to me to be rather

a summing up of various expressions in the prophets, like those of Ezek. 36 : 28 : "Ye shall be my people, and I will be your God ;" or like those of Jer. 31 : 1, 4, 20, 22, 33 : "I will be the God of all the families of Israel, and they shall be my people ;" "Thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel ;" "Is Ephraim my dear son? Is he a pleasant child?" "O thou back-sliding daughter ;" "I will be their God, and they shall be my people." This is the more probable, since the quotation¹ with which the whole series here opens is a combination and condensation of two passages, such as I shall illustrate in the fifth chapter of this book. The application to Christians of promises made to penitent and believing Israel needs no argument to justify it, since it is constantly illustrated in every sermon and every religious book.

One more of the examples of freedom in quoting which Kuenen adduces to condemn, is in Eph. 4 : 8. The Apostle Paul is speaking of the spiritual gifts of Christ to his people. They are "according to the measure of the gift of Christ" ; that is, as many commentators hold, according to his wise and holy pleasure ; or, perhaps better, according to his abundance and liberality. To illustrate the statement that the spiritual gifts of the church are from Christ, the writer quotes from Ps. 68 : 18 :

When he ascended on high, he led captivity captive,
And gave gifts unto men.

¹ 2 Cor. 6 : 16 : "I will dwell in them and walk with them," from Lev. 26 : 11, 12 and Ezek. 37 : 27. Toy calls the citation a "combination of the two passages, and condensation."

But turning to the psalm, we perceive that the second of these lines is as follows :

Thou hast received gifts among men.

Here apparently is a radical change ; in the psalm the person addressed receives gifts from men ; in the quotation he distributes them among men.

The explanation is to be found largely in the remark of Meyer,¹ that the Hebrew word rendered "received" "has often the proleptic sense to fetch, that is, to take anything for a person and to give it to him." The apostle, in the opinion of Meyer, makes "an exposition of the Hebrew words, which yielded essentially the sense expressed by him." He read the psalm as saying: "Thou didst receive gifts to distribute them among men"; and, to quote Meyer again, "translated this in an explanatory way." The "Speaker's Commentary" gives the following instances of this use of the Hebrew word: Gen. 18 : 5; 27 : 13; 42 : 16; Exod. 27 : 20; Lev. 24 : 2; and 2 Kings 2 : 20. Ellicott² says the word is used "constantly" in this sense. "It appears," according to Toy, "that such a translation existed among the Jews; for it is found in the Peshito-Syriac and the Targum."

Even if the Hebrew word had not contained this thought, the apostle would have found the psalm full of it, and would only have expressed the meaning of the whole sublime ode by his phraseology.

A father of the fatherless and a judge of the widows
Is God in his holy habitation.

¹ "Commentary on Ephesians."

² "Commentary on Ephesians."

He bringeth out the prisoners into prosperity.
 Thou, O God, didst send a plentiful rain,
 Thou didst confirm thine inheritance when it was weary.
 Thou, O God, didst prepare thy goodness for the poor.
 She that tarrieth at home divideth the spoil.
 Blessed be the Lord Jehovah, who daily beareth our burdens.

Such are some of the expressions of this psalm concerning the gifts of God to men.

Moreover, as all interpreters agree, the psalm celebrates a victory, or a series of victories. It represents the conqueror as returning home crowned with glory and laden with the fruits of success. Now, ancient warfare always resulted in the spoiling of the vanquished; men enlisted in the army in the hope of enriching themselves with plunder; and the victor, who stripped his foes and received gifts from the peoples he subdued, made large distribution to his followers; to take was to give; and the two things would readily be associated in the thought as one. The explanation of the verse given by the apostle in this change of its form, if we are to recognize a change, would strike his readers as a natural and obvious method of bringing out the real meaning of the original.

The literary custom of changing a quotation in order to explain it will be considered in our fourth chapter, and the Messianic character of the psalm in the ninth.

It might have been gratifying to us, in a certain sense, had the writers of the New Testament quoted the Septuagint version with verbal exactness, as they would have contributed much, in that case, to the restoration of the text of this version, now in some disorder. But this one small advantage would have been overbalanced

by disadvantages of a serious kind. Had the writers of the New Testament departed from the literary customs of their age, to quote with verbal exactness in all instances, their example would have been cited as irrefutable proof of verbal and mechanical, instead of dynamic inspiration. Their freedom in quoting has done much to deliver us from this view, once so generally held, and now as generally abandoned. But further; such careful adherence to the letter of the Greek version would have been regarded as a divine seal set upon this version; and it would have taken the place of final authority which the Roman Catholics sought to give to the Latin Vulgate by a decree of the Council of Trent,¹ and no subsequent discovery of its many blemishes would have sufficed to undo the mischief or relieve the sensitive consciences of the faithful, who would have been cast into distressing perplexity by this plenary approval of a work which their reason could not but pronounce imperfect. But also unbelievers would have seen their opportunity, and critics of the school of Kuenen would have been the first to reproach the writers of the New Testament both for holding an erroneous doctrine of inspiration and for ignorance of the faults of the Septuagint version. These writers were wise, therefore, in quoting as they did, with primary reference to the meaning, and with a certain disregard of the language.

¹ Schaff, "The Creeds of Christendom," Vol. II., p. 82.

III

FRAGMENTARY QUOTATIONS

THE writers of the New Testament often make use of quotations so brief and fragmentary that the reader cannot readily determine the degree of support, if any, which is thus gained for the argument. This is for substance one of the objections of Kuenen, who writes as follows of the psalms usually termed Messianic :

Of these psalms some verses, or occasionally a single verse, are quoted as prophecies concerning the Christ, or as containing words of the Christ, generally without the difficulties in the way of such an explanation, which can be drawn from other parts, being discussed or removed.

It is true that brief and fragmentary quotations from the Old Testament occur in the New, but the blame implied in the statement of Kuenen is unjust, and results from inattention to the quotations in general literature.

The following are characteristic examples of the brief quotations censured by Kuenen : Heb. 1 : 5 ; from Ps. 2 : 7 : "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." Heb. 1 : 6, perhaps from the Septuagint of Deut. 32 : 43 : "And let all the angels of God worship him." Heb. 2 : 12, from Ps. 22 : 22 : "I will declare thy name unto my brethren ; in the midst of the congregation will I sing thy praise."

Heb. 2 : 13, from Isa. 8 : 18 : "Behold I and the children which God hath given me." When we read such quotations as these we naturally ask, Whence do they come? Finding their sources, we ask again, With what right are they referred to Christ or to his people? And again, Why was not the whole context quoted in each case, so that every reader of the text might judge for himself of the propriety of the use made of it? Upon reflection it becomes manifest, however, that to have quoted the whole context in every such case would have swelled the New Testament to immoderate proportions and thus have prevented its general use. It would also have rendered the argument too complicated and tortuous for our comprehension. Moreover, in order to render the reasoning of the sacred writer sufficient for the demands of the captious reader, it would have been necessary at every point to explain at length the relation of the Old Testament to the New as its ground-work, its seed-form, its prototype, its prophecy.

Let us now examine the last of these examples as an illustration of what I have just said. The context which it is necessary to understand embraces several chapters, which of course could not be brought into the epistle without violating all laws of literary proportion and rendering the argument insufferably tedious. Then again, the original passage refers to Christ and his people only as the germ in the soil refers to the plant which it is to unfold; and, to satisfy Kuenen and the critics of his school, it would be necessary to express this view and to justify it, in connection with the quotation, though not for the satisfaction of such readers

as the New Testament writer immediately addressed, to whom the Old Testament was a familiar book of prophecy containing in many places typical foreshadowings of Christ and his church. Still further, only half a sentence is quoted; its grammatical form in Greek, as in English, shows its incompleteness, and challenges the mind at once to think of the remaining words and of their setting in the prophecy.

Frequently long passages from the Old Testament are compressed in the New by the omission of portions, and the retention only of enough to show their distinct relation to the matter brought forward by the writer. Instances of such abridgement are found at John 12 : 40; Acts 2 : 25-28; 8 : 32, 33; 15 : 16; Heb. 2 : 6. At Heb. 4 : 3, two lines only from Ps. 95 : 11 are quoted, because the longer passage, on which the whole argument turns, has been produced in the preceding chapter. This kind of compression is common in all literatures. With us, it is often indicated by dots to show where portions of the passage have been omitted; but frequently we employ no such device. None was employed by the writers of antiquity, for no punctuation of any sort had been invented.

It is not to such compression, however, that the chief objection is made, but to the quotation of brief phrases designed to bring to mind the longer passages from which they are taken.

The same thing occurs in the quotations of all literatures, and the reader is supposed to know the context for himself, or to turn to it, if unfamiliar with it. A few examples will prove this statement, as far as it concerns ancient literature, and show that the

writers of the New Testament quote quite like other writers.

The first is from Plato's "Symposium," section 174. Jowett translates it thus :

"I am afraid, Socrates," said Aristodemus, "that I may be the inferior person, who, like Menelaus in Homer,

To the feasts of the wise unbidden goes.

But I shall say that I was bidden by you, and then you will have to make the excuse."

"Two going together,

he replied, in Homeric fashion, "may invent an excuse by the way."

What is the story in Homer from which these quotations are made? What light does it throw upon the situation of the speakers in the dialogue? The Greek readers of the "Symposium," familiar with Homer from the cradle, would know at once. But the majority of modern readers must turn to the "Iliad" before they can answer these questions, and those who do so, gain a higher appreciation of the ready wit with which Socrates replies to his friend. The literary art of Plato, in dealing thus with the great poem, is perfect. Every writer must assume that the reader possesses a certain degree of intelligence, and every reader must lend the writer the assistance of his intelligence. Human life has its limits, and if all quotations and literary allusions had to be accompanied by elaborate explications, no literature could be mastered within the few short years allotted to us on earth.

If we turn over a single leaf of the "Symposium," we come to another instance of the same kind :

Eryximachus proceeded as follows: "I will begin," he said, "after the manner of Melanippe in Euripides,

' Not mine the word '

which I am about to speak, but that of Phaedrus. For he is in the habit of complaining that, whereas other gods have poems and hymns made in their honor, the great and glorious god, Love, has no encomiast among all the poets who are so many."

Here we have but half a line. The whole line is quoted by another Greek writer, but the context is lost, and with it our ability to enjoy the wit of the speaker.

The first quotation in the "Laws" presents a contrast to these. Here the speaker quotes a part of a line from Tyrtaeus, a Spartan citizen enamored of war:

I sing not, I care not about any man.

After this fragmentary quotation, the speaker continues, giving in his own prose the substance of what follows in the poem. He then tells us something about the views of war which the poet held, inferring from his expressions that he sings the praises of foreign war and not civil. Here enough of the context is sketched in to enable us to form some conception, though a dim one, of the argument of the poem.

There are in Plato probably as many literary allusions and brief quotations which suppose in the reader an acquaintance with the context, as of this latter kind, which is accompanied with an explanation of the context.

Jowett says that their fragmentary character is a striking feature of the quotations from the poets in Aristotle: "They are often cited in half-lines only,

which would be unintelligible unless the context was present to the mind. We are reminded that the Greek youth, like some of our own, were in the habit of committing to memory entire poets." A very few instances from Aristotle will suffice to illustrate his custom.

In his "Rhetoric," book I., section 6, we have three examples on a single page. "It is a general rule that whatever our enemies desire or rejoice at, the opposite of this is clearly beneficial to ourselves. Hence the point of the lines,

Sure Priam would rejoice."

Here the whole passage of the "Iliad," beginning at I., 255, is suggested: it is the speech in which Nestor tries to reconcile Achilles and Agamemnon.

Immediately afterward we have the words of the "Iliad," II., 176:

Yea, after Priam's heart;

and of the "Iliad," II., 298:

'Twere shame to tarry long.

Welldon says of these quotations: "The point lies not in the mere words quoted, but in the context."

In his treatise on "The Learned Retained in Great Families," section 5, Lucian quotes from the "Theogony" of Hesiod, line 179:

For every man by poverty subdued.

The line itself says little to the purpose of the author, and it is quoted only because it is the opening of a

long passage on the evils of poverty, of which he would remind the reader. Tooke writes: "Lucian quotes only a few words as from a common-place saying. And if I were to subjoin in a note all that dear Theognis says concerning poverty in the passage referred to, perhaps the reader would not thank me for my trouble."

In his "Oration on the Departure of Sallust," Julian quotes three words from the "Iliad," XI., 401:

Ulysses was alone.

He says that he is reminded of these words by his own situation since Sallust has gone from him. But he is thinking of the whole passage, which tells how Diomed was wounded by Paris and thus compelled to quit the field, leaving Ulysses unsupported in the fight. This is evident from the next sentence, in which he speaks of

the darts which have been launched at you by sycophants; or rather at me through you; as thinking no method so certain as that of depriving me, if possible, of the society of a faithful friend, an alert defender, and a sharer, with the utmost alacrity, in all my dangers.

In the seventy-fourth letter of Julian, he writes to Libanius about a certain Aristophanes as follows:

After this, perhaps you may ask, why we have not placed his affairs in a more prosperous state, and removed every inconvenience attending his disgrace?

When two go together,
You and I will confer; for you are worthy to be consulted.

Here, as in Plato, these few words from the "Iliad"

are intended to suggest the whole story to which they belong.

In the letter of Gallus to Julian, his brother, he commends highly the piety of Julian, saying :

You are zealously employed in houses of prayer, and can hardly be removed from the tombs of the martyrs, but are entirely attached to our worship. I must apply to you that expression of Homer :

Shoot thus,

The two words quoted are from the "Iliad," VIII., 282, the address of Agamemnon to Teucer, who was slaughtering the Trojans with his arrows. The king cried with admiration :

Thus ever shoot, and become the glory of thy people.

Gallus intends to remind his princely brother of the whole passage, and to say : "Continue this devotion, and become the glory of the church, the leader of the people in religious things."

In "Strabo," book IX., section 24, is the following instance :

In the Theban territory are Therapnæ and Teumessus, which Antimachus has extolled in a long poem, enumerating excellences which they had not :

There is a hillock exposed to the winds.

But the lines are well known.

These instances from Greek literature have been taken almost at random. If we turn to Cicero, the chief Latin writer of prose, we find the same custom. In the "Tusculan Disputations," book II., section 8, he argues,

against Epicurus, that pain is a real and serious evil. He endeavors to prove this by an appeal to the poets. He quotes first from Sophocles, who represents even Hercules as lamenting his torture in the tunic which Deianira had put on him. He quotes next from Æschylus, who depicts the agonies of Prometheus bound. In both cases he reproduces the passages at such length that no one can question their bearing on the subject of the debate.

But in the "Academics," book II., section 16, we have a pair of quotations of the other kind. Here his assertion is, that illusions of the senses, such as those of dreams and intoxication and madness, may be distinguished from the genuine testimony of the senses by their lack of clearness. For proof he appeals to Ennius, who, "when he had a dream, related it in this way :

The poet Homer seemed to stand before me.

And again in the Epicharmus he says :

For I seemed to be dreaming and laid in the tomb.

The reasoning of Cicero is this : One who remembers to have seen a man in reality does not say, "I seemed to see him" ; but one who remembers to have seen a man in a dream, is obliged by the obscurity of the vision to say that he seemed to see him. The lines from Ennius are quoted to prove that the theory put forth by Cicero was held by this great poet. We cannot be certain, however, that the lines possess any value as evidence. It is very possible that Ennius used the word "seem" not because the figures of the dream

lacked clearness, but only because he reflected afterward when awake that they lacked substantial reality, and therefore were only a seeming, however clear. The context has perished and left us in ignorance of the meaning. The ancient readers of Cicero would be in no doubt on this subject, for from the one quoted line they would recall the entire context.

In his letter to his brother Quintus, I., 2, Cicero records the arrival at Rome of Statius. The people, who expected to behold a man of heroic mold, were disappointed with his appearance. After this statement there follow five Greek words, of no significance in themselves, but highly significant as part of the long passage in the "Odyssey," IX., 513, in which Polyphemus expresses his disappointment with Ulysses, the whole of which Cicero wishes to bring to the mind of his brother.

In his first letter to Atticus, Cicero speaks of his candidacy for the consulship, and says that his ambition to gain the office may be forgiven, and then quotes, without explanation, the "Iliad," XXII., 159:

No common victim, no ignoble ox.

We can only conjecture as to the applicability of the line to the case of Cicero, till we turn to the context, and find that it is the story of the pursuit of Hector around the walls of Troy by Achilles, who ran "with fiery speed" because the prize of the race was, "no common victim, no ignoble ox," but a great warrior and great glory. The quotation becomes pregnant with meaning when we read it in the light of its context, and learn that the race of Cicero for the consul-

ship engaged all his energies because the prize was so worthy of his utmost endeavors.

In his letter to Atticus, II., 25, Cicero instructs his friend to say for him some complimentary and pleasing things to Varro, who was then in power. "For, as you are aware," he adds, "he is of a singular disposition." Then follow three Greek words from a furious speech in the "Andromache" of Euripides, denouncing the Spartans as "crafty in counsel, kings of liars, concoctors of evil plots, crooked, and thinking nothing soundly, but all things tortuously." The three words quoted by Cicero are designed to recall the whole passage, and to intimate to his friend that it is as good a description of Varro as of the Spartans.

He continues the same subject, and adds: "But I do not forget this precept." Then follow three Greek words, which of themselves express no precept and make no sense. They are the opening words of line 393 of the "Phœnician Maidens" of Euripides, and are designed to recall the whole line, which is a precept of patience:

It is necessary to bear with the follies of those in power.

In his sixteenth letter to Atticus, Cicero speaks of a letter from his friend Quintus, and says that the beginning and the end differed widely. He then throws in three Greek words:

In front, a lion; but behind—

We should form an entirely wrong conception of his full meaning if we failed to turn to Homer's description of the Chimæra, the whole of which Cicero in-

tends to apply to the letter of Quintus as an illustration of its discordant character.

All our modern literatures are so full of these fragmentary quotations that it seems superfluous to produce instances from them. No reader can fail to find examples for himself. Perhaps half the mottoes at the head of the numbers of the "Spectator" are of this class.

The New Testament, in presenting to us a few such fragmentary quotations, shows only that its authors were moved by instincts and complied with customs of expression common to all writers of all ages and nations.

IV

EXEGETICAL PARAPHRASE

I SHALL consider in this chapter the statement that the authors of the New Testament sometimes alter the language of the Old with the obvious design of aiding their arguments. The principal instances of this kind which have been adduced are Matt. 2 : 6 ; 3 : 3 ; 11 : 10 ; 15 : 8, 9 ; Luke 2 : 23 ; John 2 : 17 ; 19 : 37 ; Acts 2 : 17-21 ; 7 : 42, 43. Let us examine these examples.

At Matt. 2 : 6, Micah 5 : 2 is quoted, with several changes adapted to bring out the real meaning. The prophet writes : "But thou Beth-lehem Ephrathah, which art little to be among the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall one come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel." In the quotation we have "land of Judah," instead Ephrathah" ; "art in no wise least," instead of "art little" ; "princes," instead of "thousands" ; "be shepherd of," instead of "be ruler" ; with the words "for" and "my people" and "a governor," inserted, and the words "unto me" omitted. Some of these changes may be due to memory-quoting ; but others are clearly exegetical. Thus the word "Ephrathah" was antique and obscure, and the words "land of Judah" took its place as an explanation. Further, says Toy :

The form of the sentence is changed in order to bring out what was conceived to be the prophet's implied thought, that Bethlehem,

though insignificant in size, had been, by its selection to be the birthplace of the Messiah, raised to a lofty position in Israel: hence the insertion of the negative, "art in no wise least," and of the "for," to show that the following assertion contains the ground of the city's greatness.

This in fact is the real thought of the prophet, as all interpreters hold. The entire passage was regarded by the Jews as Messianic, as we see here and at John 7 : 42, and in the Targum. It has the coloring of temporal victory and temporal sovereignty, because these were types of spiritual blessings, as I shall show in our ninth chapter. The substitution of "be shepherd of," for "be ruler in," is made in order to give the substance of the next verse but one in the prophecy: "He shall stand, and shall feed his flock"; and it illustrates again the manner of quoting discussed in our sixth chapter.

In one instance an alteration made by the Septuagint is adopted by the New Testament writer apparently because it brings out clearly the relation of the passage, as a prophecy, to its fulfillment. It is at Matt. 3 : 3, where Isa. 40 : 3 is quoted as follows :

The voice of one crying in the wilderness,
Make ye ready the way of the Lord,
Make his paths straight.

Broadus comments on this quotation as follows :

In the Hebrew, the accents indicate and the parallelism proves, that "in the wilderness" belongs to "make ye ready"; and so the Revised version of Isaiah. Matthew, as also Mark and Luke, follows the Septuagint in connecting that phrase with "crying," and in omitting the parallel phrase "in the desert" from the next clause. This change does not affect the substantial meaning, and it makes clearer the real correspond-

ence between the prediction and the fulfillment, "preaching in the wilderness," verse 1, "crying in the wilderness," verse 3. It might without impropriety be supposed that Matthew himself altered the phraseology to bring out this correspondence, but in many similar cases it is plain that he has simply followed the familiar Septuagint.

At Matt. 11 : 10, Mark 1 : 2, and Luke 7 : 27, is a quotation from Mal. 3 : 1, as follows :

Behold I send my messenger before thy face,
Who shall prepare thy way before thee.

Thus the New Testament speaks in the third person. But in the original passage Jehovah speaks in the first person : "Behold, I send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me." Thus Jehovah predicts that he himself shall come to Israel after first sending a herald to prepare the way, according to Oriental custom. The writers of the New Testament held that Jehovah really came in Christ, and that the prediction of the advent of Jehovah was fulfilled in the advent of Christ, and they introduced such verbal changes in the passage as served to bring out its real meaning, saying "thy face," instead of "my face," and "thy way," instead of "a way before me." The changes are strictly exegetical.

At Matt. 15 : 8, 9, there is a quotation from Isa. 29 : 13, with the adoption of a change effected by the Septuagint, apparently because it sets forth more clearly the real meaning of the prophet than a close rendering of his language would have done. The Hebrew reads : "And their fear toward me is the commandment of men, taught." That is, their religion is merely tra-

ditional, and not a thing derived from the word of God and their own experience of his grace. Instead of this, the Septuagint has, "But in vain do they worship me, teaching precepts of men and teachings." Matthew, and also Mark (7 : 7), slightly modify the Septuagint, and say,

In vain do they worship me,
Teaching doctrines the precepts of men.

Says Broadus :

This not only improves the phraseology of the Septuagint, but brings out the prophet's thought more clearly than would be done by a literal translation of the Hebrew, for Isaiah means to distinguish between a worship of God that is taught by men, and that which is according to the teaching of God's word.

At Luke 2 : 23, the law of consecration of the first-born of males is quoted from Exod. 13 : 2, in such a manner as to explain it. The law is this : "Sanctify unto me all the first-born, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and of beast : it is mine." In the twelfth and fifteenth verses of the same chapter the first-born are limited to the males, and in quoting the earlier verse, Luke brings the word "male" into it exegetically, to save space and express the real meaning of the passage.

At John 2 : 17, Ps. 69 : 9 is quoted :

The zeal of thine house shall eat me up.

The Hebrew verb is in the perfect tense, as is also that of the Septuagint Greek, while the evangelist, according to the best reading, changes it to a future. This is paraphrase to express the real meaning of the

quotation, which, like many other parts of the psalm, are plainly Messianic and hence predictive. The change brings out the predictive character of the passage.

At John 19 : 37, Zech. 12 : 10 is quoted as follows : "Again another Scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced." The prophet wrote, however, "They shall look unto me whom they have pierced." It was God who spoke through the prophet, declaring that the Jews had pierced him, and John would teach us by his change of the pronoun that it was the same God whom they pierced on the cross, slaying the Messiah through the agency of the Roman soldier, their official and chosen representative. "The evangelist," says Wright, "is not quoting the passage in the words of the prophet, but rather giving the purport of it from his own point of view." He expresses thus his identification of the Jehovah of the Old Testament with the Christ of the New. That the passage is a prediction of the event to which the evangelist applies it, as well as the sufferings of Christ in the larger sense, is evident from the Hebrew word for "pierced," which occurs in ten other places, and "is nowhere used," Wright declares, "except in the literal acceptance of piercing or stabbing, and generally to the effect of slaying." Also the verb for "mourn" is the one which "properly expresses mourning for the dead."

How can Jehovah be pierced? This question has occasioned great difficulty, which writers have sought to overcome by various devices. The translation of the Septuagint, "They shall look to me because they mocked," is supposed to be based on the idea that the heart of Jehovah was pierced by the unbelieving words

of his disobedient people. Calvin, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and others, refer the piercing to the obstinate and provoking sins of the nation, a metaphorical sense which the Hebrew word nowhere bears. Keil supposes the angel of Jehovah to be pierced, instead of Jehovah himself; but for this guess there is no kind of support. Equally conjectural is the suggestion of Hitzig, that Jehovah identifies himself with the prophet, and speaks of himself as pierced because Zechariah was set at naught. Toy would remove the difficulty by translating the passage thus: "They shall look to me in respect to him whom they have pierced;" that is, "the people of Jerusalem shall exhibit a kindly and prayerful spirit; and, in their sorrow for their slain brethren of Judah, shall look to me, their God, for comfort." According to Wright, Kimchi and others have advocated this view. But all these violent expedients are unnecessary. The prophecy, in so far as it relates to the piercing, was strictly fulfilled in Christ, in whose sufferings and death Jehovah was pierced. That part of the prophecy which relates to the penitence of Israel is yet to be fulfilled, when "they shall look" with mourning "upon him whom they pierced."

Toy is so fully assured of the view which he adopts that he makes it the ground of an adverse criticism of the evangelist, whose "reference to the piercing of Jesus' side," he says, "is based on a translation and exegesis of the Hebrew that cannot be maintained." The "translation and exegesis" adopted by Toy, however, are ignored or rejected by the great mass of Hebrew scholars, among whom I may mention the revisers of the English Old Testament, Wright, Meyer, who

calls the construction "tortuous," Chambers, in the Lange commentaries, Drake, in the Speaker's Commentary, Hengstenberg, who pronounces the theory on which it is based "a pure invention of the empirical grammarians," Briggs, Calvin, Rosenmüller, Gill, Maurer, Luthardt, Hitzig, Keil, and Ewald. Toy seeks to support his construction of the Hebrew sentence by an appeal to Ewald's Grammar.¹ But if the rule thus referred to leads to the construction adopted by Toy, Ewald himself did not know it, for in his translation and commentary he gives us the construction found in the Gospel by John, though not the pronoun employed there.

The exegesis of Toy is not made good, even by his own construction of the sentence. If the prophet means that the Jews shall mourn "for their slain brethren of Judah," how can he repeatedly and uniformly employ the singular, "him," for this innumerable multitude? To say that Israel shall "look to God in respect to him whom they pierced," and shall "mourn for him," is to employ inadequate expressions, if they refer to the sorrow of the people for the slaughter, not of one, but of thousands.

The Common version of Zechariah reads: "They shall look upon me." The Revised version has "unto me." The Hebrew, as Toy says, may mean either. He adds that "unto" alone is applicable here, because the speaker is God, and men are not supposed to look "upon" him, but only "unto" him in prayer. The moment we regard the passage as a direct prophecy of

¹ § 333, a, footnote 3.

Christ, however, this objection disappears ; for men looked "upon" God in Christ, who himself declared : "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." But, while the objection of Toy to the translation "upon" is not valid, a careful consideration of the meaning of the prophet will lead us to prefer "unto." The "looking" of which he speaks is not mere physical gazing with the eyes of the body ; it is spiritual ; it is beholding in penitence, in faith, in gratitude, in love ; as is evident from the added statement that "they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son." This kind of looking is expressed better by the word "unto," than by the word "upon," as in the New Testament phrase, "looking unto Jesus." But if "unto" is used in the passage as it stands in the Old Testament, it should be used in the passage as it is quoted in the Gospel by John. The Greek expression, exactly like the Hebrew, is one that may mean either "upon" or "unto." Our revisers have created an unnecessary difference between the Old Testament and the New by writing "unto" in the former and "upon" in the latter. The word "upon" in the Gospel suggests that the evangelist considered the prophecy fulfilled in the mere physical gazing, by those who slew Christ, upon his pierced body. But the Apostle John, the greatest literary genius of his age, profound, poetic, mystic, spiritual, would have been the last man to give such a shallow interpretation to the prophecy. He utterly abandons the Septuagint form of it, and adheres closely to the Hebrew, from which he departs in but a single word, where the change is useful as an exegesis of the passage. But his close adherence to the Hebrew and

his exegetical change of this single word, show that he had studied the passage carefully. He must therefore have understood it to predict the repentance of those whose sins pierced the body as well as the soul of the Son of God. He must have intended to find in it an event yet in the future, the looking of the Jews in penitential mourning "unto him whom they pierced." His choice of a Greek expression for "unto" which is different from the Septuagint, and exactly coextensive with the Hebrew expression in its range of possible meanings in the connection in which he employs it, is still another evidence of his care in translating and interpreting the prophetic sentence.

To sum up our discussion. The exegesis of John is based on a straightforward and natural construction of the Hebrew text, and on his perception of the divinity of Jesus; while other views are induced by a certain reluctance to recognize the passage as a direct Messianic prediction, or to recognize Jehovah in Christ; or by some other supposed polemic convenience. If we consider the passage as a direct prophecy of Christ, we account for every feature of it; but all other hypotheses require us to do it some violence.

The quotation at Acts 2 : 17-21 of Joel 2 : 28-32, illustrates still further the custom of changing a passage to bring out its real meaning. The apostle places "saith God" near the beginning of the passage, to call attention at once to the source of the prophecy, and prepare the mind to listen to it with proper reverence. The prophet has "afterward," which the apostle changes to "in the last days," a phrase that, as Hackett writes, "denotes always in the New Testa-

ment the age of the Messiah, which the Scriptures represent as the world's last great moral epoch." The apostle's phrase, having this uniform reference, explains the real sense of the prophet's phrase, for the passage is a direct prediction of the Messianic age, to which the prophet refers when he says "afterward." The other changes have no special significance, and may be the result of the memory-quoting discussed in our second chapter.

The last of these passages is found at Acts 7 : 42, 43, where Amos 5 : 25-27 is quoted. Instead of the Septuagint reading, "the figures which ye made for yourselves," Stephen says, "the figures which ye made to worship them," thus bringing into prominence the real sense of the passage, which is a charge of idolatry. Toy says that the substitution of "beyond Babylon" for "beyond Damascus" is an inadvertence, or a scribal error, which arose from a recollection of the Babylonian captivity. But it seems to me only another change introduced designedly to interpret the passage. When Amos wrote, about 770 B. C., the Assyrians were but little known, and hence the prophet told the people that they should be carried away "beyond Damascus," using the most impressive phrase which they would be able to understand. When Stephen quoted the passage, he could do so in the light of history; and it was then known that the prophet had referred to the Babylonian exile.

From our examination of these passages, the statement with which this chapter opens is amply justified; the writers of the New Testament, in quoting from the Old, sometimes change its language with the obvious in-

tention of aiding their argument. It must be added, however, that no changes are made for the purpose of injecting a meaning into the original passage ; in every such case the New Testament writer does but seek to bring out more clearly the real thought of the Old Testament writer ; if he exchanges one word or phrase for another, he does so for exegetical purposes ; and, without exception, the view which he takes of the quotation is justified when we study it fairly from his point of view. These changes, therefore, are aids to the understanding of the Old Testament, as well as to the belief of the New.

Moreover, these changes are exactly such as we find in all literatures. They are so common that we give them a special name, and call them *paraphrase*. Webster defines *paraphrase* as "a re-statement of a text, passage, or work, expressing the meaning of the original in another form, generally for the sake of its clearer and fuller exposition." Dryden says that "in *paraphrase* the author's words are not so strictly followed as his sense." Wherever we find *paraphrase* in literature, and it is universal, we find the exact parallel of the Scriptures now under review.

I do not refer, when I say this, to the many volumes which consist wholly of *paraphrase*, like Stier's "Reden Jesu," Geikie's "Words of Christ," Erasmus' "Paraphrase of the Gospels," Pope's "Iliad," Trollope's "Commentaries of Cæsar," and Falluc's "Analyse Raisonné." I shall produce numerous instances strictly like those of the New Testament, and shall show by these examples that it is a common custom to quote with an exegetical change of language, the inser-

tion of a word or phrase, or the substitution of one word or phrase for another, to bring out the sense which the writer discovers in the passage quoted. I shall appeal to books readily accessible to the reader, where quotations of the kind now before us are so numerous that I have found some difficulty in limiting my selection and choosing those which I reproduce rather than a multitude of others equally pertinent.

Mansel, in his "Limits of Religious Thought," page 55, quotes Luke 24 : 5, 6, as follows: "Why seek ye the living among the dead? Christ is not here." In the same work, page 120, he quotes Ps. 22 : 9, as follows: "Thou art he who took me out of my mother's womb: thou wast my hope when I hanged yet upon my mother's breasts."

Guthrie, in his "Gospel in Ezekiel," page 379, quotes 2 Cor. 12 : 9 in this form to show clearly that the "weakness" spoken of is that of man: "My grace shall be sufficient for thee, and my strength made perfect in your weakness."

Wayland, in his "Moral Science," page 157, quotes Luke 17 : 9, as follows: "Doth he thank that servant because he hath done the things that were commanded him? I suppose not." The change here is made in order to bring out the thought obscured to the common reader by the antique verb "trow."

Dr. A. J. Gordon, in his "Ministry of Healing," page 194, quotes Phil. 3 : 21, omitting the phrase "our vile body," and substituting for it the phrase "the body of our humiliation," thus bringing forth the real meaning of the apostolic writer: "Who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the

body of his glory." On page 196 of the same book, he quotes thus from the Lord's Prayer: "Deliver us from the evil one." Both these exegetical changes were to appear two years later in the Canterbury revision.

Sears, in his "Fourth Gospel the Heart of Christ," has many such exegetical alterations. On page 272 he reproduces in the following form the words uttered by John at the baptism of Christ: "I have more need to be baptized by thee." On page 309 the words spoken by Christ to Nicodemus appear as follows: "If I tell you of those heavenly things you will not believe them, for you do not understand the earthly things that represent them and image them forth. You stick in the letter, and cannot rise out of it."

Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Letters of St. Paul" has many similar examples of exegetical paraphrase. Thus on page 6 of Vol. I., Ps. 147 : 20 is reproduced in the following form: "He dealt not so with any nation; neither had the heathen knowledge of his laws." In the same volume, page 42, Ps. 78 : 5-7 appears with several explanatory alterations:

"The Lord made a covenant with Jacob, and gave Israel a law, which he commanded our forefathers to teach their children; that their posterity might know it, and the children which are yet unborn; to the intent that when they come up they might shew their children the same; that they might put their trust in God, and not forget the works of the Lord, but keep his commandments."

In the same volume, page 54, Ps. 122 : 4 is quoted with a change of "unto the testimony of Israel" for

“to testify unto Israel,” which the writer evidently regards as a better translation.

Ruskin, “Modern Painters,” Vol. V., page 149, reproduces Ps. 19 : 2-4 in this form, making it express what he regards as its real meaning :

“Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. They have no speech nor language, yet without these their voice is heard. Their rule has gone out throughout the earth, and their words to the end of the world.”

The writings of Dawson are full of these paraphrases. In “The Origin of the World,” page 14, he gives Heb. 11 : 3 this form : “By faith we understand that the ages of the world were constituted by the Word of God, so that the visible things were not made of those which appear.” On page 100 of the same book, Gen. 1 : 2 is given as follows : “And the earth was desolate and empty, and darkness was upon the surface of the deep ; and the Spirit of God moved on the surface of the waters.”

Dr. William M. Taylor, in his “Daniel the Beloved,” page 22, quotes Rom. 14 : 21, inserting the words “to do” as exegetical of the verse : “It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor to do anything whereby a brother stumbleth or is made weak.” On page 133 of the same book, he quotes Dan. 7 : 25, and introduces exegetically the word “two” : “And they shall be given into his hands for a time, two times, and the dividing of time.”

The great sermon of Robert Hall on “The Sentiments Proper to the Present Crisis,” has for its text

Jer. 8 : 6 : "I hearkened and heard, but they spake not aright : no man repented him of his wickedness, saying, What have I done? every one turned to his course, as the horse rusheth into the battle." On the second page of the sermon, the text is quoted with a change of "rushed" for "turned." The change is made in order to produce a more vivid impression of the prophet's real thought : "Every one rushed to his course as the horse rusheth into the battle."

Farrar, in his "Saintly Workers," page 113, quotes Rom. 13 : 14, taking out the words "to fulfill," and inserting the words "to subdue," thus completely reversing the language of the last member of the verse, though still preserving its meaning : "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to subdue the lusts thereof."

I could produce a thousand such examples of exegetical quotation from English, German, and French literature. They are not accompanied by any explanation, or even by any reference to the original Hebrew and Greek ; it is taken for granted that every intelligent reader is familiar with the Bible, will remark the changes for himself, and will understand the purpose of the author in making them.

I now present a few examples from ancient literature, to show that the same custom was known in the apostolic age.

Lysias, in his funeral oration over those who fell at Salamis, speaks as follows : "Greece might well on that day go into mourning over yonder tomb, and lament for those that lie buried there, seeing that her own freedom and their valor are laid together in one

grave." He is speaking near the tomb, and points to it. Aristotle quotes the sentence in his "Rhetoric," book 3, chapter 10, section 7. But, as he is not near the tomb, and cannot point to it, he alters the sentence in order to explain what tomb is referred to, and makes Lysias say: "Greece might well go into mourning over the tomb of those who died at Salamis, for her freedom and their valor were buried in one grave."

In his treatise on "The Contradictions of the Stoics," section 47, the Stoic whom Plutarch is criticising quotes Homer as saying:

Receive whatever ill or good
He sends to each of you.

Goodwin translates the verses thus, and appends this note: "The words 'or good' are not found in Homer." The lines are from the "Iliad," XV., 109, and constitute a part of the angry speech of Juno against Jove. She tells the assembled gods that Jove is supreme, that resistance to him is vain, and that the only wise course is to receive patiently "whatever ill he sends to each." This is to declare that Jove is the absolute dispenser of events, both good and evil, and the doctrine that he sends whatever good any one receives the Stoic regards as implied in the words, and as needing to be brought out distinctly by his exegetical alteration, which also serves to show the relevancy of the passage to the argument.

In Porphyry's "Life of Plotinus," section 22, in quoting the thirty-fifth line of Hesiod's "Theogony," he gives it as follows:

But why do I speak these things of the oak or the rock ?

Ἀλλά τίη ταῦτα περὶ ὄρου ἢ περὶ πέτρην λέγειν ;

But the word "*λέγειν*" is not in the original. Bouillet says in his note on the passage : "The word is implied in the verse of Hesiod, and Porphyry has expressed it for the sake of clearness."

Philo, in his treatise on "The Changes of Scripture Names," section 46, runs together fragments of Gen. 18 : 14 and 17 : 19, and changes the latter fragment exegetically, to exhibit his view of its meaning. He has been saying that the name Sarah stands for virtue or wisdom, and the name Isaac for laughter, or the joy that produces it, and he now quotes God as declaring : "And at that time shall wisdom bring forth joy to thee."

In his treatise on the "Allegories of the Sacred Laws," book I., section 7, in the course of an argument to show that holiness pertains to the character, and not to mere external observances, he quotes Num. 6 : 9. The passage really refers to ceremonial uncleanness from contact with the dead, but he finds in it a deeper reference, and alters it accordingly : "If a sudden change comes over him, and pollutes his mind, he shall no longer be holy."

In the same treatise, book III., section 63, he argues that the soul cannot be nourished by man, but only by God, and quotes as evidence the words of Jacob to Leah in Gen. 30 : 2, as follows, transforming them to bring out the meaning which he believes they contain : "Thou hast greatly erred ; for I am not in the place of God, who alone is able to open the womb of the soul."

The Apocrypha of the Old Testament presents exegetical paraphrase among its most prominent features. "Generally," writes Churton, "the didactic portions of the Apocrypha may be regarded as a collection of paraphrases upon passages of Holy Scripture, or of reflections upon them."

V

COMPOSITE QUOTATIONS

THE writers of the New Testament sometimes present in the form of a single passage an assemblage of phrases or sentences drawn from different sources. The following are all the instances of this kind which Toy adduces :

Matt. 21 : 13 ; Mark 11 : 17 ; Luke 19 : 46 ; from Isa. 56 : 7 and Jer. 7 : 11. Luke 1 : 17 ; from Mal. 3 : 1 and 4 : 5, 6. Acts 1 : 20 ; from Ps. 69 : 25 and 109 : 8. Rom. 9 : 25, 26 ; from Hosea 2 : 23 and 1 : 10. Rom. 9 : 33 ; 10 : 11 ; from Isa. 28 : 16 and 8 : 14. Rom. 11 : 8 ; from Isa. 29 : 10 and Deut. 29 : 4. Rom. 11 : 26, 27 ; from Isa. 59 : 20, 21 and 27 : 9. 2 Cor. 6 : 16 ; from Lev. 26 : 11, 12 and Ezek. 37 : 27. Gal. 3 : 8 ; from Gen. 12 : 3 and 18 : 18.

Thus there are but few of these composite quotations in the New Testament.

An examination of these passages will show that where the quotation is intended for proof, it is always composed of fragments which originally related to the subject of the argument ; and all of them except one or two are brought forward as proofs. An example of this kind is found in the appeal which our Lord made to the Old Testament to justify his expulsion of the traders from the temple, Matt. 21 : 13 ; Mark 11 : 17 ; Luke 19 : 46. He exclaimed : " It is written, My

house shall be called a house of prayer : but ye make it a den of robbers." The first half of the quotation is from Isa. 56 : 7, and the second from Jer. 7 : 11. In both places the theme of the prophets is the temple and its right uses, so that the two members of the sentence are fitly united. In Mark, the first member is quoted in full : "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations." It is probable that our Lord quoted it in this form ; for the dealers had their stalls in the court of the Gentiles, thus especially hindering the prayers of foreigners. There were two offenses : first, the turning the house of prayer into a house of merchandise, where cunning and chicanery held rule, which is kept in mind chiefly by Matthew and Luke ; and secondly, the obstruction of Gentile worship, which Mark couples with the other.

Some of the composite quotations will meet us in the other chapters of this book, where those few of them which have been made the ground of special objections will be studied.

Censure of a general kind has been passed on all these quotations, simply because they are composite ; and in this chapter I shall answer the objection by showing that they follow a custom common to all ancient literatures.

Thus Plato, in his "Ion," section 538, quotes the "Iliad" as follows :

"Made with Pramnian wine ; and she grated cheese of goat's milk with a brazen knife, and at his side placed an onion, which gives relish to drink."

There are no such successive lines in Homer ; as a

whole, the extract is formed by Plato himself out of two passages, "Iliad," XI., 638, 630. Yet the quotation is quite correct, as both passages refer to the same thing.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
Line 638.	<i>Θῆν' ἠραμνείω ἐπὶ δ' αἴγειον</i>
<i>Ἐν τῷ ῥά σφι κύκησε γυνή,</i>	<i>κνῆ τυρόν</i>
<i>εἰκνῖα θεῆσιν,</i>	<i>κνήστι χαλκείῃ· παρὰ δὲ κρό-</i>
Line 630.	<i>μων ποτῶ ὄψον.</i>
<i>χάλκειον κάνεον· ἐπὶ δὲ κρό-</i>	
<i>μων, ποτῶ ὄψον.</i>	

In the "Republic," book III., section 389, Plato quotes from Homer as follows :

The Greeks marched, breathing prowess,
In silent awe of their leaders.

The first clause of this sentence is from book III., line 8, of the "Iliad"; and the second from book IV., line 431.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
Book III., line 8.	<i>Ἴσαν μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί,</i>
<i>Θεὶ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνεί-</i>	<i>σιγῇ δευδιότες σιμάντορας.</i>
<i>οντες Ἀχαιοί.</i>	
Book IV., line 431.	
<i>Σιγῇ δευδιότες σιμάντορας·</i>	
<i>ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσιν.</i>	

In the "Republic," book III., section 391, Plato quotes Achilles as saying to Apollo: "Thou hast wronged me, O far-darter, most abominable of deities. Verily I

would be even with thee, if I had only the power." This is from the "Iliad," book XXII., lines 15 and 20.

THE ORIGINAL.

Line 15.

¹ Εβλαψάς μ', Ἐκάεργε, θεῶν
ὀλοώτατε πάντων.

Line 20.

² Ἡ σ' ἄν τισαίμην, εἴ μοι δύνα-
μὶς γε περιεῖη.

THE QUOTATION.

¹ Εβλαψάς μ' ἐκάεργε, θεῶν
ὀλοώτατε πάντων·

² Ἥ σ' ἄν τισαίμην, εἴ μοι δύνα-
μὶς γε περιεῖη.

In Xenophon's "Memorabilia," book I., chapter 2, section 58, the lines quoted are from the "Iliad," II., 188 and following, and 198 and following.

THE ORIGINAL.

Lines 188, 189, 190, 191.

¹ Οντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἕξο-
χον ἄνδρα κειεῖη,
τὸν δ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύ-
σασκε παραστάς·

Δαιμόνι', οὗ σε ἔοικε κακὸν ὧς
δειδίσσεσθαι·

ἀλλ' αὐτός τε κάθησο καὶ ἄλ-
λους ἴδρουε λαούς.

Lines 198, 199, 200, 201, 202.

² Ον δ' αὖ δῆμου τ' ἄνδρα ἴδοι
βοόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι,
τὸν σκήπτρω ἐλάσασκεν ὀμοκ-
λήσασκέ τε μῦθω·

Δαιμονί', ἀτρέμας ἦσο, καὶ
ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουε,

THE QUOTATION.

¹ Οντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἕξοχον
ἄνδρα κειεῖη,
τὸν δ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύ-
σασκε παραστάς·

δαιμόνι', οὗ σε ἔοικε κακὸν ὧς
δειδίσσεσθαι,

ἀλλ' αὐτός τε κάθησο καὶ ἄλ-
λους ἴδρουε λαούς.

² Ον δ' αὖ δῆμου τ' ἄνδρα ἴδοι
βοόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι,
τὸν σκήπτρω ἐλάσασκεν ὀμοκ-
λήσασκέ τε μῦθω·

δαιμόνι', ἀτρέμας ἦσο, καὶ
ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουε,

<p>οὐ σέο φέρτεροί εἰσι· σὺ δ' ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἀναλκις, οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναριθι- μος οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ.</p>	<p>οὐ σέο φέρτεροί εἰσι· σὺ δ' ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἀναλκις, οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναριθι- μος οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ.</p>
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In Lucian's "Charon," section 22, the five lines from Homer run together as a continuous passage are, as Jacobitz says,¹ "brought together from various places, 'Iliad,' IX., 319, 320; 'Odyssey,' X., 521; XI., 539."

THE ORIGINAL.

"Iliad," IX., 319, 320.

Ἐν δὲ ἰῆ τιμῇ ἡμὲν καχὸς ἦδὲ
καὶ ἐσθλός·

κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὃ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνῆρ
ὃ τε πολλὰ ἔοργός.

"Odyssey," X., 521.

Πολλὰ δὲ γουνοῦσθαι νεχύων
ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα,

"Odyssey," XI., 539.

φοῖτα μαχρὰ βιβῶσα κατ' ἀσφο-
δελὸν λειμῶνα.

THE QUOTATION.

Κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὃ τ' ἄτυμβος
ἀνῆρ ὅς τ' ἔλλαχε τύμβου,
ἐν δὲ ἰῆ τιμῇ Ἴριος κρείων
τ' Ἀγαμέμνων·

Θερσίτη δ' ἴσος Θέτιδος πάϊς
ἡχόμοιο.

Πάντες δ' εἰσὶν ὁμῶς νεχύων
ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα,

γυμνοὶ τε ξηροὶ τε κατ' ἀσφο-
δελὸν λειμῶνα.

In Lucian's "Timon" we have a poetic quotation which Tooke has translated as follows :

O gold, supreme delight of mortal eyes !
Like the flickering flame thou shinest bright,
Resplendent thou by day and night !

The first line is from Euripides, "Fragments," 288 ; and the rest is a defective citation from the opening of Pindar's first Olympic ode.

¹ Jacobitz' "Lucian," Vol. I., p. 39.

THE ORIGINAL.

Euripides.

᾽Ω χρουσέ, δεξιῶμα κάλλιστον
βροτοῖς.

Pindar.

Λιθόμενον πῦρ

ἄτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μεγάνορος
ἔξοχα πλούτου.

THE QUOTATION.

᾽Ω χρουσέ, δεξιῶμα κάλλιστον
βροτοῖς.
αἰθόμενον γὰρ πῦρ ἄτε δια-
πρέπεις καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ'
ἡμέραν.

In his treatise on "Progress in Virtue," section 11, Plutarch quotes inexactly two lines from Homer, and treats them as a single sentence. The first is from the "Odyssey," VI., 187, and the second from the "Odyssey," XXIV., 402.

THE ORIGINAL.

VI., 187.

Ξεῖν' ἐπεὶ οὔτε κακῶ οὔτ'
ἄφρονι φωτὶ ἔοικας.

XXIV., 402.

Οὐδέ τε καὶ μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ
ὄέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν.

THE QUOTATION.

Ἐπεὶ οὔτε κακῶ οὔτ' ἄφρονι
φωτὶ ἔοικας,
οὐδέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε, θεοὶ
νὺ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν.

In his "Conjugal Precepts," section 38, Plutarch quotes two lines from Homer, making a single sentence of them. They are from the Iliad, XIV., 205 and 209.

THE ORIGINAL.

Line 205.

Καὶ σφ' ἄκριτα νείκεα λύσω.

Line 209.

Εἰς εὐνήν ἀνέσαιμι ὀμωθῆναι
φιλότητι.

THE QUOTATION.

Καὶ σφ' ἄκριτα νείκεα λύσω
εἰς εὐνήν ἀνέσαιμι ὀμωθῆναι
φιλότητι.

In his "Consolation to Apollonius," section 30, Plutarch quotes three lines from Homer, making a single sentence of them. The first and second are from the "Iliad," XXIII., 222; the last from the "Iliad," XVII., 37.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
XXIII., 222.	
Ἔς δὲ πατήρ οὗ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται ὅστέα καίων,	Ἔς δὲ πατήρ οὗ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται ὅστέα καίων
νυμφίου, ὅσπερ θανῶν δειλοῦς ἀκάχησε τοκῆας.	νυμφίου, ὅς τε θανῶν δειλοῦς ἀκάχησε τοκῆας,
XVII., 37.	
Ἄρητον δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθιχας.	Ἄρητον δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθιχας.

In his "Consolation to Apollonius," section 26, Plutarch quotes Homer as saying :

Whilst others may lament with weeping eyes,
The darkness of the night doth them surprise.

This is Goodwin's translation. The line in Plutarch is made up partly from the "Iliad," XXIII., 109, and partly from the "Odyssey," I., 423.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
"Iliad," XXIII., 109.	
Μυρομένοιαι δὲ τοῖσι φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως.	Μυρομένοιαι δὲ τοῖσι μέλας ἐπὶ ἔσπερος ἤλθε.
"Odyssey," I., 423.	
Τοῖσι δὲ τερπομένοιαι μέλας ἐπὶ ἔσπερος ἤλθεν.	

In the dissertation of Maximus Tyrius on "The Instability of Pleasure," the following lines occur as a single sentence. I adopt Taylor's translation :

Where rain and raging tempest are unknown,
But a white splendor spreads its radiance round.

They are from the "Odyssey"; the first part is from IV., 566, and the second from VI., 44.

THE ORIGINAL.

IV., 566.

Ὅν υφ'ετος, οὔτ' ἄρ' χειμῶν
πολύς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος.

VI., 44.

Δεύεται οὔτε γιῶν ἐπιπίλνα-
ται, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη
πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκή δ'
ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη.

THE QUOTATION.

Ἐνθ' οὐκ ἔστ' οὔτ' ἄρ' χειμῶν
πολύς, οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος
δέυεται ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη
πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκή δ'
ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη.

In Cicero's "De Oratore," book II., section 80, the second quotation is from the "Andria" of Terence. "The line," says Wilkins,¹ is made up of the first half of verse 117 and the latter part of verse 128." A part of verse 129 also is used.

THE ORIGINAL.

Verse 117.

Effertur ; imus. Interea
inter mulieres,

Verses 128 and 129.

Procedit ; sequimur ; ad se-
pulcrum venimus ;
In ignem posita est ; fletur.
Interea hæc soror.

THE QUOTATION.

Effertur, imus, ad sepul-
crum venimus,
In ignem imposita est.

¹ Wilkins's "De Oratore," Vol. II., p. 355, note 11.

In the fifty-third letter of Seneca he describes a voyage during which he suffered so much from seasickness that, when the vessel came near its landing, he sprang into the water and waded ashore, not waiting "till," as Virgil says :

Obvertunt pelago proras aut anchora de prora jaciatur.
They turn the prow or cast anchor.

The first part of the line, "Obvertunt pelago proras," is from the "*Æneid*," VI., 3, and the second, "anchora de prora jaciatur," from the same poem, III., 277.

In his eighty-second letter Seneca quotes Virgil as saying :

Ossa super recumbans antro semesa cruento
*Æ*teternum latrans exsanguis territat umbras.

The first of these lines is from the "*Æneid*," VIII., 297, and the second from another book of the same poem, VI., 401.

Philo gives us some instances of composite quotation.

In his treatise entitled, "Who is the Heir of Divine Things," section 5, he cites Moses as saying: "From whence am I to get flesh to give to all this people, because they cry unto me? Shall sheep and oxen be sacrificed, or shall all the fish of the sea be collected together to satisfy them?" This quotation, apparently a continuous speech of Moses, is composed of sentences from two different speeches, found in Num. 11 · 13 and 22. As the two speeches were made concerning the same matter, there was no impropriety in bringing the purport of both before the reader by thus joining together a few brief extracts.

In the same treatise, section 46, he runs together fragments of Gen. 18 : 14 and 17 : 19 : "And at that time wisdom shall bring forth joy to thee," putting wisdom for Sarah and joy for Isaac, according to his custom of turning the Scriptures into allegory.

In his treatise on "The Changes of Scripture Names," section 35, he runs together as a quotation parts of Gen. 32 : 25 and 31 : "The broader part of his thigh became torpid, on which he was lame."

In his treatise on "The Allegories of the Sacred Laws," book III, section 3, he runs together parts of Num. 5 : 2, 3 and Deut 23 : 1 :

Let them send forth from the holy soul every leper, and every one afflicted with foul disease, and every one who is impure in his soul, both male and female, and all mutilated persons, and all those who are emasculated, and all whoremongers.

These composite quotations, though more common in ancient literature, are found also in modern. Thus in Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," Vol. I., page 54, are the two following instances not accompanied by any references or any word of explanation :

"Thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord : to testify unto Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord. There is little Benjamin, their ruler, and the princes of Judah, their council, the princes of Zebulon and the princes of Napthali : for there is the seat of judgment, even the seat of the house of David." "Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem. O pray for the peace of Jerusalem : they shall prosper that love thee Peace be within thy walls : and plen-

teousness within thy palaces ; O God, wonderful art thou in thy holy places : even the God of Israel. He will give strength and power unto his people ! Blessed be God."

Thus also Ruskin in his "Modern Painters," Vol. V., page 146, has the following as a quotation from the Psalms : "How love I thy law ! It is my meditation all the day. Thy testimonies are my delight and my counsellors ; sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb." All these phrases may be found in the Psalms, and all relate to one subject, and the great critic followed the best literary precedents in throwing them together as a continuous passage.

VI

QUOTATIONS OF SUBSTANCE

IN a few instances the writers of the New Testament give us as quotations from the Old, sentences which it does not contain. If this method of quoting seems strange to us, it was well known in the apostolic age, and I cite the following instances of it from Greek and Latin literature.

In his "Nicomachean Ethics," book X., chapter 2, section 3, Aristotle quotes Plato at some length, beginning with the words: "The life of pleasure, says Plato, is more desirable with wisdom than without wisdom." Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire writes, in his note on the passage: "This is not a textual citation of Plato; it is only a condensed statement of his theory."

In his "Rhetoric," book III., chapter 4, section 1, Aristotle quotes Homer as saying of Achilles:

He rushed on like a lion.

Ὡς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν.

These words are not in Homer; but, as Cope says, "all the substance is there." The reference is to the long description of the lion in the "Iliad," XX., beginning at 164.

At the opening of chapter five of his "Delay of the Divine Justice," Plutarch writes:

But first see how, as Plato says, God, making himself conspicuous as the example of all things good, bestows human vir-

tue, in some sort his own likeness, on those who are able to be followers of God.

Hackett has this note on the passage :

The sentiment here ascribed to Plato is not found, in so many words, in any passage of his writings, but is consonant with what he has taught in various places. This mode of quotation is not uncommon in Plutarch, nor is it unnatural in any writer. It should not have excited so much surprise that the writers of the New Testament have occasionally alluded, in like manner, to predictions as existing in the Old Testament, which are not found there verbally, but in sense only. Of this class, as I understand it, is the prophecy referred to in Matt. 2 : 23.

Epictetus writes, chapter XXVIII., near the beginning :

As Plato affirms: The soul is unwillingly deprived of truth.

“This,” says Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in a note to his translation of the sentence, “is not a literal quotation from Plato, but similar passages are to be found in his ‘Laws,’ IX., 5; ‘Sophist,’ section 29; ‘Protagoras,’ section 87, etc.” Thus, the sentiment of several long passages is gathered up and presented in a single brief saying.

Maximus Tyrius, Dissertation XXII., the first paragraph, quotes as from the “Odyssey” the line :

Self-taught am I; the gods impart the song.

No such line is anywhere in Homer; but a sentiment like that which it expresses is found in the “Odyssey,” XXII., 347, of which the quotation is a reminiscence, chiefly in other words.

Lucian, in his “Defence of the Portraits,” section

28, refers to "the prince of philosophers," by which term only Plato could be designated, as teaching that "man is an image of the deity." No such words are to be found in Plato, or, indeed, in the whole library of the Greek philosophers. Something distantly resembling the sentiment is found in the First and Second "Alcibiades" and in the "Republic"; and Lucian, living at a time when Christian truth was beginning to permeate the atmosphere, summed up, almost in the language of Holy Scripture, the vague guesses of the greatest of the pagan thinkers concerning the nature of the soul. If the reader wishes to learn what search has been made in Greek literature for the declaration which Lucian quotes, let him consult the edition of Hemsterhuys, Vol. VI., p. 420, the last note on the page.

In the first "Ennead" of Plotinus, book IV., section 16, is this: "Plato was right when he said that if one would be wise and happy, he must receive the good from above, must look toward it, must become like it, must live according to it." These words are not in Plato; but the sentiment is found in various places, as the "Theætetus," section 176, the "Phædo," section 42, the "Republic," book VI., section 509, and book X., section 613, the "Laws," book IV., section 716.

THE QUOTATION.

Ὁρθῶς γὰρ καὶ Πλάτων ἐκαῖθεν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀξιοῖ λαμβάνειν, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο βλέπειν τὸν μέλλοντα σοφὸν καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐκείνῳ ὁμοιοῦσθαι καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνο ζῆν.

In the third "Ennead" of Plotinus, book III., section 4, he quotes Plato as saying: "The soul is brought into other animals after it has changed its nature, and

the reason has altered itself in order to become the soul of an ox, which before was the soul of a man." This sentence is not in Plato, but is a general summary of the doctrine of the "Timæus," section 42.

THE QUOTATION.

Ὁθεν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα ζῶά, φησιν, εἰσκρινεσθαι, οἷον ἀλλης τῆς ψυχῆς γενομένης, καὶ ἑτεροιωθέντος τοῦ λόγου, ἕνα γένηται ψυχῆ βούς, ἢ πρότερον ἦν ἄνθρωπος.

In the sixth "Ennead" of Plotinus, book VIII., section 6, writing of the human passions, he quotes from Plato as follows: "These, he says, are corrected by habit and exercise." This sentence is not in Plato, but it is a statement in other words of a sentiment expressed at much length in the "Phædo," sections 79 to 83.

THE QUOTATION.

Ταῦτα γὰρ ἔοικε, φησὶν, ἐγγύς τι τείνειν τοῦ σώματος ἔθρεσι καὶ ἀσχίσεσι κατορθωθέντα.

In his fortieth letter Julian writes to Jamblichus: "I am not such a wretch as not to prefer you, as Pindar says, to all my affairs." There are no such words in Pindar, and the reference is to the opening lines of the first Isthmian ode:

Your business, golden-shielded Thebes,
To all my own I willingly prefer.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<p>——— Τὸ τεόν, χρύσασπι θήβα, πρῶχμα καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑπέρτε- ρον θέσομαι.</p>	<p>Μὴ γὰρ οὕτω πράξιαιμ κακῶς, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἀσχολίας ἀπάσης, καθὰ φησι Πινδαρος, τὸ κατὰ δὲ χρειῖττον ἡγεῖσθαι.</p>

Proclus, in his commentary on the "Timæus" of Plato, book II., section 69, writes as follows :

This was also granted to Timæus by Socrates, when he divides a line into four parts, the intelligible, the dianoetic, the sensible, and the conjectural ; where likewise, speaking about the good, he says that it reigns in the intelligible place, in the same manner as the sun in the visible region.

This is Taylor's translation. There are no such words in Plato ; but he has the thought in an extended form in the "Republic," book VI., section 508.

To show clearly the structure of these compressed quotations in ancient literature, I give here, from Jowett's translation, the whole passage :

"And which," I said, "of the Gods in heaven, would you say was the lord of this element ? Whose is that light which makes the eye to see perfectly and the visible to appear ?" "You mean the sun, as you and all mankind say." "May not the relation of sight to this deity be as follows ?" "How ?" "Neither sight, nor the eye in which sight resides, is the sun." "No." "Yet of all the organs of sense the eye is likest the sun." "Far the likest." "And the power which the eye possesses is a sort of effluence which is dispensed by the sun ?" "Exactly." "Then the sun is not sight, but the author of sight who is recognized by sight ?" "True," he said. "And this is he whom I call the child of the good, whom the good begat in his own likeness, to be in the visible world, in relation to sight and the things of sight, what the good is in the intellectual world in relation to mind and the things of the mind." "Will you be a little more explicit ?" he said. "Why, you know," I said, "that the eyes, when a person no longer directs them toward those objects on the colors of which the light of day is shining, but the moon and stars only, see dimly, and are nearly blind ; they seem to have no clearness of vision in them." "Very true." "But when they are directed toward objects on which the sun shines, they see clearly, and there is sight in them ?" "Certainly."

“And the soul is like the eye: when resting on that on which truth and being shine, the soul perceives and understands, and is radiant with intelligence; but when turned towards the twilight of becoming and perishing, then she has opinion only, and goes blinking about, and is first of one opinion and then of another, and seems to have no intelligence?” “Just so.” “Now, that which imparts truth to the known and the power of knowing to the knower is what I would have you term the idea of good, and that you will regard as the cause of science and of truth, as known by us; beautiful too, as are both truth and knowledge, you will be right in estimating this other nature as more beautiful than either; and, as in the previous instance, light and sight may be truly said to be like the sun, and yet not to be the sun, so in this other sphere, science and truth may be deemed like the good, but not the good; the good has a place of honor yet higher.” “What a wonder of beauty that must be,” he said, “which is the author of science and truth, and yet surpasses them in beauty; for you surely cannot mean to say that the good is pleasure?” “Speak not profanely,” I replied; “but please to consider the image in another point of view.” “How?” “Why, you would say that the sun is not only the author of visibility in all visible things, but of generation and nourishment and growth, though he himself is not a generation?” “Certainly.” “In like manner the good may be said to be not only the author of knowledge in all things known, but of their being and essence, and yet the good is not essence, but far exceeds essence in dignity and power.”

Then follows the illustration of the line cut into four equal parts, one of which he calls the intelligible, to represent the highest region of existence and thought. He does not say anything about the good reigning in this intelligible part, though he implies that it does so.

Cicero, “De Finibus,” book II., chapter 28, quotes Epicurus as follows: “The greatest pain is brief.”

This is quite condensed; the sentence of Epicurus is much longer.¹

Quintilian, book VIII., chapter 3, cites Cicero as saying in a letter to Brutus: "In my judgment nothing is eloquence that does not strike with admiration and surprise." "In all the extant letters of the Roman orator to Brutus," writes the Rev. James Scott,² "this quotation is nowhere formally to be found; but we find the substance of it."

Lastly, we have a passage in Aristotle which furnishes us examples of several of the methods of quoting already spoken of in this book. It is the following:

The spirit of anger too, men reckon as courage, and they who act through anger, like brutes turning on those who have wounded them, get the character of being brave, because the converse is true, and brave men are spirited. The spirit of anger is most keen for the encountering of dangers, and hence Homer wrote:

"He put strength into his spirit."
 "He roused up his strength and spirit."
 "Fierce strength in his nostrils."
 "His blood boiled."

Here are four short phrases attributed to Homer; "and none of them," says Grant,³ is quite accurate." The first is compounded of the "Iliad," XIV., 151 and XVI., 529. The last "is not in Homer at all." It is an instance of the sense of Homer expressed in new words and by new imagery. Aristotle is arguing that anger is a source of courage, and proving it from the poet.

¹ See his "Select Sentences," IV.

² "Principles of New Testament Quotation," p. 89.

³ "Ethics of Aristotle," Vol. II., p. 41, note 10.

This is the representation of Homer in many places, and Aristotle sums up their essence in his own way.

Thus this method of quoting was in accordance with the literary customs of antiquity; it misled no one; it perplexed no one; for it was readily understood, and was recommended by its convenience, as it enabled a writer to refer in a brief sentence to long and widely scattered statements from celebrated and familiar books, which the reader would at once recall, being thus reminded of them. >

In the whole New Testament there are but three or four clear instances of this kind. >

At Matt. 2 : 23, it is said that Joseph, through fear of Archelaus, made a home for Jesus in Nazareth, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophets, that he should be called a Nazarene." There is no prediction in the Old Testament verbally like this, and it is probably an instance of quotation of substance, rather than of words. If it occurred in any ancient Greek book but the New Testament, it would be interpreted in this way at once, and no difficulty would be found with it, as the preceding examples show. That it is referred by the evangelist to "the prophets," and not to any particular prophet, favors this view; though in a few exceptional instances, John 6 : 45; Acts 13 : 40; 15 : 15, the plural is employed with reference to predictions by particular prophets. The form of quotation used in the original may be read as either direct or indirect. In our Common version the prophecy is translated as a direct quotation; while the revisers of our English Bible, on the other hand, have translated it as an indirect quotation, evidently regard-

ing it as a quotation of substance, and not of language, and supposing that such a quotation should have the indirect form. The examples which I have adduced, however, show that the Greek writers, in quoting the substance of what others have said, sometimes employ one form of quotation, and sometimes another. The quotation of substance, if from a poet, may even take the form of verse, with measure, rhythm, cadence, as in several of the instances which I have adduced.

The quotation, if this view is correct, is a summary statement of all those predictions of the Old Testament which represent the Messiah as lowly, despised, and suffering, such as Ps. 22, Isa. 53, and Lam. 3. All Galileans were regarded in Jerusalem as uncultivated and rude. "A Galilean," says Toy, "was recognized by his ridiculous pronunciation," as was Peter (Matt. 26 : 73). "He especially confounded the guttural letters." In the Talmud he is held to be incapable of understanding the Scriptures rightly. The Pharisees said that no prophet could arise out of Galilee (John 7 : 52). Nazareth would share the general contempt in which all Galilee was held. But it had, in addition, a low reputation of its own, even in Galilee, as is evident from the words of Nathanael, himself a Galilean : "Can there anything good come out of Nazareth ?" (John 1 : 46.)

The bad character of the Nazarenes, so well known to the evangelist and his Jewish readers, would render the meaning of the quotation clear to them. To us the character of the Nazarenes is a subject of curious inquiry, and we determine it by consulting ancient documents, in which we glean but a hint here and

there ; but to the Jews of the first century it was an ever-present odium ; and hence, while to some modern critics the residence of Jesus in Nazareth may seem a questionable fulfillment of the predictions of his lowliness and the contempt with which his countrymen should regard him, to his immediate followers, acquainted but too well with the ill-savor of the town, it would need only to be mentioned in order to be recognized as a most sad instance of his humiliation and suffering, which the prophets had foretold in many passages too long to reproduce in full.

Toy does not reject this view of the quotation, but finds two difficulties with it :

1. "It does not seem likely," he writes, "that the evangelist would make so vague an allusion to such striking passages as Isa. 53 and Lam. 3." But the allusion is not more "vague" than many of the quotations of substance in Greek and Latin literature which I have adduced. Besides, it springs naturally from the narrative of the settlement of Joseph in Nazareth.

2. "An accidental social contempt," Toy says again, "attaching to birth in Nazareth, corresponds only feebly to the prophetic picture of a man despised and rejected because of his adherence to the law of God." But the "social contempt" beneath which Jesus suffered was not on account of his "birth in Nazareth," for he was not born there. Nor was it because people in general supposed that he was born there, but because it was known that he grew up there from early childhood, until he was thirty years of age, and that his education and associations were Nazarene. The "social contempt" was not "accidental." The parents of

our Lord intended to bring him up elsewhere, and would have done so had they not been "warned of God in a dream" (Matt. 2 : 22), of the danger which they were about to incur. Perhaps they selected Nazareth for their home, after their return from Egypt, not only on account of its obscurity, but because its reputation was such that even a bloodthirsty Herod would not think of looking for the Messiah in it. In any case, they were driven to the remote and disreputable city of Nazareth by the sin of the world embodied in the murderous jealousy of a great ruler ; and the residence of Jesus in this unbelieving and wicked place (Mark 6 : 6 ; Luke 4 : 28-30 ; John 1 : 46), and the contempt in which it involved him, was a part, and no small part, of his humiliation and suffering for the world. A holy man might form some conception of the mental and spiritual pain which it involved, should he be compelled to spend thirty years in the immediate company of the most ignorant and vicious persons, and then to go out into society with all the stigma of such associations upon him. Of course, the residence of Christ in Nazareth and the suffering which attended and followed it do not correspond fully to the "prophetic picture of a man despised and rejected because of his adherence to the law of God," for it is only a part of the picture, the whole embracing his entire life and death.

At John 7 : 38 our Lord cries : "He who believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." There is no passage in the Old Testament which contains just these words ; but they express the meaning of all those passages which represent the salutary influence of a holy man

under the image of flowing water, like Isa. 58 : 11 : "Thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not"; or Prov. 18 : 4 :

The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters ;
The well-spring of wisdom is as a flowing brook.

At Rom. 3 : 10 the Apostle Paul says : "As it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one." It is generally held that this quotation can be found only in substance in the Old Testament, and does not follow verbally any particular passage. Toy regards it as a condensation of Eccl. 7 : 20 : "There is not a righteous man on earth, who does good and sins not"; and Ps. 14 : 3 : "no, not one." If he had referred to the latter passage as a whole, he would probably have been more nearly accurate : "There is none that doeth good, no, not one." Indeed, I doubt if this quotation should be regarded as one of substance only; for it follows Ps. 14 : 3 so nearly that it seems to me a verbal quotation, with such slight variation from the Hebrew text as occurs frequently in the New Testament. OK

At Eph. 5 : 14, the Apostle Paul quotes as follows : "Wherefore he saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee." "The preceding context," writes Toy, "speaks of the shameful hidden deeds of sin, and the necessity of exposing them to light that they may be seen in their true character, and avoided; and in this citation Christ is declared to be the source of light." The quotation has given rise to much debate, chiefly because the

words cannot be found in the Old Testament. Phrases somewhat like them occur at Isa. 60 : 1 and 26 : 19 : "Arise, shine ; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." "Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust : for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead." These verses, however, are too distant from the language quoted to afford a very secure reference. Toy concludes his discussion of the quotation by expressing the opinion that it is probably a free rendering of several passages in Isaiah. I should say, rather, that it is a summing up of the teaching of various Scriptures, the sense of which is that Christ shall be the light of men, and especially of such as shall arise from sin to seek him in truth. These passages are so frequent in the Old Testament that there is no occasion to specify them. Thus the quotation would be what Meyer calls it, "a mingling of Old Testament reminiscences."

VII

ALLEGORY

THERE are two places in the New Testament in which the writers quote from the Old in order to present to their readers certain features of our religion by means of allegories. I refer to Gal. 4 : 21-31, where Hagar and Sarah are brought forward as representative, the one of the law and the other of the gospel; and to Heb. 7, where Melchizedek is regarded as representative of Christ. > If, as some have thought, there are other allegorical quotations, they do not clearly define themselves as such. Jowett¹ points to Rom. 7; 1 Cor. 10; 2 Cor. 3, and a few other passages yet more doubtfully allegorical. Some of these should be regarded as typical, rather than as allegorical. > Meyer, writing of passages similar to these, says :

We must be on our guard against confounding the idea of the allegory with that of the type. Neither does the type necessarily rest on allegorical interpretation, nor does the allegory necessarily presuppose that what is so interpreted is a type; the two may be independent one of the other. The allegory has a much freer scope, and may be handled very differently by different people; but the type is a real divine preformation of a New Testament fact in the Old Testament history. One fact signifies another allegorically when the ideal character of the latter is shown as presenting itself in the former; in which case the significant fact need not be derived from the Old Testament, and the interpretations may be very various.

¹ "Epistles of St. Paul," Vol. I., p. 361.

The type in other words, being a divine foreshadowing of future characters and events, admits of but one interpretation of its typical meaning; while the materials from which the allegory is derived may be molded in various shapes, according to the various conceptions of those who employ them.

A second reason for not considering in this chapter the other passages sometimes ranked as allegories, is my conviction that some of them should be excluded even from the list of types, and reckoned as mere ordinary illustrations. A third is the fact that, in any case, they present no difficulties which are not met in the two immediately before us.

Let us turn now to the first of these passages and examine a single phrase of Gal. 4 : 21-31 : we shall then consider both our allegories together.

The Apostle Paul, in Gal. 4 : 21-31, after reciting the history of Hagar and Sarah, and their sons Ishmael and Isaac, introduces his application of it with words that are rendered in our Common version : "Which things are an allegory"; and in the Revised version : "Which things contain an allegory." The rendering of the Revised version is for substance that on which Meyer insists as the only correct one. According to him the Greek verb,¹ which here is in the passive voice,² must be rendered, "to be spoken allegorically, to have an allegorical meaning"; and hence the allegory in the instance before us must be found in the original passage, and not in the use which the apostle makes of it. I do not know how to reconcile this

¹ Pres. act. ind., 1st p., ἀλληγορεω.

² Pres. pass. participle, ἀλληγορούμενος.

statement with the definition of the allegory as distinguished from the type which Meyer gives on the same page with it, and which I have reproduced. If the apostle means to say that the history was allegorized by Moses when he wrote it, or by God when he providentially ordered its events, how can it be interpreted in various ways by various later writers? It would be, I should suppose, quite as rigidly fixed as the type.

However, we are not obliged to adopt this rendering of the Greek verb. In the passive voice, in which it is here found, it may mean either, "Which things are spoken allegorically" by the historian, and hence "have an allegorical sense"; or, "Which things are allegorized," that is, "by me, here and now." The former rendering is sustained by the lexicons, and the latter by Tholuck, Hofmann, Marsh, Palfrey, and others. Meyer admits that the passive verb sometimes has the meaning claimed for it here by Hofmann, and says that it is so used "in Plutarch, Synesius, and elsewhere." Davidson defends the former rendering only because it is "as good as the proposed one." Riddle¹ grants that the passive verb may have the latter sense, but he "insists" upon what he calls "the more definite and strict meaning" in this place, because "this interpretation will guard against the assumptions and errors which are based on the looser view." What these "assumptions and errors" are he nowhere tells us. Why should any "assumptions and errors" be "based on" the fact that the Apostle Paul constructs an allegory out of material

¹ "Galatians," in the American edition of Lange.

furnished by the Old Testament? Dante does the same; Bunyan does the same; and no one censures them. Why then should it be forbidden to an apostle to frame allegories in which important truths are made clear and impressive? Or, if we say that the allegory in this instance was framed by Moses, or by God, and only interpreted by the apostle, what "assumptions and errors" do we avoid by thus shifting it from one author to another?

In either case, the apostle does not set aside the historic character of the narrative. This is granted by all critics who are even tolerably free from the desire to impeach his inspiration. Kuenen, indeed, attributes to him "a misconception of the historic meaning" of Scripture, and Davidson declares that "he treats the history as pure allegory without any objective basis." Dogmatic statements like these are to be expected from such sources, and they are usually emphatic in proportion to the absence of evidence in their favor. But the great majority of critics, of even the more careless schools of theological thought, admit at once that the New Testament writer holds fast the historic verity of the record which he uses as the basis of his allegory. Indeed, throughout this Epistle to the Galatians, as in all his other writings, Paul assumes the accuracy of the Old Testament history, and uniformly founds his arguments upon it without a shadow of doubt or misgiving. Spenser shows no "misconception of the historic meaning" of Queen Elizabeth by giving her a place in the "Faerie Queene." Bunyan shows no "misconception of the historic meaning" of Demas by giving him a place in the "Pilgrim's Pro-

gress." Goethe shows no "misconception of the historic meaning" of Lord Byron by giving him a place in the "Second Part of Faust." In short, allegory does not usually either affirm or deny "the historic meaning" of the records on which it is based, or ask any questions regarding it; and there is no hint of any doubt in the passage before us.

If we adopt the former of the two renderings of the Greek passive verb "to be allegorized," then we shall see in the history of Hagar and Sarah a divinely ordered foreshadowing of the law and the gospel in their relations to each other, an acted parable, a history and an allegory in one. We shall find use for the statement of Toy: "In a general way it is true that, in the Genesis narrative, Sarah and Hagar represent faith in God and its absence." We know that much of the history of the Old Dispensation foreshadows the New, and this will be for us one of the series of events thus providentially arranged. If, on the other hand, we adopt the latter of the two interpretations, as the usage of the word permits us to do, then the history will remain for us a history, and we shall hold that it is used by the apostle as material for his allegorical conception, precisely as other historical and biographical material is used by other writers of allegory.

At the same time we must recognize a typical element in both these historic passages, as throughout the Old Testament records; "Sarah and Hagar represent" typically "faith in God and its absence"; and Melchizedek represents Christ as a most vivid type. The authors of the epistles to the Galatians and the Hebrews, however, do not limit their view to the typical

features of the history ; they take these for a suggestion, a starting-point, and construct their allegories with perfect freedom, like all masters of this species of literature.

“But,” some one may still say, “was it right for the writers of the New Testament to bring out of the Old Testament record a meaning which it does not contain?” Let me make my answer clear, at the risk of some repetition. These writers do not, in any case, “bring out of the Old Testament record a meaning which it does not contain.” Is it in itself at once both history and allegory? Then they do but interpret it and set before us its real inner meaning. Or, is it only typical history, which they use allegorically, according to the general custom of the authors of allegory? Then, like them, they make it a means of illustrating thoughts in addition to those which it contains ; these thoughts belong not to the history, but to the allegorists, and they employ it only as an appropriate vehicle to convey them to our minds. Dante does not bring out of the brief story of Beatrice a meaning which it does not contain. Goethe does not bring out of the Faust-legend a meaning which it does not contain. Bunyan does not bring out of the incidents of a mediæval pilgrimage a meaning which they do not contain. All these great writers, admitting the literal meaning of the materials with which they deal, so use them as to express to the reader a meaning additional to the literal, and this additional meaning does not belong to their materials, but is their own.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall recognize the allegory as existing in the New Testament alone,

adopting the second of the two definitions of the Greek passive verb "to be allegorized."

There are some features of our biblical allegories which seem at first to be of a very unusual character. For example, Hagar is said to represent "Mount Sinai in Arabia." Again, the name and title of Melchizedek are analyzed and employed as significant of Christian truth; and the fact that he appears in the record without any statement of his parentage, his birth, or his death, is used to set forth the eternity of the Son of God. These features of the passage have occasioned some surprise. Volumes have been written on such questions as the following: Was the name Hagar one of the names by which Mount Sinai was designated in ancient times? Was Melchizedek, who was "without beginning of life or end of days," an angel incarnate, or even Christ himself? Were the name, "King of righteousness," and the title, "King of peace," conferred on Melchizedek by special divine revelation? I ask, therefore, that the reader bear these difficulties in mind while he accompanies me in a study of the allegory in general literature, to ascertain the principles of its structure and to observe the freedom with which the writer employs the materials at his command. We shall approach our conclusion by an indirect and circuitous path, but at the end the difficulties with which we start will have vanished, for we shall have found the biblical allegories, after all, quite like those of other literature, whether ancient or modern.

Fortunately, we have much allegory in our modern literatures, and we need not go beyond our own doors to study the peculiarities of this kind of writing. Spen-

ser's "Æclogues" and "Faerie Queene" are allegories from beginning to end. Swift's "Tale of a Tub," his "Battle of the Books," and his "Gulliver," are among the most brilliant of allegories. But Bunyan stands at the head of the recent authors of allegory; his "Pilgrim's Progress" excels all other works of its class in character-drawing and incident and humor, and his "Holy War" in the felicity of the invention and the thoroughness and consistency with which it is wrought out. There are many allegories also in the "Second Part of Faust;" and, going back a little, in the "Divine Comedy" and the "New Life" of Dante. In all these works, the older materials of history and fable are freely allegorized by the later writers, as Sarah and Hagar are in the Epistle to the Galatians, and as Melchizedek is in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus in the "Second Part of Faust" Ariel stands for poetry; the Graces, the Parcæ, and the Furies are introduced with new offices; Zoilus, a historic character, an abusive critic of the third century before Christ, and Thersites, a mythical character, a personage of the Iliad, are joined in one, and become Zoilo-Thersites, the embodiment of political slander; Helen of Troy is the beautiful in art; Anaxagoras and Thales represent the two antagonistic schools of geology which existed at the beginning of our century; and the Virgin Mary is the symbol of divine love.

Does the allegory in Heb. 7 speak of Melchizedek as "without beginning of days or end of life"?¹ And

¹ Among the cuneiform tablets found at Tel el-Amarna, is one in which a priest of Jerusalem speaks. He was a worshiper of a deity whose name corresponds well with that of "the most high God," men-

does this mean merely the Melchizedek who appears in the record, as distinguished from the Melchizedek who was born, who lived, who died, and was buried? Carlyle, in his essay on Goethe's "Helena," writes as follows of a portion of the "Second Part of Faust," which is a series of allegories :

Faust too—for he, as every one sees, must be lord of this for-
tress—is a much altered man since we last met him. Nay, some-
times we could fancy he were only acting a part on this occa-
sion, were a mere mummer, representing not so much his own
personality as some shadow and impersonation of his history;
not so much his own Faustship as the tradition of Faust's ad-
ventures.

This is precisely the principle of the sacred allegory which we are considering. The Melchizedek of the allegory in "not so much his own personality as some shadow and impersonation of his history"; and any feature of the history is employed which is adapted to the purpose of the writer.

It is one of the privileges granted to the allegorist to consider the record rather than the real person or thing spoken of in it. The "pillar of salt" of Gen. 19 : 26 does not now exist ; but the writer of allegory

tioned in Gen. 14 : 18. It appears from the tablet that he was not a hereditary priest. Sayce supposes him to have been a lineal successor of Melchizedek, and would find in the fact that the priests of this line did not inherit their office, an explanation of the statement in Heb. 7 : 3, that Melchizedek was "without father, without mother, without genealogy." He would apply the statement not to Melchizedek as a person, but to Melchizedek as a priest. What explanation, however, does this afford of the phrases immediately following, "Having neither beginning of days nor end of life"? It is evident that the writer throughout the passage uses his materials with the freedom to which the authors of allegory are accustomed, and not with historic precision.

beholds it yet standing, and Bunyan has his pilgrim examine it :

Now I saw that just on the other side of this plain, the pilgrims came to a place where stood an old monument hard by the highway-side. . . They both concluded that it was the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was turned for her looking back with a covetous heart.

So also, to Bunyan, Demas is still living and seeking silver.

This fanciful and capricious character of even religious allegory is recognized by Carlyle in the early pages of his "Heroes and Hero Worship" :

The "Pilgrim's Progress" is an allegory, and a beautiful, just, and serious one ; but consider whether Bunyan's allegory could have preceded the faith it symbolizes ! The faith had been already there, standing, believed by everybody ; of which the allegory could then become the shadow ; and with all seriousness, we may say a sportful shadow, a mere play of the fancy, in comparison with that awful fact and scientific certainty which it poetically strives to emblem.

But was the ancient allegorist as free in the use of his materials as is the modern ? Yes, almost necessarily ; for, as Lowell says :

The true poetic imagination is of one quality, whether it be ancient or modern, and equally subject to those laws of grace, of proportion, of design, in whose free service, and in that alone, it can become art. Those laws are something which do not

Alter when they alteration find
And bend with the remover to remove.

But let us take nothing for granted ; let us examine for ourselves the Greek allegory, with which the

Apostle Paul and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews would be acquainted.

The most famous allegory of classical literature is that of "Er," in the "Republic" of Plato, book X., section 614. In this the great philosopher deals with the Fates, or Parcæ, in a manner peculiar to himself, giving them a new interpretation, in order to illustrate his doctrine of the pre-existence of our souls. He deals also in a similar manner with characters which he believes to be strictly historical, such as Ajax, Agamemnon, and Achilles, bringing them back into the world in new forms, such as each of them might choose. In addition to this great allegory, he has that of "The Origin of Love," that of "The Soul," that of "Theuth," that of "The Creation of Man," that of "Zamolxis," and others. No one acquainted with his works can fail to admire these charming creations, or to perceive the genuine persuasive power which they give his pages. In all of them he uses his materials in the freest manner; and transforms myth, legend, and history, to suit any of his purposes.

In the "Phædo," section 95, we have an allegory not unlike that of the Apostle Paul in Galatians, except that it is much shorter. To understand it, we must remember that in the Greek mythology, Harmony was the wife of Cadmus, and that both were Thebans. In the "Phædo," the two friendly opponents of Socrates are Simmias and Cebes; they are from Thebes; and Simmias doubts that the soul is immortal, because he holds it to be a kind of harmony produced by the body; it can no more endure, therefore, after the body is dissolved, than the harmony of the lyre after the

lyre is destroyed. Socrates answers this objection, and then adds : " Thus much of your Theban Harmony, who has not been ungracious to us, I think ; but what shall we say to the Theban Cadmus, and how shall I propitiate him ? " Here Simmias is Harmony, and Cebes is Cadmus. Cebes takes up the allegory and carries it on, saying with admirable courtesy that Cadmus will share the fate of Harmony, that he expects to be defeated in the argument. To all the speakers of the dialogue Harmony and Cadmus were historical personages. The brief allegory turns upon the two facts that Simmias and Cebes are of Thebes, the city of Cadmus and Harmony, and that Simmias has much to say about harmony. The allegory thus depends in part on the geographical location of a legend which was believed to be a history, and partly on the meaning of a proper name.

The fine allegory of " The Two Loves," in the " Symposium," section 180, is also worthy of our special study :

We all know that Love is inseparable from Aphrodite, and if there were only one Aphrodite, there would be only one Love ; but as there are two goddesses there must be two Loves. For am I not right in asserting that there are two goddesses ? The elder one, having no mother, who is called the heavenly Aphrodite, is the daughter of Uranus ; the younger is the daughter of Zeus and Dione, whom we call common ; and the other Love, who is her fellow-worker, may and must also have the name of common, as the other is called heavenly. . . The Love who is the son of the common Aphrodite is essentially common and has no discrimination, being such as the meaner sort of men feel . . . and is of the body rather than the soul. . . The most foolish beings are the objects of this Love. The goddess who is his mother is far younger, and she was born of the union of

the male and female, and partakes of both sexes. But the son of the heavenly Aphrodite is sprung from a mother in whose birth the female has no part, but she is from the male only . . . and the goddess, being older, has nothing of wantonness. Those who are inspired by this Love turn to the male, and delight in him who is the more valiant and intelligent nature.

This allegory of "The Two Loves" reminds the reader irresistibly of that of the "two sons" of Abraham, the one "born after the flesh," and the other "born through promise," whose mothers represent "The Jerusalem that now is," and "the Jerusalem that is above." But it reminds us equally of the allegory of Melchizedek, with its explanations of the names of its characters, one being the offspring of Urania, and hence of a celestial nature; and the other of Pandemus, and hence necessarily vulgar. The writer observes any circumstances connected with the ancestry or the birth or the activities of his characters, as that one inspires sober love, because older than the other, and a love directed toward males, because the offspring of a mother who herself had no mother, but only a father. All these peculiarities are reproduced, in the two great allegories of the New Testament, not by a process of imitation, but by the spontaneous working of the literary instinct in the production of allegory.

In the same work, Socrates constructs an allegory, in order to teach vividly and agreeably his doctrine of love. According to him, love is not the offspring of Aphrodite at all; he is her follower and attendant, because he is attracted by her beauty, and because he happened to be born on an anniversary of her birthday. He is in fact the child of Poros, or Plenty, and

Penia, or Poverty. This is told in the form of a story. Then follows the inference from the names of his father and mother : "As his parentage, so also are his fortunes." Because in the story his mother is Poverty, and is homeless and sleeps out of doors, he is ever unsatisfied and full of wants. "He is always poor, and anything but tender and fair, as the many imagine him ; and he is hard-featured and squalid, and has no shoes nor a house to dwell in ; on the bare earth exposed he lies under the open heaven, taking his rest in the streets, or at the doors of houses ; and like his mother, he is always in distress." So also, because his father in the story is named Plenty, and because plenty is the result of shrewdness and industry, he, "like his father, whom he partly resembles, is always plotting against the fair and good ; he is bold, enterprising, strong, a hunter of men, always at some intrigue or other."

Steele, in the ninetieth number of the "Tattler," states with admirable spirit and some poetic embellishment the inferences drawn by Socrates from the story :

As love "is the son of Plenty, who was the offspring of Prudence, he is subtle, intriguing, full of stratagems and devices ; as the son of Poverty, he is fawning, begging, serenading, delighting to lie at the threshold or beneath a window. By the father, he is audacious, full of hopes, conscious of merit, and therefore quick of resentment. By the mother, he is timorous, mean-spirited, fearful of offending, and abject in submissions. In the same hour you may see him transported with raptures, talking of immortal pleasures, and appearing satisfied as a god ; and immediately after, as the mortal mother prevails in his composition, you behold him pining, languishing, despairing, dying." "The supposing Love to be conceived immediately after the

birth of Beauty; the parentage of Plenty; and the inconsistency of this passion with itself, so naturally derived from it, are great master-strokes."

The reader will not fail to observe that this allegory turns chiefly on the names of parents.

The names of the personages of Greek mythology play an important part in the later allegorical interpretations of these ancient stories. Müller, the foremost writer on Greek mythology, testifies that "the poets were always alive to the allegorical signification of the names; thus Pindar humorously calls Excuse a daughter of Afterthought." Not infrequently the myth itself is an allegory in which the significance of its proper names has been considered by its author or authors; for, as Carlyle says, the mythology of the Greeks is often "a play of poetic minds," "a shadowing forth, in allegorical fable, in personification and visual form, of what such poetic minds had known and felt of this universe." Müller instances the story of Prometheus told by Hesiod: "Prometheus, 'Forethought,' stole fire from heaven and became the instructor of man in the industrious trades and useful arts. The gods, to frustrate the aim of this striving, sent Pandora, the 'All-gifted,' who found access to Epimetheus, or 'Afterthought,' and introduced upon earth whatever evils are wont to attend labor and industry." The same great scholar points out another example in the Homeric fable of the Litai, or "Humble Prayers," who are called "daughters of mighty Zeus," because the god protects those who implore his aid. "They are represented," he says, "as following with halting steps the fierce and headlong Ate, 'Blind Passion,' who is also called 'a daughter

of Zeus,' because he gives and takes away reason ; and as endeavoring to overtake her in order to repair the mischief she has occasioned."

The names of places in these allegories of the Greek mythology are often as significant as those of persons. Says Müller :

At Byzantium Io was said to have grazed on the tongue of land called Keras, "the Horn," at the confluence of the streams Barbuses and Kударus, and to have brought forth a daughter, Keroessa, "the Horned One," mother of Byzas, the hero of the city. It seems to me clear that the name Bosphorus, "Cowford," has some connection with these myths, that the Byzantines applied it to the strait in honor of their legendary cow, and that the tradition of Io having swum across originated in this way.

The legend of Io connected the goddess also with the Ionian Sea, and thus accounted for its name. Io, the cow, was "the horned moon"; and the story of her wandering was originally but an allegory of the changes of this satellite, so mysterious to the early peoples of the world. As the story was passed on from one generation to another, and was worked over by various writers, it lost its modest proportions and its original design, and became a sort of awkward romance ; but its real nature can be discerned still beneath these later incrustations.

I might extend much farther these examples of the use of proper names in allegory ; but those which I have given are sufficient to illustrate the peculiar working of the human mind when it enters this ethereal region. Modern allegory and ancient allegory exhibit these features in common. Not that the modern is

derived consciously from the ancient. The features which I have illustrated belong to allegory as such, wheresoever it is produced, and whensoever, and by whomsoever. So the biblical allegories, exhibiting the same features, were not formed in imitation of others; they were the spontaneous creations of men not unacquainted with the great books of Greece and Rome, surrendering their minds to the allegorizing impulse, exercising the largest freedom of literary labor, and using the materials of sacred history as all writers of allegory use the materials from which they derive the lessons they inculcate.

We need not analyze any more allegories, for those which we have already considered have brought before us abundant instances of such features of the biblical allegories as have been deemed somewhat surprising by persons not intimately acquainted with this species of writing in general literature. We have found men long since dead treated as gifted with perpetual life, like Demas in the "Pilgrim's Progress," and Zoilus, Anaxagoras, and Thales in "Faust." We have found constant references to the circumstances of birth and ancestry, as in the allegory of "The Two Loves," the celestial and the terrestrial. We have found so many references to the meaning of proper names, and to geographical relations, that these characteristics seem to us more common than any others. In the light of the examples which we have examined, we come back to the New Testament, and read without surprise that "this Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem that now is"; that "the son by the handmaid is born after the flesh, but the son by the free

woman through promise"; that Melchizedek in the book of Genesis is "without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life," and in this way is "made like unto the Son of God"; that the name "Melchizedek" means "king of righteousness"; and that the title, "King of Salem," means "king of peace." Such exuberance of fancy, such unrestrained freedom in the use of every feature of the record, belongs to the allegory in all literatures where it exists. Hence these biblical allegories are not in any peculiar sense "in accordance with the hermeneutical methods of the times," as Toy represents them. In all times and all literatures allegories have been produced with the same essential features, the minds of their authors having soared with unfettered wings through all the airy realms of imagination.

I might have illustrated these allegories further by comparing them to those of Philo and the rabbinic literature. This, however, has been done by many others already, who have wholly forgotten the allegories of general literature, and have sought to prove that the allegorists of the New Testament proceeded in a peculiar and specially Jewish way. My purpose has been the exact opposite; and I have shown that the allegories of the New Testament are in no sense rabbinic or Jewish, but belong, in all their characteristics, to the wide field of allegory in the great literatures of the world, ancient and modern. Indeed, they resemble the Gentile allegories far more closely than the Jewish: they are sound, forceful, and ingenious, while the Jewish allegories partake of the stupidity which char-

acterizes the Talmud from beginning to end, and which I have illustrated in our eleventh chapter.¹

Do the writers of the allegories of the New Testament offer them as proofs of their doctrine, or only as luminous embodiments of it?

If we render the Greek passive verb used in Gal. 4 : 24 with the lexicons, and read, "Which things have an allegorical meaning," we shall find the allegory in the original history, and shall perhaps conclude that the Apostle Paul brought it forward as evidence of his teaching. But this definition of the Greek word, as we have seen, is not necessary, and may be inapplicable in this place.

The other arguments of those who tell us that the New Testament writers present their allegories as proofs of doctrine are much weaker than this. Take for example the following sentence from Davidson :

Apologists try to blunt the edge of these facts in their bearing on the nature of the writer's inspiration by saying that allegorical interpretations are used as illustrations rather than

¹ If a further reason were needed for my somewhat prolonged study of the Greek allegory in this place, it might be found in the fact, demonstrated by such scholars as Turretin, Eichhorn, Politz, Rosenmüller, Schutz, Flügge, and Döpke, that the Jewish allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament had its origin in the Greek allegorical interpretation of Homer and Hesiod, and was not thought of till the Jews came into contact with Greek literature; so that even the rabbinic allegory is not exclusively Jewish, since it was born and nurtured in the tents of Japhet, and adopted by the sons of Shem only as a foreigner; useful, but constrained, out of place, and longing for home. Thus, if the allegories of the New Testament were rabbinic, which they are not, it would be necessary still to examine their Greek parentage in order to understand them, as we become truly acquainted with a man only when we know his ancestry. See Döpke's "*Hermeneutik der neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller*," p. 104.

arguments ; forgetting that with Paul there was no difference between the two.

How does Davidson know "that with Paul there was no difference between the two"? Has he had some special revelation touching this matter? The distinction is one of the commonplaces of human thought, and is recognized everywhere, even by children and savages. Was the apostle then so feeble in mind as not to be aware of it?

Let us take another reason adduced by the same author :

To the apostle's mind objective and subjective were one. He treated the history as a pure allegory without an objective basis. Such exegesis was not peculiar to him. It was that of his time and contemporaries. The typical sense in which he understood the narrative did not deserve another; it was the only one, according to the apostle, who looked upon the symbolical representation as the conveyancer of abstract truth, not of historical facts.

Passing by the statement that "the apostle's mind" was incapable of distinguishing "objective and subjective," the tree of the mountain from the tree of his imagination, the Sarah of real life from the Sarah of his thoughts, let us ask what is the value of the other statement that he regarded history as allegory, and hence used it as evidence of Christian doctrine, because his contemporaries treated the Old Testament in the same manner? In the first place, "his contemporaries" did not always treat the Old Testament history in this manner. It is true that Philo sometimes regarded a narrative of the Old Testament as in itself purely allegorical ; but sometimes, again, he admitted

the historical character of a narrative even while employing it as the basis of an allegory. It is true that the Jewish rabbis did the same, and often produced their allegories as evidences of their doctrines. The most that can be said is that "his contemporaries" wavered. But let us admit for a moment that "his contemporaries" "treated the history as pure allegory without an objective basis," and hence as proof and not as illustration, and examine the argument derived from the statement. Let us say that we know "his contemporaries" did this because their works show it. We are asked, then, to believe that the apostle did the same thing, not because his works show it, but because the works of Philo and the rabbis show that they did it. Or, let us say that they wavered in their views concerning the historic verity of the Old Testament narratives, for this is the exact truth. Does it follow that the Apostle Paul wavered in his views concerning the historic verity of the Old Testament narratives? We know that Philo and the rabbis wavered thus, because their writings show it. According to the method of reasoning pursued by Davidson, we ought to believe that the apostle wavered, not because his writings show it, but because it is known that Philo and the rabbis wavered. This is a remarkable kind of logic, and only needs to be exhibited. Not only is there no trace of such wavering in the writings of the apostle, and no trace of any servile imitation of the rabbis, but there is abundant evidence in these productions that his modes of thought in general were utterly opposed to theirs, and that he contended against many of their views from the beginning to the end of his min-

istry. If, therefore, the appeal is made to mere probability, without any other evidence, that he regarded the narratives of the Old Testament as allegory rather than history, and hence as proof of doctrine, the decision must be against the supposition.

∠ In the utter absence of all evidence to the contrary, then, we ought to suppose that the allegories of the New Testament are like the allegories of literature in general, merely luminous embodiments of the truth. If it be asked what they prove, I ask in return, what is proved by the "Faerie Queene" or the "Pilgrim's Progress"? In neither is there any proof of a historic, a syllogistic, or a mathematical kind; and neither is there, I am persuaded, in these great allegories of the New Testament. Yet, as the "Faerie Queene" and the "Pilgrim's Progress" make a deep and salutary impression upon the mind of the reader, so do the allegories of the New Testament. Luther says that the Apostle Paul was "a marvelous cunning workman in the handling of allegories." He continues: "Allegories do not strongly persuade in divinity; but, like pictures, they beautify and set out the matter." "It is a seemly thing to add an allegory when the foundation is well laid and the matter thoroughly proved." ∠ We discover truth not merely by the logical processes of the intellect, but also through the imagination and the emotions; and hence the Scriptures address all our powers of reason, of imagination, and of emotion. But the imagination and the emotions have yet another office: when the truth is demonstrated to the mind, it may remain without operation upon the character and the conduct; and it must still be taken into the soul,

through fear, through hope, through love, through the sense of propriety and beauty ; so that a large part of Holy Scripture is employed not in revealing the truth, or in proving it, but in commending it. If the preacher merely proved the truth of the gospel, and ceased to speak, he would not win a single soul to Christ ; when he has ended his proofs, he has but begun his real task ; he must go on to warn and entreat and constrain, with all the fervor of him “ who loved us and gave himself for us.” If these allegories are not presented by their writers as evidences, they are none the less precious, since they illuminate the truth otherwise evinced, and thus render it at once clear to the apprehension and attractive to the taste. Allegories, as Addison has said,¹ “ when well chosen, are like so many tracks of light in a discourse, that make everything about them clear and beautiful.”

¹ “ Spectator,” number 421.

VIII

QUOTATIONS BY SOUND

IN this chapter I shall consider the statement that the writers of the New Testament sometimes "quote by sound without regard to the sense." Kuenen, who employs this language, does not charge that the passages in question are quoted for proof; but he seems to hold that even in quotations for purposes strictly rhetorical the reference of the original passage should be rigidly preserved. I shall fortify my answer to the difficulty thus raised by so large an array of examples in ancient and modern literature as ought completely to remove it. Instances of the kind which I am about to adduce are exceedingly abundant; and I have rejected many which I might have employed had space permitted. Those which I present cover a wide range of occasions and of purposes; they are caused by the desire to decorate, to illustrate, to shine with wit, to carry an audience by eloquence, or to puzzle the unwary and stimulate them to criticism. But they are all alike in that they give a reference to the language quoted which its author would not recognize as his own; and in this respect they are quotations "by sound," rather than "by sense." The persons who bring forward the difficulty with which I here deal must have come upon hundreds of such passages, if they have read any literature of any people; but they have not

observed, apparently because they have not read critically.

There are three cases to consider : first, a change of reference without a change of the language quoted, or of the meaning of its separate words ; secondly, a change of reference effected by a slight change of the language ; and thirdly, a change of reference effected by giving new meanings to the pivotal words.

I. I shall first produce instances of a change of reference which does not involve any material change of the words quoted, or of the senses in which the original writer employed them.

I. Southey, in "The Doctor," has, without explanation, this example, in which he applies to the minute and strange forms of animal life revealed by the microscope these lines of "Paradise Lost," written with reference to demons in hell :

The forms which are thus discovered might well be called

Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived,
Gorgons and Hydras, and Chimæras dire.

Here every word of the quotation preserves the sense in which it is employed by Milton, while the passage is made to describe objects of whose existence he was absolutely ignorant.

2. Gladstone, in his "Gleanings of Past Years," Vol. VII., p. 34, speaks of great men who influence us even in their early life, and applies to them a line of Lycidas which refers only to the morning star :

Others there have been who, from the time when their young lives first, as it were, peeped over the horizon, seemed at once to

Flame in the forehead of the morning sky.

3. In his "Gleanings of Past Years," Vol. IV., p. 339, he closes his paper on Montenegro by saying :

Miss Mackenzie and Miss Irby were able to bestow far more of time and care on a subject well worthy of them, and have probably made by much the most valuable contribution extant in our language, under this, as under other heads, to our knowledge of those South Slavonic provinces whose future will, we may humbly trust, redeem the miseries of their past. "Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated, so that no man went through thee, I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations."

4. Lowell, in his "Among My Books," p. 353, speaks of the fears expressed by Burke and Johnson when the influence of Rousseau first made itself felt in the literary world, and quotes the words of Macbeth :

Neither of them had the same feeling toward Voltaire, the man of supreme talent, but both felt that what Rousseau was possessed by was genius, with its terrible force either to attract or repel.

By the pricking of my thumbs,
Something wicked this way comes.

5. Often the writer, in quoting thus for the purpose of decoration, and employing the quotation in a sense foreign to that which it first conveyed, accompanies it with a comment based altogether on its new meaning without giving a hint of the old. For example, Robert Hall, in his sermon "On the Work of the Holy Spirit," has the following passage, dissuading his hearers from "grieving the Spirit of God" :

We may fitly say on this, as Paul did on a different occasion, "Who is he that maketh us glad, but the same that is made sorry by us?" Have we any other Comforter when he is withdrawn?

Here the greatest of the English preachers reproduces a sentence written at first with reference to the sinning church at Corinth, which had been "made sorry" by the rebukes of the Apostle Paul. He applies it to the Holy Spirit without any statement that he is violently changing its application, and then proceeds to comment upon it at some length, quite as if it were designed from of old for the purpose for which he employs it.

6. Johnson, in number 34 of his "Adventurer," warns his readers against a vicious life, which leads to wretchedness from which there is no return, and applies to it the lines in which Virgil, in the "Æneid," book VI., line 126, describes the way to Avernus:

Facilis descensus Averni ;
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis :
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.

Cranch translates the passage as follows :

Easy the way
Down to Avernus ; night and day the gates
Of Dis stand open. But to retrace thy steps
And reach the upper air, here lies the task,
The difficulty here.

Since the days of Johnson this passage has been employed a thousand times by as many writers, to represent the irretrievable ruin caused by wastefulness and immorality ; and always, as in this instance, it is torn from its first connection and associated with a new theme, but with no explanation.

7. Edward Everett, in his "Mount Vernon Papers," has two chapters on "Seven Critical Occasions and Incidents in the Life of Washington," illustrating the

doctrine of Divine providence. At the close of the first, after narrating the dangers which young Washington encountered during his expedition through uninhabited lands to Venango, in 1753, he quotes from "Paradise Regained," the words in which, according to Milton, God declares his purpose to permit the exposure of Christ to temptation, and he employs them quite as if they had been uttered originally with reference to the Father of his Country :

To exercise him in the wilderness ;
There shall he first lay down the rudiments
Of this great warfare, ere I send him forth
To conquer.

Here the word "wilderness" is used by Milton and Everett in the same sense. New senses, however, are given by Everett to "warfare" and "conquer." Milton uses them in the second of the senses now given in "Webster's International Dictionary," and Everett in the first. The quotation is thus a good example of both the first and third kinds examined in this chapter.

8. In the "Theætetus" of Plato, section 152, Socrates, by his skillful questioning, draws from one of his hearers the doctrine that all things are the product of motion. He says :

Summon all philosophers—Protagoras, Heraclitus, Empedocles, and the rest of them, one after another, with the exception of Parmenides—and they will agree with you in this. Summon the great masters of either kinds of poetry—Epicharmus, the prince of comedy, and Homer, of tragedy ; when the latter sings of

Ocean, the sire of gods, and mother Thetys,

does he not mean that all things are the offspring of flux and motion ?

Socrates is well aware that this is not the meaning of Homer, for two reasons. First, Homer makes Ocean and Thetys the parents only of inferior deities, not of the greater. Then again, he himself does not believe that "all things are the offspring of flux," and he is going soon to disprove the assertion. Ocean was called the "sire of gods," because such a troop of inferior deities sprang from him. But Socrates quotes the phrase "sire of gods" as if it meant "sire of all the gods." He uses it not without a certain humor, as it was probably much quoted by those whose teaching he is about to oppose; and this is purely a case of "quotation by sound, without regard to the real meaning." The meanings of all the words are preserved in the quotation, but it is caused by Socrates to refer to a doctrine of which the poet had never heard.

9. In Plutarch's dialogue on "The Face Appearing in the Orb of the Moon," Sylla teaches that man is a tripartite being, composed of body, soul, and understanding, the first perishing at the first death, the second being deserted at the second death, and lingering in a doubtful and shadowy existence in the moon, and the last only having real immortality. In the course of his argument he appeals to Homer:

Of all that he ever wrote there is not any passage more divine than that in which, speaking of those who are departed this life, he says,

Next these I saw Alcides' image move;
Himself is with the immortal gods above.

Every Greek reader of Plutarch knew at once that Homer is not here "speaking of those who are departed this life," but only of Hercules, whose image

was left in hades when he himself was deified. The whole passage was one of the most famous and familiar of the *Odyssey*, and every one knew that it represents the dead in general as souls that had departed from the body. The lines about Hercules, however, were a fine illustration to the ear of the doctrine that man is a threefold being and that there is an event after death which may be likened to another death, the parting of the immortal mind from a shadowy soul. The reference of the passage is changed, while the senses of its words remain the same.

10. In Plutarch's treatise on "The Delay of the Divine Justice," section 17, he argues that the soul is immortal, and says :

If we had nothing of the divine within us, nothing that in the least resembled his perfection, nothing permanent and stable, but were only poor creatures, that, as Homer says, faded and dropped like the withered leaves.

The reference is to the "*Iliad*," VI., 146. The whole passage is as follows in Bryant's translation :

Like the race of leaves
Is that of human kind. Upon the ground
The winds strew one year's leaves; the sprouting wood
Puts forth another brood, that sprout and grow
In the spring season. So it is with man:
One generation grows while one decays.

As far as the sound of these words is concerned, they might be employed with either of two references, with either of two diverse thoughts in the mind : they might refer to man as possessed of a mortal body and an immortal soul, or to man as wholly mortal, both in

body and soul. Homer has the former reference in mind; but Plutarch cites the passage as fitted to illustrate the latter. He then proceeds to comment upon it adversely. Hackett writes as follows in his note on the quotation :

Plutarch reads the passage manifestly as it meets the eye, and accommodates it to his purpose. The poet affirms nothing there in regard to the nature of the soul. He is speaking merely of human life and the rapid manner in which the different generations of men pass away, one after another. The distinction, however, between the soul and the body, which he is not led to notice in this passage, he asserts fully elsewhere, as also the kindred truths of the soul's future existence and a state of rewards and punishments hereafter.

11. The first line of this passage is quoted in still another alien sense in Strabo, book XIV., section 51. Speaking of Caunus, he writes :

Stories of the following kind are related respecting the city. Stratonicus, the player on the cithera, seeing the Caunians somewhat dark and yellow, said that this was what the poet meant in the line:

As are the leaves, so is the race of men.

Homer had no thought of the color of the falling leaves, nor of the citizens of Caunus; and the satire of Stratonicus gains sharpness and force by this new application of the familiar line. His assertion that "this was what the poet meant" is a part of the satire, and is an assertion only in form.

12. In the "Æneid," VI., 275, Virgil says that "before the courts of hades, and in its jaws, grief and vengeful cares have fixed their couches, and pale diseases dwell, and disconsolate old age." Seneca, in his

one hundred and seventh letter, quotes the lines quite as if they referred to this world; he changes the reference of the word *hades*, but one would hardly say that he changes its meaning.

13. In Cicero's "Letters to Atticus," II., 16, he speaks of the beginning of a letter as differing immensely from the end, and throws in part of the line in which Homer describes the Chimæra, "Iliad," VI., 181 :

In front a lion; but behind —

14. In the same letter Cicero speculates about the plans of Gnæus, one of his acquaintances, with whose political conduct he is perplexed, and quotes what is said by Sophocles, *Fragm.* 753, of an actor :

He plays no more on tiny treble pipes,
But roars with wild blast his uncurbed storm of sound.

Cicero's works are full of these quotations from the poets for mere decoration, and he uses them often with much wit.

I shall now discuss those quotations of the New Testament which are said by some writers to be of this kind. It will be seen that the reference of them to this class is not justified in every case, and that, where it has good grounds, they are not extreme instances of the practice which I have illustrated.

1. In *Matt.* 21 : 9 ; *Mark* 11 : 9 ; *Luke* 19 : 38 and *John* 12 : 13, is a line from *Ps.* 118 : 26, quoted by "the multitudes that went before him and that followed," when Christ entered Jerusalem in lowly triumph :

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

The psalm was one of a series of psalms sung at the Passover and called "the great Hallel." It was appropriate to any sacred festival. Perhaps it was commonly used respectively by the people approaching the temple and by the choir of priests who received them with the words quoted. On this occasion the multitudes felt that the line was especially applicable to Jesus, whom they hailed as the Messiah. In Matt. 23 : 39, Jesus, remembering that the people had received him with these words, takes leave of Jerusalem with a prediction in which he applies them to himself, precisely as in the instances that I have cited from general literature words spoken on one occasion are used with reference to other occasions to which they are appropriate.

2. In Mark 9 : 48 our Lord weaves into his discourse a sentence from Isa. 66 : 24 : "Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." He does not say that it is a quotation, or adduce it for proof. He finds the language adapted to set forth vividly the sufferings of the lost, and hence employs it, though, if taken literally, it is designed by the prophet to picture the perpetual burning of the carcasses of the ungodly. It may be questioned, however, whether the passage of the prophecy is to be taken literally. The whole context refers to the Messianic age, which it represents by means of a series of images of blessing on the one hand and of wretchedness on the other. As the blessings are represented symbolically, so is the wretchedness ; and it may be that the perpetual gnawing of the carcasses by the worm and the perpetual burning of them in the flame are intended by the Holy

Spirit to bring before us eternal woes. In this case the employment of the words by our Lord would be strictly in keeping with their employment by the prophet, and an interpretation of them. I place the quotation in this chapter, however, because it is so often regarded as an adaptation of the prophetic language to a new theme.

3. Another instance of this kind is possibly found at Rom. 2 : 24, where Isa. 52 : 5 is quoted with an application not made by the Old Testament writer : "The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you, as it is written." The name of God was blasphemed among the Gentiles of the apostolic age through the crimes of the Jews, to which the Apostle Paul has just referred. In the time looked at by the prophet, however, the name of God was blasphemed among the Gentiles, because the Jews, the people of God, were carried into captivity, and it seemed that their God was not able to save them. Thus the point of view of the prophet is not exactly the same with that of the apostle who uses his words. The supposition of Meyer that the apostle adopts the expression of the prophet as appropriate, without regard to the original circumstances which gave rise to it, is therefore well supported. Meyer finds an evidence of this illustrative appropriation of the Old Testament language in the fact that the formula of citation, "as it is written," stands at the end of the phrase, instead of at the beginning, where it is always placed in cases of formal quotations for the sake of proof.

I accept this view. Yet I think it worthy of notice that the blaspheming of the name of God in the days of

Isaiah, while it had its immediate occasion in the weakness of the captive people, was really caused by their sins, for which they were delivered over to their enemies. Nowhere does this appear more clearly than in the prophecies of Isaiah, from which the apostle quotes. The blasphemy in the two cases, therefore, was more nearly akin than one might suppose at the first glance, and those cannot be censured who find something in the quotation besides the mere adoption of appropriate language.

4. Another instance is the quotation of Isa. 52 : 7 at Rom. 10 : 15 : "As it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of good things." The prophet refers to the messengers who should appear on the mountains near Jerusalem to announce the speedy return of the Jews from the Babylonian exile. The fact that the rabbis regarded the passage as Messianic has led many to the assertion that the apostle takes the same view of it. Thus Hodge says that the prophetic passage

is one of those numerous prophetic declarations which announce in general terms the coming deliverance of the church, a deliverance which embraced, as the first stage of its accomplishment, the restoration from the Babylonish captivity. This, however, is so far from being the blessing principally intended, that it derived all its value from being introductory to that more glorious deliverance to be effected by the Redeemer.

There can be no objection to this view, for, as I have shown in the chapter on double reference, there are many passages of Scripture which look at some near event and also glance forward to "some far-off event." The apostle, however, does not say that he regards the

passage as Messianic, and it is a sufficient explanation of his use of it to suppose it introduced into the epistle for rhetorical purposes only. Thus Toy says that the writer "perhaps merely adopts the words as appropriate to the preaching of the gospel," and adds that "the introductory formula, 'as it is written,' may be taken either way."

5. At 1 Cor. 2 : 9, the Apostle Paul, speaking of the fact that God had kept as a mystery his great love and his plan of carrying it out in the salvation of the lost, till Christ came, says :

But as it is written :

Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not,
And which entered not into the heart of man,
Whatsoever things God prepared for them that love him.

Whence are these words derived? There is a passage verbally somewhat like them at Isa. 64 : 4 : "For from of old men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen a God beside thee, which worketh for him that waiteth for him." Toy gives this as the passage quoted, with no hint that any other view is possible, and then goes on to say :

The prophet, picturing the desolation of the exile, wishes that God would intervene on his people's behalf, and refers to the great things of which he is capable—probably with allusion to the preceding history of Israel—for those who wait trustfully for his help. Such great things God has prepared, says the apostle, in the mystery, formerly hidden but now revealed, of salvation in Christ, which is the wisdom of God, unsuspected by the wise men of the world, but made known to the believer by the Spirit. This he finds expressed in the words of the prophet, and he freely alters the original to suit his argument.

The comment of Toy is thus threefold: (1) That the apostle finds in an Old Testament passage that which it does not contain; (2) that he quotes it as a proof-text to support an argument; and (3) that he freely alters it to make it suit his argument.

To this I answer: (1) It is not at all certain that the quotation here is from any part of the Old Testament. Origen and other Fathers attribute it to the "Revelation of Elias," an extra-canonical book now lost; and Zacharias of Chryso polis declares that he had read the words in this book. With this agree the great critics Schrader, Bleek, Ewald, and Meyer, among the moderns. It is true that nowhere else does the Apostle Paul apply the formula, "as it is written," to a quotation from an uncanonical source; but there is nothing in the formula itself to forbid him to use it as an introduction to any sort of quotation from any source whatever. Yet one must respect the weight of this objection to the theory now under consideration. (2) If we are to derive the quotation from the Old Testament, then Isa. 52 : 15 affords a far more probable source, as it is identical with the quotation in sense and similar to it in language. The prophet is speaking of the servant of Jehovah, the Messiah, and says that "kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had not been told them they shall see, and that which they had not heard shall they understand." Thus both the prophet and the apostle declare that the riches of God's mercy should remain a mystery until Christ came, when it should be revealed, and the language of the prophet is not very distant from that of the apostle; while the passage previously considered is dissimilar in

both thought and language, "hardly presenting even faint resemblances," as Meyer says. Moreover, the reference of the apostle to "rulers" is probably derived from the "kings" of the original passage. For these reasons I hold that he quotes from Isa. 52 : 15, with perhaps some remembrance of Isa. 64 : 4. (3) In any case, the apostle does not quote for proof. If we even grant that he is arguing, he does not "freely alter the original to suit his argument." He lays the chief stress upon a fact of which he was conscious: "Howbeit, we speak wisdom among the perfect: yet a wisdom not of this world, nor of the rulers of this world, which are coming to naught: but we speak God's wisdom in a mystery, even the wisdom that hath been hidden." Let those who wish say that he argues from this fact as a basis. Even then it will remain true that he quotes, as Alford says, not to support his argument by authority, but merely to illustrate it.

6. We have another instance of this sort at 1 Cor. 15 : 55: "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?" The comment of Toy is worthy of adoption here :

The prophetic passage is a declaration that Yahve will have no mercy on Ephraim, but will abandon him to death. "Shall I ransom thee from the hand of Sheol? shall I redeem thee from death? where are thy plagues, O death? where thy pestilence, O Sheol? repentance shall be hid from my eyes." Death and Sheol are summoned to seize their prey. The apostle takes the questions in the inverse sense, using the words to express the triumph over death which God gives through Christ: rather a free adoption of the language than a quotation.

7. At 2 Cor. 4 : 13, the writer says: "Having the

same spirit of faith, according to that which is written, I believed, and therefore did I speak ; we also believe, and therefore also we speak." The quotation is from Ps. 116 : 10, and follows the Septuagint, though it is a question whether it also follows the Hebrew. Toy decides with certainty that it does not represent the Hebrew, which says, according to him : "I stand firm now in trust, though once I said in my haste, All men are liars." Thus the belief of the psalmist was not the cause of his speaking, but the corrective of it. This is by no means the view of the Hebrew text taken by the majority of the great Hebrew scholars. It is rejected by the Canterbury Revisers, by Hupfeld, by Hofmann, by Ewald, by Meyer, by Hengstenberg, and by many others, all of whom, though they differ among themselves as to the exact construction of the Hebrew, agree in the view that it gives the belief a harmonious and essentially causative, instead of an adversative relation to the speaking. Indeed, I have found no scholar, unless Luther can be called a scholar, who agrees with Toy in making the belief a corrective of the speaking.

In any case, however, the quotation is merely illustrative, and we have seen by examples from all literatures how free such illustrative quotations are.

II. I shall now bring forward instances of a change of reference effected by an intentional change of the language quoted.

1. In his "Letters," p. 296, Cowper writes : "As to myself, I have always the same song to sing ; well in body, but sick in spirit ; sick nigh unto death.

Seasons return, but not to me returns
 God, or the sweet approach of heavenly day,
 Or sight of cheering truth, or pardon sealed,
 Or joy, or hope, or Jesus' face divine :
 But cloud, etc.

I could easily set my complaint to Milton's tune, and accompany him through the whole passage on the subject of a blindness more deplorable than his."

The quotation is from "Paradise Lost," III., 41-45. Every one knows that Milton wrote :

Not to me returns
 Day, or the sweet approach of even or morn,
 Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
 Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine,
 But cloud.

Thus Cowper alters the language of Milton, and makes it express a thought wholly new. I call special attention to the fact that he accompanies the altered quotation with a commentary, in which he recognizes, and, to a certain extent, explains what he has done.

2. Burke, in his speech on conciliation with America, quotes from the fourth Eclogue of Virgil :

Facta parentis
 Jam legere, et quæ sit poteris cognoscere virtus.

This is the original. The orator found it necessary to alter the lines in order to make them fit a new connection. In doing so, says Goodrich, in his "British Eloquence," p. 270, note 7, "he has changed some of the words and omitted others, so as to render the construction obscure."

3. Pitt, in his first speech in reply to Fox, quoted from Horace, Ode XXIX., book III, lines 53-56 :

Laudo manentem; si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit —

Here he paused, and seemed to reflect that the next words might be taken as a boast. They are :

Et mea
Virtute me involvo.
I wrap myself in my virtue.

His silence attracted every eye to him. "He drew his handkerchief from his pocket, passed it over his lips, and then, recovering as it were from a temporary embarrassment, he struck his hand with great force upon the table, and finished the sentence in the most emphatic manner, omitting the words referred to." The omission was understood; the effect was electrical; and the house burst forth into cheers.

4. There is a somewhat violent instance in the speech of Lord Chatham in favor of the removal of the British troops from Boston. He quotes as follows from Virgil, "Æneid," VI., 566.

Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
Castigatque *auditque*.

But Virgil says that Rhadamanthus holds his stern rule, punishing those whose crimes he hears. By omitting the word "dolos" and placing in italics the "auditque," the orator causes the poet to say that Rhadamanthus punishes and afterward hears. He means thus to charge that the British Government had punished the American colonies first, and heard them afterward.¹

¹ Goodrich's "British Eloquence," p. 129, note 5.

5. On the title-page of the "Letters of Junius" are the words: "Stat nominis umbra"; "He stands the shadow of a name." They are from Lucan's "Pharsalia," book I., line 135, where they refer to Pompey. But in the original there is one word more than in the quotation: "Stat magni nominis umbra"; "He stands the shadow of a mighty name." Junius omits the word "mighty" through modesty, as he applies the line to himself.

6. In Gladstone's "Gleanings of Past Years," Vol. I., p. 206, he introduces a line of Horace, from Ode I., book XVI, but changes it to suit its new connection.

There can hardly be a doubt, as between America and the England of the future, that the daughter, at some no very distant time, will, whether fairer or less fair, be unquestionably yet stronger than the mother.

O matre forti filia fortior.

Horace wrote:

O matre pulchra filia pulchrior;

but this would be inapplicable to the purpose of Mr. Gladstone, and hence he substitutes "strong" and "stronger" for "fair" and "fairer."

7. Southey, in his "Doctor," p. 268, has the following of the marriage of his hero: "What Shakespeare says of the Dauphin and the Lady Blanche might seem to have been said with a second sight of this union:

Such as she is,
Is this our Doctor, every way complete."

The quotation is from "King John," II., 2. But every lover of Shakespeare knows that his words are:

Such as she is, in beauty, virtue, birth,
Is the young Dauphin, every way complete.

8. In Plato's "Theætetus," section 154, Socrates asks his hearer if a thing can become more except by increasing. The answer is, No. "Well and divinely said, my friend," he exclaims. "And if you reply 'Yes,' there will be a case for Euripides; 'for our tongue will be unconvinced, but not our mind.'" The quotation is from the "Hippolytus," line 612, a famous and impious saying:

My tongue hath sworn; my mind is still unsworn.

Had Socrates quoted the words of Euripides literally, they would have been inappropriate.

9. In Plato's "Republic," book VIII., section 545, Socrates speaks of the possibility of discord in the kind of city under discussion at the moment. Here first he introduces the Muses, and lets them answer for him: "Shall we, after the manner of Homer, pray the Muses to tell us 'how strife was first kindled?'" The reference is to the opening lines of the "Iliad," where the poet asks the Muse to say, "what god the fatal strife provoked," and not "how strife was first kindled." Since Socrates is not regarding the strife of the city as the result of the interference of a god, the line, in its original form, would not be suitable.

10. In the "Odyssey," book XIX., line 163, Penelope bids the disguised Ulysses tell her where he was born, and of what race, and adds:

For thou art not from the ancient oak, nor from stone,
implying that he is therefore human. The line is in

the second person. But in the "Apology," in order to adapt it to his meaning, Plato quotes it in the first person, and adds a few words to bring it into proper relation with its new context: "As Homer says:

Not of wood, nor of stone was I born, but of man."

11. In the "Lesser Hippias," section 365, Plato produces a passage from the "Iliad," IX., 308. He changes it to suit his course of thought, which is as follows: Hippias is maintaining that Achilles is represented by Homer to be the most straightforward of mankind. To prove this, he quotes a speech of Achilles, who says, in reality:

I must frankly speak my fixed resolve.

I will speak what seems to me the wisest course.

But Hippias represents Achilles as saying:

I will speak the word I intend to act.

I will speak that which shall be done.

It is evident at a glance that these changes, though doing no special violence to the thought, are in the interest of the argument that he was a most sincere man, and always did the thing he said.

12. In Plato's "Republic," book II., section 363, Glaucon represents Homer as advocating justice on the ground that he who practises it becomes rich:

Homer has a very similar strain, for he speaks of one whose fame is

As the fame of some blameless king who, like a god,
Maintains justice; to whom the black earth brings forth
Wheat and barley, whose trees are bowed with fruit,
And his sheep never fail to bear, and the sea gives him fish.

The next line is discreetly omitted, for had it been quoted it would have shown that these blessings are considered as coming, not to the wise king, but to the people under him, while to him comes the renown of such prosperous governing.

13. In his "Rhetoric," book II., chapter 2, section 7, Aristotle speaks of anger produced by disrespect from an inferior, and quotes from the "Iliad," II., 196 :

Great is the wrath of divine-bred kings.

The line in the original speaks of Agamemnon alone ; and Aristotle changes it to the plural, because he wishes to illustrate a universal rule.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<p style="text-align: center;">Θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρε- φέως βασιλῆος.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρε- φέων βασιλέων.</p>

14. In Aristotle's "Politics," 1253, 9, he cites the "Iliad," IX., 63, where Homer says that the lover of civil war is "clanless, lawless, heartless." But Aristotle reverses the statement, and "seems to conceive Homer," writes Newman,¹ "to say that the 'clanless, lawless, heartless' man is a lover of civil war."

15. In the "Odyssey," VIII., 487, are these lines, as Bryant translates them :

Demodochus, above all other men
I give thee praise, for either has the Muse,
Jove's daughter, or Apollo, visited
And taught thee.

¹ "Politics of Aristotle." W. L. Newman, Vol. II., p. 121, note 4.

Maximus Tyrius, in his dissertation entitled "Is there a Sect in Philosophy according to Homer," quotes the lines in praise of Homer, putting the word Homer in the place of Demodochus.

THE ORIGINAL.

Δημόδοχ', ἔξοχα δὴ σε βροτῶν
 αἰνίζομ' ἀπάντων
 ἢ σέγε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς
 παῖς, ἢ σέγ' Ἀπόλλων.

THE QUOTATION.

Ἐξοχα δὴ σε βροτῶν, ὦ
 Ὅμηρο', αἰνίζομ' κ. τ. λ.

16. Maximus Tyrius, Dissertation XIX., at the end of the sixth paragraph, represents Homer as saying :

By mortals ; but the immortals all things know.

This quotation is from the "Odyssey," X., 304.¹ "Maximus," says Taylor "in order to adapt this line to his purpose, for the last word *δύνανται* has substituted *ἴσασι*." Instead of "all things can," he has "all things know." Strictly speaking, there is no violence done to Homer, since omnipotence implies omniscience.

17. Maximus Tyrius, in his dissertation on "The Pleasure of Philosophical Discourse," quotes a line from Homer, which Taylor translates freely thus :

But virtue lost can never be regained.

It is from the indignant remonstrance of Achilles in the "Iliad," IX., 408. The warrior speaks of human life :

But life, once lost, can never be regained.

¹ See Taylor's translation, Vol. II., p. 193.

Thus Maximus Tyrius, who is writing of virtue, adapts the line to his purpose by substituting the word virtue for the word life.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
<p><i>Ἀνδρὸς δὲ ψυχῇ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν οὔτε λειστή οὔθ' ἔλετη.</i></p>	<p><i>Ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἀρετῇ κ. τ. λ.</i></p>

18. In the letter of Julian to Themistius, the philosopher, he quotes from the "Politics" of Aristotle, book III., section 15. Aristotle says :

If any one should think it best for a nation to be governed by a king, what shall be determined with regard to his children? Must his descendants also reign? If they must, however incapable, much inconvenience may ensue. But will not the king leave his sons his successors, if he has it in his power?

In the time of Aristotle it was a question with many kings whether or not they had the power to transmit the sceptre to their sons, and hence the doubt expressed in the last sentence of the passage. It was a question which Aristotle, who was not a king, could lightly ask. In the age of Julian, it was also a serious question with the Roman emperors. But Julian, now associated with Constantius on the throne, would not care to contemplate the difficulty, or to suggest it to another. Hence he changes the form of the sentence, and makes Aristotle say, without any doubt :

Will not the sovereign in possession leave the government to his sons?

19. At the close of his "Oration on the Departure of Sallust," Julian quotes two lines from Homer; but they are a mosaic from various places; "Odyssey,"

XXIV., 401, 405, and X., 562; the words being so altered in grammatical form and so intermingled with new words as to adapt them to the use to which he applies them.

THE ORIGINAL.	THE QUOTATION.
XXIV., 401.	
Θὺδ' ἔ τ' ὀϊομένοισι, θεοὶ δ' ἔ σ' ἀνήγαγον αὐτοῖ.	Οὐδέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δ' ἔ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν, νοστήσαι οἰκόνδε φίλῃν ἔς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
XXIV., 405.	
Νοστήσαντά σε δεῦρ', ἧ ἄγγε- λον ὀτρύνωμεν.	
X., 562.	
Φάσθε νύ που οἰκόνδε φίλῃν ἔς πατρίδα γαῖαν.	

Which Duncombe translates thus :

With health, with joy to his loved native shore,
May the kind gods my honored friend restore.

20. In his letter to the philosopher Jamblichus, Julian says :

So that Homer, I think, if he were to return to life, might with much more reason apply that line to you :

Ἐἴς δ' ἔτι που ζῶνς κατερόχεται εὐρέι κόσμῳ.

One still somewhere living the wide world keeps back.

But Homer wrote “*εὐρῶ πόντει*” : “the wide ocean.” This, however, was inapplicable to the philosopher, whom Julian would say, the fortunate world still retains; and hence the wording is slightly changed.

21. I mention again the lines from Ennius¹ in the

¹ Long's "Orations of Cicero," IV., p. 181, note.

"Oration of Cicero against Piso," section 19, of which Long says: "Cicero has slightly altered the verse to suit his sentence."

22. I cite again the "Tusculan Disputations," XX., 45. The first of the two quotations here is "from the 'Medea' of Ennius, but altered by Cicero."¹

23. In his eighty-eighth letter Seneca upbraids the vanity of astronomers who observe the stars. He quotes from the "Georgics," I., 424. Virgil wrote:

If thou give attention to the rapid sun, and the moons
In order following.

Virgil refers to farmers; but Seneca is speaking of a class of men whose special study is the stars, and hence he changes "moons" to "stars."

I shall now present those quotations of the New Testament which are often said to belong to this class. The reader will observe that they are few in number, that not all of them are certainly of the kind now under consideration, and that none of them is extreme in its use of the freedom which the foregoing examples illustrate.

1. In Rom. 10 : 18 there is a quotation from Ps. 19 : 4:

Their sound went out into all the earth,
And their words unto the ends of the world.

The Hebrew reads :

Their line went forth.

The Septuagint translated the Hebrew word for "line" by the Greek word for "sound," and the Apostle Paul

¹ Cicero's "Tusculan Disputations." Thos. Chase. P. 145, note.

adopted the Septuagint form of the verse possibly because the word "sound" was better adapted to his purpose than the word "line." Or, he may have adopted it merely because he found it in the only Bible which his readers knew, and did not deem a resort to the Hebrew necessary, a use of the Septuagint amply illustrated in our first chapter. The psalmist refers to the heavenly bodies, and Paul adopts the lines as eloquently expressive of the course of the gospel. "It, like the sun and moon and stars," Toy writes, "had traversed the whole earth; a natural hyperbole. There is here," he continues, "no allegorizing of the psalm." It should be added, however, as Bengel and Alford have observed, that the psalm itself is "a comparison of the sun, and the glory of the heavens, with the word of God"; so that the apostle is merely carrying out the illustration which he found in the context from which he quotes.

2. There is an undoubted instance in which a change of language made by the Septuagint is adopted by the New Testament writer because it fits the passage for its new connection. But in this case again the phraseology is employed for decoration or illustration, and not for proof. The instance is at Heb. 10 : 37, 38, where Hab. 2 : 3, 4 is quoted. Habakkuk looks forward to the invasion of Palestine by the Chaldæans, which took place about B. C. 606. He predicts that the just and faithful shall be delivered, and exhorts his readers to patience by the assurance that deliverance will come, though it may tarry. "The vision" of deliverance, he says, "is yet for the appointed time, and it hasteth toward the end, and shall not lie; though it tarry, wait

for it ; because it will surely come, it will not delay." The enemy is proud : " his soul is puffed up, it is not upright in him ; but the just shall live by his faith," or " in his faithfulness."

In the Septuagint are two marked changes. First, instead of saying that the vision of deliverance will surely come, this version says that " he," God, will surely come to deliver, and shall not delay. This change is accepted by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as the quotation is not for proof ; as it makes no difference in the essential meaning of the passage whether deliverance is surely coming for God, or God is surely coming in his providence to deliver ; and as the form of the sentence in the Septuagint is especially adapted to the connection in which the writer places it.

The case is different, however, with the second change. The writer of the epistle alters the order of the phrases. He finds in the Septuagint the declaration : " If he shrink back, my soul hath no pleasure in him ; but my just one shall live by faith." He exactly reverses this, and quotes as follows :

My righteous one shall live by faith :
And if he shrink back, my soul hath no pleasure in him.

It is the opinion of Toy that he transposes the clauses of the verse thus in order that he may add the sentence immediately following : " But we are not of them that shrink back unto perdition, but of them that have faith unto the saving of the soul." But if any one will take the trouble to read the lines in the Septuagint form, and then in the New Testament form, adding the next verse in each instance, he will see that Toy is mistaken, and

that no rhetorical advantage whatever is gained by the inversion. It must be the result therefore of memory-quoting, which I have considered elsewhere.

The quotation as a whole is apposite in the extreme. Those to whom the original passage was addressed were plunged into terrible trials, as were the Hebrew Christians of the apostolic age. The prophet would console them and nerve them to patient endurance, which was also the object of the Christian writer. The truth which the prophet uttered for this purpose was one that can never lose its power to stimulate and comfort the good who suffer under the oppression of the evil; it is the certainty that God will protect his people, and that those shall live who trust in his grace.

III. I now adduce instances of a change of reference produced by using language in a new sense.

I begin with a quotation from Jowett, "Epistles of St. Paul," Vol. I., p. 356. He says:

The "point of force" of a quotation in our own literature frequently consists in a slight, or even a great, deviation from the sense in which it was uttered by its author. Its aptness lies in its being at once old and new; often in bringing into juxtaposition things so remote that we should not have imagined that they were connected; sometimes in a word rather than in a sentence, even in the substitution of a word, or in a logical inference not wholly warranted."

This is true, except that we do not honestly make such quotations for proof, but rather to illustrate, to decorate, to commend our theme by an evident play of wit, to give our thought a graceful dress of language and the light of some subtle analogy.

I shall now illustrate these statements of Jowett by numerous examples.

1. The one hundred and thirty-first number of the "Tattler" is devoted to an essay by Addison on the danger of using wine manufactured chemically :

These subterranean philosophers are daily employed in the transmutation of liquors, and, by the power of magical drugs and incantations, raising under the streets of London the choicest products of the hills and valleys of France. They can squeeze Bourdeaux out of the sloe, and draw Champagne from an apple. Virgil, in that remarkable prophecy (Ecl. IV., 29),

*Incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva,
The ripening grape shall hang on every thorn,*

seems to have hinted at this art, which can turn a plantation of northern hedges into a vineyard.

Here the word "thorn" is made to mean a "northern hedge," and the essayist seems seriously to assert that the line quoted from Virgil was designed by its author to foretell the modern chemical manufacture of wine. Of course the essayist knows that this is not its meaning, and that he is employing it quite aside from its real significance. Of course, also, he is aware that his readers know the same. He does not really intend to give it such explanation ; but under the guise of a commentary he finds an illustration of his theme at once ingenious, startling, and pleasing.

2. We have an instance of altered meaning almost exactly like this in number two hundred and twenty-three of the "Spectator," where Addison writes :

When I reflect upon the various fate of those multitudes of ancient writers who flourished in Greece and Italy, I consider time as an immense ocean, in which many noble authors are

entirely swallowed up, many very much shattered and damaged, some quite disjointed and broken into pieces, while some have wholly escaped the common wreck ; but the number of the last is very small (Virg. *Æn.* I., 122),

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,
One here and there floats on the vast abyss.

Virgil uses the word "abyss" in its natural sense, of the ocean, and Addison bends it to mean the ocean of time.

3. The following is from essay fifty-seven of "The World" :

While the sons of great persons are indulged by tutors and their mother's maids at home, the intended parson is confined closely to school, from whence he has the misfortune to be sent directly to college, where he continues, perhaps, half a score of years, drudging at his courses, and where for want of money he may exclaim with Milton that

Ever-during dark
Surrounds me : from the cheerful ways of men
Cut off ; and, for the book of knowledge fair,
Presented with a universal blank.

Which is as much as to say that he is totally in the dark as to what is doing abroad, and that while other men are going on in the cheerful ways of drinking and gaming, and improving their minds by Mr. Hoyle's book of knowledge, the whole world is a blank to the poor parson who, in all probability, grows old in a country cure, and owes to the squire of the parish all his knowledge of mankind.

Let the reader observe that entirely new senses are given here to the expressions "dark," "cheerful ways of men," and "book of knowledge," and also that the writer, in his commentary, seems to claim that Milton meant ignorance by the first, a vicious life by the second, and "Hoyle's Games" by the third. A Japanese, unacquainted with our literature, and reading

the passage without a guide, would probably interpret it in this manner. So would a critic who wished to accuse the essayist. The ordinary unprejudiced English reader, however, finds no difficulty.

4. Sometimes the writer notifies us that his quotation is not used in the original signification. The twenty-second essay of "The Observer" is devoted to the condemnation of gambling. The writer personifies this vice, and addresses it thus :

I may say to my antagonist in the words, though not altogether in the sense, that the angel Gabriel does to his,

Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine.

But far oftener we have no such warning, since we are supposed to be acquainted with the passage and able to appreciate for ourselves the ingenuity of its new application without the aid of a commentary.

5. Bunyan, in the "Pilgrim's Progress," leads us to the "House Beautiful." The porter asks : "What is your name?" The pilgrim answers :

My name is now Christian ; but my name at first was Graceless : I came of the race of Japheth, whom God will persuade to dwell in the tents of Shem.

The reference is to Gen. 9 : 27. But the word "Japheth" is used to signify those who are aliens from the true religion, and the word "Shem" those who possess it. In Genesis the prediction is ethnographical and political.

6. In the fifty-eighth essay of "The Looker On" the writer describes the effect of a good dinner :

Mr. Blunt, whose quarrels with his neighbors I have remarked upon in my third number, tried the potency of a good dinner

with wonderful success in rubbing off old scores, and effacing all impressions to his disadvantage ; and those who have taken opinions respecting him on the Monday, and again on the Wednesday, have been astonished at the change in the public sentiments wrought by the intervention of a single day, during which the whole neighborhood was treated in a sumptuous manner.

And fools, that went to scoff, returned to pray.

The line refers, in its original position, to fools who go to church to scoff and return transformed and praying to God, whom they before mocked. The words "to pray" have the meaning of to worship, to adore, in a religious sense, and then of "to ask," in an ordinary worldly sense. The poet uses them with the former signification ; the essayist with the latter.

7. In Gladstone's "Gleanings of Past Years," Vol. I., p. 206, he introduces a line of Horace, but in a sense never thought of by its author :

There can be hardly a doubt, as between America and the England of the future, that the daughter, at some no very distant time will, whether fairer or less fair, be unquestionably yet stronger than the mother.

O matre forti filia fortior.

A critic like Kuenen would object to this quotation on the ground that the words "mother" and "daughter" are made to have a meaning utterly different from that which the Latin poet found in them, since he had in mind persons and not countries.¹

8. Another instance is the following from Robert Hall's sermon on "The Discouragements and Supports of the Christian Minister," near the close :

¹ See pp. 44, 45.

However inattentive others may be to the approach of our Lord, can it ever vanish from our minds, who are detained by him in his sanctuary on purpose to preserve it pure, to trim the golden lamps, and maintain the hallowed fire, that he may find nothing neglected or in disorder when "he shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom we delight in."

This quotation forms a magnificent decoration of the discourse, although its original use was quite different. In the Bible it is a prediction of the coming of God to the second temple in Jerusalem. Here the church is the temple, and the coming of God is either at death or at the last day.

9. Webster presents us another example in his first oration at Bunker Hill :

Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions :

Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
Give me to see ; and Ajax asks no more.

Here the orator quotes words originally spoken with reference to physical darkness and natural vision, and applies them to mental ignorance and mental education. There are three words in particular in the quotation which he bends to senses entirely different from those in which they are employed in the poem ; they are "cloud," "light," and "see."

10. The quotation in such cases is often made on account of the sound of the words, and not on account of the meaning they convey in their original position ;

and the skillful bending of the old familiar sounds to unexpected meanings is a part of the charm of this method of quoting. Thus Edward Everett says, in his "Questions of the Day":

That was the State mystery into which men and angels desired to look; hidden from ages, but revealed to us:

Which kings and prophets waited for,
And sought, but never found:

a family of States independent of each other for local concerns, united under one government for the management of common interests and the prevention of internal feuds.

Here we find a fragment from 1 Peter 1 : 12 ; a fragment from Col. 1 : 26 ; and a fragment of a versification of Luke 10 : 24, all apparently declared in so many words to refer to the constitution of the United States. The agreement of these extracts with the orator's thought is only in sound, for a new sense is given to the words "mystery," "ages," and "revealed."

11. Ruskin, in his "Sesame and Lilies," p. 117, urges women to help their degraded sisters to a pure and beautiful life, and directs them to go forth calling:

Come into the garden, Maud,
For the black bat, night, has flown,
And the woodbine spices are wafted abroad,
And the musk of the roses blown.

Here again no explanation is offered, though a new meaning is given to the word "night," and thus a new reference to the whole passage.

12. Plato, in the "Protagoras," represents Socrates as calling on the celebrated Sophist of this name, and as afterward relating the story of his visit. He speaks

first of the persons whom he found with Protagoras. After mentioning several, he adds, quoting from the "Odyssey," book XI., line 582 :

My eyes beheld Tantalus ;

for Prodicus, the Cean, was at Athens, and lay in bed, wrapped in sheepskins and bedclothes.

Here no one needs to be told that Prodicus was not Tantalus, though the word Tantalus is used in such a way as to identify it with Prodicus in meaning.

13. In Plato's "Republic," book II., section 379, Socrates maintains that God is good, and hence the author only of good to men. He therefore condemns the passage in the "Iliad," XXIV., 527, where Achilles says that :

At the threshold of Zeus lie two casks full of lots, one of good,
the other of evil,

and he to whom Zeus gives a mixture of the two

Sometimes meets with good, at other times with evil fortune.

He especially condemns the line :

Zeus, who is the dispenser of good and evil to us.

His whole argument here turns upon the supposition that the word "evil" in these lines means either moral evil, wrong, or at least permanent and irretrievable injury. The Greek word, like our word evil, may be used in the ordinary sense of misfortune, and is so used by Achilles ; or it may be used of injustice, sin, crime, or of some injury proceeding from wicked malevolence ; and Socrates seems to quote it in one of these latter

senses. To quote it in its Homeric sense would have done violence to his own line of thought.

14. In Plato's "Lysis," section 212, Socrates quotes from Solon to prove that an object may be dear, even if it give no returning love. If we supposed the contrary, then we should be obliged to suppose that

They are not lovers of horses whom the horses do not love in return, nor lovers of quails, nor of dogs, nor of wine, nor of gymnastic exercises, who have no return of love; no, nor of wisdom, unless wisdom loves them in return. Or perhaps they do love them; but they are not beloved by them; and the poet was wrong who sings:

Happy the man to whom his children are dear, and steeds having single hoofs, and dogs of chase, and the stranger of another land.

Every reader of the Greek perceives that the word rendered "are dear" can refer only to the "children," and not to the horses and other objects mentioned. That Socrates quotes the passage as if it proved the other objects to be "dear" has caused infinite wonder and debate to scholars. Probably he does it only to teach his young hearers to listen critically. It is sufficient for us to observe that he does it, whatever his reason, and thus diverts the words widely from their original meaning.

15. Homer uses the word *αἴρ*, sometimes in the sense of atmosphere, and sometimes in the sense of mist and cloud. Bearing this fact thus indicated in mind, let us turn to Plutarch's treatise on "The Principle of Cold," section 9, where he maintains that the atmosphere was at first dark. The poets, he says, "call the air darkness":

Thick was the air around our barks ; the moon
Shone not in heaven.

Here Homer means mist and cloud, and certainly not darkness. The quotation, however, is apposite as an ornament, lighting up the argument and contributing interest to an abstruse and difficult theme, though every Greek reader would know that it is used quite out of its original sense, and though the quotation is in the form of a proof.

16. In Plato's "Laches," section 201, Socrates urges his hearers to place themselves under teachers, that they may learn. He continues :

If any one laughs at us for going to school at our age, I would quote to them the authority of Homer, who says that

Modesty is not good for a needy man.

The Greek word which Homer employs for "needy" has a form which refers to physical destitution only,¹ and never to mental. Plato employs it as if it referred to intellectual destitution. Having quoted it in this new sense, he proceeds to draw an inference of duty from the quotation :

Let us then, regardless of the remarks which are made upon us, make the education of the youths our own education.

17. In Lucian's "Parasite," Simo defends the life of the parasite by various arguments. Among other authorities he quotes Homer, who, he says

celebrates, full of admiration, the life of the parasite as the only one truly happy and enviable.

¹ It is the perfect participle of *χράομαι*, used as an adjective. For the limitation of the meaning of this form, see any lexicon.

The citation follows from the "Odyssey," IX., 5. This note from Tooke, Vol. I., p. 149, will exhibit his method of proof :

Homer employs the word *τέλος*, and seems, by connecting it with the adjective *χαρίστερον*, to mean nothing more than the most agreeable that can be conceived ; but because *τέλος* also signifies ultimate end, and in the language of the Stoics and other philosophers sometimes implies the supreme good, the parasite avails himself of that ambiguity.

The parasite transfers the word from one sense to another, half in humor, knowing that the hearer will not be misled, and wishing, perhaps, to satirize the philosophers for the manner in which they appealed to Homer to prove their doctrines.

18. In his treatise on "Isis and Osiris," Plutarch writes as follows. I quote from Goodwin's translation :

Cleanthes somewhere saith that Proserpine, or Persephone, is the breath of air which is carried through corn and then dies; and again a certain poet saith of reapers,

Then when the youth the legs of Ceres cut.

For these men seem to me to be nothing wiser than such as would take the sails, the cables, and the anchor of a ship for the pilot; the yarn and the web for the weaver; and the bowl or the mead or the ptisan for the doctor. And they over and above produce in men most dangerous and atheistical opinions, while they give the names of gods to those natures and things that have in them neither soul nor sense.

Again in his treatise on love, he says :

Others affirm Venus to be nothing but our concupiscence; that Mercury is no more than the faculty of speech; that the Muses are only the names for the arts and sciences; and that Minerva is only a fine word for prudence. And thus you see into what

an abyss of atheism we are like to plunge ourselves, while we go about to range and distribute the gods among the various passions, faculties, and virtues of men.

Yet Plutarch falls into the very habit which he thus criticises. Thus, in his treatise on "Love," section 17, he quotes from the "Antigone" of Sophocles, the 784th line, which portrays Eros, Love, as

Slumbering on a girl's soft cheek;

Sophocles did not mean that the god really

Slumbers on a girl's soft cheek;

he used his name merely as a synonym of loveliness, of beauty, of that which kindles the sentiment of love. This was evident to Plutarch, and to all his Greek readers; yet he quotes the line to contradict it in a passage which refers to the god as a person, thus completely reversing its meaning.

19. Again, in his treatise entitled "How a Young Man Ought to Hear Poems," he has a long discussion of Greek words which are used in different senses. Among them he mentions the names of the gods:

To begin with the gods, we should teach our youth that poets, when they use the names of gods, sometimes mean properly the names of divine beings so called, but otherwhiles understand by those names certain powers of which the gods are donors or authors, they having first led us into the use of them by their own practice.

With this distinction clearly in his mind, he quotes in the second of these two senses passages originally written in the first. Thus, in his treatise entitled "How to Know a Flatterer from a Friend," he says:

A friend is not a dull and tasteless thing, nor does the decorum of friendship consist in sourness and austerity of temper, but in its very port and gravity is soft and amiable—

Where the Graces and Love have their houses.

This is from the "Theogony," line 64. Plutarch means by "the Graces and Love" "certain powers of which the gods are donors or authors," and which show themselves in our manners. But Hesiod means "properly the names of divine beings," for he is describing Olympus and its deities, and his "houses" are real dwellings.

20. In the "Iliad," XXIV., 44, after Achilles has dragged the body of Hector around the tomb of Menœtiades, Apollo addresses the gods, condemning Achilles for his wanton act, which showed that he had neither "mercy" nor "shame." The word which we render "shame" means, as Mr. Gladstone¹ says, "compassion, or ruth," and "includes the idea of shame and self-respect." Plutarch, however, in his treatise on "Bashfulness," line 50, quotes as if the word meant modesty. The quotation is rendered thus by Goodwin :

Much harm oft-times from modesty befalls,
Much good oft-times.

21. In Plutarch's treatise on "The Face Appearing in the Orb of the Moon," sections 28 and 29, Sylla argues that man is composed of three parts, body, soul, and understanding; the body given to him by the earth, the soul by the moon, and the understanding by the sun. These parts are separated after a time: at

¹ "Homer," Vol. II., p. 434. Liddell and Scott refer to Gladstone's definition with approval.

death the soul and the understanding together forsake the body; and at a still later period the soul and the understanding part, the soul returning to the moon and the understanding to the sun. Thus man dies twice. After stating his doctrine, and elaborating it with much imaginative beauty, Sylla quotes a line from the "Odyssey," XI., 221 :

The soul, like a dream, flies quickly away.

The word "soul" he interprets as referring, not to the immortal part of man, but to the connecting link between the mortal and the immortal, which, when it returns to the moon, "retains only some prints and dreams of life." All the persons present at this dialogue knew that Homer uses the word here rendered "soul" to designate the immortal part of man. The line is from the address of the mother of Ulysses in hades to her son. It refers to the moment of death; it is then that

The soul, like a dream, flies quickly away.

But Sylla, having quoted the line in his own new sense, proceeds to comment upon it as follows :

Which it does not immediately, as soon as it is separated from the body, but afterwards, when it is alone and divided from the understanding.

22. Lucian of Samosata, born near the end of Hadrian's reign, speaking of the conversation of a great philosopher, and comparing it to an arrow, borrows from the "Iliad," VIII., 282 :¹

Thus ever shoot, and become the light of the people.

¹ Lucian's "Nigrinus," section 80.

Homer uses the word "light" in the sense of glory ; "become the glory of the people." Lucian, in his accommodation, uses it as if it meant a means of enlightenment.

23. In Plato's "Republic," Book VIII., section 550, Socrates, after speaking of several different kinds of States or governments, the democracy and the tyranny, is about to speak of the oligarchy. He introduces it by a pleasant reference to a great poet :

Let us look at "another man," who, as Æschylus says, "is set over against another State;" or rather, as our plan requires, begin with the State.

The reference is to the "Seven against Thebes." This city had seven gates, and seven great warriors, each leading an army, assaulted it, so that there was one chief to each gate. The messenger to the king names the gates in order, and tells him what chief leads the assault against each one. After the mention of the second chief the king says : "Describe another, set at another gate." As each chief is mentioned, he "sets over against him" one of his own great champions. The quotation is only of a general kind, for the exact words quoted are not in the tragedy. It is also given quite a new sense ; in Æschylus the "setting over against" is a military phrase ; but in the quotation it is used merely as a graceful means of transition from one kind of State to another, and one kind of citizen to another.

24. In the "Symposium" of Plato, section 195, Agathon praises Love as being young and tender. Hence, he says :

He ought to have a poet like Homer to describe his tenderness, as Homer says of Ate, that she is a goddess and tender:

Her feet are tender, for she sets her steps
Not on the ground, but on the heads of men ;

all of which is an excellent proof of her tenderness, because she walks not upon the hard, but upon the soft.

This is exquisite humor, but it is also an interpretation of the lines which their author never dreamed of. Ate was the goddess of vengeance, and of vengeance in the form of infatuation. She is by no means tender, but on the contrary remorseless. When Homer says she has soft feet, it is but a poetic way of saying that she treads softly and imperceptibly over the heads of men, deluding and blinding them, without making them aware of her presence ; and in this her hardness is shown, rather than her tenderness. The word for tender in Homeric and other early Greek never refers to gentleness of disposition, but only to physical softness. It naturally took on the other meaning in the lapse of time. The playful turn which Plato gives the quotation wholly diverts the word from its Homeric uses, as all his readers would perceive at a glance.

25. Julian, in his symposium on "The Cæsars," represents Tiberius as coming to the table. His face was recognized. Then,

as he turned to sit down, his back displayed several scars, some cauteries and sores, severe stripes and bruises, scabs and tumors imprinted by lust and intemperance. Silenus then said:

Ἀλλοῖός μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνη; νέον ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν.

Far different to me, O guest, thou seemest than before.

This is a line from the "Odyssey," XVI., 181. The

last word, *πᾶροισθεν*, like its English equivalent "before," has two principal meanings; it may mean before in time, formerly; or it may mean the front, as contrasted with the back. In the passage from which the quotation is taken it is used in the former of these senses: Pallas had transformed Ulysses by a touch of her wand, so that Telemachus scarcely recognized him, and exclaimed: "Thou seemest other than thou wast before." Julian uses the word satirically of the contrast between the face of Tiberius and the back, and this use of the Homeric line in a new sense is a part of the sting which the speech inflicts.

26. The only instance of this kind in the New Testament that has created any serious objection is at Rom. 10 : 6-8. The quotation is from Deut. 30 : 11-14, where it refers to the commandment which God had given the people, of which they could not say that they were ignorant :

"This commandment which I command thee this day, it is not too hard for thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it."

The language is reproduced freely by the Apostle Paul, with reference to Christ in his relation to "the righteousness which is of faith" :

"The righteousness which is of faith saith thus, Say

not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down); or, Who shall descend into the abyss? (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead). But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach."

Here is both a change of language and of meaning: the word "abyss" is used, instead of the "sea" of the Septuagint original, because it has two meanings. It may mean "sea," as in the Septuagint, or it may mean hades, the world of spirits (Luke 8 : 31 : Rev. 9 : 1, 2, 11 ; 11 : 7 ; 17 : 8 ; 20 : 1, 3). The apostle uses it in the latter sense, which the "sea" of the original passage would not admit.

Thus the passage belongs in principle to both the second and third classes now under examination, for it presents us a change of reference effected by means of a change of language, and also by means of a new pivotal sense attached to the new word. It is precisely in the line of the numerous examples which I have adduced from secular literature, and, had it been found in Cowper, in Gladstone, in Plato, in Julian, it would have occasioned no unfavorable comment. It is, in one sense of the words, "quotation by sound," as Kuenen calls it; but it is "quotation by sound" exactly as the preceding instances are "quotation by sound." The apostle does not quote for proof. He does not say that he quotes at all, knowing that his readers will recognize the source of the words for themselves, as the passage was familiar, and even famous. He quotes for rhetorical embellishment and illustration, as Cowper does in his quotation from the "Paradise Lost"; and,

like Cowper, he sets the words in their new connection by means of explanatory remarks. In the presence of the examples of the same kind now adduced, the efforts of adverse critics to impeach the honesty of the writer, and of the more believing critics to show that the passage refers to the same thing in Deuteronomy and in Romans, ought alike to cease.

IX

DOUBLE REFERENCE

I. The Case Stated.

THE writers of the New Testament often treat as relating to the Messiah and his kingdom passages written with reference to persons who lived and events which happened centuries before the Christian era. There are direct Messianic predictions in the Old Testament, like Isa. 53, to which the New Testament writers appeal in not less than thirteen places, or like Isa. 8 : 23 ; 9 : 1, 2 ; Zech. 9 : 9-17. The predictions of this kind, however, are relatively few in number, and usually the passages quoted in the New Testament as pointing forward to Christ were occasioned by some person or event contemporary with the prophet.

II. The Debate.

The fact just stated has given rise to a protracted debate. On the one side it is claimed that there is a twofold reference in these passages, the primary to the contemporary person or event, the secondary to Christ and his kingdom. On the other side it is maintained that there is but one reference, and that the theory of double reference is a makeshift, an expedient of despair, a confession of defeat. Davidson¹ expresses what may be called the modern rationalistic view of proph-

¹ "Introduction to the New Testament," Vol. I., p 98.

ecy when he says : " It is an axiom of interpretation that no passage has more than one sense." He makes haste, however, to modify the statement by writing on the same page : " In making these remarks, we do not deny that deeper meanings may be hid under the Old Testament history." The great majority of his school of interpretation are less timid, and make the denial without qualification. The conclusion drawn from the denial is natural : if there is no secondary reference in the Old Testament, then, for the skeptic, the use made of the Old Testament by the writers of the New is the result either of dishonesty or ignorance. It is usually pronounced the result of ignorance by these critics, with an occasional insinuation of the other motive.

Tholuck says :¹

The industry of the elder critics had collected a great number of examples of arbitrary hermeneutics in the rabbinic writings. Le Clerc and Wetstein had already given hints to deduce consequences from these premises. In our own times this step has been taken. Supplied with the materials collected by the elder critics, Döpke, in his "New Testament Hermeneutics," attempts to prove that never, in any generation, was a more absurd mode of interpretation adopted than that of the rabbis, and that the apostles, in this respect, made no exception to the errors of their nation. Already this opinion has been brought forward as an indubitable deduction by such interpreters as Böhme, Rückert, and Meyer. Only one consequence remains to be drawn, namely, that the appeals of the Redeemer to passages in the Old Testament are to be put in the same class.

But this consequence has since been drawn, as witness the following words from Toy's "Quotations" : "If he did not know the day of the consummation (Matt.

¹ "The Old Testament in the New."

24 : 36), why should he be supposed to know the science of the criticism of the Old Testament, which began to exist centuries after his death?"

But the relationships of the two Testaments as wholes, and the typical nature of many observances prescribed in the Old Testament and of events recorded and characters celebrated in it, are so evident that several of the deeper thinkers of the less orthodox schools of criticism have not failed to recognize them. Thus Bilroth says in his Commentary on 1 Cor. 1 : 19 :

According to his custom, the apostle supports his assertions by passages from the Old Testament, which, indeed, do not always suit, in a strictly historical sense, as if the writers meant what Paul means in the connection in which he introduces them, but which, according to the words, have a resemblance. In order not to involve Paul as well as the other writers of the New Testament, and even Christ himself, in a charge of ignorance, or indeed, of disingenuousness, we must maintain the view, according to which the Old Testament, taken altogether, is a type of the New; so that, for example, the predictions of the prophets are not to be so applied to the Messiah as if the writers had consciously referred to the historical Christ, who was born under the reign of the Emperor Augustus, but so that in the words they utter the same Spirit of God expresses himself which penetrates the whole history organically, and which has also appeared in Christianity. This organic conception and exposition of historical phenomena, which, in a historical and philological respect, is entirely free from the fault of attributing to men of ancient times a conscious knowledge that could not exist until a later period, is capable of universal application, even in the scientific representation of mythology. Applied to the relation between the Old and New Testament, it at once puts an end to all the misunderstandings on this subject which have prevailed, and have given occasion to many complaints, and too often to spiteful witticisms.

This interpretation itself needs interpreting, in order that we may understand its whole meaning; but it is plain that the writer has been convinced of the deep underlying relationship of the two Dispensations and the two Books. Something like this view is that of Bleek, Umbreit, and De Wette, the last, however, going farther, and speaking with surer insight and deeper enthusiasm:¹

Long before Christ, the world in which he was to appear was prepared: the whole Old Testament is a great prophecy, a great type of him who was to come, and who did come. Who can deny that the holy seers of the Old Testament saw, in spirit, long beforehand, the coming of Christ, and had presages of the new doctrine in prophetic anticipations, varying in clearness? The typological comparison of the Old Testament with the New was no unmeaning amusement. And it is scarcely a mere accident that the evangelical history, in the more important points, runs parallel with the Mosaic.

Yet almost all the more radical rationalistic critics to-day deny the element of double reference in Scripture, and seek to wield the denial as a weapon against the faith of Christendom that the Bible is a special divine revelation. Some conservative interpreters have also felt that they could not defend the theory of double reference, among whom Tholuck classes Geier, J. H. Michaelis, J. D. Michaelis, Ch. Fr. Schmid, and Cremer, who denied the primary historic sense of many passages of the Old Testament applied in the New to Christ, and taught that they were simply and solely intended for the Messiah, even when uttered in the first person by the Hebrew writer. The earliest of these interpreters

¹ Quoted by Tholuck in his "Old Testament in the New."

was Chrysostom, who saw in the prophetic portions of the Old Testament a structure of fragments: "For this is the form of prophecy," he says, "to break off and interpolate a historical portion, and after this has been narrated to return to the former topic." The latest and ablest conservative opponent of the doctrine of double sense in Scripture is Stuart in the "Excursus" appended to his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews." He regards some passages, which seem to be quoted as proofs, like Heb. 1 : 6, as mere expressions of the thought of the New Testament writer in the words of the Old, "just as we now borrow Scripture language every day to convey our own ideas, without feeling it to be at all necessary to prove, in every case, that the same meaning was originally conveyed by the words that we attach to them in our discourse." This is true, as I show in the third chapter of this book; but it is true only of illustrative or decorative quotations, and not of those cited as evidences in formal argument, like many of the quotations in the first chapter of Hebrews, where the author is engaged in demonstrating the dignity of Christ as the Son of God. Other quotations Stuart regards as directed to the special state of mind of those addressed, as for example in Heb. 1 : 11, 12, where he says that the writer quotes a passage with reference to the Messiah which perhaps has no original relation to him, but which the Jews believed to have relation to him, so that they would concede to it a force it does not really possess. This dangerous ground is occupied also by Semler, Ernesti, Teller, and Griesbach, and that such a man as Stuart should venture upon it, however cautiously, shows the

sore straits to which the denial of double reference in Scripture must drive those believers who make it.

Palfrey¹ is almost the only conservative American theologian who has followed Stuart: he says: "The statement of two senses in a passage, indeed, is nothing short of a contradiction in terms."

But, in spite of these denials, the great majority of Christian writers of every nationality have perceived that the Scriptures contain many passages which refer to more than one thing, and several different theories have been brought forward to account for this feature of the sacred writings. < Theodore of Mopsuestia was perhaps the first of this school; he investigated carefully the historic circumstances out of which the Old Testament passages grew, yet justified their quotation in the New, saying that God, as the original author of both Testaments, shaped the Old in relation to the New, so that the former contains emblems of the latter, like the exodus, the brazen serpent, the prophet Jonah, and the sacrifices. He found these emblems, however, only occasionally, not perceiving the organic relation of the Testaments as a whole.

It was to be anticipated that it would be long before the broad organic relationship of the two Testaments would be recognized and fully described, and the many typical passages of Scripture weighed in just balances; and that, during the progress of the study, many glimpses of the truth would be had, accurate within narrow limits, but waiting for completion in broader views and more general statements.

¹ "Academical Lectures," Vol. II., p. 344.

Such is the saying of Grotius that "one and the same prophecy can be more than once fulfilled, so as to be appropriate to both this time and that, not only by the event, but also by divine guidance of the words." There are many prophetic passages, touching primarily some person or event of the time when they were written, but containing language far surpassing the immediate occasions, which, as Grotius did not perceive, were "shadows of the good things to come."

Such also is the deep saying of Bacon,¹ that divine prophecies, being of the nature of their Author, with whom a thousand years are but as one day, are therefore not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accomplishments, though the height and fullness of them may refer to some one age.

Here also belongs the ingenious but somewhat artificial theory of Sherlock.²

As two covenants were given to Abraham and his seed, one a temporal covenant, to take place, and to be performed in the land of Canaan; the other a covenant of better hopes, and to be performed in a better country; so are the prophecies given to Abraham and his children after him of two kinds; one relative to the temporal covenant, and given in discharge and execution of God's temporal promises; the other relative to the spiritual covenant, given to confirm and establish the hopes of futurity, and to prepare and make ready the people for the reception of the kingdom of God. Many of the ancient prophecies relate to both covenants; and hence it comes to pass that at the first appearance many of the ancient predictions seem to be hardly consist-

¹ "Advancement of Learning." Second Book, III., 2.

² "The Use and Intent of Prophecy. Six Discourses." By Thomas Sherlock, D. D. London, 1732. It is in the fifth of these discourses that the author works out his theory of the two covenants to account for the element of double sense in prophecy.

ent with themselves, but to be made up of ideas which can never unite in one person or one event. Thus, the promises to David of a son to succeed in his throne have some circumstances which are applicable only to Solomon and the temporal dominion over the house of Israel ; and some which are peculiar to the Son of David, who was heir of an everlasting kingdom, which was to be established in truth and righteousness. Hence it is that we often find the promises of temporal felicity and temporal deliverance raised so high that no temporal felicity or temporal deliverance can answer the description, the thoughts and expressions of the prophet naturally moving from the blessings of one covenant to the blessings of the other, and sometimes describing the inconceivable glories of one covenant by expressions and similitudes borrowed from the more sensible glories and blessings of the other.

Orelli has made a conservative statement of the doctrine of types :¹

In modern days natural philosophers have established in detail the designed connection in the structure of the different periods. Thus the most perfect being, man, presents himself first in imperfect preformation in the animals which, the higher their grade, so much the more plainly prefigure the structure of man. Just so there are types in history. Both phenomena, the typical and the perfect, must have received from the same spirit their distinctive character by which they resemble each other, so that an inner relation obtains between them. And as certainly as the form of the Israelitish nationality was meant by God's will to present a preliminary reign of God, so an inner relation must exist between this still imperfect kingdom of God and the perfect one. And this inner affinity will necessarily find expression also in the outer life of this nationality, so far as that life is determined by God. Not merely the ritual and polity of Israel, so far as they are ordered by God, but its experiences also, as far as these befall it as God's people, will by inner necessity pre-

¹ "Old Testament Prophecy," p. 38.

sent beforehand what awaits God's perfected people, provided it is the same God who reveals his will, here preliminarily, there finally.

Hofmann¹ would extend this statement to all history :

Every triumphal procession that marched through the streets of Rome was a prophecy of Cæsar Augustus ; for what the latter represented always, this the Victor represented on his festival day, God in man, Jupiter in the Roman citizen. In according this pageant to its victors, Rome proclaimed as its future that it would rule the world through its divinely worshiped imperator.

Orelli quotes this passage with approval, but adds that the Victor in the triumphal procession should be regarded as a type, rather than as a prophecy, of Cæsar Augustus.

All the deeper and warmer among the recent expositors of Holy Scripture,² even if in some instances they occupy a position of doubt, recognize the typical relation of the Old Testament in general to the New. I may mention, as representing the large class to which I refer, Tholuck, De Wette, Lücke, Bleek, Umbreit, Olshausen, and Beck, none of whom will be suspected of special regard for an extreme dogmatism. Alford gives expression in these strong sentences to the view generally held :

No word prompted by the Holy Ghost had reference to the utterer only. All Israel was a type : all spiritual Israel set forth "the second Man," "the quickening Spirit" ; all the groanings of God's suffering people prefigured and found their fullest meaning in his groans who was the chief in suffering. The maxim

¹ "Weissagung und Erfüllung," I., 15.

² See Tholuck on the "Epistle to the Hebrews," Dissertation I.

cannot be too firmly held or too widely applied, that all the Old Testament utterances of the Spirit anticipate Christ, just as all his New Testament utterances set forth and expound Christ : that Christ is everywhere involved in the Old Testament, as he is everywhere evolved in the New Testament.

This typical view of the Old Testament in its relation to the New, and the typical view of history and character in general, may be accepted as true ; and they will enable us to account for many of the double references of Holy Scripture. But they do not enable us to account for all. Perhaps it is true, as W. F. Adeney¹ says, that the "typical significance of the three days of Jonah's imprisonment cannot be supposed to contain any mysterious intentional relation to their antitypes. They can only be regarded as popular allegorical symbols." Not all minds can grasp the deep thought of the vital inner relations of history and character which create outer relations. Where there is one person sufficiently cultivated to do so, there are a hundred who are much more deeply impressed by some external coincidence. May it not be, therefore, that the Holy Spirit, having a very practical purpose at heart, the salvation of the greatest number possible, has provided means of arresting the attention of plain people, by placing in the Scriptures types and symbols of a popular and external kind, as well as such as appeal to the philosopher and the historian ?

Beck² has made a valuable contribution to the discussion in a treatise which Tholuck thus summarizes :

¹ "Hebrew Utopia," p. 67.

² "Versuch einer pneumatisch hermeneutischen Entwicklung des neunten Kapitels im Briefe an die Römer."

If, indeed, the apostles knew how to extract from the Old Testament an anticipation of the New so entirely pertinent, and such anticipations, types, and points of connection could be found nowhere but in the Old Testament writings, one and the same divine Spirit must have superintended on both sides—there to ordain the points of connection, and here to impart the capability of perceiving and laying hold of them. What is it which gives to analogies taken from the sphere of nature to illustrate spiritual relations, that power of conviction over the mind? Is it the simple parallelism? Or is it the inseparable conviction of the unity of the Spirit that rules in both departments?

The view of Dr. Arnold is striking: "Every prophecy has, according to the very definition of the word, a double sense; it has, if I may venture so to speak, two authors, the one human, the other divine." This is quoted by W. F. Adeney,² who adds an explanation of it: "The prophet is not required to give more than one meaning to his words, but a secondary and higher signification is supposed to be infused into them by the influence of the divine inspiration."

Something like this is the ground taken in a thoughtful article in the "Studien und Kritiken," 1866, entitled "Ueber doppelten Schriftsinn." The author calls attention to "the unity of religious experience which runs throughout all the Scriptures," giving passages a predictive cast "which are not in themselves strictly predictive," and thus forming a ground of double sense.

The organic relation of the two Testaments was at length worked out admirably by Tholuck in his "Old Testament in the New." The view has been already

¹ "Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy," p. 41.

² "Hebrew Utopia," p. 50.

presented in the language of others, but I take pleasure in referring the reader to a discussion of it so able, so profound, and so devout.

Some of those who refuse to use the term "double sense," present to us in other words the thing meant by it. Thus Briggs¹ writes :

There is no double sense to Hebrew prediction. The prediction has but one sense. But inasmuch as the prediction advances from the temporal redemption of its circumstances to the eternal redemption of the Messiah, and it is part of a series of predictions in which the experience of redemption is advancing, it cannot be otherwise than that some of the elements of the predicted redemption should be realized in historical experience ere the essential elements of the Messianic redemption is attained.

Again² he says :

The Hebrew prophets rise to the most intricate themes in their symbolism. They not only use the external history of the past, with its great persons, institutions, and events, but they freely employ the great persons, institutions, and events of their own times, and even enter into their own souls, in order to represent the innermost experiences of future persons and generations.

A large part of this controversy might have been avoided had writers on both sides used the term "double reference" instead of the term "double sense." There arises in every mind an immediate objection to the statement that any language is used in a "double sense"; and the statement seems at first to be "a contradiction in terms," as Palfrey pronounces it. A little reflection ought to remove this first impression, for one cannot read far in any literature with-

¹ "Messianic Prophecy," p. 65. ² *Ibid*, p. 48.

out coming upon words which are plainly used, at one and the same time, in a double sense, as I shall show in a moment. But, alas! even scholarly criticism too often moves upon the surface, limits its view to narrow fields of debate, and yields to first impressions and party catchwords. Moreover, the term "double sense" carries with it the shadows of moral condemnation; it suggests the phrase of Tennyson, "to palter in a double sense"; and hence every reverent mind is reluctant to use it with reference to the Holy Scriptures, and skeptical critics are quick to take advantage of this feeling, and may almost be said, even while objecting to the doctrine of a "double sense" in the Bible, to employ the term itself in a "double sense," one ostensibly innocent, but suggesting the other which is full of blame. I shall therefore use the term "double reference," in order, as far as possible, to avoid the preconceptions associated with the term "double sense."

III. The Usage of Literatures.

On both sides of the debate the contestants have assumed that it could take into view no wider ground than that of the Hebrew writings, biblical and rabbinic, and it has not occurred to any one to ask whether double reference is a characteristic of any other literature. I purpose, therefore, to carry the inquiry into this new field. I affirm not only that double reference is found in all the great literatures of the world, ancient and modern, but that instances of it abound in them. Indeed, a literature would hardly be worthy the name that did not often present to the

reader sudden ascensions from the low to the lofty, from the actual to the ideal, from the obvious and commonplace to the region of all dreams, imaginations, and hopes. Moreover, the secular literatures give us many examples of all the different kinds of double reference which Christian scholars have ever claimed that they discover in the Old Testament as interpreted by the apostles and evangelists. I shall now make these assertions good by evidence far more than sufficient for the purpose.

To render my meaning clear at once, I refer the reader to two exquisite American poems, both inspired by the building of a ship; one by Whittier, the other by Longfellow. The poem by Whittier has but one reference, and all its language is appropriate to this. But the poem of Longfellow has in parts a triple reference, one to a ship, another to a bride, and yet another to the commonwealth. In the earlier part of this well-known poem, only the first reference is found. After this the ship is represented as a bride passing to the arms of her husband, only that a real bride, the daughter of the builder, may be introduced. At the very close the State comes into view, and we perceive that the poet, from the beginning of his work, has looked upon his ship as a type of the State, and its beginning as a type of the process by which our country has been made what it is :

Thou too, sail on, oh ship of State,
Sail on, oh Union, strong and great.

We know what Master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel.

The element of double reference is a marked feature of the poetry of Tennyson. Thus he himself tells us that the "Idyls of the King" are designed not merely to relate again the old legend of Arthur, but to sing the "warfare of sense against the soul," a meaning which we can all find, now that the author has pointed us to it.

Having begun with illustrations of double reference in the poetry of our language, I shall limit my further citations from English literature to this field, and to the works of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, asking the reader to search elsewhere for himself, and assuring him that he will discover abundant instances in every direction, in both prose and verse.

All critics recognize the element of double reference in Spenser; thus Craik¹ tells us that "The Shepherd's Calendar," though consisting of twelve distinct poems denominated "Æclogues," is less a pastoral in the ordinary acceptation, than a piece of polemical or party divinity. Spenser's shepherds are, for the most part, pastors of the church, or clergymen, with only pious parishioners for sheep. One is a good shepherd, such as Algrind, that is, the puritanical archbishop of Canterbury, Grindall. Another, represented in a much less favorable light, is Morell, that is, his famous antagonist, Elmore, or Aylmer, bishop of London. His fourth Æclogue celebrates Queen Elizabeth under the character of Eliza, a shepherdess. His "Faerie Queene" he himself calls "a continued allegory, or dark conceit." The character of the Fairy Queen is intended

¹ "History of the English Literature and Language," Vol. I., p. 487 ff.

to represent glory; but she stands also for Queen Elizabeth, "the most excellent and glorious person." Indeed, a series of triple references runs through the whole poem, for, not only one of the virtues, but also "some eminent individual of the day appears in like manner to have been shadowed forth in each of the other figures." Craik advises us, if we "would enjoy the 'Faerie Queene' as a poem," to forget all but the primary references, and to read it as a story.

The element of double reference is found in Shakespeare. Take, for example, the famous passage of the "Midsummer Night's Dream," in which Oberon orders Puck to fetch the flower called "love-in-idleness":

That very time I saw (but thou could'st not),
 Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
 Cupid all armed; a certain aim he took
 At a fair vestal, throned by the west;
 And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
 As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
 But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
 Quenched in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon;
 And the imperial vot'ress passed on,
 In maiden meditation, fancy-free.
 Yet marked I where the bolt of Cupid fell;
 It fell upon a little western flower—
 Before milk-white, now purple with Love's wound—
 And maidens call it love-in-idleness.
 Fetch me that flower.

This passage is appropriate to the fairy world, and the ordinary reader finds in it no reference besides; but its setting is in fact historical. "It has always been agreed," says Gervinus,¹ "that by the 'vestal,

¹ "Commentaries on Shakespeare," Vol. I., p. 264.

throned by the west,' from whom Cupid's shaft glided off, Queen Elizabeth was intended." So much is allowed by all students of Shakespeare; but many of them go farther, and see in "Cupid all armed" the Earl of Leicester, the suitor of the royal virgin, whose festivities at Kenilworth were intended to promote his love-making. Among the spectacles exhibited to the Queen, a singing mermaid played a part, who swam upon the back of a dolphin, amid a firework of shooting stars. The shaft of Leicester failed; but it fell upon the Countess Lettice, of Essex, whose husband was absent in Ireland. The criminal relations of Leicester with her became well known. She was the little western flower,

Before milk-white; now purple with Love's wound.

Richard Grant White¹ calls the passage "the enchanting compliment to Queen Elizabeth."

Gervinus continues :

Every new and old investigation has long ago proved how readily this realistic poet sought, in the smallest allusions as well as the greatest designs, lively relations to the times and places around him, how in his freest tragic creations he loved to refer to historical circumstances, aye, founded even the most foolish speeches and actions of his clowns, of his grave-diggers in "Hamlet," or his patrols in "Much Ado About Nothing," upon actual circumstances.

Lowell² says that the leading characters of the "Tempest" are typical, "and not merely typical, but symbolical." "Consider for a moment if ever the

¹ "Studies in Shakespeare," p. 15.

² "Literary Essays," Vol. III., pp. 59, 60.

Imagination has been so embodied as in Prospero, the Fancy as in Ariel, the brute understanding as in Caliban."

The element of divers reference abounds in Milton. "Comus" has a triple reference. First, there is the plain, grammatical meaning of the fairy story itself, which the poem relates. Secondly, there is the history by which this exquisite masque was suggested, the actual loss of the two brothers and the sister in a forest. Thirdly, there is the impersonation of sensuality in the character of Comus and of virtue in that of the lady. These characters are types of the two opposite principles. The critics have but one voice concerning this typical character of the work, and no reader can overlook it.

Keightly¹ finds in the Eve of the "Paradise Lost" references to the first wife of Milton, who deserted him, and afterward sought his pardon with tears. He quotes the following passage :

Being as I am, why didst not thou, the head,
Command me absolutely not to go,
Going into such danger, as thou saidst ?
Too facile then, thou didst not much gainsay ;
Nay, didst permit, approve, and fair dismiss.
Hadst thou been firm and fixed in thy dissent,
Neither had I transgressed, nor thou with me.

This is almost a history of the separation which brought to Milton so much agitation and sorrow. The reconciliation is also described in the same poem. "Still later," writes this celebrated critic, "when far advanced in life, and after having been in the enjoy-

¹ "Life, Opinions, and Writings of John Milton," p. 124.

ment of the society of two most amiable and affectionate wives, the pain caused him by Mary Powel seemed to have recurred strongly to his mind. She is evidently the Delila of his *Samson Agonistes*." The illustrative passages are too long to quote here.

Edwin Paxton Hood¹ finds in the evil angels of the "Paradise Lost" allusions to the politicians whom Milton knew :

"Men, the very copy of these lost spirits, ranged round the banner of Charles and round the council-board of Cromwell. How we identify Prince Rupert with Moloch, frowning, whose look denounced desperate revenge and battle dangerous; rash, precipitate, reckless of his cause, mindful only of revenge. We always think of the stern and designing Strafford in the portrait of Beelzebub." "Certainly the prime ministers of Satan and of Charles answer to each other." "Those were the times of extraordinary men; and Milton sketched the portraits of extraordinary spirits."

Garnett² finds an instance in the "*Samson Agonistes*":

Samson's impersonation of the author himself can escape no one. Old, blind, captive, helpless, mocked, decried, miserable in the failure of all his ideals, upheld only by faith and his own unconquerable spirit, Milton is the counterpart of his hero. Particular reference to the circumstances of his life are not wanting; his bitter self-condemnation for having chosen his first wife in the camp of the enemy, and his surprise that near the close of an austere life he should be afflicted by the malady appointed to chastise intemperance. But, as in the Hebrew prophets Israel sometimes denotes a person, sometimes a nation, Samson seems no less the representative of the English people in the age of Charles the Second.

¹ "John Milton," p. 188. ² "Life of Milton," p. 184.

I turn to German literature, and limit my examination of it to the poems of Schiller and Goethe.

Schiller's "Robbers," says Düntzer, "struck a note of combat and defiance to existing oppression," and with this play, which had on its surface scarcely a political allusion, "he hoped to shake the world, as Rousseau had shaken it with 'Emile.'" That no one might fail to find its deeper significance, he printed the second edition of it with "a vignette of a lion rampant, and the motto, 'in tyrannos,' to give proof of the republican tendencies of the work."

Scherer¹ says of Wallenstein: "The realist is one-sided, and so is the idealist, and only both in conjunction furnish a complete picture of humanity. This is Schiller's teaching in Wallenstein." It is needless to say, however, that while the tragedy teaches this, it does not express it in any line, from beginning to end, nor even distantly hint it in words.

Schiller's ballad of "The Diver" has a plain meaning, as a moving story, for the great majority of the readers; but it also represents, as Bulwer says, "the contest of man's will with physical nature." The ballad of "Rudolf of Hapsburg," in addition to its first significance as a narrative, is "designed to depict and exalt the virtue of humility." The ballad of "The Fight with the Dragon," Schiller himself writes, "depicts the old Christian chivalry, half knightly, half monastic." In "The Maiden from Afar" we have poetry impersonated. These twofold references are abundant in the more elaborate works of Schiller; and

¹ "History of German Literature," Vol. II., p. 213.

I have selected my examples from his simpler poems, chiefly narrative, because we do not so much expect to find the element of double reference in them.

Goethe's historical drama, "Götz von Berlichingen," takes the reader back two hundred years from the date of its appearance; for it is cast in the sixteenth century, when its hero lived, a veritable robber; yet beneath the surface it portrays the Germany which Goethe himself knew. "In this play," says Scherer, "Goethe championed the cause of freedom against the tyrants of Germany, and contrasted the honest, patriotic, chivalrous life of its hero with the corrupt life of the courts." Hence it was stigmatized as "revolutionary" by Gervinus and others.

No one can understand the poem of "Faust" without some study of the double, and often manifold meanings which are found in many of its passages. Thus Bayard Taylor¹ says of the "Carnival Masquerade": "Goethe himself has added not a little to the confusion [of the interpreters] by introducing now and then a double, possibly even a triple symbolism; therefore, although we may feel tolerably secure in regard to the elements which he represents, so many additional meanings are suggested that we walk the labyrinth with a continual suspicion of our path."

Of the "Second Part" as a whole he writes: "There are circles within circles, forms which beckon and then disappear; and when we seem to have reached the bottom of the author's meaning, we suspect that there

¹ "Faust," Vol. II., p. 442.

is still something beyond." He pronounces "the episode of Plutus and the Boy Charioteer a double allegory." The classical Walpurgis-Night, he tells us, "has a double intention," that "of conducting Faust to a higher plane of life through the awakening and developing of the sense of beauty," and that "of bringing together the classic and romantic elements in literature and art in order to reconcile them in a region lofty enough to abolish all fashions of race and time."

Carlyle says of the "Helena," in the "Second Part of Faust," that the "outward meaning seems unsatisfactory enough, were it not that ever and anon we are reminded of a cunning manifold meaning which lies hidden under it; and incited by capricious beckonings to evolve this more and more completely from its quaint concealment."

The following, from Scherer,¹ may serve further to illustrate the criticisms by Taylor and Carlyle just quoted:

"In the 'Second Part of Faust' typical realism predominates exclusively, only that the realism disappears more and more, and the typical element alone remains along with a wealth of allegory and personification. The emperor's court contains nothing but typical characters." "There is, however, a good deal of spurious symbolism in the 'Second Part' which Goethe should not have allowed himself; I refer to utterances which would be appropriate if they came from Goethe's own lips, but which are little consonant with the characters in whose mouths he puts them, and in which he either remains obscure, or offends if his meaning is understood. The latter is the case with the character of Euphorion, who is not only Faust's and Helena's son, but is also meant as an impersonation of Lord Byron."

¹ "Hist. German Literature," p. 329.

Goethe himself has told us that "in Euphorion poesy is personified." Hence, many passages of Faust relating to Euphorion might be quoted to exhibit Goethe's conception of Lord Byron; and the same passages might be quoted with equal propriety to exhibit his conception of poetry.

The element of divers reference abounds also in French literature. I mention, for example, the "Pantagruel" and "Gargantua" of Rabelais, which are "full of satirical allegories and half-allegories," and require the most varied interpretations. I mention the "Apology of Herodotus" of Henri Estienne who, "in the guise of a serious defense of Herodotus from the charges of untrustworthiness and invention frequently brought against him, indulges in an elaborate indictment of his own and recent times, especially against the Roman Catholic clergy." I mention the "Fables" of La Fontaine, which, "as mere narratives, are charming," and in which there is "an undercurrent of sly, good-humored, satirical meaning." I mention Molière, whose "Malade Imaginaire" has for its "main theme the absurdity of the current practice of medicine," and in which, "as usual, the genius of the writer veils the fact of the drama being a drama with a purpose." I mention the "Télémaque" of Fénelon, for which the author was banished from court because, under the disguise of an ancient story, the king and his ministers recognized a satire against the principles of their government. I mention the dramas of Voltaire, the greatest of which are concerned with the characters of ancient history, yet which "owed their popularity chiefly to the adroit manner in which, with-

out going too far, the author made them opportunities for insinuating the popular opinions of the time," so that many parts of them could be quoted as the views of the author concerning the circumstances of Œdipus, of Cæsar, and of Mohammed, and also concerning the circumstances immediately about him.

That there are manifold references in the myths of Greece beyond the plain grammatical meaning found upon the surface, is perceived at once by all who read them with any attention. Perhaps the best popular guide through the mazy windings of their teaching is Ruskin, in his "Queen of the Air,"¹ where he presents to us the conclusions of all their chief modern students, suffused with the light of his own bright genius. He reduces the manifold references of this mythology to four distinct parts. First, there is the story itself. Then there is "the root, in physical existence, sun, or sky, or cloud, or sea; then the personal incarnation of that, becoming a trusted and companionable deity, with whom you may walk hand in hand as a child with its mother or sister; and lastly, the moral significance of the image, which is in all the great myths eternally and beneficently true." To the ordinary hearer the myth was history without a hidden science or a veiled morality. The "story of Hercules and the Hydra was, to the general Greek mind, in its best days, a tale about a real hero and a real monster. Not one in a thousand knew anything of the way in which the story had arisen." "Few persons have traced any moral or symbolical meaning in the story."

¹ Pp. 3-7.

“ But for all that, there was a certain undercurrent of consciousness in all minds that the figures meant more than they at first showed ; and, according to each one’s faculties of sentiment, he judged and read them.” The Greek poets perceived many of these deeper thoughts of their mythology, and presented them in their works, though in a veiled form. “ Thus Pindar says of himself, ‘ There is many an arrow in my quiver full of speech to the wise, but, for the many, they need interpreters.’ ”

Karl Ottfried Müller,¹ the most distinguished of the students of Greek mythology, writes as follows :

The Grecian worship of nature places one deity at the head of the entire system, the god of heaven and light, which the name Zeus signifies. With this god of the heavens, who dwells in the pure expanse of ether, is associated the goddess of the earth, called variously Hera, Demeter, Dione. The marriage of Zeus with this goddess, which signified the union of heaven and earth in the fertilizing rains, was a sacred solemnity in the worship of these deities. The element of water was represented by Poseidon, and of fire by Hephæstus.

Since the Greek mythology is thus veined with multiple references, we should expect to find some consciousness of this feature in Hesiod, whose “ Theogony ” was held in reverence as a revelation. He shows in this poem that he is aware of the double reference of the myths he relates, as in lines 224 and the following, where we are told that

Night gave birth to Deceit and Desire,
and that

Discord brought forth Battle and Slaughter.

¹ “ History of Greek Literature.” Translated by George Cornwall Lewis, p. 14.

In such places the story deals in impersonations of virtues and vices, and attempts to set forth a philosophy, as well as a narrative of what the great mass of its readers regarded as real events.

We should expect to find the same consciousness in Homer, who deals so largely with the gods and their interference in the affairs of men. Nor are we disappointed. "Few passages in the 'Iliad,'" says Keightley,¹ "are more celebrated than the following picture of the love-union of Zeus and Hera on the summit of Ida :²

He said; and in his arms Kronion seized
His spouse. Beneath them bounteous earth sent up
Fresh-growing grass; there dewy lotus rose,
Crocus and hyacinth, both thick and soft,
Which raised them from the ground. On this they lay,
And o'er them spread a golden cloud and fair,
And glittering drops of dew fell all around.

This is, we think, justly regarded as a sportive adaptation by the epic poet of an ancient physical myth of the union of Zeus and Hera—heaven and earth, as we shall presently show—in springtime producing vegetation." "The physical union of earth and heaven is, we think, plainly discernible in the beautiful passage of Homer above noticed. It is given without any disguise by Euripides, in whose time the deities of the popular creed were generally regarded as personifications of physical objects and powers; and he has been imitated by the Latin Epicurean poets, Lucretius and Virgil."

Similarly Blackie says :³

¹ "Mythology," pp. 98, 103. ² "Iliad," XIV., 364.

³ "Homer and the Iliad," Vol. I., p. 329.

It is true, and modern mythological science has proved it in the most satisfactory way, that Apollo means the sun, and that all the heathen mythology was originally a personification of the features and elements of the physical world ; it is true also that there is a manifest moral significance in some of the Homeric deities ; Pallas, for instance, as contrasted with Mars, representing vigorous and wise energy, as opposed to the mere wild tiger-like fury of passionate attack. She, therefore, with manifest propriety, directs all the actions of the wise Ulysses, and checks the hand of the fierce Pelidan when he is being tempted to perpetrate a deed of rashness, for which no feats of valor, however brilliant, could have atoned.

If we turn from Homer to the later poets of Greece, we observe the same things. Thus Curtius¹ writes :

The Hellenes were accustomed to regard their poets as their teachers, nor could any poet find favor who deemed his only qualification to consist in talent, fancy, and artistic skill. Besides these qualifications there were required a thorough inner culture of heart and intellect, a deep and comprehensive knowledge of tradition, and a clear insight into things human and divine.

Æschylus, "looking both into the future and into the past, like a prophet interprets the course of history." Because of this lofty prophetic office of the poets, we are sometimes to find in their writings a meaning which does not lie on the surface. Recognizing this high calling of the Greek poet, the Apostle Paul calls him a prophet : "a prophet of their own hath said" ; this was strictly the Greek thought concerning the Greek poet.

Of Æschylus, Curtius says :

Mankind, as Æschylus depicted it in the Titan "Prome-

¹ "History of Greece," Vol. II., p. 579.

theus"—enduring in the midst of tribulation, proud in its self-consciousness, unwearied in inventive thought, but at the same time prone to rashness and to vain-glorious arrogance—is no other than the generation of Æschylus' own contemporaries, ever striving restlessly onward.

Curtius continues thus :

It was impossible to describe the battle of Plataea in the "Glaucus" without proclaiming the glory of Aristides. Nor was there in the tragedies on mythical subjects any lack of passages which permitted, and even demanded, a direct application to the present. Such allusions were not the result of impure and frosty secondary designs obscuring the pure effect of the poetry, but they were necessary to such a man as Æschylus. . . The public, on the other hand, which in the theatre no less than in the assembly, was conscious of its character as a civic body, rapidly and spontaneously understood all allusions which might be interpreted to refer to public affairs and personages; and when Æschylus' words were spoken of Amphiaras, the eyes of all men turned to Aristides, whose wish was "not to seem, but to be just," and who "from the far depths of his loyal heart sent forth the fruits of counsel proved and true."

We find the same view in the great work of Karl Ottfried Müller on "The Literature of Ancient Greece."¹

In the "Seven against Thebes," the description of the upright Amphiaras, who wished, not to seem, but to be the best—the wise general from whose mind, as from the deep furrows of a well-plowed field, noble counsels proceed—was universally applied by the Athenian people to Aristides, and was doubtless intended by Æschylus for him. Then the complaint of Eteocles, that this just and temperate man, associated with impetuous companions, must share their ruin, expresses the disapprobation felt by Æschylus of the other leaders of the Greeks and Athenians; among the rest, of Themistocles, who at that time had probably gone into exile.

¹ Vol. I., p. 430.

Plumptre¹ writes thus of the strophe of the "Agamemnon," beginning in his translation with the words,

Yes, one may say, 'tis Zeus whose blow they feel :

Dramatically, the words refer to the practical impiety of evil-doers like Paris, with perhaps a half-latent allusion to that of Clytemnestra. But it can hardly be doubted that for the Athenian audience it would have a more special significance as a protest against the growing skepticism, what in a later time would have been called the Epicureanism, of the age of Pericles. It is the assertion of the belief of Æschylus in the moral government of the world.

This critic writes again of a particular part of the same strophe :

The chorus sees in the overthrow of Troy an instance of righteous retribution. The audience were perhaps intended to think also of the punishment which had fallen on the Persians for the sacrilegious acts of their fathers.

In the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, the famous chorus beginning in Plumptre's translation :

O Zeus, whate'er he be,

has a double reference. Plumptre² says of it, "As a part of the drama the whole passage that follows is an assertion by the chorus that in this their trouble they will turn to no other god, invoke no other name. But it can hardly be doubted that they have a meaning beyond this, and are the utterance by the poet of his own theology." "Like the voice which came to Epimenides, as he was building a sanctuary to the Muses, bidding him dedicate it not to them, but to Zeus, it

¹ "The Tragedies of Æschylus," Vol. I., p. 25, notes 1 and 2.

² Ibid, p. 13, note 3.

represents a faint approximation to a truer, more monotheistic creed than that of the popular mythology." The passage might be quoted truthfully in either sense.

Karl Ottfried Müller¹ says of the "Eumenides" of Æschylus :

Of all the ancient tragedies extant, there is none in which the mythic and the political, the development of an occurrence in the Homeric age and the reference to circumstances and events in contemporary public life, are so intimately blended. Not only is the mythological texture of the play pervaded by political allusions, as it were fine threads discernible only by the more scrutinizing eye, but the whole treatment of the myth withal so turns upon political institutions deemed of paramount importance in those times, that by yielding one's self up to the impressions of the poem, one may for a while fancy the populace assembled in the theatre to be an *ecclesia* convened for the purpose of deliberating on matters of State and law. The speech in which Minerva inaugurates the council of Areopagus is, at the same time, a popular harangue clearly pervaded by the design of teaching the people that they should leave the Areopagus in possession of its ancient well-founded privileges, and warning them against innovations which must inevitably issue in unbridled democracy.

Hence, there are many lines in this play which might have been quoted by its Greek hearers as referring both to the age of myths and to their own times.

Lest it be said that such opinions are the outgrowth of the mystic temperament of these German writers, rather than of the poems themselves, let us listen to Grote,² the sober and unimaginative Englishman. He is speaking of Æschylus and Sophocles when he says :

¹ "The Eumenides of Æschylus," p. 107.

² "History of Greece," Vol. I., p. 513.

The effect of Athenian political discussion and democratical feeling is visible in both these dramatists; the idea of rights and legitimate privileges as opposed to usurping force, is applied by Æschylus even to the society of the gods; the Eumenides accuse Apollo of having, with the insolence of youthful ambition, "riden down" their old prerogatives.

It is commonly understood that Æschylus disapproved of the march of democracy at Athens during his later years, and that the "Eumenides" is intended as an indirect manifestation in favor of the senate of Areopagus; without inquiring at present whether such a special purpose can be distinctly made out, we may plainly see that the poet introduces, into the relations of the gods with each other, a feeling of political justice, arising out of the times in which he lived and the debates of which he was a witness.

Thus, while to us these tragedies are merely the legends of the gods related in the form of dramas, to their authors and their first hearers they were full of secondary references to the great political questions which agitated the minds of the citizens.

No critic overlooks the element of double reference in Sophocles, though some make it more prominent than others. Schneidewin,¹ who reduces it to its least expression, recognizes it freely. Others find in whole plays, founded on the ancient myths, nothing but references to the events of the day. Schneidewin blames them for holding that "Philoktetes," in the tragedy named for him, "is the home-returning Alcibiades; Ulysses, the disingenuous Peisander; Nestor, the guide of Antiphon, the overthrown oligarch; Antilochus, the murdered Phrynichus; and Thersites, Kleophon, the demagogue." It may be doubted how far we are to

¹ "Sophokles." Erklärt von F. W. Schneidewin. Berlin, 1855.

follow such interpreters. Indeed we need not follow them at all if the way seem too much perplexed; it is sufficient to take Schneidewin himself, the most timid and conservative student of Sophocles, as our authority; for he will show us many passages which point clearly to the men and the events immediately affecting the dramatist and the people who listened to his plays, though also appropriate to the mythical characters who utter them. He does not deny the reference of the Philoctetes to Alcibiades; but, granting this, pronounces it a work of art so complete that the commentator to-day need not direct his attention to any relations except those of the myth, and thus "disturb his pure enjoyment of the artistic creation by turning aside to other and unfruitful things." He finds, with other critics, a reference to the plague at Athens in the "Œdipus the King," and he allows several references to passing events in the "Œdipus at Colonos."

The double reference found in Æschylus and Sophocles, is also found in Euripides: his "later pieces are particularly rich¹ in allusions to the events of the day, and the relative positions of the parties which were formed in the Greek States, and calculated in many ways to flatter the patriotic vanity of the Athenians." Yet these pieces, like the earlier, were reproductions in dramatic form of the ancient legends, and the manifest allusions to the affairs of the day were made by the characters of the popular mythology speaking of their own situations and concerns. "He avails himself of the old stories in order to produce situations in

¹ Otfried Müller, "Literature of Ancient Greece," Vol. I., p. 487.

which he may exhibit the men of his own time influenced by mental excitement and passionate emotion." He has a place in these dialogues of mythological characters "even for indirect poetical criticisms, which he turns against his predecessors, specially against Æschylus. There are distinct passages in the 'Electra' and the 'Phœnician Women,' which every one at Athens must have understood as objecting, the former to the recognition scenes in the 'Choëphoræ,' the latter to the descriptions of the besieging warriors before the decision of the battle, as stiff and unnatural." He does not carry his habit of secondary reference, however, so far as some others: "He does not, like Æschylus, consider the mythical events in any real connection with the historical, and treat the legends as the foundation, type, and prophecy of the time being."

"We have reason to suppose," says Mähly,¹ "that the moral which the poet expressed through the mouth of his dramatic characters did not always please the sound judgment of the public. But the people could not well distinguish whether it corresponded merely to the character speaking at the time, or was intended to convey the views of the author himself." Sandys, in his fine edition of the "Bacchanals," says of this tragedy: "On a superficial view it might appear that the object of the play is nothing more than the glorification of the god whose worship was intimately connected with the origin and development of the Greek drama; but a more careful examination shows that there are also indications of a less obvious kind, pointing to

¹ "Euripides' Werke," Vol. I., p. 18.

an ulterior purpose." Müller, the greatest critic of Greek literature, states thus the secondary object:¹ "This tragedy furnishes us with remarkable conclusions in regard to the religious opinions of Euripides at the close of his life. In this play he appears, as it were, converted into a positive believer, or, in other words, convinced that religion should not be exposed to the subtleties of reasoning; that the understanding of man cannot subvert ancestral traditions which are as old as time, and that it is but a poor philosophy which attacks religion." Paley² tells us that the "Children of Hercules," though rehearsing in dramatic form only a time-worn legend, "has a political object, that of attacking Argos for entering into a treaty with Sparta and joining the war against Athens." The object of the "Suppliant Women" was "to upbraid the Argives with ingratitude for invading the Attic soil." All the plays of Euripides are cast in the same legendary ages of the past; but all of them are intended to speak to the people contemporary with the author concerning their own civil and religious interests.

In Pindar we have the most varied use of secondary reference, and it appears in almost all his odes. "He himself remarks," says Müller, "that intelligence and reflection are required to discover the hidden meaning of his mythical episodes." In certain cases "events of the heroic age are described which resemble the events of the victor's life, or which contain lessons or admonitions for him to reflect upon. Thus

¹ "History of Greek Literature," p. 225.

² "Euripides, with an English Commentary."

two mythical personages may be introduced, of whom one may typify him in his praiseworthy, the other in his blamable acts; so that the one example may serve to deter, the other to encourage." Pindar himself does not usually draw these lessons for his readers. He sings the story; the hearers know that it has some reference to contemporary characters and events; and they are left to find the application. "Indeed, it may be observed generally of those Greek writers who aimed at the production of works of art, whether in prose or in poetry, that they often conceal their real purpose, and affect to leave in vague uncertainty that which had been composed studiously and on a preconceived plan."

Divers reference abounds also in Latin literature. Thus Bähr¹ says of the "Bucolics" of Virgil:

There are manifold references to political affairs and to events in his own life which, as also the praise of lofty and influential persons, are placed in the mouth of the shepherds who appear in the poems. These display a higher grade of culture, and appear, therefore, not as real shepherds, but as allegorical personages, so that this shepherd-world has no true individual life, but only one of an artistic kind, which is of service to the allegory. The Eclogue here becomes, to a certain extent, a means of presenting, under rural colors, the ideas of a world wholly different, that of literature or politics, or the personal relations of the poet to powerful men whose favor he wished to gain.

Thus Tityrus, in the first Eclogue, is the father of Virgil, and Daphnis, in the fifth, is Julius Cæsar.

Cruttwell² tells us that the "Æneid" is veined with second references. "Some have regarded it as the

¹ "Geschichte der Römischen Literatur," Vol. I., p. 639.

² "Roman Literature," p. 268.

sequel and counterpart of the 'Iliad,' in which Troy triumphs over her ancient foe and Greece acknowledges the divine Nemesis. That this conception was present to the poet is clear from many passages in which he reminds Greece that she is under Rome's dominion, and contrasts the heroes or achievements of the two nations." Again: "Many critics have lent their support to the view that the 'Æneid' celebrates the triumph of law and civilization over the savage instincts of man; and that because Rome had proved the most complete civilizing power, therefore it is to her greatness that everything in the poem conspires. This view," Cruttwell continues, "seems somewhat too philosophical to have been by itself his animating principle." He then adds:

"We should supplement this view by another held by Macrobius and many Latin critics, and of which Mr. Nettleship, in a recent admirable pamphlet, recognizes the justice, namely, that the 'Æneid' was written with a religious object, and must be regarded mainly as a religious poem. Its burning patriotism glows with a religious light. Its hero is 'religious,' not 'beautiful,' or 'brave' At the sacrifice even of poetical effect his religious dependence on the gods is brought into prominence. The action of the whole poem hinges on the divine will." "The glory of Æneas is to have brought with him the Trojan gods and, through perils of every kind, to have scrupulously preserved their worship." "The 'Æneid' is literally filled with memorials of the old religion." "This, then, being the lofty origin, the immemorial antiquity of the national faith, the moral is easily drawn, that Rome must never cease to observe it. The rites to import which into the favored land cost heaven itself so fierce a struggle, which have raised that land to the head of all the earth, must not be neglected, now that their promise has been fulfilled."

Thus the best criticism of the "Æneid," represented by Cruttwell, finds in it not only a second reference, but also a third and a fourth. Many critics, according to Cruttwell, add yet another, and see in Æneas "a type of the emperor, whose calm, calculating courage was equaled by his piety to the gods and his care for public morals."

IV. How Double Reference is Indicated.

1. By means of overflow of language.

Sometimes the writer indicates his secondary reference by means of what may be called an overflow of language. He is writing of that which immediately concerns him, but he has in mind also another reference, and, consciously or unconsciously, his words swell beyond the limits of the first, and fill the channel of the second. Thus, in the following passage from the "Idyls of the King," Tennyson pictures the ocean on which Arthur passed away from human sight, and in the last line shows that it is the ocean of time, the tide of history :

Only the wan wave
 Brake in among dead faces, to and fro
 Swaying the helpless hands, and up and down
 Tumbling the hollow helmets of the fallen,
 And shivered brands that once had fought with Rome,
 And rolling far along the gloomy shores
 The voice of days of old and days to be.

As another illustration of double reference by means of overflow of language, I adduce the second stanza of the little poem entitled "The Tide-River," by Kingsley. The subject is the river, but language is used

which is inapplicable to any river, and which shows that a human life is also meant :

Dank and foul, dank and foul,
By the smoky town in its smoky cowl,
Foul and dank, foul and dank,
By wharf and sewer and slimy bank ;
Darker and darker the farther I go ;
Baser and baser the richer I grow ;
Who dare sport with the sin-defiled ?
Shrink from me, turn from me, mother and child.

The river flows by "wharf and sewer and slimy bank," but only a human being can become "baser the richer he grows," and so "sin-defiled" that the mother and child must shrink away from him.

I bring forward another illustration from the "Divine Comedy." Dante regards Beatrice as a real person whenever he mentions her. But he also regards her as an impersonation of heavenly wisdom. In certain passages he says what cannot be explained upon the supposition that he refers to her as a mere person, and what can be explained only by bearing in mind the secondary reference. Take the following from Longfellow's translation of the "Purgatorio," XXX., 124-145, in which Beatrice in glory upbraids Dante :

As soon as ever of my second age
I was upon the threshold, and changed life,
Himself from me he took and gave to others.
When from the flesh to spirit I ascended,
And beauty and virtue were in me increased,
I was to him less dear and less delightful ;
And into ways untrue he turned his steps,
Pursuing the false images of good,
That never any promises fulfill ;

Nor prayer for inspiration me availed,
 By means of which in dreams and otherwise
 I called him back ; so little did he heed them,
 So low he fell, that all appliances
 For his salvation were already short,
 Save showing him the people of perdition.
 For this I visited the gates of death,
 And unto him who so far up has led him,
 My intercessions were with weeping borne.
 God's lofty fiat would be violated,
 If Lethe should be passed, and if such viands
 Should tasted be, withouten any scot
 Of penitence, that gushes forth in tears.

This is absurd, if Beatrice is only a person ; for it was not wrong for Dante to turn to others after her death, and the act needed no vision of hell or penitence. The lines possess a meaning only when we bear in mind the statement of Dante himself, in his "Convito," that Beatrice represents heavenly wisdom. To forsake that for "false images of good" is to sin, to deserve punishment, and to need redemption.

The authors of the Old Testament, as we shall see a little later, have frequently employed an overflow of language to indicate the presence of double reference in their writings.

2. By means of types.

Not only is multiple reference a feature of all great literatures, the spontaneous expression of the imagination working in literary channels, but in every great literature it often takes the form of types. These types are not apparent to every reader ; and they may be but faint suggestions of meanings which perplex

and elude even the most careful student. The best discussion of them is that of Bulwer in the note at the close of the first edition of his "Zanoni." He says :

All of us can detect the types in "Faust" and "Hamlet" and "Prometheus," but none of us can elucidate them, because the essence of type is mystery. There is a difference between allegorical and typical writing. An allegory is a personation of distinct and definite things—virtues or qualities—and the key can be given easily ; but a writer who conveys typical meanings may express them in myriads. He cannot disentangle all the lines which commingle into the light he seeks to cast upon truth ; and therefore the great masters of this enchanted soil—fairyland of fairyland—poetry imbedded beneath poetry—wisely leave to each mind to guess at such truths as best please or instruct it. To have asked Goethe to explain "Faust" would have entailed as complex and puzzling an answer as to have asked Mephistopheles what is beneath the earth we tread on. The stores beneath may differ for every passenger ; each step may require a new description ; and what is treasure to the geologist may be rubbish to the miner. Six worlds may lie under a sod, but to the common eye they are but six layers of stone.

After referring to Thorwaldsen's statue of Mercury as but a single figure, and yet as telling a whole legend to those acquainted with mythology, Bulwer continues :

Apply the principle of this whole concentration of art to the moral writer ; he too gives to your eye but a single figure ; yet each attitude, each expression, may refer to events and truths you must have the learning to remember, the acuteness to penetrate, or the imagination to conjecture. But to a classical judge of sculpture, would not the exquisite pleasure of discovering the all not told in Thorwaldsen's masterpiece be destroyed if the artist had engraved in detail his meaning at the base of the statue ? Is it not the same with the typical sense which the

artist in words conveys? The pleasure of defining art in each is the noble exercise of all by whom art is worthily regarded.

We shall gain a great advantage in the study of the Old Testament if we shall bear in mind these laws of typical writing; the distinction between the typical and the allegorical; the partial working out of the type as distinguished from the complete and clear finish of the allegory; the illusory character of the type, which gives us but a doubtful glimpse, a dim suggestion, of its form, and then recedes from our view, while another figure as shadowy takes its place, so that we seem to be wandering at twilight through an enchanted wood, where tree and shrub and tangled thicket are visible and palpable, and yet haunted with fitting shapes of another world.

Bulwer, in the extract cited, mentions three great dramas as examples of writings pervaded with the typical element: "Faust," from German literature; "Hamlet," from English; and "Prometheus," from Greek. In the latter portion of his note to "Zanoni," he tells us that the typical element enters largely into the composition of many modern novels. "Zanoni" itself is an instance, and he ventures to lift the veil from portions of this weird production, and give us some hints of its subtle meanings. Mejnour is science; Zanoni is idealism; Viola is human instinct; Mervale is conventionalism; Nicot is animal passion; and Glyndon is unsustained aspiration.

In his "Ernest Maltravers," as he himself informs us in the preface, he has attempted another work of the same kind, in which the hero represents genius, and the heroine nature; and the intercourse of the

two, the efforts of genius to free itself from the fetters of custom and ally itself with nature, resulting in a union at first illicit, wild, stormy, and brief, and afterward lawful, gentle, sweet, and permanent.

Perhaps the most successful example of the typical romance is "Rasselas." Its theme is the pursuit of earthly happiness. The happy valley is the period of youth when, shut in from the great world, we dream of it as a scene of triumph and enjoyment, and long to escape from the limitations of our early years and go forth to conquer all the delights which we have pictured to ourselves. The philosopher is the teacher, who seeks to restrain the hot impulses of the brother and sister, and assures them that the earth does not contain the bliss which they seek. The journey through Egypt is the journey through adult life, which brings little satisfaction, and results in our return in memory to the happy valley, the days of childhood, where we dwell in the fond recollections of our declining years.

In "Caxtoniana," Bulwer says that the "Marble Faun," of Hawthorne, is a magnificent instance of the typical in romance. He gives but a few hints of this interpretation, which I here enlarge. Hilda, with her white dress, her white doves, and her residence in a region above Rome, in an atmosphere free from the murk of the papal city, is the puritanism of New England. Donatello, with his resemblance to the Faun of Praxiteles, with his suggestion of animal ears, with his love of sensuous ease and enjoyment, is the religion of nature, the Old Greek and Roman heathenism, in the garb of modern civilization and touched with some

sense of the loveliness of Christianity, yet maintaining its ancient characteristics. Miriam is Judaism, clinging with a certain fondness to New England puritanism, since she finds in this companionship freedom from the dreadful figure which issues from the catacombs, and proves to be a monk, the representative of Romanism as a persecuting power. Miriam never grows older, because she represents that of which the burning bush was a type, the people of Israel, in the flames, yet unconsumed; ancient, and yet ever young. Donatello and Miriam had known each other in the past, and together had committed a great crime, the crucifixion of Christ, in which pagan and Jew joined bloody hands. They unite once more in the murder of the monk, by which they set forth the low morality of the religions they portray to us, as well as prophesy the punishment of persecuting Christianity by the violent uprising of the world against it.

The first reference is often typical of the second, and hence, in all literatures, as in the Bible, the typical element is prominent. Scherer¹ says :

The "First Part of Faust" was completed as far as possible in the style of Goethe's cultured realism, and in accordance with the typical method of his ripest art, as we find it in "Hermann and Dorothea." The "Prelude at the Theatre" contrasts in a typical manner the poet's vocation and the actor's. The songs of the three archangels which open the "Prologue in Heaven," are an attempt to picture to us the world under its eternal aspects. The suicide scene and the walk on Easter Sunday afford us typical pictures of human life as a whole.

Scherer tells us also that the "Votive Tablets" of

¹ "History of German Literature." Translated by Mrs. Conybeare, under the supervision of Max Müller, Vol. II., p. 328.

Schiller are remarkable for "their comprehensive treatment of the typical relations and typical contrasts of life." In his "Wallenstein's Camp" he "adopts Goethe's generalizing and typical method. All the possible types of military life are embodied in individuals, who are cleverly contrasted with each other."

Of types in French literature, Stainsbury¹ says :

If there is one fault to be found with the creations of French literary art, it is that they run too much to types. . . It is the fault of French literature to give the type only, without differentiation. An ill-natured critic constantly feels inclined to alter the lists of Racine's *dramatis personæ*, and instead of the proper names to substitute "a lover," "a mother," "a tyrant," and so on. So great an artist and so careful a worker as Racine could not, of course, escape giving some individuality to his creations. Hermione, Phèdre, Achille, Bérénice, Athalie, all are individual enough of their class. But the class is a class of types, rather than of individuals. After long debate this difference has been admitted by most reasonable French critics.

Of Molière's characters the same critic says : "Alceste, the impatient but not cynical hero ; Célimène, the coquette ; Oronte, the fop ; Eliante, the reasonable woman ; Arsinoé, the mischief-maker, are all immortal types."

I shall close my survey of the three great modern literatures by quoting a passage which links them together in one view ; it is from "The Poetry of Tennyson," by Henry J. Van Dyke :

In the middle of the nineteenth century three great artists set themselves at work to embody their conceptions of human life and destiny in the forms of art.

Victor Hugo was the first. He tells us, in one of his prefaces,

¹ "History of French Literature," p. 303.

that it was his design to describe "the threefold conflict of man : in religion, against the constraint of dogmas ; in society, against the constraint of laws ; in nature, against the constraint of things." The results of his labors were "Notre Dame de Paris," "Les Misérables," and "Les Travailleurs de la Mer."

Richard Wagner was the second. It was in 1857 that he turned from the Niebelungen legends to the Arthurian cycle, and made the story of "Tristan und Isolde" a musical vehicle for his theory, derived from Schopenhauer, that the essence of sin is the desire of personal existence. This opera was followed by "Parsifal," in which he taught that the essence of virtue is compassion for the sufferings of others. It was his intention to write a third opera called "Die Sieger," or "Die Büsser," in which the essence of holiness should be shown as the resignation of the desire for life. Thus his great trilogy was meant to be the pessimistic philosophy set to music.

The third artist was Alfred Tennyson. His purpose was to depict the warfare of humanity in a poem. Like Wagner, he turned to the past for his material, and was attracted by the mystical beauty of the Arthurian legends. In these antique myths he desired to embody his own theory of human life. Tristram and Percivale become living characters in his poetry as truly as in the music of Wagner. The latest great picture of man's conflict with sin and fate is "The Idyls of the King."

Thus the great characters of Victor Hugo are typical representatives of humanity as a whole ; the great characters of Wagner are typical representatives of sin and virtue ; and the great characters of Tennyson are typical representatives of various fleshly passions and spiritual excellencies.

In Greek literature, as in Hebrew and Christian, the writer often treats history as a type of other history. Thus Otfried Müller¹ says :

We have shown in a former chapter that the notion of an an-

¹ "Literature of Ancient Greece," Vol. I., p. 425.

cient conflict between Asia and Europe, leading, by successive stages, to events constantly increasing in magnitude, was one of the prevailing ideas of that time. It is probable that Æschylus took this idea as the basis of the prophecies of Phineus, and that he represented the expedition of the Argonauts as a type of the greater conflicts between Asia and Europe which succeeded it.

That the characters of Greek mythology were used typically by the Greek writers need scarcely be said. Thus in all Greek literature Orpheus is the type of the musician and of musical charm.

These examples of the typical in the secular literatures must suffice, though the material at my command tempts me to extend them greatly. They present every kind of double reference by means of types which any one has ever found in the Scriptures, as will be manifest when we examine the quotations of the New Testament in which this feature is assumed.

V. Double Reference in Scripture.

After this survey of the great literatures of the world, the element of double reference in the Scriptures will create no difficulty in any mind. We shall look for it, and shall be disappointed if we do not find it in abundance. To deny that it exists in Hebrew literature would be to deny that this literature was at all produced according to the ordinary laws of the human mind, to set it off by itself as a product of eccentricity, and to make it barren of thought and imagination beyond example.

I shall now examine a number of passages in which the element of double reference has been discerned by other writers. In some of these I shall not find it.

In others it will appear so prominent that no one can mistake it. In yet others it may be less obvious, and hence may perplex the reader.

I. In his great prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the end of the world, our Lord quotes frequently from the Old Testament ; but only one of his quotations has occasioned question. It is that of Dan. 9 : 27, at Matt. 24 : 15 and Mark 13 : 14 : "When ye see the abomination of desolation . . . standing in the holy place." Luke, 21 : 20, omits the quotation, and states its meaning in plain terms : "When ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies." Is the passage in Daniel, then, a prediction of the Roman conquest of the holy city ?

It may refer to the conquest by Antiochus ; and our Lord may have intended only to say : "When ye see Jerusalem beleaguered as it was in the days of the Syrian invasion, escape for your lives." Thus a physician might write with propriety : "When the plague described by Defoe appears again in London, flee at once, not waiting to prepare, or to take your possessions with you." This is the view of Toy : "The reference in the Gospels is to the destruction of the temple by the Romans ; but it does not appear that the passage in Daniel is cited as a prophecy of this event."

Or we may regard the passage as referring to both events, and thus as making the first a type of the second.

It seems to me, however, to relate directly to the coming and death of Christ and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. Those who refer it to the period of Antiochus do so, not on any ground

afforded by the passage itself, but because of a preconception concerning the date of the book of Daniel and concerning the limitations of prophecy in general. The whole passage, as rendered in the Revised version, is as follows; let the reader judge its meaning for himself :

Seventy weeks are decreed upon thy people and upon the holy city, to finish transgression and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy. Know therefore and discern, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the anointed one, the prince, shall be seven weeks: and threescore and two weeks, it shall be built again, with street and moat, even in troublous times. And after the threescore and two weeks shall the anointed one be cut off, and shall have nothing: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and his end shall be with a flood, and even unto the end shall be war; desolations are determined. And he shall make a firm covenant with many for one week: and for the half of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and upon the wing of abominations shall come one that maketh desolate; and even unto the consummation, and that determined, shall wrath be poured out upon the desolator.

II. The quotations from Isa. 40 : 3-5 in Matt. 3 : 3; Mark 1 : 3; Luke 3 : 4-6 and John 1 : 23, give rise to the following comment by Toy :

The passage in Isaiah is a description of Israel's return to Canaan, from the exile in Babylon, across the desert; the removal of all obstacles out of the way is represented under the

form of the construction of a smooth road through the wilderness; and the march of the people is described as the march of Yahwe, God of Israel, who would lead his people home. The prophet refers to nothing but this event in the history of Israel. But in later times the tendency of Jewish exegesis was to find Messianic predictions everywhere in the Old Testament, and especially in Isa. 40-46; and when the Gospels were written such acts of preparation as are here described would naturally be connected with Christ's forerunner, John the Baptist. The striking parallelism between the two periods is obvious; in the one case God manifests his glory by delivering Israel from exile and planting his church in Canaan; in the other by the announcement of his universal truth in Jesus, and the establishment of his church in the world; and in both cases there is a preparation for the great act. Here, as elsewhere, Jesus represents the consummation of God's dealings with Israel and with the world. His person embodies all Israel's religious history.

The great majority of critics, however, see in the prophecy something more than the return from Babylon, and in its application to the Baptist something more than the expression of the resemblance of the two epochs of history, or the embodiment of all Jewish history in the person of the Messiah. Their views are well expressed by Cheyne: "I hold with Dr. Franz Delitzsch, that however limited the historical horizon of these chapters may be, the significance of their presentiments is not bounded by the exile, but extends to the advent of the historical Christ, and even beyond." Again he says of the whole section: "Let us now approach with sympathetic minds this Gospel before the gospel. Though written primarily for the exiles at Babylon, its scope is wide as that of any part of the New Testament, and New Testament qualifications are required alike in the interpreter and in his readers."

He reminds us that the address in the chapter now before us is to the prophets, so that, when it is said, "Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of Jehovah," the reference must be to the preparation of the hearts of the people under the influence of prophetic teaching, precisely as the words are interpreted in the New Testament, where the greatest of the prophets is shown to us "making ready for the Lord a people." It may be true, though it is not proved, that the prophecy was suggested by the circumstances of the prophet's own time; yet, if so, these circumstances were typical of greater things; his vision sweeps beyond them; and his language becomes a prediction, first of the prophetic forerunner of the Son of God, and then of the coming of God himself in the person of his Son.

But I do not see in this prophecy any reference whatever to the restoration of Israel from the Babylonish captivity. "The specific application of this chapter to the return from Babylon," says Alexander, "is without the least foundation in the text itself." Alford pronounces it "very doubtful." It is difficult to read the passage with the coming of the forerunner and of the Son of God in mind, and not find in it an independent and formal prediction of these events; for they fulfill its language most literally.

The Hebrew is best construed by reading it, "The voice of one that crieth, In the wilderness prepare ye the way of the Lord"; yet it might without violence be read as in the New Testament quotations,¹ "The

¹ The New Testament form is held to be correct by the common English version, by the "Speaker's Commentary," and by the margin of the Revised version.

voice of one that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord." Possibly the construction of the New Testament writers was preferred by them in order to show the connection of the prophecy with the fact that John preached in the wilderness. In any case, the change, if we grant that they make one, is only formal, and does not affect the thought. The figure employed by Isaiah is that of a forerunner of a king who is about to come. The office of the forerunner was to summon the inhabitants along the proposed route to mend it and make it fit for the use of the monarch. The proclamation to prepare a way in the wilderness would be published in the wilderness, whose scattered tribes would be summoned to the work. Thus the thought found by the New Testament writers in the passage is implied in the form which the majority of critics give to it in the Old Testament.

III. I turn now from these quotations, which are not easily classified, to others which present their double reference upon their very face, in whose presence the most skeptical mind must grant that the Scriptures contain an element of double reference. Thus even Kuenen admits that it exists in the second and tenth Psalms, though his admission is made with evident reluctance. "The relative justice of the Messianic understanding" of these psalms, he says, "is apparent." "We do not overlook the fact," he adds, "that the poet who composed the second Psalm, although proceeding upon a reality, yet, just because he is a poet, rises far above the reality. The historical king whom he has in view assumes, as it were, larger proportions, and becomes, as depicted by him, an ideal. Connect-

ing points therefore are not wanting for applying this poem to the Messiah." "Very much the same is true of Psalm 110." "In this Psalm, least of any, are the poetical and ideal features wanting, and thus the Messianic interpretation of it very readily suggests itself." But a reference to the real and the ideal by the same word, the same sentence, the same passage, is double reference. And, though Kuenen would not say so, the Messianic reference of prophecy often consists precisely in this ascension to the ideal from the real as a basis. This is well expressed by Riehm: "In prophetic foresight we have to distinguish between two different elements. The one is more ideal and general, the other of a more concrete, historical nature." The latter is concerned with the character or event of the time; the former with the larger features of the Messianic age.

These admissions of Kuenen are strengthened, rather than weakened, by his effort to prejudice his readers against the New Testament writers for the manner in which they have used the second Psalm: "These words," he says, referring to the declaration of Jehovah, "Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee," "are regarded in Heb. 1:5; 5:5 as an address of God to his Son in his pre-existent state; in Acts 13:33 they are brought into connection with the resurrection of Jesus, and therefore understood as the formula in which the Messianic dignity is conferred upon him." This diversity of view of the two New Testament writers, did it exist, would create no difficulty, for the passage might very well refer to the Son of God both in his pre-existent state and in his state of exaltation

at his resurrection, since the glory of the two states was essentially the same (John 17 : 5). But the supposed diversity of view does not exist. "In Acts 13 : 33 the words are brought into connection with the resurrection of Jesus," as Kuenen says, and they are brought into no other connection in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In Heb. 1 : 5 they are quoted as referring to the glory of Christ as the Son of God, but no point of time is indicated, unless it is that of the preceding verse, which refers to the glory to which his resurrection introduced him. In Heb. 5 : 5-10, the words of the psalm are distinctly referred to this state of glory; for both his Sonship and his priesthood are considered as having commenced after his sufferings. Thus, all the instances in which the psalm is quoted in the New Testament are in perfect accord. It should be added that both in the Acts and the Epistle to the Hebrews the Sonship of Christ is regarded as beginning at his resurrection only declaratively, since that event demonstrated to the world a dignity which had existed from eternity.

IV. In Ps. 45 : 6, 7, we have a passage which is reproduced in Heb. 1 : 8, 9, as a proof of the superiority of Jesus to the angels :

Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever;
A sceptre of equity is the sceptre of thy kingdom.

The psalm undoubtedly has primary reference to an earthly king, as is evident from such phrases as "the queen in gold of Ophir," and "the daughter of Tyre"; but the writer is moved by the Holy Spirit to use language in the verses quoted in the New Testament such

as can with extreme difficulty be applied to any earthly monarch. Those who deny that there is an element of double reference in the Scriptures are sorely troubled by this passage. Kuenen says: "The predicate 'God' is assigned to the person here addressed. Does not this circumstance absolutely forbid us to see in him an earthly king? In truth, the question at first causes us perplexity. We are inclined to answer it in the affirmative. There are no passages in which the Hebrew word 'Elohim' is clearly applied to man." Both Kuenen and Toy, after rejecting all the efforts of others to give the passage as it stands an explanation consonant with the reference of the words to a human being, adopt the supposition that something has dropped out of the text in the process of copying. Of this, however, there is absolutely no evidence. Such as the Hebrew text is to-day it was in the apostolic age, and in that of the translators of the Septuagint, two centuries before the Epistle to the Hebrews was written. It is only by the most violent methods, therefore, that this psalm can be regarded as other than an instance of double reference, in which the language spoken of an earthly king rises to so lofty a pitch that it plainly points to the King of kings and Lord of lords. The passage thus presents us an instance in which the secondary reference is indicated by an overflow of language. The prophetic author shows that he regards the immediate object of his poem as a type of Christ by breaking forth into a strain of phraseology too lofty to be applied to any earthly monarch, precisely as Tennyson shows that the ocean which bore Arthur from his people is the ocean of time, by using

terms in reference to it which cannot be applied to the literal ocean.

V. These examples may have sufficed to suggest to the reader the abundance of the typical element in the Old Testament. Of this element Tholuck says :

If we adhere to the Redeemer himself, we believe it can be put beyond all doubt that, in declaring that the Old Testament bore witness to him, he referred principally to its typical aspect. When, in Luke 24 : 27, 44, 45, it is said that he proved to his disciples the necessity of his sufferings and his glory, from Moses and all the prophets, whence could he take such passages with a typical exposition? Must not John 3 : 14, "As Moses lifted up the serpent," etc., etc., be accepted as a plain indication of our Lord's method on this occasion?

There are two remarkable passages relative to this subject which have not yet been noticed (Matt. 11 : 14 and Mark 9 : 13); in the latter of which it is said, "But I say unto you that Elijah is come, and they have also done unto him whatsoever they listed, even as it is written of him." First of all, these passages show that the Redeemer understood what is said of Elijah in Mal. 4 : 5 in a typical sense of him who came in the spirit of Elijah under the New Covenant (Luke 1 : 17). Still more striking are the last words in the passage of Mark, "as it is written of him." What is there in the Old Testament respecting the sufferings of John the Baptist? Can any one persuade himself that Christ would ever forcibly take a passage out of its connection and refer it directly to the Baptist? These words remain inexplicable so long as it is not admitted that Christ, as far as the idea of Elijah was realized in the Baptist, looked upon the sufferings of the Old Testament Elijah as a typical prophecy of those of his copy. In perfect analogy with Christ's conduct on this occasion is what he says in John 13 : 18¹ and 15 : 25,²

¹ "He that eateth my bread lifted up his heel against me."

² "They hated me without a cause."

that the words in Ps. 41 and 69 were fulfilled in himself; or when in Luke 22 : 37 he considers the words, "and he was reckoned with the transgressors," as a thing "written," which was to be fulfilled in him. So also in that last exclamation on the cross, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani," will such a typical reference be admitted; not as if a reflection on his own lot compared with David's had led him to these words; but that with the recollection of these words, a consciousness of their typical character had been present at the same time. And certainly all typical references of this kind are taken in their full significance only when the Old Testament saints, as well as those of the New, are considered as members of one and the same mystical Christ who is described in history.

VI. In an excellent article on this subject by Rev. W. W. McLane, D. D., published in the "Homiletic Review" for June, 1890, two kinds of types are recognized:

Those types of which Christ is the antitype may be divided into two classes. (There are types of Christ in which the resemblance lies in external circumstances, in outward relations, and in incidents of personal experience, like the lifting up of the brazen serpent in the wilderness, and like the experience of Jonah, in which Jesus saw types of his crucifixion and resurrection.) There are other types of Christ which formed (a permanent part of the ceremonial system of the Old Testament, and which were a means of education, in which the resemblance lies in the spirit rather than in the form, however much resemblance there may be also in the form,) and which continued to exist until they were fulfilled in Christ. Biologists distinguish between analogous forms and homologous forms. Those organs of different animals which, however different their origin, have a similarity of form and function, are said to be analogous. The wing of a bird and the wing of a butterfly are analogous organs; they have the same function, but they have not the same origin. Those organs of different animals which have the

same origin, though they may be modified for different purposes, are said to be homologous. The wing of a bird, the forepaw of a reptile, and the arm and hand of a man, are homologous organs, having the same origin. Their relation lies in something deeper than mere form. We may make the same distinction between the two classes of types now under consideration. There are analogous types of Christ, and there are homologous types of Christ. The incidents in the life of Joseph, Moses, David, and Jonah, which correspond to incidents in the life of Christ, are analogous types of Christ; they have resemblance in relationship; but they do not form an essential and inseparable part of that process of revelation and redemption by which God is fulfilling his eternal purpose. The central elements of the ceremonial system of the Old Testament, such as the sacrifice, the priesthood, and the tabernacle, are homologous types of Christ. They constitute an essential and an inseparable part of the process of divine revelation and human redemption. Their truest resemblance to Christ must be sought and found in the source and spirit of salvation which they symbolize.

VII. Among the recent helpful thoughts on this subject is that of Professor Burnham, of Colgate University, not yet published, but which he makes part of his class-room instruction. In substance, it is as follows:

The Old Testament prophet, speaking of some object of his thought, may see the object in a different light from that of the New Testament writer who quotes his language, or from a different point of view, or in a larger measure. The uneducated person, when he speaks of the law of gravitation, has a conception very different from that of the astronomer who uses the same language; he thinks of the movements of a clod or a stone, while the astronomer thinks of worlds and the order of the universe. So the prophet, straining his vision forward in the twilight of the Jewish dispensation, may see the Messiah but dimly and write of him in broken phrases, which the inspired

teachers of Christianity, seeing in the full effulgence of the noon-day, may quote with propriety as finding their completion in the Christ with whom they had an acquaintance so much larger and fuller. Any difficulties to be found in such prophetic passages, and in their adjustment to their setting in the New Testament, will arise from the necessary limitations of the holy men who first penned them.

VIII. An instance of this kind may be found at John 12 : 40, 41, where Isa. 6 : 9, 10 is quoted :

He hath blinded their eyes, and he hardened their heart;
Lest they should see with their eyes, and perceive with their heart,
And should turn,
And I should heal them.

The quotation immediately preceding this one is from Isa. 53 : 1. John comments as follows on the two : "These things said Isaiah, because he saw his glory ; and he spake of him." Thus Isaiah penned his fifty-third chapter, from which the first quotation is taken, and also his sixth chapter, from which the second quotation is taken, because he had a vision of the Messiah in glory. His fifty-third chapter is chiefly concerned with the humiliation of Christ ; yet gleams of glory break through its darkest clouds : "Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong." But in his sixth chapter the prophet describes a vision of far greater splendor. Few passages in even inspired literature are more magnificent than this. The glory which he beheld was that of Jehovah ; and John applies the passage to Christ, because the Christ of the New Testament is the Jehovah of the Old, the essential Deity.

This identification is not peculiar to John, but runs through the whole New Testament. Thus Meyer: "In the Old Testament theophanies it is precisely Christ who is present as the Logos, and the glory is his. Of course the glory of Christ before the incarnation is intended, the 'form of God' in which he was."

The Jehovah thus revealed to Isaiah commissioned him to go to the Jewish people with messages of warning and entreaty and hope. He told him plainly, however, that his message would be rejected, owing to the hardness of the hearts to whom it was sent; nay, that in many cases it would even increase the obduracy, instead of removing it. The statement had its most perfect fulfillment in the rejection of Christ by his people. If they would not bear the twilight of type and prophecy, they would certainly be repelled by the full blaze of celestial glory which the person of Jesus shed on them.

IX. A recognition by Christ of the typical element in the Old Testament is found at John 1 : 51, where he refers to Gen. 28 : 12. We are there told that Jacob "dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven : and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it." In the Gospel our Lord applies this language to himself : "Ye shall see the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man." He does not say that the vision of Jacob is to be regarded as in a special sense a prophecy, for it was designed to teach Jacob that God watched over him and sent his angels to minister to him. Yet it is most

completely fulfilled in him who is the medium of communication between God and man; and hence it is a vivid symbol of him in his mediatorial office, and is presented to us as such in this allusion to it.

X. A similar use is made of the Old Testament in John 6 : 31, where the language of Ps. 78 : 24 is applied to Christ himself. The psalmist remembered the manna, and wrote:

And gave them of the corn of heaven.

The hearers of Christ cited this line in a free version: "He gave them bread out of heaven to eat," and asked him to produce some sign. He answered that he himself was the sign they demanded: "The bread of God is that which cometh down out of heaven and giveth life unto the world." The manna was a symbol of Christ in its origin and its life-giving properties.

XI. The same typical interpretation is found in John 15 : 25, where our Lord says that the opposition of his foes "cometh to pass, that the word may be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me without a cause." The quotation is probably from Ps. 69 : 4, which we have found Messianic in so many other passages, the psalmist speaking of himself, but so speaking under the guidance of the Holy Spirit as to become a type of Christ, since the things he speaks are fulfilled perfectly in Christ, and only imperfectly in himself. The expression is also found in Ps. 35 : 19; and expressions like it in Ps. 109 : 3 and 119 : 161.

XII. This typical interpretation is found again at John 19 : 24:

That the Scripture might be fulfilled which saith,
 They parted my garments among them,
 And upon my vesture did they cast lots.

The lines are from Ps. 22 : 18. The psalm is touchingly Messianic in many parts. Its opening words were used by our Lord on the cross. The only objection made to the quotation is erroneous. It is stated thus by Toy: "The parallelism, however, is not a strict one; the soldiers took the garments, not out of enmity to him whom they crucified, but as customary perquisites." It is true they took the garments "as customary perquisites." But they took them also "out of enmity to him whom they crucified." Had they been his disciples, they would not have taken them; and it was therefore as sharers of the world's great enmity to him that they took them. Their horrible but ignorant enmity is evident from Matt. 27 : 27-31, where we are told that "the whole band" of the "soldiers of the governor" stripped him, crowned him with thorns, mocked him with satirical reverence, spat upon him, and smote him on the head. The psalmist seems to contemplate in a part of his prayer persons who were actuated by just such popular and ignorant enmity as this, as where he says :

I am a worm, and no man,
 A reproach of men, and despised of the people.

And the part of the psalm from which the lines are taken by the evangelist is of this kind :

The assembly of evil-doers have inclosed me.

XIII. The quotation in John 19 : 36 is probably

from Exod. 12 : 46 and Num. 9 : 12. The soldiers did not break the legs of Christ, "that the Scripture might be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken." In the passages referred to in Exodus and Numbers the Israelites are forbidden to "break a bone" of the paschal lamb. But the paschal lamb was a most vivid symbol of "Christ, our passover." Perhaps it was to mark this prophetic character of the paschal lamb that the time of his offering was that of the Passover. The prescription to avoid breaking a bone of the lamb can scarcely be assigned any other meaning than a prophetic one, which makes it point to the exemption of Christ from this cruelty when he was on the cross. The paschal lamb as a type of Christ is referred to in John 1 : 29, 36 ; 1 Cor. 5 : 7 ; 1 Peter 1 : 19 ; and in the Revelation in no less than twenty-eight places. In preparing the lamb for roasting, the Jews ran spits through it in the form of a cross, as the Samaritans do to this day.

The derivation of the quotation from these sources is so natural that no other source need be sought. Yet it is possible that the evangelist had Ps. 34 : 20 also in mind. This psalm celebrates the care of God for the righteous man, and says that,

He keepeth all his bones :
Not one of them is broken.

The evangelist may have regarded these lines as fulfilled in Christ, who was the only perfectly righteous man, the beloved son of God, and the object of his most tender care even when dying upon the cross.

XIV. In Luke 1 : 17 the prophecy of Mal. 3 : 1 ; 4 : 5, 6 is referred to by Gabriel as about to be fulfilled in the person of John the Baptist : "He shall go before his face in the spirit and power of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to walk in the wisdom of the just ; to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for him." Elijah was thus a type of the Baptist. The prophecy is interpreted in this typical sense also by our Lord (Matt. 11 : 14 ; 17 : 10-12 ; Mark 9 : 11-13). There is no discrepancy between this view and the express denial of John the Baptist that he was Elijah (John 1 : 21, 25) ; for the question of the Pharisees was asked in the literal sense of the words, and therefore required an answer in the same sense.

XV. Another quotation of the kind now before us is found in Acts 1 : 20, from Ps. 69 : 25 :

Let his habitation be made desolate,
And let no man dwell therein.

In the original the plural number is used :

Let their habitation be made desolate,
And let none dwell in their tents.

It is changed by the Apostle Peter to the singular, because the passage is applied by him to the betrayer, and this alteration is of the first class illustrated in our fourth chapter. The apostle does not say that it was written originally with reference to Judas ; it denounces a number of wicked men who sought the destruction of the psalmist, and, through him, of the reign of God and of righteousness in Israel. But as the psalmist

was a type of Christ, so those whose sympathy with evil led them to seek his life were types of Judas and of all persecutors. If any one should fail to perceive these typical relations, the view expressed by Hackett may appear preferable :

When Peter declares that this prophecy, which he applies to Judas, was spoken with special reference to him (see ver. 16), he makes the impressive announcement to those whom he addressed, that the conduct of Judas had identified him fully with such persecutors of the righteous as the psalm contemplates, and hence it was necessary that he should suffer the doom deserved by those who sin in so aggravated a manner.

But, considering the typical element in general literature, and its likeness to portions of this psalm, I adopt the words of Dr. Lyman Abbott, who holds the psalm to contain prophecies of Christ "because David himself was a prophecy of the Messiah," and "describing his own literal experiences, he unconsciously prophesied both the sufferings and triumph of the Messiah." If we shall deem this typical view sustained, we shall not regard the whole psalm as typical. Verse 5 certainly is not. We have seen already that it is a characteristic of all typical literature that the typical meanings appear and disappear, as the writer wishes.

XVI. The next quotation, which occurs in the same verse, is of the same typical character. It is from Ps. 109 : 8 : "His office let another take." It is usually interpreted like the preceding, either as an imprecation which finds its fulfillment in the fate of all the desperately wicked, and hence in the fate of Judas, or as an imprecation of one who was a special

type of the betrayer. Gloag¹ says: "In this psalm David is supposed to refer to Doeg, the Edomite, or to Ahithophel. It is the most imprecatory of all the psalms, and may well be termed the Iscariot psalm."

Another interpretation, however, is proposed by Kennicott, Mendelsohn, and C. Taylor, and is adopted by Kuenen, who says:

The poet rather appears in verses 6-19 to enumerate the curses which his enemies heap upon him, for which reason also the third person singular is used in these verses, while the poet's enemies are always spoken of in the plural (ver. 2-5, 20, 25, 27-29). The poet, however, hurls back upon his haters these maledictions uttered against him, for to verses 9-16 he subjoins:

Let this be the reward of my adversaries from Jahveh,
And of those who speak evil against my soul.

Or, in other words, May the lot which they wish me befall themselves. Thus the poet is not free from vindictiveness; but he has not been guilty of devising those numerous and sometimes frightful imprecations which precede. It needs no proof to show that Peter, as introduced in the Acts as speaking, would have withheld his quotation, if he had been acquainted with this interpretation of the psalm, which for the rest so well deserves to be accepted.

This interpretation of the psalm seems to me correct in substance. The poet represents himself in verses 3-5 as gentle and pacific, and contrasts his disposition with that of his enemies. "It is almost inconceivable," as Kuenen says, "that he should immediately thereafter burst forth into maledictions of them." Besides, the maledictions of the enemies are referred to in later parts of the psalm (ver. 20, 28), as if they had

¹ "Commentary on the Acts."

been recited in the earlier part. Again, where he speaks of his foes, the plural is employed, and where they speak of him, the singular. This distinction runs through the whole psalm and renders our interpretation almost necessary. It is no objection to this view that the words of the enemies are introduced without any special formula of quotation, like "they say," for such an introduction of the words of a speaker without an introductory formula is not uncommon in Hebrew poetry. (See for example Ps. 22 : 7 ; 2 : 3.)

In one thing the interpretation is needlessly harsh. It makes the writer hurl back the imprecations of his foes, and pray that they themselves may suffer the evils they have invoked upon him. I take verse 20, however, to be a mere statement of fact, a prophecy, and not a prayer. Instead of rendering the verse, "Let this be the reward of mine adversaries," I should render it, with the revisers of the English Bible, "This is the reward." That the words are most easily and naturally rendered thus every Hebrew scholar will grant ; and if the great majority render them as a prayer, it is because they come to them with a theory already conceived as to what they must mean. Reading the psalm in this manner, it wholly ceases to be imprecatory, while at the same time it states the undoubted truth that curses recoil upon those who utter them.

This interpretation of the psalm would not change its relation to Judas, or forbid Peter to apply it to him, as Kuenen strangely affirms. Does the psalmist in verse 20 adopt the maledictions of his enemies, and hurl them back ? Then they become as much his own as if he had uttered them himself. Or does he merely

speak as a prophet, and predict that their curses shall fall on their own heads? Then the saying was fulfilled. In either case Peter would use the words exactly as he did. But we are assured in Acts 1 : 15, 16, that he took them as a prophecy : "It was needful that the Scripture should be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit spake before by the mouth of David concerning Judas." Of course, the original fulfillment was a type of their later fulfillment in the fate of the traitor, as of their repeated fulfillment in the fate of all malevolent and wicked men.

XVII. In Gen. 17 : 5 we have a promise which the Apostle Paul at Rom. 4 : 17 quotes as typical. It is an admirable illustration of the typical character of much Old Testament history, for, even without the typical use of it made by the apostle, the Christian who believes that the revelation of God to Abraham was but a part of his plan to establish the kingdom of his Son, readily perceives its typical character. The apostle in this fourth chapter of his great epistle is showing that the heirs of Abraham are not limited to those who observe the Mosaic law. His argument is as follows : The promise that Abraham should be the father of an innumerable offspring was given to him on account of his faith, and before the covenant of circumcision (ver. 3 ; Gen. 15 : 1-7). Moreover, it was not given to him through the Mosaic law, but centuries before the law was proclaimed (ver. 13). If only those who perfectly obey the Mosaic law are heirs of this promise, then none can be heirs ; for none perfectly obey the law (ver. 14, 15). The promise of an innumerable offspring was given to Abraham in an-

swer to his faith, and not on the impossible condition of his perfect legal righteousness, in order that it might be sure, and not empty (ver. 16). As the promise was given to Abraham that he should be the father of an innumerable offspring in response to his faith, before circumcision and the law, so those who have a faith like his are properly his spiritual descendants, and not those alone who are circumcised and scrupulously keep the law. Thus the argument is based upon historic facts with which every Jew was familiar.

Nor will the Christian believe readily that the giving of the promise to Abraham before the covenant of circumcision was a mere accident. The history of Abraham is a part of the history of redemption, and there was a divine purpose in the ordering of its events. The blessing of God was pronounced upon faith before the establishment of circumcision and the law, for the very reason that the apostle discovers, that faith might have the first emphasis, and be seen to be the condition of salvation by grace.

At the close of the argument the apostle quotes the expression of Gen. 17 : 5 : " I have made thee a father of many nations," as typically applicable to all Gentiles and Jews who have Abrahamic faith. The immediate reference of the promise was to the nations other than Israel which should spring from Abraham, such as the Ishmaelites and Edomites. Perhaps Abraham himself at first saw little more in the words than this. But can any Christian believe that God in all his promises of a numerous offspring to Abraham, had nothing more in mind than a natural offspring?

Was that a worthy object of his solicitude to select a family out of the world and guide it by special interventions and commit to it his oracles? Or did he not plan from the beginning to establish on earth the holy religion of his Son, and prepare for it in all these early revelations? Did he not purposely place in his revelations of himself to the patriarchs, types and shadows that should teach the more thoughtful in proportion as they were able to bear the light? If we condemn the typical use of Old Testament history here made by the apostle, we must proceed upon a rule which would convert the Old Testament into a mere secular literature, with no special manifestation of God in the history it contains.

The comment of Toy on this quotation is worthy of reproduction for its extraordinary view of the Old Testament. This interpretation of the "many nations," he says, "is in illustration of the argument of Paul that the promise to Abraham was not conditioned on circumcision, and not limited to the Jews: a position the reverse of that taken in Genesis and elsewhere in the Old Testament." This calls for two remarks: 1. The position taken in Genesis is precisely that stated by the apostle: the book of Genesis assures us that the promise of an innumerable offspring was made to Abraham before anything about circumcision was said to him (Gen. 12 : 2 ; 13 : 14-17 ; 15 : 5), and long before the giving of the law. 2. The Old Testament promises the extension of the kingdom of God to the Gentiles, and that in numerous places, some of which the writers of the New Testament have pointed out. Nor is there in any of these places a single word

concerning the circumcision of the Gentiles as a condition of their reception. Indeed, one might almost say that the prophets of the Old Testament are as free from legalism as the Apostle Paul himself. After the book of Joshua circumcision is mentioned but twice in the entire Old Testament (Jer. 4 : 4 ; 9 : 25). In the first of these instances the prophet enjoins spiritual and not fleshly circumcision ; and in the second he declares to the Jews that, though they were circumcised in the flesh, they should be treated exactly like the uncircumcised peoples about them, because they were not circumcised in heart. Thus the teaching of the Old Testament in reference to this rite is in exact harmony with that of the New ; and the apostle to the Gentiles contended not against the Old Testament, but against the rabbis, in his doctrine of circumcision.

XVIII. Another typical quotation is that of Ps. 69 : 22, 23, in Rom. 11 : 9, 10. Much of the psalm is regarded in the New Testament as Messianic, containing, as it does, such lines as these :

For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.
They gave me also gall for my meat ;
And in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.

If the psalmist in such expressions was a prophetic type of Christ, his adversaries were types of Christ's adversaries ; and the calamities invoked upon the wicked who hated the king chosen by God of old, were prophetic of the calamities which should befall the murderers of the King of kings, as indeed of the fate of all who resist the divine will.

XIX. In 1 Cor. 9 : 9, 10, Deut. 25 : 4 is quoted, and is followed by a comment. The Apostle Paul is teaching that the churches ought to provide for the support of Christian ministers. As one proof of this, he adduces the prescription of the law : "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." He then adds : "Is it for the oxen that God careth, or saith he it assuredly for our sake ? Yea, for our sake it was written : because he that ploweth ought to plow in hope, and he that thresheth, to thresh in hope of partaking." The Common version and the English revisers have "altogether," instead of the "assuredly" preferred by the American revisers. The Greek word may mean either, and it is a needless embarrassment of the passage to give it the harsher sense.

The apostle does not say that God has no care for animals in general and at any time ; he knew the statements of Scripture to the contrary (Job 38 : 41 ; Ps. 147 : 9), and specially the words of his Lord, concerning "the birds of the heaven," in Matt. 6 : 26 and Luke 12 : 24 : "Your heavenly Father feedeth them." All expositors of note hold that he limits his view to the text immediately before him, and declares that in it God is caring for men rather than for oxen. The statement is strong, and is not intended to be interpreted in a narrow and mechanical way ; it is like the words of Jesus : "Whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" ; "Whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain" ; "If any man cometh unto me and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot

be my disciple." Such sweeping statements are common in all literatures, where the writer is moved by great earnestness, and they are often necessary to a truthful expression of deep feeling. English literature abounds with them. I may instance the speech of Macbeth, whose hands are stained with blood sufficient perhaps to tinge a basin of water, but who cries out that it would

The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red.

The statement, thus interpreted, presents but one further question. Is it true that in this command God regards man chiefly? There are several precepts of the Mosaic law touching humanity to animals which carry this humanity, speaking reverently, to an extreme, and must have been designed to affect men, since they do not affect animals in any direct manner. Such, for example, is the law of Deut. 22 : 6, 7 : "If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way, in any tree, or on the ground, with young ones or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young : thou shalt in anywise let the dam go, but the young thou mayest take unto thyself ; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days." It is difficult to see what favorable effect this would have upon the mother-bird, as it would bereave her of her young, in any case, and does not forbid her capture at another time. But it would teach tenderness in general, and especially toward women under the burdens of maternity, for whose sake chiefly it was writ-

ten. Such, again, is the law thrice recorded (Exod. 23 : 19 ; 34 : 26 ; Deut. 14 : 21) : "Thou shalt not see the kid in its mother's milk" It could make no difference either to the dead kid or to the living mother, whether the dish were prepared in this way or not ; but the precept may have had much influence in creating tenderness of feeling toward motherhood in general, and toward the young ; and its chief value would consist in its effect upon human beings. Such again is the law of Lev. 22 : 28 : "Whether it be a cow or a ewe, ye shall not kill it and her young both in one day." It could make but little difference to the animals whether they were killed together, or with an interval of one day between ; but this precept would affect the owner, and teach him tenderness of heart, especially toward human mothers and their children. Such also is the law forbidding the muzzling of the ox when it trod out the grain. The precept affected the ox but little, since the process of threshing lasted but a few days, and a cruel owner would stint it all the year besides, while a kind owner would feed it well in any case, even if he muzzled it while it was engaged at this work. But the precept would teach thoughtfulness in general, and in particular kindness to working people. Thus this view, taken by the apostle, arises naturally from a careful consideration of the precept and of the class to which it belongs. These laws, though they speak of birds and beasts, are typical of human relationships ; they are designed to foster pity for the helpless of all kinds, whether animals or men and women and children ; and their value would consist chiefly in their effect upon human beings,

since, as our Saviour says, "How much is a man of more value than a sheep?"

Meyer regards the interpretation of the precept by the apostle as "typico-allegorical." It would be better to regard the precept itself as typical and the interpretation as a statement of its real character in the strong language of deep conviction and earnest feeling.

XX. I have discussed in another place the quotation of 2 Sam. 7 : 14 in 2 Cor. 6 : 18, if the quotation there is indeed from this source. Let me notice the more nearly literal quotation of the passage in Heb. 1 : 5, where it is considered as uttered by Jehovah with reference to the Messiah :

I will be to him a Father,
And he shall be to me a Son.

The words are a part of the remarkable prophecy of Nathan to David touching Solomon and the Davidic dynasty. The prophecy is strongly typical in structure, containing much language which can be applied to the ordinary offspring of David only by a strained and unnatural interpretation, and which finds an easy, natural, and complete fulfillment in that son of David who is also the Son of God. The words quoted were immediately applicable to Solomon, in so far as he was a child of God and moved by the spirit of Christ, as they are applicable in this sense to all good people.¹ But Solomon was a type of the Son of God not only in so far as he was himself a child of God, but also externally, as the king of Israel and the prince of

¹ See discussion of them as they are perhaps quoted in 2 Cor. 6 : 18.

peace. The words, therefore, though spoken of the earthly monarch, glanced forward to the heavenly, like other words of this prophecy, as for example those which declare that the throne of the son of David shall be "established for ever," that the house and kingdom of David shall be "made sure for ever." That David himself, and other holy men of old, regarded the prophecy as strongly Messianic is probable from Ps. 89 and 132.

XXI. In Gal. 3 : 16 the writer quotes from Gen. 13 : 15 and 17 : 7, 8. The effort to find the quotation in other passages is not successful. In these places Moses records a promise made to Abraham that the land of Canaan should be given to him "and to his seed forever." In the New Testament generally the promised land is considered a type of spiritual blessings, and specially of the kingdom of heaven in its completed state, so that this application of it here need not detain us. (See specially Heb. 11.)

The comment of the apostle upon the passage has given rise to much discussion. It is objected that the stress of the argument rests upon a minute point of grammar, and that in reference to this the apostle is wrong. "He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ." The objector reminds us correctly that the Hebrew word "seed," in the singular, is used in the passage quoted as a collective noun, with the force of a plural; and that, secondly, had the plural, seeds, been used, it would not have meant offspring, children, descendants, but various kinds of seeds. "But the apostle," the objector continues, "regards the singular, seed, not as

a collective noun, but as referring to an individual, and assumes that the plural, seeds, would have been used had more than one individual been intended." The grammatical facts on which this criticism is based were perfectly well known to the apostle, who in the twenty-ninth verse of this very chapter uses the singular, seed, as a collective noun, as also in Rom. 1 : 3 ; 4 : 16, 18 ; 9 : 7. They were known to his readers as well, for the argument was written in Greek, and though they were ignorant of Hebrew, the same things are true of the corresponding Greek expressions, as they are also of the English, so that the alleged error of argument, had it existed, would have been detected at once. The objection, therefore, which assumes that the apostle was either ignorant of the grammatical points involved, or made a sophistical representation of them, must be erroneous.

Two interpretations of this passage are worthy of consideration.

The first is stated thus by Lightfoot : "He is not laying stress on the particular word used, but on the fact that a singular noun of some kind, a collective term, is employed, where 'children,' or 'offspring,' for instance, might have been substituted. Avoiding the technical terms of grammar, he could not express his meaning more simply than by the opposition : 'not to thy seeds, but to thy seed.'" In other words, the apostle regards it as noteworthy that any noun in the singular was used, even one which has a collective sense, instead of a plural.

According to this interpretation, the "seed" referred to is the personal Christ, on the ground that Israel

is a type of Christ. The typical relation of the two is stated by Lightfoot thus :

With a true spiritual instinct, though the conception embodied itself at times in strangely grotesque and artificial forms, even the rabbinical writers saw that "the Christ" was the true seed of Abraham. In him the race was summed up, as it were. In him it fulfilled its purpose and became a blessing to the whole earth. Without him its separate existence as a peculiar people had no meaning. Thus he was not only the representative, but the embodiment of the race. In this way the people of Israel is the type of Christ ; and in the New Testament, parallels are sought in the career of the one to the life of the other. See especially the application of Hosea 11 : 1 to our Lord in Matt. 2 : 15. In this sense St. Paul uses the "seed of Abraham" here.

The second interpretation sees in "the seed" of this quotation a collective noun, with the force of a plural ; for it regards the "Christ" of this verse as, so to speak, the collective Christ, the church, of which Christ is the Head. It is well stated by Alford :

If the word "Christ" in this verse imports only the personal Christ Jesus, why is it not so expressed, Christ Jesus? For the word does not here occur in passing, but is the predicate of a very definite and important proposition. The fact is that we must place ourselves in St. Paul's position with regard to the idea of Christ, before we can appreciate all he meant here. Christians are, not by a figure, but really, the body of Christ. Christ contains his people, and the mention even of the personal Christ would bring with it, in the apostle's mind, the inclusion of his believing people. This seed is Christ, not merely in the narrower sense, the man Christ Jesus, but Christ the seed, Christ the second Adam, Christ the head of the body. And that this is so is plain from verses 28 and 29, which are the key to "which is Christ" ; where he says, "for all ye are one in Christ Jesus" (notice "Jesus" here carefully inserted, where the person is

indicated). "And if ye are Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, heirs according to the promise." So that, while it is necessary for the form of the argument here, to express Him to whom the promises were made, and not the aggregate of his people, afterward to be identified with him (but not yet in view), yet the apostle has introduced his name in a form not circumscribing his personality, but leaving room for the inclusion of his mystical body.

This view is justified by an inspection of the whole argument of the apostle in this part of the epistle. His proposition is that "they which be of faith, the same are sons of Abraham" (ver. 7). He proves this, first, by an appeal to those scriptures which predict that all the nations shall be blessed in Abraham, which could only be fulfilled through their faith, inasmuch as the law was not for them (ver. 8, 9). He proves it secondly, by the fact that the law brings a curse upon sinners, and not a blessing, since in order to bring a blessing it must be perfectly kept, a requirement which no one has ever fulfilled (ver. 10). This curse sinners can escape only through faith in Christ, who has redeemed them from it (ver. 11-14). He proves it thirdly, by the fact that God made a covenant with Abraham, based upon his faith, centuries before the law, promising to give the land of Canaan, the blessings of the kingdom of heaven, to him and to his seed, and that the gracious Promiser in this solemn covenant did not speak of all the various sorts of offspring of Abraham, those by Ishmael and the sons of Keturah, for example, but only of one kind, the Christ-kind, born of faith (ver. 15, 16). Nor, by implication, could this promise be claimed by the Jews as such, who were

only natural descendants of Abraham ; but since it was made in response to the faith of the patriarch, it must refer to him and to those who possess his spiritual likeness. Thus the argument, from beginning to end, requires us to regard believers as the "seed," and the "Christ," mentioned in verse 16, as including his people. It would be traveling completely out of the path of the argument to mention the personal Christ there, except as he is the head and representative of his people.

The argument of the verse is then, that in the promise to Abraham God did not use a plural noun, like "sons," but a collective noun, which had both the force of a plural and a suggestion of unity, and showed that the seed were to be of the same kind with believing Abraham, and "one in Christ Jesus," in order to be heirs of the promise. Conybeare¹ says this in substance: "The meaning of the argument is, that the recipients of God's promises are not to be looked on as an aggregate of different individuals, or of different races, but are all one body, whereof Christ is the head."

We may also adopt the sentiment of Farrar²: "In the interpretation then of this word, St. Paul reads between the lines of the original, and is enabled to see in it deep meanings, which are the true but not the primary ones." But when he says that the reference is "purely illustrative," we may hesitate to follow him. For the choice of the singular noun in Gen. 17 : 8, instead of a plural, is not without significance, even to

¹ "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," Vol. II., p. 142, note 1.

² "Life and Work of St. Paul," Vol. I., p. 53.

the historic interpreter, who seeks its primary meaning, with no thought of the uses here made of it. In the preceding part of the chapter God promises that Abraham shall be a "father of a multitude of nations." This is repeated thrice, to make it emphatic, and it refers to all those peoples who should descend from him through his other sons as well as through Isaac, "the heir of the promise." Then he turns from this wider offspring to the narrower, the Jewish, and promises to this branch a special covenant, and the Holy Land. The transition from the wider prospect to the narrower is made by a transition from plural nouns to singular nouns. Immediately before, he had spoken of "nations." Had he continued to speak of them, or had he said "sons," in the plural, he would have referred to all the offspring of the patriarch before mentioned; but by using the singular, "seed," he limits attention to the descendants of Isaac, in the line of Israel. It is on this turn of language that the apostle bases his argument; it leads to the thought, not of various kinds of peoples, but of unity, of one. The rest is typical; the natural Israel representing the spiritual, and the earthly Canaan, "the inheritance of the saints." The passage itself bears marks of this typical character, as Gosman¹ has said: "The 'everlasting covenant' and 'everlasting possession' show that the covenant and promised inheritance included the spiritual seed and the heavenly Canaan."

Those who insist with a certain joy that the apostle means in this place only Christ, the person, and not

¹ In Lange's "Genesis."

Christ, the Head of the Church, and hence that he has made a mistake in his interpretation of the word "seed" as employed in the promise which he quotes, should reflect that he explains himself in the closing verse of the chapter: "If ye are Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed." It cannot be supposed that the apostle would strongly insist upon a narrow interpretation of the word seed, and try to show that it means only Christ as an individual, and then forget himself immediately and give it another significance. The two verses state the same thing; and the more obscure is to be explained in the light of the later and clearer expression.

I am much indebted to Prof. S. Burnham, D. D., of Colgate University, for the following view of the passage, which is a modification of that which I have just presented, or perhaps I should say, a clearer statement of it.

The objection made to the use of the quotation by the apostle is that the word seeds, in the plural, both in the Hebrew and Greek, means different kinds of seed, and not grains of the same kind of seed. This fact, which is used to criticise the apostle, Prof. Burnham uses to explain and justify his argument. The plural means different kinds of seeds. The singular, therefore, must mean a kind of seed, and not a single grain:

The singular never denotes, either in Hebrew or Greek, a single seed. It is always and everywhere a collective noun. It therefore necessarily means a kind of seed in every instance, for all the seed which comes from one common source, and can therefore be denoted by a collective noun, can only be a kind of

seed. Again, because a collective noun, the word is rarely used in the plural. We have it, however, in 1 Sam. 8 : 15 in the plural, where the meaning must be kinds of seed, and the singular must therefore necessarily mean a kind of seed.

Having fixed in our minds the definition of the Hebrew and Greek plural as different kinds of seed, and of the singular as one kind of seed, let us consider how the readers of the epistle would understand the argument. The Galatians already believed that Christ was the true seed of Abraham, in whom the great blessings promised to the patriarch must come to the world. But the Jewish teachers from Jerusalem had been seeking to bring the Gentile converts to believe that they must become a part of the national descendants of Abraham in addition, in order to have part in the blessings promised to the father of the faithful. Now, says the apostle, this cannot be true, for the blessings promised were to come, not to two kinds of seed, or to many kinds of seed, but only to one kind. If the believers in Christ are, as you admit, the seed of Abraham according to faith, and blessings are to come to them because they are in Christ, then nothing more is necessary on their part to secure this blessing, for they are already a seed of Abraham, and are indeed, since you hold that one must be in Christ to receive the blessings promised to Abraham, the seed of Abraham. Now, unless you are prepared to reject Christ altogether as the source of the blessings promised to Abraham, you cannot think it necessary to enter into the national seed of Abraham, for the promises were made to one kind of seed, and not to two or more kinds. You cannot therefore hold to the neces-

sity of belonging to both kinds of seeds at once. You must either give up Christianity, and hold that a spiritual relationship to Christ is not essential, or you must accept faith in Christ as the only condition of the blessings of God, for the line of the blessings is a single, and not a double line.

Godet¹ expresses a similar view of the passage :

Here St. Paul draws attention to the fact that the promise made to Abraham referred to one seed, not to many. Many interpreters have imagined that Paul means to point here to Christ himself as the one seed, in opposition to the multitude of individuals composing the Israelitish nation, as though Paul was ignorant of the collective sense of the Hebrew term which signifies posterity. But it is enough to read Rom. 4 : 11, 12, 16 ; and 9 : 6-8, in order to be convinced that Paul knows and applies the collective sense of the term used both in Hebrew and Greek. The opposition which he brings out in the verses before us is not between the Christ as an individual and the multitudes of the Jewish people, but between the spiritual seed of faith, which alone is heir to the promises, and other lines of Abraham's descendants, of an altogether different character, especially that to which his adversaries referred, the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, that is, the Jewish people as such. God, in making his promise to Abraham, had not contemplated for a moment two seeds different, but both equally legitimate, the one by faith, the other by the flesh, two hostile families of justified and saved ones. He had ever contemplated but one seed, the characteristic of which is the ever fresh reproduction of the faith of Abraham, and which is all virtually contained in Christ, who is the Head of which it is the body (3 : 15-18). This interpretation is brought out very clearly in Rom. 9 : 6-8.

Let us read the argument of the apostle in the light of this explanation : " Now to Abraham were the

¹ " Studies on the Epistles," p. 46.

promises spoken, and to his kind of seed. He saith not, and to various kinds of seed, as of many ; but as of one, and to thy kind of seed, which is Christ." If the readers of the epistle understood the word "seed" in this manner, they would necessarily regard Christ in the passage as the seed of Abraham in the sense that he is the head and representative of his people. They would not think so much of Christ the person, as of Christ "the kind of seed" contemplated in the promise. The "kind of seed" is not that of ordinary generation ; but it is the "Christ-kind," the spiritual, the offspring of faith, such as the Galatian Christians already were.

XXII. We have in Heb. 6 : 13-19 a quotation of Gen. 22 : 16, 17, which casts light on the preceding discussion.

"When God made promise to Abraham, since he could swear by none greater, he swore by himself, saying, Surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee. And thus, having patiently endured, he obtained the promise. For men swear by the greater ; and in every dispute of theirs the oath is final for confirmation. Wherein God, being minded to show more abundantly unto the heirs of the promise the immutability of his counsel, interposed with an oath ; that by two immutable things, in which it is impossible for God to lie, we may have a strong encouragement who have fled for refuge to lay hold of the hope set before us."

The quotation is made somewhat freely, for it was one of the commonplaces of Jewish teaching, and would be familiar to those for whom the epistle was

written. A reference to the original passage will show that the memory of the reader was appealed to. There, Jehovah speaks in the form of an oath, saying, "By myself have I sworn," a phrase omitted in the epistle, though the argument is based upon it, because it was familiar to the readers. Another omission is made: God said, "I will multiply thy seed." The writer quotes him as saying, "I will multiply thee." This is probably for the sake of brevity, as is held by Delitzsch; and indeed the two expressions convey the same essential idea. But the writer proceeds to apply the quotation on the assumption that "we who have fled for refuge," we Christians, are the true "seed" promised to Abraham, and hence the true "inheritors of the promise" confirmed by an oath. The passage quoted is similar to those referred to by the Apostle Paul in the preceding case, and the view of the true "seed of Abraham" is the same which the Apostle Paul expresses there. The oath to "multiply Abraham," is truly and finally fulfilled, not in his natural posterity, but in those who have his faith, his character, the lineaments of his spiritual being.

XXIII. Among the quotations made, according to Kuenen, with reference to the sound of the words rather than the meaning, is that of Ps. 102 : 25-27 in Heb. 1 : 10-12, beginning with the lines :

Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth,
And the heavens are the works of thy hand.

Kuenen writes :

In this case, it is difficult even to say what has led the writer

to this interpretation. May it have been the word "Lord" at the beginning of the citation, a word which had gradually become among Christians the regular title of Jesus? But the word is not in the Hebrew ; it is found only in the Septuagint, from which the quotation is made.

There is no doubt that the psalm was addressed to Jehovah, and not to Jesus as distinct from Jehovah. But its application to the Messiah was induced by no such puerile and shallow occasion as the sound of the word "Lord" in the Septuagint. A glance at the psalm itself will show why it is thus applied ; for it is distinctively Messianic in those parts which refer to the future action of God in saving men. In the first eleven verses the writer depicts his own condition as pitiable in the extreme. From the twelfth verse to the end he assumes a more hopeful tone, and at the same time shows that his sufferings are those of his people at large, for whom he speaks as their representative. The psalm was probably written, therefore, during the Babylonian captivity, or soon after it, and the predictions of future deliverance refer primarily to the return of the nation from exile or the escape from the distresses immediately succeeding it. But the view of the prophet sweeps far beyond this period, and his expressions depict a future more glorious than the restoration of the tribes to their own land, or than the highest prosperity which they attained afterward. "The nations," the Gentiles, are to "fear the name of Jehovah, and the kings of the earth his glory." "The peoples," the Gentiles again, are to "be gathered together, and the kingdoms to serve Jehovah." Even after the heavens and the earth have passed away, the

children of God "shall continue, and their seed shall be established." The psalm, thus, is typical, looking to the return of national prosperity, and making this the foreshadowing of the kingdom of the Messiah, in its universal extent and its eternal duration. Jehovah should accomplish all this, the Jehovah who laid the foundation of the earth, who formed the heavens with his hands, who shall remove all these his works, and who shall endure forever after they are destroyed. The psalmist looked forward to what Jehovah would do; the writer to the Hebrews back to what he had done; the one beheld Jehovah, the other Christ; they are therefore essentially one and the same being, according to the uniform teaching of the New Testament. The quotation is quite legitimate, based as it is upon the typical character of the psalm, which no one would fail to recognize were it a German or a Greek poem, and on the Christian revelation of the deity of the Son of God.

XXIV. The incredible eagerness of Kuenen to fasten blame upon the writers of the New Testament is illustrated in his criticism of the quotation of Ps. 40 : 7, 8 in Heb. 10 : 7. The psalmist wrote :

Then said I, Lo, I am come ;
In the roll of the book it is written of me :
I delight to do thy will, O my God.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews quotes as follows :

Then said I, Lo, I am come
(In the roll of the book it is written of me)
To do thy will, O God.

The alteration complained of is the omission of the words "I delight" in the eighth verse. Kuenen holds that it was made for the purpose of showing a distinct and strong contrast between the "sacrifice and offering" just mentioned and the coming of the Messiah to take their place by doing the divine will. "In the poem itself," he writes, "the antithesis is not so absolute." But the antithesis in the psalm, taken as a whole, is as absolute as language can make it. The psalmist declares that God has no delight in sacrifice and offering as such, nor has he required burnt-offering and sin-offering as such. Obedience to these prescriptions of the law is valuable only as the person is offered to God a living sacrifice. Perceiving this, he cries: "I give myself, instead of these; and I give myself gladly; for I delight to do thy will." The substitution of glad spiritual service for the mere outer rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic religion is thus complete. All critics, of all schools, recognize this contrast; and even Kuenen, were he commenting on the psalm, would say that it is the center and heart of the entire composition. But while the antithesis in the psalm as a whole is as absolute as language can make it, perhaps it is not perfectly clear in the brief sentences quoted; and hence the slight change in the form of the eighth verse, to bring out the real meaning of the writer—a method of quoting that is illustrated in our fourth chapter.

The passage was regarded by the Jews as Messianic. Its application to Christ is based upon the typical relation of the writer to him, and on the special conforming of the language to the history, the purpose, and the

effect of his mission to the world. Alexander has well said :

David, or any other individual believer under the old economy, was bound to bring himself as an oblation, in completion or in lieu of his external gifts ; but such self-devotion was peculiarly important upon Christ's part, as the real sacrifice, of which those rites were only figures. The failure of any individual to render this essential offering ensured his own destruction. But if Christ had failed to do the same, all his followers must have perished. It is not, therefore, an accommodation of the passage to a subject altogether different, but an exposition of it in its highest application, that is given in Heb. 10 : 5-10.

XXV. I shall consider now the prophecy of Christ in Deut. 18 : 15-19 :

“ Jehovah, thy God, will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me ; unto him ye shall hearken ; according to all that thou desiredst of Jehovah thy God in Horeb in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of Jehovah my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And Jehovah said unto me, They have well said that which they have spoken. I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee ; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.”

In the next verse Moses condemns false prophets, and in the two following verses lays down a method of distinguishing true prophets from pretenders. His promise in verses 15-19 is of “ a prophet,” in the singular, and hence many critics regard it as a direct prediction

of Christ; but his warnings and his instructions in the subsequent verses seem to contemplate an order of prophets, and hence some hold that the words "a prophet like unto me," are "used collectively, the reference being to the whole line of prophets." This division of the critics is determined largely by their theological sympathies, the more conservative in general taking the first view, and the more radical the second. I follow the former. It seems to me natural that Moses should look at the great Prophet, the Head of the order, and then at others who might claim to participate partially in the spirit of prophecy; but not natural that he should say "a prophet like unto me," when he meant the whole number of his successors. The controversy, however, is of little importance. Let us grant that Moses refers to the entire order of prophets. They are then a type of the supreme Prophet, who has brought us the complete expression of the divine nature and the divine will. The language of Moses is singular, and not plural, because the Holy Spirit would direct us thus to the One Prophet of whom the others are "but broken lights."

The prophecy is quoted by Peter at Acts 3 : 22, 23, and by Stephen at Acts 7 : 37. By neither is it declared either direct or typical. Indeed, there is no instance in the whole New Testament in which a writer distinguishes any prophecy as belonging to one of these classes or to the other. The direct prophecies and the indirect are alike quoted simply as prophecies. Hence Toy is wrong when, after deciding that the passage refers only indirectly to Christ, he adds that in the Acts it "is regarded as a direct historical prediction."

These distinctions of prophecies are useful, but they are chiefly modern, and they are entirely foreign to the Holy Scriptures.

XXVI. We now approach a quotation which has occasioned perhaps more debate than any other. It is Isa. 7 : 14 as reproduced in Matt. 1 : 22, 23 :

Now all this is come to pass, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying,

Behold, the virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth
a son,
And they shall call his name Immanuel ;

which is, being interpreted, God with us.

There are four views of this passage which seem to me worthy of consideration. The first is held by such scholars as Ewald and Cheyne. It is that Isaiah expected the Messiah to come immediately. Hence "the maiden" is his mother, and the passage is a direct Messianic prophecy. Those who hold that the writers of the New Testament were mistaken as to the time of our Lord's second advent will have no difficulty in holding that the writers of the Old Testament were mistaken as to the time of his first advent. I will add that both suppositions appear to me utterly without warrant.

The second view is applied to many other passages as well ; it is that which Dr. Leonard Woods has stated and defended with much ability.¹

The phrase "that it might be fulfilled,"² and other phrases of the like kind, are indeed used, and very properly, to introduce a real prediction which is accomplished, but not for this purpose

¹ In his "Lecture on the Quotations," Andover, 1824.

² *ἵνα πληρωθῆ.*

only. They are often used, and with equal propriety, I say not in the way of accommodation, because that word, unhappily, has been employed by certain writers to express a doctrine which I think utterly inconsistent with the character of Christ and his apostles, but to denote a mere comparison of similar events, to signify that the thing spoken of answers to the words of the prophet, or that his words may be justly applied to it; and so they may relate to what was said by an inspired writer in describing a character which formerly appeared, or in relating an event which formerly took place, as well as to a real prediction. Accordingly, we might take a passage where it is said that such a thing was done "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet," or that what was spoken by the prophet "was fulfilled," and might, in many instances, express the same thing by such phrases as these: The declaration of the prophet had an accomplishment in what took place; or, his words may be aptly applied to it; or, they very properly express it; or, his observation is true in reference to the present case; or, this thing is like what the prophet describes. According to this view the passages referred to are cited in the way of illustration. And a thorough attention to the subject will convince you that this mode of illustrating and impressing the truth was very common at the time the New Testament was written, and indeed is common at the present time, and is obviously proper at all times.

This opinion Dr. Woods seeks to prove by various considerations, but chiefly by an appeal to several passages of the New Testament where, he affirms, the phrases in question cannot be understood in any other manner, and also by an appeal to the lexicons. Some of the passages from the Old Testament introduced into the New with these phrases, he maintains, are not in their nature prophecies, nor are they quoted as prophecies. Some of the older lexicons, as Schleusner, sustain his view; but the later reject it. All agree

that the words in secular Greek might have the force assigned to them by Dr. Woods; but it is denied that this sense ever belongs to them in the New Testament.¹ There are, however, certain fashions in lexicography, as in every other study; and perhaps the discussion is not yet at an end.

This interpretation of the words "That it might be fulfilled," is rejected by Tholuck, who, however, preserves all that is valuable in it, while assigning a full and natural sense to the phrase in question:

It may be shown convincingly, that neither the Redeemer himself nor his apostles have proceeded on so rigid an idea of prophecy as has been attributed to them by a far too material supranaturalism. Only a few persons still retain the idea of prophecy in its ancient rigidity. Even in popular works, such as Otto von Gerlach's Commentary on Matt. 2 : 16, we find the following anti-material description of prophecy: "The word 'fulfill,' in this and other passages, is not to be understood as if the words quoted contained a prophecy which was verified merely in the instance adduced. Rather, we should say every divine expression contains a meaning which is fulfilled when that takes place which it expresses, either on a smaller or larger scale. Hence all the words of God, which collectively are in a certain sense prophecies, as long as the kingdom of God had not yet appeared, always become gradually fulfilled, and with increasing brightness, because the primary fulfillment is typical of a subsequent one." This more spiritual idea of prophecy shows itself also in this, that one and the same word of promise is applied freely to manifold and different phenomena, which yet can be ranged under one idea. The aged Simeon finds the prophecy of Isaiah, "A light to lighten the Gentiles" (Luke 2 :

¹ The examples from secular Greek are given at some length by Palfrey, in his "Relation between Judaism and Christianity," p. 28. See the word *ἵνα* in Sophocles and in Thayer. Toy, in his "Quotations," admits that the older opinion may possibly be correct.

32), fulfilled in the child Jesus; but Paul, knowing that the apostles were the conveyers of that light, finds its fulfillment in the apostles (Acts 13 : 47). When Peter, in Acts 2 : 17-21, explains the language of Joel as fulfilled in the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, it certainly was not his meaning that the prophecy he quoted was fulfilled in that event only; indeed, what he says of natural phenomena (ver. 19, 20), was not at that time literally fulfilled. No doubt Peter employed the words of Joel in the same manner in which he quoted the words of Christ, "Ye shall be baptized in the Holy Spirit," at the effusion of the Spirit on Cornelius (Acts 11 : 16). He was well aware that this promise of the Redeemer related primarily to the apostles; but on another occasion, which harmonized in idea with the effusion of the Spirit on the apostles, this word of the Lord's was realized afresh. So also those expressions of Isaiah respecting the hardening of the hearts of the people. The same passage is four times quoted in the New Testament on different occasions (Matt. 13 : 14; John 12 : 40; Acts 28 : 26; and Rom. 11 : 8); and even to the inhabitants of the island of Thule the apostles would have had no hesitation in saying, "In you is fulfilled the word spoken by the prophet," in case the state of their dispositions corresponded with that to which Isaiah refers. In this manner we would explain 1 Peter 1 : 25, where the prophetic expression, "The word of the Lord abideth forever," is boldly explained as referring to the gospel, in the words, "And this is the word of good tidings which was preached unto you." The freedom with which, in these instances, reference is made to the expressions of the Old Testament, is equally applied to the form of the citations, when Christ in John 6 : 45, in order to prove that the Father inwardly teaches men, adduces the prophetic saying, "They shall all be taught of God," with the general expression, "It is written in the prophets." We find a similar instance in John 7 : 38 : "He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." All these examples fall within the limits of typical prophecy, inasmuch as within the original fact to which the Old Testament language relates, those other cases to which it is applied are comprehended and typified.

Exactly in the same manner John uses the language of the Redeemer himself, when, in chapter 18 : 9, he refers with an "in an order that it might be fulfilled," to chapter 17 : 12, where yet the discourse was only of spiritual perdition.¹ But did John mean that the Saviour, in that saying, had in view the fact to which he himself applied it, or did he only mean to say that the Saviour's words in this respect also might be considered as verified?

Dr. Woods holds that the phrase "that it might be fulfilled" is often used to signify no more than that "the things spoken of answer to the words of the prophet or that his words may be justly applied to them." Tholuck gives it greater force, and sees in it a real recognition of divine intention, while still he maintains that it introduces the words of the prophecy as applicable to all events in the history of the kingdom of God which so resemble the original event that it may be regarded as typifying them or as including them in its conception, its idea, or its causes. The interpretation of Tholuck is to be preferred, because it gives us all the elasticity of prophetic language sought by Dr. Woods, while it sees in the passages quoted real prediction, and not mere illustration.

A third view is well expressed by Toy, and, though insufficient in itself, it may be united to the fourth with advantage: "The spiritual significance of the name, the spiritual presence of God with men, was realized more and more perfectly as Israel grew in

¹ John 17 : 12: "While I was with them I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me; and I guarded them, and not one of them perished, but the son of perdition." John 18 : 9: "That the word might be fulfilled which he spake, Of those whom thou hast given me I lost not one."

knowledge, and most perfectly in Jesus of Nazareth, who most truly embodied the divine, and became the Redeemer of men." Hence the Immanuel of the prophecy would be, though not exactly a type of Christ, an early embodiment of a truth to become revealed in him as its fullest form.

A fourth view of the quotation is the one at present held by the great majority of evangelical scholars.

About the year B. C. 734, Ahaz, the king of Judah, learned that the two powers nearest him on the north and northeast, Israel under Pekah, and Syria under Rezin, intended to invade Judah, besiege Jerusalem, and set up in his place another king, who would do their will. He was terrified at the prospect. God, however, commanded Isaiah to assure him that the purpose of the confederates should fail, and to offer him a miraculous sign that the prediction of immunity from invasion should be fulfilled. Ahaz refused to ask for a sign, whereupon the prophet said: "Jehovah himself shall give you a sign." The sign was to be this. A young woman designated as "the maiden," perhaps some person well known to the king, as for instance his daughter, should conceive and bear a son, whose name should be called "Immanuel," that is, "God is with us." The name was one of hope and confidence that God had not deserted his people, but was with them to save them from the threatened hostilities of their rivals, and it was thus like the names given by Isaiah to his own sons (7 : 3 ; 8 : 1-4, 18), the one Shear-jashub, "A remnant shall return," as a testimony that Judah should be carried away captive, but not annihilated, and the other Maher-shalal-hash-baz,

“The spoil speedeth, the prey hasteth,” as a testimony that Assyria should soon lay waste both Damascus and Samaria. Before Immanuel should be old enough to “know to refuse the evil and choose the good,” the hostile lands should be overrun by their foes, and Jerusalem delivered from their power. The young woman was probably some influential and well-known person about to be married, since she is called definitely “the maiden”; and the child seems to have been born and named in accordance with the prophetic word, and to have occupied a princely position, for in Isa. 8 : 8, the land of Judah is termed “thy land, O Immanuel.” Thus all the events here foreseen by the prophet lay in the immediate future. The prophecy referred to the birth of Christ, first, in a typical manner, “the maiden” foreshowing Mary, and the princely Immanuel, Jesus. It referred to the birth of Christ, secondly, in the peculiar formation of its language under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, so that the terms employed were specially adapted to the more distant event as well as to the nearer.

When we read in the gospel : “All this is come to pass that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet,” we must not force the words into some unnatural sense, and say that there was no real prediction of the Incarnation in the Old Testament passage, but only such a resemblance to the later events as reminded the evangelist of it. There is little ground for question that he found in the words quoted a genuine prophecy of the birth of the Son of God from a virgin mother, or that he regarded this event as ordained by God in order that the declaration

of the prophet might be accomplished. But, while we must not belittle the statement of the evangelist, neither must we exaggerate it, as, for instance, by making him teach that the miraculous birth of our Lord had no other purpose than the fulfillment of the prediction, or that the prediction had no other purpose than to point to the birth of our Lord of a virgin mother, and no other fulfillment; for in fact he says none of these things.

Nor must we make him say that Isaiah understood his words to be a prediction of the Messiah when he uttered them. In some cases the prophet was utterly unconscious of any higher reference of his words than that which lay nearest to him, though the Holy Spirit so shaped them that they should foretell far greater events, and be understood by his people in due time, for their admiration, for their confirmation in the faith, and for their comfort. We have a special instance of this sort in John 11 : 49-52 :

“A certain one of them, Caiaphas, being high priest that year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor do ye take account that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not. Now this he said not of himself: but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation; and not for the nation only, but that he might also gather together into one the children of God that are scattered abroad.”

Caiaphas meant one thing, but the Holy Spirit so guided his mind that his words became a prediction of another. A similar instance is that of Balaam (Num. 22, 23, and 24). Many of the pre-

dictions of the Old Testament must be placed in this class. It ought not to seem strange that he who controls all events, even the least, should care for the language of his prophets, and give it such a form as is most suitable to his purposes. It is to this providence of God in the utterance of Isaiah that Matthew alludes, when he uses the peculiar phraseology, "Spoken by the Lord through the prophet." His interpretation of the prophecy thus declares what was in the mind of the Lord when it was uttered and not what was in the mind of the prophet. Both the Spirit of inspiration and the prophet thought of the immediate application of the words ; but it may be that only the Spirit of inspiration thought of the later and grander application. Thus Broadus says :

It is often unnecessary, and sometimes impossible, to suppose that the prophet himself had in mind that which the New Testament writer calls a fulfillment of his prediction.

Many prophecies received fulfillments which the prophet does not appear to have at all contemplated. But as God's providence often brought about the fulfillment, though the human actors were heedless or even ignorant of the predictions they fulfilled, so God's Spirit often contemplated fulfillments of which the prophet had no conception, but which the evangelist makes known. And it is of a piece with the general development of revelation, that the later inspiration should explain the records of the earlier inspiration, and that only after the events have occurred should the early predictions of them be understood.

The chief discussion occasioned by this view turns upon the word translated "virgin." It is said that the Greek word employed here means a virgin in the strictest sense ; that the Hebrew word does not mean a virgin

in this sense, but a marriageable young woman, whether strictly a virgin or not, and indeed whether married or not; that there is another Hebrew word which the prophet would have used had he intended to say "the virgin"; and that hence his prediction cannot properly be interpreted as in any way a prediction of the birth of Jesus from a virgin mother.

It should be noticed, however, first of all, that the Greek word¹ here employed by the evangelist does not always mean a virgin in the strictest sense, but, as Meyer points out, often designates a girl, a maiden, in the most general way, and sometimes a young married woman. No doubt it is used by Matthew in this place in the strict sense; but by observing its wide range of meanings, we are better prepared to see how the Hebrew word here used by Isaiah may also have a wide range of meanings.

Let us next examine the statement that the word here used in the Hebrew does not mean a virgin, but a marriageable, or even a married young woman. Toy is one of those who hold this opinion, and, like others of his school of criticism, he appeals for his chief proof to the Aramaic and Arabic languages. But this is no evidence, as any one may see by taking a list of common English words, which exist also in German and French, and observing what different and sometimes discrepant shades of meaning the same word has in the three languages. Toy admits that the instances in which the word occurs in the Old Testament do not prove that the person designated by it is in any case already married. Gesenius, who gives the word this

¹ παρθένος.

wide meaning, appeals to the passage before us as the only instance in which it refers to a married woman ; but this surely is to beg the very question at issue. It is probably fair to say that the word means in general a marriageable but unmarried young woman, a girl, a maiden, but sometimes passes over into the stricter meaning of spotless virginity, exactly like our word "maid," or the German "Jungfrau." It seems to have this stricter meaning in Solomon's Song 6 : 8 :

There are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines,
And virgins without number.

Here there are three classes in the harem of Solomon—queens, concubines, and maidens. What was the distinction between the concubines and maidens, unless it was that the former stood in the position of wives to the king, while the latter were supposed to be still intact ?

The passage from the idea of a marriageable young woman to that of strict virginity would be especially easy for a Hebrew, whose law required that every bride should be found a virgin, on pain of death (Deut. 22 : 20, 21). Thus Hitzig says, commenting on the prophecy: "The sense of 'unmarried woman' is demanded; the unstained purity is understood in this connection as a matter of course." Indeed, it may be said that a marriageable young woman would necessarily be thought of by the Hebrews as a virgin, whatever word might be employed to designate her, since no young woman not a virgin was marriageable under their law. The prophet, in saying that a "maiden should conceive and bear a son," would think of her as a virgin, for it

was far from his purpose to accuse her and subject her to death. Hence Matthew is true to the prophetic thought when he uses the word "virgin" in the quotation. We are not to suppose, however, that he lays great stress upon this special word; he found it in the Septuagint, and retained it; but if he had rejected it for "maiden," or "young unmarried woman," his meaning would have been precisely the same, and we should have understood the strict virginity of Mary, from the fact which he states, that Joseph had not yet taken her to himself in reality, though he had complied with the forms of marriage.

We must examine, next, the statement that there is another Hebrew word which the prophet would have employed to express the idea of strict virginity. The statement is true in part; there is another word which is employed when the thought of virginity is to receive special emphasis (Gen. 24 : 16; Exod. 22 : 16, 17; Lev. 21 : 14; Deut. 22 : 19, 23, 28; etc.). There is no reason to suppose, however, that either the prophet, or Matthew in quoting him, needed a word which would give special emphasis to the idea of virginity. And unfortunately for the adverse argument which I am considering, this word also passes through a wide range of meanings, and is used for a young woman where there is no assertion of strict virginity (Amos 8 : 13), and even for a young widow (Joel 1 : 8). Broadus well says of this last passage, that had such an instance been found for the word employed by Isaiah in the prophecy before us, "it would have been claimed as triumphant proof that 'virgin' is not here a proper translation."

If difficulty is found with the statement that language specially intended by the prophet to refer to one series of events was so shaped by the Spirit of inspiration as to predict also another, let the reader consider attentively the instances of this sort already referred to in John 11 : 49-52 and Num. 22, 23, and 24. The language of Isaiah seems to have received special supervision from the Holy Spirit ; for, though "the maiden" to whom the prophet immediately refers would of course be married before bringing forth her son, nothing is said of this, and thus the words become peculiarly appropriate to the birth of Jesus from a virgin mother. Let the reader consider also what has already been said in this chapter on double reference in general literature.

Difficulty is found again with the statement that "the maiden" of Isaiah was a type of Mary, and her son Immanuel a type of Jesus. But this difficulty will vanish if we suppose, as we have already had reason to do, that "the maiden" was a princess, and hence a daughter of David, and perhaps a progenitor of Mary and of Jesus, both of whom were "of the seed of David according to the flesh."¹ The son, in this case, would be a prince, and the expression, "thy land, O Immanuel," would be natural ; and this prince of the house of David, bearing a name so significant of the presence of Jehovah with his people, would be a vivid type of him in whose person God was to dwell among men.

That the passage was intended by the Holy Spirit to refer to the birth of Christ, as well as to the events

¹ 2 Tim. 2 : 8.

immediately predicted by the prophet, is felt by almost all Christians who read it. 1. Why else should an unmarried woman, a maiden, a virgin, be selected as the destined mother, instead of some woman already married? The sign, so far as Ahaz was to be affected by it, would be exactly as vivid in the latter case as in the former. 2. Why else should the prophet be careful to predict the birth of a son? Why not say, indefinitely, a child, a babe, or definitely, a daughter? The sign, to Ahaz, would be quite as significant. 3. Why else should the relative poverty of this boy in his early life be pointed out in the statement that he should eat "butter and honey," the food of the less wealthy classes? 4. Why else should the boy be spoken of in chap. 8 : 8 as the lord of Judah, in the words, "thy land, O Immanuel?" It is evident that we have to do here with language carefully chosen to refer to events far apart in time, and with events the earlier of which are typical of the later. We may confidently adopt the words of Alexander: "There is no ground, grammatical, historical, or logical, for doubt as to the main point, that the church in all ages has been right in regarding this passage as a signal and explicit prediction of the miraculous conception and nativity of Jesus Christ."

We have here, therefore, a typical prediction of the incarnation, strongly indicated as such by the overflow of its language from the contemporary to the more remote persons and events.

XXVII. Similar overflow of language is found at Micah 5 : 1-5 as quoted at Matt. 2 : 6. The whole section of Micah in which these verses occur, relates to

the invasions of Palestine by the Assyrians under Sargon, near the beginning of the seventh century B. C. But just here the horizon of the prophet expands, and he foresees the birth of a king in Bethlehem, a descendant of David, a man "whose goings forth are from of old, from ancient days," who should "be great unto the ends of the earth," and who should "feed his flock in the strength of Jehovah, in the majesty of the name of Jehovah his God." This ruler should beat back the Assyrians, and "waste their land with the sword." The passage takes the color of the time in which it was written; but the prophet rises for a moment above the circumstances immediately about him, and uses language which could be adequately fulfilled only in such a personage as our Lord, and in his spiritual victories over all the enemies of the people of God, of whom the Assyrians were vivid types.

XXVIII. I shall consider next the quotation of Hosea 11 : 1 in Matt. 2 : 15. The extracts from Dr. Leonard Woods and from Tholuck, concerning the formula of quotation, "that it might be fulfilled," in my discussion of Matt. 1 : 22, 23, should be considered here. The reader should weigh again what I have said in the same discussion about the formation of prophetic language under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; for the words of Hosea are as admirably adapted to the use to which the evangelist applies them as are those of Isa. 7 : 14.

The quotation finds its best explanation, however, in the typical view of the Old Testament. It is called by Kuenen "an abandoned post." But it is abandoned only by critics of his own school, who see no typi-

cal relationship between the old dispensation and the new; while those who believe in such a typical relationship find in this quotation only a vivid illustration of it. The evangelist tells us that the flight of Joseph and Mary with their child into Egypt, and the return to the holy land, took place "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt did I call my son." The words as they stand in the Old Testament refer primarily to Israel, as is evident at a glance. The prophet may have found no other meaning in them; and it should be observed that here again the evangelist ascribes their reference to Christ to "the Lord," and not to the prophet; they were "spoken by the Lord through the prophet." That Israel is regarded by the Spirit of inspiration as a type of Christ is certain both from the New Testament and the Old; and it is equally certain that the typical relationship is traced in various minute details, as well as the broader outlines of the sacred history. The passage of Israel through the Red Sea is a type of the baptism which Christ instituted and observed (1 Cor. 10 : 1, 2). The Passover is a type of the Lord's sacrifice (1 Cor. 5 : 7), and of its memorial, the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 5 : 8), as are also the manna and the water from the rock (John 6 : 26-59; 1 Cor. 10 : 3-5, 16, 17). The forty years of wandering in the wilderness can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as a type of the forty days of temptation in the desert. All the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic ritual were "a shadow of the good things to come" (Heb. 10 : 1). Many of the great men of the Hebrew records were types of the Messiah, like Mel-

chizedek (Heb. 7), and Moses (Deut. 18 : 15 ; Acts 3 : 22 ; 7 : 37). The whole people of Israel, in so far as it suffered "for righteousness' sake," was a type of the suffering Saviour of men. This is presented most graphically in the prophecies of Isaiah, where "the servant of Jehovah" is sometimes Israel (41 : 8-13), while at other times he can be none else than the Messiah (42 : 1-9 ; 53 : 2-12).

Since, then, the old dispensation is a type of the new, it should occasion no surprise that the descent of Israel into Egypt and the exodus should foreshadow similar events in the life of the Redeemer of the world. But, it is said by Kucnen, the two series of events are not similar. "As regards Israel, Egypt was the land of servitude; as regards the child Jesus, it was a temporary refuge; the calling out of Egypt is thus an entirely different thing with the evangelist from what it was with the prophet." This is an appeal to popular impressions, rather than to history. In fact, Egypt was as truly a refuge to the Israelites as to Christ (Gen. 43, 44, 45). It is probable that the larger part of their sojourn there was prosperous, the oppression coming only when God would wean them from the riches of Goshen and take them to their own land. The return of Joseph and Mary with Jesus was similar to that of Israel, inasmuch as it was accomplished in obedience to the direct command of God (Matt. 2 : 19, 20). But the typology goes deeper than this, and reaches the firm rock of those eternal principles on which God bases his actions. This is well expressed by Dr. Leonard Woods:¹ "The prin-

¹ In his "Lectures on the Quotations."

ciple of the divine government was in both cases the same. In bringing the children of Israel out of Egypt, the event intended by the prophet, God showed his kindness to his people, his care to protect and deliver them, his faithfulness in executing his promise. He showed the same kindness and care and faithfulness in respect to his holy child Jesus in the event described by the evangelist."

XXIX. The quotation of Jer. 31 : 15 in Matt. 2 : 18 is perhaps another instance of the typical element in Scripture : "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken through Jeremiah the prophet, saying :

A voice was heard in Ramah,
Weeping and great mourning,
Rachel weeping for her children ;
And she would not be comforted, because they are not."

The original passage refers primarily to the conquest of the kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians. Many were slain, and many were carried away into slavery. The disaster had occurred long before the prophecies of Jeremiah were uttered ; and he depicts it here in order to comfort the captives, and to predict the joyful return of the nation to its own land. By a bold flight of the imagination he portrays Rachel, the wife of Jacob, as rising from her tomb and weeping so bitterly for the calamities of her children that the sound of her lamentation was heard in Ramah, a city not far distant.

This view of the passage needs to be justified, for it is held by almost all commentators that the lamentation of Rachel is supposed by the prophet to be caused by the destruction of the kingdom of Judah, and its

capital, Jerusalem, a disaster in which her descendants, the Benjamites, were involved. In accordance with this interpretation, the Ramah mentioned in the prophecy is placed in Benjamite territory. Such in substance is the view of Mansel, Plumptre, Alford, Lange, Hitzig, Meyer, and Broadus. But it is erroneous, as an inspection of the prophecy itself will show. The prophecy consists of three divisions. In the first, Jehovah addresses the Northern kingdom, calling it, as usual, sometimes Israel, and sometimes again Ephraim, since Ephraim was its leading tribe (ver. 1-22). In the second division he addresses the Southern kingdom, as usual calling it Judah, because Judah was its leading tribe (ver. 23-26.) In the third division he addresses both kingdoms, and calls them "the house of Israel, and the house of Judah" (ver. 27-40). These three divisions of the prophecy are as distinct as language can make them, and are based on the political divisions of the chosen people. The chapter is thus like an American State paper, addressed in the first part to the Northern States of our Union; in the second to the Southern States; and in the third to both as forming one people.

The words quoted by Matthew are in the first part of the chapter, and are addressed to the Northern tribes, instead of Judah and Jerusalem. They predict the restoration of Israel, the replanting of the mountains of Samaria, the prosperity of Ephraim. The verses quoted by Matthew refer to the Northern nation under the name of Ephraim, its leading tribe. Rachel laments for her children; but Jehovah bids her "refrain from weeping," because her children are destined to "come again from

the land of the enemy." He continues, "Surely I have heard Ephraim bemoaning himself" in penitence. We have only to bear in mind that the whole Northern nation is called Ephraim here, as so often elsewhere, to appreciate the appropriateness of the picture of Rachel weeping over its captivity; for the patriarch Ephraim was her grandson; and hence the whole people were regarded ideally as her descendants. We have only to bear in mind that the Northern kingdom of Ephraim was destroyed, and its people slain or carried away, more than a hundred and thirty years before the captivity of the Jews, to see that the passage before us can have no reference whatever to the latter event.

In general, however, the commentators have not observed¹ this clear division of the chapter, and hence have referred the weeping of Rachel chiefly to the calamities of Benjamin in the overthrow of Judah, the Southern kingdom. Hence, also, of the five Ramahs mentioned in the Old Testament, they select the Ramah which lay within the territory of Benjamin, a few miles north of Jerusalem, and regard it as the place where the weeping was heard. The motive of Rachel is thus seriously belittled, as it is found chiefly in the sorrows of a petty tribe, instead of a mighty nation.

The commentators on this passage have yet another reason for their choice of the Ramah just north of Jerusalem besides its situation in Benjamite territory. The reason is presented in the assertion that this Ramah was the place where all the captive Jews were assembled, some to be slain and others to be carried out of the country. The statement, however, is sus-

¹ Nägelsbach has noticed it.

tained by no real evidence. The only semblance of proof adduced for it is found in Jer. 40 : 1 : "The word which came to Jeremiah from Jehovah, after that Nebuzaradan, the captain of the guard, had let him go from Ramah, when he had taken him, being bound in chains, among all the captives of Jerusalem and Judah, which were carried away captive into Babylon." The Ramah north of Jerusalem was thus probably the headquarters of the "captain of the guard." As it was near the main road leading toward Babylon, it is not improbable that many prisoners underwent some sort of examination there. But the text proves very little beyond this tentative inspection of some prisoners of war. It shows us that Jeremiah had been "taken bound in chains among all the captives of Jerusalem," that he had been carried to Ramah, whether with other captives or apart from them, and that he was "let go" after an interview with the Assyrian commander. More than a year before this the country of Judah had been overrun, and its inhabitants disposed of, and even a large part of the citizens of Jerusalem had yielded themselves to the invaders. All the captives seem to have been sent to Riblah, far north of this Ramah, where their ultimate fate was decided (2 Kings 25 : 18-21). The most terrible tragedies of the war were enacted at Riblah ; there the prince royal and the nobles were slaughtered, and the eyes of the king put out (Jer. 39 : 1-7); there also the principal priests, five of the court favorites, and sixty other prominent Jews, were sentenced to death and executed (2 Kings 25 : 18-21). When Dr. R. Payne Smith, in the "Speaker's Commentary," tells us that all the captives were reviewed at Ramah,

and "all such as were unequal to the journey would there be put to death," he is indulging in mere conjecture. We have no account of such a general muster there; nor do the Scriptures tell us that a single execution took place there. The writer of the article on "Ramah" in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible" adds to the persons slaughtered at this place those who were poor, forgetting the express statement of Scripture that the poor were left behind to cultivate the soil (2 Kings 25:12). Thus it is not proved that the Ramah intended by the prophet was one where special cruelties were perpetrated, for we have no proof that any Ramah was the theatre of special cruelties.

Not only is there no reason in favor of the Ramah immediately north of Jerusalem, but there is a special reason against it. The prophet seems to think of Rachel as rising from her tomb, and, without departing from it, as weeping so loudly that her voice was heard in Ramah, and was recognized there as a voice of bitter wailing and lamentation. Now the tomb of Rachel is well-known to this day, and is shown where the writer of Gen. 35:19, 20 places it; its distance from this Ramah is about nine miles, and Jerusalem lies between the two. The prophet, even in the boldest flight of his imagination would hardly represent her cry as penetrating so far.

Is there any Ramah of the Old Testament that will suit the requirements of this passage better? Yes. (1) The home of Samuel was at a certain Ramah (1 Sam. 7:17), from which he went "in circuit to Bethel, and Gilgal, and Mizpeh," to judge the people. (2) It seems to have been at his home that Saul visited

him (1 Sam. 9), for the servant of Saul said: "There is in this city a man of God," which he could not have done had the city not been known as the residence of the seer. Moreover, Samuel seems to have been in his own house when Saul was entertained by him. (3) The place where Samuel was when Saul visited him could not have been the Ramah north of Jerusalem, for that was in the territory of Benjamin. But God said to Samuel: "I will send thee a man out of the land of Benjamin"; and moreover Saul "passed through the land of the Benjamites" and came "to the land of Zuph," before reaching the Ramah where Samuel dwelt. (4) This Ramah was near the tomb of Rachel, for in letting Saul go, Samuel sketched his journey (1 Sam. 10: 2-6), and mentioned "Rachel's sepulchre" first in the order of places where significant events were to occur during the day. We see at once how the prophet might picture the voice of Rachel as being heard in a Ramah which was near her grave, and perhaps nearer than any other city. The dignity which it derived from its antiquity and from its association with memories of Samuel would also fit it for a place in a strain of impassioned poetry like this.

Let us turn now to the use of this passage in the Gospel of Matthew. We see at once why it was suggested to the evangelist by the slaughter of the infants, for the tomb of Rachel was near not only to Ramah, but also to Bethlehem, as we are told in Gen. 35: 19, 20, so that the crime of Herod was enacted, as it were, under her very eyes. But, it is said by almost all commentators, the inhabitants of Bethlehem belonged to Judah, so that the slaughtered babes could not be called

her children. This is to forget, however, that after the return from the captivity there was no distinction of tribes. Many families kept genealogies tracing their lineage to various tribes; but the whole people were called Jews, taking their name from the tribe of Judah, and occupied the land without distinction of tribal boundaries. Such had been the case for more than five hundred years when the Gospel by Matthew was written. Hence, as Rachel was considered ideally by the prophet the ancestress of the Israelites, only a small part of whom were her actual descendants, so now she is considered ideally by the evangelist as the mother of the whole people, only a part of whom are her actual descendants. As the favorite wife of Jacob, as a strong and beautiful character, and as one doomed to a life of disappointment and to a premature and pathetic death, she had made a deep impression on all acquainted with her history. This is illustrated remarkably in Ruth 4:11, where the friends of Boaz wish him many children of his bride, and say, "Jehovah make the woman that is come unto thy house like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel," thus putting Rachel first, though she was the second wife, and though she had but two sons, while Leah had six. It was natural, then, that the New Testament writer, in the passage before us, should speak of her as the ancestress of all the people, and should depict her as bewailing the fate of a portion of them slain in circumstances of such atrocity and such pathos.

My interpretation of the prophecy does not depend in any essential manner upon my rejection of the

Ramah north of Jerusalem. If we accept that city, and hold that it was chosen by the prophet because it was in the territory of Benjamin and the scene of special cruelties, there will still be ground for the application of the passage to the event which took place in Bethlehem, a city which now belonged to all the tribes in common, to her descendants not less than to others, and which had become the scene of a heartrending tragedy. But the use of the passage in the Old Testament and its use in the New are brought into more obvious connection by the supposition that the Ramah mentioned in it was near the sepulchre of Rachel, as also Bethlehem was, and that the lamentation was caused by the calamities of persons the majority of whom were ideally, though not actually, her descendants.

We may now examine the formula of quotation employed here by Matthew, and we shall find that it is not without special significance. Usually he introduces his prophetic quotations with the words, "that it might be fulfilled." As we have seen in the passages from his Gospel already discussed in this chapter, the formula, "that it might be fulfilled," probably refers to the design of God in overruling typical events, and in shaping prophetic language so that the future might be foreshadowed in the present and the past. Here, however, the writer abandons his favorite formula, and says only, "Then was fulfilled." This choice of another formula, of an exceptional kind, in the case before us, was not the result of mere chance or forgetfulness. It may have been occasioned by the fear of the evangelist that his readers would be perplexed with the statement that the slaughter of the infants took place in order

that prophecy might be fulfilled, though it would be true in a certain sense, and with explanations too cumbrous to introduce into his work. But, however this may be, the formula is manifestly not so strong as that which it has displaced, and we must not press it too far. The mourning at Bethlehem fulfilled the words of Jeremiah; but in what manner did it fulfill them? Three views of the force of the formula in this case have been advanced.

1. Many believe that it was designed merely to express result, and not intention, such a resemblance of the two cases as renders the language applicable to both and not a strict typical relationship of the one to the other. We might suppose that Rachel is brought forward not as an individual, but as the representative of motherhood. We know her maternal instincts, her longing for offspring, her rejoicing, even in death, that "she had brought a man-child into the world." She is an admirable symbol of motherly yearning and motherly sorrow. If the prophet speaks of her as the representative of the mothers of Israel bereaved of their children by war, it is because she is the best representative of all bereaved mothers. In every tragedy like that of Bethlehem, therefore, his words have a new fulfillment, for mothers are bereaved, and Rachel weeps afresh.

2. If this view is too vague and general, the formula of quotation will permit us to follow Broadus, who cites Calvin, Fairbairn, and Keil, in tracing a specific relation between the events referred to in the Old Testament and in the New. The massacre at Bethlehem, writes Broadus in substance, like the captivity of Israel,

threatens to destroy the future of the nation, which really depends on the Messiah. "If the infant Messiah is slain, then is Israel ruined. Suppose only that some at Bethlehem, who had heard the shepherds and the magi, now despondingly believed that the new-born king was slain, and their mourning would really correspond to that mourning at Ramah which Jeremiah pathetically described. In both cases too, the grief at actual distresses is unnecessarily embittered by this despair as to the future, for the youthful Messiah had not really perished, just as the captivity would not really destroy Israel. In both cases the would-be destroyer fails, and blessings are in store for the people of God." It is often said in answer to such a statement, that the attempt to destroy a whole nation by slaughter and deportation is an event too magnificent to stand as a type of the attempt to destroy the Messiah by the slaughter of a few babes. But the smallest events narrated in the Gospels become magnified by virtue of their relation to the Son of God and the salvation of the world. In this manner the fishermen of Galilee are made royal, the crown of thorns a celestial diadem, and the treachery of Judas the greatest of crimes.

3. The formula of quotation employed in this case, however, does not oblige us to hold a view so strong as this, if it offends us. The words, "then was fulfilled," may mean no more, to quote again from Broadus, "than that there is here a noteworthy point in the general relation between the older sacred history and the new." They do not assert that the passage quoted from the prophet is a definite prediction, distinctly

foretelling the murder of the infants. Yet it may be that they assert something more than a mere resemblance of the events, and set forth a resemblance brought about under the government of him who overrules all things for good, and takes notice when even a sparrow falls to the ground.

If some of these typical passages, as for example the four preceding ones, appear to stand on the extreme verge of the class to which they belong, let us reflect, first, that the Oriental mind is imaginative, and revels in the use of type and analogy and illustration; and secondly, that the Bible is distinguished even among Oriental books for the boldness and the abundance of its imagery.

XXX. At 2 Cor. 6 : 17, the writer exhorts his readers to lead pure Christian lives, and to keep themselves from debasing associations. He adopts as his own the language of Isaiah 52 : 11, 12, without any formula of quotation :

Come out from among them and be ye separate,
And touch no unclean thing, and I will receive you.

This adoption by the apostle of prophetic language as appropriate to his purpose leads Toy to say that "the prophet's exhortation to the captives in Babylon, to guard themselves against (ceremonial) defilement in that idolatrous land, is transferred by the apostle to the Christians of his day, according to the principle of interpretation that whatever is addressed to Israel is at the same time a prediction respecting the times and people of the Messiah."

On the contrary : (1) No such principle as this has

ever been held by the apostles or any others. Probably Toy has in mind the belief of the writers of the New Testament, and of the great mass of Christians, that there is a genetic connection between the Old Testament and the New; that Israel is in a general way a type of Christ and of his people; and that the typical element of the old dispensation is found not only in many of its larger features, but also in many of the more minute. But this statement is totally different in essence, as well as in words, from the statement which he has presented to us as the belief of the Apostle to the Gentiles, "that whatever is addressed to Israel is at the same time a prediction respecting the times and people of the Messiah." To maintain, as Darwin does, that man is genetically connected with the lower vertebrates, so that he is typified and prefigured in them, is not to maintain "that whatever is said of the lower vertebrates is at the same time a prediction respecting man." The typical element of the Scriptures is in this respect like the typical element of other literatures; it does not appear on every page; here it emerges, and there it withdraws from our vision. Even in the "Second Part of Faust," the most prolific in recondite meaning of all poems, we are not always confronted with secondary reference. Nay, further; where the typical element in literature becomes clearest, there many features are ascribed to the type which are not reproduced in the antitype: the resemblance is only general. (2) The words are not quoted as a prediction at all; no prediction is asserted or intimated, and no prediction is called for by what the apostle is saying. If the passage were found in a modern sermon

commending purity of life, the thought would not occur to any one that the preacher regarded it as a prediction. (3) The language is quoted by the apostle simply because it is an appropriate, vigorous, and poetic embodiment of his thought, and because the duty of purity, enjoined upon the people of God in the prophetic age, is equally a duty in the Christian dispensation. The prophet, it is true, has the departure from Babylon in view, and also ceremonial defilement. But he sees in the departure from Babylon a departure from corrupt and corrupting associations, and in the ceremonial defilement a symbol of spiritual defilement. The law of clean and unclean had a typical and moral purpose, and the prophet took the right view of it. Indeed, all the prophets regarded the ceremonial as of value only as it represented the real; they were not chiefly concerned about the letter of the law; they inculcated its spirit, and its letter only as the vehicle and expression of the spirit. Alexander has well written:

The idea that this high-wrought and impassioned composition has reference merely to the literal migration of the captive Jews, says but little for the taste of those who entertain it. The whole analogy of language, and specially of poetic composition, shows that Babylon is no more the exclusive object of the writer's contemplation than the local Zion and the literal Jerusalem in many of the places where those names are mentioned. Like other great historical events, particularly such as may be looked upon as critical conjunctures, the deliverance becomes a type, not only to the prophet, but to the poet and historian, not by any arbitrary process, but by a spontaneous association of ideas.

XXXI. In Matt. 13:34, 35, we find the statement that our Lord "spake in parables unto the multitudes,

that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying,

I will open my mouth in parables ;

I will utter things hidden from the foundation of the world."

The passage is in Ps. 78 : 2, and the quotation is from the Septuagint, but is quite free.

The first objection to the quotation is that the parables of Jesus are not at all like those which the psalmist had in mind when he wrote it. The difficulty vanishes upon closer inspection. It is true that the parables or illustrations of the psalm are drawn from the history of Israel, and not, like those of Jesus, from nature and from the manners and customs of the time ; but the Hebrew words rendered in the Gospel "parable" and "things hidden," as Toy says, "are used with large latitude in the Old Testament, of parables, proverbs, apothegms, and, as here, of any didactic poetical piece in which there may be nothing of a properly gnomic or parabolic character." The words, then, embrace in their meaning such parables as our Lord uttered.

The second objection turns upon the typical use of such passages, and, if it were admitted in principle, would deny the whole typical element in the literatures of the world, sacred and secular.

The saying "was spoken through the prophet" ²⁹²⁷⁵ by Jehovah, and the words are therefore regarded as his, and not man's. They are intended in the psalm to state the method of teaching which Jehovah employed when he spoke to the masses of the people, as is evident from the introductory lines :

Give ear, O my people, to my law,

Incline your ears to the words of my mouth.

Some psalms show by their structure that they were intended for the choir of the tabernacle or the temple, and not for the people at large. Others are for the people in general. All commentators refer Psalm 78 to the latter class; and its opening words prove that its author produced it for popular instruction. Delitzsch comments on them as follows: "The poet comes forward among the people as a preacher."

Let us turn now to the New Testament. When Jehovah appeared in the person of Christ, the evangelist says, he often employed the same illustrative method of instruction in addressing the masses of the people, as is evident from the words, "All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables." Thus the fulfillment was literal. The Old Testament is full of illustrative matter of all kinds, designed to bring the truth to the apprehension of ordinary minds. Jesus, in his studies of the Scriptures, must have been struck with the prominence of this feature, and with the divine wisdom and mercy manifest in it, just as we are. His own methods of illustrative teaching, when addressing the multitudes, were probably based on those which he found employed in the sacred books for the same purpose. The method was summed up most graphically in the words of the quotation, which would often be present to his mind as a brief expression of the thought of God concerning the best way of imparting religious truth to the majority of men, and he would adopt them as an inspired formulary of it, and thus speak in parables, that these words might be fulfilled. The psalmist, who carries out the method to a certain extent, was in so far a type of the Messiah, who was to

give it the fullest exemplification and sanction in his own teaching. That the application of the quotation turns upon the fact that the psalmist addressed it to the "people" expressly is evident from what our Lord says in Matt. 13:11-17, where he makes a distinction between the multitude, in their need of parables, and the apostles, who did not need them so much.

The second line of the quotation is very free, but the departure from literal exactness does not affect the argument of the New Testament writer in the least, and he neither gains nor loses by it. The passage quoted, if read as it stands in the Hebrew text, will be seen to refer to the illustrative method by which God seeks to instruct the ignorant, and it is in this sense that the New Testament writer employs it.

XXXII. In Matt. 21:42; Mark 12:10, 11; Luke 20:17; Acts 6:11; and 1 Peter 2:7, there is a quotation from Ps. 118:22, 23:

The stone which the builders rejected,
The same was made the head of the corner :
This was from the Lord,
And it is marvellous in our eyes.

The psalm was written after the exile, and was designed to comfort and cheer the people. Israel, rejected by the nations, is chosen by God to be again his favored people. The providence of God is thus full of surprises; those whom man rejects because of their holiness, he promotes to great honor, and "chooseth the weak things to confound the mighty." This principle of the divine government finds its highest and most perfect illustration in Christ, and hence the words,

originally applied to Israel, are even more applicable to him. But furthermore, Israel was a type of Christ, and hence, to use the words of Toy, "in Acts and Peter" the passage "is applied directly to the Messiah; as, indeed, the Messiah was the summing up and embodiment of the spiritual traits and functions of Israel."

XXXIII. In Matt. 26:31 and Mark 14:27, Zech. 13:7 is quoted. The prophet represents Jehovah as saying to the sword: "Smite thou the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered." Our Lord, in the quotation, changes the second person to the first and says it is written, "I will smite the shepherd." Toy writes: "This alteration, it is probable, was made by Jesus himself, in order to render into plain language the poetical expression of the prophet, and refer immediately to God what the latter assigns to the avenging sword." It is a change for the purpose of explaining, such as I consider in our fourth chapter. If Jehovah commanded the sword to smite, he himself smote. As to the application of this passage to the Messiah, we might understand that our Lord merely borrows the language, which was written originally for quite a different occasion, as appropriate to the event about to occur. But the word "for," which he uses, seems to indicate that we have a real prophecy of his death and of the scattering of Israel, the scattering of the disciples being the first of the dispersion of the whole people.

The question remains whether the prophecy is a direct prediction of the crucifixion and the dispersion of the disciples and of Israel, or an indirect one. There is absolutely no reason why the prophecy may not be regarded as direct. But let us admit that it originally re-

ferred to some king of Israel who was to be slain, and to the dispersion of the people in consequence of his death. The Hebrew institution of kingship was itself a type of Christ, so that every Hebrew king was in some sense a type, vivid in proportion to his faithfulness. The king in this prophecy was, then, a type of Christ, and the effect produced by his death a foreshadowing of the disaster which was to fall upon the disciples at the crucifixion, and upon Israel under Titus. It is objected to this that the shepherd in the passage quoted must be an unfaithful shepherd, because in the eleventh chapter, two chapters back, three unfaithful shepherds are mentioned and denounced, as also a foolish shepherd, who should succeed them. But the shepherd of the quotation does not seem to be any one of these; on the contrary, God calls him "the man that is my fellow." But if we grant that the shepherd of the quotation is an unfaithful king, he would still be an imperfect type of Christ, as an imperfect king. Thus Ewald writes: "The theocratic king and the Messiah are related to one another as the copy and the original." The Messiah "differed from the common kings in perfectly performing the will of God, whom they served only imperfectly." "Hence it is clear that whatever is said in the old Testament of the kings as God's representatives may be affirmed of the Messiah." Those who are acquainted with the typical passages in general literature can scarcely read this passage of Zechariah without feeling that the language runs over into the typical; and they will find many passages in the neighboring chapters which, did they occur in a poem outside the Bible, they would mark at

once as typical, suggesting as they do personages and events other than those of the immediate foreground, but placing them in only a dim half-light.

XXXIV. Still another instance of the typical interpretation is found in the quotation of Zech. 11:13 in Matt. 27:9: "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken through Jeremiah the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was priced, whom certain of the children of Israel did price; and they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me."

The passage is clearly from Zechariah, though it is ascribed to Jeremiah in our text of the Gospel. The various theories by which scholars have sought to account for this discrepancy are stated by Broadus in his "Matthew" better than by any one else. The discussion, however, does not properly fall within the scope of this book. My opinion is expressed by Toy, who says: "It is not probable that the error arose from a mistake of memory in the evangelist." "It is more likely that it is a clerical error, though it must have got into the text early, since the present reading is supported by the mass of manuscripts and versions."

The quotation is far from exact, and many have doubted that it was intended for the passage in Zechariah; but there need be no question of this, for the general sense is preserved; and the custom of quoting without regard to the precise words was universal, as I have shown in our second chapter. The member of the sentence which says "they gave them for the potter's field," is an extreme instance of the paraphrastic and exegetical quotation, designed to bring out the pro-

phetic meaning of the original, and to show the relation of the passage to the event recorded in the New Testament, a usage illustrated in our fourth chapter.

The formula of quotation is the same with that of Matt. 2 : 17, and is less strong than the one usually employed by the evangelist, "That it might be fulfilled." Perhaps he was deterred by reverence from saying that the Saviour was priced at thirty pieces of silver in order that a prophecy might be fulfilled, or by fear that his readers would be perplexed, while yet he himself found in the event a fulfillment of prophecy. In any case, whatever his motive, he employs a formula which is not so strong as the one it displaces. The three views that may be entertained of a prophecy thus introduced are presented in my discussion of Matt. 2 : 18, and need not be repeated here. It appears to me that we have in the case before us a clear instance of the typical, and that the second view is applicable to it, though not forced upon us by the formula of quotation, and presented to us only by the character of the transactions brought before us in the passage of the Old Testament and in that of the New.

The action described in the Old Testament passage was itself emblematic and typical. It seems to have been in prophetic vision, and not in reality. The prophet, the representative of Jehovah, is the shepherd of the people. Their sins are such that he determines to abandon them ; and he demands of them his wages. They manifest their contempt of him by valuing his services at thirty pieces of silver. Jehovah then speaks, and shows, first, that he regards the insult as offered to himself, and not simply to his prophet ; and, secondly,

that he regards the thirty pieces of silver as the value placed by the people, not on the service rendered them, but on Jehovah, as a person. These two things are evident from his words: "Cast it unto the potter, the goodly price that I was priced at of them." When Jehovah calls the thirty pieces of silver a "goodly price," he speaks ironically. The typical nature of the passage becomes clear, when we observe that Jehovah speaks of himself as sold by his nation for thirty pieces of silver, and that this transaction, seen by the prophet in vision, was accomplished literally when the God-man was valued at the same paltry sum, and sold for it.

The events were not only identical in respect to the inner spirit which occasioned and molded them, but they were significantly alike in outer drapery. In both cases God was valued contemptuously at exactly thirty shekels, the price of the life of a slave under the Mosaic law (Exod. 21 : 32). At the command of God the prophet cast his thirty shekels into the temple to the potter; and the thirty pieces paid to Judas were also cast down in the temple, and were given to the potter. The difficulty which has been found with the statement that Zechariah cast the money to "the potter in the house of Jehovah" is altogether gratuitous. It is true that we do not know of any potter selling his wares in the temple; but we know that money changers carried on their business there, and "those that sold oxen and sheep and doves." Moreover, not only the merchants of these beasts and birds were there, but the beasts and birds themselves, with all their offendings of filth and odor and noise.

It was said in excuse that the convenience of the worshipers was promoted. But this motive would bring a potter into the temple as well. Many offerings were of oil and grain and flour and wine and incense and salt, in definite small quantities; the Talmud, according to Lightfoot, says that these "and other requisites for the sacrifices" were sold in the temple; and, indeed, from the nature of the case they would not be banished from the precincts to which beasts were admitted; and they would be most tastefully and conveniently conveyed to the priests in vases or earthen vessels of greater or less cost,¹ according to the ability of the worshiper. Every year millions of persons came to Jerusalem to present offerings and sacrifices, which they could not well bring with them, and which, therefore, they would be glad to find near at hand, together with receptacles to hold them. There can thus be little doubt that somewhere within the enclosure of the temple there was a shop for the sale of pottery, both in the time of Christ and in that of the prophet, when the house of Jehovah was especially neglected and defiled, since such articles would be among the least objectionable and most convenient.

Alford observes that "the potter" mentioned by Matthew "seems to have been some well-known man, since he is designated in the Greek by the article." What is more probable than that he was the potter who had the monopoly of the temple market for earthenware vessels? One able to purchase this privilege

¹ Wrapping paper was not yet invented, nor cheap tinware nor glassware; and cheap pottery would seem to have been necessary in the circumstances.

would be prominent, and he would be well known to the priests by daily contact with them.

Many critics, as Ewald, Bleek, Meyer, Kuenen, and Toy, have been so perplexed by this mention of the potter in the temple, to whom the prophet cast the money, that they have proposed to substitute another word for "potter." By changing a vowel in the Hebrew word for potter, a word is produced somewhat like the Hebrew word for treasury. But, as the word thus formed is not a Hebrew word at all, another change of the spelling is made, and thus, by two changes, the word for treasury is manufactured, and it is then thrust into the record.¹ This violence is unnecessary. The difficulty felt by the critics about finding a potter in the temple appears to be based on the supposition that the presence of a potter would imply the presence of his pottery, with its laborers, its machinery, and its dauby clay. Thus Toy says: "It seems improbable that such a man should have his workshop in the sacred enclosure." But, as we have seen, the potter would sell his wares in the temple without making them there.

Much discussion has arisen over the question why Jehovah ordered the prophet to cast the thirty pieces of silver to the potter, rather than to any other person. No definite answer can be given; but there must have been some reason in the nature of the case which the lapse of time has concealed from us; and the most plausible conjectures connect the command in various ways with the idea of contempt, as if God would say:

¹ Ladd accuses Matthew of "laying stress on a corruption of the Hebrew text." The "corruption" is imaginary.

“The price at which my people value me is contemptible; let it be used for contemptible purposes.” This would imply that earthenwares were of small value, or that the business of producing and selling them was little esteemed.

Whatever the immediate reason for the order may have been, we are to find a deeper reason in the care of God to foreshadow typically the events connected with the crucifixion of his son.

XXXV. How hard pushed Kuenen is to find objections to the quotations of the New Testament from the Old may be seen in his criticism of Jesus for his citation of Ps. 41 : 9 with reference to Judas, as recorded in John 13 : 18. The Hebrew reads :

He which did eat of my bread
Hath lifted up his heel against me.

Kuenen assures us that Jesus, or the evangelist reporting him, changed the wording of the quotation slightly in order to make it refer to the last passover and the participation of the traitor in it. “The slight variation,” says Kuenen, “not ‘my bread,’ but ‘bread with me,’ is plainly used to make the agreement between the complaint of the poet and the event to which it applied still more distinctly visible.”

But the reading of John 13 : 18 best established, and adopted by the revisers of the English Bible, has “my bread,” and not “bread with me.” The critic has been so eager to make a point against the ordinary Christian views of Holy Scripture, that he has been willing to base his objection upon a reading of inferior authority, without a word of warning

that the foundation on which he builds is of so sandy a nature, or that the reading he adopts is even called in question. Were this reading correct, however, it could not properly be used as he uses it. The phrase of the psalmist, "to eat my bread," and the phrase which Kuenen attributes to Jesus, "to eat bread with me," mean exactly the same thing; for, when the psalmist says that the traitor "has eaten my bread," he is not thinking of bread which happened to belong to him, but of bread on his own table, where he sat as host, and the other as guest. The phrase always means this; and Kuenen's argument is based on the mere sound of the words rather than on their sense.

That part of the psalm which is quoted is Messianic in the saddest sense, presenting to us the Saviour and Judas as these persons were typified in David and his pretended friend.

XXXVI. In Acts 2 : 25-32 and 13 : 35 we have a quotation from Psalm 16 to show that the resurrection of Christ is predicted in the Old Testament. In the first of these passages verses 8-11 of the psalm are quoted; but in the second, only a part of verse 10. The argument is the same in both cases; and if in the second the Apostle Paul quotes but a fragment of the passage, it is because he conforms to the literary custom discussed in our third chapter, knowing that his hearers, who were Jews, would recall the whole passage from this brief line.

Kuenen objects to the use made of the quotation in the New Testament, affirming that it turns upon the mistranslation of the lines in the Septuagint version. "The original," he writes, "is as follows :

Thou wilt not abandon my soul to hades,
Thou wilt not suffer thy pious one to see the pit.

The Greek translator wrote :

Thou wilt not leave my soul in hades,
Or in the power of hades;
Nor wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption.

And it is precisely on this variation of the translation from the original, that Peter, in the Acts, founds his interpretation." Kuenen would say, also, that Paul makes a similar mistake in his application of the passage, basing it upon the word "corruption" in the Septuagint, instead of the word "pit," which is found in the Hebrew text.

The answer is twofold. First, it is not quite certain that the Hebrew word in question means "pit," and not "corruption";¹ it is a question of derivation; and though, if the majority of recent Hebrew scholars are right, the rendering of the Septuagint is not literally exact, there is a respectable minority who justify it, and the discussion is not yet at an end. But secondly, we are not concerned with this question. Kuenen is mistaken in representing the argument as turning upon this word; on the contrary, it is based upon the passage as a whole, and upon the idea conveyed by the word. Thus Hengstenberg:² "The argument of Peter remains in full force, though we should substitute 'grave' for 'corruption,' if only it is understood that by 'seeing' something abiding is meant, such a 'seeing' as is always meant when the opposite phrase of 'see-

¹ The revisers of the English Bible render the word "corruption."

² "Commentary of the Psalms."

ing life ' is employed." Paul also, in his line of argument (Acts 13 : 36, 37), lays no stress upon the idea of corruption as distinguished from the grave : " David, after he had in his own generation served 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." The argument is not at all overthrown if we substitute "grave" for "corruption." Christ did not see the grave in the same sense with David ; he did not see it in the sense of the psalmist. But furthermore, if the psalmist wrote "the pit," the idea which he intended to convey was not that of a mere depression or excavation in the earth, but that of the grave, with all of decay and corruption that the word implies ; and hence the apostles made no mistake when they accepted the Septuagint word, because it was the one their hearers could refer to, and because it presented no thought not conveyed as fully by the Hebrew word. When Hosea exclaims :

"I will ransom them from the power of the grave ; I will redeem them from death : O death, where are thy plagues ? O grave, where is thy destruction ?"

he does not think of the grave as a mere excavation in the ground, or as a mere cavern in the rock. He thinks of it as an image of death, of destruction, of dissolution. So in the case immediately before us, the psalmist thinks of the pit as the synonym of death, of destruction, of dissolution. Thus Vatablus writes : "To see the pit is to suffer putrefaction." That the word conveys this meaning is evident from Job 17 : 14, where "the pit" is used as a synonym for "the worm" ;

and from Isa. 38 : 17, where we have the phrase "the pit of corruption." (See also Job 33 : 18 and Isa. 51 : 14.) We now perceive how erroneous the statement of Kuenen is; he commits the very fault of which he accuses the sacred writers; he bases his criticism upon the mere sound of a word, and not upon its meaning; and the apostles, in using the expression of the Septuagint, are true to the thought conveyed by the Hebrew, which the critic ignores.

Let us now consider the statement of the apostles that the passage is a prophecy of the resurrection of Christ from the dead. We are met at once by such writers as Kuenen and Toy with the assurance that it refers only to the author himself, and to the present world. When he says, "My flesh shall dwell in safety," the word "flesh" means his whole personality; and when he says, "Thou wilt not leave my soul to sheol," the word "soul" means exactly the same thing. "On what shall happen to him after his decease," says Kuenen, "he does not think at all."

There are not many interpreters, however, thus able to shut their eyes to the glory which this psalm reveals. Thus even Ewald writes: "There is hardly to be found a clearer or more beautiful declaration concerning the whole future of the individual man than the present. For the calm glow of the highest inner expansion and serenity here lifts the poet far above the future and its menaces, and it stands clearly before his soul that in such continued life of the spirit in God there is nothing to be feared, neither pains of the flesh, his body, nor death; but where the true life is, there also the body must finally come to its rest; because

deliverance also of the soul from the grave is possible through him who wills only life." Few expositors fail to find in the psalm this rending of the veil of the future and this shining through of immortal hope.

But if we must dissent from those who limit the view of the psalmist to himself and the present world, we must dissent also from Stuart, Hackett, and others, who regard the psalm as exclusively Messianic, and find in it no reference to the author or to the present world. This is the view of Hengstenberg in his "Christology"; but he retracts it in his "Commentary on the Psalms," on the grounds that the New Testament does not declare the whole psalm to be Messianic; that verses 1-8 have but little of a Messianic character; that the exclusive reference of verses 9-11 to the Messiah rests on a false exposition; and finally, that the psalm belongs to a large class, in which the psalmist is a type of the Messiah, and should not be wrested from its connection with its fellows. The psalm refers to the psalmist; but its language, in the verses quoted in the New Testament, sweeps beyond the psalmist, and becomes predictive. Not only so, but the psalmist, under the influence of the Spirit, understood his words to be predictive: "Being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins he would set one upon his throne; he foreseeing this spake of the resurrection of the Christ, that neither was he left in hades, nor did his flesh see corruption." It is not said that David clearly foresaw the resurrection of Christ, but that, believing the promise of God to make one of his descendants the Messianic king, he was moved to speak

words which can be applied in their full sense only to the resurrection of Christ. David may not have had full knowledge of the purport of his prophecy; but he knew from the promise of God, made through Nathan (2 Sam. 7 : 12-16), that one of his descendants should reign "forever," that "his kingdom should be established forever," that his "throne should be established forever," and was inspired to use the far-reaching language of the quotation. That the prophecy of Nathan is typical is held by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who quotes a part of it as referring to Christ; see my discussion of Heb. 1 : 5, the second quotation of the verse. Peter tells us in his first Epistle (1 : 10-13), that the prophets did not completely understand their own predictions, but studied them with intense interest, and were consoled in their inability to solve the mystery with the revelation that they spoke to future generations, who would rightly interpret their words in the light of the fulfillment, and would be helped by them. Thus the statements of Peter about the prophets in general, and about the degree of foresight granted to David in the case now before us, are in complete harmony. The remarkable prediction of Nathan should be studied in connection with Ps. 89 : 19-37 and 132 : 11-18. The promise of God through Nathan refers primarily to Solomon as an imperfect type of Christ; but when it declares that God "will establish the throne of Solomon's kingdom forever," it presents to us language which was only partially realized in Solomon, and which sweeps forward to the greater Son of David, our Saviour. It is not otherwise with the psalm now before us, which was based

on the prophecy of Nathan ; it refers to David, in a certain sense ; but it flows far beyond him in the verses which Peter quotes. Observe how naturally the words fit the Messiah, while only by an unnatural interpretation, like that of Kuenen and Toy, can they be limited to the psalmist, or even applied to him in a literal sense. The flesh dwelling in safety in the tomb ; the soul not left to sheol, but brought back ; the holy one not allowed to see the pit of corruption ; the path of life shown to him ; and finally his ascension to the right hand of God ; all these expressions point to Christ, and they can have had only an imperfect and typical fulfillment in David, "who died and was buried," who "saw the pit," and who "ascended not into the heavens." The typical character of the passage is clearly indicated by the overflow of its language from the type to the antitype.

XXXVII. In John 2 : 17, Ps. 69 : 9 is quoted as follows : "The zeal of thine house shall eat me up." The psalmist, however, places the verb in a past tense : "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." The evangelist changes the form to show that he regards the psalm as Messianic, and this verse as a prediction of the zeal of Christ for the house of God. The quotation is thus a paraphrase designed to explain the passage quoted, according to the custom considered in our fourth chapter. The psalmist speaks of himself, but, being a type of Christ, many portions of the psalm become plainly typical, and would be so regarded did they occur in any other great literature. The psalm is elsewhere quoted in the New Testament as Messianic (John 15 : 25 ; 19 : 28 ; Rom, 15 : 3) ; but it is not

necessary to regard every part of it as predictive, for in all typical literature the language often advances from the primary to the secondary reference, and then recedes.

XXXVIII. A good example under this head is found in Heb. 2 : 12, 13. The writer is speaking of the incarnation, and saying that Christ took the nature of men. Because he is of the same nature with them, "he is not ashamed to call them brethren." That "he is not ashamed to call them brethren" is shown by the facts that he does expressly call them brethren in the Old Testament, and does expressly associate himself intimately with them in other ways.

He calls them "brethren" in Psalm 22 : 22 :

I will declare thy name unto my brethren,
In the midst of the congregation will I praise thee.

That this psalm is Messianic has been the almost unanimous opinion of both Jews and Christians from the earliest times. Our Lord appropriated its opening words to himself at the moment of his deepest anguish for us on the cross (Matt. 27 : 46). It foretells the crucifixion, and describes it in minute detail, as the piercing of his hands and feet (ver. 16), and the parting of his garments by lot (ver. 18). Then it pictures him as delivered (ver. 21), and as proclaiming the name of God to his "brethren," acknowledging men, even after his glorious resurrection, as his nearest kindred. The psalmist referred to himself; but, guided by the Holy Spirit of prophecy, he became a type of Christ, and employed language which could be applied only poetically and figuratively to himself, but literally to

the Redeemer of our race. Bleek observes that the particulars chosen from the history of the passion by Matthew seem to have been selected with a special view to illustrate this psalm; yet we must not forget that the minute correspondence of the gospel and the psalm has its ground in the real correspondence between the facts and their foreshadowing in prophecy. Delitzsch regards the psalm as typical, and more than typical:

David's description of personal experience in suffering goes far beyond any that he himself had known; his complaints descend into a lower depth than he himself had sounded; and his hopes rise higher than any realized reward. Through this hyperbolical character, the psalm became typico-prophetic. David, as the sufferer, there contemplates himself and his experience in Christ; and his own present and future both thereby acquire a background which in height and depth greatly transcends the limits of his own personality.

Yet again, Christ not only calls men his brethren, but also associates himself with them in other ways which indicate his possession of their nature. First, he no longer occupies the position of the supreme Deity, but comes down to a position where it is necessary for him to trust in the Deity, like other men, and says: "I will put my trust in him," or, according to the Hebrew as translated by Toy: "I will hope in him." The whole verse from which the words are taken is rendered thus in the Revised version: "I will wait for the Lord, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him."

Christ associates himself with men, once more, by calling his followers his children: "Behold, I and the chil-

dren whom the Lord hath given me." These two immediately preceding quotations are from Isa. 8 : 17, 18. It is the latter that has given Kuenen the greatest offense. He pronounces it "perhaps the strongest instance in the whole epistle of quotation according to the sound." On the contrary, instead of being a "quotation according to the sound," it rests on a broad and firm foundation of the context from which it is taken, and of the typical relation of the Old Testament to the New. The prophecy of which it is a part was uttered at a time when the kingdom of Judah hastened to its ruin. The policy of the government was to make alliance with the Northern kingdom of Israel and the kingdom of Syria, in an effort to resist the encroachments of Assyria, instead of trusting Jehovah alone. The alliance was morally corrupting, for both Israel and Syria were given to idolatry, with its superstitions, its cruelties, and its odious and deadly vices. Against this policy Isaiah protested with his utmost zeal, but in vain. In the passage under review he utters a specially earnest remonstrance, and takes exceptional means to impress it upon the attention of his opponents, for it is a crisis in the history of his people and a crisis in his own life. He names one of his sons Shear-jashub, "A remnant shall return" (7 : 3 ; 10 : 20-22); and the other Maher-shalal-hash-baz, "Haste spoil, hurry prey" (8 : 3, 4). These names, as Toy says, "were to teach the people that Assyria would spoil Damascus and Samaria; that, in the midst of foreign invasion and dreadful suffering, God would still be with Judah, and that, though the ravages of war should leave only a remnant, their God would yet

have mercy on that remnant, and make of it a nation ; and the same lesson was involved in the prophet's own name, Isaiah, 'Salvation of God.' On account of these significant names, which the prophet and his children bore, he cried: "Behold, I and the children whom Jehovah hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from Jehovah of hosts."

It is only by ignoring the element of double reference in Scripture, and the special relation of the Old Testament to the New, that any one can fail to justify the New Testament writer in quoting from these words. The kings of the Hebrew history were foreshadows of Christ in his kingly office, and the priests were foreshadows of Christ in his priestly office. So all the prophets were foreshadows of Christ in his prophetic office, beginning with Moses, who said, "Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me." Their typical character becomes especially prominent in the more earnest and crucial moments of their lives, like the one before us. So Isaiah, the greatest of the prophets after Moses, was an eminent type of the Prophet who should come. Our Lord thus regards him, and applies to himself words which Isaiah spoke of his own mission (Luke 4 : 18, 19 ; compare Isa. 61 : 1, 2). So here, Isaiah, in a notable moment of his life, stands as a type of the chief Prophet. He has such confidence in the word of God, though the nation at large rejects it, that he presents his own name and the names of his children as witnesses of it. The children of a prophet were not necessarily prophets ; but he associates his children with him, and himself with his chil-

dren, in this prophetic utterance. It was because of their relationship to him that he could name them so significantly and make himself a partaker with them of the scorn of those who scorned the prediction, and of the sad justification of the ultimate fulfillment. In all this he was foreshadowing the act of Christ by which he associated himself with his people, and his people with himself, in both his humiliation and his glory. Delitzsch well writes :

We may go further, and say that the Spirit of Jesus was already in Isaiah, and pointed, in this holy family united by bonds of the shadow, to the New Testament church united by bonds of the substance, which in his high-priestly prayer (John 17) the incarnate Word presents to God, making intercession in terms strikingly similar to those which Isaiah here employs.

Difficulty has been found with the fact that in the original passage the children are the children of the prophet, while in the application of the passage they must represent the children of God, and only the brethren of Christ, not his children. But surely this is straining at words. What the writer of the epistle says is that Christ took our nature, so that "both he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one." Of this, three illustrations are presented from the Old Testament: in the first, he calls us "brethren"; in the second, he takes our position of dependence on God; and in the third, he associates us with himself as his children. All these illustrations are pertinent. Besides, he has used the term "children" of his disciples; see Mark 10:24: "Children, how hard it is for them that trust in riches to enter the

kingdom of God"; and John 21 : 5 : "Children, have ye aught to eat?"

We may close our discussion of these quotations by saying with Ebrard : "Thus the three citations do in reality prove exactly what they ought to prove."

XXXIX. In Heb. 1 : 6 we have a quotation which seems to refer to Christ in his glory : "When he again shall have brought his first begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him." The older expositors, such as Chrysostom, Ambrose, Anselm, and Thomas Aquinas, almost uniformly regarded the text as referring to a second bringing in of Christ to the world. Recent critics in general, such as Tholuck, DeWette, Lünemann, Böhme, Biesenthal, Hofmann, Delitzsch, and the English revisers, take this view, and hold that the Greek admits of no other. The Greek word rendered "bringeth" in our Common version, is in the aorist subjunctive, and should be rendered as in the margin of the revision, "shall have brought." The position in the sentence of the word rendered "again" is such that it must refer to a second bringing of Christ, and not to a second quotation from the Old Testament. The second bringing of Christ into the world may be his resurrection, or his coming at the general judgment.

Whence is the quotation derived? Apparently from the Septuagint of Deut. 32 : 43, of which it is a literal reproduction. The fact that it is from a passage which is not found in our present Hebrew Bible has occasioned perplexity. But the translators of the Septuagint must have had before them a Hebrew text which contained it, and must have considered it genuine.

We know that our present Hebrew text is defective in certain places, and there is no reason to doubt that this may be one of them. When Toy says that "the Septuagint verse has been expanded by scribes by the paraphrastic addition of material" from certain psalms, he indulges his fancy too much. There is absolutely no evidence of such intentional tampering with the sacred text.

The chapter from which the quotation is taken is the song of Moses. It was regarded by the Jews as predicting and depicting the reign of the Messiah in glory. All the psalms of praise and triumph to which reference has just been made are typical, and find their perfect fulfillment in the glorious reign of Christ, which had its commencement in his resurrection, and will attain its final and complete form at his second coming. Thus the song of Moses and these psalms may be held to refer in the strictest sense to the time when God "again shall have brought his first begotten into the world."

In any case, even if the words quoted should prove to be not genuine, the thought which they express is found in numerous unquestioned passages. (See Psalms 29, 96, 97, 103, and 148.) I ask attention especially to Psalms 29 : 1 ; 103 : 20, 21 ; and 148 : 2, in all of which the angels are expressly called upon to worship. It may be that these Scriptures were in the mind of the writer, and that he chose the line from the Septuagint as truthfully and beautifully summing them up for his purpose. If so, he would use it as Scripture without raising the question of its genuineness, for it is Scripture as to its sense, even if not as to its verbal form. If

he has employed it thus, the quotation is illustrated in my sixth chapter, where I have grouped many similar instances.

VI. Final Propositions.

My present study leads me to the following propositions :

I. The element of double reference abounds in every great literature, and not unfrequently triple and quadruple reference occurs. To deny that double reference exists in Hebrew literature is to deny that this literature is the product of literary genius. In other words, if we say that every passage of Hebrew literature must be interpreted as having one reference, and no more, we apply to it an arbitrary rule which we must abandon the moment we begin the study of any other great literature which the world has produced.

II. The secondary reference usually relates to some of the more important of human interests and feelings, such as loyalty, patriotism, valor, the reformation of political abuses, the hope of national aggrandizement, art, music, literature, obedience to God, eternal life. If the Messianic idea was prominent in the minds of the Hebrew writers, it would naturally seek such a channel of expression.

III. The Hebrew writers, in producing their secondary references, did not imitate other writers ; they simply employed a method of teaching common to literary genius in all ages and all lands.

IV. The secondary references in any literature are not always clear to the reader ; they do not always lie on the surface ; they often belong to the deeper things,

and may perplex the most skillful interpreter, as the manifold references of "The Second Part of Faust" sometimes caused Bayard Taylor almost to despair. In such cases the author himself is our best guide, if he still lives to be consulted. So when the Holy Spirit in the New Testament explains to us this feature of the Old, of which he himself is the author, we should listen to him with reverence.

V. The double references of Scripture are essentially of the same kinds with those of other great literatures. The superficial differences are like those which distinguish the double references in the ancient Greek drama from those of any modern literature. The writer constructs his double references from the materials accessible to him. The novel had not been invented in the time of Æschylus; but the theatre was thronged, and the drama had reached a high stage of development; therefore he used the tragedy as the vehicle to convey to the world his wealth of subtile and recondite allusions. It was an unwritten law of the Greek stage that the play should present only the characters of mythology; and hence Æschylus, when he wished to deal with some question of politics or religion, or to praise some popular hero of the hour, or to condemn some misleader of the people, was obliged to carry back his hearers to the Homeric age, to put his sentiments into the mouths of characters either fabulous or long since dead, and to present these personages as types and images of those living statesmen and orators and warriors whom he wished to portray. All this is now changed. Except for a limited number who support the theatre, the novel occupies the place once filled by

the drama. The whole apparatus of Homeric gods and goddesses and warriors is swept into oblivion, and the modern novelist creates his characters from his own fancy. Hence the secondary references of the "Agamemnon" differ in color and form from those of "Rasselas," and "Ernest Maltravers," and the "Marble Faun," and "Lothair," and "Wilhelm Meister." But the same mental principle is apparent in the ancient play and the modern novel, producing different results simply because it works with different materials and in different circumstances. Thus also the secondary references of Hebrew literature differ on the surface from those of Greek; but the same mental principle produced both. The Hebrew writer worked with materials different from those of the Greek, and in different circumstances. Hence

1. Instead of looking back to the fabulous past, and calling down the gods from Olympus, and summoning Agamemnon and Achilles and Ulysses from the grave, his eyes turned forward.

2. The Hebrew prophet, as he looked forward, was filled and dominated by the resplendent figure of the Messiah, the hope of Israel and of the world, and it was natural that his secondary references should be colored by the Messianic idea, of which the Greek poet was wholly destitute.

3. Every nation had its special mission appointed by the providence of God, and the Greek not less than the Jewish. But "salvation is of the Jews"; the Messiah was "the seed of Abraham" and "the seed of David"; and hence Hebrew history was ordained by infinite wisdom to foreshadow in a peculiar manner the Messiah

and his kingdom. It was full of types of the "good things to come." The Hebrew writer, looking forward and not backward, filled with Messianic anticipations, eager to set forth the glories of a golden age which he dimly foresaw, instinctively caught at the types and shadows of the Messiah which Hebrew history, and especially the characters and events of his own time, presented to him; and the exodus from Egypt, or the return from Babylon, or the victories of David, or the peaceful reign of Solomon, became the materials from which he constructed his glowing portraitures; or he might derive a part of his colors from events much more casual and minute, or from persons much more insignificant.

Had Æschylus possessed the gift of prediction, had he been filled with the expectation of the Messiah, and had the history of his people presented to him types and shadows of the Christian dispensation, his secondary references would have been Messianic, like those of Isaiah and Jeremiah; for the coming Messiah would have occupied in his mind the place of those temporary and local questions of Greek politics and religion and art which engaged his attention.

Thus the double references of the Scriptures do not stand alone; they come from the same source with the multiple references of all great literatures; and their peculiarities arise from the peculiar conditions of the biblical writers. The writers of the New Testament, in studying the Old, discovered many typical and secondary references, and quoted them in their just application to the Messiah, precisely as the modern writer discovers the same feature in other literatures,

and quotes many passages in their secondary sense; as, for example, if he wishes to express Goethe's conception of Lord Byron, or of the spirit of poesy, he makes use of those parts of 'Faust' in which Euphorion appears.

X

ILLOGICAL REASONING

PERHAPS no charge against the writers of the New Testament is made more frequently or with greater confidence than that which, if sustained, would convict them of the illogical use of proof-texts from the Hebrew Scriptures. It is claimed that they sometimes reason from their quotations in an inconclusive and incorrect manner, so that the evidence which they adduce does not prove the truth which they seek to support by means of it. Even Paley, in his "Evidences of Christianity," thinks it necessary to "distinguish between the doctrines of the apostles and their arguments"; he holds that the first were given them by revelation, and hence were true, while the second may have been their own, and if so, were liable to a certain infusion of error. This is but a specimen of the apologies which many believing writers have deemed it necessary to offer for the authors of the New Testament when these are accused of using the Old in an unwarranted manner. I have considered, in other chapters of this book, several passages on which this criticism is based, and have found these writers innocent of all blame. A number of other passages remain, however, and I shall now discuss all of these to which my attention has been called, following the order in which they occur in the New Testament.

I. In Matt. 22 : 32 ; Mark 12 : 26 ; and Luke 20 : 37, our Lord quotes from Exod. 3 : 6 to prove the resurrection of the dead. Here is the first of these passages : "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."

There are two grounds on which it has been denied that this passage warrants the conclusion drawn from it. The first is advanced by some writers of a popular but uncritical kind. "Christ," they say, "places the emphasis on the present tense, 'I am.' But in the Hebrew the verb is not expressed at all, so that the emphasis of his argument is false, and the conclusion which he draws from the tense is left without any support whatever when his argument is examined carefully."

The second ground is advanced by writers of a higher class, who perceive that our Lord does not derive his argument from the tense of a verb which is absent from the text, and who themselves are willing to translate the text with the verb in the present tense. They say, however, that when the text is thus translated with the verb in the present tense, it affords no support to the conclusion which he derived from it. Thus Toy and his school find nothing more in the words than the statement of Jehovah that "I am the God whom Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob worshiped when they were on the earth."

The usual escape is to maintain, as Broadus does, that "our Lord does not so much argue from the passage in its obvious meaning, as authoritatively expound it in a deeper sense." But there is no need of such a

refuge as this. The argument is not weakened in the least by the absence of the verb in the original. Nor does it go beyond the plain and obvious sense of the passage. That this is so is apparent from the following considerations :

1. The passage as quoted by Christ in the Gospel by Mark has no verb. This evangelist recurs to the Hebrew form of the quotation, as if on purpose to show that the argument does not depend upon the presence of the verb in the sentence.

2. The argument was regarded by the learned Jews to whom it was addressed as masterly. Luke tells us that "certain of the scribes answering said, Master, thou hast well said. For they durst not any more ask him any question." Matthew tells us that the effect upon the common people was equally great : "When the multitudes heard it, they were astonished at his teaching." That the argument defeated the whole party of the Sadducees, learned and unlearned, is stated in the next words : "The Pharisees, when they heard that he had put the Sadducees to silence, gathered themselves together." It is absurd to suppose that the argument would have produced such an immense effect if it had been based upon the tense of an absent verb. The Sadducees were accustomed to debate, and many of them were men of learning and of keen and large mental powers.

3. It is a law of all languages that words which are omitted but understood are to be considered as expressed. In all languages many words are omitted for the sake of grace or of brevity, when the omission creates no obscurity; and in such cases the sentence

is construed exactly as if nothing were omitted. This is the practice of the very writers who are perplexed with the case before us. They show the folly of atheism from the text: "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God," knowing that in the Hebrew there is nothing answering to the words, "there is." In the case before us, no one doubts that the verb, were it supplied, would have to be in a form which, taken in connection with the context, would denote present time. All translations which express it at all put it in the present tense. To make a point of its absence, therefore, is to commit the very fault with which our Saviour is charged, since it is to draw a conclusion that the premise will not justify. The question is, whether, if the verb in the present tense is supplied, the reasoning of our Lord will be logical.

4. Let us grant that Jehovah intended to say nothing more than Toy finds in his words: "I am the God whom Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob worshiped when they were on the earth." The inference which our Lord draws from the declaration will stand as necessary and natural. If the soul perished at death, if man were but a temporary bubble, God would not become our God, since he would have no occasion to reveal himself to us. He does not reveal himself to sheep and oxen, and is not their God, since they do not know him; and, if we were as ephemeral, he would treat us as he treats them. The fact stated to Moses, that he revealed himself to the patriarchs, and entered into covenant with them, and became the object of their adoration, shows that they were not creatures of the moment, and that they did not become extinct at the end of their earthly

pilgrimage. Let us now put the argument into this new form and observe how complete it is: "Have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God whom Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob worshiped? He does not become the God of persons destined to perish in a day, but of those gifted with life; hence he is not at any time the God of the dead, but the God of the living."

II. The one hundred and tenth Psalm is quoted more frequently in the New Testament than any other passage of the Scriptures, and always of the Messiah. The Jews held it to be Messianic, and therefore the appeal was cogent which Christ and his immediate followers made to it, as recorded in Matt. 22 : 44; Mark 12 : 36; Luke 20 : 42, 43; Acts 2 : 34, 35; 1 Cor. 15 : 25-27; Heb. 1 : 13. The psalm is Messianic on its very face, and all attempts to apply its language to any of the Hebrew monarchs break down by their own weight. Alexander says well: "The repeated, explicit, and emphatic application of this psalm in the New Testament to Jesus Christ, is so far from being arbitrary or at variance with the obvious import of the psalm itself, that any other application is ridiculous."

Difficulty has been found with the warlike tone of the psalm, especially in the closing part of it, where the hero is represented as "filling the places with dead bodies" and "striking through the head in many countries." But David was a warrior from his youth, and it was natural for him to predict the conquests of the Messiah with martial imagery. The same imagery is used in other Messianic passages, as Num. 24 : 17-19; Ps. 2 : 9; 45 : 4, 5; Zeph. 1 : 14-18; Hab. 3.

Difficulty has been found by Toy with the fact that the king of the psalm is "a present king," and not a future one. But prophecy often speaks of the Messiah as present, or even as past, the prophet standing beside him or gazing back upon his sufferings and his glory. (See Isa. 53.) "The poetical and prophetic style," Driver says, "is characterized by the singular ease and rapidity with which the writer changes his standpoint, at one moment speaking of a scene as though still in the remote future; at another moment describing it as though present to the gaze." Toy, of course does not appeal to the tenses of the verbs, for an argument drawn from the Hebrew tenses alone is always somewhat insecure, as the following from Driver's now famous little book on "The Use of the Tenses in Hebrew" will show: "The Hebrew language, in striking contrast to the classical languages, in which the development of the verb is so rich and varied, possesses only two of those modifications which are commonly termed 'tenses.' These tenses were formerly known by the familiar names of past and future; but inasmuch as the so-called past tense is continually used to describe events in the future, and the so-called future tense to describe events in the past, it is clear that these terms, adopted from languages cast in a totally different mold from the Hebrew and other Semitic tongues, are in the highest degree inappropriate and misleading."¹ "The tenses in Isa. 9 : 5 are precisely identical with those of Gen. 21 : 1-3; it is only the context which tells us that in the one case a series of

¹ Page 1.

events in the future, and in the other in the past, is being described.”¹

A third difficulty is found with the fact that this psalm, if Messianic at all, must be directly so, while the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament are usually typical, and not direct, taking some living person, or the nation of Israel, as “a shadow of the good things to come.” It is true that the majority of the Messianic prophecies are typical; but others are direct; and the psalm before us belongs to a remarkable class of predictions which cannot, even by great torture, be made to speak of any one save Jesus Christ. Such direct prophecies are Isa. 53; Dan. 9 : 25, 26; Zech. 9 : 9.

Our Lord ascribes the psalm to David, and there is absolutely no reason to call the Davidic authorship of it in question. As Alexander has said, it is “corroborated by the internal character of the composition, its laconic energy, its martial tone, its triumphant confidence, and its resemblance to other undisputed psalms of David.” The effort is made to bring the psalm down to the Maccabean age, not on the ground that its language is of this later age, but on the ground that we might hope to find a Jewish king at that time who was also a priest, to whom it could be said :

Thou art a priest forever
After the order of Melchizedek.

“The direct recognition of a Jerusalem king as priest,” writes Toy, “seems to suit only one period of Jewish history, namely, the Maccabean, when a Levitical dynasty sat on the throne.” The Maccabees were indeed

¹ Page 4.

priests by legal descent ; but the psalm speaks of one who was to be priest, not by legal descent, not after the order of Aaron, but by extra-legal title, "after the order of Melchizedek." Besides, of whom but of Christ could it be said : "Thou art a priest forever" ? Thus on every ground the psalm must be regarded as referring to our Lord directly.

Many hostile critics accuse our Lord of ignorance, assuming, without the least evidence, as we have seen, that the psalm which he ascribes to David was written in the Maccabean period, nine hundred years later. Many critics, sincerely friendly to Christianity, have sought to meet this objection by claiming that our Lord in his argument merely took his Jewish adversaries on their own ground, and did not intend either to affirm or to deny the Davidic authorship of the psalm to which he appealed. The Jews ascribed it to David ; and he reasoned from their belief in reference to its author. He said : "You hold that David wrote the one hundred and tenth Psalm under the influence of the Holy Spirit. You hold also that the Messiah was to be the son of David. Will you tell me, therefore, how it was that David called the Messiah his Lord if the Messiah was to be his son, and no greater than his son?" Now such arguments are perfectly legitimate ; they are recognized as fair in all schools of debate and inquiry ; and our Lord might have employed this method of leading men to the truth without subjecting himself to any just blame. But when a person employs this mode of reasoning he should say so, and should not profess to reason on other grounds. Our Lord does not say so, and does profess to reason on

other grounds; for he affirms for himself his belief that David wrote the psalm, declaring, as reported by Mark: "David himself saith in the Holy Spirit." Peter also declared the same thing on the day of Pentecost: "David ascended not into the heavens: but he saith himself:

" The Lord said unto my Lord :
 Sit thou on my right hand,
 Till I make thine enemies thy footstool."

While, therefore, it would have been perfectly proper for Christ and his apostles to reason from the beliefs of their hearers, without affirming those beliefs, it is perfectly evident that they did not do so in the case before us. Nor is there the slightest occasion to attribute this course to them, since there is not the slightest occasion to doubt that David wrote the psalm, guided by the Spirit of inspiration, and foreseeing that the Messiah should be both his Lord and his son.

III. There has been much unnecessary debate over the quotation of Hab. 2 : 3, 4 at Rom. 1 : 17 and Gal. 3 : 11 : "The just shall live by faith." The meaning of the original passage is well stated by Toy :

The prophet is predicting the overthrow of the Chaldeans (about B. C. 606), whose invasion he has announced in the preceding chapter. He goes up to his watchtower, and is commanded to write his vision plainly, that the people may be consoled by it; the fulfillment, he is told, will surely come, though it may be delayed; the invading enemy shall be destroyed, the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of Yahve (ver. 14), shall fully see his glory manifested in the destruction of the Chaldeans. His description of the invaders begins with verse 4, in which it is said of them that they are puffed up,

haughty of soul, and not upright; and this indictment is illustrated and expanded in the rest of the chapter. But in verse 4 it is added, in contrast with this haughty wickedness, on which shall come destruction, that the just, who hold firmly to Yahve, shall escape destruction, and live by his constancy; or the meaning is that, in spite of the wicked arrogance of the enemy, the just shall be preserved alive. > The Hebrew word here rendered "constancy," means "firmness, steadfastness," of the body, as in Exod. 17 : 12 (Moses' hands, upheld by Aaron and Hur, were "steady"); or of the moral nature of God (Deut. 32 : 4 : "a God of faithfulness and without perverseness, just and upright is he"); and of man (Prov. 12 : 22: "lips of deceit are an abomination to Yahve, but they that do faithfulness are his delight"); the common signification is 'moral and religious fidelity and constancy, faithfulness to all obligations, whether to God or to man.' " In this is certainly involved, according to the Old Testament conception, trust in God in a general sense; but the prominent idea is steadfast adherence to him in true-hearted obedience. Such a faithful, obedient man, says the prophet, shall be kept alive in this time of turmoil and death.

All this, concerning the scope of the prophetic passage and the meaning of the Hebrew word rendered "faith," I heartily accept. But I as heartily dissent when Toy contrasts this meaning with that of the word "faith" in "Romans and Galatians," passages illustrating which he gives in full. "For therein is revealed a righteousness of God by faith unto faith: as it is written, But the righteous shall live by faith" (Rom. 1 : 17). "Now that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God is evident: for, The righteous shall live by faith, and the law is not of faith; but he that doeth them shall live in them" (Gal. 3 : 12, 13). The quotation in these epistles, he says, "is the specific acceptance of Christ, whereby the believer

is justified, apart from works." The Pauline word "faith" includes this, but it also includes far more. There has seldom been given a better definition of the Pauline word than the definition which I have just quoted from Toy, as that of the Hebrew word in the prophetic passage: "steadfast adherence to God in true-hearted obedience." The whole argument of the Apostle Paul in the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians is that such "steadfast adherence to God in true-hearted obedience," distinguished from all kinds of legalism, as the serving in the letter and not in the spirit, the superstitious resort to rites and ceremonies, the practice of mere external moralities in which is no filial love, brings the grace of God to man, and hence is the condition of our salvation. To say that the "faith" of the apostle is nothing more than "the specific acceptance of Christ," is to forget all his long demonstration that Abraham was justified by faith, and that David "pronounceth blessing" upon the man of "faith." God is the object of faith; and Christ is the object of faith because he is God manifest to faith. Toy himself takes a broader view in another place: "More generally stated, Paul's position is, that no man can gain God's favor by obedience to the moral law; since perfect obedience—less than which God would not accept—is impossible to man; it is only by a transformation of the soul, and oneness with God, that salvation can be attained; and such transformations and oneness are represented by trust and identical with it."

The entire argument of the apostle in these epistles is to show that faith is the condition of justification

now, that it always was the condition of justification, even in the age of the patriarchs, and that legalism, bondage to the letter, slavish performance of religious rites, moralities without reference to God and without heart, cannot justify to-day, and could never justify. Thus the thought of the prophet, to sum up what has just been said, fits into the argument of the apostle exactly and sustains it cogently ; and it is only by misunderstanding one or the other that any discrepancy between the two can be discovered.

This may be made even more apparent by a closer inspection of both. That the "just man" of the prophet is not at all the legally "just man" of the Pharisees, Toy would be the first to maintain. In no case does an Old Testament prophet commend the righteousness of the law ; the righteousness required by the prophets is always the "steadfast adherence to God in true-hearted obedience" which the New Testament enjoins. The obedience which they require is never legal ; it is necessarily imperfect, yet it is penitent, warm, grateful, loving, trusting, ethical. A man possessed of this righteousness, Habbakuk says, shall live by his "steadfast adherence to God in true-hearted obedience," even when destruction overtakes others. There is an eternal principle underlying the prophetic words ; "God changeth not" ; he is always propitious to such men ; and hence they are always saved. Such is the argument which the apostle derives from the prophet ; and it flows quite in the forms of logic.

It should be added that the argument from this particular quotation is found only in Galatians, and not at all in Romans, where Toy places it.

IV. At Rom. 3 : 10-18 the Apostle Paul throws together a number of sentences from the Old Testament in a single passage, making what I have called in the fifth chapter of this book a "composite quotation." The majority of critics suppose that the fact to be proved by the quotation is the universal sinfulness of man. On this supposition a difficulty has been found by a few of them; for while some of the sentences quoted declare the universal sinfulness of our race in words of the strongest kind, others refer only to particular persons or classes, as the especially wicked among the Jews known to the writers. Of the former kind are all the opening sentences of the passage, contained in verses 10-12, taken from Eccl. 7 : 20 ; Ps. 14 : 2, 3 ; 53 : 3, 4. Of the second kind are all the other sentences of the passage, embracing verses 13-18, from Ps. 5 : 10 ; Isa. 59 : 7, 8 ; Ps. 36 : 1.

The objection is that in these latter sentences the apostle attempts to prove a universal proposition by evidence which covers only a limited number of cases. Those who entertain this objection forget their logic. The inductive method of reasoning, which men have always been obliged to employ, and which is emphatically the method of modern science, is exactly the method pursued here. Thus the universality of the law of gravitation is proved by observations made in but a petty sphere of the universe.

Our analysis of these quotations has shown that the apostle uses two kinds of evidence; first, statements of the Old Testament which assert the universality of sin; secondly, statements of the Old Testament which call attention to the manifestations of sin in individuals

and classes. The first proof is the so-called "perfect induction" of modern logicians, and the second, induction in the ordinary scientific sense. The apostle weaves these together in a single masterly argument. Could any proof be more cogent than passages of Scripture which teach the universality of sin followed by passages which illustrate and enforce this teaching by examples of the extreme manifestation of sin in individuals and classes?

Thus far my reply assumes the correctness of the ordinary view of critics, that the fact to be proved is the universal sinfulness of man. A very strong minority, however, maintain that the apostle is here dealing with the Jews alone. Thus Baumgarten-Crusius: "Now follows a long passage of Old Testament expressions gathered together, the sense of which is given in verse 19. Its reference is to the Israelitish people; and the double reference to the Jews and the heathen, discovered by Paulus and others, cannot be maintained." On this ground, all possible difficulty with the passage disappears. The proposition to be proved is that the Israelites, notwithstanding their superior privileges, were sinful. The proof is of two kinds. First, the Scriptures declare that all men are sinful, including both Gentiles and Jews. Secondly, sin had a very remarkable and extreme development among the Jews, as their own inspired writers testify.

In either case the apostle marshals in a logical order the different extracts from the Old Testament which he welds together in his argument. Thus Meyer: "The arrangement of the passage is such that at first the sinful condition of men is pointed out in verses 10-

12 ; then their sinful practices in speech, verses 13, 14 ; and deed, verses 15-17 ; and then the sinful source from which all these arise, verse 18."

V. The quotation of Mal. 1 : 2, 3 at Rom. 9 : 13 has been criticised on the ground that the Apostle Paul takes the words out of their original meaning, and uses them as a proof-text after thus distorting them. The case is like this : Paul is showing that not all the descendants of Abraham are heirs of the promises made to him, and instances Esau, who was rejected by God even before his birth. To prove this statement, he cites Gen. 25 : 23, where God says to Rebecca : "The elder shall serve the younger." He then adds the verse from Mal. 1 : 2, 3 : "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." The objection is, that by Jacob and Esau the prophet means not persons but nations, and refers to the national histories of Israel and Edom ; while the apostle interprets him as if he meant the persons Jacob and Esau. Thus Pocock : "What is here said by Malachi relates to the preference shown to the posterity of Jacob over that of Esau." If we should adopt this view, the quotation would still present no real difficulty ; and we should say with Rückert : "It is not strictly a proof-text, but only a confirmation." The view, however, is rejected by some of the greatest of the modern expositors, as Meyer, for example, who says : "Like Paul, the prophet himself means by Jacob and Esau, not the two peoples, Israel and Edom, but the persons of the two brothers." In this case, the quotation is a cogent proof-text, and not merely confirmatory and illustrative.

VI. The composite quotation of Hosea 2 : 23 ; 1 :

10 at Rom. 9 : 25, 26 is perhaps oftener accused of faulty argument than any other. Toy represents the extreme view of the objectors : "The prophet's word," he writes, "refers solely to Israel. Now cast off, the nation shall after a time be taken again into favor with God, and called his sons. Paul identifies the 'Not my people' (the rejected Israel of Hosea) with the Gentiles, who, formerly aliens from God, were now in the gospel accepted by him as his people."

There are three errors in this criticism. First, the real subject of the sacred writer is the sovereignty of God in the rejection and the reception of men ; and the call of the Christian Jews and Gentiles is presented only as an example of it. Secondly, the writer is thinking chiefly of the Jews, and of the Gentiles only incidentally. Thirdly, he sustains his point by a use of Scripture exactly like that which all Christian writers adopt when they reason about any principle of the divine government. I shall now justify these statements.

Let the reader open his Bible at the ninth chapter of Romans and follow the argument of the apostle for himself. With this ninth chapter the writer begins his profound and touching discussion of the rejection of the Jews, which he pursues through three chapters, so that the main subject of the entire section is the Jews and not the Gentiles. In that part of the section in which the quotation occurs, the writer is showing that the rejection of the Jews, in so far as they were not believers in Christ, was an act of divine sovereignty (9 : 14-22). But some Jews and some Gentiles have believed, and their reception into the favor of God is also an act of divine sovereignty. To say that the writer is

here speaking of the admission of the Gentiles to the church, is to forget his own declaration that he has in mind all Christians, both Jews and Gentiles: "Even us whom he hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles" (ver. 24). Nor is it the mere admission of these persons to the church that he contemplates; it is their admission by an act of divine sovereignty, for the sovereignty of God in calling and rejecting whom he will, is the chief subject of contemplation throughout the whole section. That the sovereignty of God, in calling a remnant of the Jews to his kingdom, lies nearer his thought than the call of the Gentile Christians, is evident from the tenor of the whole section, and also, as Hofmann points out, from the fact that immediately after our quotation he tells us what "Isaiah crieth concerning Israel." He mentions both Christian Jews and Gentiles as alike illustrating the gracious sovereignty of God, but thinks chiefly of the Christian Jews.

Let us, however, grant that the quotation is designed to refer solely to the sovereignty of God in the call of the Gentiles, as the majority of commentators hold. Does it prove what the apostle uses it to prove? Let the reader open his Bible at Hosea 2 : 14, and study the whole passage, and see how the recovery of Israel is represented as resulting altogether from the gracious act of God in courting and winning the adulterous wife :

Behold, I will allure her
 And bring her into the wilderness,
 And speak comfortably unto her,
 And I will give her her vineyards from thence,
 And the valley of Achor for a door of hope :

And she shall sing there as in the days of her youth,
And as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt.
And it shall be at that day, saith Jehovah,
That thou shalt call me Ishi ;
And shalt call me no more Baali.
For I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth,
And they shall no more be mentioned by their name.

The restoration of the wife is thus the result of gracious seeking by the divine husband, who takes the initiative and uses the means adapted to win her back, according to his supreme purpose. No passage could better illustrate and prove the sovereignty of God in saving men, whether they are Jews or Gentiles, for none has ever portrayed more cogently and tenderly his fixed purpose, his advances to the erring, his patient efforts to recover them to himself, and his final success. Here as in many other places the Apostle Paul quotes a fragment from the Old Testament, conscious that its whole context will support him in the use he makes of it. In this instance he wishes to show us by an example the attitude of God toward all men, and his sovereign grace in their salvation. If it is proper to reason at all from examples, this is correct reasoning. If it is improper, then the whole science of induction, which consists of reasoning from examples, is a delusion. Our ordinary inductive reasoning is based upon the stability and uniformity of nature ; but if nature is stable and uniform, it is because its Creator and upholder is stable and uniform. He "changeth not," and is "no respecter of persons," dealing with Jew and Gentile by one method of justice and love. We may therefore reason inductively of his dealings

with our race, and have no doubt of our conclusions. If he courted apostate Israel of old, and "called them his people which were not his people, and her beloved which was not beloved," he will court the Gentiles with the same sovereign and prevailing love; for it is his nature to love, to seek the lost, and to use all the resources of his sovereign grace for their recovery. Dr. Toy is a preacher, and whenever he preaches and deduces some principle of the divine government from a historic example, he reasons in this way. If this method of reasoning is invalid, no history or prophecy of holy Scripture would be of use to us. If it is invalid, all Christian literature is wrong, for it appeals constantly to biblical history and prophecy for the warnings and encouragements which it utters to us.

Turning now to Hosea 1 : 10, the source of the second part of the quotation, the same gracious sovereignty is asserted. In verse 6 God says :

I will no more have mercy
Upon the house of Israel,
That I should in any wise pardon them.

In verses 6 and 7 he declares that he will have mercy on the house of Judah but not on the house of Israel. Then in verse 10 he breaks out into a strain of compassion and declares that ultimately even Israel shall find mercy and be multiplied.

Thus both the chapters from which the New Testament writer quotes relate to the same things; both speak in a tone of royalty, and both illustrate the divine sovereignty in the rejection and the reception of men, which is the immediate theme. The divine

sovereignty is set forth in the first quotation more clearly than in the second ; but the second states the gracious result of it in the history of Israel more clearly than the first.

Meyer would account for the quotation by saying that the apostle regards the recovery of obdurate Israel as a type of the recovery of the Gentiles by God. This view may be accepted if by a type we may understand an example which sets forth some principle of the divine government. Tholuck says that this quotation and those from Isaiah which immediately follow it, are not intended for proof, and are brought forward only because their language is appropriate to the case in hand. I have considered this method of quoting, which is adopted in all literatures, in the eighth chapter of this book. There could be no objection to the view of Tholuck were there any real difficulty which forbade us to regard these quotations as proofs of a proposition.

VII. The quotation of Isa. 10 : 22, 23 ; 1 : 9 at Rom. 9 : 27-29, is accused, though less vehemently than the preceding, and is of the same kind. The argument is this : God proceeds as a sovereign in the rejection of Israel in general and the salvation of a remnant. He did so of old, and hence we may know that he does so now.

VIII. At Rom. 10 : 19-21, the Apostle Paul quotes two passages to show that the Jews had been warned in their own Scriptures of their rejection and of the acceptance of the Gentiles. He is accused of misapplying the Old Testament in both cases.

The first quotation is from Deut. 32 : 21 :

I will provoke you to jealousy with that which is no nation,
With a nation void of understanding will I anger you.

On which Toy comments thus: "The threat in Deuteronomy is that Israel shall be conquered or defeated by an apparently inferior people; this is spiritualized by Paul into a prediction of the loss of religious superiority, with special application to the transfer of spiritual privileges and life to the Gentiles under the gospel." This is stated with entire assurance, as if there could be no doubt, as if there were no other tenable view. The great majority of critics, however, hold that the passage refers literally to the reception of the Gentiles into the divine favor. Subjugation by war would hardly be called "provoking to jealousy."

The second quotation is from Isa. 65 : 1, 2. The apostle writes : "Isaiah is very bold, and saith,

I was found of them that sought me not;
I became manifest unto them that asked not of me.

But as to Israel he saith, All the day long did I spread out my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people." Thus the apostle regards the first verse of this quotation as referring to the Gentiles, and the second to the Jews. Many critics refer both verses to Israel, and they construe both verses, therefore, as a single sentence, and not as two sentences. There is no ground for this divergence from the apostolic interpretation. That the first verse refers to the Gentiles and the second to the Jews, is held by interpreters of all schools, as, for example, Delitzsch, Hofmann, Stier, Nägelsbach, Alexander, Hodge, and Alford.

IX. The quotation at Rom. 11 : 8 is from Isa. 29 :

10 and Deut. 29 : 4, and is one of the composite quotations considered in our fifth chapter : "As it is written, God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, unto this day." When Toy says that "Paul finds in these words a prediction of the indifference of Israel to the gospel," he gives no hint that any other view is even worth mentioning. The vast majority of commentators, however, hold that Paul does not regard them as a prediction at all, in the strict sense of the word. Hodge expresses the general consensus of scholars as follows : "The import of such citations frequently is, that what was fulfilled in the days of the prophet was more completely accomplished at the time referred to by the New Testament writer." So also Alford : "If we are to regard these passages as merely analogous instances of the divine dealings, we must remember that the perspective of prophecy, in stating such cases, embraces all analogous ones, the divine dealings being self-consistent, and especially that great one, in which the words are most prominently fulfilled."

X. The quotation of Isa. 45 : 23 at Rom. 14 : 11 is adduced as another instance of misapplied Scripture. The New Testament writer is dissuading the Roman Christians from harsh and uncharitable judgments of one another. "But thou, why dost thou judge thy brother? or thou, again, why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment seat of God. For it is written,

As I live, saith the Lord, to me every knee shall bow,
And every tongue shall confess to God.

So then each one of us shall give account of himself to God."

The comment of Toy on the passage is as follows : "In Isaiah, God announces that all nations shall abandon their idols and worship the God of Israel, bend the knee to him in token of allegiance, swear by him as their God. The apostle, laying the stress on the term 'confess' (which, however, is not properly in the Hebrew), finds here a prediction ('for it is written') of the last judgment ; we must not judge our brethren, says he, seeing we shall all be judged by God." It is implied in this comment that the apostle has misused his proof-text in three particulars : 1. The text speaks of national allegiance to God ; and he makes it refer to the personal accountability of each individual. 2. He lays the stress of his argument on the word "confess," which the Hebrew does not contain. 3. He regards the text as a prediction of the last judgment, for he cites it with the formula, "for it is written." The first and second of these criticisms are groundless and the third is not cogent, as I shall now show.

1. The text quoted says absolutely nothing about national allegiance, but speaks solely of individual submission ; it speaks of "every knee" and "every tongue," not of every nation. Toy himself translates both the Hebrew and the Greek by these words ; nor does he tell us by what possible agency "every knee shall bow" can be made to mean "all nations shall bend the knee in token of allegiance" ; nor is there a syllable in the context to change or modify in any manner the plain and obvious significance of the words.

2. There is just as little evidence of the second

statement of Toy as of the first. The apostle does not lay stress on the term "confess"; the stress of the thought is given to the words "every knee" and "every tongue"; for the assertion is that every individual is accountable to God for himself. Thus Alford, in substance: "The stress is on 'of himself'; and the next verse refers back to it, laying the emphasis on 'one another.' The apostle here makes the accountability of each person to God a reason for the exercise of forbearance and charity in judgment, and he is not thinking specifically of the formal act of confession; and it would make no difference if we should render the Hebrew word 'swear' instead of 'confess.'"

3. The third assertion of Toy is little better founded than the first and second; for it is by no means certain that the apostle finds in Isaiah "a prediction of the last judgment." It is held by many scholars that he announces a proposition and sustains it by two arguments. The proposition which he announces is that we ought not to set ourselves up as judges of our brethren by indulging in harsh criticisms of them. The first argument in support of this proposition is that "we shall all stand before the judgment seat of God," and that therefore he is the rightful judge of all. The second is that each person is responsible to God, and not to his fellows, since God says that to him "every knee shall bow." Each of these arguments is introduced by the word "for": "for we shall all stand"; "for it is written." This introduction of each of a series of arguments by the word "for" is common in the New Testament; see Matt. 6 : 32, where two parallel arguments are introduced in the same manner: "For after

all these things do the Gentiles seek ; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."

But let us grant for a moment that the apostle cites the words to prove his preceding statement that "we shall all stand before the judgment seat of God," and with reference to the last judgment. In this case he does not wrest them from their original purport, but regards the prediction of the universal submission of men to God in the future progress of the human race as finding its ultimate and highest fulfillment at the last day, of which all previous fulfillments are but types and shadows. Toy himself frequently recognizes a principle of interpretation much like this. His comment on 1 Cor. 15 : 54, where the Apostle Paul quotes from Isa. 25 : 8, is a recognition of it. The phrase quoted is, "Death is swallowed up in victory." On which the critic says : "There is no question here of any death but the physical. But the prophetic vision of perfect life is fulfilled in the clearer teaching of Christ : it is in the consummation of the future life, says the apostle, that this word of Isaiah shall truly come to pass." Let us alter these words only enough to adapt them to the passage now immediately before us, and observe how well Toy can answer himself : "There is no question here of any submission to God but that which shall take place in the ordinary course of history. But the prophetic vision of perfect and universal submission is fulfilled in the clearer teaching of Christ ; it is at the last judgment, says the apostle, that this word of Isaiah shall truly come to pass."

XI. In 2 Cor. 8, the writer exhorts his readers to complete their work of raising money for the relief of

the poor Christians of Jerusalem. He does this, he says, not that the Corinthians may be burdened and the Jewish Christians relieved, but that an equality of goods may be effected. He makes a graceful allusion to the history of the manna, well known to all readers of the Old Testament; as God ordained of old that "he who gathered much had nothing over, and he who gathered little had no lack," so now in a time of special distress, the apostle says, it is the will of God that those who have abundance shall share their superfluity with those who have little, "that there may be equality." This appeal to the Old Testament is for illustration alone.

Is there anything wrong in this use of the Old Testament record? Is it not such as is constantly found in all literatures? It appears that even here, however, the objector interposes his criticism. Its character may be gathered from these words of Toy: "The apostle bases an exhortation to liberality on the equality of the distribution of the manna; so, he says, it should be with brethren, those that have more supplying the lack of those who have less. Strictly interpreted, the comparison does not hold; there God is the author of the equality; here, of inequality." No extended reply to this is necessary. The reader will readily go back to the thought of the apostle himself, that as of old, in gathering the manna, man made a temporary inequality, some securing much, and some little, so it is now in gathering riches; and that, as of old God established equality, so now, in a time of special distress, he recommends it, and seeks to establish it through the sympathy and voluntary charity of his people.

XII. Kuenen and Toy object to Heb. 3 : 7-4 : 11 for its use of Ps. 95 : 7-11 : "Wherefore, even as the Holy Ghost saith,

To-day, if ye shall hear his voice,
 Harden not your hearts, as in the provocation,
 Like as in the day of the temptation in the wilderness,
 Wherewith your fathers tempted me by proving me,
 And saw my works forty years.
 Wherefore I was displeased with this generation,
 And said, They do always err in their heart :
 But they did not know my ways ;
 As I sware in my wrath,
 They shall not enter into my rest."

Then follows the well-known argument, to guard the readers of the epistle from the impression that the psalm could have no reference to them, and to warn them against "falling after the same example of unbelief." The criticisms of Kuenen may be summed up in a few brief sentences :

1. The author of Hebrews refers the psalm to David (Heb. 4 : 7), but "it is beyond all doubt post-exilic." But the writer of Hebrews probably does not intend to attribute the psalm to David. His words are : "Saying in David" ; but this is merely a mode of designating the whole book of Psalms, to which David contributed largely. So Toy, Perowne, Jennings, Lowe, Ebrard, Beza, Dindorf, Schulz, Böhme, Bleek, Ellicott, Alford, and many others. We call the Psalms "the Psalms of David," without meaning to attribute every psalm to him. We have a book which we call "Shakespeare," without attributing all its contents to the great dramatist ; nay, with the very decided conviction that

certain portions of it could not have come from his pen.

2. "The persons whom the poet addresses are his contemporaries ; but according to the writer to the Hebrews, the psalm was written for the Christians of his own time." This is quite true. In the Scriptures God is teaching the world, and not merely a single people ; the ages, and not merely one age. He is immutable ; he "is no respecter of persons" ; and hence the warnings and promises addressed to Israel by Moses and by the psalmist "were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages are come."

3. "The rest or resting-place which the psalmist mentions can be none other than the land of Canaan ; and the oath sworn by God had exclusive reference to that land. But the writer of the epistle understands something else by the 'rest.' In the psalm God calls it 'my rest,' and hence the writer of the epistle seeks to connect it with the rest into which the Creator entered after finishing his works" (Gen. 2 : 1-3). This is the chief objection, and it merits our chief attention.

The theme of the whole passage is the peril of apostasy and the reward of steadfastness : "Whose house are we, if we hold fast our boldness and the glorying of our hope firm unto the end." The movement of the argument is stated thus by Dr. Timothy Dwight :¹

In the development of the proof given in these verses there are apparently four steps. 1. The rest of God was established by him at the end of the creation of the world. 2. This rest of God was not entered by the Israelites of Moses' time ; it remained, therefore, open for others. 3. It was not entered, in

¹ In the American edition of Meyer.

the full sense, in the time of Joshua ; it was reserved for men who should follow afterward. 4. It was not entered even in David's time, as indicated by the very exhortation of this psalm, which was still read in the days present to the writer and his readers. The arrangement of the steps is not in the order of direct succession, but according to the incidental suggestions of each sentence as introducing the next.

The danger of apostasy is shown by that part of the psalm which recites the rebellion of the chosen people and their death in the wilderness. With this we come to the end of the third chapter, and find no difficulty. The fourth chapter opens with the danger of apostasy, but passes rapidly to the reward of steadfastness. God swore, saying, "Rebellious Israel shall not enter into my rest." The oath is recorded in Num. 14 : 28-30. He meant by his "rest" the land of Canaan ; but did he mean nothing more ? Did he not mean also all the earthly and heavenly blessings of which that land was a symbol, the rest of faith here, and the rest of glorious sight hereafter ? The whole church in her prayers, her hymns, her sermons, has always looked upon Canaan as an image of higher and better things ; and this is not the result of mere accident or fancy. It was the thought of God before it became the thought of his people ; and he engraved it upon his word that he might the better engrave it upon their minds.

But further, the psalmist implies that there was the same rest of God in his day into which the obedient should enter. What was that rest ? Canaan only ? No one has been hardy enough to say so, for the people were there already. Toy seeks to escape the perplexity by denying that the psalmist implies the exist-

ence of the rest of God in his own day. He says: "The author," of Hebrews, "assumes that the last verse of the psalm contains a promise, as if it were thus to be construed: 'O Israel, your fathers failed to enter into my rest because of their disobedience, but do you take warning to-day by them, so that you may not fail to gain the promised rest.' But the psalm merely recites a fact of the past." On the contrary, the closing part of the psalm is meaningless, unless it implies that the peril of destruction still exists for apostates, as also the blessing of divine rest for the faithful. The psalm is one of the so-called liturgical psalms; that is, it was read constantly in the synagogue service. But why was this, unless for its implied warning and promise? It is often read and sung in our churches, but always with the same thought and for the same admonition and encouragement. Let it be its own witness: few can read or hear it without finding in its closing words an awful warning and a glorious hope for themselves.

Thus far the author of Hebrews is certainly right in his interpretation. But he proceeds further. The "rest" spoken of in the psalm was the land of Canaan; but it was also more, for it could still be offered to Israel after the days of Joshua and the conquest. What was it then? The psalmist represents God as calling it "my rest." In the earlier books of the Old Testament God had spoken to the people of a rest, as in Deut. 12:9; but he had not called it "my rest." The new form of words must probably denote some new thought. And, as revelation is a progressive unfolding of truth, it would be a higher and fuller thought. It

was the rest of God on which he entered after the work of creation, and to which he invited his people when he "blessed the seventh day and hallowed it," the spiritual refreshment of men by faith in their Father, who provides for all their toils a balm of holy communion here and a reward of celestial bliss hereafter. Moulton¹ has well said :

Though the mention of the oath of God is derived from Num. 14 : 28-30, the language of the historian is significantly changed ; for "ye shall not come into the land," we read, "they shall not enter into my rest." True, their land could be spoken of as their "rest and inheritance" (Deut. 12 : 9), but the language which the psalmist chooses is at all events susceptible of a much higher and wider meaning, and may have been used in this extended sense long before the psalmist's age. That verse eight when placed beside verse eleven shows the higher meaning to have been present in the psalmist's thought, and implies that the offer of admission to the rest of God was still made, it seems unreasonable to doubt. As the people learned through ages of experience and training to discern the deeper and more spiritual meaning that lay in the promises of the King and Son of David, so was it with other promises which at first might seem to have only a temporal significance. If these considerations are well founded, it follows that we have no right to look on the argument of this section as an "accommodation" or a mere application of Scripture : the Christian preacher does but fill up the outline which the prophet had drawn.

The development of this higher view in Israel is sketched thus by Bleek :²

More and more, as time passed, the consciousness prevailed, especially with the more clear-sighted and devout Israelites, that even after the possession of the land, the people, owing

¹ In Ellicott's "New Testament Commentary," Vol. III., p. 297.

² "Der Brief an die Hebräer," Vol. II., p. 446.

to their perversity, never became partakers of the rest and happiness in such fullness as the promises from the beginning held out to them. With this became connected the conviction that even the divine promise of the "inheritance" had not yet found its complete fulfillment, so far as its essential elements are concerned, and stood yet in the future. Hence the expression "to inherit the land" used in the original promise, came to be regarded, even after their longing altogether ceased to be distinctly connected with the possession of the land of Canaan, as a designation of the whole sum of the future great salvation for which the offspring of Abraham waited, in accordance with the promise made to their forefathers.

Kurtz¹ also finds in the psalm the fuller meaning which the New Testament ascribes to it.

In order that there may be no lack of clearness in this discussion, I now produce at length, though at some risk of repetition, the objections which Toy brings forward to the use of the passage made by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews :

The psalm passage (which is a simple exhortation to the Jewish people not to harden their hearts as their ancestors did) is cited in the epistle for a double purpose ; first, as a warning to Christians against unbelief and hardening of heart (3 : 12-19) ; and then, to show (4 : 1-11) that the rest spoken of in the psalm is not the rest of Canaan, but the sabbatism or sabbath-rest, the spiritual and physical repose and peace which shall be the lot of the followers of Christ when he shall come, at the end of the present age, to establish his kingdom forever (compare 10 : 36-39). This conclusion is drawn from the fact that the statement concerning "rest" in the psalm (in "David" 4 : 7, where "David" seems to be merely a designation of the book of Psalms) was made after God instituted the weekly sabbath-rest (see next quotation), and also after Joshua had settled the people in Canaan (4 : 8), so that the "rest" here promised could

¹ "Der Brief an die Hebräer," p. 138.

only be the Messianic rest. The author assumes that the last verse contains a promise, as if it were thus to be construed: "O Israel, your fathers failed to enter into my rest because of their disobedience, but do you take warning to-day by them, so that you may not fail to gain the promised rest." But the psalm merely cites a fact of the past, and affirms the failure to enter Canaan only of that one unbelieving generation (in accordance with Deut. 1 : 34, 35, on which verses 10, 11 of the psalm are based), while the new generation, together with Caleb and Joshua, did enter on the enjoyment of the land and the promise (Deut. 1 : 36-39). Our author leaves the historical relations entirely out of view, and uses the words for his exhortation and argument without regard to their proper meaning. His exhortation is religiously elevated and useful, but his exegesis is faulty.

Briefly, then, the objections of Toy are two :

1. The author of the epistle regards the quotation as implying that there was in the psalmist's day, long after the institution of the Sabbath and the conquest of Canaan, a rest into which the people of God might enter or might fail to enter; whereas the quotation implies no such thing, but refers solely to the rest achieved by Joshua ages before the psalm was written.

2. The author of the epistle supposes that the rest, whose existence he holds to be thus implied in the psalm, is the rest which the people of God shall enter at the second coming of Christ in glory.

I shall now show that the exegesis of the author of the epistle, instead of being faulty, is that which the passages involved render necessary.

1. To regard the language of the psalmist concerning the "rest" promised by God as merely historical is to forget that it was written for a moral purpose, that it is an incentive to holy living, that it is an appeal

to hope as well as to fear. The psalm is not history; it is an application of history to the religious life as a motive. No Hebrew of old would doubt this when he heard it read; and no Christian to-day doubts it. Holding this view of the psalm as correct, the reader of it will instinctively find in the closing words the teaching that, as the Israelites of old missed the rest of God, so the people of every age may miss it, while, on the other hand, those who avoid the sin of ancient Israel may yet enter into it. The psalm was often read in the synagogues of the Jews, and must always have carried this thought to the hearers, as it does to-day when it is read or sung in our churches. If it were a mere recitation of history, without a purpose of encouragement, as well as of admonition, it would not have found so large a place in the public worship either of Jews or Christians. That the writer of the epistle is correct in his view of the psalm is held by all conservative interpreters.

2. The statement that the writer of the epistle supposed the psalmist to refer to the rest of the saints to be established by Christ at his second coming, has no support whatever. It is the mere assertion of certain expositors, whom Toy follows. The appeal to Heb. 10: 36-39 proves nothing as to the meaning of this passage, and its production in support of the proposed interpretation only shows in what desperate straits the interpretation is. Seven chapters separate the passage from the verses cited to illustrate it, and the subjects of discussion are changed many times in the interval. Moreover, the writer of the epistle uses the present tense when he speaks of this rest: "We which have

believed do enter into that rest." Some critics, as Stuart says, have been so troubled with the present tense of "do enter" that they have changed it to the future without warrant. Still further, believers in Christ are regarded by the writer as having already entered into the rest, and to be in danger of "seeming to have come short of it." It is evident from these considerations that the rest is a universal spiritual experience of those who believe, that it is past, present, and future; past, in the experience of all in every age who have believed; present, in the experience of all who now believe, whether they are on earth or in heaven; and future, as all the blessed spiritual experiences of Christians in this life are foregleams of "the glory to be revealed." This view is sustained by the great majority of expositors.

XIII. The quotation from Jer. 31 : 31-34 in Heb. 8 : 8-13 and 10 : 15-18, leads Toy to write :

"The epistle assumes the identity of Jeremiah's 'new covenant' with Christianity, and rightly in so far as the inward obedience therein prescribed is concerned. But, at the same time, it is true that the prophet held this higher covenant to be made with Israel as a nation, and that he meant by it not a literal abrogation of the existing customs of sacrifice, but only the infusion of a better spirit into the national life with all its outward forms." "The epistle regards the passage as announcing the abrogation of the Levitical system of many sacrifices in favor of the one sacrifice which Christ makes once for all."

So much of this comment as relates to the abrogation of Jewish sacrifices is beside the mark, for the New Testament writer does not quote the passage as asserting this. In the first quotation of the passage

he shows by it simply that God contemplated the abrogation of the Sinaitic covenant and the institution of a better one, whose laws should be written on the mind and heart, and says nothing about the Mosaic sacrifices. The second quotation is adduced as a proof, but not an assertion, that the Mosaic sacrifices, according to the purposes of God, were to be done away. The passage asserts that under the new covenant the law of God should be written on the minds and hearts of men, and that God should "remember their sins and their iniquities no more." Having cited this statement, the writer proceeds to infer from it the abrogation of sacrifices: "Now where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin." The inference is logical. Since men are to be fully assured of the free pardon of all their sins, there will be no need for them to bring daily sacrifices for sin, testifying thus their fear that it is not pardoned: since there is to be no more occasion for sacrifices, there are to be no more sacrifices. But the writer of the epistle does not represent the prophet as drawing this inference; it is his own; and he does not write a word that can justify the critic in attributing to him a wrong view of the passage which he quotes. In logic there is no distinction more important than that of a statement and the inferences which may be drawn from it, or which necessarily follow it. The writer of the epistle observes this distinction with scrupulous care, attributing to the prophet simply what he says, and then showing the necessary bearing of the prophetic testimony upon the Christian argument.

XI

RABBINIC INTERPRETATION

THE opinion is widely diffused that Christ and the apostles quoted and interpreted the Old Testament exactly as did the rabbis of their time. Various scholars have labored to establish this theory by exhibiting the quotations of the New Testament and of the rabbis in parallels. The most thorough of these writers is Döpke, who is often referred to as having left nothing to be said on either side of the subject. We must not suppose, however, that Döpke was moved by unbelief. On the contrary, he regarded his work as a product of faith. For Christ and the apostles to use the Jewish Scriptures precisely as the rabbis did, was not only blameless, but praiseworthy, and indeed necessary. It was not their business to set forth any theory of inspiration or any rules of interpretation. They found certain writings among their people; these were regarded by all as the voice of God; and, being interpreted in certain ways, seemed to contain predictions of a Messiah who should reign in a temporal glory like that of David or Solomon. Christ and the apostles, therefore, were obliged to accept the Hebrew Scriptures, and to show that the passages cited as predictions of a political Messiah really portrayed such a Messiah as Jesus of Nazareth. They were obliged also to conform to the methods of interpretation com-

monly received; for had they proposed new and correct canons of exegesis their gospel would have been rejected at once. Such is the theory of Döpke, and, as the reader will readily infer, it enables him to exhibit equally the wisdom and the folly of rabbinic interpretation, to search out what he regards as parallel with it in the New Testament, and to present this material with a certain innocent gratification, even when it is made to appear illogical, insincere, or even idiotic. That the writers of the New Testament quoted the Old in a strictly rabbinic manner is demonstrated, according to Döpke, by nine or ten different kinds of proof. I shall now review these so-called proofs, and show that I have already answered them, in so far as they are worthy of serious attention, in the preceding chapters of this book. They may be classified as follows:

1. Verbal alterations of the passage quoted, in order to fit it to its new connection, or for some other rhetorical purpose. Döpke adduces six instances of this kind from the rabbis. I have adduced thirteen from the Greek classics alone, and have limited the number simply for want of space.

2. Fragmentary quotations, where the whole passage is intended. Döpke has produced eleven of these from rabbinic literature. I have produced seventeen from the Greek and Latin classics, with evidences of a much larger number for which I have no room, and have shown that such quotations are common to all literatures. I have shown also that in the New Testament they are always based upon a context appropriate to the subject under discussion.

3. Quotation of a passage in full when only a part of it is necessary. But one rabbinic example of this kind is given. I have found it difficult to suppose that Döpke is serious here; it has seemed to me that his argument at this point can be accounted for best on the supposition that he has wished to provide for the diversion of his readers. Every author who quotes much, often takes from others more than is required for his purpose, whether his desire is to prove a proposition or only to ornament his pages. The rabbis are so little peculiar in this respect that the reader need only turn a leaf or two of Plato or of Cicero, of Burke or of Addison, to come upon numerous instances of the same kind.

4. Composite quotations. Döpke has collected twenty-four examples of these from the rabbis. I have presented eleven from the Greek classics alone, and have shown that they are abundant in other literatures.

5. Quotations of the sense of Scripture without the language. Döpke presents eleven rabbinic examples of these. I have shown by fourteen examples that the practice was common in antiquity, and not rabbinic in any special sense.

6. Quotations from secular authors, or from the maxims of ordinary life, not attributed to the Old Testament, but to their proper secular sources. Again one is tempted to think that Döpke has thrown in this section for the amusement of his readers. The rabbis quote the sayings of ordinary people; therefore when the Apostle Paul quotes from the Greek poets, he is quoting as a rabbi! Let us extend the reasoning a step farther, and prove that when Plato quotes

from Homer, or Webster from Milton, he quotes as a rabbi.

7. Exegetical changes of the words quoted. Döpke has twelve instances of these from the rabbis. Most of them are of a sort that is not found at all in the New Testament. I have produced a larger number of instances from ordinary English literature, of the same sort with those which occur in the New Testament, and have shown that when Christ and the apostles alter any text in this way they do but bring out its real meaning, instead of putting a new meaning into it.

8. Allegory. Döpke begins the third section of his discussion of this subject as follows: "That the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament was fully accepted by the writers of the New is acknowledged by all, and hence needs no special proof." If any one should doubt the meaning of this sweeping declaration, he need only read the context in which it occurs. We have there a sketch of the allegorical system of biblical interpretation as adopted by such men as Philo and Origen and by the Jewish rabbis in general. I have shown in my chapter on the allegories of the New Testament that the apostles and evangelists assume the strictly historical character of those portions of the Old Testament which they use for the construction of allegory, that their method of interpreting it is at a world-wide distance from the vagaries of Philo and Origen and the Jewish rabbis, and that they construct their allegories exactly as the Greek and Roman and English and German authors construct theirs.

9. Döpke means by the word "allegory" not only that which is commonly understood when it is em-

ployed, but also all double reference of all kinds. His argument concerning double reference may be briefly stated as follows: The allegorical interpreters of the Bible, including the rabbis, find the element of double reference, and even of multiple reference, in the Old Testament; Christ and his apostles find the element of double reference in the Old Testament; hence Christ and his apostles, in interpreting the Old Testament, borrow their system of interpretation from the rabbis.

Such is the argument. It is defective, first, because it does not present a fair statement of the premises; and secondly, because, even if its statement of the premises is accepted as fair, the conclusion will not follow. The argument, stated fairly, is this: The rabbis find a double reference in every part of the Old Testament, and a multiple reference in many parts, and search for it in puerile and silly extremes. Christ and the apostles recognize a double reference only in particular places, and especially in Messianic passages; and they search for it in a manner worthy of its intrinsic beauty, dignity, and utility; therefore Christ and the apostles borrow their system of interpretation from the rabbis. The real premises are as I have here stated them, and the reader perceives at once how little support they give to the conclusion.

That there is all this wide difference between the rabbis and the writers of the New Testament in their treatment of the element of double reference in the Scriptures, is shown by Döpke himself better than by any other person. It is Döpke who speaks as follows: "The Jewish writers, in their employment of a passage

of Scripture, never regard its connection. I say never, lest some one should suppose that their neglect is limited to oratorical or allegorical uses."

It is Döpke who analyzes their methods of finding the secondary reference of Scripture, and distinguishes eight of them, all arbitrary, violent, irreverent, and all illustrated by examples uniformly silly, driveling, and idiotic, in an incredible degree.

It is Döpke who closes his discussion of double reference with the statement that "the writers of the New Testament, though many defects of the Jewish theology still cleave to them, make on the whole a far wiser use of the Old Testament than the rabbis," and that "every unprejudiced scholar must feel himself constrained to admit this."

But even were the rabbis correct in their use of double reference, it would not follow that the apostles had borrowed from them. I have shown in another chapter that double reference abounds in all literatures, ancient and modern. All competent critics recognize it. The German poets and essayists are especially fond of it; and had Döpke read the literature of his own land with a little attention, he would have discovered it there, and would not have pronounced it a figment of rabbinic fancy. The apostles did not learn from the rabbis to imagine its existence in the Old Testament; they discovered it there for themselves, as every student of every literature discovers it for himself.

I have now stated in outline the whole argument of Döpke and his followers, who assure us that "the writers of the New Testament quote and interpret the Old exactly as the rabbis do." The argument in brief

is this: "The rabbis do certain things. The writers of the New Testament do things in some respects similar. Therefore the writers of the New Testament are disciples of the rabbis in this matter." But the conclusion does not follow from the premises; for we have still to ask whether the rabbis are the only persons besides the writers of the New Testament who do the things in question? Or are they not done also by all writers of their time, Jewish, Greek, and Latin? Indeed, are they not done by all writers of all times, because natural and spontaneous to the literary instinct? ✓

A distinguished man relates the following anecdote in a personal letter to me. A certain king once propounded a difficult question to an association for the advancement of science which met in his capital. He stated that a babe had been born with one side of its face black, and asked for a solution of the mystery. A committee was appointed to consider the case, and framed a satisfactory theory. When the report was submitted to him, the king thanked the committee for their labors, and said that he was encouraged to request them to investigate one mystery more. The other side of the babe's face also was black: would they give him a theory to explain this?

The rabbis do certain things; and the apostles do certain similar things. We ask Döpke and his followers to explain the action of the apostles, and they answer that these men were disciples and imitators of the rabbis. We then tell the same men that all writers of the apostolic age, and of earlier generations, do many of these same things; and that all writers of all ages

and all lands do many others of these same things ; and we ask them to explain the action of the apostles in the light of this new statement. A good scientific hypothesis will consider all the facts of a given case, and not merely one-tenth of them.

The New Testament has a certain kind of rabbinic coloring, because its writers were Hebrews, like the rabbis ; because they had been brought up under the instruction, or at least the influence, of the rabbis ; and because again, in common with the rabbis, they surcharged their books with expressions borrowed from the Old Testament. But the resemblance is chiefly in appearance ; when the reader pierces below the surface, he finds but little of it ; and it vanishes wholly when he searches in the New Testament for the obscurities, the superstitions, the cabalisms, the puerilities, the absurdities, the insanities, which stare at him from every page of the rabbinic interpretations of the sacred writings.

I do not stand alone in speaking thus severely of the rabbis, and in contrasting, rather than comparing, their writings with the New Testament, but am sustained by critics from all the chief schools of interpretation. Thus Ebrard says,¹ representing the orthodoxy of Germany :

In general, it is a very superficial and shallow view that would lead us all at once to consider the use of Old Testament passages in the New Testament as parallel with the exegetico-dogmatic method of argumentation pursued by the rabbis. The apostles and apostolic men have indeed exhibited in their epistles such a freedom from the spirit of Jewish tradition, such an

¹ " Epistle to the Hebrews," 1 : 4-14.

originality and youthful vigor of new life, such a fineness and depth of psychological and historical intuition, and the whole system of Christianity in its freshness and originality stands in such contrast to the old, insipid, pre-messianic Judaism, and appears so thoroughly a new structure from the foundation resting on the depths of Old Testament revelation, and not a mere enlargement of the Pharisaico-rabbinical self-styled Judaism, that it were indeed wonderful, if the same apostolic men had, in their interpretation of the Old Testament passages, held themselves dependent on the Jewish exegesis and hermeneutical method. In reality, however, the apostolic exegesis of the Old Testament stands in directest opposition to the Jewish-rabbinical, so that one can scarcely imagine a more complete and diametrical difference. In the rabbinic interpretation it is always single words, studiously separated from the context, from which inferences, of course arbitrary, are drawn. The rabbis affirm, for example, that when a man lies three days in the grave, his entrails are torn from his body and cast in his face; because it is written in Mal. 2 : 3 : "I will also cast the filth of your festivals in your face." Nay, the later rabbinism, as a direct result of this arbitrary procedure, went the length of drawing inferences even from single letters. They taught, for example, the transmigration of the soul, and that the souls of men ever continue to live in men; thus the life of Cain passed into Jethro, his spirit into Korah, and his soul into the Egyptians, because two words are found at Gen. 4 : 24 containing the first letters of the words Jethro, Korah, and Egyptians. The genuine Pharisaical spirit which forms the basis of all this is that the letter as such is what is most significant. The New Testament writers, on the contrary, as we have seen in reference to Heb. 1 : 6-9, and as we see more and more as we proceed with the epistle, drew all their arguments from the spirit of the passages considered in their connection. Nothing at all is inferred from the mere letters of the passages quoted.

Reuss may be selected as an example of the more skeptical school. He writes :¹

¹ "History of the New Testament," 530.

From the Christian standpoint, and in view of their respective objects, purposes, and methods of procedure, the superiority of the apostolic hermeneutics to the Jewish, especially the Alexandrian, cannot be disputed. Nor, as soon as Christianity and Judaism are recognized as different stages of development of the same revelation, can there be any debate as to the justice of the fundamental principle of the apostolic hermeneutics, though there may doubtless be differences of opinion as to the limits of its application and the degree to which the apostles were conscious of the grounds of their exposition.

Even Döpke admits that "the apostles disdained many of the ridiculous arts of Jewish hermeneutics," and recognizes "with praise the freedom of mind with which they struck off that fetter." These expressions of Döpke, and others of the same tenor which I have already cited, are inconsistent with the theory of interpretation which he holds and defends; they seem to be wrung from a reluctant mind; and they are therefore of the greater force as testimony against the rabbis and in favor of the New Testament.

The rabbis, in quoting the Old Testament, altered the text arbitrarily and freely, if it suited their purpose, not in order to bring out some meaning couched in it, but to make it express a meaning wholly foreign to it; and the passages thus altered are used for proof as voices of divine authority. Changes of the former kind are made in the quotations of all literatures, as we have seen; they are paraphrases. But changes of the latter kind are preferred by the rabbis. They were conscious of no wrong in this thing, but carried it off bravely, often announcing what they were doing, as with the phrase, "Thou shalt not read thus, but thus"; or, "Take away from the Scripture; add to it; and so ex-

plain it"; or, "The text is changed."¹ Sometimes the vowel-pointing is altered, so as to give a different word; at other times the consonants are not spared; at other times the letters are preserved, but their order is changed so as to produce such words as the commentator desired; at other times a word is divided so as to make two, with meanings wholly foreign to the original expression; and at other times, finally, the order of the words is changed so as to make a new sense. The Jewish belief that every letter and every syllable of every word of Scripture is freighted with a divine significance of its own, and that the Scriptures mean all that can be gotten out of them by any process whatever, permitted the rabbis to employ these methods without the consciousness of irreverence or of violence. The New Testament has been tortured to make it confess itself guilty of these practices; but in vain. No trace of them can be found in it.

When the rabbis connect text with text, and compare passage with passage, their inferences, to quote from Döpke, are "senseless," and their conclusions are drawn from the most "accidental resemblances of words." This, be it observed, is the rule, or rather the universal custom, and not the exception. Numerous illustrative instances are given by Döpke, who exclaims, at the conclusion of one of them, and that by no means the worst: "What a monstrous bungling of deductions." I cite here one of his examples: "From whence is it certain that God wears the phylactery? From Isa. 62 : 8, where it is said: 'The Lord hath sworn by his

¹ I am here following Döpke, "Hermeneutik," 84. Surenhusius, 59-70, has illustrated the practice at greater length.

right hand, and by the arm of his strength.' The 'right hand' signifies the law, according to Deut. 33 : 2 : 'At his right hand was a fiery law unto them.' The 'arm of his strength' signifies the phylactery, for it is written, 'The Lord will give strength unto his people.' "

Perhaps the following additional instances of rabbinic interpretation, taken almost at random from Döpke, may be sufficient to show the reader what critics mean when they tell us that the apostles adopted the Jewish hermeneutics current in their own day :

1. The law given through Moses is so expressed that a thing may be explained as clean for forty-nine different reasons, and as unclean for forty-nine different reasons ; because there is a word at Cant. 2 : 4, the letters of which make the number forty-nine.

2. According to the opinion of some, each sentence of the Scriptures is so full of meanings that it may be explained in six hundred thousand different ways.

3. At Zech. 11 : 7 the prophet says that he took two staves, and called one Beauty and the other Bands, and thus fed the flock, with these two shepherd-rods in his hands. The staff called Beauty signified the learned Jews of Palestine, who answered questions courteously, while the staff called Bands represented the learned Jews of Babylon, who were forever trying to defeat one another in religious disputation.

4. In Deut. 21 : 18-21 is the law authorizing the parents of an incorrigible son to bring him for punishment to the elders. But this privilege is denied to the parents if one of them has lost a hand, because it is said that they must "lay hold" of the boy ; or if one

is lame, because it is said that they must "bring him out"; or if one is dumb, because they "must speak" the accusation; or if one is blind, because they must say, "This our son," so being able to designate him with assurance.

5. When the living say anything of a dead person, he moves his lips in the grave; for it is written in Cant. 7 : 9 : "Causing the lips of the sleeping to speak." The real subject of the quotation is the effect of wine.

6. When the blessed God comes into a synagogue and does not find ten persons there, he is immediately angry; for it is written at Isa. 50 : 2 : "Wherefore when I came was there no man?"

7. It is written in Dan. 9 : 21 : "The man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, flew to me in his flight." Because the words "flew" and "flight" are both employed, it is shown that Gabriel made two flights, pausing to rest between them.

8. In Exod. 15 we have the song of Moses after the passage of the Red Sea; the sixteenth verse of which is as follows :

Terror and dread falleth upon them;
By the greatness of thine arm they are still as a stone;
Till thy people pass over, O Jehovah,
Till thy people pass over which thou hast purchased.

According to the Jewish interpretation, the first time the phrase "till thy people pass over" is used, it refers to the entrance of Israel into Canaan under Joshua; and the second time to the entrance under Ezra and Zerubbabel.

9. In Ps. 1 : 5 are the words :

Therefore the wicked shall not stand in the judgment,
Nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.

By "the wicked" here are meant the people who perished in the flood; and by "sinners" the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah.

10. It is asked whether sin reigns in men from their conception, or only from their birth, and it is decided that the latter view is correct, because it is written : "Sin coucheth at the door."

11. In Deut. 23 : 13 is the direction that the man shall dig in the soil without the camp and cover his excrement. Rabbi Kappara changes one of the words in this passage, and thus interprets it as a command to put the fingers in the ears when one hears bad words.

12. In Gen. 1 : 2 it is said that the spirit, or wind, of God moved upon the face of the waters. Therefore he who would not be troubled with wind in his stomach must drink his wine mixed with water.

13. In Gen. 24 : 15 it is said that Rebekah came out with a pitcher on her shoulder. Therefore a woman who would avoid the corpulence that sometimes follows child-birth must drink her wine mixed with unfermented juice of the grape. There are some obscure resemblances of sound at the basis of this sagacious interpretation.

14. The days of the Messiah shall last forty years, because it is said in Ps. 95 : 10 : "Forty years long was I grieved with that generation."

The days of the Messiah shall last seventy years,

because it is said in Isa. 23 : 15 : "Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years."

The days of the Messiah shall last four hundred years, because it is said in Ps. 90 : 15 : "Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us;" and in Gen. 15 : 13 : "They shall afflict them four hundred years."

The days of the Messiah shall be seven thousand years ; because it is said in Isa. 62 : 5 : "As the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee." The marriage festivities lasted seven days, and this period was considered in a special sense the joy of the man. But a thousand years with God are as one day. Hence the conclusion as to the length of the Messianic reign.

When our Lord came into the world, he found these inanities prevalent among the Jewish people. The Gospels show us in many places how his heart burned with indignation that men were fed on such husks. Instead of adopting "the exegesis of his time," he denounced it. To the Sadducees he said : "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures." To the scribes and Pharisees he said : "Ye have made void the word of God because of your tradition." To the lawyers he said : "Woe unto you lawyers ! for ye took away the key of knowledge : ye entered not in yourselves ; and them that were entering in ye hindered." Nor did he fail to impart to his followers the incomparable treasures of truth which he discovered in the sacred writings : "Beginning from Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself." Moreover, he added to these lessons a special

gift of discernment: "Then opened he their mind, that they might understand the Scriptures." We have the results of this instruction and enlightenment in the New Testament, whose writers expound the Old with singular breadth, penetration, profundity, and spirituality.

INDEX OF SCRIPTURE REFERENCES

	PAGE		PAGE
Genesis 1 : 2.....	87, 385	Exodus 13 : 2.....	77
Genesis 2 : 1-3.....	363	Exodus 15 : 16.....	384
Genesis 4 : 7.....	385	Exodus 17 : 12.....	345
Genesis 4 : 24.....	380	Exodus 20.....	30
Genesis 9 : 27.....	170	Exodus 21 : 32.....	313
Genesis 12 : 3.....	16, 92	Exodus 22 : 16, 17.....	287
Genesis 12 : 2.....	254	Exodus 23 : 19.....	253
Genesis 12 : 14-17.....	254	Exodus 27 : 20.....	59
Genesis 13 : 15.....	260	Exodus 34 : 26.....	253
Genesis 14 : 18.....	124	Exodus 34 : 28.....	30
Genesis 15 : 1-7.....	252	Leviticus 18 : 1-5.....	43
Genesis 15 : 5.....	254	Leviticus 21 : 14.....	287
Genesis 15 : 13.....	386	Leviticus 22 : 28.....	253
Genesis 17 : 5.....	252, 253	Leviticus 24 : 2.....	59
Genesis 17 : 7, 8.....	260, 264	Leviticus 26 : 11, 12.....	58, 92
Genesis 17 : 8.....	264	Numbers 5 : 2, 3.....	101
Genesis 17 : 19.....	90, 101	Numbers 6 : 9.....	90
Genesis 18 : 5.....	59	Numbers 9 : 12.....	247
Genesis 18 : 14.....	90, 101	Numbers 11 : 13, 22.....	100
Genesis 18 : 18.....	92	Numbers 14 : 28-30.....	364, 366
Genesis 19 : 26.....	124	Numbers 21 : 9.....	240
Genesis 21 : 1-3.....	341	Numbers 22.....	283, 288
Genesis 22 : 16, 17.....	269	Numbers 23.....	283, 288
Genesis 22 : 18.....	16	Numbers 24.....	283, 288
Genesis 24 : 15.....	285	Numbers 24 : 17-19.....	340
Genesis 24 : 16.....	287	Deuteronomy 1 : 34, 35.....	368
Genesis 25 : 23.....	350	Deuteronomy 1 : 36-39.....	368
Genesis 27 : 13.....	59	Deuteronomy 4 : 13.....	30
Genesis 28 : 12.....	244	Deuteronomy 5 : 22.....	30
Genesis 30 : 2.....	90	Deuteronomy 10 : 4.....	30
Genesis 32 : 25, 31.....	101	Deuteronomy 10 : 11.....	30
Genesis 35 : 19, 20.....	297, 298	Deuteronomy 12 : 9.....	365
Genesis 42 : 16.....	59	Deuteronomy 12 : 8-11.....	366
Genesis 43, 44, 45.....	292	Deuteronomy 14 : 21.....	258
Exodus 3 : 6.....	337	Deuteronomy 18 : 15.....	292
Exodus 9 : 16.....	27		
Exodus 12 : 46.....	247		

	PAGE		PAGE
Deuteronomy 18 : 15-19.....	274	Psalms 8 : 5.....	7
Deuteronomy 21 : 18-21.....	383	Psalms 10.....	236
Deuteronomy 22 : 6, 7.....	257	Psalms 14 : 2, 3.....	348
Deuteronomy 22 : 19, 23, 28.....	287	Psalms 14 : 3.....	114
Deuteronomy 22 : 20, 21.....	286	Psalms 16.....	321
Deuteronomy 23 : 1.....	101	Psalms 16 : 8-11.....	317
Deuteronomy 23 : 13.....	385	Psalms 19 : 2-4.....	87
Deuteronomy 25 : 4.....	256	Psalms 19 : 4.....	164
Deuteronomy 29 : 4.....	92, 101, 357	Psalms 19 : 10.....	112
Deuteronomy 30 : 11-14.....	183	Psalms 22.....	111, 22, 324
Deuteronomy 32 : 4.....	345	Psalms 22 : 1.....	241
Deuteronomy 32 : 21.....	355	Psalms 22 : 7.....	251
Deuteronomy 32 : 43.....	62, 329	Psalms 22 : 9.....	85
Deuteronomy 33 : 2.....	383	Psalms 22 : 18.....	246
		Psalms 22 : 22.....	62
Ruth 4 : 11.....	299	Psalms 29.....	330
		Psalms 29 : 1.....	330
1 Samuel 7 : 17.....	297	Psalms 29 : 11.....	102
1 Samuel 8 : 15.....	267	Psalms 31 : 5.....	26
1 Samuel 9.....	298	Psalms 34 : 20.....	247
1 Samuel 10 : 2-6.....	298	Psalms 35 : 19.....	245
		Psalms 36 : 1.....	348
2 Samuel 5 : 19, 20.....	31	Psalms 40 : 6-8.....	20
2 Samuel 7 : 12-16.....	322	Psalms 40 : 7, 8.....	272
2 Samuel 7 : 14.....	56, 57, 259	Psalms 41.....	241
2 Samuel 23 : 17.....	31	Psalms 41 : 9.....	316
		Psalms 45 : 4, 5.....	340
1 Kings 9 : 3-9.....	31	Psalms 45 : 6, 7.....	238
1 Kings 19 : 10-18.....	47	Psalms 53 : 3, 4.....	348-350
		Psalms 68 : 18.....	58
2 Kings 2 : 20.....	59	Psalms 68 : 27.....	101
2 Kings 25 : 12.....	297	Psalms 68 : 35.....	102
2 Kings 25 : 18-21.....	296	Psalms 69.....	241
		Psalms 69 : 4.....	245
1 Chronicles 11 : 19.....	31	Psalms 69 : 9.....	77, 323
1 Chronicles 14 : 9-11.....	31	Psalms 69 : 22, 23.....	255
		Psalms 69 : 25.....	92, 248
2 Chronicles 7 : 12-22.....	31	Psalms 78 : 2.....	306
		Psalms 78 : 5-7.....	86
Job 17 : 14.....	319	Psalms 78 : 24.....	245
Job 28 : 41.....	256	Psalms 89.....	260
Job 33 : 18.....	320	Psalms 89 : 19-37.....	322
		Psalms 90 : 15.....	286
Psalms 1 : 5.....	385	Psalms 95 : 7, 11.....	362
Psalms 2.....	236, 237	Psalms 95 : 10.....	385
Psalms 2 : 3.....	251	Psalms 95 : 11.....	64
Psalms 2 : 7.....	62	Psalms 96.....	330
Psalms 2 : 9.....	340	Psalms 97.....	330
Psalms 5 : 10.....	348	Psalms 102 : 25-27.....	270

INDEX OF SCRIPTURE REFERENCES

391

	PAGE		PAGE
Psalms 103.....	330	Isaiah 10 : 22, 23.....	355
Psalms 103 : 20, 21.....	330	Isaiah 23 : 15.....	386
Psalms 104 : 4.....	10	Isaiah 25 : 8.....	360
Psalms 109.....	249-252	Isaiah 26 : 19.....	115
Psalms 109 : 3.....	245	Isaiah 27 : 9.....	3, 92
Psalms 109 : 8.....	92	Isaiah 28 : 11, 12.....	50
Psalms 110.....	237, 340-344	Isaiah 28 : 16.....	45, 92
Psalms 116 : 10.....	153	Isaiah 29 : 10.....	92, 356
Psalms 118 : 22, 23.....	308	Isaiah 29 : 13.....	12, 76
Psalms 118 : 26.....	147	Isaiah 38 : 17.....	320
Psalms 119 : 24.....	102	Isaiah 40 : 3.....	75
Psalms 119 : 97.....	102	Isaiah 40 : 3-5.....	233
Psalms 119 : 161.....	245	Isaiah 40-46.....	234
Psalms 122 : 2.....	101	Isaiah 41 : 8-13.....	292
Psalms 122 : 4.....	86	Isaiah 42 : 1-4.....	26
Psalms 122 : 4, 5.....	101	Isaiah 42 : 1-9.....	292
Psalms 122 : 6, 7.....	101	Isaiah 45 : 23.....	357
Psalms 132.....	260	Isaiah 50 : 2.....	384
Psalms 132 : 11-18.....	322	Isaiah 51 : 14.....	320
Psalms 147 : 9.....	256	Isaiah 52 : 5.....	149
Psalms 147 : 20.....	86	Isaiah 52 : 7.....	150
Psalms 148.....	330	Isaiah 52 : 11, 12.....	303
Psalms 148 : 2.....	330	Isaiah 52 : 15.....	152
Proverbs 3 : 11, 12.....	17	Isaiah 53.....	111, 112, 186, 341, 342
Proverbs 12 : 22.....	345	Isaiah 53 : 1.....	243
Proverbs 18 : 4.....	114	Isaiah 53 : 2-12.....	292
Ecclesiastes 7 : 20.....	114, 348	Isaiah 53 : 4.....	25
Song of Solomon 2 : 4.....	383	Isaiah 56 : 7.....	92, 93
Song of Solomon 6 : 8.....	286	Isaiah 58 : 11.....	114
Song of Solomon 7 : 9.....	384	Isaiah 59 : 7, 8.....	349
Isaiah 1 : 9.....	355	Isaiah 59 : 20, 21.....	3, 92
Isaiah 6.....	243	Isaiah 60 : 1.....	115
Isaiah 6 : 9, 10.....	243	Isaiah 61 : 1, 2.....	327
Isaiah 7 : 3.....	281, 326	Isaiah 62 : 8.....	382
Isaiah 7 : 14.....	276, 290	Isaiah 62 : 5.....	386
Isaiah 8 : 1-4, 18.....	281	Isaiah 64 : 4.....	151, 153
Isaiah 8 : 3, 4.....	326	Isaiah 65 : 1, 2.....	356
Isaiah 8 : 8.....	282, 288, 289	Isaiah 66 : 24.....	148
Isaiah 8 : 14.....	92	Jeremiah 4 : 4.....	255
Isaiah 8 : 17, 18.....	326	Jeremiah 7 : 11.....	92, 93
Isaiah 8 : 18.....	63	Jeremiah 8 : 6.....	88
Isaiah 8 : 23.....	186	Jeremiah 9 : 25.....	255
Isaiah 9 : 1, 2.....	186	Jeremiah 26 : 11, 12.....	92
Isaiah 9 : 5.....	341	Jeremiah 26 : 32.....	31
Isaiah 10 : 20-22.....	326	Jeremiah 27 : 11, 12.....	31
		Jeremiah 31 : 1, 4, 20, 22, 23.....	58
		Jeremiah 31 : 1-40.....	294
		Jeremiah 31 : 15.....	293

	PAGE		PAGE
Jeremiah 31 : 31-34.....	370	Matthew 1 : 22, 23.....	276, 290
Jeremiah 39 : 1-7.....	296	Matthew 2 : 6.....	74, 289
Jeremiah 40 : 1.....	296	Matthew 2 : 15.....	25, 262, 290
Lamentations 3.....	111, 112	Matthew 2 : 16.....	278
Ezekiel 36 : 28.....	58	Matthew 2 : 17, 18.....	312
Ezekiel 37 : 27.....	58, 92	Matthew 2 : 18.....	293
Daniel 7 : 25.....	87	Matthew 2 : 19, 20.....	292
Daniel 9 : 7-19.....	31	Matthew 2 : 22.....	113
Daniel 9 : 21.....	384	Matthew 2 : 23.....	104, 110
Daniel 9 : 25, 26.....	342	Matthew 3 : 3.....	74, 75, 233
Daniel 9 : 27.....	232	Matthew 3 : 14.....	86
Hosea 1 : 6-10.....	354	Matthew 5 : 39, 41.....	256
Hosea 1 : 10.....	92, 350	Matthew 6 : 13.....	86
Hosea 2 : 14.....	352	Matthew 6 : 26.....	256
Hosea 2 : 23.....	92, 350	Matthew 6 : 32.....	359
Hosea 11 : 1.....	25, 262, 290	Matthew 8 : 17.....	25
Hosea 13 : 14.....	319	Matthew 11 : 10.....	74, 76
Joel 1 : 8.....	287	Matthew 11 : 14.....	240, 248
Joel 2 : 28-32.....	82	Matthew 12 : 18-21.....	26
Amos 5 : 25-27.....	83	Matthew 12 : 38-40.....	195
Amos 8 : 13.....	287	Matthew 13 : 1 ¹ -17.....	308
Amos 9 : 11, 12.....	14	Matthew 13 : 14.....	279
Micah 5 : 1-5.....	289	Matthew 13 : 34, 35.....	305
Micah 5 : 2.....	74	Matthew 15 : 6.....	386
Habakkuk 2 : 3, 4.....	165, 344	Matthew 15 : 8, 9.....	12, 74, 76
Habakkuk 2 : 4-14.....	344	Matthew 17 : 10-12.....	248
Habakkuk 3.....	340	Matthew 21 : 9.....	147
Zephaniah 1 : 14-18.....	340	Matthew 21 : 13.....	92
Zechariah 9 : 9.....	342	Matthew 21 : 42.....	308
Zechariah 9 : 9-17.....	186	Matthew 22 : 29.....	386
Zechariah 11 : 7.....	383	Matthew 22 : 32.....	337
Zechariah 11 : 13.....	311	Matthew 22 : 41.....	340
Zechariah 12 : 10.....	27, 78	Matthew 23 : 39.....	148
Zechariah 13 : 7.....	309	Matthew 24 : 15.....	232
Malachi 1 : 2, 3.....	350	Matthew 21 : 36.....	187
Malachi 2 : 3.....	380	Matthew 26 : 31.....	309
Malachi 3 : 1.....	76, 92, 248	Matthew 26 : 73.....	111
Malachi 4 : 5.....	240	Matthew 27 : 9.....	311
Malachi 4 : 5, 6.....	92, 248	Matthew 27 : 27-31.....	246
		Matthew 27 : 46.....	241, 324
		Matthew 22 : 29.....	386
		Matthew 15 : 6.....	386
		Mark 1 : 2.....	76
		Mark 1 : 3.....	233
		Mark 6 : 6.....	113
		Mark 7 : 6, 7.....	12
		Mark 7 : 7.....	77
		Mark 9 : 11-13.....	243

	PAGE		PAGE
Mark 9 : 13	240	John 4 : 14, 15	53
Mark 9 : 48	148	John 4 : 32, 33	53
Mark 10 : 24	328	John 4 : 35	53
Mark 11 : 9	147	John 6 : 26-59	291
Mark 11 : 17	92	John 6 : 27	53
Mark 12 : 10, 11	308	John 6 : 31	245
Mark 12 : 26	337	John 6 : 32	53
Mark 12 : 36	340	John 6 : 45	110, 279
Mark 13 : 14	232	John 6 : 52, 53, 63	53
Mark 14 : 27	309	John 7 : 38	113, 279
		John 7 : 42	75
Luke 1 : 17	92, 240, 248	John 7 : 52	111
Luke 2 : 23	74, 77	John 8 : 38, 39, 56	53
Luke 2 : 32	278	John 10 : 35, 36	53
Luke 3 : 4-6	233	John 11 : 11, 12	53
Luke 4 : 18, 19	327	John 11 : 49-52	283, 288
Luke 4 : 28-30	113	John 12 : 13	147
Luke 7 : 27	76	John 12 : 40	64, 279
Luke 8 : 31	184	John 12 : 40, 41	243
Luke 10 : 24	173	John 13 : 8	53
Luke 11 : 52	386	John 13 : 18	240, 316
Luke 12 : 24	256	John 15 : 25	240, 245, 323
Luke 14 : 26	256	John 17	328
Luke 17 : 9	85	John 17 : 5	238
Luke 19 : 38	147	John 17 : 12	280
Luke 19 : 46	92	John 17 : 24, 25	53
Luke 20 : 17	308	John 18 : 9	280
Luke 20 : 37	241	John 19 : 24	245
Luke 20 : 42, 43	340	John 19 : 28	323
Luke 21 : 20	232	John 19 : 36	246
Luke 22 : 37	241	John 19 : 37	27, 74, 78
Luke 23 : 46	26	John 20 : 27	53
Luke 24 : 5, 6	85	John 21 : 5	329
Luke 24 : 27	386		
Luke 24 : 27, 44, 45	240	Acts 1 : 15, 16	252
Luke 24 : 45	387	Acts 1 : 16	249
		Acts 1 : 20	92, 248
John 1 : 21, 25	248	Acts 2 : 17-21	74, 82, 279
John 1 : 23	233	Acts 2 : 19, 20	279
John 1 : 29, 36	247	Acts 2 : 25-28	64
John 1 : 46	111, 113	Acts 2 : 25-32	317
John 1 : 51	244	Acts 2 : 34, 35	340
John 2 : 17	74, 77, 323	Acts 3 : 22	292
John 2 : 19, 20	53	Acts 3 : 22, 23	275
John 3 : 3-5	44	Acts 6 : 11	308
John 3 : 6	53	Acts 7 : 37	275, 292
John 3 : 12, 13	86	Acts 7 : 42, 43	74, 83
John 3 : 14	53, 240	Acts 8 : 32, 33	64
John 4 : 10, 11	53	Acts 11 : 16	279

	PAGE		PAGE
Acts 13 : 33.....	237, 238	1 Corinthians 5 : 8.....	291
Acts 13 : 35.....	317	1 Corinthians 9 : 9, 10.....	256
Acts 13 : 36, 37.....	319	1 Corinthians 10.....	116
Acts 13 : 40.....	110	1 Corinthians 10 : 1, 2.....	291
Acts 13 : 47.....	279	1 Corinthians 10 : 3-5, 16, 17.....	291
Acts 15 : 15.....	110	1 Corinthians 10 : 11.....	57
Acts 15 : 16.....	64	1 Corinthians 13.....	xiii.
Acts 15 : 16, 17.....	14	1 Corinthians 14 : 21, 22.....	50
Acts 17 : 28.....	xiv.	1 Corinthians 15 : 54.....	360
Acts 18 : 24.....	xii.	1 Corinthians 15 : 25-27.....	340
Acts 28 : 26.....	279	1 Corinthians 15 : 55.....	133
Romans 1 : 3.....	261	2 Corinthians 3.....	116
Romans 1 : 17.....	344, 345	2 Corinthians 4 : 13.....	153
Romans 2 : 24.....	149	2 Corinthians 6 : 16.....	58, 92
Romans 3 : 10.....	114	2 Corinthians 6 : 17.....	303
Romans 3 : 10-18.....	348	2 Corinthians 6 : 18.....	56, 259
Romans 4 : 3-25.....	252	2 Corinthians 8.....	360
Romans 4 : 11, 12, 16.....	268	2 Corinthians 12 : 9.....	85
Romans 4 : 16, 18.....	261	Galatians 3 : 7-16.....	263
Romans 4 : 17.....	252	Galatians 3 : 8.....	16, 92
Romans 7.....	116	Galatians 3 : 11-13.....	344, 345
Romans 9 : 6-8.....	268	Galatians 3 : 15-18.....	268
Romans 9 : 7.....	261	Galatians 3 : 16.....	260
Romans 9 : 13.....	350	Galatians 3 : 28, 29.....	262
Romans 9 : 14-24.....	351	Galatians 4 : 21-31.....	116, 117
Romans 9 : 17.....	27	Galatians 4 : 24.....	134
Romans 9 : 25, 26.....	92, 351	Ephesians 4 : 8.....	58
Romans 9 : 27-29.....	355	Ephesians 5 : 14.....	114
Romans 9 : 33.....	45, 92	Philippians 3 : 21.....	85
Romans 10 : 6-8.....	183	Colossians 1 : 26.....	173
Romans 10 : 11.....	45, 92	2 Timothy 2 : 8.....	288
Romans 10 : 15.....	150	Titus 1 : 12.....	xiv.
Romans 10 : 18.....	164	Titus 1 : 15.....	53
Romans 10 : 19-21.....	355	Hebrews 1 : 5.....	62, 237, 238, 259, 322
Romans 11 : 2-4.....	47	Hebrews 1 : 6.....	9, 62, 190, 329
Romans 11 : 8.....	92, 279, 356	Hebrews 1 : 6-9.....	380
Romans 11 : 9, 10.....	255	Hebrews 1 : 7.....	10
Romans 11 : 12.....	6	Hebrews 1 : 8, 9.....	238
Romans 11 : 26, 27.....	3, 92	Hebrews 1 : 10-12.....	270
Romans 13 : 14.....	88	Hebrews 1 : 11, 12.....	190
Romans 14 : 11.....	357	Hebrews 1 : 13.....	340
Romans 14 : 21.....	87		
Romans 15 : 3.....	323		
1 Corinthians 1 : 19.....	188		
1 Corinthians 2 : 9.....	151		
1 Corinthians 2 : 13.....	30		
1 Corinthians 5 : 7.....	247, 291		

	PAGE		PAGE
Hebrews 2 : 6-8	7, 64	Hebrews 10 : 15-18	370
Hebrews 2 : 8-11	9	Hebrews 10 : 36-39	367, 369
Hebrews 2 : 12	62	Hebrews 10 : 37, 38	165
Hebrews 2 : 12, 13	324	Hebrews 11	260
Hebrews 2 : 13	63	Hebrews 11 : 3	87
Hebrews 3 : 7 to 4 : 11	362	Hebrews 12 : 5-13	17
Hebrews 3 : 12-19	367	1 Peter 1 : 12	173
Hebrews 4 : 1-11	367	1 Peter 1 : 10-13	322
Hebrews 4 : 3	64	1 Peter 1 : 19	247
Hebrews 4 : 7	362	1 Peter 1 : 25	279
Hebrews 5 : 5	237	1 Peter 2 : 6, 8	45
Hebrews 5 : 5-10	238	1 Peter 2 : 7	308
Hebrews 6 : 13-19	269	1 John 2 : 23	47
Hebrews 7	116, 123, 291	Revelation	247
Hebrews 7 : 3	124	Revelation 9 : 1, 2, 11	184
Hebrews 8 : 8-13	370	Revelation 11 : 7	184
Hebrews 10 : 1	291	Revelation 17 : 18	184
Hebrews 10 : 7	272	Revelation 20 : 1, 3	184
Hebrews 10 : 5-9	20		
Hebrews 10 : 5-10	273		
Hebrews 10 : 10	24		

INDEX OF AUTHORS REFERRED TO

- Addison, 169, 374.
 Æschylus, 70, 212, 215, 217, 218, 231, 332, 334.
 Alexander, 5, 6, 356.
 Alford, 10, 294, 356, 362.
 Ambrose, 329.
 Anselm, 329.
 Antimachus, 69.
 Aquinas, 329.
 Aratus, xiv.
 Aristotle, 38, 66, 110, 160.
 Arnold, Matthew, x.
- Baur, 53.
 Baumlein, 50.
 Beck, 194, 195.
 Beet, 53.
 Bengel, 165.
 Beza, 362.
 Biesenthal, 329.
 Bleek, 24, 152, 189, 194, 315, 362.
 Böhme, 187, 329, 362.
 Breidenkamp, 6.
 Briggs, 80.
 Broadus, 294, 301, 311.
 Bulwer, 227.
 Bunyan, 119, 121, 123.
 Burke, xiii., 141, 155, 374.
 Burns, xiv.
 Byron, 120, 208, 335.
- Calvin, 79, 80, 301.
 Carlyle, 124, 125, 207.
 Chambers, 80.
 Chatham, 156.
 Cheyne, 5, 6, 276.
 Cicero, 69, 70, 71, 72, 108, 109, 117, 164, 329, 374.
 Cleanthes, xlv.
 Coleridge, xiii.
 Conybeare, 53.
- Conybeare, Mrs., 228.
 Cook, 16.
 Cowper, xiv., 184, 185.
 Cremer, 189.
 Cruttwell, 222.
- Dante, 119, 121, 123.
 Davidson, 136.
 Dawson, 87.
 De Foe, 232.
 Delitzsch, 10, 16, 270, 234, 329, 356.
 Demosthenes, xii.
 De Wette, 194, 329.
 Dindorf, 362.
 Döpke, xvii., 134, 187, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 383.
 Donaldson, 50.
 Drake, 80.
- Eichhorn, 134.
 Ellicott, 10, 54, 362, 366.
 Empedocles, 143.
 Ennius, 41, 70, 163, 164.
 Epicharmus, 143.
 Epicurus, 70, 108, 109.
 Erasmus, 84.
 Ernesti, 190.
 Euripides, 66, 211, 217.
 Everett, Edward, 143.
 Ewald, 80, 152, 154, 276, 315, 362.
- Fairbairn, 301.
 Fallue, 84.
 Farrar, xvi.
 Platt, 53.
 Flügge, 134.
 Fox, 155.
 Fürst, 12.
- Geler, 189.
 Geikle, 84.

- Gerlach, Otto von, 278.
 Gervinus, 206.
 Gesenius, 11, 12, 79, 285.
 Gill, 80.
 Gladstone, 184.
 Goethe, 120, 121, 206, 208, 228, 229, 335.
 Goodwin, 98, 177, 179.
 Grant, 38.
 Griesbach, 190.

 Hackett, 321.
 Hardingham, G. G., 41.
 Hartung, 50.
 Henderson, 5, 6.
 Hemsterhuys, 105.
 Hengstenberg, 154, 321.
 Heraclitus, 143.
 Herodotus, 208.
 Hesiod, 39, 130, 134, 210.
 Hilgenfeld, 43.
 Hitzig, 6, 79, 80, 294.
 Hodge, 356.
 Hofmann, 9, 10, 118, 154, 329, 352, 356.
 Homer, 38, 65, 93, 103, 104, 110, 134, 144,
 146, 153, 161, 162, 163, 176, 375.
 Horace, 41.
 Hugo, 229, 230.
 Hupfeld, 154.

 Irby, Miss, 141.

 Jamblichus, 106, 163.
 Jennings, 362.
 Johnson, Dean, 8.
 Johnson, Samuel, 141, 142.
 Jowett, 65, 107, 116.
 Julian, 184.

 Keightly, 203.
 Keil, 16, 79, 80, 301.
 Kennicott, 250.
 Kimchi, 79.
 Kling, 53.
 Klotz, 50.
 Knobel, 5, 6.
 Krüger, 50.
 Kuenen, xvii., 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17,
 18, 48, 50, 51, 56, 57, 58, 63, 118, 119, 139,
 171, 184, 237, 239, 251, 272, 273, 315, 317,
 318, 320, 323.
 Kühner, 50.

 Lange, 16, 294.
 Le Clerc, 187.
 Liddell and Scott, 50.
 Longfellow, 223.
 Lowe, 362.
 Lucian, 96, 180.
 Lücke, 194.
 Lünemann, 329.
 Lucretius, 211.
 Luthart, 80.
 Luther, 19, 154.

 Mackenzie, Miss, 141.
 Mansel, 294.
 Marsh, 118.
 Maurer, 80.
 Maximus Tyrius, 99, 104, 161, 162.
 Mendelsohn, 250.
 Michaelis, J. D., 189.
 Michaelis, J. H., 189.
 Milton, xiv., 200, 375.
 Meyer, 54, 55, 149, 152, 153, 154, 187, 285,
 294, 315, 355, 363.
 Molière, 208, 229.
 Müller, Max, 228.

 Nägelsbach, 295, 356.
 Nettleship, 221.
 Newman, W. L., 160.

 Olshausen, 194.
 Orelli, 194.
 Origen, 152, 375.

 Paley, 32.
 Palfrey, 118, 197, 278.
 Parmenides, 143.
 Passow, 50.
 Paulus, 349.
 Perowne, 362.
 Philo, xiii., 43, 100, 101, 133, 135, 136, 375.
 Pindar, 219.
 Plato, xii., 65, 66, 68, 93, 94, 95, 104, 105,
 106, 173, 174, 184, 374.
 Plumptre, 294.
 Plutarch, 89, 97, 98, 118, 144, 146, 179.
 Politz, 134.
 Pope, 84.
 Porphyry, 89.

 Quintilian, 109.

- Racine, 229.
 Rosenmüller, 79, 80, 134.
 Rost, 50.
 Rousscau, 141, 205.
 Rückert, 187.
 Ruskin, 173.

 Sayce, 124.
 Schiller, 205, 229.
 Schleusner, 277.
 Schmid, Ch. Fr., 189.
 Schrader, 152.
 Schultz 53, 134, 362.
 Semler, 190.
 Seneca, 100, 146, 164.
 Shakespeare, xiv., 200, 230, 362.
 Siegfried, 43.
 Sophocles, 33, 70, 215, 216, 217.
 Sophocles, E. A., 278.
 Spenser, 119, 122, 200.
 Stier, 53, 64, 356.
 Stuart, 9, 191, 321, 370.
 Surenhusius, 382.
 Swift, 123.
 Syuesius, 118.

 Taylor, 99, 107.
 Taylor, Bayard, 207.
 Taylor, C., 250.
 Taylor, Jeremy, 44.
 Teller, 190.

 Tennyson, 229, 230, 239.
 Terence, 99.
 Thayer, J. H., 50, 278.
 Theodore of Mopsuestia, 191.
 Tholuck, 23, 118, 189, 194, 196, 280, 329, 355.
 Toy, xvii., 8, 45, 46, 79, 80, 81, 83, 92, 114,
 115, 152, 154, 166, 232, 239, 275, 278, 285,
 315, 320, 323, 325, 337, 339, 341, 354, 359,
 360, 361, 362.
 Trollope, 84.
 Turretin, 134.
 Tyrtaeus, 66.

 Umbreit, 189, 194.

 Virgil, 41, 211, 220.
 Voltaire, 208.

 Wagner, Richard, 230.
 Webster, 375.
 Webster, Noah, 143.
 Welldon, 38.
 Westcott, 24, 25.
 Wetstein, 187.
 Whittier, 199.
 Woods, Leonard, 277, 278, 280, 290, 292.
 Wright, 79.

 Xenophon, 95.

 Zacharias of Chrysopolis, 152.
 Zimmer, 10.

INDEX OF AUTHORS QUOTED

- Abbot, Ezra, 44.
Abbott, Lyman, 249.
Addison, 138.
Adeney, W. F., 195, 196.
Æschylus, 181, 214.
Alexander, 235, 274, 289, 305, 340, 342.
Alford, 153, 165, 194, 235, 262, 314, 357, 359.
Aristotle, 67, 89, 103, 109, 162, 196.
Bacon, 192.
Bähr, 220.
Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, 103.
Baumgarten-Crusius, 349.
Bilroth, 188.
Bissell, 31.
Blackie, 211.
Bleek, 325, 366.
Bouillet, 90.
Briggs, 197.
Broadus, 14, 75, 77, 284, 287, 302, 337.
Bryant, 145, 160.
Bulwer, 205, 225, 226.
Burnham, Sylvester, 242, 266.
Bunyan, 125, 170.
Carlyle, 124, 130, 207.
Chase, Thos., 164.
Cheyne, 234.
Chrysostom, 190.
Churton, 91.
Cleanthes, xiv.
Cloag, 250.
Cicero, 40, 41, 42, 69, 70, 71, 72, 147.
Conybeare, 264.
Conybeare and Howson, 86, 101.
Cope, 38, 103.
Cowper, 154.
Craik, 200, 201.
Cranch, 142.
Cruwell, 220, 221, 222.
Curtius, 212, 213.
Dante, 223.
Darwin, 304.
Davidson, 118, 119, 134, 135, 136, 186.
Delitzsch, 307, 325, 328.
De Wette, 23, 189.
Döpke, 375, 376, 381, 382.
Driver, 341.
Dryden, 84.
Duncombe, 163.
Düntzer, 205.
Dwight, Timothy, 363.
Ebrard, 329, 379.
Ellicott, 59.
Ennius, 70.
Epictetus, 104.
Euripides, 72, 96, 158.
Everett, Edward, 142, 173.
Ewald, 310, 320.
Farrar, 88, 264.
Gallus, 69.
Garnett, 204.
Gervinus, 201, 202.
Gladstone, 140, 141, 157, 171.
Godet, xv., 268.
Goodrich, 155, 156.
Goodwin, 89.
Gordon, A. J., 85.
Gosman, 265.
Gould, 55.
Grote, 215.
Grotius, 192.
Guthrie, 85.
Hackett, 15, 39, 82, 104, 146, 249.
Hall, Robert, 87, 141, 172.
Hanna, Rev. Wm. T. C., xii.
Hengstenberg, 80, 318.
Hesiod, 33, 37, 67, 89, 179.
Higginson, T. W., 104.
Hitzig, 286.
Hodge, 54, 150, 357.

- Hofmann, 174.
Homer, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 65, 71, 72, 83, 93,
94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 109, 143, 144, 145, 146,
147, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 174, 175, 176,
177, 179, 180, 182, 211.
Hood, Edwin Paxton, 204.
Horace, 155, 157, 171.
Jacobitz, 96.
Johnson, Samuel, 142.
Jowett, 66, 167.
Julian, 68, 106, 162, 163, 183.
Junius, 157.
Keightly, 203, 211.
Kingsley, 223.
Kling, 54.
Kuenen, 1, 2, 12, 14, 15, 16, 44, 45, 47, 48,
49, 62, 119, 139, 236, 237, 238, 239, 250, 270
272, 290, 292, 316, 317, 326, 362, 363.
Ladd, 315.
Lightfoot, 261, 262, 314.
Long, 164.
Longfellow, 199.
Lowell, 125, 141, 202.
Lucan, 157.
Lucian, 40, 105, 176.
Luther, 137.
Lysias, 88.
MacLane, Rev. W. W., 241.
Macrobius, 221.
Mähly, 218.
Mansel, 85.
Meyer, 59, 79, 116, 117, 118, 244, 259, 349,
350.
Milton, 140, 143, 155, 169, 170, 203.
Moulton, 366.
Müller, K. O., 129, 130, 131, 210, 213, 215,
217, 219, 230.
Orelli, 193.
Paley, 219, 336.
Palfrey, 191.
Philo, 90.
Pindar, 96, 106, 130, 210, 219.
Pitt, 155.
Plato, 31-38, 65, 103, 107, 126-128, 143, 158,
159, 175, 176, 181, 183.
Plotinus, 105, 106.
Plumptre, 214.
Plutarch, 39, 103, 145, 176, 177, 178, 179,
180.
Pocock, 350.
Proclus, 107.
Reid, 41.
Reuss, 43, 380.
Riddle, 118.
Riehm, 237.
Rückert, 350.
Ruskin, 87, 102, 209.
Sanday, 29, 218.
Scherer, 205, 206, 207, 228.
Schiller, 205.
Schneidewin, F. W., 216.
Scott, Rev. James, 109.
Sears, 86.
Seneca, 42.
Shakespeare, 141, 157, 201, 257.
Sherlock, 192.
Shore, 54.
Smith, R. Payne, 296.
Sophocles, 147, 178.
Southey, 140, 157.
Stainsbury, 229.
Steele, 129.
Stuart, 190.
Strabo, 69, 146.
Taylor, 161.
Taylor, Bayard, 206, 332.
Taylor, Wm. M., 87.
Tennyson, 173, 198, 200, 222.
Tholuck, 27, 187, 196, 210, 278, 290.
Tooke, 40, 68, 96, 177.
Trollope, 41.
Turpie, 2, 7.
Van Dyke, Henry J., 229.
Vatablus, 319.
Virgil, 42, 142, 146, 155, 156, 164, 168, 169.
Wayland, 85.
Webster, Daniel, 84, 172.
Weldon, 28, 67.
White, Richard Grant, 202.
Wilkins, 99.
Winer 55.
Woods, Leonard, 276.
Wright, 78.

INDEX OF BOOKS REFERRED TO OR QUOTED

	PAGE		PAGE
Academical Lectures. Palfrey.....	191	Charon. Lucian.....	96
Academics of Cicero The. Reid....	41, 70	Children of Hercules, The. Euripides.....	219
Advancement of Learning, The.		Choëphoræ. Euripides	218
Bacon	192	Christology. Hengstenberg	321
Adventurer, The. Johnson.....	142	Cicero. Trollope.....	41
Æclogues. Spenser.....	123	Commentaries of Cæsar, The. Trollope.....	84
Æneid. Virgil.....		Commentaries on Shakespeare. Gerwinus.....	201
42, 100, 142, 146. 156, 169, 220, 221, 222		Commentary: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical. Lange.....	118, 265
Agamemnon. Æschylus	214, 333	Commentary on Ephesians. Ellicott. 59	
Aids to Reflection. Coleridge.....	xiii.	Commentary on Ephesians. Meyer. 59	
Alcibiades. Plato.....	105	Commentary on First Corinthians. Bilroth	188
Allegories of the Sacred Laws. The. Philo.....	90, 101	Commentary on Matthew. Gerlach. 278	
American Commentary. The.....	55	Commentary on the Acts. Gloag.....	250
Among My Books. Lowell.....	141	Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Stuart.....	190
Analyse Raisonnée. Fallue.....	84	Commentary ou the Psalms. Hengstenberg.....	318
Andria. Terence.....	99	Commentary on the Timæus of Plato. Proclus.....	107
Andromache. Euripides.....	72	Comus. Milton.....	203
Annals, The. Ennius.....	41	Conjugal Precepts. Plutarch.....	97
Antigone. Sophocles.....	38, 178	Consolation to Apollonius. Plutarch. 98	
Apocrypha, The.....	91	Contradictions of the Stoics, The. Plutarch.....	89
Apocrypha of the Old Testament, The. Bissell	31	Convito, Il. Dante.....	223
Apology, The. Plato.....	159	Cowper's Letters.....	154
Apology for Herodotus. Estienne... 208		Creeds of Christendom, The. Schaff. 61	
Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, The. Abbot.....	44	Daniel the Beloved. Wm. M. Taylor. 87	
Bacchanals, The. Euripides.....	208	Defense of the Portraits. Lucian... 104	
Bashfulness. Plutarch.....	179	De Finibus. Cicero.....	108
Battle of the Books, The. Swift..... 123		Delay of the Divine Justice, The. Plutarch.....	103, 145
Book of Common Prayer, The.....	44	De Officiis. Cicero.....	41
British Eloquence. Goodrich.....	155, 156	De Oratore. Cicero.....	99
Bucolics, The. Virgil	220		
Cæsar. Voltaire.....	209		
Cæsars, The. Julian.....	183		
Caxtoniana. Bulwer.....	227		
Changes of Scripture Names, The. Philo.....	90, 101		

402 INDEX OF BOOKS REFERRED TO OR QUOTED

	PAGE		PAGE
De Oratore of Cicero, The. Wilkins.....	99	Fourth Gospel the Heart of Christ, The. Sears.....	86
Der Brief an die Hebräer. Bleek.....	366	Fragments. Euripides.....	96
Der Brief an die Hebräer. Kurtz.....	367	Fragments. Sophocles.....	147
Die Büsser. Wagner.....	230	Gargantua. Rabelais.....	208
Die Sieger. Wagner.....	230	Genesis. Gosman.....	265
Discouragements and Supports of the Christian Minister, The. Robert Hall.....	171	Georgics, The. Virgil.....	42, 164
Dissertations. Maximus Tyrius.....	104, 161	Geschichte der Römischen Literatur. Bähr.....	220
Diver, The. Schiller.....	205	Glaucus. Æschylus.....	213
Divine Comedy, The. Dante.....	123, 223	Gleanings of Past Years. Gladstone. 140, 157, 171	140, 157, 171
Doctor, The. Southey.....	140, 157	Goethe's Helena. Carlyle.....	124
Eclogues. Virgil.....	155, 168	Gospel in Ezekiel, The. Guthrie.....	85
Electra. Euripides.....	218	Gospels in the Second Century, The. Sanday.....	29
Elements of Moral Science, The. Wayland.....	85	Götz von Berlichingen. Goethe.....	206
Emile. Rousseau.....	205	Gulliver's Travels. Swift.....	123
Enneads, The. Plotinus.....	105	Hamlet. Shakespeare.....	202, 225
Epicharmus, The. Ennius.....	70	Hebrew Grammar. Ewald.....	80
Epistles of St. Paul, The. Jowett.....	116, 167	Hebrew Utopia, The. W. F. Adeney. 195, 196	195, 196
Epistle to the Hebrews, The. Ebrard.....	379	Hermann und Dorothea. Goethe.....	228
Epistle to the Hebrews, The. Tho- luck.....	194	Hermeneutik der neutestament- lichen Schriftsteller. Döpke.....	134, 382
Ernest Maltravers. Bulwer.....	226, 333	Heroes and Hero-worship. Carlyle.....	125
Ethics of Aristotle, The. Grant.....	109	Hippolytus. Euripides.....	158
Eumenides, The. Æschylus.....	215	History of the English Literature and Language. Craik.....	200
Eumenides of Æschylus, The. K. O. Müller.....	215	History of French Literature. Stains- bury.....	229
Euripides Werke. Mähly.....	218	History of German Literature. Scherer.....	205, 207, 228
Euripides, with an English Commen- tary. Paley.....	219	History of Greece. Grote.....	215
Evidences of Christianity, The. Paley.....	336	History of Greece. Curtius.....	212
Exegetische Probleme. Zimmer.....	10	History of Greek Literature. K. O. Müller.....	210, 219
Fables. La Fontaine.....	208	History of the New Testament Scrip- tures. Reuss.....	43, 380
Face Appearing in the Orb of the Moon, The. Plutarch.....	144, 173	History of Roman Literature. Crutt- well.....	220
Faerie Queene, The. Spenser.....	119, 123, 137, 240	Holy War, The. Bunyan.....	123
Faust. Goethe.....	120, 123, 124, 132, 205, 208, 225, 226, 228, 304, 332, 335.	Homer. Gladstone.....	179
Faust. Bayard Taylor.....	206	Homer and the Iliad. Blackie.....	211
First Bunker Hill Oration. Webster.....	172	How to Know a Flatterer from a Friend. Plutarch.....	178
Folly of Seeking Many Friends, The Plutarch.....	39	How Young Men Ought to Hear Poems. Plutarch.....	173

INDEX OF BOOKS REFERRED TO OR QUOTED 403

PAGE	PAGE		
Hoyle's Games.....	169	Life and Work of St. Paul, The.	
Homiletic Review, The.....	241	Farrar.....	xvi, 264
Idyls of the King Tennyson.....		Life of Milton. Garnett.....	204
	200 222, 230	Life of Plotinus, The. Porphyry.....	89
Iliad, The. Homer.....		Life, Opinions, and Writings of John	
32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71		Milton. Keightly.....	203
72, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 103, 109, 123, 145		Limitations of Religious Thought,	
147, 158, 159, 160, 161, 174, 179, 180, 211		The. Mansel.....	85
221.		Literature and Dogma. Matthew	
Iliad, The. Bryant.....	xviii.	Arnold.....	x.
Iliad of Homer, The Pope.....	84	Literature of Ancient Greece, The.	
Instability of Pleasure, The. Maxi-		K. O. Müller.....	213, 217, 230
mus Tyrius.....	99	Literary Essays. Lowell.....	202
International Dictionary, The.....	143	Looker On, The.....	170
Introduction to the New Testament.		Lothair. Disraeli.....	333
Davidson.....	186	Love. Plutarch.....	178
Introduction to the Study of the		Love of Wealth, The. Plutarch.....	59
Gospels. Westcott.....	24	Lucian. Jacobitz.....	96
Ion. Plato.....	32, 33, 93	Lucian. Tooke.....	40
Isis and Osiris. Plutarch.....	177	Lycidas. Milton.....	140
Is there a Sect in Philosophy accord-		Lysias. Plato.....	175
ing to Homer. Maximus Tyrius..	161	Macbeth.....	141, 257
Isthmian Odes, The. Pindar.....	106	Maiden from Afar, The. Schiller.....	205
John Milton. Edwin Paxton Hood..	204	Malade Imaginaire. Molière.....	208
Kommentar zum Briefe an die He-		Marble Fauu, The. Hawthorne..	227, 333
bräer. Tholuck.....	23, 27	Medea, The. Ennius.....	164
Laches. Plato.....	176	Meeting for the Sake of Receiving	
Laws. Plato.....	34, 38, 66, 104, 105	Instruction. Philo.....	43
Learned Retained in Great Families,		Memorabilia of Socrates, The. Xeno-	
The. Lucian.....	67	phon ..	95
Lectures on the Quotations. Leonard		Messianic Prophecy. Briggs.....	197
Woods.....	276, 292	Midsummer Night's Dream, A.	
Les Misérables. Hugo.....	230	Shakespeare ..	201
Lesser Hippias, The. Plato.....	159	Ministry of Healing, The. Gordon..	85
Les Travailleurs de la Mer. Hugo..	230	Modern Painters. Ruskin.....	87, 102, 87
Letters of Cicero, The.....	109	Mohammed. Voltaire.....	209
Letters of Julian, The.....	63, 106, 162	Mount Vernon Papers. Everett....	142
Letters of Junius, The..	157	Much Ado About Nothing. Shake-	
Letters of Seneca, The..	41, 100, 146, 147	speare ..	202
Letters to Atticus. Cicero..	40, 71, 72, 147	Mythology. Keightly.....	211
Letters to Quintus. Cicero.....	71	New Life, The. Dante.....	123
Lexicon of the Greek Language.		New Testament Commentary, The.	
Liddell and Scott.....	179	Ellicott.....	54, 366
Life and Epistles of St. Paul, The.		New Testament Hermeneutics.	
Conybeare and Howson.....	86, 101, 264	Döpke.....	187
		Nicomachian Ethics. Aristotle..	38, 103
		Nigrinus. Lucian.....	181
		Notre Dame de Paris. Hugo.....	230

404 INDEX OF BOOKS REFERRED TO OR QUOTED

	PAGE		PAGE
Observer, The	170	Principle of Cold, The. Plutarch.....	175
Odes. Horace.....	155	Principles of New Testament Quota- tion. Rev. James Scott.....	109
Odyssey, The.....		Progress in Virtue. Plutarch.....	97
33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 68, 71, 72, 96, 97, 98		Prometheus. Æschylus.....	225, 226
99, 104, 144, 145, 158, 160, 161, 162, 174		Prophets and Prophecy in Israel.	
177, 180, 183.		Kuenen.....	xvii., 1, 44
Odyssey, The. Bryant	xviii.	Protagoras. Plato.....	104, 143, 173
Edipus. Voltaire.....	209	Queen of the Air. Ruskin.....	209
Edipus at Colonus. Sophocles.....	217	Questions of the Day. Everett.....	173
Edipus the King. Sophocles.....	217	Quotations in the New Testament.	
Old Testament in the New, The		Toy.....	8, 21, 46, 49, 50, 187, 278
Tholuck	187, 189, 196	Rasselas. Johnson.....	227, 333
Old Testament in the New, The.		Reden Jesu. Stier.....	84
Turpie	2, 7	Relation between Judaism and Chris- tianity, The. Palfrey.	278
Old Testament Prophecy. Orelli... ..	193	Republic of Cicero, The. G. G. Hard- ingham	41
Olympic Odes. Pindar.....	96	Republic, The. Cicero.....	41
On the Work of the Holy Spirit.		Republic, The. Plato.....	
Robert Hall.....	141	35, 36, 37, 94, 105, 107, 126, 158, 159, 174	181.
Oration against Piso. Cicero.....	164	Revelation of Elias, The.....	152
Oration on the Departure of Sallust.		Rhetoric. Aristotle... ..	38, 67, 89, 103, 160
Julian.....	162	Rhetoric of Aristotle. Cope.....	38
Origiū of the World, The. Dawson. 87		Robbers, The. Schiller	205
Pantagruel. Rabelais.....	208	Rudolf of Hapsburg. Schiller.....	205
Paradise Lost. Milton.....		Saintly Workers. Farrar.....	88
140, 155, 184, 203, 204		Samson Agonistes. Milton.....	204
Paradise Regained. Milton.....	143	Select Sentences. Epicurus.....	109
Paraphrase of Gospels, A. Erasmus. 84		Seneca's Letters	164
Parasite, The. Lucian.....	176	Sentiments Proper to the Present Crisis, The. Robt. Hall.....	87
Parsifal. Wagner.....	230	Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy. Arnold.....	196
Peshito Version, The.....	59	Sesame and Lilies. Ruskin.....	173
Phædo. Plato.....	105, 126	Seven Against Thebes, The. Æs- chylus.	181, 213
Pharsalia. Lucan.....	157	Shepherd's Calendar, The. Spenser..	200
Philoctetes. Sophocles.....	216	Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.....	297
Philopatris. Lucian.....	40	Sophist, The. Plato.....	104
Phœnician Women, The. Euripides.		Sophokles Erklärt. F. W. Schneide- win.....	216
72, 218		Speaker's Commentary, The.....	
Pilgrim's Progress, The.....		8, 59, 80, 235, 296	
119, 123, 125, 132, 137, 170		Spectator, The	73, 138, 168
Plato. Jowett	xviii.		
Pleasure of Philosophical Discourse, The. Maximus Tyrius.....	161		
Plutarch. Goodwin	xviii.		
Plutarch on the Delay of the Divine Justice. Hackett.....	39		
Poetry of Tennyson, The. Van Dyke.	229		
Politics. Aristotle	160, 162		
Politics of Aristotle, The. W. L. Newman.....	160		

INDEX OF BOOKS REFERRED TO OR QUOTED 405

PAGE	PAGE		
Studien und Kritiken.....	196	Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, The.	
Studies in Shakespeare. R. G. White.	202	Driver.....	341
Studies on the Epistles. Godet.. xv.,	268		
Suppliant Women, The. Euripides..	219	Versuch einer pneumatisch her-	
Symposium, The. Plato... 33, 65, 127,	181	meneutischen Entwicklung des	
		neunten Kapitels im Briefe an die	
Tale of a Tub. Swift.....	123	Römer. Beck.....	195
Talmud, The.....	111, 134, 314	Votive Tablets, The. Schiller.....	228
Tattler, The.....	129, 168	Vulgate, The.....	61
Targum, The.	46, 59, 75		
Télémaque. Fénelon.....	208	Wallenstein. Schiller.....	205, 229
Tempest, The. Shakespeare.....	202	Wallenstein's Camp. Schiller.....	229
Theætetus. Plato.....	105, 143, 158	Weissagung und Erfüllung. Hof-	
Theogony, The. Hesiod.....		mann.....	194
	33, 67, 89, 178, 179,	Who is the Heir of Divine Things?	
Tide River, The. Kingsley.....	222	Philo.....	100, 101
Timæus. Plato.....	106	Wilhelm Meister. Goethe.....	333
Timon. Lucian.....	96	Words of Christ, The. Geikie.....	84
Tragedies of Æschylus, The. Plump-		Works and Days. Hesiod.....	37, 39
tre.....	214	World, The.....	169
Tristan and Isolde. Wagner.....	230		
Tusculan Disputations, The. Cicero.	69, 164	Zanoni. Bulwer.....	225, 226
		Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche The-	
Ueber doppelten Schriftsinn.....	196	ologie.....	43
Use and Intent of Prophecy, The.			
Sherlock.....	192		

GENERAL INDEX

- Abbreviated quotations in New Testament, 64.
- Adency: on popular types in Scripture, 195; on the double sense of all prophecy, 196.
- Æschylus: double reference in, 211-216.
- Alford: on the "seed" of Gal. 3: 16, 262; on types in Scripture, 194.
- Allegories: the two great, of the New Testament, 117; in modern literature, 122, 123: rabbinic, derived from the Greek, 134; of New Testament: are they used as proofs of doctrine? 134-137; usually only illustrative, 137, 138.
- Allegories of Plato: Er, 126; The Origin of Love, 126, 129; The Soul, 126; Theuth, 126; The Creation of Man, 126; Zamolxis, 126; The Two Loves, 127.
- Allergos: referred to, x., 116-138; Plato's, of "The Two Loves," compared to Paul's of "The Two Sons"; also to that of "Melchizedek," 128; proper names in, 130-132; and type distinguished, 116, 225, 226.
- Angels never inanimate objects or forces, 12.
- Animals: God's care of, 256; laws concerning, intended chiefly to benefit men, 256-259.
- Apocrypha: inexact quoting in, 31.
- Apollo, did he write Hebrews? xii.
- Aratus and Paul, xiv.
- Arguments from the New Testament quotations: are they ever illogical? x., 336-371.
- Arnold, on the double sense of all prophecy, 196.
- Bacon, on double reference, 192.
- Baruch: inexact quoting in, 31.
- Beck, on harmony of type and antitype in Scripture, 195, 196.
- Bible: the freedom of its writers, x., xi.; the many styles in, x.
- Bilroth, on relation of Old and New Testaments, 188.
- Bulwer, on types in all literature, 225, 226.
- Briggs, on double sense in prophecy, 197.
- Burnham, on types of Old Testament, 242, 243.
- Change of reference of quotation: with change of language, 154-167; without change of language, but with change of meaning of words, 167-185; without change of language or of meaning of words, 140-154.
- Christ's rebuke of rabbinic interpretation, 386.
- Circumcision in Old Testament, 252-255.
- Composite quotations: in Greek literature, 83-99; in Latin literature, 99, 100; in modern literatures, 101, 102; in Philo, 100, 101.
- Conybeare, on the "seed" of Gal. 3: 16, 264.
- Dante: overflow of language in, 223, 224.
- Davidson, denies, and yet admits, double reference, 186, 187.
- De Wette, on unity of Old and New Dispensations, 189.
- Döpke: Tholuck's criticism of, 187; on rabbinic interpretation of Old Testament, 372-386; admission of, concerning difference between rabbinic and apostolic interpretation of Old Testament, 381; on rabbinic folly of interpretation, 381-383.
- Double reference: x., 186-335; debate

- concerning, 186-189; denied, 186, 189-191; denied, and yet admitted by Davidson, 186, 187; Stuart on, 190; Grotius on, 192; Bacon on, 192; Sherlock on, 192; a better phrase than "double sense," 197; in all literature, 198-222; in English literature, 198-204; in German literature, 205-208; in French literature, 208, 209; in Greek literature, 209-220; in Latin literature, 220-222; how indicated, 222-231; indicated by overflow of language, 222-224; indicated by types, 224-231; in Scripture, 231-331; admitted by Kuenen, 236; in Longfellow, 199; Tennyson, 200; Spenser, 200, 201; Shakespeare, 201-203; Milton, 203, 204; Schiller, 205; Goethe, 206-208; Rabelais, 208; Estienne, 208; La Fontaine, 208; Molière, 208; Fénelon, 208; Voltaire, 208; Homer, 211; Æschylus, 211-216; Sophocles, 215-217; Euripides, 217-219; Pindar, 219, 220; Virgil, 220-222.
- Double sense: inseparable from prophecy, 196; arising from unity of religious experience under Old and New Dispensations, 97.
- Ebrard, on rabbinic folly of interpretation, 379, 380.
- English literature: double reference in, 198-204.
- Ernest Maltravers: typical element in, 226.
- Estienne: double reference in, 208.
- Euripides: double reference in, 217-219.
- "Faith," in Heb. 2: 3, 4, 344-347.
- Farrar, on the "seed" of Gal. 3: 16, 264.
- Fathers, early: inexact quoting in, 43.
- Faust: typical element in, 226, 228.
- Fénelon: double reference in, 208.
- Fragmentary quotations: reasons for, 63; in Greek literature, 65-69; frequent in Plato and Aristotle, 66.
- Fulfillment of prophecy: Woods on, 276-278; Tholuck on, 278-280.
- French literature: double reference in, 208, 209; types in, 229.
- Gentiles: admission of, to church foretold, 355, 356.
- German literature: double reference in, 205-208.
- Gift of tongues, indicative of weak faith, 50-54.
- Godet, on the "seed" of Gal. 3: 16, 268.
- Goethe: double reference in, 206-208.
- Greek classics: inexact quoting in, 31-41; double reference in, 209-220; types in, 230, 231.
- Greek literature: writer of Hebrews acquainted with, xii.; Paul acquainted with, xiii.-xv.
- Grotius, on double reference, 192.
- Hamlet: typical element in, 226.
- Hebrew: a dead language in apostolic age, 18; known by writers of New Testament, 24-27.
- Hebrews: reasons for conjecture that Apollos wrote, xii.; writer of, acquainted with Greek literature, xii.
- Hofmann, on types in history, 194.
- Homer: double reference in, 211.
- Hugo: types in, 229, 230.
- "Immanuel" of Isa. 7: 14, 276-289.
- Immutability of God a ground of prediction, 49, 56, 57.
- Infants: slaughter of, 293-303.
- Interpretation, rabbinic, x., 372-387.
- Isaiah a type of Christ, 325-328.
- Kingsley: overflow of language in, 222, 223.
- Kuenen, admits double reference, 236.
- La Fontaine: double reference in, 208.
- Latin classics: inexact quoting in, 41, 42.
- Latin literature: double reference in, 220-222.
- Laws of literature, xi.
- Lightfoot, on the "seed" of Gal. 3: 16, 261, 262.
- Limitation of Christ's knowledge, 187.
- Literature: chief laws of, xi.
- Longfellow: double reference in, 199.
- Manna, The, of 2 Cor. 8, 360, 361.
- Marble Faun, a typical novel, 227, 228.
- McLane, on types in nature and in Old Testament, 241, 242.

- Melchizedek: allegory of, 123, 124.
 Milton: double reference in, 203, 204.
 Molière: double reference in, 208; types in, 229.
- Nazarenes: bad character of, 111-113.
 Novels: typical element in, 226-228.
- Old Testament a type of New, 188.
 Old Dispensation a prediction of New, 189.
- Overflow of language, to indicate double reference, 222-224; in Tennyson, 222; in Kingsley, 222, 223; in Dante, 223, 224.
- Orelli, on types in nature, history, and revelation, 193, 194.
- "Parables," The: of Psalm 78: 2, 306-308.
- Paraphrase: definition of, 84; of quotations in general literature, 85-91.
- Passover, The: a type of Christ, 247.
- Paul: acquainted with Greek literature, xiii.-xv.; and Aratus, xiv.; his style, xiii.; Greek his mother tongue, xv.; his years of preparation for his mission to Gentiles, xv., xvi.
- Philo: inexact quoting in, 43.
 Pindar: double reference in, 219, 220.
 "Potter," The: of Zech. 11: 13, 311-316.
 Prayer Book: inexact quoting in, 44.
 Prophecies, Messianic: of two kinds, direct and typical, 275; division of into direct and typical not biblical, but modern, 275.
 Prophecy: always has two senses, 196; unconscious, 283, 284.
 "Prophet," The: of Deut. 18: 15-19, 274-276.
 Psalm 110: authorship of, 342-344.
 Psalm 109: not vengeful, 249-252.
- Quotations in New Testament: difficulties of summarized, ix.; from Septuagint, ix., 1-28; from memory, ix., 29-61; fragmentary, ix., 62-73; paraphrastic, ix., 74-91; composite, ix., 92-102; of substance, ix., 103-115; by sound, x., 139-185; alleged illogical reasoning from, x., 270-272, 336-371; translated from Hebrew by New Testament writers, 24-27; usually not for proof, 55; abbreviated in New Testament, 64; fragmentary, in Greek literature, 65-69; fragmentary, frequent in Plato and Aristotle, 66; composite, in Greek literature, 83-99; composite, in Latin literature, 99, 100; composite, in Philo, 100, 101.
- Rabbinic interpretation, x., 372-387; rebuked by Christ, 386.
 Rabbinic folly of interpretation: Ebrard on, 379, 380; Reuss on, 380, 381; Döpke on, 381-383.
 Rabelais: double reference in, 208.
 Rachel weeping, 293-303.
 "Ramah," The: of Jer. 31: 15, 294-299.
 Rasselas, a typical novel, 227.
 Reasoning from the quotations: is it illogical? x., 336-371.
 "Rest" of God, The: in Heb. 3: 4, 362-370; Dwight on, 363, 364; Moulton on, 366; Bleek on, 366, 367; Kurtz on, 367; Kuenen on, 362, 363; Toy on, 367-370.
 Resurrection, The: proved by Christ from Exod. 3: 6, 337-340.
 Reuss, on rabbinic folly of interpretation, 380, 381.
- Sayce, on Melchizedek, 124.
 Schiller: double reference in, 205.
 "Seed," The, of Gal. 3: 16: various interpretations of, 260-269.
 Septuagint, The: only Bible accessible to the people, 18.
 Shakespeare: double reference in, 201-203.
 "Shepherd," The: of Zech. 13: 7, 309-311.
 Sherlock, on double reference, 192.
 Slaughter of the infants, 293-303.
 Sophocles: double reference in, 215-217.
 Spenser: double reference in, 200, 201.
 Spoils in ancient warfare, 60.
 Stuart, on double reference, 190.
 Substance: quotations of, in Greek literature, 103-110.
 Taylor, Jeremy: inexact quoting in, 44.

- Tennyson: double reference in, 200; overflow of language in, 222; types in, 230.
- Tholuck: on types of Old Testament, 240; on phrase "That it might be fulfilled," 278-280.
- Thorwaldsen's Mercury, 225.
- Toy: on limitation of Christ's knowledge, 187; on circumcision in Old Testament, 252-255.
- Type and antitype: harmony of, a proof of divine origin of Scriptures, 196.
- Type different from allegory, 116, 225, 226.
- Types: in nature, 193; in history, 193, 194; in revelation, 193, 194; popular, in Scriptures, 195; to indicate double reference, 224-231; often faint and evanescent, 225, 227; Bulwer on, 225, 226; elude definition, 225, 226; in all literatures, 226-231; in French literature, 229, 230; in Molière, 229; in Hugo, 229, 230; in Wagner, 230; in Tennyson, 230; in Greek literature, 230, 231; abound in Old Testament, 240; two kinds of, in nature, 241, 242; two kinds of, in Old Testament, 241, 242; of Old Testament, Burnham on, 245; often minute, 291.
- Typical element: in novels, 226-228; in Faust, 226-228; in Hamlet, 226; in Zanoni, 226; in Ernest Maltravers, 226; in The Votive Tablets, 228, 229.
- Typical novel: Rasselas, 227; The Marble Faun, 227, 228.
- Unconscious prophecy: instance of, 283, 284; Broadus on, 284.
- Versions: proper manner of using, 19, 20.
- Virgil: double reference in, 220-222.
- "Virgin," The, of Isa. 7:14: discussed, 276-289; Toy on, 280; common view of, 281-289; Ewald on, 276; Cheyne on, 276.
- Voltaire: double reference in, 208.
- Votive Tablets, The: typical element in, 228, 229.
- Wagner: types in, 230.
- Wallenstein's Camp: typical element in, 229.
- Woods, on phrase "That it might be fulfilled," 276-278.
- Zanoni: typical element in, 226.







